This Issue Contents

Babu Ram Bhusal	Leadership Influence on Quality Enhancement of Community Colleges	3
Madhav Khanal	Nepalese Tax Structure: An Analytical Perspective	15
Tika Datta Subedi	Absurdism in Atirikta Yatra by K. S. Yatri and The American Dream by Edward Albee	27
Min Raj Paudel	An Analysis of Social Cost in School Level Education of Nepal	35
Madhav Kumar Shrestha & Sarala Karki	Perception of Players towards National Sports Council	54
नरेन्द्रप्रसाद कोइराला	'राजनीति' कथामा सबाल्टर्न	62
राजेन्द्र खनाल	यौनिकताका कोणबाट 'आवरण' उपन्यासको विश्लेषण	71

Leadership Influence on Quality Enhancement of Community Colleges

Babu Ram Bhusal, M. Phil

Lecturer Department of English Janamaitri Multiple Campus, Kuleshwar, Kathmandu, Nepal Email: brbhusal@hotmail.com

Peer Reviewed by : Prof. Dr. Anjana Bhattarai Prof. Dr. Bal Mukunda Bhandari

ABSTRACT

This study was conducted as an attempt to see the influence of educational leadership on employees for motivating them in quality enhancement mission. The assumption behind it was the need of creative and innovative leadership for motivated and efficient team spirit in quality education. The research questions were centralized in the leadership perceptions and their strategic efforts for imparting quality education. The philosophical and theoretical support of transformational leadership theory and continuous improvement approach strengthened the research. The researcher adopted interpretive research paradigm with in- depth interview and field observation as primary sources and various printed documents as the secondary sources. The basic data were generated from twelve participants of three different community colleges. The perceived data were presented and interpreted under various themes via perceptions and efforts in quality enhancement, leadership influence on employees, human resource development and mobilization for institutional strength and shifting threats into opportunities. The findings hint varied and insufficient attempts of leaders for addressing growing needs of these colleges. The concluding remarks further encourage college leaders in general and community college leaders in particular to plan and implement farsighted strategies to cope with the ever widening challenges in academia.

Keywords: Academia, leadership influence, team-spirit, professionalism, transformation, strategies, employee satisfaction.

Background of the Study

Originally developed to be an extension of high school, community colleges have become an essential part of the nation's educational fabric (Cunningham, 2009: 60). The statement illustrates the scenario of community colleges in USA where community colleges were established to meet the requirements of the people of lower strata. In Nepalese context the political change of 1990 A.D. begot a large number of community colleges to serve the educational needs of common people (B. N. Ojha, President of Public Campus Association, in personal communication February 25, 2018). Since then, the community colleges are found devoted in the service of the nation.

The leaders of community based colleges feel themselves responsible to envision strategies and set framework for the effective implementation or procurement plan in long and/or short term basis (Astin and Astin, 2000 as cited in Schmitz, 2008: 9). Leadership is inherently value-based and concerned with fostering change. They try their best to exhibit task oriented and relation oriented behavior in such a way that they maintain closer proximity with the fellow employees. Such kind of behavior obviously leads to the feeling of change oriented behavior and realization of organizational citizenship. The rational mind set of these leaders and their field performances have to go in the same line for the inspirational motivation of the esteemed members.

Dahlgaard, Kristensen & Kenji (2007) gave visionary expressions that "leadership is the driving force behind policy and strategy, people management, resources and processes leading ultimately to excellence in result" (p.212). Leaders of academic institutions need ideal personality, inspirational role model, visionary ideas, long term development strategies and transparent management skills to address the expectations of the stakeholders. Their administrative and managerial skills ensure institutional sustainability and time specific transformation of the institutions amid the competitive educational market as 'doing things properly' for competitiveness and profitability (Dahlgaard, Kristensen & Kenji, 2007: 14).

Quality education tends to enable the learners with their ability to generate skills, gain sustainability, adopt professionally and demonstrate change (Tomlinson, 2004). In fact, quality has to be defined from the angle of adjustment of the learners after the completion of academic programs. The above stated definition of quality education hinted that life skills, changes in living standard, confidence in person, role awareness and the like can be additional indicators while explaining quality of education. The prominent steps in a quality program are management commitment and a quality improvement team (Sallis, 2002: 45). If the leaders fail to address the expectations and to regard the potentiality of the fellow warriors in time, their capacity will be either unproductive or counterproductive in long run.

While thinking about quality education in our context, the contribution of community colleges deserves importance. The community colleges were in a unique position to attend the needs of many underserved populations (Cunningham, 2009: 14). We find involvement of local community in the establishment and operation of community colleges and the property ownership remains within the institution and ultimately to the nation. In reality, community colleges have been offering their services to the nation generating the resources on their own and not for profit motive. The existing chaotic socio-political condition and strong grips of technology have positively challenged the leadership of these colleges to formulate and implement certain time specific strategies to combat the upcoming threats. A successful leadership with strong vision, missions, goals and objectives is strongly mandatory in this grand work. The role of present leaders, involved in these colleges, determine the destiny of the entire institution and help in paving the future road map of the nation's education.

Amid above mentioned conditions and rapidly advancing technological practices, the leaders of higher educational institutions are passing very hard time in their jobs. The fellow employees are to be motivated in such a way that their collective efforts pave the future road map of higher education towards time specific and demand driven outcomes. The leadership, in this sense, has to play the role of catalyst to foster competitive advantages. If the leaders create values, nurture employees, give them responsibilities and make them accountable in their esteemed profession, their employment turns into ownership. This situation ultimately leads to institutional success. This research makes its bases on the same issue with the need of sustainability and struggle for valuable existence.

Statement of the Problem

Schmitz (2008), in his doctoral thesis, expressed his opinion that "community colleges are known for their ease of access, excellent academic programs to meet learners' needs, low cost and a broad array workforce training" (p.1). Community colleges were intended to educate the underserved including women, minorities, and working adults (Cunningham, 2009: 14). The community colleges get affiliation from the universities and left in the form of autonomy without any specific guidelines. As a result, the educational leaders of these community colleges are compelled to struggle for academic excellence provided with very nominal resources. Globalization, increased competition, teachers' professionalism, and technological changes, as well as teacher and student diversity, make the requirements of leadership increasingly complex (Dhakal, 2013: 2). Advancement in the field of science and technology, globalized educational market, turbulent socio-political situation, and growing need of competing with private sector are some of the numeral challenges that the community colleges are compelled to face. The leadership of community colleges, therefore, is working at the razor's edge and their existence depends entirely on the education they impart.

How do the leaders of community colleges perceive the concept of quality education? How do they make visionary strategies in the line of quality enhancement? How do they get success to motivate all the stakeholders in the overall development of college? How do they tackle the unfavorable situations in course of leading? How do they get support from the fellow members? Such crucial concerns gave ground to this research.

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of this research was to study and explore the influence of leadership in motivating the employees for improved performance. More specifically, the study attempted to analyze and describe the perception of college leaders and fellow employees about quality education and their inspirational strategies to promote integrated teamwork for continuous improvement in quality.

Research Questions

The following research questions, as the guiding principles, had been set so as to achieve the purpose of this research:

- How do the community college leaders perceive the concept of quality education?
- What strategic activities help them promote integrated teamwork for continuous improvement in quality?
- What problems and opportunities do they find in their leadership practices?

Review of literature

Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, (2006) express their views that, "a literature review is a critical summary and assessment of the range of existing materials" (p. 122). The literature of this research has been placed under the following headings:

Transformational Leadership for Innovation in Academia

The concept of transformational leadership was coined by James Mac Gregor Burns (1978) in his famous book on political leadership and enlarged by Bernard M. Bass (1985). It is a highly advocated and trusted model for academia in which the leaders reach beyond the effects of established norms by transforming the followers towards changed visionary organizational structure. "Transformational leaders transform the personal values of followers to support the vision and goals of the organization by fostering an environment where relationships can be formed and by establishing a climate of trust in which visions can be shared" (Bass, 1985 as cited in Stone, Russell and Patterson, 2004). This definition focuses on the formation of long term organizational vision and mission to impress/inspire the followers for their self-devotion in the organizational mission.

Transformational leadership is the process whereby a person engages with others and creates a connection that raises the level of motivation and morality in both the leader

and the follower (Northouse, 2008: 176). The value driven leadership succeeds in motivating the followers to abandon their personal and devote for the sake of radical change in organization. Similarly, Luthans (2008) says that "transformational leadership is based more on leaders' shifting the values, beliefs, and needs of their followers" (P.424). Transformational leaders provide vision and sense of mission for the overall development of organization and all round development of its members. This sort of innovative environment promotes intelligence, rationality, creativity and sense of transformation in organization.

Stone, Russell & Patterson (2005) are of the opinion that transformational leaders solicit their followers' ideas and creative solutions to problems (p.351). Being dynamic in nature, transformational leadership can be regarded as an ideal leadership for all ages because it encourages the procedures of searching advanced options to substitute outdated ones. Transformational leadership theory advocates the ideal mechanism of leadership in which the followers are gradually empowered for responsibilities so as to free the leaders from their day to day responsibility. The leaders at the same time can be involved in further innovative works. Shared vision, maximum upliftment of individual knowledge, promotion of team spirit, opportunities for leadership development, high level motivation etc. are some of the numeral strategies of transformational leadership that distinguish it from other general leadership models.

According to Bass (1990) transformational leaders embody the four traits or characteristics via idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stumulation and individualized consideration. The leaders having these characteristics demonstrate balance between institutional progress and employee development.

Continuous Improvement Approach

Continuous Improvement (CI) Approach, as defined by Temponi (2005), is developed from Japanese word kaizen, which means incremental improvements of the on-going processes. It is a realistic, proactive and measurable approach to quality (p.3). He further opines that the process of continuous improvement includes people, equipment, supplies, materials, and producers. He has quoted CI cycle of Deming and Shewart known as the P-D-C-A (i.e. plan, do, check and act) in the line of demonstrating how the process of implementing CI approach can advance. The seventh and thirteenth of Deming's fourteen points via institute leadership and institute a vigorous program of education and self-improvement respectively worth value in the context of continuous improvement as an approach.

Deming's 5th Principle of Transformation aims to improve constantly and forever the system of production and service, to improve quality and productivity, thus constantly decrease costs (Deming, 1986, as cited in Redmond, Curtis, Noone and Keenan 2008). This principal best matches the basic attempts of transformational leadership

and seems applicable in higher educational institutions in the sense of striving to be responsive to the needs of students and other stakeholders, improving and developing curricula, promoting the highest standards of scholarship in teaching and research and in constantly questioning if courses are achieving their intended outcomes (Redmond, Curtis, Noone and Keenan, 2008: 436). The above mentioned theories indicate that the academic leaders need to perform their visionary leadership in the line of job satisfaction, organizational commitment, efficient teamwork and quality enhancement for the sustainability of these community colleges.

Policies and Practices for Quality Enhancement

In the international scenario demand driven education is prioritized with the slogan 'education for life'. According to The Dakar Framework for Action (2000), the education system of USA recognizes the social and professional value of teachers as essential actors within quality education by establishing agreed-upon policies for certification, improvement of working conditions, remuneration and incentives for continuing improvement of professional skills (p.35-42). Along with the slogan of inclusive education they opened the academic avenue for the joint efforts of the state and community for quality education.

Chapman & Adams (2002), in a study of education of Developing Asia, found inadequate teacher in-service trainings, low salaries and misallocation of teachers as major problems and constraints in higher education quality in Philippines (p.13). The problems facing education systems in South and Southeast Asian countries often appear to be alike, for example, poorly trained teachers, inadequate supply of textbooks, weak management, little or no instructional supervision and poor facilities (Chapman and Adams, 2002: 68).

In Nepalese context the Tenth Plan (2002) urged universities to "develop qualitative, participatory and competitive higher education in different disciplines" (p.456). The policies opened higher avenues for the expansion of higher education in full fledge. The practices, however, were with higher difficulties and opportunities along with several vicissitudes. Both internal political instability and rapid globalization seem equally responsible behind present chaotic situation in academia. Neither the quality of education sector is in the nation's grip nor do the policy makers seem successful to formulate long term education policy that ensures bright picture onwards. As a result, the need of a visionary national education policy with due clarity regarding quality, equity and access was realized. Vanlalhriata's research on leadership influence (2009), Pokharel's study on head teacher's leadership style (2011) and Khadka's study on job satisfaction of institutional school teachers (2010) stand in the line of this research with the need of dedicated human capital in the path of academic excellence.

The process of quality enhancement is highly diversified and its accountability is further complex in real practice because there is no any specific pin pointing framework to measure them in terms of quality. Though we find a large pool of researches in the field of leadership efforts and quality performance, there is serious lack of this study in community colleges of our context. To cope with the growing challenges in academia, community college leaders are supposed to be more strategic. This research was expected to unravel the perceptions and practices of this field prevailing in community colleges so as to fulfill the existing gap.

Research Methodology

Research is the process of making claims (Creswell, 2003: 7) and research method is a road map to carry on the activities of research in smooth way without any kind of bewilderments. It advocates or develops logic behind particular method used by the researchers in the context of their study and explains why the researcher is using a particular method or technique (Kothari, 2002). This research was guided by the norms that qualitative approaches allow room to be innovative and to work more within researcher-designed frameworks (Creswell, 2003: 23).

This research was conducted adopting interpretive research paradigm to see the existing leadership practices in community colleges of Nepal with the impact on quality enhancement. Interpretation was taken in the form of analysis with support from the side of established knowledge. As materials for discussion, both the primary and secondary sources of data were interpreted under various themes giving specific shape to the findings. The theoretical bases of this research were Transformational Leadership Theory (Burns, 1978; Bass, 1985) and Continuous Improvement Approach (Temponi, 2005).

The data were generated from both primary sources comprised of the information collected from the lived experiences of the participants and various printed materials as the secondary sources. The respondents of primary sources were the campus chiefs, program coordinators and senior faculties whereas secondary data were collected from various printed documents including books, research journals, research reports, policy documents etc. including the UGC publications. Similarly available policy plans, bulletins, magazines, internal rules and regulations, and periodical minutes of study location also were highly supportive to strengthen the information of this research. In-depth interview, field observation and field notes were used as the tools of data generation.

Richards (2003), states that analysis is neither a distinct stage nor a discrete process; it is happening within interpretation. In other words the process of interpretation proceeds side by side along with the analysis without any specific demarcation between these two. Likewise, Patton (2002) is of the opinion that interpretation involves explaining the

findings, answering why questions, and attaching patterns into an analytical framework. The present research generated the central themes in inductive way. "Inductive analysis means that the patterns, themes and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis" (Patton, 1980, as cited in Bowen, 2005: 217).

The analysis firstly focused on declaring the central issues or themes of data based on the research questions. Then the content was described and analyzed identifying, coding and categorizing the primary pattern of data. The three co-moving steps known as data reduction, data display and drawing conclusion and verification were applied and the contents were coded and categorized according to the research questions. The main guidance to the findings was given and conditioned by the theories and approaches discussed above. Those guidelines along with the research questions brought the interpretations in the right track. The researcher's minute observation of the site, records of the stakeholder remarks, study of the available printed materials etc. were given due emphasis in course of meaning formation.

Discussion of the Findings

The entire process was guided by the understanding that the analysis of qualitative data is an ongoing process involving continual reflection about the data, asking analytical questions and writing memos throughout the study (Creswell, 2003), summarizing, condensing, and illustrating what the researcher identifies as the main themes (Smith, Flowers and Larkin, 2009). The findings of this research have been discussed under the following sub-headings:

Perspectives on Quality Education

The participants were found having sound understandings about the norms of quality education. Out of the established debate of input, process and output, as an achievement of educational institutions, all the participants emphasized on the priority to consequences or achievement as an outcome. The administrators remarked in the interviews that the educational institutions should impart the kinds of academic qualities and working skills to the learners that they adjust in their working fields without difficulties and such kind of efforts can be made by creative and dedicated teachers. The expressions reminded the ideas of Dahlgaard, Kristensen and Kenji (2007) who projected quality issue as a holistic concept that included two different ideas i.e. quality as 'consistency' and quality as 'fitness for purpose' (p.14). In fact, their realizations were related to the theoretical ground that quality service tends to enable the learners with their ability to generate skills, gain sustainability, adopt professionally and demonstrate change (Tomlinson, 2004).

The perceptions of the research participants reflected their maturity in understanding towards the concept of quality education. Though the expressions differed in person,

the central emphases of almost all the participants were found with similar opinion and none of them gave priority to the grades or percentage of the certificates only. In other words, the respondents were found well aware and motivated towards the modernized concept of demand driven education which fits the concept of quality in term of 'fit for purpose' (Sallis, 2002: 13).

Quality Enhancement Efforts

Regarding the efforts for quality enhancement Martin and Marion (2005) remark that "the leader must cast a critical eye on existing policy and programs to seek new and better methods to achieve organizational objectives" (p.149). The leaders, in the same regard, are the change agents or torch bearers of the team who play front and prominent role on how to transform life through education. The discussions were based on the norms of continuous improvement approach that systems and procedures need to be improved, reorganized or re-specified to improve academic quality. The common causes of quality failure can include poor curriculum design, unsuitable and poorly maintained buildings, poor working environment, unsuitable systems and procedures, insufficiently creative timetabling, a lack of necessary resources, and insufficient staff development (Sallis, 2002: 38).

The respondents representing the administrative role claimed balanced mobilization of staff and combined effort as the supporting measures of quality enhancement. The faculties, on the other hand, charge the administration for failing to adopt modern teaching learning strategies, inadequate resource mobilization for practice based teaching and unwillingness to adopt change. During the field observation it was realized that the college had to seek some alternative ways of students' skill development in place of traditionally practiced teaching learning activities. The traditional approach was found against the version of Sallis (2002) that "the majority of quality problems are the fault of poor management, rather than poor craftsmanship" (p. 43). The leaders had to impose their visionary ideas as idealized influence i.e. providing vision and sense of mission, instilling pride, and gaining respect and trust (Robbins, DeCenzo, Bhattacharya and Agarwal, 2009: 457).

Human Resource Development

The research took continuous learning as the base of quality and the worth of the people as the keys to quality (Dahlgaard, Kristensen and Kenji (2007: 212). Learning organizations (Senge, 1990) demand people continually expanding their capacity to create the result they truly desire, where new and expensive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free and where people are continually learning to learn together. The respondents of this research stood in the same line that organizational scheme to staff development through facilitating team learning for adaptation to change, quality of performance strategies and collective efficacy (Yukl, 2008: 343). The respondents with administrative responsibilities were of the opinion

that staff development strategies were adopted by the campuses and University Grants Commission had provided continuous support in this scheme. The teaching faculties, however, were not found fully satisfied with the progress of the colleges in course of meeting the growing needs and demanded better leadership efforts ahead.

In an educational setting transformational culture is a function of staff motivation and efficient leadership in a setting that is student centered (Sallis, 2002: 15). Only the satisfied and motivated staff in combined form can dedicate their efforts for the good of the students. While asking the situation of staff satisfaction and motivation in real practice, the respondents from the administrative side remarked that the colleges have kept the provision of time specific permanency, provident funds, retirement benefits, leave payment and financial support to M. Phil / Ph. D. studies for motivating the staff. The above stated words supported the version of Sallis (2002) that employee motivation and the importance of pride, joy and job satisfaction play key roles in the delivery of quality services" (p.41). Well motivated staff, in this sense, would deserve power to succeed.

The teaching faculties, however, objected on the above remarks that the colleges had given permanent appointment to around one third staff only and most of the above stated provisions were applicable to the permanent staff only. The motivating strategies applied to the one third staff go against the views of Schmitz (2008) who opined that effective transformation required creative involvement of everyone throughout the organization (p.12). The colleges need to adopt the provision of staff development in uniformed way to formulate effective team spirit.

Converting Threats into Opportunities

The respondents of all the categories expressed their varied opinion that they had to dedicate their efforts in the organizational mission of quality education for quality life. They expressed their views that they could convert their threats into opportunities in near future if the leaders got success to demonstrate ideal leadership. Their hopeful expressions reminded Avolio & Bass (2002) that the leader's influence helps others to look at the futuristic state, while inspiring acceptance through the alignment of personal values and interests to the collective interests of the group interests (As cited in Stone, Russell & Patterson, 2004: 350). The discussions commonly reflected perceived philosophy that the leaders were created to convert threats into opportunities. The respondents from the side of general administration were of the opinion that the leadership could do more than the prevailing situation. Regarding the threats, they showed the problems related to program expansion, alternative to plus two phasing out, library, lab, and technology based teaching. In this sense, of two levels of threats were understood prevalent in front of her college via internal and external threats.

Conclusion

The findings suggested that the educational leaders of present times need to impart such kind of education that ensures professional settlement of the learners as an outcome of their studies. It inspired us not to limit the scope of education to the mere degrees or merits that the learners get at the end of the academic sessions via summative evaluation. Such understanding is slightly in the same line with Dahlgaard, Kristensen and Kenji (2007) that quality service has to ensure customer satisfaction, people satisfaction and impact on society. The research intended to seek the need of some specific strategies to modify the services of academic leaders in demand driven way.

Though the leaders were found having desire of imparting best quality education, the efforts were not uniformly applied. The strategies such as subject-wise project works, learner centered and research based teaching, students' presentation, field visits, collaboration with different organizations, additional assignments for preparatory exercises, opinion sharing expressions, role play etc. were found insufficient in the field. For the sustainable development, the leaders need to formulate and implement some sort of visionary strategies as the road map to face ever increasing challenges and to grab widely emerging market opportunities.

Similarly the research findings show that quality depends on the development and motivation of the employees to a greater extent. The colleges can develop a unit to conduct trainings, seminars, workshops, field trips and many such schemes so as to enable the staff cope with the growing market demands. Likewise the colleges need to make the employees realize themselves to be the most responsible and authorized members of the institution. Some of the motivating factors include incentives, permanency, promotion, security, retirement benefits, self-esteem, and impartial performance appraisal. The findings resembled the application of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory (Robbins, DeCenzo, Bhattacharya and Agarwal, 2009: 194) that covers five basic needs of human beings on priority basis via physiological, safety, social, esteem and self-actualization. It hinted the situation that community colleges need to gear up in their strategies to face the growing competitions with government supported constituent colleges and mushrooming private colleges with massive investments. All these colleges need to convert the perceived threats into opportunities. The ultimate way to reach such a destination is visionary leadership with strong commitment and bold support of an efficient and satisfied team spirit.

References

Bass, B. M. & Riggio, R. E. (2006). *Transformational leadership*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Blaxter, L., Hughes, C. & Tight, M. (2006). *How to research* (3rd ed.). New York: Open University Press. Bowen, G. A. (2005). Preparing a qualitative research based dissertation: Lessons learned. In the

Qualitative Report 10 (2). Retrieved from http://www. Nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR10-2/bowen.pdf.

- Chapman, D. & Adams, D. (2002). *The quality of education: Dimensions and strategies. In Education in Developing Asia* Vol.5: Asian Development Bank.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches* (2nd ed.). New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Cunningham, D. H. (2009). "Baby Boomers and Community College: A Study of Motivations". Unpublished Dissertation of Doctor of Education: Oklahoma State University, USA.
- Dahlgaard, J. J., Kristensen, K & Kenji, G. K. (2007). Fundamentals of total quality management. New York: Taylor and Francis.
- Dhakal, R. K. (2013). "Leading at the Edge of Chaos: Perceptions and practices of Nepalese school leaders". An Unpublished Dissertation of M. Phil, Kathmandu University, Nepal.
- Khadka, J. (2010). "Job satisfaction of institutional school teachers of Kathmandu District of Nepal". Unpublished M. Phil Dissertation, Submitted to Kathmandu University, Nepal.
- Kothari, C. R. (2002). Research Methodology: Methods & Techniques (2nd ed.). New Delhi: Wishwa Prakashan.
- Luthans, F. (2008). Organizational behavior (11thed.). New York: McGraw Hill.
- Martin, J. S. & Marion, R. (2005). Higher education leadership roles in knowledge processing. In the Learning Organization. 12 (2). Emerald.
- Northouse, P. G. (2008). Leadership: Theory & practice (4th ed.). Delhi: Sage Publication.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd. ed.). New Delhi: Sage Publication.
- Pokharel, I. P. (2011). "The effect of head teacher's leadership styles on teacher motivation: A study of government schools of Lalitpur district". Unpublished M. Phil dissertation submitted to Kathmandu University, Nepal.
- Redmond, R., Curtis, E., Noone, T., & Keenan, P (2008). Quality in higher education: the contribution of Edward Deming's principles", *International Journal of Educational Management*. 22(5) pp.432– 441. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/ 095135408 10883168
- Richards, K. (2003). Qualitative inquiry in TESOL. Hampshire: Palgrave Mac Milan.
- Robbins, S. P., De Cenzo, D. A., Bhattacharya, S. & Agarwal, M. N. (2009). Fundamentals of management: Essential concepts and applications. New Delhi: PEARSON.
- Sallis, E. (2002). Total quality management in education. London: Stylus Publishing Inc.
- Schmitz, G. R. (2008). "Leadership preparation and career pathways of community college presidents". Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Iowa state University, USA.
- Senge, P. M. (1990). *The fifth discipline: the art and practice of learning organization*. New York: Double Day.
- Smith, J. A., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretive phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research. Thousand Oaks,* CA: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Stone, A. G., Russell, R. F. and Patterson, K. (2004). 'Transformational vs. servant leadership: a difference in leadership focus.' In *The Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, 25(4), 350. DOI 10. 1108/01437730410538671.
- Temponi, C. (2005). Continuous improvement framework: implication for academia. Quality Assurance in Education. 13(1). pp.17-36. Retrieved from www.emeraldinsight.com/ 0968-4883.htm.
- Tomlinson, H. (2004). Educational Leadership. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- UGC Nepal, Annual Report, 2010. University Grants Commission, Sanothimi, Bhaktapur, Nepal. Website: www.ugcnepal.edu.np.
- UGC Nepal, Education Management Information System: Report on Higher Education (2010).
- UGC Nepal, Education Management Information System: Report on Higher Education (2011/12).
- Vanlalhriata, J. M. (2009). "Influence of leadership style of principals on school climate and commitment of teachers." Unpublished M. Phil dissertation submitted to Kathmandu University, Nepal.
- Yukl, G. (2008). Leadership in Organizations. New York: Pearson Education.

Nepalese Tax Structure: An Analytical Perspective

Madhav Khanal, M. Phil

Lecturer Department of Education and Social Science Janamaitri Multiple Campus, Kuleshwar Kathmandu, Nepal Email: madhavakhanal@gmail.com

> Peer Reviewed by: Prof. Dr. R. K.Shah Prof. Dr. Shree Ram Paudel

ABSTRACT

Tax is the major source of revenue for the government, and development of any country's economy largely depends on the tax structure it has adopted. A Tax structure which facilitates easy business and leaves no chance for tax evasion brings prosperity to a country's economy. On the other hand, tax structure that has provisions for tax evasion and the one which does not facilitate ease of doing business shows down the economic growth. Nepal has a well-developed tax structure. The power to levy taxes and duties is distributed among the three tiers of the Government, in accordance to the constitutional provisions. Nepali tax system has gone through many reforms but still it is very far from being an ideal one. Many problems like tax evasion, reliance on indirect taxes, black money and existence of parallel economy show that Nepali tax system requires some major reforms in the future ahead to address all this problem. This study is purely based on secondary data. Various figures are obtained from different sources of the government of Nepal. It is seen that there is major dependence on indirect taxes than the direct taxes.

Keywords: Direct Taxes, Indirect Taxes, Tax Structure of Nepal, Taxation, Tax Collection, Tax Evasion.

Background

The political history of Nepal shows the existence of various forms of tax since the ancient period (Dahal, 2004). Taxes were imposed as per the *Shastras*, *Kautilya Nitee*, *Manu Smriti*, *Yagyavalkya Smriti*, during the ancient period. Kautilya, Yagyavalkya and

Manu were great philosophers of eastern civilization during ancient time. The principles and philosophy propounded by them were known as Kautilya Nitee, Yagyavalkya Smriti and Manu Smriti. Kautilya was also popularly known as Chanakya and his principle as Chanakyaniti. Chanakya was an advisor of the first Maurya Emperor Chandragupta Maurya, who is said to have ruled India from 320 BC to 298 BC. The main principle of taxation at that time was to impose tax without hampering the taxpayers (Kandel, 2011). According to the *Shastras*, taxes were imposed in a manner so that one would collect honey from the beehives or get milk from the udder of a milk cow.

Tax was collected at that time to launch various government programme. According to Kautilya, "the launching of all programme depends first and foremost on the treasury." The Licchhavi rulers entered Nepal around the mid of the fifth century B.C. from the Republic of Vaisali (presently northern part of the state of Bihar of India) and ruled Kathmandu Valley till 750 B.C. They imposed three forms of *Karas* (taxes): *Bhaga*, tax on agriculture, *Bhoga*, tax on livestock and *Kara*, tax on trade. *Matsya Kara* (imposed on fishing), *Palabdu Kara* (imposed on onion and garlic), *Malla Kara* (imposed on wrestling), *Goyuddha Kara* (imposed on bull fighting), and *Sin Kara* (imposed on firewood), were some of the taxes of that time. Ansubarma, one of the Lichchavi kings, imposed water tax and religious monument repair tax. At that time, a tax on the income of the farmers from agriculture was imposed at the rate of 1/6, 1/8 and 1/12 shares of crop production depending on the land quality (Dahal, 2004).

Although, the taxes were collected in various forms in ancient era, the history of tax is not very old in Nepal. The idea of introducing income tax in Nepal originated in the early 1950s when a multi- party democratic political system was introduced. In 1951, the government declared its intention to levy income tax through the budget speech.

The first elected government in 1959 finally introduced Business Profit and Salaries Tax Acts, 1960 in Nepal. At that time, income tax was levied only on business profit and salaries. After about three years' experience of income tax, the government replaced the prevailing Tax Act by Income Tax Act 1962. The coverage was extended in the Act. In 1974, Income Tax Act, 1974 was enacted. The Act categorized income source into five groups, a) agriculture, b) industry trade, profession or occupation, c) remuneration, d) house and compound rent, e) other sources. However, agriculture income was kept outside the income tax net except few years through the finance Acts.

To enhance revenue mobilization through effective revenue collection procedure for the economic development of the nation and to amend and integrate the laws relating to income tax, the Parliament of Nepal enacted Income Tax Act, 2002. This act replaced Income Tax Act, 1974, which was amended eight times and existed for a period of 28 years. The Government of Nepal framed Income Tax Rules 2059 in 2059 which clarified the Act. Nepal is adopting various strict policies to collect income tax. The concept of VAT in Nepal was introduced in early 1990s. Government of Nepal indicated its intention to introduce VAT in the Eighth Plan, subsequently the Finance Minister declared to introduce a two- tier sales tax system to establish the base of implementing VAT from the FY 1992/93. A VAT task force was termed in 1993 under the financial assistance of USAID in order to make necessary preparation for the introduction of VAT. The tax force was given the responsibility of preparing the draft of VAT legislation.

In 1995 the Parliament of Nepal enacted "Value Added Tax Act – 1995 (2052)", Subsequently VAT regulation was prepared in 1996; the Act was passed in 1997. Its implementation was delayed due to political instability and strong opposition from business community. VAT with single rate of 10 percent was fully implemented with its effect from 16 November, 1997. It replaced sales tax, hotel tax, contract tax and entertainment tax. VAT has been justified in the light of government fiscal imbalance and need for extra revenue mobilization through an efficient tax system. The government of Nepal increased VAT from10 percent to 13 percent effective from 15 February, 2004. A value-added tax (VAT) is a consumption tax placed on a product whenever value is added at each stage of the supply chain, from production to the point of sale. The amount of VAT that the user pays is on the cost of the product, less any of the costs of materials used in the product that have already been taxed.

Tax, is the payment we make to the government, for a goods and service. It is this money that government uses for all the functions it is expected to deliver in various like military, infrastructure- economic and social, basic amenities and welfare.

In Nepal, the taxes are classified in to two types, direct taxes and indirect taxes.

Direct Taxes are those which are paid directly by the individual or organization to the imposing authority. They are levied on income and profits

Indirect Taxes are those which are not paid directly by the individual or organization to the imposing authority. They are levied on goods and services and not on income and profits.

Direct Taxes

(a) Corporation tax(d) Interest tax(g) Land revenue(j) Expenditure tax and

Indirect Taxes

- (a) Customs
- (c) Service tax

(b) Taxes on income(e) Wealth tax(h) Agricultural tax(k) Other's

(c) Estate duty(f) Gift tax(i) Hotel receipts tax

(b) Union excise duties(d) State excise duty

- (e) Taxes on vehicle
- (g) Stamp and registration fees
- (i) Taxes on goods and passengers
- (k) Taxes on purchase of sugarcane and
- (f) General sales tax
- (h) Entertainment tax
- (j) Taxes and duties on electricity
- (l) others

Statement of the Problem

Nepalese taxation structure has gone through many reforms and still it is very far from being an ideal taxation structure. Many problems like tax evasion, reliance on indirect taxes, black money, existence of parallel economy show that Nepali tax system requires some major reforms in the future to address these problems.

Objectives

- To study the tax structure of Nepal,
- To identify the different taxes collected,
- To identify the amount incurred on collection of taxes,
- To identify the amount of revenue.

Need of the Study

The development of any country's economy depends directly on the Country's Taxation Structure. A tax structure that facilitates ease of doing business and having no chance for tax evasion brings prosperity to a country's economy. On the other hand, tax structure which has loopholes facilitating tax evasion and the one which does not facilitate ease of doing business slows down the growth of country's economy. Therefore, as tax structure plays an important role in country's development. There is always need for the study of the taxation structure to make the tax system simpler that earlier.

Review of Literature

Income Taxation

Not surprisingly, one fundamental issue in income taxation has been the concept of 'income'. Haig (1921) defined income as 'the money-value of the net accretion of economic power between two points in time'. Simons (1938) definition was that personal income, 'may be defined as the algebraic sum of (a) the market value of rights exercised in consumption and (b) the change in the value of the store of property rights between the beginning and end of the period in question. Hicks (1974) defined income as the 'maximum amount of money which the individual can spend this week, and still be able to spend the same amount in real terms in each ensuing week'.

There are two aspects to wealth taxation – taxes on the transfer of wealth, often on death, and net wealth taxes. There will be dealt with, in turn, and the case for both of them includes efficiency and equity arguments.

It has been argued that death duties or inheritance taxes should include transfers made during life since otherwise the rich could avoid such taxation by passing on their wealth before they died. However, Whalley (1974) found evidence that the rich did not find this a good reason to give their wealth away. Possibly therefore such taxes might be considered to be voluntary taxes paid by those who disliked their relatives even more than they disliked paying tax. The UK attempt to do this – the ill-fated Capital Transfer Tax was introduced in 1975 constantly modified and finally repealed in 1986. It could not be considered a success (Sutherland, 1984). The role of such taxes has also been considered by Aaron and Munnell (1992).

Economic research has contributed in a number of ways to the study of corporate taxation – for instance whether, corporation tax should be a separate form of taxation or integrated with personal income tax – as discussed for example by Musgrave and Musgrave (1989). Mintz (1995) provides a more recent survey on corporate taxation which he suggested might be the most well-studied tax found throughout the world.

Value Added Tax

Shoup (1969), considered Value Added Tax as the latest and probably the final stage in historical development of general sales tax imposed on the value added by the business firm. He explained VAT as the difference between sales proceeds and cost of materials etc purchased from others firms, which is the tax base of VAT. He further added, a firm adds value added by processing or handling these purchases items with its labor force and its own machinery, bulking or other capital goods.

While talking about the types of VAT and its practicability i.e. GNP, income and consumption Musgrave and Musgrave (1976), in their book "Public Finance, Theory and Practices" had preferred the latest type of VAT as more applicable and reliable one for both efficiency and quality which was similar to the retail sales tax and seemed to be more practical for poor countries. Likewise, the invoice method for calculation was more preferable and has the advantage of the value-added approach.

Excise Duties

In Nepal in 1955 customs and excise department were established. In 1966, a separate excise department came into existence. Presently, there are three sources of excise revenue: (a) excise from contract tax, (b) excise from agricultural production, and (c) excise from industrial production. The significant position of excise revenue in both developed and developing countries is of vital interest.

In a study of 82 developing and industrial countries, the contribution of excise duties was found to be nearly 25 percent of the total revenue (Cnosser, 1974).

Research Methodology

This Research paper is purely based on secondary data. Various figures are obtained from the different sources of government of Nepal.

Analysis of Nepalese Tax Structure

Like in any other country, the government of Nepal needs revenue to conduct the functions of an independent country. A modern democratic government has to perform various social welfare programs, besides its regular activities. For this purpose, government collects revenue. These are tax revenue and non-tax revenue. These both sources are subjects to non-repayment and their sum constitutes the government or public revenue. For an under-developed country like Nepal, the role of taxation in the process of economic development is considerably significant. In this way, tax structure stands as a mirror of the government as well as ability of the people to pay the tax, is the major factor of designing the tax structure. In this respect, the tax structure has vital role in development.

Government collects the revenue from different sources. Basic source of the Government Revenue is classified into tax and non-tax revenue. Tax revenue has been playing dominant role in our total revenue structure. Nepalese economy is characterized by a low revenue performance in contrast to the growing public expenditure. Revenue growth is not maintaining a pace with the expenditure growth. The composition of the government revenue and total tax from FY 1974/75 to 2016/17 is presented in figure 1.



Figure 1 : Government Revenue and Total Tax (1974/75 to 2016/17)

Source: Economic Survey, FY 2016/17 and various years' budget

Figure 1 shows that during the study period there has simultaneous increase in total tax revenue, direct tax and indirect tax revenue in absolute term. In FY 1974/75 the amount of tax revenue was NRs 841.7 million and in FY2016/2017 the amount of tax revenue is NRs 547486.4 million and the total revenue was NRs. 1008.4 million in FY 1974/75 and in FY 2016/2017 the amount of total revenue is NRs. 609180 million.

Share of Tax and Non-tax Revenue in Total Revenue

Nepal is one of the developing countries so in Nepal, the contribution of tax revenue used to be almost 80 percent and non-tax revenue almost 20 percent and ratio of Total Revenue to real GDP is 6 to 24 percentages. The shares of tax revenue and non-tax revenue in total revenue and real GDP have been shown in the following table:

	Tax R	evenue	Non-Ta	x Revenue	Total Revenue	Real GDP (Current	Percent	Correlation	
Fiscal Year	NRs. in Ten Million	Percentage	NRs. in Ten Million	Percentage	NRs. in Ten Million	Price) NRs. in Ten Million	age in Total Revenue to GDP	in TR to GDP	
1974/75	84.2	83.50	16.64	16.50	100.84	1660.1	6.07		
1975/76	90.86	81.59	20.5	18.41	111.36	1739.4	6.40		
1976/77	110.01	83.16	22.28	16.84	132.29	1728	7.65		
1977/78	124.39	78.62	33.82	21.38	158.21	1972.7	8.02		
1978/79	147.68	81.51	33.49	18.49	181.17	2612.8	6.93		
1979/80	153.88	81.42	35.12	18.58	189	2335.1	8.09		
1980/81	203.57	84.15	38.35	15.85	241.92	2553	9.47		
1981/82	221.13	82.53	46.82	17.47	267.95	3098.8	8.64		
1982/83	242.61	85.23	42.05	14.77	284.66	3382.1	8.41		
1983/84	273.7	80.28	67.23	19.72	340.93	3929	8.67	0.979	
1984/85	315.12	80.45	76.56	19.55	391.68	4658.7	8.40	0.979	
1985/86	365.93	78.79	98.52	21.21	464.45	5573.4	8.33		
1986/87	437.17	73.19	160.17	26.81	597.34	6386.4	9.35		
1987/88	575.28	78.27	159.76	21.73	735.04	7690.6	9.55		
1988/89	628.72	80.81	149.35	19.19	778.07	8927	8.71		
1989/90	728.39	78.21	202.89	21.79	931.28	10341.6	9.00		
1990/91	817.63	76.20	255.32	23.80	1072.95	12037	8.91		
1991/92	987.56	73.08	363.71	26.92	1351.27	14948.7	9.03		
1992/93	1166.25	76.99	348.59	23.01	1514.84	17149.2	8.83		
1993/94	1537.15	78.50	420.94	21.50	1958.09	19927.2	9.82		

 Table 1: Share of Tax and Non-tax Revenue in Total Revenue

1994/95	1966	79.90	494.51	20.10	2460.51	21917.5	11.22	
1995/96	2166.8	77.68	622.51	22.32	2789.31	24891.3	11.20	
1996/97	2442.43	80.41	594.92	19.59	3037.35	28051.3	10.82	
1997/98	2593.98	78.75	699.81	21.25	3293.79	30084.5	10.94	
1998/99	2875.29	77.19	849.84	22.81	3725.13	34203.6	10.89	
1999/00	3315.21	77.29	974.16	22.71	4289.37	37948.8	11.30	
2000/01	3886.5	79.49	1002.88	20.51	4889.38	44151.9	11.07	
2001/02	3933.06	77.96	1111.6	22.04	5044.66	45944.3	10.98	
2002/03	4089.6	74.99	1364.29	25.01	5453.89	49223.1	11.08	
2003/04	4817.3	77.29	1415.8	22.71	6233.1	53674.9	11.61	
2004/05	5410.47	77.16	1601.8	22.84	7012.27	58941.2	11.89	
2005/06	5743.04	79.45	1485.15	20.55	7228.19	65408.4	11.05	0.979
2006/07	7112.67	81.09	1658.54	18.91	8771.21	72782.7	12.05	0.979
2007/08	8515.55	79.12	2246.7	20.88	10762.25	81565.8	13.19	
2008/09	11705.19	81.58	2642.26	18.42	14347.45	98827.2	14.51	
2009/10	15978.53	89.77	1820.56	10.23	17799.09	119277.4	14.92	
2010/11	17722.72	89.34	2114.87	10.66	19837.59	136695.4	14.51	
2011/12	21172.18	86.64	3265.12	13.36	24437.3	152734.4	16.00	
2012/13	25961	87.52	3703.2	12.48	29664.2	169501.1	17.50	
2013/14	31180	87.38	4504	12.62	35684	196454	18.16	
2014/15	35594.29	87.70	4990.35	12.30	40584.64	213020	19.05	
2015/16	42109.66	87.37	6086.5	12.63	48196.17	225316.31	21.39	
2016/17	54748.64	89.87	6169.36	10.13	60918	264259.53	23.05	
2017/18	65949.13	92.37	7274.3	7.63	73223.44	300724.62	24.34	

Source: Economic Survey, FY 2016/17 and various years' budget.

Table 1 shows that in composition of total revenue, tax revenue has dominant role because the table shows in FY 1974/75 total revenue NRs.10.084 billion where 83.5 percent is contributed by tax revenue and remaining by not-tax revenue. Tax revenue is 92.37 percent and not-tax revenues 7.63 percent in last FY 2017/18. This scenario indicates that the role of tax revenue is very important in revenue mobilization of Nepal to meet the growing Government expenditure. The total tax revenue in FY 1974/75 was NRs. 842 million, which was increasing every year and reached to NRs 65949.13 million in fiscal year FY 2017/18. The highest contribution of tax revenue to total revenue was 92.37 percent in FY 2017/18 and lowest contribution was 73.08 percent in FY 1991/92. It is clear that tax revenue has dominant role in Nepalese economy.

The percentage in total revenue to GDP was 6.07 in FY 1974/75 and it is 24.34 in FY 2017/18. This scenario indicates that the percentage of total revenue to real GDP increasing every year, and it is strongly correlated.

Composition of Tax Revenue

The composition of tax revenue from FY 1974/75 to FY 2017/18 was presented in the table 2.

	(NRs. in Millions					
Fiscal	Total Tax	Customs	s Excise Income		sales tax /	Other
Year		Customs	LAUSE	Tax	VAT	Tax
1974/75	841.7	328.5	119.7	47	206.7	139.8
1975/76	908.6	358.5	132.1	87.2	181.9	148.9
1976/77	1100.1	386.2	166.1	133.3	247.3	167.2
1977/78	1243.9	458.8	164.4	136.8	306.2	177.7
1978/79	1476.8	626.7	192.6	103	397.3	157.2
1979/80	1538.8	608	215.2	111.2	443.2	161.2
1980/81	2035.7	815.8	242.2	144	604	229.7
1981/82	2211.3	825.1	305.7	189.7	678.7	212.1
1982/83	2426.1	760.9	365.8	240.1	825.1	234.2
1983/84	2737	825.9	432.2	290.9	907.5	280.5
1984/85	3151.2	1064.5	483.9	307.3	1012.6	282.9
1985/86	3659.3	1231	558.7	364.4	1173	332.2
1986/87	4371.7	1505.1	678.6	437.5	1363	387.5
1987/88	5752.8	2214.6	825.3	579	1612.5	521.4
1988/89	6287.2	2289.9	877.7	861.1	1698.9	559.6
1989/90	7283.9	2684.9	1097	919	1953.8	629.2
1990/91	8176.3	3044.3	1200.2	746	2354.4	831.4
1991/92	9875.6	3358.9	1414.3	855.5	3283.6	963.3
1992/93	11662.5	3945	1452.8	1124.8	4007.7	1132.2
1993/94	15371.5	5255	1592.5	1824.5	5380.9	1318.6
1994/95	19660	7018.1	1657.3	2711.8	6857.1	1415.7
1995/96	21668	7327.4	1944.3	3311.6	7429.3	1655.4
1996/97	24424.3	8309.1	2298.1	3969	8162.9	1685.2
1997/98	25939.8	8502.2	2885.8	4685.9	8020.6	1845.3
1998/99	28752.9	9517.7	2953.2	5850.7	8765.9	1665.4
1999/00	33152.1	10813.3	3127.6	7006.2	10259.7	1945.3

 Table 2: Composition of Tax Revenue (1974/75 to 2017/18)

2000/01	38865	12552.1	3771.2	8650.1	12382.4	1509.2
2001/02	39330.6	12650	3807	8436	12267.3	2170.3
2002/03	40896	12783.2	3771.2	8811.8	13459.7	2070.1
2003/04	48173	15554.8	6226.7	8512.5	14478.9	3400.1
2004/05	54104.7	15701.6	6445.9	9402.4	18885.4	3669.4
2005/06	57430.4	15344	6507.6	9598.8	21610.7	4369.3
2006/07	71126.7	16707.6	9343.2	13979.1	26095.6	5001.2
2007/08	85155.5	21062.4	11189.6	16223.3	29815.7	6864.5
2008/09	117051.9	26792.9	16220.9	23457.3	39700.9	10879.9
2009/10	159785.3	35218.9	24147.6	33821.3	54920.9	11676.6
2010/11	177227.2	35713.5	26338.5	41350.3	61663.6	12161.3
2011/12	211721.8	43390.6	30016.1	51303	70930.4	16081.7
2012/13	259610	56890	36660	67020	83510	15530
2013/14	311800	67880	45390	77920	100960	19650
2014/15	355942.9	74671	53525	88459.1	112377.4	26910.4
2015/16	421096.6	82159.1	65776.4	117407.8	122411.9	33341.4
2016/17	547486.4	113184	84678.4	148236.1	160316.6	41071.3
2017/18	659491.3	137785.3	102579.1	159900.5	206793.9	52432.6

Source: Economic Survey, FY 2016/17 and various years' budget.

The sales tax/VAT, most important component of indirect taxes, also increased substantially during the period of study. The sales tax was only NRs. 206.7 million in FY 1974/75, but the Value-Added Tax (VAT) was Rs 206,793.9 million in FY 2017/18. The revenue from excise duties, on the other hand, increased from Rs.119.7 million in fiscal year 1974/75 to Rs. 102,579.1million in FY 2017/18. Due to the exclusion of imported goods from the excise net, and exclusion of most of the domestically produced goods from the excise net, after the implementation of VAT in 1997, the contribution is relatively small now.

Income tax rose from the amount of NRs. 47 million in FY 1974/75 to NRs.159,900.5 million in FY 2017/18. In the Nepalese tax structure, income tax was introduced in FY 1963/64 when its contribution to total revenue was very low at 1.77 percent. Among the components of taxes, the contribution of custom duties was Rs.328.5 million in FY 1974/75 to NRs.137785.3 million in FY 2017/18.

Conclusion

Though the payment of tax is a moral obligation and tax payer is aware about the fact that revenue generated by government through taxes is used for the welfare of the society but due to high personal income tax rates and other irrationalities in prevailing tax constitution, the tax payer feel a bit pinched while contributing toward this noble cause. The existing Nepali tax system suffers from several limitations. The entire tax system for raising revenue is not working well. It lacks transparency and efficiency is widely and justifiably perceived to be unfair. Fixing the problems will require change in policies, laws, regulations and administrative procedures. Necessary policy changes should include the selection of appropriate taxes, while also

Addressing their structure and operation; administrative changes include the establishment of information and monitoring systems designed to reduce the possibility of arbitrary behavior by tax officials; and legal and administrative changes should be designed to align the incentives facing taxpayers and tax collectors with the goals of the tax system

References

- Aaron, H. J. & Munnell, A. H. (1992). 'Reassessing the Role for Wealth Transfer Taxes', National Tax Journal, 45, 119-43.
- Cnosser, S. (1974). Revenue Aspects of Excise System. Washington, IMF, FAD.
- Dahal, M. K.. (2004). 'Improving tax system in Nepal: Agenda for reforms'. In Madan Kumar Dahal (Ed.) *Nepalese Economy: Towards Building a Strong Economic Nation-State*. Kathmandu: CEDECON and New Hira Books Enterprises.
- Gupta, A. (2009). The Trend and Responsiveness of Personal Income Tax in India. IGIDR Proceeding.
- Haig, R. M. (1921). 'The Concept of Income'. In R. M. Haig (Ed.). New York City, *The Federal Income Tax,* Columbia University Press.
- Hicks. S. J (November 1974). 'Real and monetary factors in economic fluctuations.' *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*. United Kingdom Vol. XXI, No. 3.
- Johansson, A. et. al. (2008). *Tax and Economic Growth* (OECD Working Paper 620). United Kingdom, Economics Department. Organi-zation for Economic Cooperation and Development.
- Kandel, P. R. (2011). Tax laws and tax planning in Nepal. Kathmandu: Benchmark Education Support Pvt.Ltd.
- Kelly, S. R. (1999). 'Intergovernmental Revenue Allocation Theory and Application: Application to Nepal'. Asian Journal of Public Administration.
- Ministry of Finance (Various Years). *Economic Survey*, Kathmandu: Ministry of Finance, Nepal Government.
- Musgrave R. A. & Musgrave, P. B. (1989). *Public Finance in Theory and Practice* (5th ed.). New York, McGraw Hill.
- Mintz, J. (1995). 'The Corporation Tax: A Survey', *Research Journal: Fiscal Studies*, Medford: Institute for Fiscal Studies. Vol. 5, pp. 23-68.
- Pechman, J. A. (1985). Who Paid the Taxes (1966-85). Washington DC: Brookings Institution.
- Shah, R. K. (2012). Vat in Nepal, Kathmandu: Heritage publishers and Distributor Pvt. Ltd.
- Simons, H. C. (1938). Personal Income Taxation, Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Shoup, C. S. (1969). Public Finance, New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction.
- Whalley, J. (September, 1974). 'Estate Duty as a Voluntary Tax: Evidence from the Stamp Duty Statistics' Economic Journal Cowley Road Blackwell Publishing, Ltd.UK, Vol. 84.

Sutherland, A. (1984). 'Capital Transfer Tax: Adieu' Research Journal: *Fiscal Studies*, Medford: Institute for Fiscal Studies. Vol. 5, pp. 68-83.

Nepal Government (2002). Income Tax Act, 2002 and Income Tax Rules, 2002, Kathmandu

Nepal Government (1996). Value Added Tax Act 1996 and Value Added Tax Rules 1996, Kathmandu: Nepal Government.

Nepal Government (2001). Excise Act 2001 and Excise Rules 2001, Kathmandu: Nepal Government.

Nepal Government (2062). Customs Act 1962 and Customs Rules 1962, Kathmandu: Nepal Government.

Retrieved (20 October 2018) from http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/241216205486.

Retrieved (2 November 2018) from http://www.imf.org

Retrieved (17 October 2018) from http://www.ird.gov.np

Retrieved (25 October 2018) from http://data.mof.gov.np

Retrieved (30 October 2018) from https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9485.1974.tb00193.x

Absurdism in Atirikta Yatra by K. S. Yatri and The American Dream by Edward Albee

Tika Datta Subedi, M. Phil

Lecturer

Department of English Janamaitri Multiple Campus, Kuleshwar Kathmandu, Nepal Email: tikasubedi297720@gmail.com

Peer Reviewed by: Prof. Dr. Krishna Chandra Sharma Prof. Dr. Bal Mukunda Bhandari

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this work is to study Edward Albee and K. S. Yatri's approach regarding the status of respective societies of America and Nepal with absurd drama following their agenda. K. S. Yatri and Edward Albee seemed to be influenced by the absurdist mode of drama which concerns much about the modern existence of social human beings. Albee follows absurdist traces in the dramatization of uncertainty, alienation and the question of freedom in The American Dream. His characters do not have fixed identities, and they suffer from their individual problems. The notion of the characters and their activities too are uncertain. In the same way, the ambiguity of existence, whether the characters really are or not, is a problem for the characters in Atirikta Yatra. The characters are based on illusions, and the line between the reality and fantasy is missing. Alienation of the human being from the self and the other is existential theme that K. S. Yatri deals with in Atirikta Yatra. Alienation in the play is caused by the lack of communication, and as a result, the isolated self is entrapped in Yatri's characters due to their own condition. Freedom becomes a confusing question in his works as it makes the characters anxious while choosing one option among various others on their own, and it renders the characters responsible for their free choices. Though, two texts belong to divergent space however both show how absurdism has affected individuals and society everywhere at present.

Keywords: Absurdism, Naturalism, Theatre of Absurd, Socio Economy, Frustration, Geography, Environment, Existence.

The context of the Study

The family problems and the existence of people in the plays are some of the reasons which prompt me to classify them under the heading 'Theater of the Absurd'- a title which comes not from a dictionary definition of the word 'absurd,' but rather from Martin Esslin's book The Theatre of the Absurd, in which he maintains that these dramatists write from a "sense of metaphysical anguish at the absurdity of the human condition" (35). The Theater of the Absurd seeks to wed form and content into an indissoluble whole in order to gain a further unity of meaning and impact. This theater, as Esslin has pointed out, "has renounced arguing about the absurdity of the human condition; it merely presents it in being - that is, in terms of concrete stage images of the absurdity of existence"(45). However, the viewers feel these basic similarities fail to note the distinctive differences in each dramatist. The writers Albee and Shah up to more extent have presented the society of lonely rebels and outsiders and isolated in their own private worlds. Each has developed along his own unique lines; each in his own way is individually and distinctly different. It is vital to see how both the authors belong to the Theater of the Absurd and, equally important, how the writers are associated with the movement of absurdism. These one act plays can also be considered as satire on the American and Nepalese family system about the contemporary progressive modernization and changing the way of life. The writers enjoyed on examining the modern society's dilemma, despair male female paradigm shift, insanity and other themes that are prevailed in society because these things are vivid elsewhere in both texts.

In The American Dream the Grandma and the Young Man are the representative characters of the American society. Grandma symbolizes the old American Dream, which concerns much on being a pioneer and moving for the new settlement. The Young Man on the other hand symbolizes the new American dream, where materialism is primary goal. In Atirikta Yatra, the search of freedom of the character Mukti resembles the Grandma of the American Dream which is immensely unpredictable and hopeless. What happens ahead and what is the future of her child is unknown to her. The characters in both the plays gradually struggle to establish the status of their own and try to challenge the uprooted system of society to achieve their growth. Thus, this study investigates how the people in the world of two separate geographies do contain same ambition of livelihood and worldly triumph for their dream by representing the entire people, and how their desperate devotion for success, turns in to frustration with nothingness in their hand at the end.

Significance of the Study

The American Dream and *Atirikta Yatra* clearly reflect modern human conditions, problem of people's status, intellectualism and its result as a perpetual trial in the society. The protagonists in both the plays are real sufferers with much frustration, domination

and discrimination in their surroundings. With the same reference of the protagonists, the writers have attacked the pathos, norms and the values of society where people are forced to live with the state of alienation and hopelessness.

The purpose of this work is to study *American Dream* of Edward Albee and *Atirikta Yatra* of K. S. Yatri to show their affinities in the respective societies of America and Nepal in the form of absurd drama following their agenda. However, they develop a different approach or realistic representations of the middle class American/Nepalese people in the plays. The main concern of the study is to show the similar and dissimilar aspects of the people of Nepal and American societies and how they face a social disparagement of suffering and isolation in the society.

Research Questions

- In order to make my research coherent and organized, I have formulated the following research questions:
- What are the peculiar challenges of American and Nepali societies as given in these texts?
- What makes the modern human beings experience the world from the materialistic point of view?
- How do the writers present the peoples' frustration in the present society?
- Why do the characters like Mukti, and Grandma Struggle in present society or modern human beings to achieve their dream in life?

Review of Literature

In philosophy, 'the Absurd' refers to the conflict between the human tendency to seek inherent value and meaning in life and the human inability to find such value. In this context absurd does not mean 'logically impossible', but rather 'humanly impossible'. The universe and the human mind do not each separately cause the absurd, but rather, the absurd arises by the contradictory nature of the two existing simultaneously. Absurdism is a philosophical school of thought stating that the efforts of humanity to find inherent meaning will ultimately fail (and hence are absurd) because the sheer amount of information as well as the vast realm of the unknown make certainty impossible. And yet, some absurdists state that one should embrace the absurd condition of humankind while conversely continuing to explore and search for meaning. As a philosophy, absurdism also explores the fundamental nature of the absurd and how individuals, once becoming conscious of the absurd, should respond to it.

The same context applies in the texts that are being analyzed. The Nepali people, unlike the American in The American Dream, face social, financial, gender and class discrimination in society. The sense of discrimination and racism seem to be typical in Nepalese society. The characters in the aforesaid plays are concerned with the uncertainty, which involves both the improbability of identity and the uncertainty of existence. To start with Albee, he handles this concern in two separate ways as Yatri does: uncertainty of self and uncertainty of the other. Yatri's characters unlike Albee have self-awareness; they question themselves and try to find an answer. Consequently, the battle of the self within themselves bothers Yatri's characters to tie up in Albee's. Most of Albee's characters are beings-for-others. They experience inner and outer pressures, which make their own sense of identity blurred. Although, he generally creates realistic characters in formalistic settings and gives personal data about their backgrounds, his characters suffer from identity problems. Consciousness is a great pain for most of Yatri's characters. They face a vain attempt to evade this pain. They yearn for madness, reversal of their sex, even death as they are not satisfied with themselves or with their lives. Both playwrights mock the people who think that they have to belong to a group, an organization or a club in order to perceive a fixed identity. However, the playwrights are aware that although these roles can be one of the constituents of one's identity, that function cannot be equated with the characters' selfhood.

Focusing upon the same issue regarding The American Dream Michael Adams writes: "The American Dream shows the family with exaggeration and bitter parody, Albee reveals the American Dream - the seemingly perfect nuclear family whose polished exterior conceals cruelty, dishonesty, and hatred" (p.41). Alan Schneider says: "Without attempting to enthrone Albee alongside anyone (though I personally admire him above all other Americans now writing for the stage), or to hail Virginia Woolf as a classic of the modern theatre (which I have no doubt it will become), I would only state that, in my experience, a more honest or moral (in the true sense) playwright does not exist- unless it be Samuel Beckett And if what Albee is doing is giving us a "sentimentalized" view of ourselves rather than one as harshly and starkly unsentimental as any I know, why didn't those theatre party ladies buy it up ahead of time as they do all those other technical or postcards which pass for plays? Or is Albee not rather dedicated to smashing that rosy view, shocking us with the truth of our present-day behavior and thought, striving to purge us into an actual confrontation with reality?" (p.51). Schneider further says: "The upsetting thing- the deeply upsetting thing- is that American theatre-goers and their critics have welcomed this phony play and its writer as the harbinger of a new wave in the American theatre. The American theatre, our theatre, is so hungry, so voracious, so corrupt, so morally blind, and so perverse that Virginia Woolf is a success. I am outraged at a theatre and an audience that accepts as a masterpiece an insufferably long play with great pretensions that lacks Intellectual size, emotional insight, and dramatic centricity. I'm tired of play-long 'metaphors'- such as the illusory child of Virginia Woolf- which are neither philosophically, psychologically, nor poetically valid. I'm tired of plays that are badly plotted and turgidly written being excused such palaver as 'organic unity' or 'inner form.' I'm tired of morbidity and sexual perversity which are there only to titillate an impotent and homosexual theatre and audience. I'm tired of Albee (p.53). This theme is based on the promise of The American Dream. It is noted by the critic that

there are two specific aspects to that Dream- the economic and stability. This aspect of the dream holds that those Americans who are willing to labor long and hard will and should be rewarded with financial and material gain which increases from generation to generation.

Discussion on Findings

The American Dream tends to be passive agent in life which in fact is a prominent apprehension in the above quotes. It demonstrates the absurdity and illogicality of the world we live in is just an upsetting. Nothing is ever settled, there are no positive hopes; no solutions are ever reached, and what few actions there are have no meaning, particularly in relation to the action. That is, one action carries no more significance than does its opposite action. If we analyze the above critics, Albee's drama subverts logic. It relishes the unexpected and the logically impossible. Our individual identity is defined by language, having a name is the source of our separateness- the loss of logical language brings us towards a unity with living things. In being illogical, the play as an absurd theatre is anti-rationalist: it negates rationalism because it feels that rationalist thought, like language, only deals with the superficial aspects of things. The absurdity of Albee's characters condition is partially a result of their being compelled to exist without their individualism in a society which does not possess of effective communication as Grandma is an instance of it.

While observing the text Atirikta Yatra, we get the similar aspect of interpretation. The socio economic problem of society, people's frustration and state of their hopelessness are the underlying qualities in this text. Prof. Keshav Upadyaya says "K. S. Yatri has been adopting new way of dramatic technique being closer to society and its reality in the trend of play writing. The creative art he has inserted carry historical significance, immortality which is direction oriented in the Nepalese theatre with new indication" (p.11). Play wright Ashesh Malla quotes "K. S. Yatri is a successful writer in contemporary Nepali literature. He has presented himself as a playwright, actor and director. Atirikta Yatra is a blooming dramatic piece. He has used new dramatic form in this text. This creation is a milestone in the modern theatre of Nepali drama" (p.22). According to Prof. Govinda Raj Bhattarai, "K. S. Yatri is an exclusive writer. He is an active playwright with theatrical concept. In his creation, we can see deep pathos and suffering of nation and an unending approach of civilian's progress and freedom. I am assured that this piece Atirikta Yatra will place him as a discerning figure in Nepali literature" (p.33). While noting these critics, we find the scenario which is completely an effort of absurdist concept of people and newness in Nepali theatre. Absurdity is the most obvious theme in Yatri's Atirikta Yatra. It presents a world that no longer makes sense to its inhabitants, in which rational decisions are impossible and the action of the characters are meaningless and futile, they are frustrated and hopeless. The play is about contemporary Nepali societies which basically highlights the current failures of political scenario of the nation. The characters like Mukti, Akriti, and Bhumi kumar cling to one last hope of establishing some kind of result and achievement. They are seen conversing in a repetitive, strangely fragmented dialogue that possesses an illusory and haunting effect. While they are willing to achieve something, a vague, never-defined being appears who or what it will be it? Salvation? Death? Achievement? An impetus for living? or A reason for dying?

Textual Resemblances' to the society

The American Dream is considered to be one of the most influential plays of the seventeenth century. Albee wrote his plays around the typical themes associated with the American society and social family drama. They were not just plays about family life; instead, they frequently focused on family dysfunctions and the underlying motives of family structure. In his works, Albee portrays many concepts of absurdist movement in Europe after World War II. This movement was a reaction to many injustices brought along with the war itself. One of the major motifs present is the idea that the playwright possessed meaningless interaction and nothingness in communication among characters.

Albee's one-act play is the reference of The American Dream presented at the York Playhouse which attains a run of 372 times, the play is directly indebted to Ionesco's The Bald Soprano too, although nonsense and non sequiturs are somewhat less prevalent and a degree of sympathy for the elderly leaks through. It features a purely materialistic Mommy, Daddy, and Young Man reacting to a doddering but feisty Grandma, plus a lady from the Bye-Bye Adoption Service who teams with Grandma to engineer a happy ending: the old lady leaves the house (metaphorically dying of her own volition) and the surrogate son, The American Dream moves in. In a brief preface—taking the play more seriously than most people will- Albee calls it "an examination of the American Scene, an attack on the substitution of artificial for real values in our society, a condemnation of complacency, cruelty, emasculation and vacuity." He adds, "Is the play offensive? I certainly hope so; it was my intention to offend—as well as amuse and entertain

Atirikta Yatra states about the symbolism in the quarrel of family that represents how it is ironic to contemporary people. The interaction of the characters is real and lively. It centers on a typical contemporary family in the postwar era. This family is struggling to achieve their dream. This play is used to evaluate the effects of societal values on individuals and families. The play contains a story about family members who have disrupted family life. It examines the contemporary scene, attack on the substitution of artificial for real value in our society, a condemnation of complacency cruelty emasculation, and vacuity, it is a stand against the fiction that everything is disorder in our paradigm where we are existed. The characters are struggling to achieve their dream where they encounter several disorder, domination, discrimination and the state of despair as a result they get nothing at the end. Atirikta Yatra deals with how people have been losing their identities in the age of advancement of modernity. The dialogues of characters like Mukti and Anam in the play make serious impact on the youth wanting to move away to achieve their dream. The characters in drama underlined the need to forge widespread solidarity in tackling unrest and violence in the nation. They warned that failure to address the deplorable situation would bring further pains to the coming generation. The political aspect of the drama holds that the people are and should be involved in the decisions which shape the direction, in which the country moves, especially those decisions which affect the people's life and economic well-being.

It is a full act play written and directed by Yatri, performed at Royal Nepal Academy hall on March 23, has tried to address a host of issues ranging from the problems of the youth, question of nationality and identity. All the issues are relevant without which the play would not have been so powerful. It carries the plight of ordinary citizens due to the political unrest and interference with social and cultural set up. It is focused on the so called modernization and unanticipated down fall of Anam seems to be the most moving scene in the play. Juxtaposition of distinctly contrast character Anam begins an (anagarik) and other internally displaced person has underlined the significance of nationality. The play rightly points out the need of peaceful reconciliation between warring sides. Aman laughs at the concept of Shantipriya (peace loving) Nepali and says "Your country has already been shrouded in the cloud of bomb and explosion with disorder".

Conclusion

Thus, these plays dramatically present powerful and vivid scenario of the modern human condition - an absurdity which is the result of the destruction of individualism and the failure of communication into the world of unevenness where none of their action is meaningful. The themes presented in these plays are innovative. The technique serves to emphasize the absurdity of man's position in the universe, and then the concept is presented by a series of ridiculous situations which help render man's position as very absurd. This is exactly what the writers mean to say. They are tired of logical discourses pointing out step-by-step to the absurdity of universe: they begin with the philosophical premise that the universe is absurd, and then create plays which illustrate that the world is real uncanny and human activities and behaviors are no less the same.

References

- Albee, E. (2004). *The Collected Plays of Edward Albee:* Vol. 1: The Zoo Story. United States: The Overlook Press.
- (2004). *The Collected Plays of Edward Albee;* Vol. 1.: The American Dream. United States: The Overlook Press.
- (2004). *The Collected Plays of Edward Albee;* Vol. 2.: A Delicate Balance. United States: The Overlook Press.

- (1967). "Which Theater Is the Absurd One?" *The Modern American Theater;* Alvin B. Kernan (Ed.) USA: Prentice-Hall, Inc and Englewood Cliffs, N. J.
- Albright, D. (2003). Beckett and Aesthetics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Amacher, R. E. (1969). Edward Albee. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc.

- Andonian, C. C. (Ed.) (1998). The Critical Response to Samuel Beckett; USA: Greenwood Press.
- Esslin, M. (1961). The Theatre of the Absurd. USA: Anchor Books.
- McCarthy, G. (1987). Edward Albee. Hong Kong: MacMillan.
- Michael, A. http://www.guardian.co.uk/stage/2010/jul/05/edward-albee-playwright>.
- Miller, A. & Gerald C. (1996). Death of a Salesman. New York: Penguin.
- Nagel, J. (Ed.) (1984). Critical Essays on Edward Albee. Boston: G.K. Hall.
- Schneider, A. (Ed.) (1981). Essays on Contemporary American Drama. Munich: Hueber.
- Yatri, K. S. (2067). Atirikta Yatra. Kathmandu: Dikura Publication.
- (2006). 'Nirwasit Manaru', The Himalayan Times. 25 March.
- (2066). Awaran-Anawaran. Kathmandu: Dikura Publication.
- (2066). Antim Nayak. Kathmandu: Dikura Publication.
- (2065). Pida-Arohan. Kathmandu: Dikura Publication.
- (2064). Samaya Awashan. Kathmandu: Dikura Publication.
- (2065). Pratinidhi Nepali. Kathmandu: Dikura Publication.
- (2064). Manchhe Manchheharu. Kathmandu: Dikura Publication.
- (2067). Sukshma Sikhaharu. Kathmandu: Dikura Publication.
- (2066). Nirwasit Manharu. Kathmandu: Dikura Publication.

An Analysis of Social Cost in School Level Education of Nepal

Min Raj Paudel*

Visiting Faculty Department of Education and Social Science Janamaitri Multiple Campus, Kuleshwar Kathmandu, Nepal Email: paudelmr@yahoo.com

Peer Reviewed by: Prof. Dr. Hum Bahadur Baruwal Prof. Dr. Surya Bahadur Thapa

ABSTRACT

Social costs in education plays decisive role for education development and economic growth of a nation. In this context, this article tries to analyze the size, trend and growth rate of social cost in the education sector of Nepal by disaggregating it into total social cost, recurrent social cost, capital social cost, unit cost and marginal cost in community based school education of Nepal. The study is based on the secondary data obtained from official documents of Nepal's Government such as flash report, budget speech, red book and so on. The time series data from 2011 AD to 2015 AD were collected for the analysis by using convenience non-random sampling method. The overall finding of the study shows that the share of the annual average social cost in education is 15.84 percent of the total cost of the government of Nepal. In other words, the government has allocated annual average Rs 68930697.6 thousands as social cost in educational sector during the study years. The average annual growth rate of this cost is 5.15 percent. The study also indicates that annual average total social cost is Rs 68930697.6 thousands, recurrent social cost is Rs 5,71,63,418.79 thousands and capital social cost is Rs 1,17,67,278.81 thousands in Nepal. Similarly, annual average total social cost is estimated to be Rs 3,33,35,928.80 thousands. The total social unit cost per teacher and total social unit cost per student are Rs 196.39 thousands and 5.51 thousands respectively. The annual average marginal social cost per teacher and marginal social cost per

*

Lecturer, Central Department of Education, T.U. Kirtipur

student are Rs 1308.08 thousands and -202.96 thousands respectively. The negative sign indicates that student enrolment has decreased over the study period. The findings of the study conclude that there is no any predictable relationship among student enrolment, teaching and non-teaching staffs and social cost of education in case of Nepal. However, UNESCO (1999) had analyzed public investment on education of 16 countries and it found that their average investment on education was 19.2 percent of GDP. Therefore, Nepal government should increase in educational investment from its current status of 15.80 percent to at least more than it in the coming years to develop educational sector of Nepal.

Keywords: Social cost, educational efficiency, direct school expenditure, economies of scale, enrolment, recurrent social cost, capital social cost, unit cost and marginal cost.

General Background

The use of time and money in education is called educational investment. Employment option and better income in the future is the main incentive to make educational investment even curtailing present consumption out of the regular income. Many people believe that a higher level of education is associated with better chances to get a best paid job in the labor market. However, the chance of acquiring quality higher education largely depends on the foundation of secondary level or school level education (Lugaz & Grauwe, 2016). Educational cost is a measure of what a student, an institution of learning, or the public has to give up in order to education an individual or a group of people. Cost of education may be incurred by producers (educational institutions) or consumers (students and their parents) (Babalolaj, 1995).

Education is both a private and social investment, which contributes to economic development and raises the level of incomes of the poor as much as the investment in physical capital does. Because of that the subsequent civilian governments in this region have continued to invest in education. Moreover, education has been declared as the constitutional responsibility of the government and this has resulted in rapid and unabated increase in demand for education. However, such demand for education at all levels has its attendant consequences on educational expenditure (as cited in Akpotu, 2008).

Generally, costs in education are classified into social and private costs. Social costs represent social investment or government expenditures on education while private costs are incurred by the students and their households. Social and private costs are further divided into direct and indirect costs. Direct social cost refers to the actual direct expenditures by government and direct private cost refers to the actual direct
expenditures by students or their parents in providing education. Direct social cost of education which is the focus of this study is further distinguished as recurrent social cost and capital social cost. The crucial distinction between recurrent and capital cost lies in the source of finance. Direct social cost is usually divided into two categories for accounting purposes: recurrent cost and capital cost. Recurrent cost is the costs of educational inputs or services which is expended in a period of one year: it consists of personnel costs (salaries, employment benefits and supplementary benefits paid to teachers, school administrators, and other school staff) and non-personnel costs (costs of instructional materials, teaching aids, school supplies, minor repair and regular maintenance, utilities, and student welfare) (as cited in Tsang, 1995). They are financed from current income or revenue, while capital expenditures are financed by loans from international agencies as well as other sources of income (as cited in Akpotu, 2008).

Direct social cost of education implies the actual financial expenditures on education by government, which includes teachers and non-teachers' salaries and allowances, expenditures on books equipment, stationary and transport, imputed rent on educational buildings, maintenance cost and other expenditures on goods and services. In its broad usage, cost implies the resources (money, materials, and men) used up for the operation of a business enterprise (as cited in Aghenta, 1993). Cost in education represents the real resources in terms of money and sacrifices that are used up to produce an educated person.

Statement of the Problem

All socialists, educationalists and economists have univocally agreed that social cost of education is a backbone for educational, social and economic development of a nation because education supplies skillful and capable human resources for market which assists to find out excavate and discover new goods and services for the betterment of human beings. Mostly, educational planners and managers are encouraged to translate all educational inputs used in school operation into monetary value to make the qualification of cost feasible mostly by limiting it to the unit of graduate. This discourse persuades the economists, planners and policy makers to use unit cost as a basis for measurement in the practice of actual cost analysis.

While without sufficient, appropriate and true data about trend and size of student enrolment, teaching and non-teaching staffs and public expenditure, anyone planner cannot make educational plans. This information of education also helps to school management committee to maintain quality of education. But over enrolment, staffing and expenditure or under enrolment, staffing and expenditure both situations are harmful to provide or acquire quality education. It is a big problem or researchable question of the academia industries with reference to government based schools and this research has tried to find out the situation about it. Similarly, social cost of education refers to that expenditure which is afforded by government. It can be said that it is the government responsibility to incur school level cost on the basis of its legislative provision. In this reference, raising some questions, is total social cost of education incurred by the Nepal government and what is trend, size and growth rate of social cost in school educational sector of Nepal? These are the problems of this research has tried to make solution.

National educational plane is made by authorize body of Nepal government that needs so much information about recurrent social cost, capital social cost, unit cost and marginal cost of education and the information also helps to analyze demand and supply-side of education as well as rate of returns of education. Similarly, aforesaid may help for school management committee to make well academic environment of schools. In this situation, raises a question, what is total social cost, recurrent social cost, capital social cost, unit cost and marginal cost in community based school level education of Nepal? It is a next problem of this research has tried to find out their size.

With the aforementioned rationale or problems, the present study aims at seeking answers of the following research questions:

- What is the trend of student enrolment, teaching and non-teaching staffs and public expenditure in community based school of Nepal?
- What is the size of student enrolment, teaching and non-teaching staffs and public expenditure in community based school of Nepal?
- What is trend, size and growth rate of social cost in education sector of Nepal?
- What is total social cost, recurrent social cost, capital social cost, unit cost and marginal cost in community based school level education of Nepal?
- Objectives of the Study
- The general objective of this research is to find out and analyze the social cost in school level education of Nepal and its specific objectives are:
- To find out the trend and size of student enrolment, teaching and non-teaching staffs and public expenditure in community based school of Nepal.
- To analyze the trend, size and growth rate of social cost in education sector of Nepal.
- To find out the total social cost, recurrent social cost, capital social cost, unit cost and marginal cost in community based school level education of Nepal.

Review of Related Literature

Investment of huge resources of the individuals and society on schooling has aroused special interest to study the relationship between investors and consumers. At societal level, for example, it is interesting in determining whether to allocate more funds to reduce the number of dropouts from high school or to stimulate an increased flow of college graduates. At individual level, it is concerned with deciding whether to continue or to terminate our schooling, on the basis of the relative costs and benefits (as cited in Hansen 1972).

Bray, (2002), in his study, on The Costs and Financing of Education: Trends and Policy Implications into Asian countries with collaboration of Asian Development Bank and Comparative Education Research Centre of The University of Hong Kong has said that some countries are far from achieving universal primary education, let alone substantial enrollment rates in secondary and tertiary education. Most obvious in this category are Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Papua New Guinea, though other countries have primary school gross enrollment rates exceeding 100 percent, presumably because of the existence of underage and overage children in primary schools. At the secondary level, reported enrollment rates were as low as 14 percent in Papua New Guinea as well as 37 percent in Nepal, though reached 101 percent in the Republic of Korea. Whereas expenditures by the Cambodian Government represented only 1.0 percent of GNP, the figure for the Kyrgyz Republic was 6.8 percent. Public expenditures on education as a proportion of the total budget ranged from 7.4 percent in Viet Nam to 23.1 percent in the Kyrgyz Republic. In most countries, government capital expenditures would have been greater at the tertiary than at the primary level, and probably also greater than at the secondary level. Again the figures show major variations. Whereas the Government of the Lao PDR spent only 3.9 percent of its education budget on higher education, in Hong Kong, China the figure was 37.1 percent.

Suryadarma, D. Suryahadi, A. & Sumarto, S. (2006), in their study, "Causes of Low Secondary School Enrollment in Indonesia" have said that there are many causes to effect on enrollment at school education firstly, consumption expenditure, as a proxy for welfare, significantly affects the probability of continuing. Secondly, the individual variables that directly influence the chances of continuing are the child's ability, measured by their performance in the primary school national final examination, and the child's gender, where girls have a lower probability of continuing. Thirdly, the results show that religious background plays a significant role, where children from Muslim families have a significantly lower probability of continuing. Fourthly, the result shows that building more schools increases children's probability of continuing to secondary school. Finally, among the community variables, we find that a higher employment opportunity in a community negatively impacts children's continuation to junior secondary school.

Bray, (2002), in his study, on The Costs and Financing of Education: Trends and Policy Implications into Asian countries with collaboration of Asian Development Bank and Comparative Education Research Centre of The University of Hong Kong have said that in the world, the enrollment rate has been changing time to time. The overall enrollment rate at schools of any type changes in the number of students enrolled in public schools specifically. Between 2000 and 2016, the enrollment rate for students ages 5–6, who are typically enrolled in kindergarten or grade 1, decreased from 96 to 93 percent. In contrast, the enrollment rate increased during this period for students ages 18–19 in secondary education from 16 to 19 percent. Enrollment in grades 9 through 12

increased by 12 percent between fall 2000 and fall 2007, to 15.1 million students, and remained at 15.1 million students in fall 2015.

Trend analysis is a technique used in technical analysis that attempts to predict the future stock price movements based on recently observed trend data. Trend analysis is based on the idea that what has happened in the past gives traders an idea of what will happen in the future. There are three main types of trends: short, intermediate and long-term. It tries to predict a trend, such as educational investment, and ride that trend until data suggests a trend reversal. It is helpful because moving with trends, and not against them, will lead to cost of education, teaching and non-teaching staffs. A trend is the general direction the cost of education is taking during a specified period of time. Trend analysis is the process of trying to look at current trends in order to predict future ones and is considered a form of comparative analysis. This can include attempting to determine whether current educational cost trend, such as gains in a particular educational sector, is likely to continue, as well as whether a trend in one educational sector area could result in a trend in another. Though an analysis may involve a large amount of data, there is no guarantee that the results will be correct (Investopedia, 2019).

It is obvious that education is largely financed by the government sector. Furthermore, government finance of education is increasing largely in the world. Political and /or governmental commitment on accessible education and equal opportunity in education from both government and private sectors enhances education opportunity for those who cannot afford to pay for education. The rate and ratio of the investment on education from the government and private sectors is a debatable issue. In this context, Sheehan (1973) concedes it is difficult to answer the questions about the overall size of the government or private sector in education easily because it is too vague in general involves nature of the government in practical.

The distinction between recurrent expenditure that brings short term benefits and capital expenditure that produces long term benefits leads to certain problems when it its applied to educational investment. All educational expenditures both recurrent and capital can be regarded as a means of forming human capital that will yield benefits throughout the working life of an educated person. Teachers' salaries, which account for more than half of the total costs of education, are classified as recurrent expenditure. In other words, there is an important conceptual difference between recurrent expenditure in the accounting sense of the term, and expenditure that creates a capital asset in the economic sense of the term (as cited in Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985).

Unit cost analysis in education provides useful guide to educational planners and managers as they provide information on the actual cost involved in producing a graduate at any level of education. Unit cost indeed, gives an insight into the pattern of educational expenditures. The various cost concepts are relevant as they help governments to make choices and take varied decisions. For example, the need to compare costs over the years, for projection of financial needs, the need to either expand existing facilities or build new schools and decisions about alternative educational technologies (Aghenta, 1993).

Cost analysis is very significant in investment planning and financing of education. Adeyemi (1998), Pacharopoulos and Woodhall (1997) assert that cost analysis gives an idea about educational efficiency, which is measured in terms of the utilization of real resources. Cost analysis is often used to identify possible cost reductions. Indeed, the need for cost reducing measures and more generally for policies towards cost-effectiveness is everywhere present and is now becoming more obvious than ever before. Governments invest huge amounts of money on education, being the largest growth industry in the world. This indicates that over the years and in most countries, education remains the largest devourer of taxpayers' money (cited in Coombs, 1985 & Fafunwa, 1986). It is however astonishing that so little is known about the behaviour of educational costs, particularly by educational administrators and governments in developing countries. Ideally, decisions to introduce new educational programmes, expansion of existing ones and employment of new teachers are supposed to be preceded by a careful analysis of cost functions (Aghenta, 1993).

The results of the analysis of the cost of education at the university level indicate that the financial resources of education loans or scholarships were insufficient to cover the cost. Thus, some students resort to taking up part-time jobs or seeking additional financial assistance from parents to bear the cost. Moreover, the cost of education for the first and second semesters is much higher than other semesters. This is due to the need to acquire basic long-term necessities such as laptop, printer, course materials and a variety of fees. Fees and living expenses are the main components of overall student expenditure. In fact, for city-campus universities, the cost of living is much higher. However, this analysis using cross-sectional data is not sufficient to reflect the cost of education from primary school up to university level comprehensively. Therefore, further studies with time-series data or panel data using a larger sample is needed to examine the cost of private education in the country (Ismail, Awang and Noor, 2016).

Jeyhoon (2017), in his study, "The Impact of Educational Expenditures of Government on Economic Growth of Iran" using annual data of Iran's economy during 1981-2012 period has examined Wagner's law and the Keynesian hypothesis about the relationship between government real expenditure and real GDP. Wagner's model, during the longterm and short-term period, is that the variables of capital stock, real GDP, and labor force stock have always had positive and negative impacts. In the Keynesian model, unlike the equation that emphasizes on public expenditures of the government in the educational expenditure model, the coefficient of capital stock variable has positive impact on real GDP. In addition, labor force stock also had a positive impact. On the other hand, the variable educational expenditures have a positive impact in the shortterm, while its impact is negative in the long-term. The trend of social cost of education indicates the time series data. The expenditure in education from the national budget is significant, i.e. average 15.75%. It was highest in FY 2067/68 and the lowest in FY 2057/58. The expenditure in the education is not merely covered by the public resources but also from the foreign aid. The part of educational aid is found highest in FY 2066/67, i.e. 31.22%. It means that the remaining part, i.e.70.78 percent part of educational expenditure of the year was born from the national budget. Likely among the thirteen years data the educational aid was lowest in FY 2058/59, i.e. 17.50%. Education by comparing the GDP The public expenditure in GDP is found 4.2 percent in 2011/12 that indicates the worth of the education with respect to the resource allocation (Devkota, S. P., Chaulagain, R. & Bagale, S. 2016).

No previous researches have indicated the social cost in the school level education of Nepal even if they focused many other aspects of cost. Thus, the present study has placed its effort to fill up the research gap.

Methodology

This study has followed the descriptive and analytical research design under quantitative inquiry approach as its purpose was to explore the trend and size of student enrolment, teaching and non-teaching staffs and public expenditure in community based school level education, and also to find out the total social cost, recurrent social cost, capital social cost, unit cost and marginal cost in government based school level education of Nepal from 2011 to 2015 AD.

As such, data were collected from document analysis of Nepal government. As sources of secondary data, the various published documents through the authorized body of Nepal government were used. The used documents were different year's budget speeches, economic survey, red book and flash report I and II published by Ministry of Finance and Department of Education. Specifically, trend and size of enrolment and teaching and non-teaching staffs were collected from flash report II, department of education, ministry of education and trend and size of social cost of education were collected from budget speech of 2012 to 2016 AD, ministry of finance. The required data were collected by using library method and these data were studied, organized and presented before bringing it to the present shape.

The data of trend and size were collected from aforesaid sources and have presented in table. Trend has represented to time series data and size has represented to volume of required data. Growth rate of social cost was calculated on the basis of growth rate formula. Unit social cost of education was divided into total unit cost of teacher and total unit cost of student, both were obtained dividing by each total number and marginal cost of education was also divided into marginal social cost of teacher and marginal social cost of student, both were obtained additional cost attributable to an extra unit of teacher and student respectively which were calculated on the basis of time series data. This research is delimited to government based school level education covering from grade 1 to 10. The obtained data are presented and analyzed followed with descriptive discussions.

Results and Discussion

This section caters for interpretation, analysis and discussion of the obtained results from the study and also includes the analysis of the selected documents. The data and discussion of the results are focused by grouping under 8 different categories: student enrollment, teaching and non-teaching staffs, social cost of education, trend and size of social cost, growth rate of social cost, trends and size of total recurrent and capital social cost, The total social unit cost per teacher (TUCt) and The total social unit cost per students (TUCs) of school education and The annual average marginal social cost per teacher (MSCt) and marginal social cost per student (MSCs) of school level education.

Student Enrollment

Students or pupils properly registered or attending in classes at a school is called student enrollment. Students generally should be regular at school to learn after the enrollment. If students do not attain 65 percent at their class, they will not be eligible to appear in final exam at school, but this rule at higher level of education is 80 percent in Nepal (Department of Education, 2019). However, in practice no student has banned to attain any exam in school level till now even if a student is failed to attain at the school below 65 or 80 percent. The trend and size of s student enrollment in government based school level education of Nepal is presented in Table 1.

Voor	Year P.L. (Class 1-5) Enrolment Percent		L.S.L. (C	lass 6-8)	S.L. (Cla	S.L. (Class 9 -10)		Average
rear			Enrolment	Percent	Enrolment	Percent	Enrolment	Enrolment
2011	4111679	64.58	1546647	24.30	708154	11.12	6366480	2122160
2012	3885449	63.23	1537167	25.02	722145	11.75	6144761	2048254
2013	3724043	62.11	1544658	25.76	727014	12.13	5995715	1998572
2014	3665659	61.73	1544239	26.00	728456	12.27	5938354	1979451
2015	3611426	60.90	1561616	26.33	757720	12.77	5930762	1976921
Total	18998256	-	7734327	-	3643489	-	30376072	10125358
Ave.	3799651	62.51	1546865	25.48	728697.8	12.00	6075214	2025072

Table 1: Trend and Size of Enrolment in government based School Education of Nepal

Source: Flash Report II - 2072, Department of Education, Ministry of Education, Nepal. Note: P.L. = Primary Level, L.S.L = Lower Secondary Level and S.L. = Secondary Level

Table 1 shows the enrolment of students in government based school level education (class 1 to 10) classifying as primary level, lower secondary level and secondary level from 2011 to 2015 AD. It reveals that size of student enrolment in primary level of government based school education has slowly decreased within study period. 64.58 percent students have enrolled at primary level in 2011 AD. But this percent has

decreased and came at 60.90 percent in 2015 AD. Similarly, size of student enrolment in lower secondary level of government based school education has slowly increased within study period. 24.30 percent students have enrolled at this level in 2011 AD. But this percent has increased and came at 26.33 percent in 2015 AD. Again, size of student enrolment in secondary level of government based school education has slowly increased within the period. 11.12 percent students have enrolled at this level in 2011 AD. But this percent has increased and came at 12.00 percent in 2015 AD. The Table 1 also indicates that average percentage of student enrolment in study years at primary level is 62.51, which are 25.48 and 12.00 percent respectively at lower secondary and secondary level.

Teaching and Non-teaching Staffs

The role of teaching and non-teaching staffs at school level education is different. Teaching staffs teach while non-teaching staffs run administrative works. Permanent teaching staffs are appointed by the district education office in the recommendation of teacher service commission while non-permanent teaching staffs and non-teaching staffs are appointed by the school management committee. The salary of both type of staffs are paid by the government except those who have been appointed as per the commitment of giving salary from school's private income source. The salary of both type of staffs is included in social cost of education. Trend and size of teaching and non-teaching staffs are presented in Table 2.

Year	Te	eaching Staff		Total Teaching	Non- teaching
Ical	P.L.	L.S.L.	S.L.	Staff	Staff
2011	131617	34400	22825	188842	24686
2012	132379	35268	22965	190612	24875
2013	136863	36295	23822	196980	24434
2014	139922	36771	24125	200818	24067
2015	141973	37085	24334	203392	23165
Average	136550.8	35963.8	23614.2	196128.8	24245.4
Ratio	1:6	1:1.5	1:0.9	1:8	

Table 2: Trend and Size of Teaching and Non-teaching Staff in government based School

(Source: Flash Report II - 2072, Department of Education, Ministry of Education, Nepal.)

Table 2 shows that teaching staffs of primary level are higher than teaching staffs of other levels of school. The data reveals that the five year (2011 to 2015 AD) average number teaching staffs at primary level is 136550.8 and the same figure at lower secondary and secondary level is 35963.8 and 23614.2 respectively. The ratio as presented in the last row indicates one non-teaching staff handles the number of teaching staffs. The ratio between non-teaching staff to teaching staffs at primary level is 1:6 and the same figure at lower secondary level is 1:1.5 and 1:0.9 respectively, but in totality

this ratio is 1:8. It means, one non-teaching staff handles approximately eight teaching staffs in school level of Nepal.

Social Cost of Education

Social or government costs of education are those that include financing by the government on the basis of taxes, loans and other public revenues. The institutional costs of education are directly paid for schools in terms of money are, generally, analyzed using different concepts of costs, such as, variable and fixed costs of education, recurring and non-recurring costs of education and current and capital costs of education. Generally, social costs are further divided into direct and indirect costs. Direct social costs refer to the actual direct expenditures by the government. The direct social cost of education which is the focus of this study is further distinguished as recurrent social cost and capital social cost (Babalolaj, 1995).

Total Social Cost: Total social cost is the summation of recurrent social cost (RSC) and capital social cost (CSC). In other words, both recurrent social cost and capital social cost are added together to arrive at the total social cost (TSC) of education. It can be written as TSC = RSC + CSC (Wachiye, & Ejakait, 2014).

Recurrent Social Cost: It refers to those costs that recurs regularly and covers expenditures on goods and services that bring immediate and short-lived benefits. Thus, expenditures on consumable goods such as materials and personnel salaries, rent, interests, grants etc. used up within an accounting year are classified as recurrent social cost and is commonly expressed as RSC = TSC - CSC (Wachiye & Ejakait, 2014).

Capital Social Cost: It includes the purchase of durable assets such as building or equipment that are expected to yield benefits over a longer period that is expressed as CSC = TSC - RSC (Wachiye & Ejakait, 2014). The crucial distinction between recurrent and capital cost lies in the source of finance. To them, recurrent social costs are financed from current income or revenue, while social capital costs are financed by loans from international agencies as well as other sources of income.

Social Cost in Education Sector of Nepal: Nepal has made remarkable progress in expanding learning opportunities for children and adults. According to economy survey 2074/75, since 1990, net primary school enrollment rate increased from 64 to 97.2 percent up to 2016, with near gender parity. During that period of time, the quality of education has remained low and secondary school completion rate has also remained low. Inadequately trained teachers, a lack of appropriate learning materials, and insufficient support at home, prevent children from developing the reading skills in early grades that will allow them to learn throughout their academic career. To solve these problems Nepal Government should spend big amount of budget in education sector (Siwakoti & Paudel, 2016). Public expenditure on education of Nepal is presented under different sub-titles.

Trend and Size of Social Cost in Educational Sector of Nepal

Education reduces poverty, boosts economic growth and increases income. It increases a person's chances of having a healthy life, reduces maternal deaths, and combats diseases. Education can promote gender equality, reduces child marriage, and promotes peace. In sum, education is one of the most important investments a country can make in its people and their future (Siwakoti & Paudel, 2016). So, Nepal should give priority to develop educational sector. In order to explain the trend and size of social cost of Nepal, the study has collected the data from five- fiscal year's budget speech of ministry of finance, of the government of Nepal. It is given below in Table 3.

SN	Year	Total Cost	Social Cost in Education	Percentage					
1.	2011	33,79,00,000.00	5,78,27,542.00	17.11					
2.	2012	38,49,00,000.00	6,39,18,839.00	16.61					
3.	2013	35,19,30,000.00	5,59,14,972.00	15.89					
4.	2014	51,72,40,000.00	8,09,58,080.00	15.65					
5.	2015	61,81,00,000.00	8,60,34,055.00	13.92					
	Total	2,21,00,70,000.00	34,46,53,488.00						
A	verage	44,20,14,000.00	6,89,30,697.60	15.84					

Table 3: Trend and Size of Social Cost in Educational Sector of Nepal (Rs. in 000)

(Source: Budget Speech of 2012 to 2016 AD, Ministry of Finance, Nepal Government)

Table 3 shows that annual average size of total cost equals to the summation of different fiscal year's (five years) as total cost is divided by total years (five years). In Table 3, annual average size of total cost = Rs 2,21,00,70,000 \div 5 = Rs 44,20,14,000.00 thousands. Likewise, annual average size of social cost in education equals to the summation of different fiscal year's (five years) social cost in education that is divided by total years (five years). Annual average size of social cost in education = Rs 34,46,53,488.00 \div 5 = Rs 6,89,30,697.60 thousands. Annual average percentage of social cost in education equals to the summation of different fiscal year's (five years) = 79.18 \div 5 = 15.84 percentage. However, the percentage of total cost on education appears to have stabilized over the years. In the period of five years, figure of social cost in education has increased from Rs 5,78,27,542.00 to Rs 8,60,34,055.00 thousands except in 2013 AD, but in percent, this figure has decreased slowly from 17.11 percent in 2011 to 13.92 percent in 2015. The annual average of social cost in education is 15.84 percent out of total cost of government of Nepal.

Growth Rate of Social Cost in Educational Sector of Nepal

Growth rate refers the values of a variable recorded at different points in time constitutes a time series. Time series is collected by a number of different agencies in the economy. Data are also measured in different time intervals, so we have annual data, which is recorded once a year or quarterly data recorded four times a year or certain months. We also have data recorded every minute such as stock prices. We distinguish between two types of variables. Discrete time variable is a variable that we can measure only countable times per year. Continuous time variable is a variable that can be measured at any instant. To calculate the annual growth rate of public expenditure on education, following formula has been used (Bar, 2018).

 $r = 1n \times Pn - P0P0 \times 100$

Where, P0 = Amount of Educational Budget in the Base Year (Rs 5,78,27,542.00 in thousands), Pn = Amount of Educational Budget in Current Year, n = Number of Intermediary Year, and r = Annual Growth Rate. Calculation of growth rate is shown in Table 4.

SN	Fiscal Years	Social Cost in Education (Rs In 000)	Growth Rate		
1.	2011	5,78,27,542.00	-		
2.	2012	6,39,18,839.00	10.53		
3.	2013	5,59,14,972.00	- 6.26		
4.	2014	8,09,58,080.00	14.78		
5.	2015	8,60,34,055.00	1.57		
Annual	Annual Average Growth Rate				

Table 4: Growth Rate of Social Cost in Educational Sector of Nepal (In % Change)

(Source: Calculated from the data obtained from Table 3)

Table 4 shows that the growth rate of social cost in educational sector of Nepal. On the basis of tabulated data, it is seen that the government has increased social cost in educational sector year by year. Here, it is noted that the highest growth rate is 14.78 percent for 2014 and negative growth rate is - 6.26 percent for 2013. Annual average growth rate equals to the summation of value of different year's growth rate divided by number of years. Annual average growth rate of four years for public expenditure on education is 5.15 percent.

TSC, RSC and CSC in Nepal

Every government allocates certain percentage of budget for educational sector. Likewise, Nepal government also allocates certain percentage of budget for development of educational sector. Here, educational budget is called as total social cost (TSC) of education. Total figure of social cost of education is classified into recurrent social cost (RSC) and capital social cost (CSC). Trend and figure of total, recurrent and capital social cost of Nepal are given in Table 5.

Years	TSC	RSC	Percent	CSC	Percent
2011	5,78,27,542.00	4,60,71,202.71	79.67	1,17,56,339.29	20.33
2012	6,39,18,839.00	5,68,81,374.83	81.99	70,37,464.17	18.11
2013	5,59,14,972.00	4,58,05,545.06	81.92	1,01,09,426.94	18.08
2014	8,09,58,080.00	6,68,55,182.46	82.58	1,41,02,897.54	17.42
2015	8,60,34,055.00	7,02,03,788.88	81.60	1,58,30,266.12	18.40
Annual Ave.	6,89,30,697.60	57163418.79	81.55	1,17,67,278.81	18.47

Table 5: Trend and Size of Total, Recurrent and Capital Social Cost (Rs in 000)

(Source: Different years' Budget Speech and Red Book (2012 to 2016 AD), Ministry of Finance)

Table 5 shows the trend and figure of total social cost, recurrent social cost and capita social cost in educational sector of Nepal. In five years, the figure of total social cost has increased from Rs 5,78,27,542.00 thousands to Rs 8,60,34,055.00 thousands, but except in 2013. Total social cost is classified into recurrent social cost and capital social cost. On an average of five years, the share of recurrent social cost is 81.55 percent and capital social cost is 18.47 percent. During the period of five years, highest recurrent social cost is 82.58 percent in 2014 and highest capital social cost is 20.33 percent in 2011 in Nepal.

Level-wise Enrolment and TSC in School Level Education

Total enrolled number of students in school education (class 1 to 10) is separated by total enrolled number of students for basic level (class 1 to 8) and for secondary level (class 9 to 10). Similarly, total social cost of school education is also separated by using the same technique. This is done to answer the research question, what is the relationship between student enrolment and total social cost of school education? Also to answer, the level-wise student enrolment and total social cost of school education are collected from different sources and these data are presented in Table 6.

		Student Enrolment					Total Social Cost (In Rs 000)				
Year	Basic Level	%	S.L.	%	Total	Basic Level	%	S.L.	%	Total	
2011	5658326	88.88	708154	11.12	6366480	17273173	66.37	8750397	33.63	26023570	
2012	5422616	88.25	722145	11.75	6144761	20686197	66.66	10346862	33.34	31033059	
2013	5268701	87.87	727014	12.13	5995715	21372222	66.39	10817337	33.61	32189559	
2014	5209898	87.73	728456	12.27	5938354	22975000	65.31	12202400	34.69	35177400	
2015	5173042	87.22	757720	12.78	5930762	28006953	66.28	14249103	33.72	42256056	
Ave.	5346516.6	87.99	728697.8	12.01	6075214.4	22062709	66.21	11273219.8	33.798	33335928.8	

Table 6: Student Enrolment and TSC in Government Based School Level Education

Source: Flash Report II - 2072, Department of Education and Red Books (2012 to 2016 AD), Ministry of Finance.

In Table 6, it is found that the student enrolment at basic level has slightly decreased while at secondary level it has continuously increased from 2011 to 2015. Similarly, total social cost of basic level is Rs 1,72,73,173.00 thousands or 66.37 percent and it is Rs 87,50,397.00 thousands or 33.63 percent for secondary level out of total social cost of school education i.e. Rs 2,60,23,570 in 2011. TSC of school level education, TSC of basic level and TSC of secondary have been continuously increased during the study years.

The result reveals that student enrolment in school level education has decreased during the study year but social cost in school level education has increased during the same time which has raised question in the relationship between student enrolment and social cost in the school level education.

Total Unit Cost (TUC)

The unit cost is the same as the average costs or cost per teacher or per student. The TUC is derived by dividing the total social cost by the number of units (teachers or students). Therefore, two indexes are needed to calculate the total unit cost of education. If we want to calculate total unit cost for students, we need the total student enrolment and total social cost of that level of education and if we want to calculate total unit cost for teachers, we need the total social cost of education of that level of education.

It is expressed as TUCt = TSC/Nt. Here, TUCt means total unit cost of teacher, TSC means total social cost and Nt means total number of teacher at given level. Similarly, total unit cost of students is calculated as TUCs = TSC/Ns. Here, TUCs means total unit cost of students, TSC means total social cost and Ns means total number of students at given level (Wachiye, & Ejakait, 2014). Calculated value for total unit cost of teacher and total unit cost of students are presented in Table 7.

Total	Total	TSC	TUC _t	TUC
Teacher	Enrolment	(Rs In 000)	(Rs In 000)	(Rs In 000)
1,88,842	63,66,480	2,60,23,570.00	137.81	4.09
1,90,612	61,44,761	3,10,33,059.00	162.81	5.05
1,96,980	59,95,715	3,21,89,559.00	163.42	5.37
2,00,818	59,38,354	3,51,77,400.00	175.17	5.92
2,03,392	59,30,762	4,22,56,056.00	207.76	7.12
1,96,128.80	60,75,214.40	3,33,35,928.80	169.39	5.51
-	Teacher 1,88,842 1,90,612 1,96,980 2,00,818 2,03,392 1,96,128.80	TeacherEnrolment1,88,84263,66,4801,90,61261,44,7611,96,98059,95,7152,00,81859,38,3542,03,39259,30,762	TeacherEnrolment(Rs In 000)1,88,84263,66,4802,60,23,570.001,90,61261,44,7613,10,33,059.001,96,98059,95,7153,21,89,559.002,00,81859,38,3543,51,77,400.002,03,39259,30,7624,22,56,056.001,96,128.8060,75,214.403,33,35,928.80	TeacherEnrolment(Rs In 000)(Rs In 000)1,88,84263,66,4802,60,23,570.00137.811,90,61261,44,7613,10,33,059.00162.811,96,98059,95,7153,21,89,559.00163.422,00,81859,38,3543,51,77,400.00175.172,03,39259,30,7624,22,56,056.00207.761,96,128.8060,75,214.403,33,35,928.80169.39

Table 7: TUCt and TUCs of Government-based School Level Education of Nepal

(Source: Table 2 and Table 6)

Table 7 shows the average unit cost of teacher and student. In other words, it is the expenditure that government bears as the cost per teacher and per student annually. The total social unit cost per teacher in community based school education (class 1

to 10) is Rs 137.81 thousands in 2011. This figure has increased and came up to Rs 207.76 thousands in 2015. Similarly, the total social unit cost per student in community based school education (class 1 to 10) is Rs 4.09 thousands in 2011. This figure has also increased and came up to Rs 7.12 thousands in 2015. Five year average value of total teacher and total enrolment are 1,96,128.80 and 60,75,214.40, similarly, TSC, TUCt and TUCs are Rs 3,33,35,928.80 thousands, Rs 196.39 thousands and Rs 5.51 thousands respectively in Nepal.

Marginal Social Cost

Marginal social cost refers to the cost incurred on an additional unit (teacher or student) or the additional cost attributable to an extra unit (teacher or student). It is associated with decisions to change the level of educational outputs. These include all the acquired skills, attitudes and knowledge that students imbibe from the educational system beyond what they brought to it initially. The unit of measurement of educational output is in respect of a person that succeeds in completing a particular course. Marginal costs refer to the change in total cost of education associated with a unit change in educational output (Babalolaj, 1995).

It is derived by change in total social cost divided by change in number of teacher or student. If we want to calculate the marginal social cost of teachers, it equals to the change in total social cost that comes as a result of the per unit change in teacher and if we want to calculate the marginal social cost of students, it equals to the change in total social cost that comes as a result of the per unit change in student. It is the addition to total social cost caused by appointing one more person of teacher or enrolling one more person of student in the school. In other words, it is addition to the total social cost of 'n -1' units.

Marginal social cost is expressed as MSCt =DTSC/DNt. Here, MSCt means marginal social cost of teachers, DTSC means change in total social cost and DNt means change in total number of teachers in given level. Similarly, marginal social cost of students is expressed as MSCs =DTSC/DNs. Here, MSCs means marginal social cost of students, DTSC means change in total social cost and DNs means change in total number of students in given level (Wachiye, & Ejakait, 2014). Calculated value of marginal social cost of teacher and marginal social cost of students are presented in Table 8.

Years	Total Teacher	ΔN_t	Total Enrolment	ΔN_s	TSC (Rs In 000)	ΔTSC	$MSC_{t} = \Delta TSC/\Delta N_{t} (Rs$ In 000)	$MSC_{s} = \Delta TSC/\Delta N_{s}(Rs$ In 000)
2011	188842	-	6366480	-	26023570	-	-	-
2012	190612	1770	6144761	-221719	31033059	5009489	2830.22	-22.59
2013	196980	6368	5995715	-149046	32189559	1156500	181.61	-7.76

Table 8: MSCt and MSCs of Government based School Level Education of Nepal

2014	200818	3838	5938354	-57361	35177400	2987841	778.49	-52.09
2015	203392	2574	5930762	-7592	42256056	7078656	2750.06	-932.38
Average	196128.8	2910	6075214.4	-87143.6	33335928.8	3246497.2	1308.08	-202.96

(Source: Table 7)

Table 8 shows the marginal social cost of teacher and students. Here, the exciting point is that marginal social cost of teachers has seen positive but marginal social cost of students has found to be negative in sign. It means yearly change in number of teachers is positive and that is negative to the student. It indicates that student enrolment in community based school level education is decreasing but appointed number of teacher and total social cost of community based education is increasing to present day. The annual average marginal social cost for per teacher (MSCt) and marginal social cost for per student (MSCs) are Rs 1308.08 thousands and -202.96 thousands respectively.

Findings and Conclusions

On the basis on data analysis presented above, it is found that annual average social cost in education is 15.84 percent out of total cost of the government of Nepal. Similarly, the annual average student enrolment at primary level is 62.51 percent that is 25.48 percent and 12.00 percent at lower secondary and secondary level respectively in the school level education. Student enrolment at primary and lower secondary levels has slightly decreased but at secondary level it has gradually increased. However, annual average size of teaching staffs at primary level is 1,36,550.80. At lower secondary level it is 35,963.80 and in secondary level it appears to be 23,614.20. Teaching staffs have increased but non-teaching staffs have remained constant during the study period. Nepal government has allocated annual average Rs 6,89,30,697.60 thousands as social cost in educational sector of Nepal during the study years. The average annual growth rate of this cost is 5.15 percent. It is found that annual average total social cost is Rs 6,89,30,697.60 thousands, recurrent social cost is Rs 5,71,63,418.79 thousands and capital social cost is Rs 1,17,67,278.81 thousands in Nepal. It is also observed that there is an inverse relationship between enrolment and social cost of education. Annual average total social cost (TSC) for community based school level education is Rs 3,33,35,928.8 thousands. The total social unit cost per teacher and total social unit cost per student are Rs 196.39 thousands and 5.51 thousands respectively in community based school level education. The annual average marginal social cost for per teacher and marginal social cost for per student are Rs 1308.08 thousands and -202.96 thousands respectively.

The discussion of the data and analysis of results concludes that there is no any predictable relationship among student enrolment, teaching and non-teaching staffs and social cost of education in the case of Nepal. However, UNESCO (1999) had analyzed public investment on education in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Malaysia, Paraguay, Philippines, Russian Federation, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Uruguay and Zimbabwe. It has concluded that the average public investment

on education in aforesaid countries is 19.2 percent of GDP. On the basis of this event, it can be said that Nepal government should increase the share of social cost of education from its current status of 15.80 percent to at least more than it in the coming years to develop educational sector of Nepal.

References

- Aghenta, J. A. (1993). *Principles and practices of Educational planning* (Focus on the Developing Countries). Benin: Nigerian Society for Educational planning (NSEP).
- Akpotu, N. E. (2008). 'Social Cost Analysis of Secondary Education in South West Nigeria (1996-2001)'. *Research Journal*; Educational Policy Making, Department of Educational Administration and Policy Studies. Abraka: Delta State University. Vol. 10, pp. 37-48.
- Babalolaj, B. (1995). *Educational Costs and Financial Analysis*. Ibadan: The Faculty of Education University of Ibadan.
- Bray, B. (2002), *The Costs and Financing of Education: Trends and Policy Implications*. Manila & Hong Kong: Jointly published by Asian Development Bank and Comparative Education Research Centre of The University of Hong Kong. Vol. 3, pp. 4-5.
- Bar, M. (2018). *The Mathematics of Growth Rates,* San Francisco: San Francisco State University. [online] Available: http://online.sfsu.edu/mbar/ECON560files/Growth Rates.pdf. 2018-11-20.
- Department of Education (2068). Flash Report II. Bhaktapur: Department of Education. Ministry of Education. Nepal Government.
- Department of Education (2019). *School Level Curriculum*. Bhaktapur: Department of Education. Ministry of Education. Nepal Government.
- Devkota, S. P., Chaulagain, R. & Bagale, S. (2016). Public Expenditure in Education Sector of Nepal. Kathmandu: Sustainable Development and Empowerment Forum and Kathmandu University. The Online Journal of New Horizons in Education. Vol. 6, Issue 2.
- Hansen, W. L. (1972). Rates of Return to Investment in Schooling in the United States. Edited by M. Blaug. *Economics of Education* (Volume One). Maryland: English Language Book Society and Penguin Books.
- Investopedia (2019). *Trend Analysis*. [online] Available: https://www.investopedia.com/terms/t/ trendanalysis.asp.
- Ismail, R., Awang, M. & Noor, M. A. M. (2016). Analysis of Private and Social Costs of Education in Malaysia: An Overview. International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences, 89, 24-37.
- Jeyhoon, F. (2017). *AD-MINISTER* (The Impact of Educational Expenditures of Government on Economic Growth of Iran). Colombia: Universidad Eafit Medellín.
- Lugaz, C. & Grauwe, A. D. (2016). Improving school financing: The use and usefulness of school grants (Lessons from East Asia and the Pacific). Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). International Institute for Educational Planning.
- Ministry of Education (2016). *Education Figure 2016* (AT A GLANCE). Kathmandu: Ministry of Education, Nepal Government.
- Ministry of Finance (Various). *Budget Speech of Fiscal Year 2012* A. D. to 2016 A. D. Kathmandu: Ministry of Finance. Nepal Government.
- Ministry of Finance (Various). *Economic Survey of Fiscal Year 2012 A. D. to 2016 A. D.* Kathmandu: Ministry of Finance. Nepal Government.

- Ministry of Finance (Various). *Red Book of Fiscal Year 2012 A. D. to 2016 A. D.* Kathmandu: Ministry of Finance. Nepal Government.
- Psacharopoulos, G. & Woodhall D. M. (1985). *Education for Development* (An Analysis of Inve- stment Choices). Washington DC: Published for the Word Bank, Oxford University Press.
- Shreehan, J. (1973). The Economics of Education. London: Georgey Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Tsang, M. C. (1995). Private and Public Costs of Schooling in Developing Nations. Edited by Martin C. International Encyclopedia of Economics of Education (Second Edition). United Kingdom: Pergamon.
- Siwakoti, D. R. & Paudel, M. R. (2016). *Economics of Education*. Kathmandu: MK Publisher and Distributers.
- Suryadarma, D. Suryahadi, A & Sumarto, S., (2006). Causes of Low Secondary School Enrollment in Indonesia. Indonesia: The SMERU Research Institute. Cited from http://www. smeru. or.id/en/search/node/Causes. 2018-11-20.
- UNDP. (1998). *Human Development Report 2016* (Human Development for Everyone). New York: United Nation Development Programme.
- UNESCO. (1999). Investment in Education, Analysis of the 1999 World Education Indicators. America: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Institute for Statistic.
- UNESCO. (2018). *Government Expenditure on Education*. America: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Institute for Statistic.
- Wachiye, H. J. & Ejakait, E. (2014). Understanding Cost in Education (Strategic Organizational, Planning and Management: An Introduction. edited by Julius, M. K. & Judah, N.). India: Research Signpost Institution.
- https://www.researchgate.net/publication/267366249 The Impact of Education Expenditure.

https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GB.ZS?name-desc=false.

http://hrmars.com/hrmars_papers/Analysis of Private and Social Costs of Education in Malaysia.

Perception of Players towards National Sports Council**

Madhav Kumar Shrestha¹

Visiting Faculty Department of Education and Social Science Janamaitri Multiple Campus, Kuleshwar, Kathmandu, Nepal Email: lunumadhav@hotmail.com

Sarala Karki² Peer Reviewed by : Prof. Dr. Shyam Krishna Maharjan Prof. Dr. Bhimsen Devkota

ABSTRACT

This study entitled "Perception of players towards National Sports Council", aimed to find out the perception of players towards National Sports Council, and to describe and analyze the perception of players towards National Sports Council. The necessary information was taken from different players and member of National Sports Council. Altogether, there were one hundred and fifty respondents selected from different games and members of National Sports Council. The main source of data was primary. The researchers used ready-made tools made by Carr, where eleven statements were involved to gather data. There were diverse perceptions towards games and sports in Nepal. Among 150 respondents 56 (37.3 %) expressed strongly disagree, 83 (55.3%) disagree, 02 (01.3%) undecided, 6 (4 %), agree and 3 (2 %) strongly agree on the statement "National Sports Council manage proper training and coaching program for players."

Keywords: Perception, National Sports Council, Training, Coaching, Physical education.

Background of the study

Physical activities and sports program emphasized physical fitness and attained through formal exercises (Bucher, 1979). Students moved around in formal line and were required to strictly follow a large number of rules. Today, physical education and sports program reflect a more humanistic approach. Curriculum are more students centered,

¹ Corresponding author: Lecturer of Sanothimi Campus, Sanothimi, Bhaktapur

² Co-investigator: Student of Sanothimi Campus.

^{**} This research is funded by University Grant Commission, Sanothimi, Bhaktapur

programs are more individual as teachers realized as one type of physical education and sports program is not suited to all individuals (Freeman, 1988). The feelings, needs, ambitions, goals, capabilities and limitations should be considered in designing the program.

When the National Education System Plan (NESP 2028 B. S.) was introduced in Nepal, it emphasized a policy of uniform curriculum plan throughout the country associating physical education and sports. Gradually with the development of education, the College of Education began Health and Physical Education in teacher education program as a major subject in Intermediate of Education and Bachelor of Education level and later the revised curriculum made a policy to provide physical education as an extra optional subject. The school curriculum was further modified and even in the changed curriculum Health and Physical Education was introduced as a compulsory subject from grade one to eight as an optional subject in grade nine and ten in 2049 B. S.

National Sports Council was established in 2015 B. S. as the first sports organization of Nepal. Initially, its name was "Health and Sports Council". It was then changed into Sports Council in 2017 B. S. The Sports Act of 2021 B. S. reformed the Sports Council to the National Sports Council (Maharjan and Adhikari, 2065).

National Sports Council in association with the Government of Nepal is contributing in developing physical education, games and sports in Nepal. The main objective of National Sports Council is to produce good players and develop games and sports in Nepal. It trains coaches and sends them in foreign countries for further training. Beside, many sports associations are affiliated with the Sports Council, which have taken various responsibilities such as selection and training of players, training and production of coaches, conduction of tournaments, inviting foreign instructors and coach, sending the player to participate at various level of tournaments in the country and out of country (Baruwal et al., 2065).

Objectives of the Study

- To find out the perception of players towards National Sports Council
- To analyze the perception of players towards National Sports Council according to different variables

Review of Related Literature

Games and sports are considered one of the most important health markers and a predictor of morbidity and mortality, for cardiovascular disease (WHO: Geneva, 2010). Therefore, the promotion of games and sports plays an important role in minimizing the development of chronic diseases of lifestyle (Min-Lee et al., 2012). In addition, it aids in injury prevention and contributes to quality of life and psychological health.

Bullock and Alden (1933) investigated the factors that were causing an unfavorable reaction to physical education. A questionnaire was administered to 192 freshman women. Results showed that of those sampled 63.6% liked physical education and 36.4% disliked it. Interestingly many of the students, who disliked physical education, were previously taught by an untrained high school physical education teacher.

Rai (2005) had undertaken a study on "A comparative study on teacher attitude towards physical education." The data were collected through the Adams physical education attitude scale of attitude test from 52 respondents of different schools. Forty questions and twenty eight statements were administered for Adams scale. It was concluded in the private school which have offered health and physical education have been teaching physical education by non-specialist teachers. They were generally trained in sports and games. The investigator also found that the respondent had positive attitude towards the physical education.

Sedai (2005) studied on, "A study of attitude towards physical education of studying in Bachelor's Degree in education." His main purpose was to find out the student's attitude towards physical education. Applying readymade tools from Adams scale was use to collect the data. It concluded that all respondents had positive attitude towards the physical education.

Methodology

The researcher employed descriptive quantitative research design. The populations of this study were 150players and member of National Sports Council selected from purposive sampling method. Researcher had applied Likert Scale type's questionnaires. The questionnaires were rated as follows: 1-strongly agree, 2-agree, 3-undicided, 4-disagree and 5-strongly disagree. The frequencies of respondent's responses were analyzed to establish their true feelings about perceptions.

Analysis and discussion of result

Perception is a mental or neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence on the individual's response to all objects and situations (Allport, 1935). A simpler definition of perception is a mindset or a tendency to act in a particular way due to both an individual's experience and temperament. Typically, when we refer to a person's perception, we are trying to explain his or her behavior. Perceptions are complex combination of things we tend to call beliefs, values, behaviors, and motivations.

Symbol			Total %		
Symbol	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	10tal 70
SA	2	01.3	00	00	01.3
Α	12	08.0	08	05.3	13.3
U	5	03.3	01	0.7	04
D	57	38.0	23	15.3	53
SD	26	17.3	16	10.7	28.0
Total	103	68.7	47	31.3	100

Table 1: Promotion of games and sports

Note:- SA = *Strongly Agree, A* = *Agree, U* = *Undecided, D* = *Disagree and SD* = *Strongly Disagree.*

Table 1 shows that among 150 respondents 42 (28.0 %) expressed strongly disagree, 80 (53.3%) disagree, 05 (03.3 %) undecided, 20 (13.3 %) agree and 02 (01.3 %) strongly agree on the statement National Sports Council plays a vital role to promote games and sports in Nepal. So, it can be interpreted that National Sports Council could not play a vital role to promote games and sports in Nepal.

Table 2: Facilities and equipment for games and sports

Symbol			Total %		
Symbol	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	I Utal 70
SA	2	1.3	00	00	1.3
Α	7	4.7	00	00	4.7
U	1	0.7	00	00	0.7
D	71	47.3	23	15.3	62.7
SD	22	14.7	24	16	30.7
Total	103	68.7	47	31.3	100

Table 2 shows that out of 150 respondents 46 (30.7 %) strongly disagree, 94 (62.7 %) disagree, 01 (0.7 %) undecided, 07 (04.7 %) agree and 02 (01.3 %) strongly agree on the statement "National Sports Council provides sufficient facility and equipment for practicing a games and sports."

Table 3: Management of training and coaching program

Symbol		Total %			
Symbol	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	Iotal 70
SA	03	2.00	00	00	2.00
Α	06	4.00	00	00	4.00
U	01	0.7	01	0.7	01.3
D	54	36.00	29	19.3	55.3

Γ	SD	39	26	17	11.3	37.3
	Total	103	68.7	47	31.3	100

Table 3 shows that out of 150 respondents 56 (37.3 %) expressed strongly disagree, 83 (55.3 %) disagree, 02 (01.3 %) undecided, 06 (04.0 %) agree and 03 (02 %) strongly agree on the statement "National Sports Council manages proper training and coaching program for players".

Cumulatively, 92.6 percent respondents responded negatively that National Sports Council manages proper training and coaching program for players. So, it can be interpreted that National Sports Council could not manage training and coaching program for players to improve sports performance and games strategies.

Symbol		Total 0/			
Symbol	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	Total %
SA	20	13.3	00	00	13.3
Α	19	12.7	00	00	12.7
U	01	0.7	00	00	0.7
D	42	28	14	09.3	37.3
SD	21	14	33	22	54
Total	103	68.7	47	31.3	100

Table 4: Management of trainers and coaches

Table 4 shows that among 150 respondents 54 (36.0 %) expressed strongly disagree, 56 (37.3 %) disagree, 01 (0.7 %) undecided, 19 (12.7 %) agree and 20 (13.3 %) strongly agree on the statement "National Sports Council manages qualified and experienced trainers and coaches". So, it can be interpreted that National Sports Council could not manage qualified and experienced trainers and coaches in training and coaching program.

Symbol		Total %			
	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	
SA	00	00	01	0.7	0.7
Α	07	04.7	04	02.7	07.3
U	05	03.3	07	04.7	08.0
D	38	25.3	20	13.3	38.7
SD	53	35.3	15	10	45.3
Total	103	68.7	47	31.3	100

Table 5 shows that out of 150 respondents 68 (45.3 %) expressed strongly disagree, 58 (38.7 %) disagree, 12 (8.0 %) undecided, 11 (07.3 %) agree and 01 (0.7%) strongly

agree on the statement "National Sports Council provides sufficient incentive and reinforcement for players timely". It can be interpreted that National Sports Council could not provide sufficient incentive and reinforcement for players.

Symbol		Total %			
Symbol	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	10tal /0
SA	03	02	01	0.7	02.7
Α	02	01.3	02	01.3	02.7
U	01	0.7	02	01.3	02
D	51	34	25	16.7	50.7
SD	46	30.7	17	11.3	42
Total	103	68.7	47	31.3	100

Table 6: Health service and insurance for players

Table 6 shows that among 150 respondents 63 (42.0 %) expressed strongly disagree, 76 (50.7 %) disagree, 03 (2.0 %) undecided, 04 (02.7 %) agree and 04 (02.7 %) strongly agree on the statement "National Sports Council manages proper health service and health insurance for players". It can be interpreted that National Sports Council could not manage sufficient and effective health service and insurance for players during sports competitions.

Symbol		Total %			
Symbol	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	Iotal 70
SA	00	00	02	01.3	01.3
Α	00	00	02	01.3	01.3
U	00	00	01	0.7	0.7
D	62	41.3	29	19.3	60.7
SD	41	27.7	13	08.7	36
Total	103	68.7	47	31.3	100

Table 7: Diet and salary for players

Table 7 shows that out of 150 respondents 54 (36.0 %) expressed strongly disagree, 91 (60.7 %) disagree, 01 (0.7 %) undecided, 02 (01.3 %) agree and 02 (01.3 %) strongly agree on the statement "National Sports Council manages proper health service and health insurance for players". So, it can be interpreted that National Sports Council could not manage and provide sufficient and effective health service and insurance for players during sports competitions.

Symbol		Tatal 0/			
Symbol	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	Total %
SA	06	04	02	01.3	05.3
Α	44	29.9	23	15.3	44.7
U	08	5.3	05	03.3	8.7
D	30	20	12	08	28.0
SD	15	10	05	3.3	13.3
Total	103	68.7	47	31.3	100

Table 8: Fairness in the Process of player selection

Table 8 shows that among 150 respondents 63 (42.0 %) expressed strongly disagree, 76 (50.7 %) disagree, 03 (2.0 %) undecided, 04 (02.7 %) agree and 04 (02.7 %) strongly agree on the statement "National Sports Council manages proper health service and health insurance for players". It can be interpreted that National Sports Council could not manage sufficient and effective health service and insurance for players during and after the sports competitions.

Symbol		Total %			
Symbol	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	Iotal 70
SA	08	05.3	01	0.7	06.0
Α	31	20.7	00	00	20.7
U	17	11.7	07	4.7	16.0
D	38	25.3	37	24.7	50.0
SD	09	06	02	1.3	07.3
Total	103	68.7	47	31.3	100

Table 9: Organizing competition according to schedules

Table 9 shows that out of 150 respondents 11 (07.3 %) expressed strongly disagree, 75 (50.0 %) disagree, 24 (16.0 %) undecided, 31 (20.7 %) agree and 09 (06.0 %) strongly agree on the statement "National Sports Council could organize sports competition according to schedules". It can be interpreted that National Sports Council could not organize games and sports competitions according to national schedule.

Conclusion

Physical inactivity is a modifiable risk factor for cardiovascular disease and a widening variety of other chronic diseases, including diabetes, obesity, hypertension, bone and joint diseases and depression. There were differences in perceptions towards games and sports in Nepal. Among 150 respondents 68 (45.3 %) expressed strongly disagree, 58 (38.7 %) disagree, 12 (8.0 %) undecided, 11 (07.3 %) agree and 01 (0.7 %) strongly agree on the statement "National Sports Council provides sufficient incentive and reinforcement for players timely"

The National Sports Council started organizing National level sports competitions from 2038 BS. These are construction of physical facilities, management of sports equipment, conduction of training and coaching program, conduction of National and International sports competitions, selection of players, invitation of foreign coaches and trainers, production of coach and other officials. But respondents' responses are seen mostly negative about National Sports Council.

Acknowledgement

This research was funded by the university grand commission (UGC) under the small RDI grant 2073/74 awarded to Madhav Kumar shrestha and Sarala Karki. S0, first of all I would like to extend our profound gratitude to University Grant Commission, Sanothimi, Bhaktapur for providing us an opportunity to conduct a small research project.

References

Allport, G. W. (1935). Handbook of social psychology. Worcester: Clark University Press

- Backford, P. A. (1976). "A normative study of the physical fitness of 15 and 16 years old Navajo girls." Completed research in health, physical education and recreation 14-159
- Barry, C. J. and Nelson. J. K. (1988). *Practical measurement for evaluation in physical education*. Delhi: Surjeet Publication, 7- K, Kolhapur Road.
- Baruwal, H. B. et al. (2065). Foundation of physical education and game. Kathmandu: Pinnacal Publication, Bagbazar.
- Bucher, C. A. (1979). Foundations of physical education. London: The C. V. Mosby Company.
- Bullock, M., & Alden, F. D. (1933). 'Some of the factors determining theattitude of freshman women at the University of Oregon toward requiredphysical education.' *Research Quarterly*, 4 (4), 60-64.
- Council, N. S. (2065). Fifth National game smarika. Kathmandu: National Sports Council.
- Dangi, K. (2012, march 5). 'APF defends football title.' The Kathmandu post daily, p. 11.
- Dwyer, T. (1996). 'Physical activity and performance in children.' Nutrition Reviews, 54, S27-S31.
- Maharjan, R. K. & Adhikari, P. (2065). *Foundation of physical education*. Kathmandu: Sunlight Publication.
- Pandey, S. & Poudel, S. (2053). Khelkudgyanmanch. Kathmandu: Prawesh Prakashan.
- Rai, S. (2005). "A Comparative Study on Teachers Attitude towards Physical Education." An unpublished master degree thesis, submitted to health, physical and Population education department, T. U. Kritipur.
- Shrestha, M. K. (2006). "Analysis of sports attitude of secondary school student in Kathmandu district." An unpublished master degree thesis, submitted to Health, Physical and Population Education Department, T.U, Kritipur
- Upadhyaya, S. P. (2002). *History of Nepalese participation in Olympic Games in Nepal*. Kathmandu: Nepal Olympic Committee.
- World Health Organization (2010). *Global recommendations on physical education for health*. WHO: Geneva.

'राजनीति' कथामा सबाल्टर्न

नरेन्द्रप्रसाद कोइराला, एम. फिल

उप प्राध्यापक नेपाली तथा आमसञ्चार विभाग जनमैत्री बहुमुखी क्याम्पस, कुलेश्वर, काठमाडौँ, नेपाल Email: koiralanarendraprasad@gmail.com

> **समकक्ष समीक्षक:** प्रा. डा. दयाराम श्रेष्ठ प्रा. डा. ताराकान्त पाण्डेय

सार

प्रस्तुत लेखमा कथाकार नारायण ढकालद्वारा लिखित 'राजनीति' कथालाई सवार्ल्टर्न सिद्धान्तका कोणबाट विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । समाजमा सदियौंदेखि रहेर अमूल्य योगदान गरे पनि इतिहास लुकाइएका, अधिकार खोसिएका, आवाज दबाइएका, कमजोर तथा अपहेलित समुदाय नै समग्रमा सबार्ल्टर्न हो । सबाल्टर्न एउटा छाता शब्द भएकाले यसभित्र धेरै कुरा अटाउन सक्ने भए पनि यस लेखमा विवेच्य कथामा रहेको वर्गीय, जातीय र वैचारिक सबाल्टर्नको अवस्था अनि उनीहरूको सामाजिक स्थान, प्रभुत्व र प्रतिरोधको अवस्थाको विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । यस कथामा वर्गीय, जातीय, वैचारिक सबाल्टर्नका रूपमा माभ्ठी परिवार रहेको छ भने मुखिया तथा अन्य कर्मचारीहरू गैरसबाल्टर्न वर्गका प्रतिनिधिका रूपमा रहेका छन् । सबाल्टर्न वर्गको सामाजिक स्थान अत्यन्त कष्टपूर्ण अवस्थामा छ भने अभिजात वर्गको केन्द्रीय संस्कृतिको प्रभुत्व नै सबैमाथि शासन गर्न सफल भएको हुनाले सबाल्टर्न वर्गको प्रतिरोध सामर्थ्य विफल भएको देखाइएको छ । सबाल्टर्न सिद्धान्तभित्र समेटिन आउने महत्त्वपूर्ण क्षेत्रहरू वर्गीय, जातीय, वैचारिक सबाल्टर्नको अवस्था अनि उनीहरूको सामाजिक स्थान, प्रभुत्व र प्रतिरोध चेतना आदि सबैको सुन्दर संयोजन भएको यो कथा सबाल्टर्नमैत्री कथा हो भन्ने निष्कर्ष निकालिएको छ ।

शब्दकुञ्जिः सबाल्टर्न, वर्गीय, जातीय, वैचारिक, स्थान, प्रभुत्व, प्रतिरोध, अभिजात ।

विषय परिचय

नेपाली कथाको विकास परम्परालाई हेर्दा नारायण ढकाल समसामयिक चरणमा प्रगतिवादी विचार प्रवाहित गर्ने सष्टाका रूपमा परिचित छन् । उनका *शहर यन्त्र* (२०५०), *इरफान अली* (२०५२), *बहिर्गमन* (२०५४), आत्महन्ता (२०६९), इन्द्रजाल (२०६९) र नारायण ढकालका कथा (२०७२) कथासङ्ग्रहरू; पीतसंवाद (२०५५), दुर्भिक्ष (२०६२), प्रेतकल्प (२०६५), वृषभवध (२०७९) र हजार माइलको बाटो (२०७४) उपन्यासहरू, गोमाको यार्लिङ (२०५८) र मुसेकान्छाको करामत (२०६०) बाल कथासङ्ग्रह; शोकमग्न यात्री (२०५६) निबन्ध सङ्ग्रह, तीन सम्वत्सर (२०५३) संस्मरण; नीला डल्फिनहरूको टापु (२०६३) अङ्ग्रेजीबाट अनुदित उपन्यास; भित्री चोक (२०६३) अङ्ग्रेजीबाट अनुदित कथासङ्ग्रह आदि कृतिहरू प्रकाशित छन् । उनको साहित्यिक योगदानको कदर गर्दै उनलाई उत्तम शान्ति पुरस्कार (२०४३), लोकेन्द्र शाह साहित्य पुरस्कार (२०४४), मैनाली कथा पुरस्कार (२०४७), साभा पुरस्कार (२०६४) र हृदयचन्द्र स्मृति सम्मान (२०७३) आदिद्वारा सम्मान गरिएको छ । उनका कथाहरूमा समाजमा विद्यमान उच्च र निम्न वर्गका बिचको द्वन्द्वका माध्यमबाट सबाल्टर्न वर्गका जीवनका जटिलताहरू अभिव्यक्त गरिएका छन् । समाजका कुरूप तथा दर्दनाक यथार्थहरूलाई विचारको सहयोगमा मार्मिक ढङ्गले कथासूत्रमा उनेर अभिव्यक्त गर्नु ढकालको कथा लेखनको विशेष सामर्थ्य हो । उनका कथामा अभिव्यक्त यस कथ्य सन्दर्भले ती कथाहरू सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक कोणबाट अध्ययनीय रहेको सङ्केत गर्दछ । नेपली समालोचनाका क्षेत्रमा पछिल्लो चरणमा प्रारम्भ भएर विस्तारै अघि बढ्दै गरेको सबाल्टर्न अध्ययन भएको पनि देखिँदैन । यसै अभाव पक्षलाई दृष्टिगत गर्दै ढकालद्वारा रचित प्रस्तुत 'राजनीति' कथामा सबाल्टर्नको उपस्थितिको अध्ययन गरिएको छ ।

अङ्ग्रेजी भाषा, साहित्यबाट प्रारम्भ भएर हिन्दी साहित्यका माध्यमबाट अघि बढ्दै विश्वव्यापी बन्न प्गेको सबाल्टर्न शब्दलाई नेपाली भाषा साहित्यका क्षेत्रमा सीमान्तीकृत शब्दले चिनाउने वा सबाल्टर्न शब्द नै प्रयोग गर्ने द्वै परम्परा स्थापित छ । समाज विकासका ऋममा सम्प्रदाय, वर्ग, लिङ्ग, क्षेत्र, पेसा पद, आदि अनेक आधारमा विभेदका शुद्खलाहरू निर्माण भएका हुनाले शासक वर्गले सदियौंदेखि शोषणको क्चक्रमा पारेका शासित, आवाजविहीन, पहिचानविहीन, इतिहासविहीन र अधिकारविहीन वर्गलाई यस शब्दले सम्बोधन गर्ने परम्परा निर्माण भएको छ । यो शब्द प्रारम्भमा इटलीका मार्क्सवादी विचारक ग्राम्सीले निम्नस्तरका सैनिक जवानलाई चिनाउन प्रयोग गरेका थिए तर सन् १९८० पछि भारतीय इतिहासकार र समालोचकहरूले सीमान्तीकृत वर्गको इतिहास लेखन र साहित्य समालोचनाका क्षेत्रमा प्रयोग गरेको पाइन्छ । मानव समाजको इतिहास शक्तिको इतिहास हो । मानव सभ्यताको प्रारम्भदेखि नै मानिस शक्तिशाली र कमजोर गरी दुई वर्गमा विभाजित भयो र निरन्तर सङ्घर्ष गर्दै आइरहेको छ। समाज यथास्थानमा बसिरहन सक्दैन। त्यसैले कान्ति र विद्रोहहरूको निरन्तरताका कारण परिवर्तनहरू पनि भएका छन् । यस्ता परिवर्तनहरूको प्रभावबाट विश्वमा अनेकन दर्शन, नीति, सिद्धान्त, राज्य एवम् सरकारहरू बन्ने, भत्किने, परिवर्तन हुने, संशोधन हुने कार्यहरू पनि भएका छन् । यस्ता परिवर्तनहरूबाट प्राप्त उपलब्धिको हिस्सा अभौ पनि सीमान्तीकृत वर्गको भागमा सन्तोषजनक ढङ्गले पर्न नसकेकै कारण उच्च र निम्न वर्गका बिचको विभेद अन्त्य हुन सकेको छैन । उच्च वर्गले सधैं शासनसत्ता हातमा लिएर विभेद मात्र गरेन; आफूलाई अनुकूल हुने गरी नीति, नियम, धर्म, आस्था, मूल्य, मान्यता, कान्न आदिका आधारमा बलियो सामाजिक संरचनाको निर्माण गऱ्यो जसले केन्द्र र किनाराको बिचको सीमालाई फराकिलो बनाउने कार्यमा सधैं टेवा पुऱ्यायो । त्यसैको परिणामस्वरूप किनारामा परेकाहरूमाथि शोषण, दमन कायमै रहेको हुनाले उनीहरू सबै ढङ्गले पछि परे वा पारिए। यसरी पछि परेका वा पारिएका कमजोर वर्ग नै समग्रमा सीमान्तीकृत (सबाल्टर्न) वर्ग हो । यही वर्गको अध्ययन गर्ने सिद्धान्तलाई सबाल्टर्न सिद्धान्त भनिन्छ । यस लेखमा यसै मान्यताका आधारमा आधुनिक नेपाली कथाकार नारायण ढकालको 'राजनीति' कथाको विश्लेषण गरिएको छ ।

समस्या

नारायण ढकालका कथाहरूमा समकालीन नेपाली समाजका यथार्थहरू अभिव्यक्त भएका छन् । नेपाली समाजको विभाजनमा सम्प्रदाय, जाति, वर्ग, लिङ्ग, क्षेत्र, विचार जस्ता विभाजक आधारहरू रहेका छन् र ती आधारहरू सामाजिक भेदभावका प्रमुख कारण बनेका छन् । त्यसकै आधारमा समाजको सबाल्टर्न वर्ग सबै प्रकारका अवसर र अधिकारबाट वञ्चित हुन पुगेको छ । समाजको सम्भ्रान्त वा माथिल्लो वर्गले सधैं शक्ति र सत्ताको प्रभुत्वमा सम्पूर्ण अवसरहरू हात पार्न अनि अर्को सीमान्त वर्गमाथि शासन, दमन र शोषण गर्न सफल पनि भएको छ । यस्तै प्रकारका समस्याहरूलाई कथाकार ढकालले आफ्ना कथाका विषय बनाएका छन् । उनका कथाहरूमा अभिव्यक्त नेपाली समाजमा विद्यमान वर्गीय, जातीय, लैर्ड्शक, क्षेत्रीय, वैचारिक आदि सबाल्टर्नका अनेक रूपहरूमध्ये 'राजनीति' कथामा अभिव्यक्त वर्गीय, जातीय र वैचारिक सबाल्टर्नको विश्लेषण गरेर तिनको सामाजिक स्थान, प्रभुत्व र प्रतिरोध चेतनाको अवस्था पहिचान गरी निष्कर्षसम्म पुग्नु नै प्रस्तुत अध्ययनको प्रमुख प्राज्ञिक समस्या रहेको छ ।

अध्ययनको उद्देश्य

'राजनीति' कथामा चित्रण गरिएको वर्गीय, जातीय र वैचारिक सबाल्टर्नको विश्लेषण गरी उनीहरूको सामाजिक स्थान, प्रभुत्व र प्रतिरोधको अवस्था पहिचान गर्नु नै यस अध्ययन कार्यको प्रमुख उद्देश्य रहेको छ । यस उद्देश्यलाई निम्न लिखित बुँदाहरूमा विशिष्टीकृत गरिएको छ:

- 'राजनीति' कथामा वर्गीय, जातीय र वैचारिक सबाल्टर्नको अवस्था विश्लेषण गर्नु,
- 'राजनीति' कथामा सबाल्टर्नको सामाजिक स्थान, प्रभुत्व र प्रतिरोधको अवस्था निरूपण गर्नु ।

कथा विश्लेषणको सैद्धान्तिक प्रतिमान

कुनै पनि एक जाति, वर्ग, लिङ्ग, क्षेत्र आदिद्वारा आफ्ना व्यक्तिगत, वर्गगत, जातिगत, लिङ्गगत अनेक प्रकारका स्वार्थ सिद्ध गर्नका लागि अर्को जाति, वर्ग, लिङ्ग, क्षेत्र आदिलाई इतिहास, परम्परा, संस्कृति, शिक्षा, अवसर आदिबाट विमुख गराउने कार्य वा त्यस्तो कार्यसँग सम्बन्धित प्रत्यक्ष वा परोक्ष जुनसुकै प्रकारका रणनीतिक योजना आदिका कारणबाट हुने विभेद तथा त्यसबाट सिर्जित समस्याका कारण हुने कुनै पनि वर्गको समस्याबाट सबाल्टर्न वर्गको जन्म हुन्छ । सबाल्टर्न वर्गलाई चिनाउने सन्दर्भमा मोहनराज शर्माले यसलाई अवरजन, विपन्न, शोषित, दलित, अधीनस्थ, शासित, अनन्नत, दमित, हीन, प्रभुत्वरहित, लाचार, असमर्थ, अशक्त, अप्रभुत्व, असम्भ्रान्त आदि अभिलक्षणहरूमा पहिचान गर्न सकिन्छ भनी उल्लेख गरेका छन् (शर्मा, २०७०: १३१)। मानवशास्त्र, इतिहास, समाजशास्त्र, साहित्य आदि क्षेत्रमा सबाल्टर्नको अध्ययन गर्ने सिद्धान्त सबाल्टर्न सिद्धान्त हो । यस सिद्धान्तको सुरुवात इटालीका चिन्तक ग्राम्सीले गरेका थिए भने सन् १९८० पछि भारतीय विचारकहरूले त्यसलाई विशवव्यापीकरण गरेका हुन् । समग्रमा समाजको उच्च वा शासक वा शक्तिसम्पन्न वर्गले आफ्नो हितलाई ध्यानमा राखेर अरुको समस्याप्रति उदासीन रहदाँ वा जानी जानी अरूका विरुद्धमा कार्य गर्दा कमजोरहरू पिसिन पुग्छन् र सबार्ल्टर्न वर्गको जन्म हुन्छ ।

समाजमा वर्गीय, जातीय, वैचारिक आदि अनेक कोणहरूबाट सबाल्टर्न वर्गको निर्माण हुनसक्छ। यस ऋममा उच्च वर्गले आफूसँग भएको सत्ताका आधारमा शक्तिको सिर्जना र प्रयोग गर्छ। "त्यही शक्तिका आडमा उच्च वर्गले सम्पूर्ण क्षेत्रमा आधिपत्य जमाएर प्राप्त स्रोतसाधनलाई आफ्नो मात्र हीतमा प्रयोग गर्दा सत्ता बाहिरको कमजोर वर्ग सबाल्टर्न बन्न पुग्छ" (कोइराला, २०७०: २७)। समाजको गति नै शक्तिको खेलमा आधारित हुन्छ र शक्तिसम्पन्नहरूले आफुलाई सहज हुने गरी समाजका सबै क्षेत्रको गतिलाई नियन्त्रण र परिचालन गरेकै कारण सत्ताको घेराभन्दा बाहिर परेकाहरू सबाल्टर्न बन्न पुग्छन् । "सत्ता, शक्ति, वर्चस्व, आधिपत्य मुठुयाएर केन्द्रले किनारालाई कहिल्यै आफुसमान हुन दिँदैन, परपरै पन्छाएर त्यो अह्रन खटन र आफ्नै योजना मात्र कार्यान्वित गरिरहन्छ" (सुब्बा, सन् २०१९: ३)। यसरी समाजमा उच्च वर्गले सबै क्षेत्रमा आफूलाई स्थापित गर्दा सबाल्टर्न वर्ग प्रताडित र विस्थापित हुन पुग्छ । समाजमा जातीय सबाल्टर्नको अवस्था पनि ज्यादै दयनीय छ । "शक्ति वा प्रभुत्वका दृष्टिले उच्च वर्गमा परेको जातिले अर्को कमजोर जातिलाई उसका अवसरहरूबाट बञ्चित राख्दा वा उसका अवसरहरू खोसेर लिँदा कमजोर जातिकाहरू जातीय आधारमा सबाल्टर्न बन्न पुग्छन्" (कोइराला, २०७०: २८)। राज्यको सञ्चालन सत्ताको शक्तिबाट हुन्छ । त्यही शक्तिका आडमा नियम, कान्न, मूल्य, मान्यता, धर्म, सत्य आदिको स्थापना तथा विकास हुन्छ । यी सबै क्षेत्र शक्तिको निर्माण र प्रयोग गर्ने अनि शासक वर्गलाई सहयोग गरिरहने क्षेत्र हुन् । त्यस कारण यी सबै क्षेत्रको मेरुदण्डका रूपमा एउटा विचार प्रवाहित भएको हुन्छ, जसले राज्यसत्ताको स्थायित्व र विकासमा सहयोग गर्छ। यसरी सत्ताको विचार बोक्ने वा सत्ता सञ्चालन गर्नेले सत्ताविरोधी विचारलाई सधैं प्रताडित गरिरहन्छ । यस्तो अवस्थामा वैचारिक सबाल्टर्न वर्गको निर्माण हुन्छ । यसरी वैचारिक सबाल्टर्नको सन्दर्भ पनि कुनै कृतिमा सबाल्टर्न अध्ययनको आधार हुन सक्छ । यस आलेखमा पनि विवेच्य कथालाई उल्लिखित आधारमा हेरिएको छ।

क्नै पनि समाजमा सबाल्टर्न वर्ग र अभिजात वर्ग द्वै सँगै रहने हुनाले स्थापित सामाजिक संरचनाभित्र सबैका लागि जेजस्तो भए पनि स्थान निर्धारण भएकै हुन्छ, जहाँबाट सबैले आआफ्ना सामाजिक अन्तरक्रियाहरू गर्छन् । त्यसलाई पात्रको सामाजिक स्थान मानी सबाल्टर्न वर्गको स्थानका सम्बन्धमा धारणा बनाउन सकिन्छ । समाजमा एक वर्गीय रूपमा दमक वर्गले दमन गर्ने क्रममा लिङ्गीय, जातीय र राष्ट्रिय विषयहरूमा आफूअनुरूप धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक नियमहरूको निर्माण गर्ने र एकपक्षीय सत्तालाई बलियो बनाउने काम गरेको हुन्छ भन्ने क्रालाई ग्राम्चीले प्रभुत्वसम्बन्धी मान्यतामा अघि सारेका छन् (भट्टराई, २०७०: ३४४)। समाजमा स्थापित संस्कृतिको आफ्नै प्रकारको प्रभुत्व हुन्छ भने उदीयमान शक्तिको पनि वैकल्पिक प्रभुत्व हुन सक्छ । समाजमा हुने प्रभुत्व भनेको भौतिक र विचारधारात्मक उपकरणहरूको गठजोड हो, जसका माध्यमबाट प्रभुत्वशाली वर्गले आफ्नो शक्ति कायम गर्छ (पाण्डेय, २०७०: १७९)। यस आधारमा पनि सबाल्टर्न वर्गको अवस्था विश्लेषण गर्न सकिन्छ । सबाल्टर्न वर्गसँग प्रतिरोध चेतना पनि हुन्छ तर यो चेतना सफलताको सीमासम्म नप्ग्दै विलय हुन सक्ने संभावना धेरै हुन्छ । "लड्दै, हार्दै, जाग्दै र ढल्दै आदि प्रक्रियाहरूको निरन्तरतामा सीमान्तीकृत वर्ग कहिले सक्रिय र कहिले निष्क्रिय अवस्थाबाट ग्जिरहन्छ" (कोइराला, २०७०: ३७)। यसै सम्बन्धमा ग्राम्चीलाई उद्धृत गर्दै तारालाल श्रेष्ठले लेखेका छन् "ग्राम्सी भन्छन्, सबाल्टर्न वर्ग समूह सधैँ अभ भनौँ जागेको जस्तो वा विद्रोही देखिएको बेलामा समेत सम्भ्रान्त, शक्तिशाली वर्गका अगाडि अधीनस्थ हुन्छ" (श्रेष्ठ, २०६८: २९)। यसबाट सबाल्टर्न पात्रको प्रतिरोध चेतना समय समयमा जागृत हुने भए पनि त्यसले सार्थक निष्कर्ष वा परिणामको किनारासम्मको यात्रा तय गर्न सक्दैन भन्ने स्पष्ट हुन आउँछ। यसरी प्रतिरोध चेतनाको सन्दर्भ पनि कुनै कृतिमा सबाल्टर्न अध्ययनको आधार हुन सक्छ। यस आलेखमा विवेच्य कथालाई यस आधारमा पनि हेरिएको छ।

सबाल्टर्न सम्बन्धी उपर्युक्त मान्यता कुनै कृतिको पठन र विश्लेषणको एउटा महत्त्वपूर्ण सैद्धान्तिक औजार (टुल्स) पनि हो र यहाँ विवेच्य बनाइएको राजनीति कथालाई यसै (सबार्ल्टन) सिद्धान्तका आलोकमा विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । कथाको अध्ययनका क्रममा प्राप्त भएका सबै तथ्यहरूलाई यसै सिद्धान्तको साँचोमा राखेर विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । कथाको अध्ययनका क्रममा प्राप्त भएका सबै तथ्यहरूलाई यसै सिद्धान्तको साँचोमा राखेर विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । यसका लागि समस्याले अपेक्षा गर्ने जति मात्र सैद्धान्तिक आधार निर्माण गरिएको छ । सबाल्टर्नका विविध रूपका सन्दर्भमा वर्गीय सबाल्टर्नको विश्लेषणका लागि आर्थिक दृष्टिले उच्च र निम्न वर्ग मानी विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । जातीय सबाल्टर्न विश्लेषणका लागि परम्परागत रूपमा समाजले मान्दै आएको उच्च जात र निम्न जातलाई आधार बनाइएको छ भने वैचारिक सबाल्टर्नको विश्लेषणका लागि शासन सत्ताका पक्षको वा शासक विचारको अनि सत्तासँग विमति राख्ने वा विरोधी विचारको विभाजनलाई आधार बनाइएको छ । त्यसै गरी सीमान्त वर्गको सामाजिक स्थान, उनीहरूमाथिको प्रभुत्व र उनीहरूसँग भएको प्रतिरोध चेतनाको पनि विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । यस क्रममा उच्च वर्गले निम्न वर्गलाई, उच्च जातले तल्लो जातलाई र शासक वर्गले शासित वर्गलाई सधैं सबाल्टर्न अक्श्यामा पुऱ्याउँछ भन्ने सैद्धान्तिक आधारलाई स्विकारिएको छ ।

कथामा सबाल्टर्नहरूको वर्गीय, जातीय र वैचारिक अवस्था

प्रस्तत कथाका पात्रहरूलाई तिनको भमिका वा कार्यका आधारमा हेरी समग्रमा सबाल्टर्न र गैरसबाल्टर्न भनी दुई वर्गमा विभाजन गर्न सकिन्छ । कथामा आएका मुखिया, उसका सहयोगीहरू तथा प्रशासकहरू यहाँ उच्च तथा गैरसबाल्टर्न वर्गका रूपमा देखिएका छन् भने समग्र माफी परिवार सबाल्टर्न वर्गका रूपमा कथामा प्रस्तुत भएको छ । मुखिया र प्रशासक सम्मिलित उच्च वर्गको शोषणबाट यहाँको सबाल्टर्न वर्ग वा माभी परिवार अत्यन्त प्रताडित मात्र छैन, उनीहरूले आफ्नो बाली र जमिन गुमाउनुका साथै पिटाइ समेत खाएका छन्। यस अवस्थालाई उद्घाटित गर्दै भनिएको छ- "एक दिन मुखियाले आफ्ना दुईचार जना मान्छेको सहयोग लिएर माभीहरूले रोपेको खेत भकाभक फाँड्दै सोभो कुलो खन्न सुरु गऱ्यो" (पृ.१०८)। यसबाट माभीहरूको बाली बिरुवामाथि मुखियाको कस्तो व्यवहार थियो भन्ने पुष्टि हुन्छ । त्यति मात्र होइन, त्यो बगरमा ढुङ्गा मात्र थियो, खेतै थिएन । माभीहरूले बगरलाई खेत बनाए तर उत्पादन अरूकै हन्थ्यो अनि त्यसमा पनि चित्त नबुफोर माफीहरू क्टिन्थे । उनीहरूको श्रम, परिना र त्यसबाट आर्जित वस्तुमाथि स्थानीय अभिजात वर्गले कब्जा जमाउँथ्यो । "कोशीको छेउमा बसेका माभीहरूले यो खोलाको बगरमा धमाधम खेत बनाउँदै गएपछि स्थानीय जाली फटाहाहरूले सुधा माभीहरूको जग्गा हडप्दै गए" (पृ.१०८)। यहाँ माभीहरूले गरेको श्रमलाई अभिजात वर्गको सम्पत्तिमा रूपान्तरण गरिएको छ । हडपेको जग्गाले मात्र नपुगेपछि माभीहरूको पसिना पनि हडप्ने काम भएको छ । "यहाँको खेतमा माभीहरूले नै जोतिरहेका थिए तर अनाज मुखिया, ठाल् तथा सामन्तहरूकै घरमा भित्रिन्थ्यो" (पृ.१०८)। यहाँ पसिना बगाउनेले प्रतिफल पाएको छैन र प्रतिफल पाउनेले पसिना बगाएको छैन । प्रभुत्वशाली वा अभिजात वर्गले कमजोर वा सीमान्तीकृत वर्गको श्रमलाई अन्यायपूर्ण ढङ्गले शोषण गरेको स्पष्ट देखिन्छ । यसरी निम्न वर्गका वा सबाल्टर्न वर्गका माभीहरू आफैले बगरबाट बनाएको खेत र खेतमा उब्जाएको अनाज द्वै उच्च वर्गलाई सुम्पन विवश बनेका छन् । आफ्नो सम्पत्ति र पसिना द्वै गुमाएका माभीहरू पिटिन्छन् अनि न्यायको खोजीमा अदालतसम्म पुगे पनि पटक पटक भाका सादें अन्त्यमा अर्के आरोपमा पत्राउ पर्छन् । पिटाइ खाएर बिरामी परेको सिङगे माभीले औषधि उपचारको त के करा पानीसमेत खान पाउँदैन । यसरी यस

कथामा वर्गीय दृष्टिले सबाल्टर्न बनाइएका माफीहरूले आफ्ना परिश्रमले बगरबाट बनाएको खेत गुमाएका छन्, खेतमा रोपेर उत्पादन गरेको अनाज गुमाएका छन्, लह लह भएको धान फाँडेर कुलो बनाएको असहय पीडा व्यक्त गर्दा पिटिएका छन् अनि घाइते मानिस प्रमाणका रूपमा बोकेर न्याय माग्न अदालत पुग्दा उल्टै समातिएका छन् । यी सबै सजायका लागि अपराध एउटै मात्र थियो कि माफीहरू सबाल्टर्न अर्थात् शक्तिहीन थिए । यसरी समाजको उच्च वर्गले आफूअनुकूल स्थापना गरेका नीति, नियम, प्रशासन आदिका आधारमा सबाल्टर्न वर्गको सम्पत्ति, श्रम, उत्पादन, अधिकार आदि खोसेर उनीहरूलाई ज्यादै कारुणिक जीवन बाँच्न बाध्य बनाउँछ भन्ने तथ्यलाई यस कथामा स्पष्ट रूपमा अभिव्यक्त गरिएको छ ।

कथाकार ढकालले यस कथामा उभ्याएका माभी समुदायलाई जातीय दृष्टिले पनि सबाल्टर्न समुदायकै रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरेका छन् । उनीहरू माभी वा परम्परित समाजले निम्न जात मानेकै कारण पनि यति धेरै दु:खमा परेका छन् । मालिक वा मुखिया कथित उच्च जातको छ । उसले तल्लो जातका माभीहरूलाई शोषण गर्न स्थापित सामाजिक संरचनालाई हतियारका रूपमा प्रयोग गरेको छ । माभीहरू मुखियाले आफ्नो धान फाँडेर कुलो खनेकामा विरोध गर्छन् तर त्यसको जवाफमा मुखिया भन्छ, "जान्नी भएर नकराओ, टुहुरा हो । एक बित्ताको कुलो काटेर तिमेरुको नोक्सान हुन्छ ?" (पृ.90८)। माभीहरूले आफ्नो कुरा अभ राख्न खोज्दा पिटिन्छन् अनि न्यायको खोजीमा अदालत पुगेको घाइते सिङ्गे माभीले ओच्छ्यानबाटै 'पानी पानी' भन्दा पनि पानी पाउँदैन । सिङ्गेकी छोरी पानी माग्न होटलभित्र छिर्न सक्दिन र बाहिरै उभिएर पानी माग्छे । ऊ माभी जातकी भएकै कारण धेरैबेर ढोकामा नै उभिएर माग्न बाध्य छे । उसलाई होटलभित्र छिर्न नदिने स्थापित सामाजिक संरचना तगारोका रूपमा उभिएको छ । यहाँ समाजको स्थापित संरचनाले माभी जातका लागि होटलमा समेत ढोकाभन्दा बाहिरको स्थान निर्धारण गरिदिएको पाइन्छ । यसरी यस कथामा समाजले मानेको उच्च जातको मुखियाको प्रभुत्वशाली व्यवहारका कारण समाजले मानेको निम्न जातका माभीहरू सवाल्टर्न बनाइएका छन् ।

यो कथाको धरातल वैचारिक सवाल्टर्नका दृष्टिबाट पनि अत्यन्त उर्वर रहेको छ । यस कथामा मुखिया, उसका भरौटेहरू, प्रशासक तथा न्यायाधीशहरू राज्य वा शासक वर्गका छन् भने गाउँका अरु मानिस र माफीहरू सत्ताइतरका वा सवाल्टर्न वर्गका छन् । मुखिया राज्यको सत्ता पक्षको विचार बोक्ने प्रतिनिधि पात्र हो । त्यस कारण ऊ जस्तो प्रकारको अन्याय गर्न पनि सक्छ । उसले माभीको खेत खोसेको छ, उनीहरूले उत्पादन गरेको अन्न खोसेको छ, उनीहरूले रोपेको धान फाँडेर कुलो खनेको छ अनि उल्टै माभीहरूलाई कुटेर सिङ्गे माभीलाई मरणासन्न अवस्थामा पुऱ्याएको छ, तर उसलाई कुनै डर छैन । ऊ सत्ताका आडमा वितन्डा मच्चाएर पनि आफू सुरक्षित हुने कुरामा ढुक्क छ । न्यायालय घाइते माभीको अवस्था देख्दैन बरु तेह्र गतेको तारिख दिन्छ । तेह्र गते पनि अड्डामा पुगेका माभीलाई तीन बजेसम्म पर्खने आदेश हुन्छ तर घाइतेको अवस्था सोधिँदैन । न्यायदाताका रूपमा देखिएका सुकिला मान्छेहरू मुखियालाई पर्खन सक्छन्, मुखियासँगै टाँसिएर बस्छन्, बुभेका कुरा पनि बुभरपचाएर सोध्छन् अनि अन्यायमा परेका माभीहरूमाथि अफ अन्याय गर्छन् । मुखिया उनीहरूसँगै टाँसिएर बस्छ, भित्रभित्रै खुस खुस साउती गर्छ र माभीहरू आफ्न दास भएकाले जे गर्न पनि छुट पाउनु पर्ने विचार राख्छ । अड्डाको मानिसले माभ्भीका विषयमा बुभन खोज्दा मुखिया भन्छ, "कस्ता हुन्थे ! चोर टुहुराहरू ! मेरै रिन खाइरा छन् अफ मेरै विरोधमा उजुर गर्छन् ! चाहेको भए मैले यिनीहरूलाई के गर्न सक्दिन् र ?" (पृ.११३)। यस भनाइबाट एकातर्फ ऋण खानु वा गरिव

हन् नै अपराध हो भन्ने मुखियाको मानसिकता भाल्किन्छ भने अर्कातर्फ उसले चाहँदा जे पनि गर्न सक्ने अवस्था स्पष्ट हुन्छ । मुखियाले प्रयोग गरेको भाषामा पनि निराधार 'चोर', 'टुहुरा' आदि शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । यो छलफलको स्थान हो र त्यहाँ न्यायधीशका रूपमा राज्यका प्रतिनिधि पनि उपस्थित छन् तर त्यसतर्फ उनीहरूको कुनै प्रतिक्रिया छैन । मुखियालाई जे गर्न र जे भन्न पनि छट छ भने माभीहरूका लागि सहनै पर्ने बाध्यता छ । त्यसकारण यस अवस्थाले राज्य पूर्ण रूपमा अभिजात वर्गको संरक्षक छ भन्ने पुष्टि हन आउँछ । त्यसपछि माभीहरू सरकारका विरोधी रहेको क्रामा मुखियाले न्यायदाता भनिएकाहरूलाई विश्वास दिलायो । "भोलिपल्ट सदमुकाममा सुनियो तामाकोशीको किनारमा बसोबास गरिरहेका चारजना सोफा माफीहरू राजनीति गरेको आरोपमा सुरक्षा कानुन अन्तर्गत गिरफ्तार गरिए" (पृ.११३)। यहाँ अन्याय गर्ने मुखियाको विरोध नै सरकार वा राज्यको विरोध भएको छ। यसै आधारमा माभीहरूलाई धकेल्दै धकेल्दै देशद्रोहीको कित्तामा प्ऱ्याइएको छ । यी सन्दर्भहरूले राज्य, सरकार, न्याय आदि सबै निकाय प्रभुत्वशाली वर्गकै हितमा वा सहयोगका निम्ति बनाइएका हुन् भन्ने देखिन्छ । यसरी माभीहरूमाथि भएको अन्यायको मुद्दा विषयान्तर गरिँदै माभीहरूलाई नै जेल पठाएर मुखिया अनि प्रशासनद्वारा राजनीतिक अपराधीकरण गरी समाप्त गरिएको छ । प्रस्त्त 'राजनीति' कथामा माभीहरू वर्गीय, जातीय र वैचारिक तीनै दृष्टिबाट सबाल्टर्न अवस्थामा छन् भने मुखिया उक्त तीनै दुष्टिबाट शासक वा सम्भ्रान्त वर्गसँग सम्बद्ध छ । यस कथामा वर्ग, जाति र विचार अन्योन्याश्रित वा अभिन्न सम्बन्धभित्र घोलिएर छट्ट्याउनै नसक्ने गरी अभिव्यक्त भएको पाइन्छ ।

सबाल्टर्न वर्गको स्थान, प्रमुत्व र प्रतिरोधको अवस्था

'राजनीति' कथामा माभीहरू र अन्य गाउँलेहरू सबाल्टर्न पात्रका रूपमा छन् भने मुखिया, सुकिला, भरौटे तथा प्रहरी गैरसबाल्टर्न पात्रका रूपमा देखिएका छन् । कथाभित्र सबाल्टर्न पात्रहरूको सामाजिक स्थान ज्यादै निम्न वा अपमानजनक अवस्थामा रहेको छ । "जान्नी भएर नकराओ टुहुरा हो ... हाम्रो रिन खाएर बसेका टुहुराहरूको यत्रो धाक" (पृ.१०८)! यहाँ जान्ने हुने, सिक्ने, बोल्न पाउने स्थान केवल उच्च वर्गले मात्र पाउँछ भने ऋण खाने निम्न वर्गका लागि कुनै अवसर प्राप्त छैन भन्ने स्पष्ट हुन्छ । त्यसलाई मुखियाको यो भनाइ, अड्डाका मानिसहरूले माभीहरूप्रति गरेको अन्यायपूर्ण व्यवहार, गाउँलेहरूले माभीका पक्षमा बोल्न नसकेको अवस्था आदिले पुष्टि गरेको छ । "चोर टुहुराहरू ! मेरै रिन खाइरा छन् अभ मेरै विरोधमा उजुर गर्छन्" (पृ.१९३) भन्ने मुखियाको भनाइले पनि त्यस समाजमा माभीहरूको स्थान अत्यन्त कमजोर वा ज्यादै दयनीय रहेको स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

समाजमा माभी वा सबाल्टर्न वर्गको अवस्था ज्यादै दर्दनाक हुन पुग्नुको प्रमुख कारणका रूपमा अभिजात वर्गको प्रभुत्व हो । अभिजात वर्गको प्रभुत्व गाउँको सामान्य मानिसदेखि अड्डा, अदालत सबैतिर फैलिएको छ । स्थापित सामाजिक संरचनाभित्र केन्द्रीय विचारधाराको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्ने मुखियाको प्रभुत्वका अगाडि परिधिको विचारधारा बोक्ने माभीहरूको प्रभुत्व समाप्तप्रायः अवस्थामा छ । आफ्नो प्रभुत्वको हैकमकै कारण मुखिया जमिन लुट्न, पसिना लुट्न, उत्पादन लुट्न, लुटेकैलाई कुट्न अनि अड्डा, अदालतसम्म मिलाएर आफ्ना कर्तुत लुकाउन तथा अन्यायमा परेका माभीहरूलाई अरु सजायको भारीमाथि सुपारी थप्नसमेत सफल भएको छ । यसरी हेर्दा यस कथामा रहेको केन्द्रीय संस्कृति पूर्ण रूपमा प्रभुत्वशाली भएकै कारण सबाल्टर्न वर्गको जीवन अत्यन्त मार्मिक तथा कारुणिक अवस्थाबाट गुज्रिरहेको देखिन्छ ।

सबाल्टर्न वर्गको अत्यन्त मार्मिक अवस्था चित्रण भएको यस कथामा सबाल्टर्नको प्रतिरोध चेतना भने ज्यादै उच्चस्तरको पाइन्छ । स्थापित केन्द्रीय संस्कृतिको प्रभुत्वका कारण सिर्जित समस्याको बोध गर्दै सबाल्टर्न वर्गका माफीहरूले असफल रूपमै भए पनि प्रतिरोध गरेका छन् । त्यति मात्र नभएर माफीहरूका बीचमा अघोषित स्वरूपको संगठन समेत निर्माण भएको छ । धान रोपेको ठाउँबाट मुखियाले कुलो खनेको थाहा पाएपछि माभीहरू खेतमै पुगेर प्रतिरोध गर्छन् - "यो त सारै अचाक्ली भो, मुख्ये बा ! यो बिरुवा किन नाश गर्न्हुन्छ ? बरु हाम्रो छातीमा खन्नोस्" (पृ.१०८)। यसरी प्रतिरोध गर्दा पनि मुखियाले अटेर गरेपछि मुखियालाई सम्बोधन गर्दै अभ प्रतिरोधी आवाज घन्कन्छ - "तपाईँ अन्न खानुहुन्छ कि घाँस ? " (पु.१०८) अभ आफुमाथि भएको अन्यायका विरुद्ध अदालतमै प्गेर पनि सबाल्टर्न वर्गले प्रतिरोध गरेको छ- "हाम्रो रोप्या खेत काटेर जबरजस्ती कुलो लान खोज्ने पनि यिनै ! हामलाई पिट्ने पनि यिनै ! अफ यिनकै डाँको ठूलो" (पृ.१९१)। यसरी आफूहरू ल्टिएको, क्टिएको र सताइएकोमा माभीहरू सचेत छन् र त्यसको प्रतिरोध गर्दै अगाडि बढेका छन्। यस क्रममा अभ निर्णायक ढाँचामा अर्को प्रतिरोध गरिएको छ -"मुख्ये क्रो चैं सिरिमान यिनले हाम्रो रोप्या खेत फाँडेर पानी लान हुन्छ ? साविकको कुलो अलिक तल छ । त्यै कुलोबाट लैजाऊन्" (पु.१११)। त्यसमा अभ थप्दै मुखियाले भनेको छ "अभ हामले यतिले नपुगेर उल्टै कुटाइ खान् ? सिङ्गे बूढो मर्न् न बाँच्नुको हालतमा छ। त्यो ... सिरिमानले आफै नजर गरे हुन्छ" (पृ.११२)। यसरी खेती फाँडेको विरोध गरेर, म्खियालाई घाँस खाने पश्सँग दाँजेर, बालीको साटो आफ्नै छातीमा हान्न च्नौती दिएर, अड्डा, अदालतमा उज्री गरेर, अड्डामा पनि अन्यायका विरुद्धमा बलियो अनि तार्किक आवाज उठाएर यस कथाका सबाल्टर्न वर्गका माभीहरूले शक्तिशाली प्रतिरोध जनाएका छन् तर उनीहरूको आवाजको सुनुवाइ भएको छैन । यसले राज्यको खास प्रकारको चरित्रलाई उदघाटित गरेको छ । सबाल्टर्नहरू जागेकै अवस्थामा पनि अभिजात वर्गकै अधीनस्थ हुन्छन् र उनीहरूको आवाजलाई दबाइन्छ वा नियन्त्रण गरिन्छ भन्ने मान्यता यस कथामा चरितार्थ भएको पाइन्छ । त्यस कारण यस कथाको प्रतिरोध चेतना ज्यादै सशक्त अवस्थामा भए पनि त्यसले सफलतासम्मको यात्रा तय गर्न सकेको छैन । वि.सं. २०३४ रचनाकाल रहेको यस कथाको प्रतिरोध चेतनाले वि.सं. २०३६ को असफल राजनीतिक प्रतिरोधलाई पूर्वसङ्केत गर्न पुगेको पनि देखिन्छ ।

निष्कर्ष

कथाकार नारायण ढकाल आधुनिक नेपाली कथाको समसामयिक कालखण्डमा सबाल्टर्नमैत्री विचार प्रवाहित गर्ने सर्जक हुन् । उनका कथामा नेपाली समाजमा विद्यमान कुरीतिहरूका कारण ज्यादै दयनीय अवस्थाबाट जीवन भोग्न विवश व्यक्तिहरूका दुःखपीडालाई विषयवस्तु बनाइएको छ । प्रस्तुत कथामा वर्गीय, जातीय र वैचारिक रूपमा उच्च तथा शासकीय, सम्भ्रान्त वर्गको भूमिकामा रहेको गैरसबाल्टर्न मुखियाको अत्यन्त अमानवीय ज्यादतीका कारण सबाल्टर्न बन्न पुगेका माभ्ती परिवारको जीवन ज्यादै सङ्घर्षपूर्ण तथा कारुणिक अवस्थाबाट गुज्रिन बाध्य हुनु परेको तथ्यलाई उद्घाटित गरिएको छ । त्यस्तै समाजमा सबाल्टर्न वर्गको स्थान निकै अपमानित अवस्थामा रहेको र त्यसका लागि अभिजात वर्गको सांस्कृतिक प्रभुत्व मुख्य कारक भएको अनि त्यसै कारण सशक्त भएर पनि सबाल्टर्न वर्गको प्रतिरोध विफल भएको देखाइएको छ । समग्रमा सबाल्टर्नको वर्गीय, जातीय र वैचारिक अवस्था अनि उनीहरूको सामाजिक स्थान, प्रभुत्व र प्रतिरोधका सबै अवस्थालाई राम्ररी समेट्न सफल यो कथा सबाल्टर्नमैत्री कथाका रूपमा रहेको र यसले एउटा कालखण्डको नेपाली समाजको यथार्थलाई प्रभावकारी ढइगले प्रस्तुत गरेको छ ।

सन्दर्भ सामग्री सूची

अधिकारी, शैलेन्द्र (२०७२), "अमर न्यौपानेका आख्यानमा सबाल्टर्न", अप्रकाशित दर्शनाचार्य शोधप्रबन्ध, त्रि. वि., कीर्तिपुर ।

कार्की, महेश (२०७२), "नयराज पाण्डेका उपन्यासमा सवाल्टर्न", अप्रकाशित दर्शनाचार्य शोधप्रबन्ध, त्रि. वि., कीर्तिपुर ।

कोइराला, नरेन्द्रप्रसाद (२०६९), 'माऱ्यो च्याङ्बा माऱ्यो असिनामा पाऱ्यो कथाको सबाल्टर्न विश्लेषण', प्राज्ञिक संसार, वर्ष - १ अङ्क-६, पृ. ४८-४४।

- कोइराला, नरेन्द्रप्रसाद (२०७०). "रमेश विकलका कथामा सीमान्तीयता", अप्रकाशित दर्शनाचार्य शोधप्रबन्ध, त्रि. वि. कीर्तिपुर ।
- कोइराला, श्रीकृष्णप्रसाद (२०७३), "भवानी भिक्षुका कथामा सीमान्तीयता" (सवाल्टर्न), अप्रकाशित दर्शनाचार्य शोधप्रबन्ध, त्रि. वि., कीर्तिपुर ।

ढकाल, नारायण (२०७२), कथा, काठमाडौँ: फिनिक्स बुक्स ।

- पाण्डेय, ताराकान्त (२०७० असार), 'सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन र मार्क्सवाद', भूकुटी (भाग १९), पृ. १७३-१९३ ।
- बस्याल, बिन्दु (२०७०), 'सिटिहलको एउटा बुढो कथामा सबाल्टर्न चेतना', प्राज्ञिक संसार, वर्ष-१ अङ्क-९,

पृ. ८१-८४ ।

भट्टराई, रमेश (२०७० असार), 'सांस्कृतिक अध्ययनका मूलभूत सिद्धान्त', भृकुटी (भाग १९), पृ. ३३४-३६४ । शर्मा, मोहनराज (२०७० असार), 'अवरजन अध्ययन र साहित्य', भृकुटी (भाग १९), पृ. ३१४-३२४ ।

श्रेष्ठ, तारालाल. (२०६८), शक्ति, स्रष्टा सवाल्टर्न, काठमाडौँ: डिस्कोर्स पब्लिकेसन ।

श्रेष्ठ, दयाराम (२०७०), *नेपाली कथा र कथाकार,* काठमाडौँ: नेपाल प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान ।

सुब्बा, मनप्रसाद र रेमिका थापा (सम्पा.) (सन् २०११), किनारा विमर्श, दार्जीलिङः गामा प्रकाशन ।

यौनिकताका कोणबाट 'आवरण' उपन्यासको विश्लेषण

राजेन्द्र खनाल, पिएच्. डी.

आगन्तुक अध्यापक नेपाली तथा आमसञ्चार विभाग जनमैत्री बहुमुखी क्याम्पस, कुलेश्वर, काठमाडौँ, नेपाल Email: sauravabhirk@gmail.com

> समकक्ष समीक्षकः प्रा. डा. कृष्णहरि बराल प्रा. डा. खगेन्द्रप्रसाद लुइटेल

सार

प्रस्तुत लेख यौनिकताको सैद्धान्तिक स्वरूप निर्माण गरी त्यसका आधारमा 'आवरण' उपन्यासको विश्लेषणमा केन्द्रित छ । यस लेखमा विपरीत लिङ्गी, समलिङ्गी, द्विलिङ्गी, अन्तरलिङ्गी तथा परिवर्तित लिङ्गी यौनिकताको सैद्धान्तिक स्वरूप प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । प्रस्तुत लेखमा उपन्यासका लैङ्गिक तथा यौनिक सन्दर्भहरूको सोदाहरण विश्लेषण गरी निष्कर्षात्मक मूल्याङ्कनसमेत गरिएको छ । आवरण उपन्यास यौनिक तथा लैङ्गिक हिंसा खेप्न बाध्य तेस्रो लिङ्गीहरूका समस्यामा आधारित छ । उपन्यासका तेस्रो लिङ्गी र अन्य पात्रहरूको स्वभाव तथा प्रवृत्ति गतिशील छ । उपन्यासमा यौनिक अल्पसङ्ख्यकप्रति अभिभावक तथा समाजको सकारात्मक बुकाइ हुनुपर्ने, तिनको जैविक अवस्थाको विशेष ख्याल गर्दै सम्मानपूर्ण व्यवहार गर्नुपर्ने पक्षतर्फ सङ्केत गरिएको छ । कृतिमा वैचारिक परिवर्तन, जिम्मेवारीबोध तथा स्वीकारलाई प्रस्तुत गर्दै तेस्रो लिङ्गीहरूलाई मूल प्रवाहीकरण गरिएको छ ।

शब्दकुञ्जि : यौनिकता, अन्तरलिङ्गी, यौनिक विभेद र हिंसा, यौनिक चेतना र सशक्तीकरण, मूल प्रवाहीकरण ।

विषय प्रवेश

यौनिकता जन्मसिद्ध प्राकृतिक गुण हो । शारीरिक तथा मनोवैज्ञानिक पक्षहरूले यौनिकताको निर्धारण गर्दछन् । यौनिकता मानिसको व्यवहारमा प्रदर्शित हुन्छ । विपरीत लिङ्गी यौनिकतालाई परम्परादेखि नै सहज मान्यता दिइएको भए पनि समयौनिकता तथा अन्य यौनिकताका सन्दर्भहरूलाई अप्राकृतिकजस्तो ठानिन्थ्यो । अहिले यस्तो अवस्थाका व्यक्तिहरूलाई कानुनी दृष्टिले स्वीकार गरी समान व्यवहारको व्यवस्था गरिए भए पनि व्यावहारिक तथा सामाजिक रूपमा अद्यापि विभेद गरिन्छ । आवरण उपन्यास यौनिक अल्पसङ्ख्यक व्यक्तिहरूको जीवनकथा हो । यो यथार्थको उद्घाटन मात्र होइन कि यौनिक सशक्तीकरणको आग्रह पनि हो । विश्लेष्य कृतिमा अन्तरलिङ्गीले भोग्नुपरेका समस्या तथा जटिलतासँग सम्बन्धित विभिन्न यथार्थ घटनालाई प्रमुख विषयवस्तु बनाइएको छ । आवरणमा स्वतन्त्र र सम्मानपूर्ण जीवनयापनका सट्टा उपेक्षा र हिंसा भोग्न बाध्य बनाइएका पात्रको वास्तविक चित्र प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । समाजबाट स्वीकृत मूल्यहरूलाई आधार बनाइएका नेपाली उपन्यासको आधिक्य रहे पनि यौनिकताका विशिष्ट पक्षमा केन्द्रित उपन्यास अत्यन्त सीमित छन् । आवरण उपन्यासमा अन्तरलिङ्गी यौनिकताका विषयवस्तुलाई प्राथमिकता दिई सामाजिक तथा राजनैतिक विषयवस्तुको सान्दर्भिक उठान गरिएको छ । यस लेखमा उपन्यासकार जया ओभाद्वारा लेखिएको आवरण उपन्यासको लैड्गिक तथा यौनिक विश्लेषण गरिएको छ ।

अध्ययनको उद्देश्य

प्रस्तुत लेखको उद्देश्य यौनिकताका सैद्धान्तिक स्वरूपको परिचय दिई यौनिकताका कोणबाट *आवरण* उपन्यासको विश्लेषण गर्नु हो ।

अध्ययन विधि र प्रक्रिया

प्रस्तुत लेख वर्णनात्मक र निगमनात्मक विधिमा आधारित छ । पुस्तकालयीय अध्ययन प्रक्रियाबाट सामग्री सङ्कलन गरिएको यस लेखमा आवरण उपन्यासलाई प्राथमिक स्रोत बनाइएको छ । त्यसैगरी यौनिकतासँग सम्बन्धित सैद्धान्तिक ग्रन्थहरूलाई द्वितीयक स्रोत सामग्रीका रूपमा उपयोग गरिएको छ । आवरण उपन्यासको यौनिक दृष्टिले विश्लेषण गरिएको प्रस्तुत लेखमा सैद्धान्तिक स्वरूपअन्तर्गत यौनिकताको परिचय, यौनिकताका प्रकार तथा यौनिकताको भाषा समावेश गरिएको छ भने विश्लेषणमा अन्तरलिङ्गी यौनिकताको प्रकृति, यौनिक विभेद र हिंसा तथा यौनिक चेतना र सशक्तीकरणलाई उदाहरणसहित विश्लेषण गरिएको छ ।

यौनिकताको सैद्धान्तिक स्वरूप

यौनिकतालाई कोशीय अर्थमा महिला वा पुरुषका व्यक्तिगत यौनिक चाहना, सोचाइ तथा क्रियाकलापका रूपमा बुभिन्छ । यस शब्दलाई विस्तृत अर्थमा स्वीकार गरिएकाले यसको वास्तविक अर्थ यत्ति नै हो भन्न सक्ने स्थिति छैन । सामान्यतया यौनिकता भन्नाले भिन्न लिङ्ग वा समान लिङ्ग तथा तिनीहरूको यौनिक क्रियाकलाप, यौनिक शक्ति, यौनिक पहिचान, भुकाव, शारीरिक संरचना, हाउभाउ, यौन चाहना तथा व्यवहारहरूको समष्टि रूप भन्ने बुभिन्छ । यसका अतिरिक्त पुरुष वा महिलाका यौनिकताये हरूको सामाजिक तथा सांस्कृतिक मान्यता, स्वतन्त्रता, निषेध तथा अवसरका सन्दर्भहरूसमेत यौनिकताको क्षेत्रअन्तर्गत पर्दछन् ।

यौनिकता विभिन्न उमेरमा विभिन्न ढाँचामा प्रदर्शन हुन्छ। मानिसमा शिशु अवस्थादेखि नै यौनिक व्यवहारहरू प्रदर्शित भइरहन्छन् । खास पेसा तथा क्षेत्रमा आफ्नै प्रवृत्तिको यौनिकता प्रकट हुन्छ, जस्तैः चिकित्सक र बिरामीको यौनिकता, शिक्षक र शिक्षार्थीको यौनिकता, मनोचिकित्सक र मनोरोगीको यौनिकता आदि । यौनिकताको प्रदर्शन घर विद्यालय, जेल आदि सबै ठाउँमा भइरहन्छ । यौनिकताका यी सबै रूपहरू शक्तिको वास्तविक प्रक्रियाका सम्बन्धसँग जोडिएका छन् (फुको, सन् १९७८: ४७)। यौनिकता व्यक्तिहरूको आपसी चाहना र कियाकलाप मात्र नभएर सामाजिक मानक उल्लङ्घन गर्ने वा बदला लिने साधन तथा शक्ति पनि हो भन्ने विचारका आधारमा हेर्दा यसलाई सामाजिक सामर्थ्य तथा भूमिकाको सशक्त आधार मान्न सकिन्छ । जैविक रूपमा यौनका सम्बन्ध तथा स्वरूपहरू, शारीरिक र संवेगात्मक पक्षहरूलाई यौनिकतासँग सम्बन्धित गर्न सकिन्छ । यौन चाहना र रुचि, पुनरुत्पादन प्रक्रिया, शारीरिक यौनाङ्गको विकास आदि
पक्षहरू पनि यौनिकताअन्तर्गत पर्दछन् । त्यस्तै सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, राजनीतिक तथा दार्शनिक पक्षहरूका साथै व्यक्तित्व निर्माण, सामाजिक भूमिका तथा दायित्व निर्माणजस्ता पक्षमा पनि यौनिकताको महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रहेको हुन्छ । शिक्षा, सञ्चार, राजनीति, स्वास्थ्यजस्ता क्षेत्रमा पनि यौनिकताले प्रमुख भूमिका निर्वाह गरेको हुन्छ ।

मनोवैज्ञानिक पक्षबाट हेर्दा मानिसको व्यक्तित्व विकासमा यौनिकताले केन्द्रीय भूमिका निर्वाह गरेको हुन्छ । समाजले पुरुष यौनिकता र महिला यौनिकतालाई अलग ढङ्गले व्याख्या गर्ने गरेको पाइन्छ । विपरीत लिङ्गीय यौनिक व्यवहारलाई समाजले मान्यता दिए पनि समलिङ्गीय यौनिक व्यवहारहरू अभ्रै पनि उपेक्षित मानिन्छन् । जसले गर्दा समलिङ्गीय यौनिक व्यवहार भएका व्यक्तिहरू समाजमा तिरस्कृत हुँदै आएको पाइन्छ । अर्कातर्फ जीवनयापन, पेसा, व्यवसाय लगायतका जीविकोपार्जनमूलक पक्षमा संलग्न हुन र निरन्तरता दिन यौनिकताका पक्षले प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव पार्ने भएकाले जीवनका लागि यौनिकता निर्धारक तत्व बन्न पुग्दछ । यौनिक व्यवहारहरू पितृसत्ताबाट निर्देशित र नियन्त्रित भएका कारणले महिला यौनिकता, समलिङ्गी तथा अन्य लिङ्गी यौनिक व्यवहारहरू हेयको दृष्टिमा पर्दछन् । त्यसैले यौनिकतामा रहेको लैर्ङ्गिक विभेद मानव समाज विकास तथा मानव जीवनको ज्वलन्त समस्या बन्न पुगेको देखिन्छ । यौनिकताका विविध प्रकारलाई निम्नानुसार देखाउन सकिन्छः

विपरीत लिङ्गी यौनिकता

भिन्नभिन्न प्रकृतिका लिङ्गीय संरचना भएका व्यक्तिहरू (महिला र पुरुष) बिच हुने यौनेच्छा, व्यवहार र चाहनालाई विपरीत लिङ्गी यौनिकता भनिन्छ । यस्तो यौनिक सम्बन्धलाई विश्वव्यापी सर्वमान्यता दिइएको छ । जुनसुकै समाज, संस्कृति भएका मानव समुदायले यस्तो यौनिकतालाई वैध मान्दछन् । यस्तो यौनिकता पितृसत्ताको पक्षमा रहेकाले अन्य लिङ्गी यौनिकता भएका व्यक्ति तथा महिलालाई पनि विभेद गर्ने गरेको देखिन्छ । यस्तो यौनिकतामा महिला र पुरुषको सम्बन्ध भए पनि त्यो सम्बन्ध महिलामैत्री नभएको साथै महिलालाई प्रुषले आफ्नो इच्छाअनुसारका यौनिक र सामाजिक व्यवहारमा सीमित गरिदिएको देखिन्छ ।

विपरीत लिङ्गी यौनिक व्यवहार भएका व्यक्तिहरू समाजबाट स्वीकृत हुन्छन् तर खास गरी नारीवादी विचार भएका व्यक्तिहरूले विपरीत लिङ्गीय प्रवृत्ति पितृसत्ताको उपज हो भन्ने ठान्दछन् । त्यसैले आमूल नारीवादी विचार र विपरीत लिङ्गीय यौनिक व्यवहार विपरीत धुवीय मान्न सकिन्छ (मिल्स एन्ड मुलानी, सन् २०१९: १३४)। विपरीत लिङ्गी यौनिकतालाई भिन्न यौनिकता पनि भन्न सकिन्छ । भिन्न यौनिकताले गर्दा नै पेन्सन तथा अन्य सामाजिक र कार्यालयीय सुविधा एवम् अधिकारहरू प्राप्त हुने कुरा बताइएको छ । अभ क्यामेरोन र कुलिकको विचारमा यदि विपरीत यौनिक व्यवहार छैन भने न त त्यो वास्तविक पुरुष हुन सक्छ न त साँचो महिला नै । यौनिकता र लैङ्गिकतामा विशिष्ट सम्बन्ध रहेको हुन्छ । भिन्न यौनिक व्यवहार भएकाहरूको सामान्य र स्वाभाविक समुदाय नै हुँदैन (मिल्स एन्ड मुलानी, सन् २०१९: १३४)। अधिकांश समाजमा वैधता प्राप्त गरेको हुनाले भिन्न लिङ्गी यौनिकतालाई मानक प्रवृत्ति भनिएको छ ।

समलैङ्गिक स्वभाव भएका व्यक्तिहरूले विपरीत लिङ्गीय सामाजिक परम्परित विवाहलाई यातनाका रूपमा लिएका हुन्छन् भने त्यसका विरुद्धमा आवाज उठाउन हिम्मत पनि गर्दैनन् । जुडिथ बटलरका विचारमा जन्मँदै बालक (स्त्री र पुरुष) समलिङ्गी वा भिन्न लिङ्गी हँदैन, त्यो त समाज र संस्कृतिको नियम, आचरणका आधारमा निर्धारण हुन्छ (उप्रेती, २०६९: २४७)। लकाँले पनि सामाजिक परिवेशअनुसार भाषाको साङ्केतिक संसारमा प्रवेश गर्नासाथ बालकमा त्यहाँको अवस्थाले प्रभावित तुल्याउँछ र त्यहीअनुरूप बानीको विकास हुँदै जान्छ भन्ने धारणा प्रस्तुत गरेकी छन् (उप्रेती, २०६९: २४७)। जैविकभन्दा पनि यौनिकताका सवालहरू सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक तथा ऐतिहासिक प्रकृतिका हुने कुरा उल्लिखित विचारबाट प्राप्त हुन्छ । भिन्न यौनिक व्यवहारमा गोराहरूको औपनिवेशिकता र पितृसत्ताको प्रभाव मात्र होइन कि पुरुषत्वको अधिनायकत्व पनि पाइन्छ (पिल्चर एन्ड ह्वेलहेन, सन् २००४: ७०)। अहिले भिन्न यौनिकता व्यापक र विस्तृत अर्थमा व्यवहृत भइरहेको छ ।

जीवनयापनका निश्चित मानक, सामाजिक जीवन प्रणालीहरू, नैतिकता तथा भौतिकवादी ढङ्गले भिन्न यौनिकतालाई विकसित र विस्तारित गरेको पाइन्छ । भिन्न यौनिकताका विरोधमा लेज्वियन, गे, द्विलिङ्गी यौनिकता, परिवर्तित यौनिकतालगायतका यौनिक विचारहरूले अधिकार, समानता तथा समताका आवाजहरू सशक्त ढङ्गले उठाइरहेका छन् । यो मानव जीवन विकासको सघन र स्वतन्त्र पक्ष मान्न सकिन्छ । किनभने कोही पनि जवरजस्ती यौनिक हिसाबले प्रताडित बन्नु हुँदैन । तर बहुसङ्ख्यक व्यक्तिहरू परम्परित मूत्य, मान्यता तथा व्यवहारमा आधारित रहेर स्वतस्फूर्त र सहज ढङ्गले भिन्न यौनिक स्वभाव (विपरीत लिङ्गी यौनिकता) निर्वाह गर्न चाहन्छन् भने उनीहरूको पनि उत्तिकै स्थान आवश्यक हुनुपर्दछ । विपरीत लिङ्गी यौनिक व्यवहार महिला र पुरुषविचको यौनिक सम्बन्ध हो जसलाई परम्परित मूल्यअनुसार प्राकृतिक सम्बन्ध मानिन्छ । व्यक्तिको चेतना र सामाजिक संरचनाले पृथक् लिङ्गी व्यवहार, सम्बन्ध, फुकाव तथा प्रवृत्ति निर्धारण गर्दछ । यस्तो सम्बन्धलाई सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक तथा कानुनी मान्यता प्राप्त हुन्छ । पृथक् लिङ्गीय संरचनाले गर्दा महिला हिंसा बढिरहेको तर्क नारीवादीहरूको रहेको छ जुन सत्य पनि छ किनकि पितृसत्ताले पुरुष प्रधान तथा महिला हिंसा बढिरहेको तर्क नारीवादीहरूको रहेको छ जुन सत्य पनि छ किनकि पितृसत्ताले पुरुष प्रधान तथा महिला गौण स्थानमा रहेको मान्दछ । यौनिक व्यवहार र यौनिक सम्बन्धमा पनि महिलामाथि शोषण र उत्पीडन हुने गरेको पाइन्छ । नेपाली उपन्यासको विश्लेषणका सन्दर्भमा उपन्यासमा रहेका पात्रहरूको पृथक् लिङ्गीय यौनिक व्यवहारलाई तथ्यपरक ढङ्गले प्रस्तुत गर्न विपरीत लिङ्गी यौनिकतालाई महत्वपूर्ण आधारका रूपमा उपयोग गर्न सकिन्छ ।

समलिङ्गी यौनिकता

समान प्रकृतिको लिङ्ग भएका व्यक्तिहरूबिचको यौनिक सम्बन्धलाई समलिङ्गी यौनिकता भनिन्छ ।

एउटै लिङ्गका मानिसहरूबिच हुने यौन सम्बन्ध, व्यवहार, भुकाव, धारणा वा आकर्षणलाई समलिङ्गी व्यवहार भनिन्छ (अर्याल, २०६८: १४१)। समान लिङ्ग भएकासँग हुने यौन सम्बन्ध तथा शारीरिक सम्बन्ध मात्र नभएर सामाजिक, आर्थिक, व्यावहारिक राजनैतिक आदि जीवनयापनका सम्पूर्ण सम्बन्धहरूको समष्टि धारणालाई समलिङ्गी यौनिकता भन्ने बुभिन्छ । तात्त्विकतावादीहरूले स्त्री वा पुरुष समलिङ्गी चाहना जन्मजात लिएर आएका हुन्छन् भन्ने धारणा राखेको पाइन्छ । त्यस्तै निर्माणवादीहरूले समलिङ्गी होस् वा पृथक् लिङ्गी त्यो सामाजिक, भाषिक तथा सांस्कृतिक मूल्यहरूको आधारमा निर्धारण हुन्छ भन्ने मत प्रस्तुत गरेका छन् (उप्रेती, २०६९: २४६-२४७)। प्राकृतिक रूपमा होस् वा सामाजिक रूपमा नै निर्मित किन नहोस् समलिङ्गी यौनिकताका आफ्नै विशेषता, प्रवृत्ति तथा व्यवहारहरू हुने गर्दछन् । समलिङ्गी यौनिकता दुई भागमा विभाजित हुने हुँदा सोहीअनुसार यहाँ व्याख्या गरिएको छ ।

(क) महिला समलिङ्गी यौनिकता

महिला समलिङ्गी यौनिकता भन्नाले समसामाजिक दायरामा महिला महिलासँग सम्बन्धित भएर रहनु हो (पिल्चर एन्ड ह्वेलहेन, सन् २००४: ७९)। यस्तो यौनिकतालाई लेज्बियन यौनिकता भनिन्छ । आमूल नारीवादी विचारको विकास भएपछि महिला समलिङ्गी यौनिकताले गति प्राप्त गरेको देखिन्छ । पितृसत्ताबाट शोषित बनेका महिलाहरूले आक्रोश र विरोध गर्दै पुरुषविहीन जीवनयापनको परिकल्पना गरेबाट लेज्बियन यौनिकता सबल बन्दै आएको पाइन्छ । लेज्बियन यौनिकताले महिलाले महिलासँग राख्ने यौन सम्बन्ध र सन्तुष्टिलाई मात्र बुफाउँदैन । यसका साथै सामाजिक, भाषिक, राजनैतिक, सांस्कृतिक पक्षमा पनि महिला महिलाबिचको सम्बन्धलाई जनाउँछ ।

(ख) पुरुष समलिङ्गी यौनिकता

पुरुष समलिङ्गी यौनिकतालाई गे यौनिकता भनिन्छ । एउटा पुरुष अर्को पुरुषसँग आकर्षित हुने, सम्बन्ध राख्ने तथा सन्तुष्ट हुने अवस्था नै गे यौनिकता हो । यसका साथै सामाजिक सम्बन्ध पनि पुरुषको पुरुषसँगै निहित हुने अवस्था हो । परम्परागत विपरीत लिङ्गी यौनिक व्यवहारका विरुद्धमा समलिङ्गी पुरुषले आफ्नो समसामाजिक मूल्यको खोजी गरेपछि सन् १९७० पछि पुरुष समलिङ्गी यौनिक चेतना आन्दोलनका रूपमा विकसित हुँदै आएको पाइन्छ । दुवै धार समलिङ्गी यौनिकताभित्र पनि विभिन्न अन्तरविरोधहरू रहेका छन्, जस्तैः यौनिक सम्बन्धमा मात्र सीमित हुने या समग्र सामाजिक जीवनयापनमा केन्द्रित हुने ।

द्विलिङ्गी यौनिकता

समलिङ्गी यौन व्यवहार र पृथक् लिङ्गी यौन व्यवहार दुवै थरिका सम्बन्ध कायम गर्ने अवस्थाको यौनिकतालाई द्विलिङ्गी यौनिकता भनिन्छ । द्विलिङ्गी यौनिकतामा यौनिक अनुभव, संवेग, आकर्षण तथा स्नेह समलिङ्गी तथा विसमलिङ्गी दुवै प्रकृतिका व्यक्तिसँग हुने गर्दछ । महिला वा पुरुषको व्यक्ति सचेतना र सामाजिक पहिचान द्वैध यौनसम्बन्धी व्यवहार, धारणा, अनुभव, आकर्षण आदि समलिङ्गी र विपरीत लिङ्गी दुवैअनुरूपको विकास हुन्छ (अर्याल, २०६८: १४४)। व्यावहारिक रूपमा वा जीवनशैलीमा द्विलिङ्गी यौनिकता पृथक् लिङ्गी यौनिकता तथा समलिङ्गी यौनिकताभन्दा अभ अस्पष्ट, गुप्त र नियन्त्रित रहेको पाइन्छ । यद्यपि द्विलिङ्गी यौनिक त्वभाव भएका व्यक्तिहरू समाजमा यथेष्ट मात्रामा रहेका छन् । द्विलिङ्गी यौनिकता भएका व्यक्तिहरूले आफ्नो अधिकार स्थापना र अस्तित्वको खोजीमा प्रस्ट गतिशीलता प्राप्त गर्न सकेको अवस्था छैन, बरु यस्तो अवस्थाका व्यक्तिहरूले गे वा लेज्वियन स्वभावका व्यक्तिहरूसँग मिलेर आफ्नो अस्तित्वको खोजी गरिरहेका छन् । द्विलिङ्गी यौनिकता भएका मानिसहरूले अन्य यौनिक स्वभावका मानिसहरूजस्तै समूह, सङ्गठन वा संस्था खोलेर सार्वजनिक स्वतन्त्र समूह निर्माण गरेका छैनन् तर यस्तो यौनिकतालाई पनि तेस्रो लिङ्गीअन्तर्गत समावेश गरिएको पाइन्छ । यस अर्थमा द्विलिङ्गी यौनिकता भएका व्यक्तिहरू अभ बढी कुण्ठित, तिरस्कृत र सीमित बनेको अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ ।

पुरुष समलिङ्गी यौनिकतालाई जुन दृष्टिले हेर्ने र विश्लेषण गर्ने गरिन्छ त्यही दृष्टिबाट नै द्विलिङ्गी यौनिकतालाई हेर्ने र विश्लेषण गर्ने काम गरिन्छ (मिल्स एन्ड मुलानी, सन् २०११: १३४)। द्विलिङ्गी यौनिकता र यौन सम्बन्धका बारेमा अर्याल (२०६८) भन्दछन् "द्वैध यौन सम्बन्ध कायम गर्ने महिलाले पहिले विपरीत लिङ्गी र पछि समलिङ्गीसँगको यौन अनुभव बटुलेकी हुन्छे भने द्वैध यौन सम्बन्ध कायम गर्ने पुरुषले पहिला समलिङ्गीसँग यौन सम्बन्ध कायम गर्दछ त्यसपछि मात्र विपरीत लिङ्गीसँग ।" द्विलिङ्गी यौनिकता अन्य यौनिकताका तुलनामा अभ बढी शारीरिक, मनोवैज्ञानिक र सामाजिक हिसाबले जटिल मानिन्छ । आकर्षण, माया तथा भावनात्मक सम्बन्धको प्रगाढतामा यौन सम्पर्कमा मात्र यस्तो यौनिकता सीमित बन्दछ । यस्तो व्यवहार भएका व्यक्तिहरू सामाजिक राजनैतिक वा आर्थिक हिसाबले अन्य मौलिकता भएका मानिसहरूको दाँजोमा अस्पष्ट, गुम्फित तथा पृथक् खालका हुन्छन् । तसर्थ यौनिकताका हिसाबले यस्तो यौनिकतालाई बढी सङ्कमणजन्य प्रवृत्ति मानिन्छ ।

परिवर्तित लिङ्गी यौनिकता

जैविक रूपमा पुरुष भए पनि मनोवैज्ञानिक तथा व्यावहारिक रूपमा स्त्रीका स्वभाव र प्रकृतिको अवस्था वा जैविक रूपमा स्त्री भए पनि व्यावहारिक तथा मनोवैज्ञानिक रूपमा पुरुषका स्वभाव र प्रवृत्ति प्रस्तुत गर्ने यौनिक अवस्थालाई परिवर्तित लिङ्गी यौनिकता भनिन्छ । यस्तो प्रवृत्ति र स्वभाव भएका व्यक्तिहरू सकेसम्म शारीरिक संरचनाको परिवर्तन गरी मानसिक र शारीरिक गुणहरू स्वाभाविक र सहज बनाउने प्रयत्नमा लागेका हुन्छन् । बाहिरी संरचना वा जैविक पक्ष एउटा लिङ्गको हुने तर आन्तरिक पक्ष, लवाइ बोली, व्यवहार यौन अपेक्षा, शैली आदि अर्को लिङ्गको व्यवहारसँग मिल्ने गरी यौनिक व्यवहारहरू रहेको अवस्था सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक हिसाबले अत्यन्त जटिल मानिन्छ । स्त्री संरचना भएका महिलाहरूमा पुरुष स्वभाव हुने हुनाले तिनीहरू स्त्रीसँग यौन सम्बन्ध राख्न चाहन्छन् भने पुरुष संरचना भएका पुरुषहरूमा स्त्री स्वभाव हुने भएकाले तिनीहरू पुरुषसँग यौन सम्बन्ध राख्न चाहन्छन् । यस आधारमा यस्तो यौनिक व्यवहार प्रकारान्तरले समलिङ्गी यौनिकताको रूपमा प्रकटित हुन्छ ।

परिवर्तित लिङ्गी यौनिकताका बारेमा उप्रेती (२०६८) भन्छन्, "केही समलिङ्गी पुरुषहरू सर्जरीको माध्यमले शारिरिक परिवर्तन गरेर नारी बनेका छन् भने केही समलिङ्गी नारीहरू पुरुष बनेका छन् । यस्ता नारी पुरुषलाई trans sexual भन्ने गरिन्छ ।" सर्जरी गरेर आफ्नो स्वभाव र मानसिकतासँग मिल्ने शारीरिक संरचना निर्माण गरेको भए तापनि त्यस्ता व्यक्तिहरूका भिन्न पहिचान हुनु नपर्ने मान्यता पनि विकसित भइरहेको पाइन्छ ।

परिवर्तित लिङ्गी यौनिकताका सन्दर्भमा मिल्स तथा मुलानी (२०११) ले अनुसन्धान प्रतिवेदनका आधारमा भन्छन्, 'ब्राजिलमा गरिएको अध्ययनअनुसार यस्ता परिवर्तित लिङ्गी यौनिकता भएका व्यक्तिहरूलाई travesties (ट्राभेस्टिस्) भनिन्छ । ती ट्राभेस्टिस्हरू, जो पुरुष हुन् उनीहरू जैविक संरचनाको परिवर्तनमा लागेका छन् र स्त्रीकेन्द्रित नामहरूबाट परिचित हुन चाहन्छन् ।' परिवर्तित लिङ्गी यौनिकता भन्नाले महिलाले पुरुषको आकृति, प्रकृति, व्यवहारसँग मिल्ने र पुरुषले महिलाको आकृति, स्वरूप, प्रकृति, व्यवहारसँग मिल्ने गेटअप वा स्वरूपमा यौन सम्बन्ध राख्नु हो । केटा केटीका रूपमा देखिन्छ । केटी केटाका रूपमा देखिन्छे । यसरी शारीरिक संरचना जैविक हुन्छ भने व्यवहार, स्वरूप सामाजिक एवं लैर्ड्गिक हुन्छ । केटी देखिनेको अङ्ग penis हुन्छ भने केटा देखिनेको अङ्ग vagina हुन्छ (अर्याल, २०६८: १४४)। उपर्युक्त विभिन्न धारणा तथा व्याख्याहरूका आधारमा परिवर्तित लिङ्गी यौनिकताअन्तर्गत शारीरिक संरचना अनुसारको मानसिक संरचना नहुने, मानसिक स्वभावअनुसार शारीरिक संरचना बदल्न प्रयत्नशील रहने भिन्न यौनिक संरचना भएका व्यक्तिहरूको व्यवहार, शैली, लवाइ, भाषा अपनाउने गर्दछन् । जैविक रूपमा प्रेष भएकाले नारीत्वको खोजी गर्ने र स्त्री भएकाले पुरुषत्वको खोजी गर्ने तथा प्रकारान्तरमा समलिङ्गी यौन व्यवहार प्रकट गर्ने प्रवृत्तिहरू रहेका हुन्छन् भन्न सकिन्छ ।

अन्तरलिङ्गी यौनिकता

अन्तरलिङ्गी यौनिकता भन्नाले एक व्यक्तिसँग स्त्री र पुरुष द्वैका यौन अङ्गहरू हुने स्थिति हो (अर्याल, २०६८: १४४)। मानवको जैविक विकासमै विशिष्ट वा असामान्य संरचनात्मक स्वरूपमा यस्तो अवस्था देखा पर्दछ । त्यसैले मानव विकास अभ भनौँ मानवको यौन विकासमा देखापर्ने अव्यवस्थाका रूपमा यस्तो संरचनालाई अर्थ्याइन्छ । यस्तो संरचना भएका व्यक्ति अपवादका रूपमा रहेका हुन्छन् । प्राथमिक यौनाइग (vagina/penis) दवै एकै व्यक्तिमा हुने भए तापनि अन्य गुण तथा प्रवृत्तिहरू कोहीमा पुरुषका जस्ता र कोहीमा स्त्रीका जस्ता देखा पर्दछन् । यस्ता व्यक्तिहरूको जैविक र सामाजिक लिङ्ग पहिचान गर्न तथा वर्गीकरण गर्न कठिनाइ उत्पन्न हुन्छ । त्यसैले यस्तो यौनिकतालाई जटिल यौनिकता पनि भनिन्छ । अन्तरलिङ्गी यौनिकता भएका व्यक्तिहरू पनि कोही समानान्तर अन्तरलिङ्गी गुण भएका हुन्छन् त कोही सक्रिय र निष्क्रिय अन्तरलिइगी गुण भएका हुन्छन् । द्वै खालका यौनाङ्ग (penis/vagina) को उत्तिकै भूमिका रहने अवस्थाको अन्तरलिङ्गीलाई समानान्तर अन्तरलिङ्गी भनिन्छ । यस्ता व्यक्तिले स्त्री र पुरुष द्वैसँग यौन सम्बन्ध राख्ने क्षमता राख्दछन् भने सक्रिय र निष्क्रिय अन्तरलिङ्गी ग्ण भएका व्यक्तिहरूका शारीरिक संरचना अन्तरलिइगी किसिमको भए पनि स्त्रीगुण सक्रिय र पुरुष गुण निष्क्रिय वा पुरुष गुण सकिय र स्त्री गुण निस्किय हुन सक्दछन् । यस्ता व्यक्तिहरूले स्त्री र पुरुष द्वैसँग यौन सम्बन्ध नराखी क्नै एकसँग (स्त्री ग्ण सक्रिय हुनेले प्रुषसँग र प्रुष ग्ण सक्रिय हुनेले स्त्रीसँग) यौन सम्बन्ध राख्दछन् । साथै यस्ता व्यक्तिहरूले समलिइगी यौनिक व्यवहार, पृथक लिइगी यौनिक व्यवहार तथा द्विलिइगी यौनिक व्यवहार पनि अपनाउन सक्छन् । अन्तरलिइगी यौनिक व्यवहार भएका व्यक्तिहरूको सामाजिक लिइग, पहिचान तथा अस्तित्व बढी सङ्क्रमणयुक्त, जटिल तथा विरोधाभासपूर्ण रहेको पाइन्छ । यसले सामाजिक र पारिवारिक जटिलताहरू पनि सिर्जना गर्दछ। यस्ता व्यक्तिहरूलाई हिँजडा वा तेस्रो लिङगी पनि भनिएको पाइन्छ तर तेस्रो लिङ्गी शब्द अहिले सामान्यीकृत बन्दै गइरहेको छ ।

यौनिकताको भाषा

पुरुष समलिइगी यौनिकता भएका व्यक्तिहरूले आफ्नै समूहको खास भाषा (कोड ल्याइग्वेज) प्रयोग गर्ने गरेको भए तापनि महिला समलिइगी यौनिकता भएका व्यक्तिहरूले त्यस्ता विशेष शब्दावली प्रयोग नगर्ने बरु नारीवादी शब्द र सामान्य भाषाको प्रयोग गर्ने गरेको पाइन्छ (होल्म्स् एन्ड मेयर्होफ, सन् २००५: १२१)। विभिन्न यौनिक गुण भएका व्यक्तिहरूले विशेष किसिमका भाषिक सङ्केत र व्यवहारहरू प्रकट गर्ने गर्दछन् । पृथक् लिइगीहरूले पनि भिन्न र विशिष्ट भाषिक व्यवहारहरू प्रस्तुत गर्दछन् तर यस्ता यौनिक सङ्केतहरू यौन चाहनाको पूर्ति वा सन्तुष्टिमा केन्द्रित रहेका हुन्छन् । पृथक् लिइगी व्यक्तिहरूले निर्धारण गरेका मानक भाषिक प्रयोगभन्दा भिन्न र विशिष्ट किसिमका भाषिक व्यवहार समलिइगी व्यक्तिहरूले निर्धारण गरेका मानक भाषिक प्रयोगभन्दा भिन्न र विशिष्ट किसिमका भाषिक व्यवहार समलिइगी पुरुष तथा महिलाहरूले गर्ने गरेको पाइन्छ (मिल्स एन्ड मुलानी, सन् २०१९: १२४)। बेलायतमा प्रयोगमा भएको विशेष भाषा (Polari) लाई विश्वका अन्य गे तथा लेज्बियनले समेत स्वीकार गरेको पाइएको छ । Polari अर्थात् समलिइगी यौनिकता भएका व्यक्तिले प्रयोग गरेको भाषाको उदाहरण यस्तो छ: We would zhoosh our riahs, powder our eeks, climb in to our bona new drag, don aourir batts बलम troll off to some bona bijou bar (मिल्स एन्ड मुलानी, सन् २०११: १२४)। उपर्युक्त उदाहरणमा प्रयोग गरिएका विशेष शब्दको अर्थ यस प्रकार प्रस्तुत गर्न सकिन्छ:

शब्द	अर्थ	शब्द	अर्थ	शब्द	अर्थ	शब्द	अर्थ
Zhoosh	fix	eeks	face	drag	clothes	troll off	cruise
riahs	hair	bona	nice	batts	shoes	bijou	small

त्यस्तै हडकडमा पनि पुरुष समलिङ्गीको भाषालाई Mem-ba भनिन्छ । पृथक् लिङ्गी यौनिकता भएका व्यक्ति तथा सार्वजनिक मान्यताभन्दा भिन्न रहेर विशेष बोध अभिव्यक्तिका लागि गे मेनहरूले Memba को प्रयोग गर्ने गरेको पाइन्छ । Mem-ba का केही उदाहरण यस प्रकार छन्: diu - थग (to go cruising), थग - tong (cruising, places), chau – fui (to be attracted to white men), wui-so (gay bars) (मिल्स एन्ड मुलानी, २०१९: १२४)। त्यसैले कुनै पनि ठाउँमा रहेका समलिङ्गी यौनिकता भएका व्यक्तिहरूले आ-आफ्नै विशेष शब्दावलीको प्रयोग गर्ने गरेको देखिन्छ । आफ्ना यौनिक चाहना र आवश्यकता पूर्ति गर्ने अभिप्रायले विशेष भाषिक व्यवहार प्रयोग गर्ने गर्दछन् भने पृथक् लिङ्गी यौनिकता भएका व्यक्तिहरू हुन् वा समलिङ्गी यौनिकता भएका व्यक्तिहरू हुन् उनीहरूले भिन्न किसिमका यौनिक भाषाको प्रयोग गर्दछन् ।

आवरण उपन्यासको विश्लेषण

जया ओफाद्वारा लेखिएको *आवरण* (२०७३) अन्तरलिङ्गी विषय सन्दर्भमा केन्द्रित उपन्यास हो । नेपाली समाजमा लैङ्गिक विभेद, असमानता तथा हिंसाका विविध पक्षहरू व्याप्त रहेका छन् । यस्ता पक्षमध्ये यौनिक हिंसाका घटनाहरूलाई आवरणले प्रस्तुत गरेको छ ।

उपन्यासको प्रारम्भ उपसंहारबाट भएको छ । उपन्यासको कथावस्तु प्रमुख पात्र ज्योतिको अर्धचेतनमा रहेको मानसिकता सपनामा देखेको घटनाबाट सुरु भएको छ । जन्मँदै जैविक असामान्यता लिएर आएकी पात्रले नवजात अवस्थादेखि नै पारिवारिक हिंसा र उपेक्षा खेप्न बाध्य हुन्छे । स्त्री र पुरुष दुवै जननेन्द्रिय भए तापनि उसलाई छोराका रूपमा समाजमा सार्वजनिक गरिन्छ र नाम पनि किरण राखिन्छ । आफूलाई किरण वा केटाका रूपमा परिचय दिइएको उसलाई मन पर्दैन बरु लुकीलुकी केटीका व्यवहार देखाउन मन लाग्छ र सोहीअनुसार गर्छे । पहिचानविनाको भोगाइ, पारिवारिक हिंसा तथा उपेक्षाले ज्योति मर्माहत बनिरहन्छे । उसको बाबु राजनीतिमा लागेको र पछि सत्तामा समेत पुगे पनि उसको व्यवहारमा पितृसत्ता कायमै रहन्छ । यौनिक हिंसाको सिकारसमेत बनेकी ज्योतिप्रति उसकी दिदी, भाइ र हजुरबुबा पनि मानवता नभएका पात्र बनेका छन् । पीडा तथा हिंसाको चरम यातना भोग्दै जाँदा यौनिक अल्पसङ्ख्यकहरूको अधिकारका निम्ति सक्रिय व्यक्ति तथा संस्थामा आबद्ध भई ज्योतिले सफलता प्राप्त गरेको कथावस्तु छ । नकारात्मक सोचाइ र व्यवहारमा रहेका अन्य पात्रहरूमा पनि स्वभाव एवम् प्रवृत्तिमा परिवर्तन आएको छ । अन्त्यमा उपन्यास सुखमा टुर्डुगिएको छ ।

व्यक्तिमा अन्तरनिहित प्रतिभाको प्रस्फुटनका लागि उपयुक्त वातावरण बनाउन सक्नुपर्दछ, जसरी उपन्यासमा किरणको प्रतिभा उद्घाटनमा रेशमको अहम् भूमिका रहेको छ । हाम्रो समाजमा कानुनतः यौनिक विशिष्टता भएका व्यक्तिहरूका लागि विशेष समता तथा समानताको व्यवस्था गरिए पनि व्यवहारत: स्वीकार गर्न नसकिएको उदाहरण पेश गर्दै त्यसतर्फ सचेत हुनसमेत आग्रह गरिएको छ ।

आवरण विशेष यौनिकतामध्ये अन्तरलिङ्गी यौनिकता भएका व्यक्तिहरूले भोग्नुपर्ने शारीरिक, सामाजिक, मनोवैज्ञानिक, यौनिक समस्या र हिंसा प्रस्तुत गर्दै मूलप्रवाहीकरणमा केन्द्रित छ । अन्तरलिङ्गी गुणसहित जन्मिएकी ज्योति (जसको नाम कानुनत: किरण बनाइएको छ) ले जन्मँदै हिंसा र उपेक्षाको सिकार बन्नु परेको छ । समाजमा यस्ता विशिष्टता भएका व्यक्तिहरू हुन्छन् तथापि परिवार वा समाजको इज्जत तथा प्रतिष्ठाका नाममा यिनीहरूलाई सदैव गोप्य बनाइन्छ, परिचय दिइँदैन, सार्वजनिक गरिँदैन बरु ठूलै अपराधीभैँ व्यवहार गरिन्छ, पाप ठानिन्छ, यस्तै व्यक्तिहरू यौनिक हिंसाका सिकार बन्दछन् । यिनीहरूको इच्छा, चाहना तथा हक, अधिकारको त कुनै सरोकार नै हुँदैन । अभ भनौँ यस्ता व्यक्तिहरूलाई मानिसका रूपमासमेत हेरिँदैन भन्ने कुरा यस उपन्यासमार्फत प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । हाम्रो सोचाइ तथा व्यवहारमा परिवर्तन ल्याउनुपर्छ र यौनिक अल्पसङ्ख्यक वा विशेष यौनिकता भएका व्यक्तिहरूको सम्मान गर्दै परिचय दिनुपर्दछ र उनीहरूमा रहेका वास्तविक क्षमताको प्रस्फुटनमा भूमिका खेल्दै उनीहरूलाई सशक्त त्ल्याउन्पर्छ भन्ने मूल ध्येयका साथ *उपन्यास* तयार गरिएको छ ।

अन्तरलिङ्गी यौनिकताको प्रकृति

यौनिक विशिष्टताका अनेकौँ प्रकृति छन् । जन्मजात रूपमा यस्ता खास प्रकृतिहरू व्यक्तिसँगै आएका हुन्छन् । हो, कुनै खास प्रवृत्ति भने परिवेश निर्मित हुन पनि सक्छन् । व्यक्ति वा समाजलाई मन पर्नु नपर्नु फरक कुरा हो । यस्ता यौनिक विशिष्टताका उदाहरण पेस गर्दै तिनीहरूका वास्तकिता प्रस्तुत गर्न पनि उपन्यासकार सफल रहेको देखिन्छ । "आलोकमा प्रकृतिले दिने पुरुष अड्ग थियो । तर उसमा पुरुषप्रति आकर्षित हुने हर्मोन थियो । उसलाई सुन्दर युवतीको सुन्दरताले लोभ्याउँदैन्थ्यो । ... त्यो केटी हो । प्रकृतिले दिने यौन अङ्गमा कुनै कञ्जुस्याँइ गरेको छैन । सबल केटी हो । नछुने पनि हन्छे । ऊ मजस्तो केटासँग आकर्षित हुन्न । उसको बिहे पनि केटीसँग नै भएको छ । एउटा बच्चा एडप्ट गरेका छन् । उनीहरूको सुखी परिवार छ" (पृ.६९)। यहाँ गे तथा लेज्बियन यौनिकताका प्राकृतिक स्वरूपको उजागर गर्दै रेशमले ज्योतिसँग समलिइगी यौनिकताको वास्तविकता बताउने कममा भनेका यी अभिव्यक्तिबाट यो करा प्रस्ट हन्छ ।

लिङ्ग र योनी दुवै भएको तर छातीमा ठूला स्तन नभएको, देख्दा केटा तर दुवै जननेन्द्रिय भएको पुरुष जननेन्द्रिय निष्क्रिय भएको कारण विरोधाभासपूर्ण अत्यन्त कठिन, परिचयविहीन जीवन भोग्न बाध्य बनाइएको पात्र किरणको वास्तविकता उद्घाटनले यौनिक विशिष्टता भएकाहरूले सामाजिक, मनोवैज्ञानिक तथा मानसिक रूपमा भोग्नुपर्ने समस्या तथा जटिलताको सङ्केत गर्दै उपन्यासकारले त्यस कारण पनि विशेष व्यवस्थाको आह्वान गरेकी छन् । "तँलाई जहाँसुकै गए पनि सबैले तँलाई छोरा नै भन्छन् । अब तँलाई छोरा नै भएर बाँच्नु पर्छ जिन्दगीभर । यही नै तेरो परिचय हो" (पृ.१४२)। किरणकी आमाले किरणलाई भनेको कुरा र "सुसुले मर्नु भइरहेकाले ट्वाइलेट गएँ । त्यहाँ केटी साथीहरू लस्करै उभिएका रहेछन् । ... साकारले तानेर अर्कोतिर लग्यो ... ट्वाइलेटभित्र पस्नासाथ ऊ सु गर्न थाल्यो । ... म हतारमा बाहिर निस्केँ । ... सु नआएको बहाना बनाएर भागेँ । ...च्यापेको हुँदा लुगामा नै सु फुस्कियो । ... सबैले मलाई जिस्काउन थाले 'म्त्यो म्त्यो' । ... लुगामा सु गरेकाले सबै साथीहरूको अगाडि क्खुरा बनाएर राखे" (पृ.१४४)। किरणले भोगेको व्यवहार तीतो यथार्थ हो । "कुन ट्वाइलेट जाने केटाको कि केटीको ? ... इस् अबदेखि स्कुल नै आउँदिन" (पृ.१४६)। किरणले आफ्नी आमासँग भनेको कुराले पनि समस्यका कारण मूल प्रवाहीकरणमा जटिलता आएको प्रस्ट हुन्छ । "केटी हुँ, केटीहरूसँग बस्नुपर्छ, मभित्रको छोरी हृदय हरपल मसँग बाभदथ्यो । रुन्थ्यो एकान्तमा । ... म पनि आफ्नो परिचयले हिँड्न पाएको भए (पृ.१४९)। ... मेरो ब्यागमा ऐना, गाजल, पालिस, चुरा, टीका हुन्थ्यो" (पृ.१४०)। शारीरिक वनावट हेर्दा केटा तर दुवै जननेन्द्रिय भएका कारण विरोधाभासपूर्ण अत्यन्त कठिन, परिचयविहीन जीवन भोग्न बाध्य बनाइएको र व्यक्तिको मन, आत्मा तथा मौलिकता ढाकिएको पात्र जसको अन्तर्तह स्त्री मनोविज्ञान तथा गुणले भरिएको किरणको वास्तविकता उद्घाटन गरिएको छ ।

यौनिक चाहना भनेको प्राकृतिक आवश्यकताजस्तै हो, यौनिक विशिष्टता भएका व्यक्तिहरूमा पनि त्यो हुनु स्वाभाविक हो तर त्यसको व्यवस्थापना समाज उदासीन रहेको छ भन्ने कुरा यहाँ व्यक्त छ । "विपरीत लैङ्गिक आनन्दले यौन वासनामा आतुर बनाउँथ्यो" (पृ.१४३)। "... हामी सिरु र मदनजस्तै व्वाइफ्रेन्ड गर्लफ्रेन्ड बनौँ । हुन्छ ? म तिमीलाई माया गर्छु" (पृ.१४४) किरणको यमनसँग भएको व्यवहार तथा गरेको प्रेम प्रस्तावले उक्त कुरा प्रस्ट पार्दछ । त्यस्तै किरणले "ममा पनि बिहे गर्ने इच्छा हुन्थ्यो । पुरुषको सामीप्यको चाहना हुन्थ्यो" (पृ.१६७)। भन्ने सन्दभले किरणले "ममा पनि बिहे गर्ने इच्छा हुन्थ्यो । पुरुषको सामीप्यको चाहना हुन्थ्यो" (पृ.१६७)। भन्ने सन्दभले किरणको यौनिक चाहना प्रकट गरेको छ यहाँ । "कुनै पुरुषले आफ्नो अँगालोमा कसेर बाँधिदिँदा कस्तो हुन्छ । वास्तवमा सहवासको क्षण कस्तो हुन्छ ? कौतुहल जाग्दथ्यो (पृ.१६८)। आफैँ उत्तेजित बनेर आफैँ शान्त गराउने नसा मैले जानिसकेकी थिएँ" (पृ.१७०)। यौन सन्तुष्टिका लागि किरण स्वयमुले गर्ने व्यवहारको उद्घाटनले यौन चाहनाको स्वाभाविकतालाई उठान गरेको छ ।

अन्तरलिङ्गीका विविध प्रकृति रहेका हुन्छन् । जस्तो कि पुरुष पक्ष सक्रिय स्त्री पक्ष निष्क्रिय, पुरुष पक्ष निष्क्रिय स्त्री पक्ष सक्रिय वा दुवै पक्ष सक्रिय हुनु वा अन्य खालको प्रकृति हुनु । यी विविध प्रकृतिमध्ये एक प्रकृतिको अन्तरलिङ्गीका वास्तविक चित्र वा जैविक अवस्थालाई उपन्यासकारले अत्यन्त नजिकबाट नियालेकी छन् । "नारी हुँ तर अरू नारीका भैँ पुरुषलाई आकर्षण गर्ने र सन्तानलाई स्तनपान गराउने स्तन छैन । नारीको स्वरूपमा यौन आकृति मात्र छ । पुरुष हुँ भनूँ भने पुरुष लिङ्गको कुनै सानो निशान मात्रै । आधा नर, आधा नारी । पुरुष र स्त्री, प्राकृतिक रूपमा दुवै मिश्चित अङ्ग छ तर अपूर्ण" (पृ.१७४)। यसमा किरणको वास्तविकता प्रकट छ जसले अन्तरलिङ्गीका वास्तविक चित्रको प्रतिविम्बन गर्दछ । "तर, दुर्भाग्य भित्रबाट पनि मेरो हेल्थको पोजेटिभ रिपोर्ट आएन" (पृ.१७९)। बाहिर पुरुषको रूप भए पनि मानसिकता स्त्रीको रहेको, दुवै जननेन्द्रिय भए पनि स्त्रीको जननेन्द्रियबाट पिसाब बाहिरिने वा सक्रिय रहेको हुँदाहुँदै पनि जैविक हिसाबले आमा बन्नका लागि योग्य छु, छैन भनी परीक्षण गर्दा किरणको नकारात्मक रिपोर्ट आएको अवस्थाको चित्रण गरिएको यस उपन्यासमा अन्तरलिङ्गीको अत्यन्त जटिल अवस्था उदघाटन गरिएको छ ।

यौनिक विभेद र हिंसा

प्रस्तुत उपन्यासमा रहेका लैड्गिक तथा यौनिक पक्षसँग सम्बन्धित तथ्याड्कलाई निम्नानुसार देखाइएको छ: "हेर् त अस्ति राती चार वटा केटाले रेप गर्याथे नि । त्यसैलाई त हो" (पृ.१६)। यो उदाहरण यौनिक हिंसाजन्य व्यवहारको सिकार बनेकी ज्योतिलाई सड्केत गर्दै उपचारमा संलग्न नर्सहरूले भनेको अभिव्यक्ति हो । "यो ऐँजेरुको यति नै माया लागेको थियो भने क्नै आश्रममा लगेर राखिदेको भए हुन्थ्यो" (पृ.२९)। यहाँ ज्योतिकी दिदी रश्मीले पारिवारिक तथा सामाजिक संरचनाको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्दै यौनिक विशिष्टता भएकी ज्योतिलाई उसकी आमाले गरेको व्यवहारप्रति व्यङ्ग्य गर्दै उपेक्षा व्यक्त गरेकी छ । "छरछिमेकमा हिंड्न गाह्रो छ, जहाँ पनि त्यही बलात्कारको कुरा" (पृ.३०)। निर्धो जो छ उसैलाई समाजले हिंसा गर्छ र फेरि आफ्नो इज्जत पनि उसैसँग जोड्छ भन्ने कुराको प्रमाण हो यो ज्योतिकी बुहारी कायाको अभिव्यक्ति । यसमा पनि यौनिक हिंसाकै उद्घाटन भएको छ ।

"तै यो घरमा पलाएको ऐँजेरु होस् । तै नमरी घरमा शान्ति हुदैन । ... जुनी पनि कुकुरकै लिएर आएछ । ... विग्रिएको रगतको डल्लो । अटेर्नो । उठ् एँजेरु" (पृ.३३)। भाइ प्रभातले ज्योतिलाई लछारपछार पादै गरेको व्यवहारले हिंसाको पराकाष्ठालाई सड्केत गरेको छ । "समाजमा तिमीहरूले यति धेरै विकृति मच्चाएका छौ । तिमीहरूलाई जो पनि चल्छ । जब चित्त बुभदैन यहाँ आउँछौ । हामी के गर्न सक्छौँ" (पृ.३८)? उपर्युक्त उदाहरण ज्योति बलात्कृत भएर प्रहरीसँग न्यायका लागि रिपोर्ट लेखाउन जाँदा इन्स्पेक्टर विनोद केसीद्वारा प्रस्तुत अभिव्यक्ति हो । यसले यौनिक विशिष्टता भएका व्यक्तिहरूप्रति हाम्रो प्रशासनिक एवम् कार्यालयीय दृष्टिकोणको यथार्थ भल्को दिन्छ । "फौजदारी अपराधका रूपमा जबरजस्ती करणी हुनका लागि चारवटा तत्त्वमध्ये एउटा यो हो कि महिला र पुरुष नै हुनुपर्छ" (पृ.४०)। ज्योति आफू बलात्कृत भएर प्रहरीसँग न्यायका लागि रिपोर्ट लेखाउन जाँदा वकिलले कानुनको दायरासहित भनेको कुराले कानुन वा त्यसका व्याख्याताले गरेको यौनिक विभेद र अन्यायलाई सार्वजनिक गरेको छ । "यो मेरो इज्जत लिलाम गराउन चौकी पुगेको ... मेरो इज्जत जसरी हुन्छ माटोमा मिलाउन लागि परेको ... तै मेरो घरमा बस्न पदैन ... निस्केर गइहाल् । एकछिन पनि तँलाई यो घरमा राख्न सक्ति भएर प्रहरीसँग न्यायका लागि रिपोर्ट लेखाउन गएको हुनाले बाबु विश्वकाजीले ज्योतिलाई कुटपिट गर्दै घरबाट निकाल्ने कार्यले पारिवारिक तथा सामाजिक मानसिकतालाई उजागर गरेको छ ।

हिंसा, उपेक्षा तथा अवमूल्यन सहनुको पनि हद हुन्छ । अति नै भएपछि ज्योति घर छाडेर बाहिरिने निर्णय गर्छे । यो परिचय र पहिचानको खोजी हो । स्वको लडाइँ हो । अस्तित्वको सवाल हो । त्यसपछि ज्योतिको व्यक्तित्व विकासको क्षण सुरु हुन्छ । सड्घर्षको प्रारम्भ हुन्छ । "निधो गरेँ, घर फर्कने छैन । फटाफट हिँडेँ, आउँदिन मरिकाटे आउँदिनँ । जति दुःख परे पनि फर्किएर आउने छैन" (पृ.४३) बलात्कृत भएर प्रहरीसँग न्यायका लागि रिपोर्ट लेखाउन गएको हुनाले बाबु विश्वकाजीले ज्योतिलाई कुटपिट गर्दै घरबाट निकालेपछि समाजलाई चुनौती दिँदै उसले अठोट गरेकी छ । "ओई बयल्लिएको हिँजडा कराउँछस् ? भएभरको सँग सुतेर तँलाई पुगेन ? ... तिमीहरू तेस्रो लिङ्गी बन, चौथो लिङ्गी बन । सयौँ, हजार । जति लिङ्गी बन या बेलिङ्ग बन । छक्का पञ्जा जेसुकै बन । विकृति नबढाऊ" (पृ.६४)। तेस्रो लिङ्गीहरूलाई प्रहरीले पकेर चौकीमा लगेपछि गरेको व्यवहार यस व्यवहारले तेस्रो लिङ्गी, यौनिक अल्पसङ्ख्यक तथा विशिष्ट यौनिकता भएकाहरूप्रति प्रशासनको रवैया छर्लङ्ग पार्दछ ।

समाजमा व्याप्त यौनिक विभेद, हिंसा तथा अपमानका उदाहरण उपन्यासमार्फत यसरी व्यक्त गरिएको छ : "लौ न नि ! यो के उल्का भो ? ... के व्याइस् ! राँड यस्तो ? ... कुन औतार हो यो ? लौ ! नाति हो कि नातिनी ? छुट्टेकै छैन त । यो मान्छे हो कि भूत प्रेत, कुन जन्मको पाप होला ?दैव यस्तो के लीला देखायौ ? ... यस्तो अलच्छिना पाउनुभन्दा बरु बाँफो हुनु नै राम्रो" (पृ.७८)। स्त्री अङ्ग तथा पुरुष अङ्ग दुवै भएको बच्चा (ज्योति) को जन्म भएपछि उसकी हजुरआमाले उसकी आमालाई भनेको यस अभिव्यक्तिमा सन्तानको लिङ्ग निर्धारण वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिले अन्य भए पनि हाम्रो समाजले त्यसको सम्पूर्ण दोष नारी वा आमालाई लगाउँछ भन्ने कुराको यथार्थ उद्घाटन गरिएको छ । यसबाट पनि प्रस्ट हुन्छ कि हाम्रो समाजमा यौनिक हिंसा त छँदैछ, लैर्ड्गिक हिंसा पनि उत्तिकै बर्बर बनिरहेको छ । "यसको पढाइ, औषधी उपचार जति खर्च लाग्छ गर्छु । आश्रममा पठाइदिऊँ । अहिले लिन आएका छन्" (पृ.८८)। ज्योतिको बाबुले उसलाई घरमा नराखी आश्रममा पठाउनका लागि उसकी आमासँग भनेको कुरा र "यो ऐँजेरुलाई लगेर खोरमा हुलिदे" (पृ.९४)। भन्नु पनि हिंसाजन्य अभिव्यक्ति नै हो । परिवारका सबै सदस्य आफन्तको भोजमा जाँदा ज्योति पनि जान खोजेपछि उसलाई घरमै राख्ने आदेश दिँदै उसका बाबुले उसकी आमालाई भनेको कुरा यौनिक विभेद तथा हिंसाका उदाहरण हुन् ।

"यस जैरीलाई किन लैजानपऱ्यो ? पर्दैन लैजान" (पृ.१२१)। तीजको बेला सबै मन्दिर जाँदा ज्योतिकी हजुरआमाले उसलाई पनि मन्दिर लैजान खोज्दा उसका हजुरबाबुले भनेको कुराबाट प्रस्ट हुन्छ कि यौनिक विशिष्टसहित जन्मनु अमानव हुनु हो, जसले समाजमा सार्वजनिक हुने अधिकारसमेत राख्दैनन् भन्ने हाम्रो समाजको मनोदशा रहेको छ । यौनिक अल्पसङ्ख्यकप्रति समाजको नकारात्मक र उपेक्षापूर्ण बुफाइ तथा व्यवहार रहेको देखाइएको छ उपन्यासमा । "खोइ ! यस्ता मान्छेलाई त हिंजडा भन्छन् रे । यस्ता त जङ्गलाँ बस्छन् रे । उहीँ घर हन्छ रे । त्याँ बस्नेहेर्ले था'पाए भने आएर यसलाई नि लैजान्छन् अब" (पृ.१२६)। गाउँलेहरूले ज्योतिका बारेमा गरेको कुराकानीले समाजको दयनीय तथा घृणित अवस्थालाई देखाउँछ । "फुर्ती लाउँदी रैछे छुसी ! जा न, जा हिम्मत हेरुँ ? ... भुत्रो खा भुम्री तँलाई नि सुम्ल्याइदिन्छु" (पृ.१२६)। ज्योतिका हजुवा (पुरुष) ले आफ्नो आडम्बरसहित ऋमशः ज्योतिकी आमा तथा ज्योतिकी हजुरआमालाई लैइगिक हिंसायुक्त भाषाको प्रयोगसहित दुर्व्यवहार गरेको र 'पोथी बास्न हुन्न भन्ने थाहा हुनु पर्यो नि' (पृ.१३२)। ज्योतिका काका पितृसत्ताको आडम्बर र मनोदशासहित लैइगिक हिंसायुक्त भाषाको प्रयोगसहित गरेको व्यवहारका आधारमा हिंसाका अनेक रूप छन् समाजमा, पितृसत्ताले कुनै कुनै रूपमा आफूलाई निरन्तरता दिइरहेको हुन्छ भन्ने क्रा यहाँ स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

यौनिक हिंसाका अनेकौं पत्रहरू भोग्न बाध्य पारिएका हुन्छ लैङ्गिक तथा यौनिक अल्पसङ्ख्यकहरू । उनीहरू तिरस्कृत मात्र होइन बहिष्कृतसमेत बन्न पुग्छन् समाजबाट । अभ मानवीय दर्जासमेत गुमाएर कुकुरसरह पनि ठहरिँदैनन् भन्ने कुरा यहाँ देखाइएको छ । "यसलाई आजदेखि खाना यसकै कोठामा लैदिनु भनेको हैन, फेरि किन यहाँ" (पृ.१५७)? दिदीले किरणलाई उपेक्षा गर्दै भन्नु, "यही ऐंजेरूलाई पठाउने नि । जा आफ्ना कोठामा । तेरो खाना उहीँ आउँछ । भाइले तिरस्कार गर्नु र किरणका बाउले "छोरा छोरी र हामी बुढा बुढी चार जनाको परिवार छौँ । ... स्यान्डी पनि आउँछ" (पृ.१५७-१५९)। तथा किरणले आफ्नो बिहेको चाहना व्यक्त गर्दा उसको बाबुले "ऊ स्यान्डी पनि आउँछ" (पृ.१५७) भन्नु यसकै उदाहरण हो । राजनीतिक नेताका रूपमा चिनिएको किरणको बाबु जो समानता र स्वतन्त्रताको नारा लगाएर समाज परिवर्तनको भूमिका खेल्छु भन्छ, त्यसले त किरण जस्ता यौनिक भिन्नता भएका सन्तानलाई परिवारका सदस्यसमेत ठान्दैन बरु कुकुर उसको सदस्य बन्दछ भन्ने कुराको अभिव्यक्ति यस उदाहरणमा पाइन्छ । "उनीहरूले मेरो टिसर्ट उतारे । लडाएर मलाई नाङ्गै पारे । पालैपालो मरो शरीरमा करोडौँ गिद्धको चुच्चो रोपिन थाल्यो" (पृ.९५६)। गाँजामा लट्ठिएका केटाहरूले किरणलाई गरेको सामूहिक बलात्कारको घटनाले यौनिक हिंसाको उद्घाटन गरेको छ ।

यौनिक चेतना र सशक्तीकरण

पितृत्व, अभिभावकत्व त कता हो कता मानवताको छिद्रसमेत नभेटिने व्यवहार गर्न पछि पर्दैनन् पुरुषहरु भन्ने कुरालाई उपन्यासको यस घटनाले उद्घाटन गरेको छः "... कस्तो बाउ तिमी ? आफ्नो निदाएको सन्तानलाई मध्यरातमा छोडेर आउँदा तिम्रो आत्माले तिमीलाई अलिकति पनि धिक्कारेन" (पृ.९७)? सुतिरहेकी ज्योतिलाई उसकै बाबुले घरबाट टाढा मिल्काउने उद्देश्यले ट्रकमा छोडेर आएपछि उसकी आमाले उसको बाबुलाई भनेको घटना अत्यन्त विदारक छ ।

"आमा समूहमा नारीको हक र अधिकारका कुरा गर्दै मिटिङ छ भनेर हिँड्नुहुन्छ तपाईँहरू । के त्यो मिटिडमा यही सिकाइन्छ" (पृ.१२६)? गाउँका महिलाहरूका व्यवहारप्रति ज्योतिकी आमाले लैङ्गिक तथा यौनिक सम्मानका लागि सचेततापूर्वक व्यक्त गरेको आकोशसहित सम्मानको आग्रह गरिएको छ । यौनिक अल्पसङ्ख्यकप्रति हिंसा गर्ने होइन सम्मान गर्नुपर्छ, हिंसाको प्रतिकार गर्नुपर्छ भन्ने कुरा पनि देखाइएको छ । "मेरो सन्तानलाई कसैले पनि कुटपिट गर्न पाउँदैन । मैले सहेर बसेको छु भन्दैमा मनलाग्दी गर्न पाइँदैन" (पृ.१३०)। लैङ्गिक तथा यौनिक असामान्यता भएकै कारणलाई आधार बनाएर सानो गल्तीमा पनि ज्योतिको हजुरबाले ज्योतिलाई उपेक्षित तथा निर्दयी तरिकाले पिट्दा उसकी आमाले आफ्ना ससुरासामु गरेको प्रतिकारले उक्त क्राको सङ्केत गर्दछ ।

स्त्री र पुरुष दुवै जनाउने जननेन्द्रीय भए पनि अङ्गको सकियता, मानसिकता, भावना तथा मनोविज्ञानका आधारमा यौनिक विशिष्टता भएका व्यक्तिले आफ्नो भावनाअनुसारको पहिचान र परिचय चाहन्छन् भन्ने कुरा यहाँ ज्योतिका माध्यमबाट गरिएको अभिव्यक्तिमा देखिन्छ । "मलाई यो नाम राम्रो लागेन । यो त छोराको नाम हो । मलाई मेरै नाम राम्रो लाग्छ" (पृ.१४०)। ज्योतिका बाबुले उसको लामो कपालसमेत काटिदिएर नाम पनि छोराको राखिदिने निर्णय गरेपछि ज्योतिको प्रतिक्रियाले परिचय खोजेको सङ्केत दिन्छ । "मलाई पढ्नु छैन, किरण सिरण केही लेखिन" (पृ.१४९)। नाम परिवर्तन गरेर काठमाडौँको बोर्डिङ स्कुलमा पढ्न पठाउने अभिभावकको निर्णयविरुद्ध किरण (ज्योति) को प्रतिक्रिया तथा "म छोरी हुँ, छोरा हैन । यसरी ढाँटेर पढ्दिन यहाँ" (पृ.१४२)। जबरजस्ती छोराका रूपमा परिचित हुनपर्छ भन्ने कुराको विद्रोह किरणबाट हुनु सशक्तीकरणको नमुना हो ।

समाजलाई चुनौती दिँदै आत्मविश्वासका साथ सङ्घर्ष गरेर आफूलाई कमजोर नठानी आफ्नो क्षमता उद्घाटन गर्न सके मात्र अस्तित्व रक्षा र सम्मान लिन सकिन्छ । मूलप्रवाहीकरणमा प्रवेश गर्न आफै सक्रिय बन्नुपर्छ तर यसका लागि आधार र सहयोगको भने आवश्यकता हुन्छ भन्ने कुरा उपन्यासकारले किरणको सशक्तीकरणका माध्यमबाट प्रस्ट पारेकी छन् । "घरमा निर्धक्क किचनमा छिरेँ । बैठकमा छिरेँ । कहीँ कतै रोकटोक थिएन । मेरो परिचयसँगै नाम फेरिएको थियो । ... पत्रिकाको मध्य भागमा तेस्रो लिङ्गी तथा लैर्ङ्गिक अल्प सङ्ख्यकहरूको अवस्था र पहिचानका बारेमा मेरो लेख । मैले गरेको सङ्घर्षमा मेरो फोटोसहितको" (पृ.१९०)। रेशमको सहयोग तथा सल्लाहमा किरणले आफ्नो यौनिक पहिचानसहित गरेको प्रगति, आत्मविश्वास एवम् सार्वजनिकीकरणको उदाहरण । यसमा यौनिक चेतना, सशक्तीकरण तथा मूलप्रवाहीकरण अभिव्यक्त छ । व्यक्तिगत मात्र होइन सामुदायिक भूमिकामा समेत उत्साहित बन्दै सकिय र जिम्मेवार हुन आग्रह गरिएको छ किरणका माध्यमबाट । "उनीहरूका लागि मैले केही गर्न सकेँ भने मेरो जीवन सार्थक हुने छ" (पृ.१९१)। किरणको आत्मबोध तथा दायित्वबोधको अभिव्यक्ति, यसमा चेतनाको अभावमा पीडित बनेर, हेपिएर वा तिरस्कृत बनेर रहेका तेस्रो लिङ्गी तथा लैर्ड्याक अल्प सङ्ख्यकहरूको सम्मानसहित सामुदायिक भूमिकामा आफू समर्पित हुनुपर्ने सशक्त विचार व्यक्त भएको छ यहाँ । यति मात्र होइन किरणले "म बिजनेस गर्न चाहन्छु । म अब ज्योतिका नामबाट नागरिकता लिन चाहन्छु" (पृ.१९१-१९४)। भन्नु आत्मविश्वासका साथ उत्पादक भूमिकातर्फ उन्मुख भएको तथा आफ्नो पहिचानमा सशक्त बनेको अवस्था हो ।

समाजले यौनिक तथा लैङ्गिक अल्पसङ्ख्यकका सम्बन्धमा निर्माण गरिदिएको नकारात्मक मानसिकता सचेततापूर्वक अन्त्य गर्नुपर्छ र परिवर्तनतर्फ उन्मुख हुनुपर्छ भन्ने कुरा किरणकी दिदी रश्मीले किरणको पक्ष लिँदै बाबालाई चुनौती दिँदै भनेको कुराले व्यक्त हुन्छ । "यो ऐँजेरु हैन बाबा ! तपाईँको छोरी । मेरो बहिनी । हामी त बच्चा थियौँ, जान्दैनथ्यौँ । हाम्रो दिमागमा यसको बारेमा नराम्रो कुराले भर्नुभो । तपाईँ त देश चलाउने विद्वान् हुनुहुन्थ्यो नि ! किन आफ्नै छोरीको हक अधिकार मार्नुभयो" (पृ.१९४)। समाजका विभेदकारी सोचाइका विरुद्ध तथा कानुनी अधिकारका लागि आफै लड्न सक्नुपर्छ भन्ने विचार यहाँ प्रस्तुत छ । "म अब चुप लागेर बस्न चाहिनँ, नागरिकता मात्र हैन । मजस्ता अरू पीडितका शिक्षाका कुराहरू, दाम्पत्य जीवनका कुराहरू, रोजगारी, आफ्नो सम्पत्तिका कुराहरू । हरेक ठाउँमा यसका लागि लड्छु" (पृ.१९७)। कानुनी रूपमा किरणबाट ज्योति बन्नका लागि प्रशासन तथा बाबाबाट असहयोग भएपछि त्यसलाई अफ सशक्त बनाउने, आफ्नो मात्र होइन लैङ्गिक तथा यौनिक विशिष्टता भएकाहरूका लागि समर्पित हुने प्रतिबद्धतासहित किरणको सङ्कल्पले सशक्तीकरणलाई व्यञ्जित गर्दछ ।

आत्मविश्वासका साथ सङ्घर्ष गर्दै आफ्नो प्रतिभा उद्घाटन गर्न सकेमा अवसरबाट बञ्चित हुनु पर्दैन भन्ने विचार व्यक्त गरिएको छ उपन्यासमा । किरण लैङ्गिक तथा यौनिक विशिष्टता भएका व्यक्तिहरूको अधिकारका लागि हुने अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सम्मेलनमा भाग लिन सक्षम देखाइएको छ । "अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय स्तरमा जाने पहिलो अवसर थियो मेरो । ... पहिलोपल्ट अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय हवाइयात्रा गर्दै थिएँ । भारतबाट पर्केपछि अन्तरलिङ्गी बालबालिका बारेमा एउटा लेख लेख्दै थिएँ । ... युएन कमिटीले नेपाल सरकारलाई अन्तरलिङ्गीको मुद्दाको लागि सिफारिस गर्यो । म नेपालको लागि छानिएँ । ... रेशमले ताइवानको लागि एउटा प्रोग्राम हुँदै गरेको बतायो । ... म त्यस प्रोग्रामको तयारीको लागि लागिपरिसकेकी थिएँ । ... म उताको लागि प्रस्थान गरेँ" (पृ.२०२-२०३)। उपन्यासकारले किरणको सफलता, उत्तरदायित्वबोध, सक्षमतामा उपन्यासको उद्देश्य बाँधेको देखिन्छ ।

हेपिएका तथा उपेक्षा गरिएका व्यक्तिहरूले अवसर पाए भने उनीहरूमा रहेको विशेष क्षमता प्रकट हुन्छ र सफल बन्न सक्छन् । तसर्थ त्यस्ता व्यक्तिको प्रतिभा प्रस्फुटनमा समेत ध्यान दिनुपर्दछ भन्ने विचार उपन्यासमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । रेशमले किरणको चित्रकलाको प्रशंसा मात्र होइन चित्रमार्फत गरिएको अन्तरलिङ्गी अवस्थाको यथार्थ उद्घाटनसमेत गर्दै किरणको बहुमुखी क्षमताको उद्घाटन र कलाले समग्र समाजको प्रतिविम्बन गरेको खलासा गरेको उदाहरण तथा किरणको चित्रकारिता, सार्वजनिकीकरण, उत्पादक भूमिका एवम् सफलताको प्रस्तुतिले यस्तै विचारको पक्षपोषण गरेको छ । "ऐना उभिएको एउटा पुरुष आकृतिको पछाडि भाग तर, ऐनाभित्र युवती । यसको भित्री आवरण ऐनाले खुलाएको छ । ... तिम्रा चित्रहरूमा जिन्दगीको बाहिरी खोल हैन । गुदी नै छ । जीवन छ । मेरो चित्रकलाको प्रदर्शनीमा मैले सोचेभन्दा धेरै कलाप्रेमीहरूको उपस्थिति मलाई अभ हौसला मिल्यो" (पृ.२०४-२०४)।

आफूलाई कहिल्यै मानिस र सन्तानको दर्जामा नराख्ने बाउप्रति पनि किरण जिम्मेवार बनेको घटना सुन्दर छ उपन्यासमा । जसमा अभिभावक वा बाउप्रतिको कर्तव्यबोध, बाउ बाउको दर्जामा नभए पनि वा खराब चरित्रका भए पनि कायाको हत्या प्रकरणमा निर्दोष रहेकाले सजायँ पाउन् हन्न भन्ने किरणको अभिव्यक्तिमार्फत सत्यको जीत हुनुपर्छ भन्ने लेखकीय न्याय पनि उपन्यासमा प्रस्तुत छ । "मेरो पनि उनीप्रति दायित्व थियो । मैले बाउलाई यस फन्दाबाट छटाउने कोसिस गरें । बाउले यस्तो गरेकोमा दुःख मनाउ गरे रे । आँखा आँसुले भरियो रे" (पु.२११-२१२)। यहाँ किरणका बाबु विश्वकाजी कायालाई मारेको अभियोगमा जेल परेका बेला किरणको शारीरिक संरचनासँग उसको नागरिकता सुहाउँदो नभएकाले भेटन नपाएको अवस्था रेशमले बाब्सँग बताउँदा त्यस्तो नागरिकता बनाइदिने आफै भएको, किरणलाई बेवास्ता गरेको कुराप्रति गल्ती महसुस गर्दै मानसिकता परिवर्तन भएको अवस्थाको चित्रण गर्नु पनि उपन्यासकारको सोद्देश्यमूलक विषय उठान हो भन्न सकिन्छ । जुन समाजको मानसिकता परिवर्तनका लागि आधार बन्न सक्छ । "प्रथम हुनेले अमेरिकामा हुने विश्वव्यापी चित्रकला प्रदर्शनीमा सहभागी हुन पाउने जानकारी दिँदै उद्घोषकले मेरो नाम लिनासाथ बाउ ब्रलक्क उफ़्रिएर चिच्याउँदै थपडी बजाउन थाले" (पृ.२१६)। किरणको उपलब्धि तथा सफलतामा जीवनभर उपेक्षा गरिरहने र सन्तानको दर्जासमेत नदिने उसका बाब् परिवर्तन भई गर्व गरेको छ । यौनिक अल्पसङ्ख्यकप्रति सकारात्मक बुफाइको आवश्यकता छ । उनीहरू पनि अन्य सामान्य मानिसजस्तै हुन् । त्यस्तालाई अभ विशेष ख्याल गर्दै हक अधिकार कायम गर्न गराउन लाग्न्पर्छ भन्ने क्रा उपन्यासमा व्यक्त गरिएको छ।

निष्कर्ष

आवरण उपन्यास अन्तरलिङ्गी यौनिकता भएका व्यक्तिले नेपाली समाजमा भोग्नुपरेका समस्या, चुनौती तथा सफलताको कथामा आधारित छ । यस उपन्यासमा तेस्रो लिङ्गी तथा यौनिक अल्पसङ्ख्यकहरूले भोग्नुपरेका यौनिक हिंसाको उद्घाटन गरिएको छ । पात्रहरूमा देखाइएको परिवर्तन, जिम्मेवारीबोध तथा स्वीकार उपन्यासका सबल पक्ष हुन् ।

ज्योतिले गर्नुपरेको सङ्घर्ष, कारुणिकता र सफलताले उपन्यास जीवन्त बनेको छ । किरणको सफलताले उपन्यास सुखान्त बनेको छ । उपन्यासमा रहेको कथावस्तु वर्तमान समय र समाजसँग प्रत्यक्ष मेल खाने किसिमको छ । कथानकको गति प्रारम्भमा अलि शिथिल छ तर उत्तरार्धमा बढी गतिशील बनेको छ, अर्थात् कथानकको गतिमा एकरूपता छैन । पात्रहरूको स्थापना र संयोजन सन्तुलित छ । उपन्यासको अन्त्यतर्फ असत् चरित्र पनि सत् चरित्रमा रूपान्तरण भएको देखाइएको छ । मूलतः प्रथम पुरुषात्मक दृष्टिबिन्दुको उपयोग गरिएको भए तापनि तृतीय पुरुषात्मक दृष्टिविन्दुको समेत उपयोग गरिएको छ । वातावरण तथा परिवेशको सुहाउँदो संयोजन गरिएको छ । उपन्यासमा व्यक्त विचार केही बोभिलो छ । उपन्यासमा स्वाभाविक भाषाशैली र छोटा तर सटिक वाक्यहरू रहेका छन् । अन्तरलिङ्गीका भावना हुन्छन्, मन हुन्छन्, यौन चाहना हुन्छन्, विविध मनोवैज्ञानिक सन्दर्भ हुन्छन्, उनीहरू पनि प्रेम चाहन्छन्, उनीहरूका इच्छा आकाङ्क्षा हुन्छन्, सामाजिक स्वीकार चाहन्छन्, कानुन र व्यवहारमा मेल चाहन्छन् भन्ने कुरा उपन्यासकारले उठान गरेका छन् । यौनिक सामान्यता भएका अधिकांश पात्रहरूको जीवन विसङ्गत र समस्याजनित तुल्याइनु उपन्यासका सीमा हुन् ।

समग्रमा, उपन्यासको विषयवस्तु, पात्र संयोजन, परिवेश, दृष्टिविन्दु तथा भाषाशैली उपयुक्त छ। विचार प्रधान भएरै पनि उपन्यास कलात्मक बनेको छ। यौनिक तथा लैर्ङ्शाक अल्पसङ्ख्यकमध्ये विशेषतः अन्तरलिर्ङ्गीका जैविक अवस्था, उनीहरूका समस्या उद्घाटन गर्दै उनीहरूको सशक्तीकरण तथा मूलप्रवाहीकरण गरिएको छ।

सन्दर्भ सामग्री सूची

अब्राम्स, एम. एच. एन्ड जी. जी. हार्फम (सन् २००४), *अ ग्लोसरी अफ लिटेररी टर्म्स,* अमेरिका: थम्सन वर्डस वर्थ । अर्याल, भोजेन्द्र (२०६८), *लैर्ड्रगिक र महिलावादी अध्ययन,* काठमाडौँ: ज्ञानकुञ्ज प्रकाशन । ओभा, जया (२०७३), *आवरण*, काठमाडौँ: शिखा बुक्स । उप्रेती, सञ्जीव (२०६९), *सिद्धान्तका कुरा* (चौथो संस्क.), काठमाडौँ: अक्षर क्रियसन्स । एकर्ट, पी. एन्ड एस. एम. गिनेट (सन् २००३), *ल्याङ्ग्वेज एन्ड जेन्डर,* न्यूयोर्क: क्याम्ब्रिज पब्लिकेसन । खनाल, राजेन्द्र (२०७४), *लैर्ड्रगिक समालोचना: सिद्धान्त र प्रयोग,* काठमाडौँ: सनलाइट पब्लिकेसन । खनाल, राजेन्द्र (२०७४), *लैर्ड्रगिक समालोचना: सिद्धान्त र प्रयोग,* काठमाडौँ: सनलाइट पब्लिकेसन । टाइसन, लुइस (सम्पा.) (सन् २००६), क्रिटिकल थ्योरी टुडे (दोस्रो संस्क.), न्युयोर्क: रटलेज । पिल्चर, जे. एन्ड आइ. ह्वेलहेन (सन् २००६), *फिफ्टी की कन्सेप्टस् इन जेन्डर स्टडिज,* लन्डन: सेज पब्लिकेसन्स । फुको, मिचेल (सन् १९७८), *द हिस्ट्री अफ सेक्सुआलिटी* (भोलुम.१), न्यूयोर्क: पान्थेन बुक्स । बट्लर, जुडिथ (सन् १९९०), *जेन्डर ट्रवल,* न्युयोर्क: रट्लेज । बुआ, सिमोन द (सन् १९४९), *द सेकेन्ड सेक्स* (अनु. रमेश सुनुवार), काठमाडौँ: प्रगति पुस्तक सदन । मिलेट, काट (सन् २०००), *सेक्सुअल पोलिटिक्स* (रिप्रिन्टेड), अमेरिका: युनिभर्सिटी अफ इलिनोइस प्रेस । मिल्स, सारा एन्ड मुलानी, लुइस (सन् २०१९), *ल्याङ्वेज, जेन्डर एन्ड फोमिनिज्म*, न्युयोर्क: रट्लेज । वेदरल, आन (सन् २००९), *जेन्डर त्याङ्ग्वेर एन्ड डिस्कोर्स* (डिजिटल प्रिन्ट), न्य्योर्क: रट्लेज ।