

विषयसूची

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CHAPTER - 1

अवधारणा तथा मान्यताहरू

23

(THE NOTION AND THE ASSUMPTIONS)

- | | | |
|----|--|----|
| 1. | 2019,*Q. No. 1 (Long Answer Question)
Define intersectionality (Walby et. al. 2012, Luintel 2015) and differentiate between structural and political intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989).
[अन्तर्विभाजनलाई परिभाषित गर्नुहोस् (वाल्वाइ र उनका सहकर्मीहरू 2012, लुइटेल 2015) तथा संरचनागत र राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजनबीच भिन्नता छुट्ट्याउनुहोस् । (क्रिन्साउ 1989) ।] | 23 |
| 2. | 2019*, Q. No. 8; 2019, Q. No. 8
Write short notes on any TWO:
a. Essentialism and social constructivism (Luintel 2015, Wimmer 2008)
b. Fluidity of Newar ethnicity in the USA (Gubhaju, 1999)
c. Intra and inter categorical approach.
d. Marxist feminist critique of intersectionality (Mitchell 2013) | 28 |
| 3. | 2017, Q. No. 4
Write a note on notions and assumptions of intersectionality approach (Luintel 2015, Walby et al 2012)
(अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमको अवधारणा र मुख्य मान्यताहरूमा एउटा नोट लेख्नुहोस्।) | 30 |
| 4. | 2016, Q. No. 1 (Long Answer Question)
How is intersectionality an important social science approach? What are the key assumptions of intersectionality approach? (Luintel, 2015)
[अन्तर्विभाजन कसरी एउटा महत्वपूर्ण सामाजिक विज्ञान उपागम हो ? अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमका प्रमुख मान्यताहरू के के हुन्? (लुईटेल, 2015)] | 33 |

**अन्तर्विभाजनको बुझाइ र आलोचना
(UNDERSTANDING AND CRITIQUING
INTERSECTIONALITY)**

- 1. 2020, Q. No. 1; 2016, Q. No. 2 (Long Answer Question) 38**

Violence that women experience is often shaped by multiple dimensions of their identities, such as gender and race. Following Crenshaw's (1989) observations of American society, illustrate this statement.

[महिलाहरूले अनुभव गर्ने हिसा प्रायः लैद्यगिकता र प्रजातियता जस्ता तिनको पहिचानका बहुआयामहरूद्वारा ढाँचाबद्द हुन्छ । क्रिन्साठ (1989) ले अमेरिकी समाजलाई गरेका दृष्टिगोचरहरूको अवलम्बन गर्दै यस कथनलाई उदाहरणसहित प्रष्ट गर्नुहोस् ।]

- 2. 2019*, Q. No. 8; 2019, Q. No. 8 42**

Write short notes on ANY TWO:

- a. Essentialism and social constructivism (Luintel 2015, Wimmer 2008)
- b. Fluidity of Newar ethnicity in the USA (Gubhaju 1999)
- c. Intra and inter categorical approach
- d. Marxist-feminist critique of intersectionality (Mitchell 2013)

- 3. 2019, Q. No. 2 (Long Answer Question) 44**

Distinguish between structural and political intersectionality as discussed in the account of Chrenshaw (1989) about violence as experienced by women of color in the USA.

[संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा महिलाहरूले रद्गभेदको रूपमा अनुभव गरेका हिसाबारे क्रिन्साठ (1989) का विवरणहरू अन्तर्गत छलफल गरिएबमोजिम सरचनागत र राजनीतिक अन्तर्विभाजनबीच भिन्नता छुट्ट्याउनुहोस् ।]

- 4. 2017, Q. No. 1 (Long Answer Question) 48**

How did Crenshaw (1989) make a critique of the invisibility of the women of color in the justice system of the United States? How did gender and race intersect in it?

[संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकाको न्यायिक व्यवस्थामा रद्गभेदका महिलाहरूको अदृष्टता वा नजरअन्दाजबारे क्रिन्साठ (1989) ले कसरी आलोचना निर्माण गरेकी छन्? त्यसमा लैद्यगिकता र प्रजातीयताले कसरी अन्तर्खण्ड गरेका छन्?]

5. 2017, Q. No. 8

52

Write short notes on ANY TWO:

- a. Targeted approach
- b. Intra categorical approach
- c. Structural and political intersectionality
- d. Ambiguity and incompleteness of intersectional approach (Davis 2008)

6. 2016, Q. No. 4

56

Write a note on Marxist-Feminist critique of intersectionality theory (Eve Mitchell 2013).

[अन्तर्विभाजन सिद्धान्तको मार्क्सवादी-नारीवादी आलोचना सम्बन्धमा एयट नोट लेखुहोस्। (इभ मिशेल 2013)]

CHAPTER - 3

जनजातीयता, पहिचान र अन्तर्विभाजन

(ETHNICITY, IDENITITY AND INTERSECTIONALITY)

60

1. 2020, Q. No. 3 (Long Answer Question)

60

What are the essentialists and constructionists arguments on the making and unmaking of the ethnic boundaries? Explain (Wimmer 2008).

2. 2020, Q. No. 8

62

Write short notes on any TWO:

- a. Ethnicities in the age of multiculturalism (Nederveen Pieterse 2004)
- b. Primordialism (Kanchan Chandra 2012)
- c. Fluidity, ethnicity and Newar identity in the USA (Gubhaju 1999)

3. 2019*, Q. No. 3; 2019, No. 1 (Long Answer Question)

64

Ethnicity is more symbolic, depending on perceived strategic utility, symbolic appropriateness in different settings are audience in interaction. (Negel, 1994). Explain.

[जनजातीयता बढी साङ्केतिक, रणनीतिक उपयोगितामा निर्भर रहेको मानिने, अन्तर्क्रियाअन्तर्गतका विभिन्न अवस्थाहरू र स्रोतामा साङ्केतिक उपयुक्तता भएको हुन्छ (नाजेल, 1994)। वर्णन गर्नुहोस्।]

4. 2019, Q. No. 6

68

Explain the notion of stickiness and visibility of descent-based identity (Chandra, 2012).

[वशक्रम-आधारित जनजातीय पहिचानको स्थिरता र दृष्ट्यात्मकता अवधारणालाई वर्णन गर्नुहोस् (चन्द्रा, 2012)]

5. 2017, Q. No. 3 (Long Answer Question)

Ethnic boundaries are the outcome of the classificatory struggles and negotiation (Wimmer 2008). Explain to-the-point, how is it so?

[जनजातीय सीमाहरू विभाजनजन्य सङ्घर्ष र क्रिया-अन्तर्क्रियाका परिणाम हुन् (विमर 2008)। यस्तो कसरी हुन्छ भने सम्बन्धमा ठोस तथ्य दर्शाउदै वर्णन गर्नुहोस्।]

6. 2017, Q. No. 6

Note down the basic tenets of essentialism and constructivism. State which of these arguments you like most and why? (Chandra 2012)

(मूलवाद र निर्माणवादका आधारभूत नियम वा प्रमुख तत्वहरू उल्लेख गर्नुहोस्। तीमध्ये तपाईंले कसका तर्कहरूलाई बढी उपयुक्त मानुहुन्छ र किन? (चन्द्रा 2012)

7. 2016, Q. No. 5

What are the essentialist and constructivist arguments on the making and unmaking of the ethnic boundaries? Explain (Wimmer 2008).

[जनजातीय सीमाहरूको निर्माण र अपनिर्माणमा मूलवादी एवम् निर्माणवादी तर्कहरू के-के छन्? वर्णन गर्नुहोस्। (विमर 2008)]

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CHAPTER - 4

**अन्तर्विभाजनको संक्षेप र दैनिक
सामाजिक वास्तविकता**

83

**(THE PRISM OF INTERSECTIONALITY AND
EVERYDAY SOCIAL REALITY)**

1. 2019*, Q. No. 6

83

Discuss different levels of intersectional analysis put forwarded by Floya Anthias (2012).

[फ्लोया एन्थियास (2012) द्वारा अगाडि सारिएका अन्तर्विभाजनात्मक विश्लेषणका विभिन्न तहहरू छलफल गर्नुहोस्।]

2. 2019, Q. No. 4

87

Write a note on hierarchies of social location, class and intersectionality as explained by Floya Anthias (2012).

[फ्लोया एन्थियास (2012) द्वारा वर्णन गरिएको सामाजिक अवस्थिति, वर्ग र अन्तर्विभाजनका श्रेणीबद्धताहरूमा एठय नोट लेख्नुहोस्।]

3. 2016, Q. No. 6

90

Write a note on class and intersectionality as explained by Floya Anthias (2012)

[फ्लोया एन्थियास (2012) द्वारा वर्णन गरिएअनुरूप वर्ग र अन्तर्विभाजनमा एठय नोट लेख्नुहोस्।]

अन्तर्विभाजन विश्लेषणका विधिहरू
(METHODS OF INTERSECTIONAL ANALYSIS)

1. **2020, Q. No. 6** 93
 What are the three approaches put forward by Leslie McCall (2005) in the study of intersectionality? Explain.
2. **2020, Q. No. 5; 2019*, Q. No. 7** 94
 Discuss the three styles of intersectional practices as explained by Choo and Ferree (2010).
 [चू एण्ड फेर्रे (2010) द्वारा वर्णन गरिएकोमीज अन्तर्विभाजनात्मक अभ्यासका तीनवट्य शैलीहरू छलफल गर्नुहोस् ।]
3. **2019, * Q. No. 5** 96
 What are the five components Dhamoon identifies that key for adopting and mainstreaming intersectionality? Write note on any two.
 (अन्तर्विभाजनको ग्रहण र मूलप्रवाहीकरणका लागि धामूनले पहिचान गरेका प्रमुख पाँचवट्य खण्डहरू के-के छन् ? कुनै दुईमा नोट लेख्नुहोस् ।)
4. **2019*, Q. No. 8; 2019, Q. No. 8** 99
 Write short notes on ANY TWO:
 - a. Essentialism and social constructivism (Luintel 2015, Wimmer 2008)
 - b. Fluidity of Newar ethnicity in the USA (Gubhaju, 1999)
 - c. Intra and inter categorical approach
 - d. Marxist-Feminist critique of intersectionality (Mitchell 2013)
5. **2017, Q. No. 8** 102
 Write short notes on ANY TWO:
 - a. Targeted approach
 - b. Intra categorical approach
 - c. Structural and political intersectionality
 - d. Ambiguity and incompleteness of intersectional approach (Davis 2008)
6. **2016, Q. No. 3 (Long Answer Question)** 104
 What are the three styles of intersectional practices as categorized by Choo and Ferree (2010)? Explain.
 [चू एण्ड फेर्रे (2010) द्वारा वर्गीकृत गरिएअनुरूप अन्तर्विभाजन अभ्यासहरूका तीन वट्य शैलीहरू के-के छन्? वर्णन गर्नुहोस् ।]

अन्तिरिभाजनको ज्ञात : नेपालमा 110
पहिचान र असमानताको विविधता तथा तरलता
(RECOGNIZING INTERSECTIONALITY: DIVERSITY AND FLUIDITY OF IDENTITY AND INEQUALITY IN NEPAL)

1. **2020, Q. No. 2; 2019,*Q. No. 2 (Long Answer Question) 110**
 What are the factors that have contributed to changing the ethnic boundaries in North-West Nepal? (Levine 1987).
 [उत्तर-पश्चिम नेपाल अन्तर्गत परिवर्तनशील जनजातीय सीमाहरूमा योगदान पुऱ्याइरहेका तत्त्वहरू के-के छन् ? (लेविन 1987)]
 OR
 What are the key factors, according to Levine (1987), that have contributed to shifting ethnic boundaries in North-West Nepal?
 [लेविन (1987) का अनुसार उत्तर-पश्चिम नेपाल अन्तर्गत परिवर्तनशील जनजातीय सीमाहरूमा योगदान पुऱ्याइरहेका तत्त्वहरू के-के छन् ?]
2. **2020, Q. No. 4; 2016, Q. No. 7 117**
 How does Thakali identity entail plasticity and fluidity as argued by James Fisher (2012)?
 [जेम्स फिशर (2012) द्वारा तर्क गरिए अनुसार थकाली पहिचानले कसरी लचकता र तरलता आवश्यक बनार्दछ?]
3. **2020, Q. No. 7; 2016, Q. No. 8 118**
 What are the merits and demerits of using targeted and universal approach in development interventions? Give Nepal's examples (SDC 2013).
 [विकास कार्यक्रमहरूमा लक्षित र सार्वभौमिक उपागम प्रयोग गर्नुका फाईदा र बेफाइदाहरू के-के छन् ? नेपालका उदाहरणहरू दिनुहोस (स्वी.वि.नि. 2013)।]
4. **2019*, Q. No. 4; 2019, Q. No. 7; 2017, Q. No. 5 122**
 Is Nepalese ethnicity plastic as argued by Fisher (2012)? Elaborate with examples.
 [फिशर (2012) द्वारा तर्क गरिए अनुरूप के नेपाली जनजातीयता लचिलो छ ? उदाहरणसहित सविस्तारित गर्नुहोस।]
 OR
 How, According to Fisher (2012), is Nepalese ethnicity plastic? Elaborate with examples.
 [फिशर (2012) का अनुसार कसरी नेपाली जनजातीयता लचिलो छ ? उदाहरणसहित सविस्तारित गर्नुहोस।]
 OR
 According to Fisher (2012), Nepalese ethnicity is plastic. Elaborate with examples.

[फिशर (2012) का अनुसार नेपाली जनजातीयता लचिलो छ । उदाहरणहरू सहित सविस्तार गर्नुहोस् ।]

5. **2019, Q. No. 8** 125
Write short notes on ANY TWO:

- a) Essentialism and social constructivism (Linton 2015, Wimmer 2008)
- b) Fluidity of Newar ethnicity in the USA (Gubhaju 1999)
- c) Intra and inter categorical approach
- d) Marxist-feminist critique of intersectionality (Mitchell 2013)

6. **2019, Q. No. 5** 127
What are the merits and demerit of using targeted approach in development interventions? (SDC 2013)
[विकास कार्यक्रमहरू अन्तर्गत लक्षित उपागमको प्रयोगका फाइदा र बेफाइदाहरू के-के छन्? (स्वी.वि.नि. 2013)]

7. **2019, Q. No. 3 (Long Answer Question)** 130
Some see Madhesi movement of Nepal as a regionalist movement whereas others (e.g., Mishra 2012) see it as ethnic movement. Which of the two views you subscribe to? Explain.
[नेपालको मधेशी आन्दोलनलाई केहीले क्षेत्रीयतावादी आन्दोलनका रूपमा हेर्दछन् जबकि अन्यहरू (जस्तै, मिश्र 2012) ले यसलाई जनजातीयतावादी आन्दोलनको रूपमा हेरेका छन्। यी दुवैमध्ये तपाईंले कुन दृष्टिकोणलाई उपयुक्त रूपमा लिनुहुन्छ ? वर्णन गर्नुहोस् ।]

8. **2017, Q. No. 2 (Long Answer Question)** 134
According to Levine (1987) “ethnic relations today are the outcome of historical processes of accommodation between ethnic system and policies of a centralizing state.” Do you agree or disagree? Explain.
[लेविन (1987) का अनुसार “वर्तमान जनजातीय सम्बन्धहरू जनजातीय व्यवस्थाहरू र केन्द्रीकरण हुँदै गरेका राज्यका नीतिहरूबीचको अनुकूलनका ऐतिहासिक प्रक्रियाहरू हुन्।” के तपाईं सहमत वा असहमत हुनुहुन्छ? वर्णन गर्नुहोस् ।]

9. **2017, Q. No. 7** 138
What are the factors contributing to the formation of Newar ethnic identity in the US? (Gubhaju 1999)
[संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा नेवार जनजातीय पहिचानको निर्माणका लागि योगदान पुन्याइहेका तत्त्वहरू के-के हुन्? (गुभाजु 1999)]

10. **2017, Q. No. 8** 140
Write short notes on ANY TWO:
a. Targeted approach
b. Intra categorical approach
c. Structural and political intersectionality
d. Ambiguity and incompleteness of intersectional approach (Davis 2008)

अवधारणा तथा मान्यताहरू**(The Notion and The Assumptions)****1. 2019,*Q. No. 1 (Long Answer Question)**

Define intersectionality (Walby et. al. 2012, Luintel 2015) and differentiate between structural and political intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989).

[अन्तर्विभाजनलाई परिभाषित गर्नुहोस् (वाल्बाइ र उनका सहकर्मीहरू 2012, लुइटेल 2015) तथा संरचनागत र राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजनबीच भिन्नता छुट्याउनुहोस्। (क्रिन्साउ 1989)।]

Ans: प्रजातीयता, वर्गीयता, लैंडगिकता, यौनिकता र राष्ट्रियता (तर यी सम्म मात्रै सीमित नभइ) मा विभाजित तथा श्रेणीबद्ध वर्गीकरणहरूको क्रमिक अनुभवलाई अन्तर्विभाजन (Intersectionality) भनिन्छ। अन्तर्विभाजनले प्रजातीयता, वर्गीयता, यौनिकता र अज्ञातजनभिती (अर्थात् विदेशी मूल भएका व्यक्तिलाई मन नपराउने प्रवृत्ति, Xenophobia) जस्ता उत्पीडनका असमान स्वरूपहरू वास्तविक रूपबाट परस्परमा निर्भर तथा स्वाभाविक रूपमा अन्तर्विभाजित हुन्छन् एवम् यिनले समग्रतामा उत्पीडनको सङ्गठित व्यवस्था (Unified system of oppression) उत्पन्न गराउँदछन् भने तथ्यलाई जनाउँदछ। यसप्रकार अन्तर्विभाजनको मान्यताअनुसार हामीले लिइरहेका वा प्राप्त गरिरहेका विशेषाधिकारहरू र सामाना गर्नुपरिहरेका विभेदीकरणहरू उपर्युक्त सामाजिक विभाजकहरूद्वारा निर्धारित समाजमा हाम्रा विशिष्ट पदहरू निर्माण हुने प्रक्रियाका परिणाम हुन्छन्। अमेरिकी नारीवादी समाजशास्त्री पाट्रिका हिल् कोलिन्सले आफूद्वारा लिखित बहुचर्चित पुस्तक *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (1990) मार्फत अन्तर्विभाजनको अवधारणा विकास र विस्तार गरेकी थिएन्। त्यसैगरी अमेरिकी आलोचनात्मक, कानुनी तथा प्रजातीयतासम्बन्धी विद्वान किम्बेले विलियम्स क्रिन्साउले आफूद्वारा लिखित लेख *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrines, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics* (1989) मार्फत 'अन्तर्विभाजन' प्रसङ्गलाई प्रथमपटक चीरपरिचित गराउने कार्य गरेकी थिएन्। क्रिन्साउले अमेरिकी कानुनी उपचार प्रक्रियाहरू (Legal proceedings) को समिक्षा गरेर त्यहाँ अश्वेत पुरुष तथा महिलाहरूले कसरी प्रजातीयता र लैंडगिकताको अन्तर्विभाजनलाई आकारित गर्ने किसिमको कानुनी व्यवस्था अनुभव गर्नुपरिहरेको छ भने सम्बन्धमा स्पष्ट पारेकी छिन्। तत्पाश्चात् क्रिन्साउले आफ्नो चर्चित कार्यक्रमात्मक लेख *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Color* (1991) मार्फत अन्तर्विभाजनको विश्लेषणात्मक रूपरेखालाई थप विस्तारित गरेकी थिएन्।

वाल्बाइ र उनका सहकर्मीहरू (2012) का अनुसार अन्तर्विभाजनलाई 'कुनै एउटा अन्तर्विभाजनको विन्दुमा पारस्परिक रूपबाट एकले अर्कोलाई आकारित गर्ने असमानताहरूको रूपमा' परिभाषित गर्न सकिन्छ। अर्को शब्दमा अन्तर्विभाजन भनाले त्यस्ता असमानताहरू हुन्, जुन कुनै एउटा विन्दुमा आएर मिल्दछन् वा अन्तर्विभाजित हुन्छन् र ती असमानताहरू एकले अर्कोलाई आकारित (वा निश्चित स्वरूप प्रदान) गर्ने गर्दछन्। प्रत्येक व्यक्तिमा बहु-पहिचानहरू (Multiple-identities) वा पहिचानका विभिन्न पक्षहरू नीहित हुने गर्दछन् जसले तिनका अनुभवहरू (विशेष गरी तिनका उत्पीडनका अनुभवहरू) लाई निश्चित ढण्डबाट आकारित गर्दछन्। वाल्बाइ र उनका सहकर्मीहरू तर्क गर्दछन् कि योग्यता, क्षमता, वर्ग, लैंडगिकता, प्रदत्त भूमिका, उमेर, धर्म,

गर्दछ, जुन अधिनस्थताहरु विरोधाभाषपूर्ण राजनैतिक एजेण्डाहरूसँग सम्बन्धित हुन्छन्। एउटाका राजनैतिक सामर्थ्य वा शक्तिहरूबीच कहिलेकाही दुईवटा विपरित राजनैतिक एजेण्डाहरूको विभाजन रड्गभेदका महिलाहरू र स्वेत महिलाहरूको अन्तर्विभाजनात्मक असशक्तीकरणको आयाम हुन्छ। यसका अतिरिक्त ती महिलाका विशिष्ट प्रजातीय, लैझिंगिकता अनुभवहरू र अन्तर्विभाजनले समग्र समूहका हितहरूलाई परिभाषित तथा निर्धारित गर्दछ।

राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजन तब उत्पन्न हुन्छ जब विभिन्न समूहहरू (जस्तै: नारीवादी र प्रजातीयताविरुद्ध आन्दोलनरत समूहहरू) को न्यायका लागि क्रियाशील राजनैतिक आन्दोलनहरूले ती समूहहरूको कुनै उपसमूहका हितहरूलाई बजिचत वा सिमान्तीकृत गर्ने गर्दछन् अथवा ती समूहको कुनै उपसमूहमा कुनै अर्को स्वरूपको अन्यायलाई प्रोत्साहित गर्दछन्। अर्को शब्दमा नारीवादी, प्रजातीयताविरोधी र लैझिंगिक भेदभाव निराकरण गर्ने उद्देश्यले सञ्चालन गरिने राजनैतिक आन्दोलनहरूले कुनै उपसमूहका हितहरूलाई बजिचतीकरणमा राख्दा वा उनीहरूप्रतिका अत्याचारहरूलाई थप बढावा दिँदा राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजन उत्पन्न हुने गर्दछ। उदाहरणको लागि प्रजातीयताविरुद्ध गरिने घरेलु हिंसालाई न्यूनीकरण गर्नेतर क्रियाशील निकायहरूले रड्गभेदका समुदायहरू (Communities of color) लाई संरक्षित गर्नका लागि समग्र अश्वेत समुदायको चाहनाअनुरूप त्यस्ता समुदायमा रड्गभेदका महिलाका हितहरू (Interests of women of color) लाई सीमान्तीकृत गर्ने पुग्दछन्। यसबाट रड्गभेदका महिलाहरूमा एकप्रकारको राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजन उत्पन्न हुन् पुग्दछ।

सङ्क्षेपमा भनुपर्दा क्रिन्साउले संरचनागत अन्तर्विभाजन र राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजनबीच भिन्नता विश्लेषण गरेकी छिन्। यस्तो भिन्नताले उत्पीडनका व्यवस्थाहरू र सीमान्तीकरणमा परेका समूहहरूका राजनैतिक रणनीतिहरूलाई बुझन प्रभावकारी माध्यम प्रदान गर्दछ। उनले संरचनागत अन्तर्विभाजनलाई श्वेत र अश्वेत महिलाहरूले भोग्नुपरिहेका भिन्न-भिन्न अनुभवहरूको रूपमा विश्लेषण गरेकी छिन् जबकि राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजनलाई नारीवादी र प्रजातीयता विरुद्धका राजनैतिक रणनीतिहरूसँग सम्बन्धित गरी विश्लेषण गरेकी छिन्। त्यस्तो भिन्नताका अतिरिक्त क्रिन्साउले राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजनका बृहत, मध्यम र सुक्ष्म प्रक्रियाहरूबीचको भिन्नताका बारेमा पनि चर्चा गरेकी छिन्। यद्यपि त्यस्ता बृहत, मध्यम र सुक्ष्म प्रक्रियाका राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजनका भिन्न-भिन्न गतिशीलता, कर्ता र परिणामहरू हुने गर्दछन्। क्रिन्साउले सुक्ष्म तहको राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजनलाई नियमित दैनिक स्वरूपका नीतिहरू (Everyday policies), मध्यम तहको राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजनलाई आन्दोलन तथा सङ्गठनहरू (Movement and organizations) र बृहत् तहको राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजनलाई राजनैतिक नीति निर्माणका राष्ट्रिय प्रक्रियाहरू (National processes of political policy making) का रूपमा परिभाषित गरेकी छिन्।

1. 2019*, Q. No. 1 (Long Answer Question)

Define intersectionality (Walby et. al. 2012, Luintel 2015) and differentiate between structural and political intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989).

Ans: Intersectionality refers to the simultaneous experience of categorical and hierachal classifications, including but not limited to race, class, gender, sexuality, and nationality. It also refers to the fact that what is often perceived as disparate forms of oppression, like racism, classism, sexism, and xenophobia, are mutually dependent and intersecting in nature, and together they compose a unified system of oppression. Thus, the privileges we enjoy and the discrimination we face result from our unique position in society determined by the social classifiers.

American feminist sociologist, Patricia Hill Collins, developed and explained intersectionality in her groundbreaking book *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (1990). Similarly, the term 'intersectionality' was first popularized by American critical legal and race scholar Kimberle Williams Crenshaw in a paper titled, *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique Antidiscrimination Doctrines, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics* (1989). Crenshaw reviewed legal proceedings to illustrate how the intersection of race and gender shapes how black men and women experience the legal system. After that, Crenshaw further expanded the analytical framework of intersectionality in her famous programmatic article *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color* (1991).

According to Walby et al. (2012), 'intersectionality' is defined as the inequalities that mutually shape each other at their point of intersection. Every person concomitantly possesses multiple identities and aspects which shape their experiences (specifically their experience of oppression), and that these cannot simply be individually disentangled from others. Walby et al. argue that identities; categories of social membership such as ability, class, gender, reassignment, age, religion, race or ethnicity, and sexuality, are not easily separable and treat any single aspect in isolation contribute to inequality and oppression.

Luintel (2015), in his article *The Notion and Practice of Intersectional Approach*, defined intersectionality as an active and dynamic social process forming personhood and identity thereof. According to him, intersectionality is dynamic because it does not believe in identity as a permanent and unchanging reality. Instead, however, identity is conceived as a shifting social reality, made and remade, claimed and cultivated, and reclaimed and recultivated. typical intersections of very many attributes, such as age, sex, gender, class, occupation, marriage (or inter-caste or inter-ethnic marriage), family, nationhood, ethnicity, and caste belonging. An important point here is one of the underlying assumptions of all intersectionality arguments that change identity. Alternatively, in other words, social identity is the manifestation of fluidity, hybridity, and overlapping of multiple social processes/attributes. According to Luintel, another vital point is the fundamental belief of all intersectional claims that all forms of social equality and inequality result from the constitution of very many attributes a person (or, in a sense, a social group or community) shares or inherits. In other words, intersectionality claims that social identity is co-created through a constantly dynamic process of mutual shaping, influencing, reinforcing, or weakening diverse social attributes and processes (say local and global).

- Difference between Structural and Political Intersectionality

Crenshaw (1989)

Between 1989 and 1991, Kimberle Williams Crenshaw, now Distinguished Professor of Law at the University of California, published two programmatic articles in different law journals unpacking how USA legal frameworks to combat violence against women could address the typical experience of women of color. In her research work, Crenshaw distinguishes structural intersectionality and political intersectionality. According to Crenshaw, structural intersectionality

concerns the intersection of unequal social groups, whereas political intersectionality concerns political agendas and projects.

In part first of her programmatic article, Crenshaw demonstrates the vital importance of such an intersectional approach by considering a few examples of **structural intersectionality**. For Crenshaw, 'structure' here refers to the organization of society, including the relationships between people of different races, genders, and classes. She shows how the institutions of American society are often structured to ignore the intersection of different dimensions of identity. These institutions include everything from community organizations to the United States Congress. Thus, according to Crenshaw, structural intersectionality at every level, from the local to the national, fails to accommodate and serve people who experience multiple kinds of marginalization. That means people who experience not only racism or sexism but both.

Hence, structural intersectionality occurs when social structures that create and organize different social groups, e.g., gender and race, interact to produce effects that may not be intended. For example, domestic violence shelters do not address the multiple needs of poor women, immigrants, and women of color, plausibly trans women, e.g., by refusing to admit non-English speaking women.

On the other hand, according to Crenshaw, the concept of political intersectionality highlights that women of color are situated within at least two subordinated groups that frequently pursue conflicting political agendas. The need to split one's political energies between two opposing political agendas is a dimension of intersectional disempowerment that men of color and white women seldom confront. Indeed, Crenshaw argues that their specific raced and gendered experiences, although intersectional, often define and confine the interests of the entire group. For example, racism experienced by people of color who are of certain gender-male-tends determines the parameters of antiracist strategies, just as women of specific race-white-tends experience sexism to ground the women's movement.

Political intersectionality occurs when the political movements working towards justice for different groups, e.g., feminism and antiracism, interact to exclude or marginalize the interests of some subset of the groups or reinforce another form of injustice. For example, the refusal of agencies to release domestic violence data by race to protect communities of color, the interests of women of color were marginalized in favor of the interests of the Black community.

In conclusion, Crenshaw distinguishes between structural and political intersectionality. This distinction represents a fruitful heuristic tool to mark the differences between systems of oppression and the political strategies to tackle them. She analyzes structural intersectionality as the differentiating experiences of black and white women, whereas political intersectionality is related to feminist and antiracist political strategies. In addition to this, we find it clarifying to distinguish between macro, middle, and micro-processes of political intersectionality since they are characterized by different dynamics, actors, and outcomes. Crenshaw defines the micro-level as everyday policies, the middle level as related to movements and organizations, and the macro-level as the national process of political policymaking.

सनातनतात्त्व तु मूलवादी यूपजानकारादा वा जादमवाद विचारधाराको रूपमा लिइन्छ, जसले जनजातीय सदस्यता (Ethnic membership) लाई स्थिर र जन्मजात प्रक्रिया मान्दछ । मूलवादले सामाजिक जगतको प्रदत्त विशेषता ('Given' characteristic of social world) लाई इडिगित गर्दछ । अतः मूलवादलाई 'भौतिकवाद' वा 'पदार्थवाद' (Instrumentalism) को विरुद्ध रहेको विचारधारा मानिन्छ । भौतिकवाद वा पदार्थवादका अनुसार व्यक्तिले आफ्नो स्व-रुचिअनुरूप विविधतापूर्ण पहिचान छनौट गर्न सक्दछन् । विमरका अनुसार मूलवाद 'परिस्थितिवाद' (Situationalism) को ठिक विपरित विचारधाराको रूपमा रहेको हुन्छ । परिस्थितिवादका अनुसार परिस्थितिको आवश्यकताअनुरूप व्यक्तिले फरक-फरक जनजातीय वर्गहरू पहिचान गर्दछ ।

यसप्रकार मूलवाद र सामाजिक निर्माणवादलाई पहिचान, असमानता तथा अन्तर्विभाजनका सन्दर्भमा परस्पर विपरित किसिमका अभिमतहरू प्रकट गर्ने विचारधाराहरू मानिन्छ । यद्यपि वर्तमान समयमा जन्मप्रदत्त र वंशानुगत आधारमा मात्र पहिचान स्थिर रहने मूलवादको मान्यतालाई त्यति सान्दर्भिक मान्य सकिदैन ।

2. 2019,*Q. No. 8; 2019, Q. No. 8

Write short notes on (any TWO):

- a. Fluidity of Newar ethnicity in the USA (Gubhaju 1999)
- b. Intra and inter categorical approach
- c. Essentialism and social constructivism
- d. Marxist feminist critique intersectionality (Mitchell 2013)

(Note: For short notes on topics 'a', 'b' and 'd'; please refer to concerned chapters 6, 5, and 2 respectively)

c. Essentialism and Social Constructivism

Ans: There are two main ideological differences in intersectionality—*first*, essentialism, and *second*, social constructivism. According to Luintel (2015), essentialism follows the traditional or primordial concept of intersectionality. Essentialism believes that each of us belongs to one and only one ethnic (or identity) group, that group membership remains fixed over a lifetime, and it is passed down intact across generations. Wars begin and end, states grow and die, economic boom and crash, but all ethnic (or identity) groups stay the same through it.

Essentialism's way of thinking about ethnic identity drives theorizing on the relationship between ethnicity, political outcome, economic outcome, and processes in the social sciences. Like many influential ideas, its power lies in invisibility; it is rarely explicitly stated and defended. Nevertheless, essentialism is pervasive in the common-sense assumption that informs statements about other things. When political scientists and economists build and test theories of the relationship between ethnicity and democratic stability, party systems, voting behavior, and economic growth, public goods provision, and just about everything else, we assume, almost without exception, that the ethnic identities that describe individuals and populations are singular, timeless, and fixed for all time.

The social constructivist notion of intersectionality was put forwarded by **Fredrik Barth**, a Norwegian social anthropologist. He has published several ethnographic works. Barth was the editor of *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969), in which he outlined an approach to the study of ethnicity

which focuses on the ongoing negotiations of boundaries between groups of people. Barth's view is that such groups are not discontinuous cultural isolates or logical priors to which people naturally belong.

According to Wimmer, social constructivism claims that ethnicity is the product of a social process rather than a culture given, made, and remade rather than taken for granted, chosen depending on circumstances rather than ascribed through birth. Social constructivism holds that individuals have multiple rather than single identities. These identities can change (although often they may not) and such change, when it occurs, is the product of some human processes.

3. 2017, Q. No. 4

Write a note on notions and assumptions of intersectionality approach (Laintel 2015, Walby et al 2012).

(अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमको अवधारणा र मुख्य मान्यताहरूमा एउटा नोट लेख्नुहोस्) (लुइंटेल 2015, वाल्बाइ र उनका सहकर्मीहरू 2012।)

Ans: नेपालका समाजशास्त्री युवराज लुइंटेलद्वारा लिखित लेख *The Notion and Practice of Intersectional Approach in Social Science* (2015) र बिट्रिस समाजशास्त्री सिल्विया वाल्बाइ एवम् उनका सहकर्मीहरूद्वारा लिखित लेख *Intersectionality: Multiple Inequalities in Social Theory* (2012) मा अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमको अवधारणा तथा यस उपागमका मूलभूत मान्यताहरूका सम्बन्धमा विश्लेषण समेटिएको छ।

- **लुइंटेल (2015) का अनुसार अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमको अवधारणा र मुख्य मान्यताहरू**
युवराज लुइंटेलका अनुसार 20ओं शताब्दीको समाप्तिपाशचात् सामाजिक विज्ञानहरू अन्तर्गत अन्तर्विभाजनको बहस उच्च प्राथमिकताका साथ उत्पन्न भएको पाइन्छ। सामाजिक विज्ञानहरूका अतिरिक्त मानविकीका क्षेत्रमा एउटा अन्तर्विधागत अवधारणाको रूपमा अन्तर्विभाजनको बहसले, सीमा पार गरिसकेको छ। यद्यपि अन्तर्विभाजन अवधारणाको विकासात्मक आधार नारीवादी समाजशास्त्र (Feminist sociology) हो।
सहयोग, सञ्चार, समर्पक, सहकार्य, अन्तर्सञ्चार, अन्तर्दृष्टी, पारस्परिक क्रिया तथा सम्बन्धहरू जस्ता शब्दावलीहरू अन्तर्विभाजनको अर्थसँग समानार्थी जस्ता लाग्दछन्। तर वास्तवमा यी शब्दहरू अन्तर्विभाजनको वास्तविक अर्थसँग समानार्थी हुँदैनन्। लुइंटेलका अनुसार 'अन्तर्विभाजन' ले पार गर्ने क्रिया वा कदम (Action by crossing) लाई जनाउँदछ। ज्यामितिका सन्दर्भमा 'Intersection' प्रसङ्गलाई विभाजन भएको स्थान (Place of crossing) लाई जनाउन प्रयोग गरिन्छ। यस्तो अर्थलाई अन्तर्विभाजनको समाजशास्त्रीय अर्थ चित्रण गर्ने केही निकटस्थ अर्थ मानिन्छ। यसप्रकार अन्तर्विभाजनले त्यस्तो विन्दुलाई जनाउँदछ, जहाँ दुई वा दुई भन्दा बढीले एक अर्कोमा प्रतिखण्ड वा विभिन्न विशेषताहरूको सम्मिश्रित स्वरूप मात्र होइन बरु एउटा विशेषता कुनै खात रूपवाट (जस्तै: जात सम्बन्धित) कुनै अन्य विशेषताहरू (जस्तै: लैड्गिकता वा गरिवी) सँ हुने गतिशील अन्तर्क्रियाको परिणामको रूपमा अन्तर्विभाजनलाई लिइन्छ।
लुइंटेलका अनुसार केवल खपिने प्रवृत्ति (Overlaps) र खपिने तहहरू (Overlays) भए अन्तर्विभाजन अधिक स्तरको सामाजिक प्रक्रिया हो। अतः अन्तर्विभाजन व्यक्तित्वपनि पहिचानको निर्माण हुने एक सक्रिय तथा गतिशील सामाजिक प्रक्रिया हो। अन्तर्विभाजन गतिशील हुन्छ किनभने यसले पहिचानलाई स्थायी र अपरिवर्तनीय वास्तविकताका रूप विश्वास गर्दैन बरु पहिचान परिवर्तित सामाजिक वास्तविकताअनुरूप निर्मित र पुनर्निर्मित भइरहन्छ; यसको दावी र पुनरुत्पादन गर्न सकिन्छ भने उमेर, लिङ्ग, लैड्गिकता, वा

- vi. अन्तर्विभाजनका परिवर्तित स्वरूपहरु भइरहने सन्दर्भमा एकपछि अकों गढ़े कसरी अन्तर्विभाजित असमानताहरु पहिचान गर्ने भने सवालमा अन्तर्विभाजन विश्लेषण केन्द्रित हुनुपर्दछ ।

3. 2017, Q. No. 4]

Write a note on notions and assumptions of intersectionality approach (Luintel 2015, Walby et al 2012).

Ans: Nepalese sociologist Yuba Raj Luintel has presented the notion and assumptions of intersectionality in his academic article *The Notion and Practice of Intersectional Approach in Social Science (2015)*. Likewise, British Sociologists Sylvia Walby et al. analyzed the concept of intersectionality in their paper *Intersectionality: Multiple Inequalities in Social Theory (2012)*.

According to Luintel, the debate of intersectionality is in full swing across social science disciplines, especially after the 20th century. As an interdisciplinary concept, such a debate now crosscuts the boundaries of all social sciences and the humanities, although its foundational interpretation was initially developed in feminist sociology.

Luintel argues that a few other words look like a synonym of the word intersection, such as collaboration, communication, contact, cooperation, intercommunication, interface, interplay, reciprocal action, and relations. However, they are not actual concepts of intersectionality. Initially, it was a term used in geometry, meaning cross point—passing place. Thus, intersection refers to a point where two or more entities crosscut. Hence, intersectionality argues that social identities are not the results of a single attribute or a hose of attributes. However, the outcome of the typical way—one attribute (for example, gender or caste belonging) comes into a dynamic interplay with other attributes (e.g., poverty or race).

Luintel contends that intersectionality is something more than just overlaps or overlays. Thus, intersectionality is an active and dynamic social process of forming personhood and identify thereof. It is dynamic because it does not believe in identity as a permanent and unchanged reality. However, identity is conceived as a shifting social reality—made and remade, claimed and cultivated, and reclaimed and reproduced in the typical intersections of many attributes—age, sex, gender, class, occupation, marriage, family, nationhood, ethnicity, and caste belonging. Therefore, one of the underlying assumptions of all intersectionality arguments is that identity gets changed. In other words, social identity is the manifestation of fluidity, hybridity, and overlapping of multiple social processes/attributes. Another critical point is the fundamental belief of all intersectionality claims that all forms of social equality and inequality result from the co-constitution of many attributes a person shares or inherits.

- **The Notion and the Assumptions of Intersectionality according to Walby et al. (2012).**

Walby et al. contend that the theorization of the intersection of multiple inequalities has become a central issue in gender theory. Feminist analysis has moved beyond the long-lasting critique of the focus on class in classical sociology, beyond the construction of a unique set of studies of gender parallel to subfields of ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, and

religion, and towards the theoretical recognition of the importance of the intersection of multiple inequalities. However, there remain significant differences as to how this should proceed.

By analyzing the works of Crenshaw (1989, 1991), McCall (2001, 2005) and Hancock (2007), Walby et al. point out the following unresolved theoretical dilemmas of intersectionality debate:

- i. How to address the relationship between structural and political intersectionality without reducing political projects to social structures? Crenshaw introduces this distinction, but it is rarely addressed in the subsequent literature on intersectionality..
- ii. How to conceptualize the intersections so that bringing the disadvantaged agencies into focus does not leave the power out of sight actions?
- iii. How to balance the stability and fluidity of inequalities so they are sufficiently stable to be available for empirical analysis while recognizing that they change?
- iv. How to focus the projects of small minorities while not making the normative assumption that all projects are equally important?
- v. How to neither leave class out of focus nor treat it as overwhelming importance? Much current literature has addressed the previous neglect of ethnicity, but this is often at the expense of the class.
- vi. How to simultaneously identify the intersecting inequalities while recognizing that their intersection changes what they are.

4. 2016, Q. No. 1 (Long Answer Question)

How is intersectionality an important social science approach? What are the key assumptions of intersectionality approach? (Luintel, 2015).

[अन्तर्विभाजन कसरी एउटा महत्वपूर्ण सामाजिक विज्ञान उपागम हो ? अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमका प्रमुख मान्यताहरू के के हुन ? (लुइंटेल, 2015)]

Ans: युवराज लुइंटेलद्वारा लिखित लेख *The Notion and Practice of Intersectional Approach in Social Science (2015)* मा अन्तर्विभाजन एउटा महत्वपूर्ण सामाजिक विज्ञान उपागम भएको सम्बन्धमा विभिन्न तरकहरू प्रस्तुत गरिनुका साथै अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमका मान्यताहरूबाटे गहन विश्लेषण समेटिएको छ।

लुइंटेलका अनुसार 20औं शताब्दीको समाप्ति पाश्चात् र 21औं शताब्दीको प्रारम्भसँगै सामाजिक विज्ञानका विधाहरूमा अन्तर्विभाजनको बहस एउटा प्रमुख तिआग्रह स्तरमा आगमन भएको हो। यो एक अन्तर्विधागत अवधारणा (Interdisciplinary concept) भएकोले यसले हाल सबै सामाजिक विज्ञानहरूका अतिरिक्त मानविकोका क्षेत्रमा सीमा पार गरिसकेको छ। अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमको विकासका सन्दर्भमा अमेरिकी नारीवादी समाजशास्त्री किम्बेले विलियम क्रिन्साउ र नवेली सामाजिक मानवशास्त्री फ्रेडरिक बार्थ (1928–2016) का योगदानहरूको लुइंटेलले चर्चा गरेका छन्।

अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमका प्रमुख मान्यताहरू

अन्तर्विभाजनको आधारभूत मान्यताअनुसार पहिचान र असमानता प्रदत्त, स्थायी र दीर्घकालीन वास्तविकताहरू होइनन् बरु पहिचान र असमानता जहिले पनि सामाजिक रूपबाट निर्मित र परिवर्तनशील हुन्छन्। पहिचान निर्माणका संरचनागत आधारहरू खोज गर्नु र सामाजिक व्यवस्थाका असमानताहरूलाई प्रतिखण्डात्मक-साँस्कृतिक आधारहरू (Cross-cultural bases) मा विश्लेषण गर्नु अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमका साभा मान्यताहरू हुन्। पहिचान र असमानताहरू कसरी परिवर्तनशील हुन्छन् र तिनको निर्माण हुने प्रक्रिया कसरी ऐतिहासिक रूपबाट गतिशील हुँदै जान्छ भने सम्बन्धमा विश्लेषण गर्नु अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमको मुख्य मान्यता हो।

अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमका प्रमुख दुईवटा वैचारिक वर्गका मान्यताहरू रहेका छन्। पहिलो-आदिमवादी वा पूर्वआधुनिकवादी मान्यताहरू (Pre-modern assumptions) र दोस्रो-सामाजिक-निर्माणवादी मान्यताहरू (Social-constructivist assumptions)। आदिमवादी मान्यताअनुसार व्यक्तिहरूसँग केवल एउटा मात्र पहिचान हुन्छ र त्यस्तो पहिचानको प्रकृति निश्चित हुन्छ। सामाजिक-निर्माणवादी मान्यताहरू अनुसार व्यक्तिहरूसँग बहुपहिचानहरू हुन्छन् र त्यस्ता पहिचानहरू परिवर्तन गर्न सकिने हुन्छन्। अन्तर्विभाजनको सामाजिक-निर्माणवादी मान्यताअनुसार पहिचानमा देखापर्ने परिवर्तन केही मानवीय प्रक्रियाको परिणामका रूपमा उत्पन्न हुन्छ।

फ्रेडरिक बार्थ (1969) ले अन्तर्विभाजनको सामाजिक-निर्माणवादी मान्यतामा विशेष जोड दिएका छन्। उनले जनजातीयता अध्ययनका वर्तमान सीमाहरूलाई विभिन्न जनजातीय समूहबीचका साभा विशेषताहरूका आधारबाट निर्धारण गरिनुपर्ने तरक्की राखेका छन्। बार्थका अनुसार जनजातीय समूह र सीमाहरू (Ethnic groups and boundaries) वास्तवमा जनजातीय पहिचानहरूको अन्तर्सम्बन्धमा जोड दिइएको विश्लेषण हो। उनका अनुसार वर्गीकरणात्मक जनजातीय भिन्नता गतिशीलता, सम्पर्क र सूचनाहरूको अभावमा निर्भर हुँदैन बरु बजिवतीकरणका समग्र सामाजिक प्रक्रियाहरू र अन्तर्क्रियाहरूमा निर्भर रहन्छ।

उपर्युक्त सम्पूर्ण विवेचनाद्वारा अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमका मूलभूत मान्यताहरूलाई निम्नानुसार सांराशीकृत गरी उल्लेख गर्न सकिन्छ :

व्यक्तिहरूको कुनै समूह (वा व्यक्ति) को सामाजिक पहिचानको विकासका लागि बहुवर्गहरू (तत्त्वहरू, विशेषताहरू वा प्रक्रियाहरू) हुने गर्दछन्।

- i. त्यस्ता बहुवर्गहरू अलग वा पृथक् रूपबाट क्रियाशील हुँदैनन् भने समानान्तर रूपबाट पनि सञ्चालित हुँदैनन्। बरु ती बहुवर्गहरू पारस्परिक रूपबाट सक्रिय अर्थात् एकले अर्कोलाई अन्तर्खण्ड (Intersect) गर्ने गर्दछन्।
- ii. सामाजिक पहिचानहरू गतिशील हुन्छन्।
- iii. सामाजिक असमानताहरू पनि परिवर्तनशील परिघटना (Changing phenomenon) हुन्।

4. 2016, Q. No. 1 (Long Answer Question)

How is intersectionality an important social science approach? What are the key assumptions of intersectionality approach (Luintel, 2015)?

Ans: The research-based academic article by Yuba Raj Luintel, *The Notion and Practice of Intersectional Approach in Social Science* (2015), presents several arguments and concepts of the intersectional approach. Luintel (2015), in his article *The Notion and Practice of Intersectional Approach*, defined

intersectionality as an active and dynamic social process of forming personhood and identity thereof. According to him, intersectionality is dynamic because it does not believe in identity as a permanent and unchanged reality. Instead, however, identity is conceived as a shifting social reality—made and remade, claimed and cultivated, and reclaimed and recultivated in typical intersections of very many attributes, such as age, sex, gender, class, occupation, marriage (or inter-caste or inter-ethnic marriage), family; nationhood, ethnicity, and caste belonging. An important point here is one of the underlying assumptions of all intersectionality arguments that change identity. Alternatively, in other words, social identity is the manifestation of fluidity, hybridity, and overlapping of multiple social processes/attributes. According to Luintel, another vital point is the fundamental belief of all intersectionality claims that all forms of social equality and inequality result from the co-constitution of very many attributes a person (or, in a sense, a social group or community) shares or inherits. In other words, intersectionality claims that social identity is co-created through a constantly dynamic process of mutual shaping, influencing, reinforcing, or weakening diverse social attributes and processes (say local and global).

Luintel traces the contributions of American feminist legal scholar Kimberle Williams Crenshaw and Norwegian social anthropologist Fredrik Barth regarding the development of the intersectional approach.

- **How is intersectionality an important social science approach?**

According to Luintel, sociology has a tradition of received knowledge in analyzing systems of social inequality by overlaying one into another, although it remained implicit for a long time. Marxist theories and the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory have long examined the interplay of various axes of social inequality. Therefore, intersectionality is not a recent social science contribution. Marx (1848, 1867, 1885, 1894) had already attempted to analyze economy and society as intersecting each other. In his analysis, Weber (1921, 1925) brought together notions of social action, subjectivities, and class. Emile Durkheim examined the relations between the state and the individual as constitutive forms of interdependent analysis of social inequality. There has been a long tradition of analyzing the links between race, ethnicity, and class in the Latin-American sociological field.

Within certain feminist strands, such as socialist feminism, intersectional analysis was in vogue in some way already by the late 1970s and the 1980s. Some sociologists argue that Marxism (as a critique of capitalism) and Radical feminism (as a critique of patriarchy) are insufficient to explain the oppression of women in capitalist societies today. However, Marxism also need to ally to successfully unpack the complexity of oppression and exploitation co-constituted by both in combination. Thus, it is always better to combine both approaches in some intersection. Between 1989 and 1991, Kimberle Williams Crenshaw, a Distinguished Professor of Law at the University of California, United States, published two programmatic articles in different law journals to reveal how USA's legal frameworks to combat violence against women could not address the typical experience of women of color. Examining the case of battering and rape as experienced by women of color in the USA, Crenshaw identified

that immediate remedies (emergency shelter, health, and psychological

support) provided in the shelter overlooks structural issues of women of color. For those women, structural obstacles in their life are more common and critical than what is in their minds and bodies at the moment (compared to white women)

From the above discussions, it may be concluded that intersectional analysis invites us to overlay one identity category to another. For example, poverty with others (for example, gender, caste, age, entitlements, class, or access to power) to arrive at certain meaningful conclusions that poverty is not a singular form of identity and inequality but very many or multiple attributes uniquely work simultaneously. Moreover, an intersectional analysis helps us to understand how the mutual enforcement of bases of oppression, social exclusion, and deprivation is being changed (cross-culturally and historically). Thus, intersectionality is considered a practical approach in the field of sociology.

- **Essential Assumptions of Intersectionality Approach**

One of the fundamental assumptions of the intersectionality approach is that identity and inequality are not given permanent and durable realities; instead, they are socially constructed and constantly changing. It enables sociologists to unpack the structural bases of identity formation and configuration of inequality of social system, historical and cross-cultural bases of inequality, and role of such bases contributing to such a change.

There are two ideological assumptions of the intersectionality approach. *First*, primordial assumptions, and the *second*, social constructivist assumptions. According to the former, individuals have a single identity (ethnicity). Such an identity is fixed and exogenous to human processes. The latter assumes that individuals have multiple identities, and these can change. Such a change, when it occurs, is the product of some human processes.

Fredrik Barth (1969) emphasizes the social-constructivist assumption of the intersectionality approach. He outlined an approach to the study of ethnicity which focuses on the ongoing negotiations of boundaries between groups of people. He argues that categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact, and information but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained despite changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories.

From the above interpretation, **critical assumptions of the intersectionality approach** may be summarized as follows:

- i. There are multiple categories (factors, attributes, and processes) at work to develop the social identity of any group of people or an individual.
- ii. These multiple categories do not operate in isolation or a parallel fashion. Instead, they mutually reinforce—rather say, intersect—each other.
- iii. Social identities are mutable—they are not fixed and unchanged.
- iv. Social inequalities are also a changing phenomenon.



CHAPTER - 2

अन्तर्विभाजनको बुझाइ र आलोचना

(Understanding and Critiquing Intersectionality)

1. 2020, Q. No. 1; 2016, Q. No. 2 (Long Answer Question)

Violence that women experience is often shaped by multiple dimensions of their identities, such as gender and race. Following Crenshaw's (1989) observations of American society, illustrate this statement.

- [महिलाहरूले अनुभव गर्ने हिंसा प्रायः लैंडगिकता र प्रजातियता जस्ता तिनको पहिचानका बहुआयामहरूद्वारा ढाँचाबद्ध हुन्छ । क्रिन्साउ (1989) ले अमेरिकी समाजलाई गरेका दृष्टिगोचरहरूको अवलम्बन गर्दै यस कथनलाई उदाहरणसहित प्रष्ट गर्नुहोस् ।]

Ans: किम्बेले विलियम्स क्रिन्साउ एक अमेरिकी कानुनकर्मी, नागरिक अधिकारकर्मी, आलोचनात्मक प्रजातीय सिद्धन्त (Critical race theory) कि प्रमुख विशेषज्ञ तथा अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमकी विकासकर्ता हुन् । हाल उनी अमेरिकाको कोलम्बिया विश्वविद्यालयअन्तर्गत Columbia Law School मा प्राध्यापक रहेकी छिन् । उनी Columbia Law School को अन्तर्विभाजन र सामाजिक नीति अध्ययन केन्द्र (Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies) (CISPS) कि संस्थापक हुन् ।

क्रिन्साउका अनुसार विगत दुई दशक अगाडिदेखि अर्थात् सन् 1970 को समयदेखि अमेरिकी महिलाहरू उनीहरूमाथि हुने नियमित हिंसाका विरुद्धमा सद्गठित हुँदै आएका छन् । त्यहाँका महिलाहरूमाथि हुने हिंसा र उत्पीडनले उनीहरूको जीवन निवार्ह गर्ने शैलीलाई नै निश्चित रूपबाट ढाँचाबद्ध गरिएको छ । महिला हिंसाका साभा अनुभवहरूको आवाज वर्तमान अमेरिकी राजनैतिक वृत्तमा एक मुख्य मुद्दाको रूपमा उठिरहेको छ । यस्तो राजनैतिक विषयले महिला विरुद्धको हिंसाको बुभाइमा केही परिवर्तन ल्याइदैएको छ । उदाहरणको लागि उत्पीडन र बलात्कारलाई विगतका अमेरिकी समाजअन्तर्गत परिवारको नीजि मामिलाका रूपमा लिइन्थ्यो वा बुफिन्यो भने वर्तमान समयमा त्यस्ता घटनालाई महिलाको एउटा वर्गका रूपमा बृहत् सामाजिक व्यवस्थाका साथ हेठिने वा बुफिने गरिन्छ । यस्तो बुभाइको विकासले अमेरिकाका रद्गभेदका व्यक्तिहरू, समलिङ्गकामी पुरुष र समलिङ्गकामी महिलाका पहिचानसँग सम्बन्धित राजनीति (Identity politics) संस्थागत बन्न पुगेको छ ।

क्रिन्साउका अनुसार पहिचानको राजनीतीलाई सामाजिक न्यायको प्रभूत्वशाली धारणासँग जोडे हेने गरिन्छ । प्रजातीयता (Race), लैंडगिकता (Gender) र अन्य पहिचानका वर्गहरूलाई उदारवादी बहसका विषयहरू (Liberal discourse) का रूपमा लिइन्छ । तर नारीवादी र प्रजातीय आन्दोलनहरूलाई भिन्नताहरूको चित्रण गर्ने सामाजिक शक्तिका रूपमा लिइनु शक्तिको प्रभूत्व होइन, बरु यिनलाई राजनैतिक सशक्तीकरण र सामाजिक निर्माणका स्रोतहरू (Sources of political empowerment and social reconstruction) को रूपमा लिइनुपर्दछ । महिला विरुद्ध हुने हिंसालाई केवल अन्तर्समूह विभिन्नता (Intra-group differences) का आधारमा मान

politicization of domestic violence) र वरु (Domestic violence and antiracist politics) का सम्बन्धमा । रडगभेदका महिलाहरूके राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजनका विविध पक्षहरू प्रकाशमा ल्याएकी छिन् । रडगभेदका महिलाहरूके राजनैतिक रुचिहरूलाई राजनैतिक योजना तथा नीतिहरूमा व्यति स्थान दिन नसकिएके क्रिनसाउले तर्क गरेकी छिन् । कतिपय क्षेत्रमा राज्यले नै घरेलु हिंसा र प्रजातीयताको विभेदमा परेका व्यक्तिहरू सम्बन्धी तथ्याङ्क सार्वजनिक गरिनु नहुने प्रावधान लागु गरेको क्रिनसाउले औल्याएको छिन् । विगतदेखि थालिएका प्रयत्नहरूको असफलता अवगत हुने हुनाले अल्पसङ्ख्यक समूदाय र रडगभेदका महिलाहरूका घरेलु हिंसासम्बन्धी तथ्याङ्क सार्वजनिक अप्रकटीकरणका रूपमा देखिन पुगेको छ । तसर्थ लैंडगिक प्रभुत्व पनि ती समूदायका पुरुषहरू विरुद्धको प्रजातीय विभेदीकरणको परिणामको रूपमा उत्पन्न हुन पुगेको छ ।

1. 2020, Q. No. 1; 2016, Q. No. 2 (Long Answer Question)

Violence that women experience is often shaped by multiple dimensions of their identities, such as gender and race. Following Crenshaw's (1989) observations of American society, illustrate this statement.

Ans: Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw is an American lawyer, civil rights advocate, philosopher, and a leading scholar of critical race theory. She is a Professor at the UCLA School of Law and Columbia Law School, where she specializes in race and gender issues. Crenshaw is also the founder of Columbia Law School's Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies (CISPS), the African American Policy Forum (AAPF), and the president of the Berlin-based Center for Intersectional Justice (CIJ). Crenshaw is known for introducing and developing *intersectionality*, the theory of how overlapping or intersecting social identities, particularly minority identities, relate to systems and structures of oppression, domination, or discrimination. Her scholarship was essential in developing intersectional feminism, which examines the overlapping systems of oppression and discrimination to which women are subject due to their ethnicity, sexuality, and economic background.

According to Crenshaw, American women have organized against the almost routine violence that has shaped their lives over the last two decades. Drawing from the strength of shared experience, women have recognized that the political demands of millions speak more powerfully than the pleas of a few isolated voices. This politicization, in turn, has transformed the way we understand violence against women. For example, battering and rape, once seen as private (family matters) and aberrational (sexual aggression), are now largely recognized as part of a broad-scale system of domination that affects women as a class. This process of recognizing as social and systemic what was formerly perceived as isolated and individuals also characterized the identity politics of African Americans, other people of color, and gays and lesbians, among others. For all these groups, identity-based politics has been a source of strength, community, and intellectual development.

However, Crenshaw contends that the embrace of identity politics has been in tension with dominant conceptions of social justice. Race, gender, and other identity categories are most often treated in mainstream liberal discourse as vestiges of bias or domination—that is, as intrinsically negative frameworks in which social power works to exclude or marginalize those who are different. According to this understanding, our liberatory objective should empty such categories of any social significance. Nevertheless, implicit in certain strands of feminist and racial liberation movements, for example, is the view that the social power in delineating difference need not be the power of domination; it can instead be the source of social empowerment and reconstruction.

Domestic violence accounts for 21% of all crimes in the United States. Domestic violence includes sexual assault and rape, in addition to simple beatings by classmates, family, and relatives. However, violence against women in the United States has declined in recent decades. In this context, contemporary feminist and anti-racist theories have failed to pay much attention to the intersections of racism and patriarchy. Crenshaw argues that male violence against women should be viewed from two perspectives. The *first* is women battering, and the *second* is rape. In both dimensions, the issue of how women of color should experience violence in the interplay of racism and gender should be taken seriously. Crenshaw points out that studies against feminism and racism also need to discuss why multiple identities, including gender and ethnicity, are not included.

Crenshaw presents observational facts on how women of color—in structural interdependence and political interdependence—are experiencing violence from multiple dimensions of identity, such as gender and ethnicity. Crenshaw studied various aspects of structural interdependence by visiting minority communities in the Los Angeles area of the United States in the 1980s. In most cases, she observed that women in those areas experience more subjugation and harassment than physical abuse: the minority black women, both employed and unemployed, live-in poverty. Most black women are victims of violence in their homes. According to Crenshaw, these black women are facing routinized and multilayered subordination. Besides having various effects on their life, women's intellectual capacity has been limited. Women of color must bear the burden of poverty, childcare responsibilities, and lack of job skills. Gender and class oppression has harmed black women's employment, living standards, and domestic behavior.

The above observations reveal important facts about how women's experiences are being shaped in a certain way by racism. The class structure has played an important role in shaping the experiences of black women in terms of economic status, access to employment, housework, and property. Of course, poverty is not the only factor in these questions, but the interdependence of various structures is the main factor, and class dimensions should not be separate or independent from racism and gender.

According to Crenshaw, antiracism movements and gender equality efforts have not effectively addressed the divisions between racism and patriarchy. Such reform movements have become more of a concern for women of color. Crenshaw's factual analysis of the politicization of domestic and sexual violence and anti-racist politics highlights various aspects of political divisions. Crenshaw argues that the political interests of women of color cannot be

included in political plans and policies. Crenshaw pointed out that the state has implemented a provision that states that data on victims of domestic violence and racial discrimination should not be made public in some areas. Even with the awareness of the failure of past efforts, statistics on domestic violence against minority communities and women of color are not made public. The problem of violence against women of color is seen as a manifestation of another form of racism. Therefore, gender dominance has also arisen because of racial discrimination against the men of those communities.

Based on all the above considerations, it can be concluded that the violence experienced by women in American societies is shaped by multiple dimensions of identity, such as gender and ethnicity. There is no single dimension of identity for violence against women.

2. 2019*, Q. No. 8; 2019, Q. No. 8

Write short notes on ANY TWO:

- a. Essentialism and social constructivism (Luintel 2015, Wimmer 2008)
 - b. Fluidity of Newar ethnicity in the USA (Gubhaju 1999) (TU 2020)
 - c. Intra and inter categorical approach
 - d. Marxist-feminist critique of intersectionality (Mitchell 2013)
- (द्रष्टव्य: शीर्षकहरू a , b र c का सद्विकाप्त नोट्सका लागि सम्बन्धित अध्यायहरू क्रमशः 1, २, ५ मा हेनुहोस्।)
- d. अन्तर्विभाजनको मार्क्सवादी-नारीवादी आलोचना (मिशेल 2013)
[Marxist-feminist critique of intersectionality (Mitchell 2013)]

Ans: अमेरिकी नारीवादी समाजशास्त्री इभ मिशेलद्वारा लिखित लेख *I am a Women and a Human: A Marxist-Feminist Critique of Intersectionality Theory (2013)* मा अन्तर्विभाजन सिद्धान्तलाई मार्क्सवादी-नारीवादी दृष्टिकोणहरूबाट गरिएको आलोचना समेटिएको छ।

मिशेलका अनुसार पहिचानको राजनीति लैड्गिकता, यौनिकता वा प्रजातीयताका बहुआयामहरूको अभिव्यक्ति होइन बरु पूँजीवादको एकतर्फाय अभिव्यक्ति (One-sided expression of capitalism) हो । पहिचानको राजनीति अलगावपूर्ण श्रम (Alienated labor) संग समान रूपमा जोडिएको हुन्छ र यो मानवको रूपमा समग्र सम्भावना वा क्षमताहरूको एकतर्फी श्रमको अभिव्यक्ति हुन्छ । पूँजीवादी व्यवस्थामा श्वेत र अश्वेत, महिला र पुरुष, श्रमिक र मजदूर सबै अलगावयुक्त कामदारको रूपमा रहेका हुन्छन् । तसर्थ यस्तो व्यवस्थामा लैड्गिकता र प्रजातीयताका अन्तर्खण्डहरू उत्पादनका कारक नभई पूँजीवादका व्यवस्थाहरूले सार्वभौमिक रूपमा सबैलाई उत्पादनमा राख्छन् । यस तर्कका आधारमा मिशेलले अन्तर्विभाजन सिद्धान्तको मार्क्सवादी-नारीवादी आलोचना गरेका छन् ।

मिशेल तर्क गर्दछन् कि अश्वेत व्यक्तिहरूले आफू अश्वेत भएका कारण श्वेत व्यक्तिका वर्चश्वपूर्ण सामाजिक सम्बन्धहरूका विरुद्ध सङ्घर्ष गर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ । तर त्यस्तो सङ्घर्ष रोकदा त्यसले हाम्रो एकतर्फी अस्तित्व उत्पन्न गराउँदछ र पूँजीवादको स्वरूप देखा पर्दछ । पहिचानको राजनीतिले आको पक्षको विरोधाभाप विना कुनै व्यक्ति अश्वेत, महिला वा कुनै विशिष्ट प्रजातिको हुने तर्क गर्दछ । यदि सुरुआती र अन्तिम विन्दु एकतर्फी हुन्छन् भने प्रजातीयकृत लैड्गिकृत सामाजिक सम्बन्धहरूलाई समाप्त गर्नु सम्भव हुँदैन । अन्तर्विभाजन सिद्धान्तका सम्झौता इरुका अनुसार

समाज अन्तर्गत प्रकटित हुने महिलापन (Womenhood) को स्वरूपलाई प्राकृतिक र स्थिर पहिचानमा लघुकृत गर्न सकिन्छ। महिलापन अथवा अश्वेतपन र साधारणतया लैङ्गिकता जस्ता सामाजिक सम्बन्धहरू स्थिर विषय वा संस्थाहरू बन्दछन्। तसर्थ समाज व्यक्तिहरू तथा सामाजिक समूहहरू जस्ता प्राकृतिक विशेषताहरूका साथ सङ्घर्षित भएको हुन्छ। अतः पहिचानको राजनीतिअन्तर्गत गरिने सङ्घर्ष स्रोतसाधन र अवसरहरूको समान वितरण वा व्यक्तीकरणवाद (Equal distribution or individualism) मा आधारित भएर गर्नु मात्र सम्भव हुन्छ।

मिशेलका अनुसार पितृसत्तात्मकता र श्वेतहरूको सर्वोच्चता ऐतिहासिक कालभरी कायम भइरहने विषयहरू वा संस्थाहरू होइनन्। बरु हाम्रो श्रम र हाम्रा जीवन-क्रियाकलापहरूका खास अभिव्यक्तिहरू हुन्, जुन उत्पादनका विधिहरूद्वारा अनुकूलन (वा उपयुक्त) हुँदै गइरहेका हुन्छन्।

Capital (1867, 1885, 1894) पुस्तकमा मार्क्सले श्रमलाई मानव र बाट्य जगतबीचको अन्तर्क्रियाका रूपमा व्याख्या गरेका छन्। त्यसैरी पितृसत्तात्मकता र श्वेत सर्वोच्चता हाम्रो श्रमका परिणामहरू हुन्, जुन हामीले गर्ने श्रमका अवस्थाहरू हुन्। हामीहरू निरन्तर परिवर्तनशील सामाजिक अवस्थाहरूमा अन्तर्क्रिया गरिरहेका हुन्दौं र अन्तर्क्रियात्मक श्रम सम्बन्धमा पनि सुधार ल्याइरहेका हुन्दौं। तसर्थ श्रमका सर्वै सामाजिक सम्बन्धहरू जस्तै पितृसत्तात्मकता, श्वेत सर्वोच्चता, प्रजातीयता र लैङ्गिकता जस्ता पहिचानहरू पनि परिवर्तन तथा रूपान्तरण हुँदै जान्छन् भन्ने मान्यता मिशेलको रहेको छ।

अन्तर्विभाजन सिद्धान्तको मार्क्सवादी-नारीवादी आलोचनामा तर्क गर्दै मिशेल उल्लेख गर्दछिन् कि पहिचानको राजनीति र अन्तर्विभाजनको अवधारणा आफैमा गलत नभई अपूर्ण छन्। पितृसत्तात्मक र प्रजातीय सामाजिक सम्बन्धहरू भौतिक, ठोस र वास्तविक हुन्छन्। तसर्थ विशेष वा सर्वव्यापी (Specific and universal) तथा प्रकटता र मूल तत्त्व (Appearance and essence) बीच विवाद वा द्वन्द्व रहन्छ। यी द्वन्द्व वा विरोधाभापमा समाधान खोल्नुपर्दछ। यी विभिन्न आधारहरूमा मिशेलले अन्तर्विभाजन सिद्धान्तलाई मार्क्सवादी-नारीवादी कोणबाट आलोचना गरेका छन्।

2. 2019,*Q. No. 8; 2019, Q. No. 8

Write short notes on (any TWO):

- Fluidity of Newar ethnicity in the USA (Gubhaju 1999)
- Intra and inter categorical approach
- Essentialism and social constructivism
- Marxist feminist critique intersectionality (Mitchell 2013)

(Note: For short notes on the topics 'a', 'b', and c; please see in concerned chapters 6, 5, and 1 respectively.)

- Marxist feminist critique of internationality (Mitchell 2013)

Ans: American feminist sociologist Eve Mitchell has presented the analysis of Marxist-feminist critique of intersectionalism in his academic article '*I am a Women and a Human: A Marxist Feminist Critique of Intersectionality Theory (2013)*'.

According to Mitchell, identity politics is rooted in a one-sided expression of capitalism and is therefore not a revolutionary politics. 'Identity' can be equated with alienated labor; it is a one-sided expression of our total potential as human beings. Under capitalism, we are both the alienated worker and labor itself, except the universal has not been actualized concretely. Also, under capitalism, there is a contradiction between the specific and the universal; appearance and essence, we appear to be alienated individuals (labor, a professional, women, and men), and through, in essence, we are multi-sided individuals capable of

many forms of labor. So, in this social system, gender and race are not the factors of oppression and dominance, but the capitalist system is responsible for universal oppression to all people. In this way, Mitchell critiques the Marxist, feminist criticism of intersectionality theory.

Mitchell argues that black people must embrace blackness, and struggle based on being black, to negate white supremacists' social relations. However, to stop there reproduces our one-sided existence and the forms of appearance of capitalism. Identity politics argues "I am a black man" or "I am a woman," without filling out the other side of the contradiction "...and I am a human." If the starting and ending point is one-sided, there is no possibility for socialized and gendered social relations. For supporters of identity politics (despite claiming otherwise), womanhood, a form of appearance within society, is reduced to natural, static "identity." Social relations such as "womanhood" or simply gender become static objects or "institutions." Society is therefore organized into individuals or sociological groups with natural characteristics. Therefore, the only possibility for struggle under identity politics is equal distributions or individualism. This process is a bourgeois ideology in that it replicates the alienated individual invented and defended by bourgeois theorists and scientists (and materially enforced) since capitalism's birth.

Mitchell contends that it is important to note that identity politics and intersectionality theorists are not wrong, but they are incomplete. Patriarchal and racialized social relations are material, concrete, and real. So are the specific and universal contradictions and the appearance and essence. The solution must build upon these contradictions and push on them. Embracing womanhood, organizing based on blackness, and building queer politics is essential for our liberation. It is the material starting point of struggle.

3. 2019, Q. No. 2 (Long Answer Question)

Distinguish between structural and political intersectionality as discussed in the account of Chrenshaw (1989) about violence as experienced by women of color in the USA.

[संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा महिलाहरूले रद्दगभेदको रूपमा अनुभव गरेका हिसाबारे क्रिन्साउ (1989) का विवरणहरू अन्तर्गत छलफल गरिएबमोजिम सरचनागत र राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजनबीच भिन्नता छुट्ट्याउनुहोस्।]

Ans : अमेरिकी नारीवादी समाजशास्त्री र अमेरिकाकै कोलम्बिया विश्वविद्यालयको कानून सङ्कायमा विशिष्टिकृत प्राध्यापकको पदमा कार्यरत किम्बेले विलियम क्रिन्साउद्वारा प्रकाशित लेख Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Color (1989) मा संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकाअन्तर्गत महिलाहरूले रद्दगभेदको रूपमा अनुभव गर्नुपरिहरेका हिसाहरूलाई अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमद्वारा विश्लेषण गरी प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ। क्रिन्साउ स्वयम्भूत अमेरिकामा रोजगारीको खोजी गर्दा आफूलगायत त्यहाँका अश्वेत महिलाहरू (Black women) ले भोग्नुपरेका समस्याहरूको व्याख्या गर्दै अन्तर्विभाजनको अवधारणालाई थप परिचित गर्ने कार्य गरेकी थिइन्। क्रिन्साउले अमेरिकाअन्तर्गत महिलाहरूलाई अश्वेत वा काला भएको रूपमा र लैड्गिकताका आधारमा गरी दुई किसिमबाट खण्डित वा विभाजित गरिएको छ। अश्वेत महिलाहरूलाई उनीहरूको रद्दगको आधारमा शोषण गरिनुका अतिरिक्त लैड्गिकताका आधारमा असमानतापूर्ण व्यावहार गरिन्छ। नारीवादी आन्दोलनहरूले महिला शोषणका विरुद्ध आवाज उठाएका भएतापनि प्रजातीयता विरुद्धका आन्दोलनहरू (Anti-racism movements) ले

नीति, प्रावधान र राजनैतिक परियोजनाहरूको अन्तर्खण्डसंग रहेको हुन्छ । राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजनको अवभारणाले रङ्गभेदका महिलाहरू (Women of color) कमिटी पनि अधिनस्थताका दुईवटा समूहहरूमा अवस्थित रहेको तथ्य उजागर गर्दछ, जुन अधिनस्थताहरू विरोधाभाष्यपूर्ण राजनैतिक एजेण्डाहरूसंग सम्बन्धित हुन्छन् । ऐस्याका राजनैतिक सामयिक वा शक्तिहरूबीच कहिलेकाही दुईवटा विपरित राजनैतिक एजेण्डाहरूको विभाजन रङ्गभेदका महिलाहरू र स्वेत महिलाहरूको अन्तर्विभाजनात्मक असशक्तीकरणको आयाम हुन्छ । यसका अतिरिक्त ती महिलाका विशिष्ट प्रजातीय, लैंडगिकता अनुभवहरू, अन्तर्विभाजनले समग्र समूहका हितहरूलाई परिभाषित तथा निर्धारित गर्दछ ।

क्रिन्साउका अनुसार प्रजातीयता विरुद्धका आन्दोलन र लैंडगिक समताका प्रयत्नहरूले प्रजातीयता र पितृसत्तात्मकताका अन्तर्विभाजनहरूलाई प्रभावकारी ढण्डगबाट सम्बोधन गर्न सकेका छैन । यस्ता सुधारका आन्दोलनहरू रङ्गभेदका महिलाहरू (Women of color) का लागी थप सरोकारका विपय बन्न पुगेका छन् । क्रिन्साउले घरेलु हिंसाको राजनैतीकरण (The politicization of domestic violence) र घरेलु हिंसा तथा प्रजातीयता विरोधी राजनीति (Domestic violence and antiracist politics) का सम्बन्धमा तथ्यपत्रक विश्लेषण गर्दै राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजनका विविध पक्षहरू प्रकाशमा ल्याएकी छिन् । रङ्गभेदका महिलाहरूका राजनैतिक रुचिहरूलाई राजनैतिक योजना तथा नीतिहरूमा त्यति स्थान दिन नसकिएको क्रिन्साउले तर्क गरेको छिन् । कतिपय क्षेत्रमा राज्यले नै घरेलु हिंसा र प्रजातीयताको विभेदमा परेका व्यक्तिहरू सम्बन्धी तथ्याङ्क सार्वजनिक गरिनु नहुने प्रावधान लाग्नु गरेको क्रिन्साउले औल्याएकी छिन् । विगतदेखि थालिएका प्रयत्नहरूको असफलता अवगत हुने हुनाले अल्पसङ्ख्यक समुदाय र रङ्गभेदका महिलाहरूका घरेलु हिंसासम्बन्धी तथ्याङ्क सार्वजनिक नै गरिदैन । रङ्गभेदका महिलाहरू विरुद्धको हिंसाको समस्या प्रजातीयताको अर्को स्वरूपको प्रकटीकरणका रूपमा देखिन पुगेको छ । तसर्थे लैंडगिक प्रभुत्व पनि ती समूदायका पुरुषहरू विरुद्धको प्रजातीय विभेदीकरणको परिणामको रूपमा उत्पन्न हुन पुगेको छ ।

उत्पुक्त सम्पूर्ण विवेचनाका आधारमा निष्कर्षमा भन्न सकिन्छ कि संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा महिलाहरूले रङ्गभेदका आधारमा विभिन्न भेदभाव, असमानता र हिंसाहरूको अनुभव गर्नुपरिहरेको छ । अमेरिकी समाजमा रङ्गभेदविरुद्धको आन्दोलनले लामो समय पुरा गरीसकेको भएतापनि त्यहाँका थुप्रै अल्पसङ्ख्यक, आप्रवासी र सिमान्तीकृत समूदायका महिलाहरूले घरायसी कामका क्षेत्रदेखि सार्वजनिक जीवनका विविध क्षेत्रमा शोषण, दमन, भेदभाव, असमान ज्याला, न्यून सुविधा, हिंसा जस्ता अनुभवहरू व्योहोर्नु परीरहेको छ । त्यस्ता अनुभवहरूले अन्तर्विभाजनको स्वरूप पनि संरचनागत र राजनैतिक गरी दुईवटा स्वरूपहरूमा विभाजित हुन पुगेको छ ।

3. 2019, Q. No. 2 (Long Answer Question)

Distinguish between structural and political intersectionality as discussed in the account of Crenshaw (1989) about violence as experienced by women of color in the USA.

Ans: American feminist sociologist and distinguished professor of law at Columbia University in the United States Kimberly William Crenshaw's article *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color* (1989) presented the concept of intersectionality by explaining the problems faced by black women. According to Crenshaw, women in the United States are divided based on two criteria—black color and gender discrimination. As a result, black women are exploited based not only on their color but also on gender. Although feminist movements have spoken out against the exploitation

of women, anti-racism movements have failed to systematically address American minorities' issues.

Crenshaw points out that black women suffer the consequences of gender discrimination and racial discrimination because the two discriminations are intertwined, where the forces of gender and racism operate. Consequently, black women in the United States have not been able to find an appropriate place in the labor market. As a result, black women have not reached the level of white men or women. As a result, black women have limited access to employment. Moreover, harassment of black women has not been adequately covered by current US legal provisions. Besides criticizing the tendency and regimes to ignore black women, she has also criticized various aspects of the then identity politics, which fragmented groups and classes neglected.

In his writings and studies, Crenshaw presents an analysis of the differences between structural intersectionality and political intersectionality as follows:

- **Structural intersectionality**

According to Crenshaw, structural intersectionality implies how the location of women of color at the intersection of race and gender makes the experience of domestic violence, rape, and remedial reform qualitatively different from that of white women. Crenshaw observed the dynamics of structural intersectionality during a brief field study of battered women's shelters located in minority communities in Los Angeles, United States. In most cases, the physical assault that leads women to these shelters is merely the most immediate manifestation of the subordination they experience. Many women who seek protection and are unemployed or employed, a good number of them are poor. Shelters serving these women cannot afford to address only the violence inflicted by the batterer. They must also confront the other multilayered and routinized forms of domination after converging in these women's lives, hindering their ability to create alternatives to the abusive relationship that brought them to shelters in the first place. Many women of color, for example, are burdened by poverty, child-care responsibilities, and the lack of job skills. These burdens, largely the consequence of gender and class oppression, are compounded by the racially discriminatory employment and housing practices women of color face.

Crenshaw's observations, as mentioned above, reveal how intersectionality shapes the experiences of many women of color. Economic considerations—access to employment, housing, and wealth—confirm that the class structures play an important part in defining the experience of women of color vis-à-vis battering. However, it would be a mistake to conclude from these observations that it is simply the fact of poverty that is at issue. Rather, their experience reveals how diverse structures intersect since even the class dimension is not independent of race and gender.

- **Political intersectionality**

Political intersectionality concerns addressing how social identity groups organize themselves between or more political agendas or projects. According to Crenshaw, the concept of political intersectionality highlights that women of color are situated within at least two subordinated groups that frequently pursue conflicting political agendas. The need to split one's political energies between two sometimes opposing

political agendas is multidimensional of intersectional disempowerment that men of color and white women seldom confront. Indeed, although intersectional, their specific race and gendered experiences often define and confine the interests of the entire group. For instance, racism as experienced by people of color who are of a particular gender—male—tends to determine the parameters of antiracist strategies, just as sexism as experienced by women who are of a specific race—white—tends to ground the women's movement.

By analyzing the politicization of domestic violence and antiracist politics, Crenshaw mentions that the political interest of women of color is obscured and sometimes jeopardized by political strategies that ignore or suppress intersectional issues. The information was not released regarding domestic violence activists by government agencies.

Based on all the above considerations, it can be concluded that women in the United States are experiencing various forms of discrimination—inequality, and violence—based on racism and color. Although the anti-racist movement in American society has been around for a long time, many women from minority, immigrant and marginalized communities have been experiencing exploitation, oppression, discrimination, unequal wages, inadequate facilities, and violence in various areas of public life, from domestic work to governmental sector. Such experiences have also divided the form of intersectionality into two forms—structural and political.

4. 2017, Q. No. 1 (Long Answer Question)

How did Crenshaw (1989) make a critique of the invisibility of the women of color in the justice system of the United States? How did gender and race intersect in it?

[संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकाको न्यायिक व्यवस्थामा रड्गभेदका महिलाहरूको अदृष्टता वा नजरअन्दाजबारे क्रिन्साउ (1989) ले कसरी आलोचना निर्माण गरेकी छन्? त्यसमा लैड्गिकता र प्रजातीयताले कसरी अन्तर्खण्ड गरेका छन्?]

Ans: अमेरिकी नारिवादी अभियन्ता तथा अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमका संस्थापकहरूमध्ये, एक प्रमुख संस्थापक किम्बेले विलियम्स क्रिन्साउले सन् 1989 र 1991 मा दुईवटा चर्चित लेखहरू प्रकाशित गरेकी थिएँ। यी लेखहरूमा क्रिन्साउले संरचनागत अन्तर्विभाजन र राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजनका विविध पक्षहरूबारे तथ्यपरक तथा अनुसन्धानमूलक ढड्गबाट विश्लेषण गरेकी छिन्। यसका अतिरिक्त क्रिन्साउले आफुद्वारा लिखित लेख *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Color (1989)* मा संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकाको न्यायिक व्यवस्थामा रङ्गभेदका महिलाहरूको अदृष्टता वा नजरअन्दाज गरिएको सम्बन्धमा विभिन्न आलोचनाहरू र अमेरिकी न्याय व्यवस्थामा भएका विभिन्न कमीकमजोरीहरू प्रकाशमा ल्याएकी छिन्।

क्रिन्साउको अभिमतअनुसार अश्वेत महिलाहरू (Black women) लाई प्रजातीयता (Racism) र यौनिकता (Sexuality) का कानुनी वर्गहरूसँग उपयुक्त नहुने गरी विभेदीकरण गरिन्छ । अर्को शब्दमा अमेरिकामा त्यहाँका अश्वेत महिलाहरूलाई त्यहाँको कानुनी व्यवस्थासँग अनुपयुक्त हुने गरी प्रजातीयता र यौनिकताका विरुद्ध विभेद गरिएको अवस्था छ । यसका अतिरिक्त प्रजातीयता र यौनिकता दुवैका विरुद्ध त्यहाँ कानुनी व्यवस्था असमान हो जेत महिलाहरूलाई विभेद गर्ने गरिन्छ । अमेरिकाका कानुनी प्रावधानहरूमा यौनिकता दुवैका विरुद्ध विभेद गर्ने

भने त्यस्तो समानता प्रत्याभूत हुन सकेको छैन। रङ्गभेदका आधारमा अश्वेत महिला, अश्वेत पुरुष र आप्रवासीहरूलाई राजनैतिक दमन गर्ने गरिन्छ। महिला र पुरुषहरूको ज्यालामा भेदभाव काप्त छ भने श्रमिक महिला र गरीब वर्गको जीवन पहिलेभन्दा भन् बढी खराब हुँदैगइरहेको छ। सरकारले कानुनी र नीतिगत व्यवस्थाबाट खाल्यात्र, आवास, स्वास्थ्य सेवा र शिक्षामा दिँझै आएको अनुदान घटाएको छ वा बन्द गरेको छ। धेरै वर्ष पहिलेदेखि अमेरिकामा अश्वेत र हिस्पानिक महिलाहरूका लागि एउटा विशेष कार्यक्रम सञ्चालित गरिएको थियो। यस कार्यक्रममन्तराले दुर्दशायुक्त अवस्थामा रहेका र श्रीमान पक्काउ वा जेल परेका अश्वेत महिलाका बालबालिकालाई शिक्षामा सहलियत दिइन्थ्यो। वर्तमान समयमा सरकारले कानुनी व्यवस्थाबाटै त्यस कार्यक्रमको अन्त गरेको छ।

अमेरिकामा अभैसम्म पनि प्रजातीयताका आधारमा महिलाहरूमाथि हुने भेदभाव र नजरअन्दाज कायमै छ। श्वेत र अश्वेत महिलाहरूमा पर्याप्त विभेद गरिन्छ। क्रिन्साउ तर्क गर्दछन् कि त्यहाँ अश्वेत महिलाहरूलाई त्यहाँको कानूनी व्यवस्थाबाटमोजिमका वर्गहरू अर्थात् या त लैड्गिकता वा प्रजातीयता मात्रका आधारमा विभेद नगरी ती दुवैको सम्मिश्रित स्वरूपका विरुद्ध विभेदीकरण गरिन्छ। अमेरिकाको कानूनी र न्यायिक व्यवस्थामा लैड्गिकता र यौनिकतालाई त्यहाँका सबै महिलाहरू (श्वेत महिलाहरू सहित) को साभा असमानताको विषयका रूपमा परिभाषित गरिएको छ। जबकी प्रजातीयता (Racism) लाई भने रङ्गभेदका महिलाहरू (Women of color) अर्थात् अश्वेत महिलाहरू (पुरुषहरू सहित) ले सामना गर्नुपरिहरेको न्यायिक विषयका रूपमा लिइएको छ। कुनै उमेर, भौगोलिक अवस्थिति, सामाजिक-आर्थिक अवस्था, यौनिक उन्मुखता र भिन्नताका अन्य सामाजिक वर्ग जस्ता महिलाका अनुभवहरूबाट न्यायोचित एवम् एकसमान नभएको आधारबाट क्रिन्साउले अमेरिकी न्यायिक व्यवस्थाको पर्याप्त आलोचना गरेकी छिन्। अमेरिकी न्यायिक व्यवस्था अर्थात् त्यहाँको कानुन, ऐन वा अदालती प्रक्रियाहरूमा उत्पीडनको एकल-आयाम (Single-axis of oppression) लाई मात्र प्रयोग गरिन्छ। अतः बहुपहिचानहरूद्वारा कसरी उत्पीडनका विविध स्वरूपहरू उत्पन्न हुन्छन् भने सम्बन्धमा त्यहाँको कानूनी व्यवस्था मौन रहेको छ।

उपर्युक्त सम्पूर्ण विवेचनाबाट निष्कर्षमा भन्न सकिन्छ कि संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकाको न्यायिक व्यवस्थामा रङ्गभेदका महिलाहरूको नजरअन्दाज गरिएको तथ्यलाई क्रिन्साउले तथ्यप्रक ढङ्गबाट प्रमाणित गरेकी छिन्। त्यस्तो अदृष्टता वा नजरअन्दाजमा लैड्गिकता र प्रजातीयताका अन्तर्खण्डहरूले महत्वपूर्ण स्थान राख्छन्।

4. 2017, Q. No. 1 (Long Answer Question)

How did Crenshaw (1989) make a critique of the invisibility of the women of color in the justice system of the United States? How did gender and race intersect in it?

Ans: Kimberle Williams Crenshaw—one of the leading American feminist activists and founders of the intersectional approach, published two famous articles in 1989 and 1991. In these articles, Crenshaw analyzes the various aspects of structural intersectionality and political intersectionality in an analytical and investigative manner. Besides, Crenshaw's article, *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color* (1989), highlights various criticisms and shortcomings of the United States' judiciary and legal systems regarding invisibility or neglect of women of color.

According to Crenshaw, black women are discriminated against in a way incompatible with the legal categories of racism and sexuality. In other words, black women in the United States are discriminated against based on race and

sexuality to be incompatible with the legal system. Besides, black women are discriminated against, even against racism and sexuality, contrary to the law. In US legal provisions, *sexuality* is defined as the gender discrimination faced by all women, including white women. At the same time, *racism* is defined as the social structure that all black men and women face based on color. This provision in the legal system reveals that black women have been made invisible in the judicial system or ignored in legal frameworks.

Crenshaw studied employment discrimination-based lawsuits and analyzed how black women in the United States are discriminated against, both women and blacks. The US Congress passed the **Civil Rights Act (1964)**, black women were given limited employment and opportunities. Since the actant's enactment, black women have been barred from entering major US factories and industries. By the 1970s, the employment of hired black women was cut. It is clear from these illustrations that women of color are ignored or invisible in the US justice system (laws, acts, and provisions). Through her writings, Crenshaw has highlighted the various facets of this invisibility.

Crenshaw has criticized the US judiciary for ignoring women of color, including immigration laws, housing policies, and marriage provisions.

For example, for immigrant women, their status as immigrants can render them vulnerable in similarly coercive ways yet not easily reducible to economic class. For instance, taking the **Marriage Fraud Amendments to the Immigration Act (1983)**. Under the marriage fraud provisions of the Act, a person who immigrated to the United States to marry a United States citizen or permanent resident had to remain "properly" married for two years before applying for permanent resident status. At that time, applications for the immigrant's permanent status were required by both spouses. Predictably, many immigrant women were reluctant to leave even the most abusive of partners for fear of being deported under these circumstances. Unfortunately, many immigrant women choose the latter when faced with the choice between protection from their batterers and protection against deportation. Reports of the tragic consequences of this double subordination put pressure on Congress (i.e., the parliament of USA) to include in **The Immigration Act (1990)** a provision amending the marriage fraud rules to allow for an explicit waiver for the hardship caused by domestic violence.

According to Crenshaw, the remnants of color still exist in various parts of the United States. There is a great deal of discrimination, especially against black women and Hispanics. However, all Americans have been constitutionally equal and law for hundreds of years, but such similarities have not been practically guaranteed. Black women, men, and immigrants are politically oppressed based on color. Wages of men and women remain discriminated against political oppression, while the lives of working women and the poor are deteriorating. The government has reduced or stopped subsidies for food, housing, health care, and education through legal and policy measures. Many years ago, a special program for black and Hispanic women was conducted in the United States. Under this program, education was provided to the children of black women who were in dire straits and whose husbands were arrested or imprisoned. At present, the government has ended the program through legal means and ways. There is still discrimination and neglect of women in the United States based on race. There is considerable discrimination between white and black women. Crenshaw argues that black women are discriminated against according to the

legal system, not based on either gender or ethnicity alone, but against a combination of the two. In the US legal and judicial system, gender and sexuality are defined as issues of common inequality for all women (including white women). Racism, on the other hand, is seen as a judicial issue facing women of color, including black women. Crenshaw has been critical of the US justice system because it is not fair and uniform from women's experiences, regardless of age, geographical location, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, and other social classes. Only the single axis of oppression is used in the US judicial system, laws, acts, or court proceedings. Therefore, the legal system is silent on how multiple identities generate various forms of harassment.

From all the above considerations, it can be concluded that Crenshaw has factually substantiated that women of color are ignored in the judicial system of the United States. Ignoring such invisibility, the intersections of sexuality and species play an important role.

5. 2017, Q. No. 8

Write short notes on ANY TWO:

- Targeted approach
- Intra-categorical approach
- Structural and political intersectionality
- Ambiguity and incompleteness of intersectional approach (Davis 2008)

(द्रष्टव्य: शीर्षकहरू a र b का सङ्खिप्त नोट्सका लागि सम्बन्धित अध्यायहरू क्रमशः 6 र 5 मा हेनुहोस्।)

Ans:

- Structural and political intersectionality
(संरचनागत तथा राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजन)

क्रिन्साउ (1989) ले आफ्ना लेखन र अध्ययन कार्यमा संरचनागत अन्तर्विभाजन र राजनैतिक अन्तर्विभाजनबीचको भिन्नताका बारेमा विश्लेषण प्रस्तुत गरेकी छिन्, जसबारे यहाँ वर्णन गरिन्छ:

- संरचनागत अन्तर्विभाजन (Structural intersectionality)

क्रिन्साउका अनुसार संरचनागत अन्तर्विभाजन असमान सामाजिक समूहहरूको अन्तर्बहुण्ड (Intersection of unequal social groups) सँग सम्बन्धित अन्तर्विभाजन हो। क्रिन्साउले सन् 1980 को दशकमा अमेरिकाको लस एन्जेल्स क्षेत्रका अल्पसङ्ख्यक समूदायहरूको क्षेत्रभ्रमण गरेर संरचनागत अन्तर्विभाजनका विभिन्न पक्षहरूको अध्ययन गरेकी थिइन्। अधिकांश घटनाहरूमा ती क्षेत्रअन्तर्गतका महिलाहरूले शारीरिकभन्दा पनि अधिनस्थता र उत्पीडनका अनुभवहरू बढी गर्नुपरिहरेको उनले औल्याएकी छिन्। रोजगार वा बेरोजगार दुवै अवस्थामा रहेका अल्पसङ्ख्यक अश्वेत महिलाहरू गरीबीको अवस्थामा रहेका छन्। तिनका आवास क्षेत्रहरूमा हने

सहप्राध्यापक रहेकी थिएँ। हाल उनी नेदरल्याण्डके अमर्स्टैडम विश्वविद्यालय अन्तर्गतको प्रैसिंग
अनुसन्धान कार्यक्रम र समाजशास्त्र विभागकी रिसर्च फेलो रहेकी थिएँ।

डेविसको अनुसन्धानपूर्वक लेख *Intersectionality as Buzzword (2008)* में
अन्तर्विभाजनका सम्बन्धमा उत्पन्न भएका विभिन्न धारणाहरू, अन्तर्विभाजनका मूलभूत
सरोकारका पक्षहरू, अन्तर्विभाजन विश्लेषणमा उत्पन्न भएका नयाँ तथ्यहरू, अन्तर्विभाजनको
सामान्यीकरण र विशेषज्ञता तथा अन्तर्विभाजनको सन्देहात्मकता र अपूर्णताका बारे सैद्धान्तिक
विश्लेषण प्रस्तुत गरेकी थिएँ।

डेविसका अनुसार कुनै सामाजिक सिद्धान्तले सन्देहात्मकता र अपूर्णतालाई समेट्नुपर्दछ। सन्देह
तागेका तथ्यहरूको परीक्षण, अवलोकन र अध्ययनद्वारा अपूर्णतालाई पूर्णतातर्फ उन्मुख गतिशब्द
सकिन्छ। कुनै पनि सिद्धान्तअन्तर्गतका विवाद, बहस र असहमतिहरूलाई समाधान गरेर सामाजिक
विषयहरूको गहन बुझाइ प्राप्त गर्न सकिन्छ। कुनै दुविधाविना अन्तर्विभाजनको अवधारणा पनि
अस्पष्ट र खुल्ला स्वरूपको हुन्छ। अन्तर्विभाजनको अवधारणालाई कसरी परिभाषित गर्ने, यसका
उपयुक्त परिसीमाहरूलाई कसरी निर्धारण गर्ने र कसरी प्रयोग गर्ने भन्ने सम्बन्धमा नारीवादी
सिद्धान्तहरूले पर्याप्त बहसहरू गरेका छन्। अन्तर्विभाजनका प्रतिस्पर्धी व्याख्या र दृष्टिकोणहरूले
अन्तर्विभाजनको अवधारणालाई थप स्पष्ट गर्ने भूमिका निर्वाह गर्दछन्। वास्तवमा महिलाहरूको
अध्ययनअन्तर्गतका क्षेत्रहरूमा समग्र वर्णन गर्नका लागि कुनै पनि सिद्धान्त वा अवधारणा आफैमा
पूर्ण हुँदैन भने कसैले महिला अध्ययनहरूलाई पूर्णरूपमा बुझन पनि सक्दैन। तसर्थ डेविसको
अभिमतअनुसार अन्तर्विभाजनको अवधारणात्मक अपूर्णतालाई पूर्णरूपमा हटाउन वा निषेध गर्ने
सक्दैन। यद्यपि डेविसले औत्याएका छन् कि अन्तर्विभाजनको अध्ययन एक आशावादी अध्ययन
(Optimistic reading) हो। अन्तर्विभाजनको अवधारणा अपूर्ण, अस्पष्ट र खुल्ला स्वरूपको
भएकोले समकालीन नारीवादी अध्ययनहरूमा यसको अध्ययन परिणाममुखी हुन सक्दछ। स्पष्ट
परिभाषाको अभाव र विशिष्ट परिसीमाहरूको कमीका कारण अन्तर्विभाजनको उपागम परिवेशमा
आधारित खोज (Context of inquiry) का लागि ज्यादै उपयोगी र महत्वपूर्ण हुन सक्दछ। प्रत्येक
नयाँ अन्तर्खण्डहरूका साथ नयाँ-नयाँ सम्बन्धहरू उदय हुन्छन् र विगतमा अदृष्ट रहेका
वज्ज्वतीकरणहरू पनि उजागर हुँदै जाने गर्दछन्।

यसप्रकार अन्तर्विभाजन उपागमको सन्देहात्मकता र अपूर्णता सम्बन्धमा डेविस (2008) को कथन
स्पष्ट हुन्छ।

5. 2017, Q. No. 8

Write short notes on ANY TWO:

- Targeted approach
- Intra categorical approach
- Structural and political intersectionality
- Ambiguity and incompleteness of intersectional approach (Davis 2008)

(Note: For short notes on topic 'a' and 'b,' see in related chapter 5 and 6, respectively)

Ans:

- Structural and political intersectionality

In part first of her programmatic article, Crenshaw demonstrates the vital importance of such an intersectional approach by considering a few examples of structural intersectionality. For Crenshaw, 'structure' here refers to the organization of society, including the relationships between people of different races, genders, and classes. She shows how the institutions of American society

are often structured to ignore the intersection of different dimensions of identity. These institutions include everything from community organizations to the United States Congress. Thus, according to Crenshaw, structural intersectionality at every level, from the local to the national, fails to accommodate and serve people who experience multiple kinds of marginalization. That means people who experience not only racism or sexism but both.

Hence, structural intersectionality occurs when social structures that create and organize different social groups, e.g., gender and race, interact to produce effects that may not be intended. For example, domestic violence shelters do not address the multiple needs of poor women, immigrants, and women of color, plausibly trans women, e.g., by refusing to admit non-English speaking women. On the other hand, according to Crenshaw, the concept of political intersectionality highlights that women of color are situated within at least two subordinated groups that frequently pursue conflicting political agendas. The need to split one's political energies between two opposing political agendas is a dimension of intersectional disempowerment that men of color and white women seldom confront. Indeed, Crenshaw argues that their specific raced and gendered experiences, although intersectional, often define and confine the interests of the entire group. For example, racism experienced by people of color who are of certain gender-male-tends determines the parameters of antiracist strategies, just as women of specific race-white-tends experience sexism to ground the women's movement.

Political intersectionality occurs when the political movements working towards justice for different groups, e.g., feminism and antiracism, interact to exclude or marginalize the interests of some subset of the groups or reinforce another form of injustice. For example, the refusal of agencies to release domestic violence data by race to protect communities of color, the interests of women of color were marginalized in favor of the interests of the Black community.

In conclusion, Crenshaw distinguishes between structural and political intersectionality. This distinction represents a fruitful heuristic tool to mark the differences between systems of oppression and the political strategies to tackle them. She analyzes structural intersectionality as the differentiating experiences of black and white women, whereas political intersectionality is related to feminist and antiracist political strategies. In addition to this, we find it clarifying to distinguish between macro, middle, and micro-processes of political intersectionality since they are characterized by different dynamics, actors, and outcomes. Crenshaw defines the micro-level as everyday policies, the middle level as related to movements and organizations, and the macro-level as the national process of political policymaking.

d. **Ambiguity and incompleteness of intersectional approach (Davis 2008)**

Kathy Davis is currently a senior research fellow in the PARIS research program and the Department of Sociology at the University Amsterdam in the Netherlands. Since 1990, she has worked as an Associate Professor in women's studies and, later, as a senior researcher at the Institute of History and Culture at Utrecht University. She has a long-standing interest in feminist scholarship on women's health. Her work is situated at the cutting edge between cultural studies, gender studies, and the sociology of the body. She has published

extensively on contemporary feminism approaches to the interaction between physicians and female patients, cultural constructions of beauty, and the political and ethical dimensions of transnational feminist health politics.

In her research-based academic article *Intersectionality as Buzzword* (2008), Davis analyzed the different concepts of intersectionality, fundamental concerns of intersectionality, novel twists that emerged in the intersectional approach, and ambiguity and incompleteness of intersectionality.

Davis contends that one of the essential characteristics of successful theory must be inherently ambiguous and incomplete. She regards inconsistencies and missing pieces as part of what makes a theory famous in the first place. Theories thrive on ambiguity and incompleteness. Pointing out the incongruities, in theory, is the first step toward looking for ways to improve upon the original—an activity that is the bread and butter of theorizing. If ambiguity stimulates synthesis, then incompleteness can motivate an academic audience to elaborate or 'test' the theory by applying it to new areas of social life that were not in the original theory.

According to Davis, as a concept, intersectionality is ambiguous and open-ended. As we have seen, feminist theorists have engaged in several debates concerning how the concept should be defined, its appropriate parameters, and its use. In attempting to make sense of the welter of competing interpretations and perspectives concerning intersectionality, no concept is perfect, and none can ever understand and explain all that needs to be understood and explained within the field of women's studies. At the same time, this suggests that intersectionality's conceptual imperfections are the simply unavoidable problem to be taken in one's stride. Thus, Davis's analysis offers another—and perhaps more optimistic—reading because intersectionality is so imperfect—ambiguous and open-ended—that it has been so productive for contemporary feminist discourse.

6. 2016, Q. No.4

Write a note on Marxist-Feminist critique of intersectionality theory (Eve Mitchell 2013).
[अन्तर्विभाजन सिद्धान्तको मार्क्सवादी-नारीवादी आलोचना सम्बन्धमा एयट्री नोट लेख्नुहोस्। (इभ मिशेल 2013)]

Ans: अमेरिकी नारीवादी समाजशास्त्री इभ मिशेलद्वारा लिखित लेख *I am a Woman and a Human: A Marxist-Feminist Critique of Intersectionality Theory* (2013) मा अन्तर्विभाजन सिद्धान्तलाई मार्क्सवादी-नारीवादी दृष्टिकोणहरूबाट गरिएको आलोचना समेटिएको

मिशेलका अनुसार पहिचानको राजनीति लैड्गिकता, यौनिकता वा प्रजातीयताका बहुआयामहरूको अभिव्यक्ति होइन बरु पूँजीवादको एकतर्फीय अभिव्यक्ति (One-sided expression of capitalism) हो। पहिचानको राजनीति अलगावपूर्ण श्रम (Alienated labor) सँग समान रूपमा जोडिएको हुन्छ र यो मानवको रूपमा समग्र सम्भावना वा क्षमताहरूको एकतर्फी श्रमको अभिव्यक्ति हुन्छ। पूँजीवादी व्यवस्थामा श्वेत र अश्वेत, महिला र पुरुष, श्रमिक र मजदूर सबै अलगावयुक्त कामदारको रूपमा रहेका हुन्छन्। तसर्थ यस्तो व्यवस्थामा लैड्गिकता र प्रजातीयताका अन्तर्खण्डहरू उत्पीडनका कारक नभई पूँजीवादका व्यवस्थाहरूले रूपमा सबैलाई उत्पीडनमा राख्न्। यस तर्कका आधारमा मिशेलले

मार्क्सवादी-नारीवादी ज्ञाने

6. 2016, Q. No.4

Write a note on Marxist-Feminist critique of intersectionality theory (Eve Mitchell 2013).

Ans: An academic article by American feminist sociologist Eve Mitchell *I am a Women and a Human: A Marxist-Feminist Critique of Intersectionality Theory* (2013), critiques intersectionality theory through the Marxist-feminist perspective.

According to Mitchell, identity politics is a one-sided expression of capitalism rather than an expression of the multidimensionality of gender, sexuality, or ethnicity. Identity politics is inextricably linked with alienated labor and is a one-sided expression of human beings' overall potential or capabilities. In the capitalist system, black and white, women and men, workers and laborers have alienated workers. Thus, in such a system, the interrelationships of gender and race are not the cause of oppression, but capitalism oppresses everyone universally. Based on this argument, Mitchell has made a Marxist-feminist critique of the theory of intersectionality.

Michelle argues that black people must fight against the dominant social relations of white people because they are black. Nevertheless, when such a struggle is stopped, it creates our one-sided existence, and the form of capitalism appears. Identity politics argues that a person can be black, female, or of a particular species without the contradiction of the other side. If the starting and ending points are one-sided, it will not be possible to end racialized gender-based social relations. According to the proponents of the intersectionality theory, the pattern of femininity manifested in society can be reduced to a natural and stable identity. Social relations such as femininity or blackness and gender, in general, become fixed subjects or institutions. Therefore, society is organized with characteristics such as individuals and social groups. Therefore, the struggle under identity politics is possible only based on equal distribution of resources and opportunities or individualism.

According to Michelle, patriarchy and white supremacy are not themes or institutions that have persisted throughout history. Rather they are specific expressions of our labor and our life activities, which are being adapted (or appropriate) by production methods. In his book *Capital* (1867, 1885, 1894), Marx described labor as the interaction between man and the external world. Likewise, patriarchy and white supremacy are the results of our labor, which are the conditions of our labor. We are constantly interacting with changing social conditions and improving interactive labor relations. Therefore, Mitchell believes that all social relations of labor, such as patriarchy, white supremacy, ethnicity, and gender, are also being transformed and changed.

In a Marxist-feminist critique of the theory of intersectionality, Mitchell argues that identity politics and the concept of intersectionality are not themselves wrong but imperfect. Patriarchal and racial social relations are physical, tangible, and real. Therefore, there is a conflict between the particular and the universal and between the manifestation and the essence. These conflicts or contradictions need to be resolved. On these various grounds, Mitchell has criticized the theory of intersectionality from a Marxist-feminist angle.

In conclusion, Mitchell's Marxist-feminist critique of the theory of intersectionality can be summarized as follows:

- i. The theory of intersectionality has not given social change due to place,
- ii. Racial or racial discrimination is not linked to labor relations,
- iii. Dimensions such as race and gender are taken as social characteristics that persist throughout history,
- iv. The concept of intersectionality fails to analyze trends in harassment and violence fully,
- v. The theory of intersectionality has not assimilated the consequences of capitalism on oppression, repression, and discrimination.

8002

CHAPTER – 3

जनजातीयता, पहिचान र अन्तर्विभाजन

(Ethnicity, Identity and Intersectionality)

1. 2020, Q. No. 3 (Long Answer Question)

What are the essentialists and constructionists arguments on the making and unmaking of the ethnic boundaries? Explain (Wimmer 2008).

Ans: Andreas Wimmer is an American sociologist and a Professor of Sociology at the University of California, United States. He is known for his research on nationalism, nation-building, and ethnic conflict. In his research-based article *The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory* (2008), Wimmer has outlined essentialist and constructionists arguments of the ethnic boundaries.

According to Wimmer, essentialism refers to a lay belief in underlying natures that constitute and differentiate social categories. It entails the tendency to understand social categories as expressions of discrete, fixed, natural, uniform, and defining characteristics shared by all members and information about them. Endorsement of essentialist beliefs has commonly been associated with negative outcomes of ethnicity, such as legitimization of existing social hierarchies, acceptance of ethnic inequality, and anti-Black prejudice among White Americans.

“Essence” is an elusive concept; it is difficult to precisely define what comprises the imagined essence of an identity category. The literature commonly defines *ethnic essentialism* as a belief in a genetic or biological essence that defines all members of an ethnic category. Researchers have identified biological basis as one of the dimensions of essentialism. However, the imagined essence of an ethnic group need not be biological; people also define ethnic groups in terms of specific cultural characteristics or conflate race and culture. Relatedly, essentialist beliefs about ethnicity can affect perceived cultural differences and cultural identification. Individuals can understand ethnic categories in terms of essential cultural features. *Cultural essentialism* is the idea that “people are ...more or less passive carriers of their culture, whereby their attitudes, beliefs, and achievements are supposed to reflect typical cultural patterns”. In the context of ethnic identity, cultural essentialism is the belief that ethnic categories are associated with distinct, fixed, and stable cultural patterns (e.g., values, beliefs, practices, and lifestyles); these fixed cultural patterns definitively and permanently shape the psychological characteristics of individuals within an ethnic group and differentiate them from

members of other ethnic groups. Cultural and biological forms of ethnic essentialism share the idea that differences between ethnic groups are determined by a fixed and uniform essence that resides within and defines all members of each ethnic group. However, they differ in their understanding of the nature of this essence. Both forms of essentialism may coexist; indeed, many people perceive race as having biological and cultural foundations.

Wimmer contends that constructivist theory perceives ethnic identity as a socially constructed and fluid entity that can be formed through various means, including conquest, colonization, or immigration. Ethnic groups are recognized to be social constructions with 'identifiable origins and histories of expansion and contraction, amalgamation and division.' They are fluid and originate within a set of social, economic, and political processes.

Constructivists argue that each society has a historically constructed master cleavage and narrative that political entrepreneurs can manipulate. Constructivists consider identity a social category distinguished by rules of membership, characteristics (perceived as typical), or behavior expected in certain circumstances. They argue that these social categories are not natural, inevitable, or unchanging because they are not genes but the internal logic of social discourses that drive identity construction and condition individuals' identities with specific groups. They draw attention to the historical construction and maintenance of exclusive identities by colonial and post-colonial ruling elites for political and social control. **For constructivists, the role of language, history, symbols, and culture, is significant in instigating and sustaining ethnic rivalry.** Ethnicity is thus flexible, subjective, and changes with interethnic interaction, and its purpose is to reinforce and perpetuate social differences for specific goals. Ethnic boundaries, consequently, are the product of concrete historical processes. These historical influences affect relations between ethnic groups, causing hostility between them, thus explaining the politicization of ethnic identities caused by a combination of factors, evolving and creating a conducive environment for violence. Some sociologists rightly observe, 'the most dangerous symbols used in ethnic wars are myths that justify political domination over a particular territory, which may have been lost in the past and myths of past atrocities that can be used to justify fears of future genocide.' Wimmer argues that the primary determinant of ethnic wars is whether state and potential secessionist minorities see their certain claims over territory as divisible or indivisible. Even if ethnic identities are constructed, they could also become internalized and institutionalized so that they acquire deep meaning for that group and produce the same emotions. Such emotions may result in primordial identities because ethnic groups tend to share a persisting sense of common interests and identity based on these shared historical experiences, valued cultural traits, beliefs, religion, language, and shared territory/homeland.

The social constructivist notion of intersectionality was put forward by **Fredrik Barth**, a Norwegian social anthropologist. He has published several ethnographic works. Barth was the editor of ***Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (1969)***, in which he outlined an approach to the study of ethnicity which focuses on the ongoing negotiations of boundaries between groups of people. Barth's view is that such groups are not discontinuous cultural isolates or logical priors to which people naturally belong.

According to Wimmer, social constructivism claims that ethnicity is the product of a social process rather than a culture given, made, and remade rather than taken for granted, chosen depending on circumstances rather than ascribed through birth. Social constructivism holds that individuals have multiple rather than single identities. These identities can change (although often they may not) and such change, when it occurs, is the product of some human processes.

2. 2020, Q. No.8

Write short notes on any TWO:

- Ethnicities in the age of multiculturlism (Nederveen Pieterse 2004)
- Primordialism (Kanchan Chandra 2012)
- Fluidity, ethnicity and Newar identity in the USA (Gubhaju 1999)

(द्रष्टव्यः शीर्षक c को संख्यित नोट्सका लागि सम्बन्धित अध्याय 6 हेतुहोस।)

- Ethnicities in the age of multiculturlism (Nederveen Pieterse 2004)
- Primordialism (Kanchan Chandra 2012)

2. 2020, Q. No.8

Write short notes on any TWO:

- Ethnicities in the age of multiculturlism
- Primordialism (Kanchan Chandra 2012)
- Fluidity, ethnicity and Newar identity in the USA (Gubhaju 1999)

(Note: For short notes on the topic 'c,' please see in concerned chapter, i.e., in chapter 6)

Ans:

a. Ethnicities in the age of multiculturlism (Nederveen Pieterse 2004)

According to Pieterse, reflexivity is the essential feature of ethnicity in contemporary multicultural contexts. Reflexivity begins by opening ethnicity, unpacking its "thingness," viewing ethnicity as a process, and showing diversity underneath the label. While discussions of ethnicity often proceed as if there is only one type, ethnicity varies across a wide range in terms of salience, intensity, and meaning. Ethnicity can be unpacked by distinguishing four types which may be viewed as snapshots of ethnicity as a moving target.

i. Domination ethnicity

Considering that the term "ethnicity" itself is a discourse of domination and the distinction between nation and ethnicity is tenuous, if nationalism takes the form of monocultural control, it may be considered a form of ethnicity or ethnocracy. Ethnic mobilization is often a reaction to the imposition of a monocultural regime and discriminatory treatment or uneven regional development.

ii. *Enclosure ethnicity*

This ethnicity exists in three varieties: dormant ethnicity, cultural confinement, and inward-looking ethnicity, which all share a restriction of mobility and space. It may be an existing condition (Dormant ethnicity), involuntary (imposed), or voluntary (self-chosen).

- a. *Dormant or latent ethnicity* exists in an isolated group or where intergroup contacts have no or little salience, as in the case of the classic "primitive isolates" of anthropology.
- b. *Cultural confinement* occurs because of the conquest of external imposition.
- c. *Inward-looking ethnicity* refers to self-chosen segregation or dissociation as a strategy of building inner-group strength. Delinking itself can be a strategy of competition or preparation for competition. A mild variety is "buy black, vote black," and a stronger version is the Nation of Islam.

iii. *Competition ethnicity*

Competition with the state or other cultural formations concerning state power, resources, and development is known as competition ethnicity. Therefore, it is a major problem zone of ethnic relations.

iv. *Optional ethnicity*

Low-intensity ethnicity is light, volitional, and fluid, as in the case of ethnic entrepreneurs, symbolic ethnicity, ethnic, and shopping for identity.

b. **Primordialism (Kanchan Chandra 2012)**

The first school of thought, known as the primordialism approach, explains ethnicity as a fixed characteristic of individuals and communities. According to primordialism, ethnicity is embedded in inherited biological attributes, a long history of practicing cultural differences, or both. Ethnic identity is unique in intensity and durability and an existential factor defining individual self-identification and communal distinctiveness. Mobilization of ethnic identity and ethnic nationalism is a powerful tool to engage the group in a political struggle. Ethnic divisions and ethnic conflict are considered inherent to multiethnic societies and a common phenomenon. The primordials focus on fixed identities. However, it fails to recognize variations in ethnic group formation, ranging from relatively short-term associations to long-standing, strong, and cohesive groups with biological and historical roots.

Primordialism argues that ethnic identity is ascriptive, in that membership is assigned at birth and thus difficult to change. It posits that ethnic ties are inherent in us as human beings, and we have deep natural connections that connect us to some people and produce natural divisions with others, whether based on race, religion, language or location. Membership of ethnic groups is therefore fixed and passed down intact across generations. Primordialism perceives an ethnic group as an objective entity, and ethnic identity is singular, timeless, and fixed with distinct social boundaries.

According to Kanchan Chandra, the primordial way of thinking about ethnicity identifies drives theorizing in the social sciences on the relationship between ethnicity and political/economic outcomes and processes. Like many influential ideas, its power lies in its invisibility. It is rarely stated explicitly and rarely defended, but it is pervasive in the common-sense assumptions that inform other things. When sociologists build/test theories of the relationship between

ethnicity and democratic stability—party systems, voting behavior, economic growth, civil war, riots, state formation, state collapse, welfare spending, and public goods provision—we assume that the ethnic identities that describe individuals and populations are singular, timeless and fixed for all time.

Propagators of primordialism argue that if someone is born poor, they may be rich but ethnic group is fixed. Such a way follows the primordial way of thinking about ethnic identity. According to it, each of us belongs to one and only one ethnic group that group membership remains fixed over a lifetime and it is passed down intact across generations. Wars begin and end, states grow and die, economies boom and crash, but ethnic groups remain the same through it all.

3. 2019*, Q. No. 3; 2019, No. 1 (Long Answer Question)

Ethnicity is more symbolic, depending on perceived strategic utility, symbolic appropriateness in different settings and audience in interaction. (Nagel, 1994). Explain.

[जनजातीयता बढ़ी साड़केतिक, रणनीतिक उपयोगितामा निर्भर रहेको मानिने, अन्तर्क्रियाअन्तर्गतका विभिन्न अवस्थाहरू र स्रोतामा साड़केतिक उपयुक्तता भएको हुन्छ (नाजेल, 1994)। वर्णन गर्नुहोस्।]

Ans: अमेरिकाको University of Kansas अन्तर्गत समाजशास्त्रका प्राध्यापक तथा जनजातीयता अनुसन्धानकर्मी जोन नाजेलद्वारा लेखन गरी प्रकाशित गरिएको लेख *Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture* (1994) मा जनजातीयता बढ़ी आधारित र स्रोतामा साड़केतिक उपयुक्तता भएको हुन्छ भन्ने सम्बन्धमा तार्किक एवम् गहन विश्लेषण समेटिएको छ।

नाजेलका अनुसार जनसद्ख्याअन्तर्गत हुने साँस्कृतिक, भाषिक तथा धार्मिक भिन्नताहरूले जनजातीयतालाई परम्परागत दृष्टिकोणहरू र उद्विकासवादी धारणाहरूबाट मात्रै नभई नयाँ-नयाँ गरिदिएका छन्। जसको परिणामस्वरूप जनजातीय पहिचान, जनजातीय सङ्गठन र जनजातीय विकास हुन पुगको छ। जनजातीय अध्ययनको यस्तो नमूनाले जनजातीयताका सामाजिक रूपबाट जोड दिइने जनजातीय नमूनाको निर्मित पक्षहरू (Socially constructed aspects of ethnicity) को अध्ययन र विश्लेषणमा जोड दिन्छ। जनजातीयताका सामाजिक रूपबाट निर्मित पक्षहरूको अध्ययनमा जनजातीयता कसरी सीमा, पहिचान र संस्कृतिहरू सिर्जनां हुन्छन् भन्ने सम्बन्धमा विशेष जोड दिइन्छ।

नाजेलको अभिमतमा निर्माणवादी दृष्टिकोण अनुसार जनजातीयताको उद्गम, यसको विषयवस्तु र स्वरूपले व्यक्ति तथा समूहहरूका सिर्जनशील छनोटहरू (Creative choices) लाई प्रतिविम्बित गर्दछ, जुनरूपमा ती व्यक्ति वा समूहहरूले स्वयम् तथा अन्यलाई जनजातीय शैलीमा परिभाषित गर्दछन्। जनजाती समूहहरूका क्रियाकलाप तथा तिनका पदहरू, तिनका गर्दन

- जनजातीय आधिकारिकता र जनजातीय प्रपञ्च

(Ethnic authenticity and ethnic fraud)

राजनैतिक रूपबाट व्यवस्थित जनजातीय स्रोतसाधन वितरण र राजनैतिक पहुँचले जनजातीय समूहको वैधानिक सदस्यताका बारेमा समस्या उत्पन्न हुन पुगेको छ। जनजाति समूह भएके कारण आरक्षण प्राप्त गर्ने, राजनैतिक पहुँच स्थापित गर्ने र स्रोतसाधनहरूको सुविधा प्राप्त गर्ने व्यवस्थाहरूले कुन व्यक्ति वा समृहलाई सुविधाविहीन, अल्पसंदर्भक वा वास्तविक जनजाती भएको ठानिने भन्ने सम्बन्धमा महत्वपूर्ण विवादहरू उत्पन्न हुन पुगेका छन्। उदाहरणको लागि अमेरिकाअन्तर्गतका एशियाली आप्रवासीहरूलाई त्यहाँ जनजातीय अल्पसंदर्भकहरूको रूपमा हेरिन्छ जहाँ उनीहरू विगतदेखि नै विभेदीकरणमा रहेका छन्। तसर्थ उनीहरूको अवस्था माथि उकास्न चालिएका सुधारात्मक कदमका लागि त्यहाँ तिनलाई योग्य मानिन्छ। यद्यपि विश्वविद्यालय, सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र, प्रशासनिक क्षेत्र आदिमा सुविधाहरू प्राप्त गर्ने जनजातीय पहिचानका कृत्रिम स्वरूपहरू पनि सिर्जना गर्ने प्रवृत्ति बढो छ।

उपर्युक्त विवेचनाका आधारमा निष्कर्षमा भन्न सकिन्छ कि जनजातीयता बढी साइकेतिक, रणनैतिक उपयोगितामा निर्भर रहेको मानिने, अन्तर्क्रियाअन्तर्गतका विभिन्न अवस्थाहरू र स्रोतहरूमा साइकेतिक उपयुक्तता भएको हुन्छ। जोन नाजेलद्वारा विश्लेषण गरिएका माथि उल्लिखित दृष्टान्त र परिघटनाहरूको व्याख्याद्वारा उपर्युक्त कथन प्रष्ट हुन्छ।

3. 2019*, Q. No. 3; 2019, Q. No. 1 (Long Answer Question)

Ethnicity is more symbolic, depending on perceived strategic utility, symbolic appropriateness in different setting and audience in interaction (Nagel 1994). Explain.

Ans: Joane Nagel is a scholarly ethnic researcher and a Professor of sociology at the University of Kansas in the United States. In his research-based article *Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture* (1994), Nagel argues and presents a concise analysis that ethnicity is more symbolic, depending on perceived strategic utility, symbolic appropriateness in different settings and audiences in interaction.

According to Nagel, the resiliency of cultural, linguistic, and religious differences among the populations has led to a search for a more accurate, less evolutionary means of understanding the resurgence of ancient differences among peoples and the actual emergence of historically new ethnic groups. The result has been the development of a model of ethnicity that stresses the fluid, situational, volitional, and dynamic character of ethnic identification, organization, and action—a model that emphasizes the socially “constructed” aspects of ethnicity, i.e., how ethnic boundaries, identities, and cultures, are negotiated, defined, and produced through social interaction inside and outside ethnic communities.

In Nagel's assumption, according to this constructionist view, the origin, content, and form of ethnicity reflect the creative choices of individuals and groups as they define themselves and others in ethnic ways. Through the actions and designations of ethnic groups, their antagonists, political authorities, and economic interest groups, ethnic boundaries are erected, dividing some populations and unifying others. Ethnicity is constructed out of the material of language, religion, culture, appearance, ancestry, or regionality. The location and meaning of specific ethnic boundaries are continuously negotiated, revised, and revitalized by ethnic group members themselves and outside observers.

According to Nagel, ethnicity can be perceived as the social structure of strategic utility based on various ethnic communities. For instance, observing a laying of Asian-American identity. While the larger 'Asian' pan-ethnic identity represents one level of identification, especially vis-a-vis non-Asians, national origin (e.g., Japanese, Chinese, and Vietnamese) remains an important basis of identification and organization vis-a-vis other Asians well as in the larger society. Individuals choose from an array of pan-ethnic and nationality-based identities, depending on the perceived strategic utility and symbolic appropriateness of the identities in different settings and audiences. Nagel notes that the larger Asian-American pan-ethnicity boundary is often the basis of identification where large group size is perceived as an advantage in acquiring or political power. However, he also observes that Asian-American pan-ethnicity tends to be transient, often giving way to smaller, culturally distinct nationality-based Asian ethnicities.

- **External forces shaping ethnic boundaries**

The notion that ethnicity is a personal choice runs the risk of emphasizing agency at the expense of structure. Ethnic identity is optional and mandatory, as individual choices are circumscribed by the ethnic categories available at a specific time and place. It means, while an individual can choose from among a set of ethnic identities, that set is generally limited to socially and politically defined ethnic categories with varying degrees of stigma or advantage attached to them. In some cases, the array of available ethnicities can be quite restricted and constraining. For instance, white Americans have considerable difficulty choosing ethnic identities based on ancestry. Since many whites have mixed ancestries, they choose to select from multiple ancestries or ignore ancestry in favor of an "American" or "unhyphenated white" ethnic identity. Americans of African ancestry, on the other hand, are confronted with essentially one ethnic option—black. Furthermore, while blacks may make intra-racial distinctions based on ancestry or skin tone, the power of race as a socially defining status in U.S. society makes these internal differences rather unimportant in an interracial setting in comparison to the fundamental black/white color boundary.

Nagel outlined some of the important external forces that responsible for shaping ethnic boundaries as follows:

- i. ***Immigration and the production of ethnic diversity***

Governments routinely reshape their external ethnic maps by their immigration policies. Immigration is a major engine of new ethnic group production as today's immigrant groups become tomorrow's ethnic groups. Political policies designed to house, employ, or otherwise regulate or assist immigrant populations can influence the composition, location, and class position of these new ethnic subpopulations. Thus, the politics of immigration are an important mechanism in the political construction of ethnicity.

- ii. ***Resource competition and ethnic group formation***

Immigration is not the only area in which politics and ethnicity are interwoven. Official ethnic categories are routinely used by governments worldwide in census-taking, and acknowledgment of the ethnic composition of populations is a regular feature of national

constitutions. For instance, in India, the provision of constitutionally guaranteed parliamentary representation and civil service posts for members of the *Scheduled Castes or Untouchables* contributed to the emergence of collective identity and the political mobilization of untouchables from different language and regional backgrounds; one result was the formation of an untouchable political party, the Republican Party.

iii. ***Political access and ethnic group formation***

The organization of political access along ethnic lines can also promote ethnic identification and ethnic political mobilization. Much ethnic conflict worldwide arises from competition among the ethnic contenders to control territories and central governments. Hence 'political access' is considered the important external force that shapes ethnic boundaries.

• **Ethnic authenticity and Ethnic fraud**

According to Nagel, politically regulated ethnic resource distribution and political access have led to much discussion about legitimate membership in an ethnic group and which individuals and groups qualify as disadvantaged minorities. For instance, Hein (1991) outlines the debate concerning the extent to which Asian immigrants to the United States should be seen to be ethnic "minorities" with a "historical pattern of discrimination" and thus eligible for affirmative action remedies. In universities concerned with admissions practices, financial aid location, and non-discriminatory employment and representation, the question of which ethnic groups fulfill affirmative action goals is often answered by committees that define who is and is not an official minority group.

In conclusion, the construction of ethnic boundaries through individual identification, ethnic group formation, informed ascriptions, and official ethnic policies illustrate how specific ethnic identities are created, emphasized, chosen, or discarded in societies. As a result of negotiation and designation, ethnic boundaries were created and recreated. Individual ethnic identification is strongly limited and influenced by external forces that shape various ethnicities' options, feasibility, and attractiveness.

From the above discussion, Nagel's argument 'ethnicity is more symbolic, depending on perceived strategic utility, symbolic appropriateness in different settings, and audience in interaction' is cleared and proved.

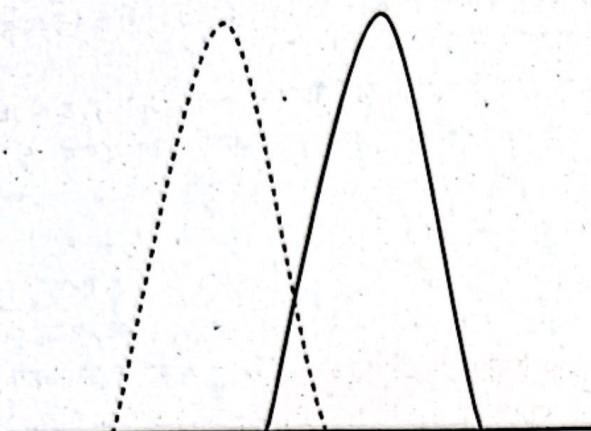
4. 2019, Q. No. 6

Explain the notion of stickiness and visibility of descent-based identity (Chandra 2012).

[वंशक्रम-आधारित जनजातीय पहिचानको स्थिरता र दृष्यात्मकता अवधारणालाई वर्णन गर्नुहोस् (चन्द्रा, 2012)]।

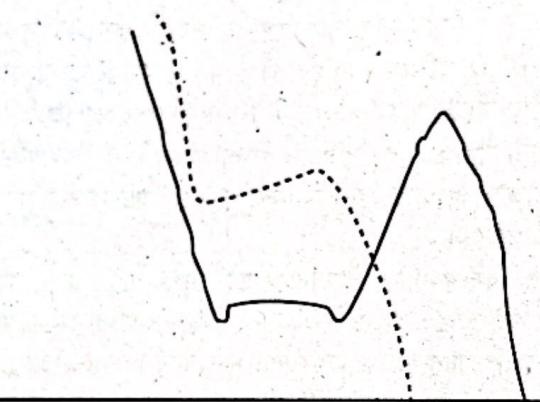
Ans: अमेरिकाको न्यूयोर्क विश्वविद्यालयमा राजनीतिशास्त्र विषयकी प्राध्यापक एवम् राजनीतिशास्त्री कञ्चन चन्द्राद्वारा सम्पादन गरी लिखित कृति *Constructive Theories of Ethnic Plastics* (2012) मा वंशक्रम-आधारित जनजातीय पहिचानको स्थिरता र दृष्यात्मकता अवधारणा सम्बन्धमा वर्णन समेटिएको छ।

अचलता (Stickiness)



अचलताको मात्रा (Degree of Stickiness)

दृष्यात्मकता (Visibility)



दृष्यात्मकताको मात्रा (Degree of Visibility)

4. 2019, Q. No. 6

Explain the notion of stickiness and visibility of descent-based identity (Chandra, 2012).

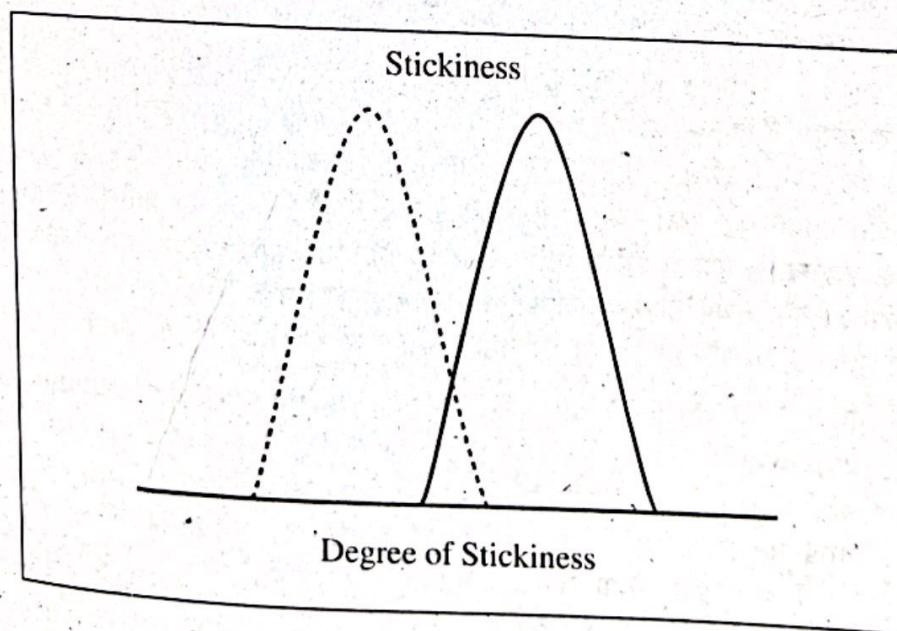
Ans: Kanchan Chandra is a political scientist who is currently a Professor of Politics at New York University. She has made significant research contributions on different subjects such as ethnic politics, constructivism, democratic theory, interstate conflict, and South Asian Politics. For example, in her edited text *Constructive Theories of Ethnic Plastics* (2012), she highlighted the notion of stickiness and visibility of descent-based identity. According to Chandra, the term descent-based identity refers to the sum of the attributes of our parents and ancestors. We acquire as an inheritance through descent, our genetic features (which we acquire through descent, even though they include features that may not have characterized our parents), and all those attributes that we can credibly portray as having been acquired through descent. Whether acquired by any practice, attributes of descent-based identity meaning only within an externally imposed framework of interpretation. For example, the descent-based attribute of skin color. Someone has a specific shade of skin

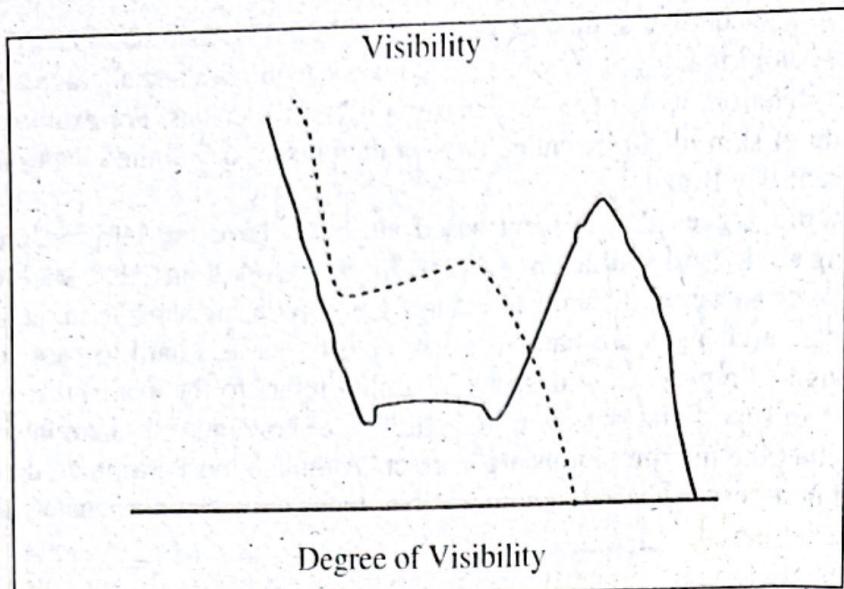
color, a shade that someone was born with, but how do observers interpret that skin color? Is it black or white? An answer requires a socially agreed-on rule of interpretation, which can vary across different societies. For example, the same shade of skin might be called dark in the present-day United States and light in present-day Brazil.

Chandra argues that descent-based attributes have the intrinsic properties of being **sticky** and **visible** on average in the short term. Here **stickiness** is the property of being difficult to change credibly in the short term, either because objective changes are hard to effect or because it is hard to pass an objective change as representing descent. **Visibility** refers to the availability of raw data even in superficial observation regardless of how those data are interpreted and whether the interpretations are 'correct.' Although most attributes, descent-based and non-descent-based, are not visible, those are disproportionately likely to be descent-based.

The stickiness property characterizes descent-based attributes by their association with the body. Changing aspects of our genetic and physical makeup is intrinsically difficult, although it is becoming easier with advances in medical technology ever. If it were easy, successful deception is hard. For one new attribute to be credibly presented as descent-based, it must be consistent with other attributes displayed on the body (what we call the 'consistency' requirement), and any evidence that the individual possessed a different attribute in the past must be erased (what are called 'erasure' requirement). In this sense, the property of visibility affects the property of stickiness, because it makes consistency and erasure that much more difficult.

There are fewer intrinsic barriers, on average, to changing non-descent-based attributes of identity. For example, consider the attribute of educational qualification. Someone can change this attribute by returning to school. However, there is certainly some difficulty associated with this—it requires investments of time and money, and both may be hard to come by. Therefore, we can imagine a scale that orders all attributes in the world in all countries, every time, according to the degree of difficulty associated with changing them or their degree of visibility as following way:





5. 2017, Q. No. 3 (Long Answer Question)

Ethnic boundaries are the outcome of the classificatory struggles and negotiation (Wimmer 2008). Explain to-the-point, how is it so?

[जनजातीय सीमाहरू विभाजनजन्य सद्घर्ष र क्रिया-अन्तर्क्रियाका परिणाम हुन् (विमर 2008)। यस्तो कसरी हुन्छ भने सम्बन्धमा ठोस तथ्य दर्शाउँदै वर्णन गर्नुहोस्।]

Ans: अमेरिकी समाजशास्त्री तथा क्यालिफोर्निया विश्वविद्यालयअन्तर्गत समाजशास्त्र विभागका प्राध्यापक एन्ड्रियास विमरद्वारा लिखित लेख *The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory* (2008) मा जनजातीय सीमाहरू कसरी विभाजनजन्य सद्घर्ष र क्रिया-अन्तर्क्रियाका परिणाम हुन् भने सम्बन्धमा तथ्यपरक र गहन विश्लेषण समेटिएको छ।

विमरले जनजातीय सीमा निर्माणका पाँचवटा रणनीतिहरू हुने र ती पाँचवटै रणनीतिहरूले जनजातीय सीमा निर्माणका फरक-फरक प्रक्रियाहरू अवलम्बन गर्ने मान्यता राखेका छन्। **पहिलो-** समूहअन्तर्गत समावेश हुने व्यक्तिहरूको सद्ख्या वा मात्रा विस्तार गरेर जनजातीयताका नयाँ सीमाहरू निर्माण गर्ने, **दोस्रो-** जनजातीयता समूहअन्तर्गत समावेश हुने व्यक्तिहरूको सद्ख्यालाई सीमाहरूको सद्कुचन गरेर जनजातीयताका सीमाहरू निर्माण गर्ने, **तेस्रो-** जनजातीयता वर्गहरूको श्रेणीबद्धतालाई चुनौति दिइ जनजातीयताका वर्तमान सीमाहरूको अर्थलाई परिवर्तन गर्ने, **चौथो-** कुनै एउटा व्यक्तिको जनजातीय वर्ग सदस्यतालाई कटौति गरेर जनजातीयताहरूको अर्को नयाँ सीमा निर्माण गर्ने र **पाँचौं-** आफ्नो जनजातीय सीमाभन्दा माथि रहेर फरक ढड्गको जनजातीयता सीमा स्थापित गर्ने। जनजातीय सीमा निर्माणका उपर्युक्त पाँचवटै रणनीतिहरूको बुभाइपाशचात् जनजातीय सीमाहरू कसरी विभाजनजन्य सद्घर्ष र क्रिया-अन्तर्क्रियाका परिणाम हुन् भने सम्बन्धमा निम्नानुसार ठोस तथ्य निक्योल गर्न सकिन्छ :

i. विस्तारद्वारा जनजातीय सीमाहरू परिवर्तन (Shifting ethnic boundaries through expansion)

कर्ताहरूले मौजुदा वा वर्तमान जनजातीय समूहहरूलाई नयाँ र विस्तारित समूहमा संलग्न गराइ जनजातीयताको फराकिलो सीमा सिर्जना गर्दछन्। विश्वका विभिन्न क्षेत्रमा विभिन्न समय कालखण्डहरूमा जनजातीयताको यस्तो सीमा विस्तारित गर्ने दृष्टान्तहरू रहेका देखिन्छन्। 18औं शताब्दीको समयतिर आधुनिकीकरणतर्फ उन्मुख थुप्रै साम्राज्यहरूले अल्पसद्ख्यक जनजातीय समूहहरूलाई ठूला जनजातीय समूहहरूमा संलग्न गराइ ती उपर

धर्मका मातहत ल्याइ जनजातीय सामाहरू नपै। आबद्ध गराउने प्रक्रिया यस रणनीतिको मुख्य विशेषता हो। उपर्युक्त सम्पूर्ण रणनीतिहरूमध्ये कुन रणनीति अवलम्बन गर्ने भन्ने सम्बन्धमा कर्ताहरू पूर्ण स्वतंत्र हुँदैनन्। संस्थागत वातावरण (Institutional environment), शक्तिको वितरण (Distribution of power) र राजनैतिक सम्बन्धहरूको सञ्जाल (Network of political alliance) कर्ताहरूलाई आफ्नो स्वतन्त्रता तथा चाहनाअनुरूप कुनै रणनीति अवलम्बन गर्न अवरोध सिद्ध गर्दछन्। शक्तिको श्रेणीबद्धतामा आफ्नो पद वा स्थान र राजनैतिक सञ्जालअन्तर्गतको संरचनालाई निर्भर रहेर विभिन्न कर्ताहरूले जनजातीय सीमा निर्माणका फरक-फरक रणनीतिहरू छनोट एक अवलम्बन गर्दछन्। यदि कर्ताहरूको आफ्नो प्राथमिकताको जनजातीय वर्गीकरणलाई अरुलाई स्वीकार गरिन्छ र समावेशीता वा विज्ञतीकरणका सीमाहरूलाई थप सवलीकरण तथा सामाजिक रूपबाट सम्मानित गरिन्छ भने तिनले समाजका दृष्टिकोणमा सहजै समायोजन गर्दछन्। उनीहरू अरुलाई समाजको दृष्टिकोणप्रति विश्वास दिलाउने वा सम्भाउने गर्दछन्। यसप्रकार कर्ताहरू एउटा क्रिया-अन्तर्क्रियाको प्रक्रिया (Negotiation process) मा प्रवेश गर्दछन्। अन्तर्क्रियात्मक एता गतिशीलता (Interactional dynamics) लाई ध्यानमा राखेर जनजातीय सीमाका अर्थ तथा स्थानका बारे साभा समझदारीका अवस्थामा विश्लेषण गर्न जोड दिइन्छ। यद्यपि विभिन्न कर्ताहरू विविधतापूर्ण चाहना र उनीहरूले अवलम्बन गर्ने फरक-फरक रणनीतिहरूबीच तालमेल काय द्वारा स्थिति उत्पन्न हुन पुग्दछ। नवीन जनजातीय वर्गीकरणका मूल्य मान्यतामा हुन नपाउँदा सङ्घर्षको स्थिति उत्पन्न हुन पुग्दछ। नवीन जनजातीय वर्गीकरणका मूल्य मान्यतामा आत्मसातकरण हुनुपर्ने, सांस्कृतिक समझदारीलाई क्रिया-अन्तर्क्रियामा कमै मात्र स्थान दिले तथा फरक-फरक समूहका उद्देश्य र लक्ष्यहरूबीच तालमेल हुन कठिन हुने जस्ता लक्षणहरूले अन्तर्क्रियाका परिणाम हुन् भने तथ्य स्पष्ट हुन्छ।

5. 2017, Q. No. 3 (Long Answer Question)

Ethnic boundaries are the outcome of the classificatory struggles and negotiation (Wimmer 2008). Explain to-the-point, how is it so?

Ans: Andreas Wimmer is a Professor of Sociology at the Department of Sociology, University of California, United States. In his research-based academic article *The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory* (2008), Wimmer assumes that ethnic boundaries result from classificatory struggles and negotiations between actors situated in a social field. Wimmer postulated various possible strategies of ethnic boundary making that different actors may pursue in a different social context. Such procedures may be of five types. **First**, those that seek to establish a new boundary by expanding the range of people included. **Second**, those that aim at reducing the scope of the included by contracting boundaries. **Third**, those that seek to change the meaning of an existing boundary by challenging the hierarchical ordering of ethnic categories. **Fourth**, those that attempt crossing a boundary by changing one's own categorical membership and **fifth** aim to overcome ethnic boundaries by emphasizing other crosscutting social cleavages, i.e., strategies of boundary blurring.

i. Shifting Boundaries through Expansion

Actors may create a more encompassing boundary by grouping existing categories into a new, expanded category. Examples from across the world at different levels of aggregation and from various historical periods can be found in the literature. For example, many modernizing empires have created, from the 18th century onward, larger ethnic minorities out of smaller groups to tighten and centralize the system of indirect rule over their subjects. Similarly, colonial authorities grouped various previously independent tribes and other local communities into larger ethnic entities, often by appointing chiefs or other representatives, as numerous works in colonial historiography have shown. Not all such strategies of minority making, it should be noted, have been successful in creating durable and salient boundaries.

ii. Shifting Boundaries through Contraction

The opposite strategy promotes narrower boundaries than those already established in the social landscape. Ethnic localism may be an especially attractive strategy for individuals and groups that do not have access to the communication centers and whose radius of action remains confined to narrower geographic spaces. The indigenous groups of Mexico provide a good example. Their social world was once defined by imperial polities that had established wide areas of cultural commonality. After the conquest and dismantling of these empires and kingdoms, indigenous peasants started to draw an ethnic boundary separating their municipality, the new center of their political, social, and spiritual universe. From the rest of the world—a formidable symbolic weapon against the claims to exclusivity and cultural superiority that the Spanish-speaking elites made when distinguishing themselves as “gentes de razón” (people of reason) from the indigenous majority as “gentes naturales.” Another example of boundary contraction is the insistence, among middle-class, second-generation Chinese, and Koreans in Los Angeles, that they should be referred to and treated as Chinese-Americans and Korean-Americans rather than lumped together under the term “Asian”—like immigrants from the West Indies who fight for recognition as “Jamaicans” and “Trinidadians” to avoid being categorized as “black.”

iii. Creating Ethnic boundaries through Inversion or Hierarchy

In contrast to expansion and contraction, the strategy of normative inversion does not target the location of the boundary but the hierarchical ordering of ethnic groups. As a result, the category of the excluded and despised comes to designate a chosen people who are morally, physically, and culturally superior to the dominant group—the “Umwertung der Werte” (transvaluation) that Nietzsche so profoundly detested. Examples of normative inversion abound. The most widely known in the Western world is probably the cultural nationalism among African-Americans in the United States and the African nationalism in South Africa. To be sure, not all attempts at inversion were successful, and not all despised and dominated groups have developed such powerful political movements.



iv. Creating Ethnic boundaries through Repositioning

Repositioning describes a strategy in which the principles of the hierarchy are not contested (as they are in normative inversion), nor are boundaries expanded or contracted. Rather, an actor seeks to change her position within an existing hierarchical boundary system. Status change may be pursued individually or, much less often, by repositioning one's entire ethnic category within a multitiered hierarchy. Assimilation and passing are the main strategies for individuals to "shift sides" and escape a minority stigma. Both can be found in an enormous variety of social contexts, including among contemporary immigrant minorities, Jewish converts in 19th-century Europe, Dalit groups embracing Islam in prewar India, Mexican Indians after the revolution, and Polish workers in prewar Germany.

The best example of collective repositioning is perhaps what anthropologists have called "caste climbing." By adopting the lifestyle of the upper castes and strategically demanding certain *jajmani* services from members of other castes (a central feature of local caste systems), a group may slowly acquire a higher standing in the ritual hierarchy.

v. Creating Ethnic boundaries through Blurring Boundaries

Boundary blurring aims to overcome ethnicity as a principle of categorization and social organization altogether. Other nonethnic principles are promoted to undermine the legitimacy of ethnic, national, or racial boundaries. Examples include such explicitly antinationalist organizations as the Communist International, radical Islamic movements that dream of restoring a supranational caliphate, some forms of transnational and transethnic feminism, and less organized, less politically salient forms of boundary-blurring. Transethnic localism represents a good example for the latter, such as in Sophiatown in the 1950s, a township outside Johannesburg. Africans, Jews, and immigrants had formed what they perceived as a cosmopolitan culture inspired by American Jazz, British fashion, and continental literary styles. They saw this urban lifestyle, at least in part, as a counterculture that would stand against the racial classification and segregation imposed by an emerging apartheid regime.

Actors are not free to choose whatever strategy they like best—whether to "invert" the normative hierarchy or cross the boundary into the dominant group. **Three types of constraints** derive from the structures of the social field within which actors are situated. **First**, they are constrained by the institutional environment that makes it appear more plausible and attractive to draw certain types of boundaries—ethnic, class, regional, gender, tribal, or others. **Second**, the distribution of power defines an individual's interests and, thus, which level of ethnic differentiation will be considered most meaningful. **Third**, the network of political alliances will influence whom the boundaries will include and who will not be counted as "one of us."

In conclusion, the process of ethnic boundary follows from the previous analysis that different actors will pursue different strategies of boundary-making, depending on their position in the hierarchies of power and the structure of their political networks. If they want their preferred ethnic classification to be accepted by others and the associated boundaries of

inclusion and exclusion generally enforced and socially respected, they must convince others of their view of society. They thus must enter a **negotiation** process with other actors that may prefer other types of boundaries. We are now ready to consider these **interactional dynamics** and analyze under which conditions they may lead to a shared understanding of the location and meaning of ethnic boundaries. Nevertheless, how is such consensus possible between actors who pursue different strategies and are motivated by diverging interests? Thus, ethnic boundaries are the outcome of the classificatory struggles and negotiations.

6. 2017, Q. No. 6

Note down the basic tenets of essentialism and constructivism. State which of these arguments you like most and why? (Chandra 2012)

(मूलवाद र निर्माणवादका आधारभूत नियम वा प्रमुख तत्त्वहरू उल्लेख गर्नुहोस्। तीमध्ये तपाईंले कसका तर्कहरूलाई बढी उपयुक्त मान्नुहुन्छ र किन? (चन्द्रा 2012)

Ans: कज्चन चन्द्रा एक राजनीतिशास्त्री तथा अमेरिकाको न्यूयोर्क विश्वविद्यालयअन्तर्गत राजनीतिशास्त्रकी प्राध्यापक हुन्। उनले राजनीतिशास्त्रका विभिन्न विषयहरू जस्तै: जनजातीय राजनीति, प्रजातान्त्रिक सिद्धान्त, अन्तर्देशीय ढन्द र दक्षिण एशियाली राजनीति सम्बन्धमा महत्त्वपूर्ण अनुसन्धान कार्य गरेर सार्थक योगदान निर्माण गरेकी छिन्। उनीहारा सम्पादित पुस्तक *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics (2012)* मा जनजातीयताका मूलवाद र निर्माणवादका आधारभूत नियम वा प्रमुख तत्त्वहरू सम्बन्धमा विश्लेषण समेटिएको छ।

चन्द्राका अनुसार मूलवाद जनजातीयता पहिचानको एक विचारधारा हो, जसले कुनै पनि व्यक्ति कुनै एउटा जनजातीय समूहसँग सम्बन्धित हुन्छ, त्यस समूहको सदस्यता जीवनभरसम्म निश्चित रहन्छ र त्यस्तो सदस्यता एउटा पुस्ताबाट अर्को पुस्तासम्म हस्तान्तरित हुँदै जान्छ भने मान्यता राख्दछ। संसारमा युद्धहरूको प्रारम्भ र अन्त हुन्छ, राज्यहरूको उदय र विघटन हुन्छ, अर्थव्यस्था सुदृढ र कमजोर हुन्छ तर यी सबै परिवर्तनहरूबीच पनि जनजातीय समूहहरू उँही र अपरिवर्तीय रहन्छन् भने प्रमुख नियममा मूलवाद आधारित हुन्छ।

जनजातीयताको मूलवादी पहिचानको चिन्तनले जनजातीयता र राजनैतिक तथा आर्थिक उपलब्धि र प्रक्रियाहरूबीचको सम्बन्धमा सामाजिक विज्ञानहरू अन्तर्गत विभिन्न सैद्धान्तिकरणहरू उत्पन्न गराएको छ। मूलवादको शक्ति जनजातीय पहिचानको अदृष्टतामा रहेको हुन्छ। जब राजनीतिशास्त्री र अर्थशास्त्रीहरूले जनजातीयता र प्रजातान्त्रिक स्थिरता, पार्टी पद्धति, मतदान गर्ने व्यावहार, आर्थिक वृद्धि, राज्य निर्माण, राज्य विघटन, कल्याण आदिबीचको सम्बन्धका सिद्धान्तहरू निर्माण एवम् परीक्षण गर्दछन्; तब हामी यो मान्दछौं कि व्यक्ति तथा जनसङ्ख्यालाई व्याख्या गर्ने जनजातीय पहिचानहरू एकल, आजीवन र सबै समयअन्तर्गत निश्चित (Fixed) हुन्छन्।

चन्द्राका अनुसार मूलवादका निम्नलिखित तीनवटा आधारभूत नियम वा प्रमुख तत्त्वहरू (Basic tenets) हुन्छन् :

- i. व्यक्तिहरूसँग एकल जनजातीय पहिचान हुन्छ। (Individuals have a single ethnic identity)
- ii. त्यस्तो जनजातीय पहिचान त्यसको प्रकृतिबमोजिम निश्चित हुन्छ। (This ethnic identity is by its nature fixed)
- iii. जनजातीय पहिचान मानव प्रक्रियाहरूबाट बाह्य वा बहिर्मुखी हुन्छ। (Ethnic identity is exogenous to human processes)

चन्द्राका अनुसार निर्माणवादले व्यक्तिहरूसँग बहुजनजातीय पहिचान (Multiple identities) हुने मान्यता राख्दछ । यस्ता बहुजनजातीय पहिचानहरूलाई राजनीतिक र आर्थिक प्रक्रियाहरूसँगै आन्तरिक रूपबाट परिवर्तन गर्न सकिन्छ । यद्यपि जनजातीय पहिचानहरू के चाँडो परिवर्तन हुन्छन्? ती परिवर्तनहरूलाई क्रियाशील तुल्याउने चरहरू के-के हुन्छन्? पहिचानलाई परिवर्तन गर्ने व्यक्तिका उत्प्रेरणाहरू के-के हुन्छन्? जनजातीय पहिचान परिवर्तनमा त्रामा करिसम्म हुन्छ? आदि जस्ता सवालहरू निर्माणवादसँग सम्बन्धित केही महत्वपूर्ण सवालहरू मानिन्छ । चन्द्राका अनुसार यी सवालहरूका सम्बन्धमा तथ्यपरक र वास्तविक सम्फत्त मानिन्छ ।

चन्द्राका अनुसार निर्माणवादले जनजातीयता पहिचानका परिवर्तनहरू भिन्नतापूर्ण राजनीतिक आर्थिक परिघटनाहरूका उत्पादन वा परिणाम हुन् भने मान्यता राख्दछ । उदाहरणको लागि परिवर्तनका प्रक्रियाहरू स्थिर प्रजातन्त्र (Stable democracy) सँग सम्बन्धित हुन सक्छन्न निर्वाचन, दलहरू र राजनीतिक प्रतिस्पर्धाका चक्रहरूलाई स्थिर प्रजातन्त्रका चुनौतहरू मानिन्छन् । निर्वाचन, दलहरू र राजनीतिक प्रतिस्पर्धाका चक्रहरूलाई स्थिर प्रजातन्त्रका चुनौतहरू मानिन्छन् । औद्योगीकरण, शहरीकरण पूँजीवाद, आधुनिकीकरण, रोजगारीका अवसरहरू आदि जस्ता आर्थिक वृद्धिसँग सम्बन्धित प्रक्रियाहरू आदि आर्थिक वृद्धिलाई चुनौति दिने किसिमका मानिन्छन् भने तिनले जनजातीयता विभाजनलाई सिर्जना र परिवर्तन गर्न सक्छन्न । बृहत तहमा निर्माणवादले व्यक्तिद्वारा प्राकृतिक रूपमा प्राप्त गुणहरू मानवीय प्रयत्न, सिर्जना र व्याख्याहरूद्वारा परिवर्तन भइरहने मान्यता राख्दछ कुनै व्यक्तिमा 'X' गुण मात्र कायम हुनु आवश्यक हुँदैन वा 'X' गुण मात्रै सबै गुणहरूको रूपमा रहेको हुँदैन । वर्तमानमा कायम भएको 'X' गुण प्राकृतिक घटना वा प्रक्रियाद्वारा मात्र निर्धारित हुँदैन ।

चन्द्राले निर्माणवादका निम्नलिखित तीनवटा आधारभूत नियम वा प्रमुख तत्त्वहरू हुने उल्लेख गरेकी छिन् :

- i. व्यक्तिहरूसँग एक मात्र जनजातीय पहिचान नभई बहुपहिचानहरू हुन्छन् । (Individuals have multiple not single ethnic identities)
- ii. ती पहिचानहरू परिवर्तन हुन सक्ने हुन्छन् । (These identities can change)
- iii. ती परिवर्तनहरू उत्पन्न हुनु केही मानवीय प्रक्रियाहरूको परिणाम हुन्छ । (Such changes, when it occurs, is the product of some human process)

6. 2017, Q. No. 6

Note down the basic tenets of essentialism and constructivism. State which of these arguments you like most and why? (Chandra 2012)

Ans: Kanchan Chandra is a Political Scientist and a Professor of Politics at the New York University, United States. She made a significant contribution by researching the different fields—ethnic politics, democratic theory, interstate conflict, and South Asian Politics. The edited book by her—*Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics* (2012)—presents an analysis of the basic tenets of essentialism and constructivism.

According to Chandra, essentialism is an ideology of ethnic identity, which assumes that each of us belongs to one and only one ethnic group, that group membership remains fixed over a lifetime, and it is passed down intact across generations. Essentialism holds that wars begin and end, states grow and rise, economic boom and crash, but through it all, ethnic groups stay the same.

Chandra contends that the essentialist way of thinking about ethnic identity drives theorizing in the social sciences on the relationship between ethnicity, political/economic outcomes, and processes. Like many influential ideas, its

power lies in its invisibility. It is rarely stated explicitly and rarely defended, but it is pervasive in the ordinary sense assumptions that inform statements about other things. When political scientists and economists build and test theories of the relationship between ethnicity and democratic stability, party systems, voting behavior, economic growth, civil war, riots, state formation, state collapse, welfare spending, public goods provision, and just about everything else, we assume, almost without exception, that the ethnic identities that describe individuals and populations are singular, timeless and fixed for all time.

According to Chandra, the **basic tenets of essentialism** are as follows:

- i. Individuals have a single ethnic identity.
- ii. Such an ethnic identity is fixed by its nature.
- iii. Ethnic identity is exogenous to human processes.

Constructivism, on the other hand, holds that ethnic identities are not singular, nor are they fixed; rather, individuals have multiple ethnic identities. Individuals often redefine the ethnic identity categories that describe them. When large numbers do this process, the result can be a significant scale change in the distribution of identities in the entire population. Ethnic categories activities earlier seem to disappear—a phenomenon.

According to Chandra, constructivism tells us that change in ethnic identity can be a product of the very political and economic phenomena they are used to explain. The process associated with a stable democracy—elections, parties, cycles of political competition—can create or change the ethnic divisions presumed to threaten stable democracy. The processes associated with economic growth—industrialization, urbanization, print technology, capitalism, differential modernization, changes in employment opportunities—can create or change the ethnic divisions presumed to threaten economic growth. The processes associated with the modern state—administrative centralization, the collection of statistics, taxation, language standardization, the creation of centralized educational systems and military/security apparatuses—can create or change the ethnic divisions presumed to cause their collapse. Thus, constructivists agree on the basic idea that individuals have multiple ethnic identities that can change endogenously to political and economic processes.

In sum, the **basic tenets of constructivism** may be presented as follows:

- i. Individuals have multiple identities rather than a single one.
- ii. Ethnic identities can change (without offend they may not)
- iii. Such change, when it occurs, is the product of some human process.

7. 2016, Q. No. 5

What are the essentialists and constructonists arguments on the making and unmaking of the ethnic boundaries? Explain (Wimmer 2008).

[जनजातीय सीमाहरूको निर्माण र अपनिर्माणमा मूलवादी एवम् निर्माणवादी तर्कहरू के-के छन् ? वर्णन गर्नुहोस्। (विमर 2008)]

Ans: एन्ड्रियास विमर एक अमेरिकी समाजशास्त्री तथा त्यहाँको क्यालिफोर्निया विश्वविद्यालयअन्तर्गत समाजशास्त्र विभागका प्राध्यापक हुन्। उनीद्वारा *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 113 मा लिखित लेख *The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory* (2008) ले जनजातीय सीमाहरूको निर्माण र अपनिर्माणमा मूलवादी तथा निर्माणवादी तर्कहरूलाई सविस्तारित ढड्गबाट विश्लेषण गरेको छ।

अब यहाँ विमरका अनुसार जनजातीय सीमाहरूको निर्माण र अपानमाजिना दूसरापा एवं निर्माणवादी तर्कहरूलाई अलग-अलग वर्णन गरिन्छ:

- जनजातीय सीमाहरूको निर्माण र अपनिर्माणमा मूलवादी तर्कहरू [Essentialist arguments on making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries]

विमरका अनुसार मूलवाद जनजातीयता पहचान र सीमा निर्धारणको एक परम्परागत एवं आदिम विचारधारा हो। मूलवादका अनुसार जनजातीय सदस्यता (Ethnic membership) लाई जन्मजात, स्थिर र अपरिवर्तनीय मानिन्छ। मूलवादले जन्मजात विशेषताहरूको आधारमा जनजातीय पहचानका सीमाहरू निर्माण गर्दछ। मूलवादले सामाजिक जगतको प्रदत्त विशेषता (Given characteristics of social world) लाई इड्गित गर्दछ। अतः मूलवादले भौतिकवाद वा पदार्थवाद (Instrumentalism) को विपरित प्रक्रियावार जनजातीय सीमाहरू निर्माण र अपनिर्माण गर्दछ। भौतिकवाद वा पदार्थवादका अनुसार व्यक्तिले आफ्नो आवश्यकता र चाहनानुसार कुनै पनि जनजातीय पहचान निर्माण गर्न सक्दछ।

विमरका अनुसार मूलवादले वंशानुगत गुण, जन्मजात प्रवृत्ति वा अपरिवर्तनीय विशेषताहरूका आधारमा जनजातीय सीमाहरूको निर्माण गरिनुपर्नेमा जोड दिन्छ। विशेषताहरूका सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तनहरूद्वारा जनजाती समूहका जीवनशैली र सामाजिक अन्तर्क्रियाका ढाँचाहरूमा मात्र सुधार वा परिवर्तन गर्न सकिन्छ तर उनीहरूका मौलिक र मूल जनजातीय सीमाहरूको अपनिर्माण भने गर्न सकिदैन। तसर्थ मूलवादका अनुसार जनजातीय सीमाहरू वंशानुगत गुण र प्रवृत्तिद्वारा मात्र निर्माण हुन सक्दछन्।

- जनजातीय सीमाहरूको निर्माण र अपनिर्माणमा निर्माणवादी तर्कहरू (Constructivist arguments on making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries)

विमरका अनुसार निर्माणवाद एक दाबी हो, जसले जनजातीयता पहचान र जनजातीय सीमाहरू संस्कृतिद्वारा प्रदत्त मात्र नभइ सामाजिक प्रक्रियाका परिणाम हुन् भने मान्यता राख्दछ। जनजातीयता स्थिर र अपरिवर्तनीय विशेषता नभएकोले जनजातीय सीमाहरू एवम् बहुपहिचानहरू निर्माण र पुनर्निर्माण भइरहन्छन् भने तर्क निर्माणवादको रहेको छ। जन्म र वंशानुगत गुणहरूद्वारा मात्रै जनजातीय सीमाहरू निर्माण हुँदैनन् बरु जनजातीयता, प्रजातीयता र लैड्गिकता जस्ता पहिचानहरू वातावरण तथा संस्कृतिद्वारा निर्धारित हुन्छन् भने मान्यतामा निर्माणवादले जोड दिन्छ। निर्माणवादका अनुसार जनजातीयताको उद्गम, यसको विषयवस्तु र स्वरूपले जहिले पनि व्यक्ति तथा समूहरूको सिर्जनशील छनोट (Creative choice) लाई प्रतिबिम्बित गर्दछ। त्यस्ता छनोटहरूलाई तिनले आफू र अन्यलाई जनजातीय शैलीहरूबाट परिभाषित गर्दछन्। जनजातीय समूहरूको क्रिया तथा भूमिकाहरू, तिनका विरोधी गतिविधिहरू, राजनैतिक सत्ताहरू र आर्थिक हित समूहहरूले केही जनसङ्ख्यामा जनजातीय सीमाहरूलाई विभाजित भने केहीलाई एकीकृत गर्दछन्।

7. 2016, Q. No. 5

What are the essentialists and constructonists arguments on the making and unmaking of the ethnic boundaries? Explain (Wimmer 2008).

Ans: Andreas Wimmer is an American sociologist and a Professor of Sociology at the University of California, United States. He is known for his research on nationalism, nation-building, and ethnic conflict. In his research-based article *The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory* (2008), Wimmer has outlined essentialist and constructionists arguments of the ethnic boundaries.

Volume 113 of the American Journal of Sociology includes an article by Wimmer on the topic **The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory** (2008). This article presents the arguments of essentialists and constructionists on the making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries.

Let us now explain here the essentialists and constructionists arguments about making and unmaking of the ethnic boundaries separately:

- **Essentialist arguments on making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries**

According to Wimmer, essentialism is a traditional and primordialism ideology on making and unmaking ethnic boundaries. Essentialists maintained that ethnic cultures and identities provided stability across different social contexts. This debate has often been framed in dichotomous terms—primordialism, which underlined that ethnic membership was acquired through birth and thus represented a 'given' characteristic of the social world. This view was pitted against instrumentalism, which maintained that individuals choose various identities according to self-interest. Essentialism was opposed to 'situationism,' the former privileging the trans-contextual stability provided by ethnic cultures. At the same time, the latter showed how individuals identify with different ethnic categories depending on the situation's logic.

The literature commonly defines *ethnic essentialism* as a belief in a genetic or biological essence that defines all members of an ethnic category. Researchers have identified biological basis as one of the dimensions of essentialism. However, the imagined essence of an ethnic group need not be biological; people also define ethnic groups in terms of specific cultural characteristics or conflate race and culture. Relatedly, essentialist beliefs about ethnicity can affect perceived cultural differences and cultural identification. Individuals can understand ethnic categories in terms of essential cultural features. *Cultural essentialism* is the idea that "people are ...more or less passive carriers of their culture; whereby their attitudes, beliefs, and achievements are supposed to reflect typical cultural patterns". In the context of ethnic identity, cultural essentialism is the belief that ethnic categories are associated with distinct, fixed, and stable cultural patterns (e.g., values, beliefs, practices, and lifestyles); these fixed cultural patterns definitively and permanently shape the psychological characteristics of individuals within an ethnic group and differentiate them from members of other ethnic groups. Cultural and biological forms of ethnic essentialism share the idea that differences between ethnic groups are determined by a fixed and uniform essence that resides within and defines all members of each ethnic group. However, they differ in their understanding of the nature of this essence. Both forms of essentialism may coexist; indeed, many people perceive race as having biological and cultural foundations.

Wimmer contends that constructivist theory perceives ethnic identity as a socially constructed and fluid entity that can be formed through various means, including conquest, colonization, or immigration. Ethnic groups are recognized to be social constructions with 'identifiable origins and histories of expansion and contraction, amalgamation and division.' They

अन्तर्विभाजन

सार

(The Prism
Every

1. 2019*, Q. No. 6

Discuss different types of Anthias (2012).

[फ्लोया एन्थियास (2012)]

तहहरू छलफल गर्नुहोस्।

Ans: फ्लोया एन्थियास साइरे रोहाम्प्टेन विश्वविद्यालय न्याय विभागमा विशिष्ट र अक्सफोर्ड ब्रूक्स विश्व एन्थियासका प्रमुख बैठक असमानता तथा तिनमात्र उनले आफूद्वारा लिरिया।

Intersectionality
अन्तर्विभाजनात्मक विश्वविद्यालय क्षेत्रहरू र अन्तर्विभाजन गरेकी छिन्।

अब यहाँ प्रश्नानुसार विश्लेषणका विभिन्न तरिकाहरू बताउँदूँ।

- तह-1 : सामाजिक एन्थियासका वर्ग सामाजिक वास्तविकता तौरतरिकाहरू नक्साजस्तै सम्बन्धहरू विशिष्ट यस वर्ग (का सम्बन्ध) सकिन्छ। जनाउँदैनन्।

CHAPTER - 4

अन्तर्विभाजनको संक्षेप र दैनिक सामाजिक वास्तविकता

(The Prism of Intersectionality and Everyday Social Reality)

1. 2019*, Q. No. 6

Discuss different levels of intersectional analysis put forwarded by Floya Anthias (2012).

[फ्लोया एन्थियास (2012) द्वारा अगाडि सारिएका अन्तर्विभाजनात्मक विश्लेषणका विभिन्न तहहरू छलफल गर्नुहोस् ।]

Ans: फ्लोया एन्थियास साइप्रेस मूलकी ब्रिटिश समाजशास्त्री हुन् । उनी संयुक्त अधिराज्य (UK) को रोहाम्पटेन विश्वविद्यालय (University of Roehampton) अन्तर्गत समाजशास्त्र र सामाजिक न्याय विभागमा विशिष्टिकृत प्राध्यापक रहेकी थिएन् । त्यसभन्दा पूर्व उनी ग्रीनविच विश्वविद्यालय र अक्सफोर्ड ब्रूक्स विश्वविद्यालयमा समाजशास्त्रकी एमेरिटस प्रोफेसर थिएन् ।

उनले आफूद्वारा लिखित बौद्धिक/प्राज्ञिक लेख *Intersectional What? Social Divisions, Intersectionality and Levels of Analysis* (2012) मा अन्तर्विभाजनका उपागमहरू, अन्तर्विभाजनात्मक विश्लेषणका विभिन्न तहहरू, अन्तर्विभाजनको अनुसन्धानका समाजजन्य क्षेत्रहरू र अन्तर्विभाजनको ऐतिहासिकता तथा अवधारणाका सम्बन्धमा गहन विश्लेषण प्रस्तुत गरेकी छिन् ।

अब यहाँ प्रश्नानुसार फ्लोया एन्थियासद्वारा अगाडि सारिएबमोजिमका अन्तर्विभाजनात्मक विश्लेषणका विभिन्न तहबारे छलफल गरिन्छ :

- **तह-1 : सामाजिक सत्यापनहरू (Social Ontologies)**
एन्थियासका अनुसार यस तहको विश्लेषणमा लैङ्गिकता, जनजातीयता, 'प्रजातीयता' र वर्ग सामाजिक सत्यापनहरूसँग सम्बन्धित हुन्छन् । अर्थात् संसारअन्तर्गतका विभिन्न वास्तविकताहरूबारेका अवधारणाहरू र समग्र संसार सङ्गठित भएका सामाजिक तौरतरिकाहरूलाई यस तहको विश्लेषणमा समावेश गरिन्छ । यस तहको विश्लेषणको क्रिया नक्साजस्तै हुन्छ, जहाँ सम्बन्धका समूहहरूको अवस्थितिलाई जनाउने र सम्मिश्रित वर्गसम्बन्धहरूलाई वर्गहरू अन्तर्गत प्रकटीकरण गराउने कार्य गरिन्छ । सत्यापित रूपमा सम्बन्धहरूलाई वर्गहरू अन्तर्गत वास्तविकताहरूलाई जनाउनाले लैङ्गिकता, जनजातीयता, 'प्रजातीयता' र विशिष्ट यस्ता वास्तविकताहरूलाई जनाउनाले व्यक्तिहरू स्वयम्भलाई सकिन्छ । यस तहको विश्लेषणमा सामाजिक वास्तविकताहरूले व्यक्तिहरू स्वयम्भलाई जनाउँदैनन् । बरु सामाजिक वर्गाकरणहरू (Social categories) ले व्यक्तिहरूलाई जनाउने

अवश्य पनि वर्गहरूले व्यक्तिलाई विभिन्न समूहहरूमा विभाजन गर्दछन् र त्यस्तो विभाजनले व्यक्तिको सामाजिक पहिचान र क्रियाहरूमा महत्वपूर्ण प्रभाव पार्दछ। यद्यपि वर्गीकरण वा वर्ग (Category) र समूह (Group) बीच भिन्नता निर्माण गरिनु यहाँ महत्वपूर्ण हुन्छ। बुबाकर (2004) का अनुसार समूहको अवधारणामा समूहवाद (Groupism) समावेश भएको हुन्छ, जहाँ समूहलाई प्रदत्त विशेषता (Given feature) मानिने भएकोले समूह-निर्माण प्रक्रिया (Group making) कमजोड दिइएको विषय बन युद्धित। यद्यपि समूहीकरणको प्रक्रिया काल्पनिक तथा सङ्गठनात्मक तहका साथै न्यायिक पुर्दछ। अल्पसङ्ख्यक वा प्रजातीयकृत समूहको सदस्यका रूपमा तथा कानूनी तहमा कायम हुन्छ। अल्पसङ्ख्यक वा प्रजातीयकृत समूहको सदस्यका रूपमा परिभाषित गर्नुले एउटा व्यक्तिले आफू स्वयम्भूलाई कुन रूपमा हेरेको छ र आफ्ना जीवन मौकाहरू अन्य व्यक्तिभन्दा कसरी प्रभावित भइरहेका छन् भन्ने सम्बन्धमा प्रभाव पार्दछ। सामाजिक प्रतिनिधित्व र सामाजिक पहिचानको दाबी तथा सामाजिक सहभागिता निर्धारणमा पनि समूहीकरणको महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका हुन्छ। त्यस्तो समूहीकरणले राजनैतिक, सांस्कृतिक र आर्थिक जस्ता थुप्रै सङ्घर्षहरूका लागि वाहकको रूपमा क्रिया गर्दछ।

1. 2019*, Q. No. 6

Discuss different levels of intersectional analysis put forwarded by Floya Anthias (2012).

Ans: Floya Anthias is Cyprus origin British sociologist. She was a Distinguished Professor at the United Kingdom's **University of Roehampton**, Department of Sociology and Social Justice. She has also been working the same post at the University of Greenwich and **Oxford Brookes University**. Her main academic writings have explored different forms of stratification, social hierarchy, and inequality and incorrect.

In her academic article *Intersectional What? Social Divisions, Intersectionality, and Levels of Analysis* (2012), she has presented the in-depth analysis of intersectionality approaches, different levels of intersectional analysis, societal arenas of investigation in intersectionality, and historicity notion of the intersection.

Now, according to the question, let us discuss different levels of intersectional analysis put forwarded by Floya Anthiyas as follows:

- **Level-1: Social Ontologies**

According to Anthiyas, at this level of analysis, gender, ethnicity, 'race,' and class relate to social ontologies, that is, to conceptions about different realms in the world or ways the world is organized. These act like maps, pointing to where sets of relations are situated, manifested in categories, and materialized in concrete relations. The positing of these ontologically separate realms gives rise to categories of gender, ethnicity, 'race,' and class (as well as sexuality, age, disability, and others). At this level of analysis, social ontologies do not point to the people themselves: this is the function of social categories, which provide criteria for specifying how people are sorted or placed.

Using these ideas, it is possible, very schematically, to provide a kind of 'map' for gender, ethnicity, 'race,' and class. Ethnos (ethnicity and race) delineates and specifies the ontological space of collectivity. Gender can be in terms of the social construction of the ontological space relating the sex and biological reproduction, and class can be in the social construction of the ontological space relating to the production and reproduction of economic life.

However, social categories work at two different levels. One is more abstract and the other is more concrete. Anthias shall first look at the more abstract level, which must be analytically distinguished from concrete social division.

- **Level-2: Social Categories as Categories of Discursive Practice in the Making of Boundaries and Hierarchies**

According to Anthias, the social categories of gender, ethnicity, 'race,' and class construct certain criteria by which people are ordered into the categories that should not be elided with specific population categories/groupings related to social life. For example, the claims that people make and their practices may be different from how they have been sorted out in terms of auditing systems of the state or terms of social representations at any specific point in time and space: For example, a person may claim they are British but may be seen as being a member of an ethnic minority. This instance does not imply that these are mutually exclusive categories but merely indicates that placing people into categories involves a sorting exercise done in different ways. Indeed, people themselves may not always act or identify in ways denoted by these.

Although categories would not be treated in terms of universals or essences, at this level, we could ask to what extent they share parameters and what their differences are. For example, although class, ethnicity, 'race,' and gender categories (and others such as sexuality or ability/disability) are not equivalent, they have commonalities and differences; they have different historical and ontological bases, but they all involve boundary-making and hierarchy-making processes.

- **Level - 3: Concrete Social Relations**

Whereas the former level relates to constructions of boundaries that allocate value, social relations of hierarchy and inequality are embodied in concrete social relations. It also implicates the subjects themselves, who may also sort themselves out in positionalities and allegiances. However, this process of differentiation and identification may not necessarily tally, as argued earlier.

Certainly, categories sort people into groups, which profoundly affect their social identities and actions. However, it is important to distinguish between category and group and resist a notion of a group that entails what Brubaker (2004) calls groupism, whereby groups are seen as given and under-stresses the group-making process. However, groupings exist at the imaginary and organizational levels and the juridical and legal levels. Being defined as several minoritized or racialized groups may affect how one sees oneself, in terms of belonging and otherness, and affect life chances. Groupings may also have an important role in determining social participation and in fuelling claims for social representation and recognition, which act as vehicles for a range of political, cultural, and economic struggles.

Write a note on hierarchies of social location, class and intersectionality as explained by Floya Anthias (2012).

Ans: Floya Anthias is a Cyprus-origin British sociologist. She is a Professor of Sociology and Social Justice at the Roehampton University, London (UK). Her primary research interest is the areas of social divisions and identities. Her lifelong work has been devoted to understanding and theorizing these themes in terms of social boundaries and hierarchies.

In her article entitled *Hierarchies of Social Location, Class and Intersectionality: Toward a Translocation Frame* (2012), Anthias analyzed hierarchies of social location, class, and intersectionality. This article contributes to the critical debate on how social identities and hierarchies can be understood. In contrast, the rethinking of a class has moved in several directions in the last 20 years from debates on Marxism, a concern with class boundaries and employment relations to culture and lifestyle. It has largely been unable to address issues raised by gender, ethnicity, and transnational actors. Anthias argue that the matrix of gender, ethnicity, and class has been theorized through the lenses of intersectionality for at least two decades and now occupies a central place in academic and political life.

Anthias elaborate hierarchies of social location, class, and intersectionality on the following topics:

i. **The problem of 'class.'**

According to Anthias, there exists confusion to the class concept as it constitutes a specific way of explaining or understanding economic inequalities and also stands as shorthand for it. Anthias focus particularly on debates in the context of the UK, where there has been a contemporary concern with the cultural aspects of the class. A class's culturalist lifestyle or status formulations have yielded concrete localized analyses, counting the labor market-based approaches in the employment relations problematic or the employment aggregate approach.

ii. **Disidentification, 'ordinariness,' 'people like us,' and 'elective belonging.'**

Anthias argue that a range of qualitative studies, specifically in the UK, have introduced notions of disidentification, 'ordinariness' and 'people like us,' which have been used to describe class identifications. These approaches have argued that class identities are either more likely to be refused or that people use notions of ordinariness and 'people like us' when confronted with questions of class identity. The notion of elective belonging sees local or place-based identities as key to class belonging, especially for the middle classes.

iii. **Intersectionality framework**

According to Anthias, there cannot be a singular definition of an intersectionality framework as there is a great deal of diversity in the way it is theorized and applied. The primary roots of the intersectionality approach within anti-racist feminism in the United States are concerned initially with the specific forms of oppression faced by racialized women. However, the coinage of the term intersectionality has been attributed to American legal scholar Kimberlee Williams Crenshaw. It has been

described as a 'fast-growing concept,' and there are issues about transplanting the term to a range of other contexts.

iv. **Intersectionality: Pitfalls, quandaries and the concept of 'intersection.'**

Anthias contends that there are several potential pitfalls and quandaries associated with how intersectionality can be interpreted, although they are not necessarily inherent to an intersectional hubristic. *The first* confusion associated with intersectionality is the different levels of analysis that may not be attended to. It is possible, for example, to explore the analytical links between different types of social division. *Second*, there is a danger that race, class, and gender become taken-for-granted categories for social analysis, leading not to their essentialization but also presumptions about their saliency. *Third*, there is the danger of listing differences that intersect, leading to a focus that matters, when, where; and how.

v. **Moving forward: Social location and translocation**

According to Anthias, in focusing on social divisions, as boundaries, hierarchies, and ontological spaces, and using the notion of translocation positionally, sociologists have tried to work towards a complex recognition of hierarchical relations which has a wider theoretical resonance in terms of social stratification. This process potentially enables a more integrated framing to issues of social inequality compared to traditional approaches of stratification, on the one hand, and to approaches that focus on the intersections on the intersections of social categories as groups, on the other. A translocation lense is a tool for analyzing positions and outcomes produced through the intersections of different social structures and processes, including transnational ones, giving importance to the border social context and temporality.

3. 2016, Q. No. 6

Write a note on class and intersectionality as explained by Floya Anthias (2012).

[फ्लोया एन्थियास (2012) द्वारा वर्णन गरिएँनुरूप वर्ग र अन्तर्विभाजनमा एउटा नोट लेख्नुहोस्।

Ans: फ्लोया एन्थियास साइप्रस मूलकी ब्रिटिश समाजशास्त्री हुन्। उनी संयुक्त अधिराज्य (UK) को रोहाम्पटोन विश्वविद्यालय (University of Roehampton) अन्तर्गत समाजशास्त्र र सामाजिक न्याय विभागमा विशिष्टिकृत प्राध्यापक रहेकी थिएँ। त्यसभन्दा पूर्व उनी ग्रीनविच विश्वविद्यालय र अक्सफोर्ड ब्रूक्स विश्वविद्यालयमा समाजशास्त्रकी एमेरिटस प्रोफेसर थिएँ।

एन्थियासद्वारा लिखित लेख *Hierarchies of Social Location, Class and Intersectionality: Towards a Translocational Frame (2012)* मा वर्ग र अन्तर्विभाजनबाटे विशेष रूपबाट वर्णन समेटिएको छ। सामाजिक पहिचान र श्रेणीबद्धताको सन्दर्भमा उत्पन्न भएका बहसहरूबाटे एन्थियासको यस लेखले स्पष्ट दृष्टिकोण चित्रण गरेको छ। सामाजिक पहिचान र श्रेणीबद्धताहरूको बुझाइका विभिन्न शैलीहरूबाटे उत्पन्न भएका महत्वपूर्ण बहसहरूको विश्लेषण गर्नु यस लेखको मुख्य उद्देश्य रहेको छ। पछिल्ला दुई दशकमा वर्गसम्बन्धी मार्क्सवादी धारणाहरू चिन्तन र विश्लेषणका नयाँ मार्गहरूमा स्थानान्तरित हुन पुगेका छन्। मार्क्सवादले वर्ग सीमाहरू र रोजगार सम्बन्धहरूलाई संस्कृति र जीवनशैलीसँग सम्बन्धित गरिनुपर्नेमा जोड दिएको छ भने पछिल्ला दशकहरूमा वर्गलाई लैड्गिकता, जनजातीयता ।

CHAPTER - 5

अन्तर्विभाजन विश्लेषणका विधिहरू

(METHODS OF INTERSECTIONAL ANALYSIS)

i. 2020, Q. No. 6

What are the three approaches put forward by Leslie McCall (2005) in the study of intersectionality? Explain.

Ans: Leslie McCall is an American Sociologist. She is a Presidential Professor at the Graduate Center, CUNY, United States. She studies wealth/social inequality in American society and its opinions about discrimination from an intersectional perspective.

In her academic article, *The Complexity of Intersectionality* (2005), McCall put forward three approaches in the study of intersectionality. These approaches may be explained as follows:

i. Anategorical Approach

This approach is based on a methodology that deconstructs analytical categories. Social life is considered too irreducibly complex—overflowing with multiple and fluid determinations of both subjects and structures—to make fixed categories anything but simplifying social fictions that produce inequalities in the process of producing differences. Out of the three approaches, this approach appears to have been the most successful in satisfying the demand for complexity, judging by the fact that there is now great skepticism about the possibility of using categories in anything but a simplistic way.

In conclusion, the anti-categorical approach is linked to feminist poststructuralists, who, according to McCall, offer a deconstruction and rejection of categories and interrogate the boundary-making of categories itself.

ii. Intracategorical Approach

This approach is related to Black Feminism and focuses on specific social groups at neglected points of intersections. It is critical of the general use of social categories. It is the approach that inaugurates the study of intersectionality by focusing on a single group placed at the intersection of multiple categories. However, it restricts the scope of the investigation to only one dimension (for instance, women and Black), rather than at the intersection of the full range of dimensions of categories—such as considering women/men and black/white. This approach generally based in this kind of approach is the **case study**, which investigates the features

of a single group or culture and is typically associated with qualitative rather than with quantitative method in social sciences.

As McCall states, "the multiple in these intersectional analyses refer not to dimensions within categories but dimensions across categories. Thus, an Arab American, middle-class, heterosexual woman is placed at the intersection of multiple categories (race, ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality) but only reflects a single dimension."

iii. Intercategorical Approach

This approach begins with observing that there are relationships of inequality among already constituted social groups as imperfect and ever-changing as they are and takes those relationships as the center of analysis. The main aim of this approach is to explicate those relationships, and doing so requires the provisional use of categories. The difference between this approach and the intra-categorical approach is that it deals with complex relationships among social groups rather than single categories. Thus, the subject is multigroup, analyzing the intersection across all analytical categories and social groups.

2. 2020, Q. No. 5; 2019*, Q. No. 7

Discuss the three styles of intersectional practices as explained by Choo and Ferree (2010).

[चू एण्ड फेरे (2010) द्वारा वर्णन गरिएबमोमिज अन्तर्विभाजनात्मक अभ्यासका तीनवटा शैलीहरू छलफल गर्नुहोस् ।]

See in 3. 2016, Q. No. 3 (Long Answer Question) (नोट: त्यस प्रश्नको उत्तरालाई सदृक्षपमा व्यक्त गर्ने अभ्यास गर्नुहोस् ।)

2. 2020, Q. No. 5; 2019*, Q. No. 7

Discuss the three styles of intersectional practices as explained by Choo and Ferree (2010).

Ans: Hae Yeon Choo and Myra Marx Ferree are sociologists and Professors of sociology at the United States University of Wisconsin, Madison. In their academic article *Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research* (2010), they have presented the scholarly discussion on styles of intersectional practices. According to Choo and Ferree, there are three styles of intersectional practices, which are discussed as follows:

i. Group-Centered Interpretations: Intersecting Identities

This style of intersectional practice is considered an inclusion-centered interpretation. The main characteristic of this style of intersectional practice is giving a "voice" to those in positions of oppression. Hancock (2007) calls this style of intersectional practice a "content specialization" interpretation of intersectionality. According to him, these practices emphasize a substantive focus on the study of multiply-marginalized groups. This methodological emphasis on what Hancock calls *multiple intersections* and McCall defines as an "intra-categorical" approach focuses especially on differences of experience for subgroups within a category and often generates lists of groups to be included as well debates over the priority to be given to one or another intersectional location. However, if one theorizes intersectionality as a characteristic of the social

world in general, the intersectional analysis should apply to all social phenomena, not just the inclusion of a specifically subordinate group. In sum, intersectionality defined as inclusion offers a “content specialization” but points to a need for more than this. Drawing from its origin in standpoint theory and in the self-mobilization of women of color to claim recognition in law and politics and scholarship, this style of intersectionality analytically foregrounds the rhetoric of voice.

In sum, intersectionality defined as inclusion offers a “content specialization” but points to a need for more than this. Drawing from its origin in standpoint theory and in the self-mobilization of women of color to claim recognition in law and politics and scholarship, this style of intersectionality analytically foregrounds the rhetoric of voice.

ii. **Process-Centered Models: Interaction Effects and Multilevel Analysis**

A core factor of this style of intersectional practice is **comparative analysis**, since seeing how the interplay among different structures of domination varies will demand a methodology that insists on comparisons above the level of the individual. Such comparative analysis should also be interaction-seeking, i.e., it would assume important interactions across context as the default position. McCall (2005) calls it *intracategorical* because it seeks dimensions of variation in the intersections across categories, however, defined, while Glenn (1999) stresses this as “relational” because it highlights the material and cultural relations of power that structure societies. The process model of intersectionality places primarily on context and comparison at the intersections, revealing structural processes organizing power.

The structural type of process-centered analysis is not without its limitations. It runs the risk of focusing on abstracted structures in their intersectional configuration, thus turning the persons experiencing macro- and middle interactions into incidental figures, underplaying their agency in these complex process constellations.

In conclusion, the process model does not just add groups; it adds intersectional relations to what is typically conceptualized as persistent, untransformed “main effects.” This approach demands a more explicitly comparative and contextual field for the study of intersectionality, but by connecting levels of analysis or institutions with different inequalities, it tends toward separating primary from secondary contradictions.

iii. **Systematic Intersectionality: Institutional Interpretation**

This style of intersectional practice starts by considering how inequalities span and transform structures and activities at all levels and in all institutional contexts makes it harder to imagine any social process as a singular “main effect” for anyone. Walby (2009) calls such a fully intersectional model of the societal institutions that produce inequalities “complex” and contrasts this system-spanning model with what she calls “segmented inclusion,” in which the economy is seen as so “saturated” with class, the family with gender, and the nation with ethnicity that within each institutional area all other forms of inequality can only be seen as “additional.”

In sum, this style of intersectional practice view intersectionality as a complex system and assumes a methodology that sees everything as intersections, not "main effects." The challenge is identifying inequalities' local and historical configurations since every system is contingent and path-dependent.

3. 2019*, Q. No. 5

What are the five components Dhamoon identifies that key for adopting and mainstreaming intersectionality? Write note on any two.

(अन्तर्विभाजनको ग्रहण र मूलप्रवाहीकरणका लागि धामूनले पहिचान गरेका प्रमुख पाँचवटा खण्डहरू के-के छन् ? कुनै दुईमा नोट लेख्नुहोस्।)

Ans: रिता कौर धामून वर्तमानमा अमेरिकाको भिक्टोरिया विश्वविद्यालय अन्तर्गत उप-प्राध्यापक पदमा कार्यरत रहेकी छिन्। उनले ब्रिटिश कोलम्बिया विश्वविद्यालयबाट आफ्नो पिएच.डी. उपाधी प्राप्त गरेकी थिएँ। बहुसांस्कृतिक नीति तथा सिद्धान्तहरू (Multicultural policies and theories), लैंडगिकता राजनीति र नारीवाद (Gender politics and feminism), अन्तर्विभाजन (Intersectionality), आलोचनात्मक प्रजातीयता अध्ययनहरू (Critical race studies), उत्तर-औपनिवेशिक र औपनिवेशिकताविरोधी राजनीति र प्रजातान्त्रिक राजनीति (Post-colonial and anti-colonial politics and democratic politics) जस्ता शीर्षकका मुद्दाहरू सहित पहिचान/विभिन्नताको राजनीति तथा शक्तिका मुद्दाहरू (Issues of identity/difference politics and power) मा अध्ययन अनुसन्धान गर्नेतर्फ धामूनको विशेष रूचि रहेको छ। उनले उपर्युक्त क्षेत्रका शीर्षकहरूमा आधारित रही थुप्रै पुस्तक तथा अनुसन्धानमूलक लेखहरू प्रकाशित गरेकी छिन्।

आफ्नो शैक्षिक लेख *Considerations on Mainstreaming Intersectionality (2011)* मा धामूनले अन्तर्विभाजनको ग्रहण र मूलप्रवाहीकरणका लागि प्रमुख रूपमा पाँचवटा खण्डहरू पहिचान गरेकी छिन्, जुन निम्नानुसार छन्-

- अन्तर्विभाजनको अवधारणा र भाषा
- विश्लेषणको विषय : पहिचान र वर्गहरूदेखि लिएर प्रक्रिया र व्यवस्थाहरूसम्म
- विषय निर्माणको जटिलता र शक्ति : अवस्थिति तुलनाहरू
- अन्तर्विभाजन : प्रकार विश्लेषणका नमूनाहरू
- अन्तर्क्रियाका रोजाइ : शक्तिमा जोड

अब प्रश्नानुसार उपर्युक्तमध्ये कुनै दुईवटा खण्डहरूका सम्बन्धमा यहाँ नोट लेख्न गरिन्छ :

- अन्तर्विभाजनको अवधारणा र भाषा

(The Concept and Language of Intersectionality)

एउटा सुरुआतको विन्दुका रूपमा अन्तर्विभाजनको अवधारणा विषय निर्माण र पहिचानहरू (Subject formation and identities) एकीकृत र स्वायत्त हुन्छन् भन्ने मान्यताविरुद्ध रहेको हुन्छ। हेनकक (2007) ले अन्तर्विभाजन यी मान्यता, कथन वा विचारहरूमा आधारित हुने तर्क गरेका छन् : एकभन्दा बढी वर्ग विश्लेषण गर्नुपर्ने; ती वर्गहरूको विषय समान र वर्गहरूबीचको सम्बन्ध खुला आनुभाविक सवाल (Open empirical question) हुनुपर्ने; व्यक्तिगत र संस्थागत तत्त्वहरूबीच गतिशील अन्तर्क्रिया कायम हुनुपर्ने; एउटा वर्गअन्तर्गतका सदस्यहरू विविधतापूर्ण हुने; व्यक्ति वा व्यक्तिहरूको समूहको विश्लेषण संस्थागत विश्लेषणका साथ संयोजित हुने; र आनुभाविक तथा सैद्धान्तिक दाबीहरू दुवै सम्भाव्य र आवश्यक हुने। सामान्य अर्थमा ब्राह्मण एण्ड फोनिक्स (2004) ले अन्तर्विभाजनलाई “जटिल, न्यूनीकरण गर्न नसकिने, विधितापूर्ण र चर प्रभावहरू जनाउने” अवधारणाको रूपमा अर्थाएका छन्। यिनका अनुसार अन्तर्विभाजनले “आर्थिक, राजनैतिक, सांस्कृतिक, मनो-शारीरिक, विषयगत र अनुभवजन्य” जस्ता आधारमा गरिने

सञ्चालित हुन्छ र शक्तिले राजनीतिक जीवनका विभिन्न तहहरूमा कस्तो प्रभाव पार्दछ भन्ने सम्बन्धमा बहुआयामिक विश्लेषण (Multidimensional analysis) प्रदान गर्दछ। उदाहरणको लागि अन्तर्विभाजनले श्वेतपनाका दैनिक व्यवस्थाहरू (जस्तै: व्यावहार, भाषा र पोशाकका तौरतरिका) मा प्रजातीय विभेदहरूका अर्थ कसरी उत्पन्न र सङ्गतित हुन्न भनेवारे सरकार र राज्यको जोडभन्दा पनि पर गएर वास्तविकता उजागर गर्ने गर्दछ।

3. 2019*, Q. No. 5

What are the five components Dhamoon identifies that key for adopting and mainstreaming intersectionality. Write note on any two.

Ans: Rita Kaur Dhamoon is currently working as an Assistant Professor at the University of Victoria in the United States. She has received her Ph.D. from the University of British Columbia. Her research interests have centered on identity/difference politics and power issues, including multicultural policies and theories, gender politics and feminism, intersectionality, critical race studies, postcolonial and anti-colonial politics, and democratic politics. She has published numerous textbooks and research papers on the above fields.

In her academic article *Consideration on Mainstreaming Intersectionality* (2011), Dhamoon identified five components that are keys for adopting and mainstreaming intersectionality as follows:

- i. The concept and language of intersectionality
- ii. The subject of analysis: From identity and categories to processes and systems
- iii. The complexity of subject formation and power: situated comparisons
- iv. Models of Intersectional-Type analysis: A matrix of meaning-making
- v. The choice of interactions: centering power

Now according to the question, let us present on notes of any two components as follows:

i. The Concept and Language of Intersectionality

As its starting point, intersectionality opposes that subject formation and identities are unified and autonomous. Hancock (2007) specifies that intersectionality is based on the idea that more than one category should be analyzed. Such categories' matter equally, and that the relationship between categories is an open empirical question that there exists a dynamic interaction between individual and institutional factors, that members within a category are diverse, that analysis of individual or set individuals is integrated with institutional analysis, and that empirical and theoretical claims are both possible and necessary. In general, as Brah and Phoenix (2004) state, intersectionality refers to *the complex, irreducible, varied, and variable effects which ensure when multiple axes of differentiation—economic, political culture, psychic, subjective, and experimental—intersect in historically specific contexts.*

According to Dhamoon (2011), while the language of intersectionality has been popularized since at least the 1980s, the framework for examining the relationship between multiple interrelated modalities of difference has been a long-standing feature of various social struggles, including women-centered and feminist fights against racism, colonialism, and slavery. It is, therefore, important to acknowledge how theories and practices of what

we now call intersectionality were developed before the popularization of this concept and that our contemporary lenses shape the interpretation of this analytic and political tool.

The term intersectionality was specifically coined and developed by American critical race scholar Kimberle Williams Crenshaw (1989, 1991, and 1994) to address legal doctrinal issues and to work both within and against the law. Crenshaw used the metaphor of intersecting roads to describe and explain how racial and gender discrimination compounded each other.

ii. **The Subject of Analysis: From Identity and Categories to Process and Systems**

A second consideration concerns the focus of analysis. In intersectional-type work, at least four aspects of socio-political life have been and continue to be studied. *First*- the identities of an individual or set of individuals social group that are marked as different (e.g., Black women or white women), *Second*- the categories of difference (e.g., race and gender), *Third*- the processes of differentiation (e.g., racialization and gendering), and *Fourth*- the systems of domination (e.g., racism, colonialism, sexism, and patriarchy). Sometimes these four aspects of analysis are distinct and other times, they merge into one another, or a combination exists. Dhamoon argues that all four are consistent with intersection types of analysis. Nevertheless, while terms such as black (identity), race (category), racialization (process), and racism (system of domination) are sometimes used interchangeably and simultaneously, each emphasizes something different in our understanding of the subject formation difference and power. Thus, it cannot be assumed that they are doing the same analytic work.

In conclusion, Dhamoon argues that the study of processes and systems is most effective at analyzing the complex dynamics of power. While not unique to one discipline, the study of processes and systems is already featured in political science (e.g., the study of procedures, arrangements, and structures of government), but the framework of intersectionality also adds to an understanding of processes and systems because it provides a multidimensional analysis of how power operates and its effects on different levels of political life. For example, it can foster inquiry into how and why meanings of racial deviancy are produced and organized in everyday systems of whiteness (e.g., codes of behavior, language, and dress), beyond the focus and government and the state.

4. 2019*, Q. No. 8; 2019, Q. No. 8

Write short notes on ANY TWO:

- a. Essentialism and social constructivism (Luhtin 2015, Wimmer 2008)
- b. Fluidity of Newar ethnicity in the USA (Gubhaju, 1999)
- c. Intra and inter categorical approach
- d. Marxist-Feminist critique of intersectionality (Mitchell 2013)

(दृष्टव्य: शीर्षकहरू a, b र d का सहक्षिप्त नोट्सका लागि सम्बन्धित अध्यायहरू ऋमरा: 1, 6 र 2 मा हेतुहोस।)

प्रजातियता र लैंडगिकता जस्ता वर्गहरूलाई अपरिवर्तनीय नमानी तिनलाई प्रारम्भिक विश्लेषणका विन्दुहरूको रूपमा लिइ अन्तविभाजन विश्लेषण गर्ने प्रक्रिया यस उपागमा सम्बन्धको प्रकृतिसँग रहेको हुन्छ । यस आगमको सरोकारको विषय सामाजिक समूहहरूबीचको सम्बन्धमा विश्लेषण गर्नु यस उपागमको अभ महत्वपूर्ण विशेषता हो ।

बहु-सामाजिक समूहहरू अन्तर्गतका सम्बन्धहरूको जटिलतामा जोड दिन्छ । यस उपागमले एकल सामाजिक समूहहरू र एकल वर्गहरू वा दुवैका जटिलताहरूका जोड दिईन । यस उपागमको विषय बहुसमूह (Multigroup) र विश्लेषणको विधि व्यवस्थित स्वरूपको तुलना (Systematically comparative) रहेको हुन्छ ।

4. 2019,*Q. No. 8; 2019, Q. No. 8

Write short notes on (any TWO):

- Fluidity of Newar ethnicity in the USA (Gubhaju 1999) (TU, 2020)
- Intra and inter categorical approach
- Essentialism and social constructivism
- Marxist feminist critique intersectionality (Mitchell 2013)

(Note: For short notes on the topics 'a', 'c', and d; please see in concerned chapters 6, 1, and 2, respectively)

b. Intra and inter-categorical approach

Ans: There are many different approaches to intersectionality. American sociologist and political scientist Leslie McCall review the plethora of studies using intersectionality and identify three distinct approaches in his book *The Complexity of Internationality* (2005). First— intra-categorical approach, second—anti-categorical approach, and third is the inter-categorical one. The intra-categorical approach is concerned with 'focus on specific social groups at neglected points of intersection' to reveal the complexity of lined experience within such groups. This approach draws inspiration from Crenshaw's work to examine groups, often small ones, which had not been previously analyzed. On the other hand, the inter-categorical approach 'provisionally adopts existing analytical categories to document relationships of inequality among social groups and changing configurations of inequality among multiple and conflicting dimensions.' Let us now discuss these two approaches separately:

i. Intra-categorical approach

This approach follows the 'narrative analysis method' in intersectional analysis. Narratives take an individual or an individual's experience as their subject and extrapolate illustratively to the broader social location embodied by the individual. Often such groups are "new" groups in the sense of having been named, defined, or elaborated upon in the process of deconstructing the original dimensions of the master category. A key to this approach was that complexity is managed in such narratives by focusing on the single group's representation. How does this minimize complexity? According to McCall (2005), individuals usually share the characteristics of only one group or dimension of each category-defining their social position. The intersection of identities occurs through the articulation of a single dimension of each category. The 'multiple' in these

intersectional analyses refers not to dimensions within categories but dimensions across categories. Thus, An Arab American, middle-class, heterosexual woman is placed at the intersection of multiple categories (race-ethnicity, class, gender, and sexual) but only reflects a single dimension of each. Personal narratives may aspire to situate subjects within the full network of relationships that define their social locations. However, usually, it is only possible to situate them from the partial perspective of the specific social group under study (i.e., if an Arab woman is the subject of analysis, the issue of race and nationality are more fully examined from the perspective of Arab women than from the Arab men).

ii. ***Inter-categorical approach***

The inter-categorical approach begins with the observation that there are relationships of inequality among already constituted social groups, as imperfect and ever-changing as they are, and takes those relationships as the center of analysis. The main task of this approach is to explicate those relationships, and doing so requires the provisional use of categories. In advocating for a greater emphasis on relationality in studies of intersectionality, scholars can treat race and gender categories as “anchor points—though these points are not static.”

The inter-categorical approach focuses on the complexity of relationships among multiple social groups within and across analytical categories and not on complexities within single social groups, single categories, or both. The subject in this approach is multi-group, and the method is systematically comparative. What is the source of complexity in this approach? The inter-categorical space can become very complicated with the addition of anyone analytical category to the analysis because it requires an investigation of the multiple groups that constitute the category. For example, incorporating gender as an analytical category into such an analysis assumes that two groups will be compared systematically—men and women. If the class category is incorporated, then gender must be cross-classified with class, which comprises these categories (working, middle and upper), thus creating six groups.

5. 2017, Q. No. 8

Write short notes on ANY TWO:

- a. Targeted approach
- b. Intra-categorical approach
- c. Structural and political intersectionality
- d. Ambiguity and incompleteness of intersectional approach (Davis 2008)

(द्रष्टव्य: शीर्षकहरू a, c र d का सद्विष्पत नोट्सका लागि सम्बन्धित अध्यायहरू क्रमशः 6 र 2 मा हर्तुहोस।)

Ans:

- b. आन्तरिक वर्गीकरणात्मक उपागम (Intra-categorical approach)
अमेरिकी समाजशास्त्री तथा राजनितीशास्त्री लेस्ली मेक्कल (Leslie McCall) ले आफुद्वारा लिखित पुस्तक *The Complexity of Intersectionality* (2005) मा अन्तर्विभाजनको

Ans:

b. Intra-categorical approach

American sociologist and political scientist Leslie McCall presented three approaches to analyzing the nature/form of intersectionality in his book *The Complexity of Intersectionality* (2005). *First*, the intra-categorical approach, *second*, the inter-categorical approach, and the *third*, the anti-categorical approach. The intra-categorical approach focuses on particular social groups at the neglected point of intersection—people whose identity crosses the boundaries of traditionally constructed groups—to reveal the complexity of lived experience within such groups.

Intra-categorical approach follows the ‘narrative analysis’ method in intersectional analysis. Narratives take an individual or an individual’s experience as their subject and extrapolate illustratively to the broader social location embodied by the individual. Often such groups are “new” groups in the sense of having been named, defined, or elaborated upon in the process of deconstructing the original dimensions of the master category. A key to this approach was that complexity is managed in such narratives by focusing on the single group’s representation. How does this minimize complexity? According to McCall, individuals usually share the characteristics of only one group or dimension of each category-defining their social position. The intersection of identities occurs through the articulation of a single dimension of each category. The ‘multiple’ in these intersectional analyses refers not to dimensions within categories but dimensions across categories. Thus, An Arab American, middle-class, heterosexual woman is placed at the intersection of multiple categories (race-ethnicity, class, gender, and sexual) but only reflects a single dimension of each. Personal narratives may aspire to situate subjects within the full network of relationships that define their social locations. However, usually, it is only possible to situate them from the partial perspective of the specific social group under study (i.e., if an Arab woman is the subject of analysis, the issue of race and nationality are more fully examined from the perspective of Arab women than from the Arab men).

6. 2016, Q. No. 3 (Long Answer Question)

What are the three styles of intersectional practices as categorized by Choo and Ferree (2010)? Explain.

[चू एण्ड फेर्रे (2010) द्वारा वर्गीकृत गरिएअनुरूप अन्तर्विभाजन अभ्यासहरूका तीनवटा शैलीहरू के-के छन्? वर्णन गर्नुहोस्।]

Ans: अमेरिकाको विस्कोन्सिन विश्वविद्यालयमा समाजशास्त्रका प्राध्यापक रहेका हाए येओन चू र माइरा मार्क्स फेरेद्वारा लिखित लेख *Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research* (2010) अन्तर्गत अन्तर्विभाजन अभ्यासहरूका तीनवटा शैलीहरूको व्याख्या तथा विश्लेषण समेटिएको छ।

चू एण्ड फेरेद्वारा वर्गीकृत गरिएअनुरूप अन्तर्विभाजन अभ्यासहरूका तीनवटा शैलीहरू निमानुसार छन् :

अन्तर्क्रियाहरू दुवैलाई समान महत्वका साथ विश्लेषण गर्न कठिनाइ उत्पन्न हुन पुँछ। यस सीमिततालाई सम्बोधन गर्नका लागि वर्गहरूको साँस्कृतिक अर्थ र सामाजिक निर्माण (Cultural, meanings and social construction of categories) लाई बढी बोली दिइनुपर्दछ।

संक्षेपमा भनुपर्दा अन्तर्विभाजन विश्लेषणका प्रक्रिया-केन्द्रित नमूनाहरूले केवल समूहहरूलाई थप गरेर मात्र नभइ अन्तर्विभाजनात्मक सम्बन्धहरू जोडेर महत्वपूर्ण अपरिवर्तनीय मुख्य प्रभावहरू विश्लेषण गर्नुपर्नेमा जोड दिन्छन्। तसर्थ यस नमूनाले अन्तर्विभाजनको अध्ययनका लागि बढी तुलनात्मक र परिवेशजन्य क्षेत्रको माग गर्दछ।

iii. प्रणालीगत अन्तर्विभाजन : संस्थागत व्याख्या

(Systemic intersectionality: Institutional interpretation)

अन्तर्विभाजन विश्लेषणको यस नमूना वा शैलीले अन्तर्विभाजनलाई समग्र सामाजिक प्रणाली ढाँचावद्ध गर्ने प्रक्रिया मान्दछ। यस नमूनाअनुसार कुनै विशिष्ट संस्थाहरू अन्तर्गतका खास प्रकारका असमानताहरूलाई मात्र नभइ सामाजिक प्रणालीका पूँछ अन्तर्क्रियात्मक, ऐतिहासिक रूपबाट निर्मित र जटिल संरचनाहरूको अध्ययन एवम् विश्लेषण गरिनुपर्छ। कसरी असमानताहरू चरणबद्ध ढह्गबाट विकसित हुन्छन्, कसरी तिनले समग्र सामाजिक संरचनाहरूलाई रूपान्तरण गर्दछन् र सबै संस्थागत सन्दर्भहरू अन्तर्गतका सबै तहमा हुने क्रियाकलापहरूले सामाजिक प्रक्रियाहरूमा कसरी सम्पादित प्रभाव पार्दछन् भने सवालहरूका आधारमा अन्तर्विभाजन विश्लेषण गरिनुपर्ने यस नमूनाको प्रमुख मान्यता रहेको छ। तसर्थ कुनै एकल संस्था वा विशिष्ट सामाजिक संरचनामा फेर्ने एकल प्रभावको अध्ययनलाई यस नमूनाले त्यति महत्वपूर्ण र प्राथामिक मान्दैन। वाल्बी (2009) ले यस नमूनालाई पूर्ण अन्तर्विभाजनात्मक नमूना (Fully intersectional model) भनिनुपर्ने औल्याएका छन्, जसले सामाजिक संस्थाहरू अन्तर्गतका जटिल असमानताहरूको अध्ययन एवम् विश्लेषणमा जोड दिन्छ।

संक्षेपमा भनुपर्दा प्रणालीगत अन्तर्विभाजनको शैली वा नमूनाले अन्तर्विभाजनलाई एउटा जटिल व्यवस्था (Complex system) मान्दछ। तसर्थ कुनै एउटा मुख्य प्रभावलाई मात्र नभइ सबै पक्षहरूलाई यसले अन्तर्क्रियाहरूको रूपमा हेरिनुपर्ने मान्यता राख्छ। असमानताहरूका स्थानीय र ऐतिहासिक स्वरूपहरू पहिचान गरेर अन्तर्विभाजनको अध्ययन गरिनुपर्नेमा यस शैलीले जोड दिन्छ।

6. 2016, Q. No. 3 (Long Answer Question)

What are the three styles of intersectional practices as categorized by Choo and Ferree (2010)? Explain.

Ans: Hae Yeon Choo and Myra Marx Ferree are sociologists and Professors of sociology at the United States University of Wisconsin, Madison. In their academic article *Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research* (2010), they have presented the scholarly discussion on styles of intersectional practices. According to Choo and Ferree, there are three styles of intersectional practices, which are discussed as follows:

i. Group-centered interpretations: Intersecting identities

The emphasis on giving "voice" to those who are in positions of oppression encouraged in practice what Hancock (2007) calls a "content specialization" interpretation of intersectionality, a substantive focus on the study of multiply-marginalized groups. This methodological emphasis on what Hancock calls "multiple intersections" and McCall defines as an

"intra-categorical" approach focuses especially on differences of experience for subgroups within a category, and often generates lists of groups to be included as well as debates over the priority to be given to intersectionality as a characteristic of the social world in general, the inclusion of a specifically subordinated group.

Indeed, the voice approach to intersectionality also exists in tension with other insights from the tradition of women of color scholarship. *First* is the conflicting dimensions of inequality also demands studying the unmarked categories where power and privilege "cluster." *Second*, there is a long-standing critique of inclusion that reduces inequality to diversity, where "instead of using the difference to rethink the category of women, the difference is often a euphemism for women who differ from the traditional norm." Methodologically, merely including difference often substitutes an implicit norm of whiteness or heterosexuality for concrete examination of the "mainstream" or includes "non-normative" groups in a comparative analysis that reproduces the notion of the dominant group as a standard.

In sum, intersectionality, defined as inclusion, offers a "**content specialization**" but points to a need for more than this. Drawing from its origins in standpoint theory and in the self-mobilization of women of color to claim recognition in law and politics, and scholarship, this version of intersectionality analytically foregrounds the rhetoric of voice. While the theory calls for critical consideration of the normative cases and the excluded or marginalized, a methodological emphasis on inclusion sometimes fetishizes the study of "difference" without necessarily giving sufficient attention to its relation to unmarked categories, especially to how the more powerful are defined as normative standards.

ii. **Process-Centered Models: Interaction Effects and Multilevel Analysis**

Some theories of intersectionality argue for more of a transformation of the substance of the processes themselves through their interaction with other forces in a particular context, on the analogy of "digesting" sugar and making it into new bodily substances. Weldon (2008) makes a distinction between what she calls an "intersection-only" approach in which the main effects of the separate processes are set aside in favor of a focus on interaction effects and an "intersection-plus" model in which uninflected main effects also remain important. We would emphasize the latter as a "process-centered" understanding, where interaction effects come to the fore, but only in selected cases. As McCall (2005) argues, a core factor of this approach is **comparative analysis**, since seeing how the interplay among different structures of domination varies will demand a methodology that insists on comparisons above the individual level. Such comparative analysis should also be interaction-seeking; it would assume important interactions across contexts as the default position. McCall calls this "inter-categorical" because it seeks dimensions of variation in the intersections across categories, however, defined, while Glenn (1999) stresses this as "relational" because it highlights the material and cultural relations of power that structure societies. The

process model of intersectionality places immediate attention on context and comparison at the intersections as revealing structural processes organizing power.

The structural type process-centered analysis is not without its limitations. It runs the risk of focusing on abstracted structures in their intersectional configuration, thus turning the persons experiencing the impact of macro- and meso-interactions into incidental figures, underplaying their agency in these complex constellations of forces. Responding to this potential limitation, theorists have stressed cultural meanings and the social construction of categories as central processes in their own right. Argue that this latter, more constructionist version of intersectionality appeals to those who doubt the stability of identity categories at the micro-level. Many theorists interested in a process-centered model of intersectionality followed the discursive turn in sociology by turning from categorical identities to examine how individuals are “recruited to” categories and yet have choices in the “subject positions” they adopt in these complex locations.

In sum, the process model does not just add groups. Instead, it adds intersectional relations to what is typically conceptualized as persistent, untransformed “main effects.” This approach demands a more explicitly comparative and contextual field for the study of intersectionality, but by connecting particular levels of analysis or institutions with different inequalities, it tends toward separating primary from secondary contradictions. This process may be why many intersectionality theorists debate the lists of “priority” inequalities—whether race, class, and gender suffice, or if the list should include sexualities, age, nationality, or religion.

iii. Systemic Intersectionality: Institutional Interpenetration

Weldon (2008) calls an “intersection-only” model reflects a view of intersectional transformations in which no process is given hierarchical primacy in an institution. Considering how inequalities span and transform structures and activities at all levels and in all institutional contexts makes it harder to imagine any social process as a singular “main effect” for anyone. Walby (2009) calls such a **fully intersectional model** of the societal institutions that produce inequalities “complex” and contrasts this system-spanning model with what she calls “segmented inclusion,” in which the economy is seen as so “saturated” with class, the family with gender, and the nation with ethnicity that within each institutional area all other forms of inequality can only be seen as “additional.” Instead, the account of intersectionality as a complex system sees gender and race are fundamentally embedded in, working through, and determining the organization of ownership, profit, and commodification of labor, for example, by fixing which types of work and types of people enter the market at all. By calling this process “capitalism” and defining it in terms of class as “the” relationship characteristic of this institution, even with attention to the specific ways that “it” uses race and gender to support itself, the “main effect” is prioritized over the intersectional processes by which race and gender are integral to any account of the appropriation of labor and formation and circulation of wealth. The account of intersectionality that Acker (2006) gives, for

example, places the process of capitalism at the center, while Peterson (2005) offers an account of a political economy that is simultaneously and dynamically constructed by gender and race relations just as fundamentally as it is by class.

In sum, this view of intersectionality as a complex system assumes a methodology that sees everything as interactions, not "main effects." The challenge is to identify the local and historically particular configurations of inequalities since every system is contingent and path-dependent. Although we are suggesting that the potential of intersectionality would best be realized by a methodology that centers on such dynamic and decentered effects, we also argue that not all sociologists need to share our priorities to benefit from a clearer understanding of which ideas about intersectionality implicitly guide their analysis. Even studies that are not institutional in focus and do not use comparative or historical methods can be improved by closer attention to how inclusion, interaction, and institutions are being treated analytically.

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CHAPTER - 6

अन्तरिमाजनको ज्ञात : नेपालमा पहिचान र असमानताको विविधता तथा तरलता

(Recognizing Intersectionality: Diversity and Fluidity of Identity and Inequality in Nepal)

1. 2020, Q. No. 2; 2019,*Q. No. 2 (Long Answer Question)

What are the factors that have contributed to changing the ethnic boundaries in North-West Nepal? (Levine 1987).

[उत्तर-पश्चिम नेपाल अन्तर्गत परिवर्तनशील जनजातीय सीमाहरूमा योगदान पुऱ्याइरहेका तत्त्वहरू के-के छन् ? (लेविन 1987)]

OR

What are the key factors, according to Levine (1987), that have contributed to shifting ethnic boundaries in North-West Nepal?

[लेविन (1987) का अनुसार उत्तर-पश्चिम नेपाल अन्तर्गत परिवर्तनशील जनजातीय सीमाहरूमा योगदान पुऱ्याइरहेका तत्त्वहरू के-के छन् ?]

Ans: नेसी इ. लेविन अमेरिकाको क्यालिफेर्निया विश्वविद्यालय अन्तर्गत मानवशास्त्रका उप-प्राध्यापक हुन्। उनीहारा *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 46 मा लिखित लेख *Caste, State and Ethnic Boundaries* (1987) अन्तर्गत नेपालको जनजातीयताका विविध पक्षहरूमा गहन विश्लेषण समेटिएको छ। यस लेखमा उनले नेपालको सन्दर्भमा राज्यका नीतिहरू र जनजातीय समूह निर्माण, जनजातीयतामा कानूनी ऐनहरूको प्रभाव, राज्य अर्थतन्त्र र राजनैतिक नीतिहरू, नेपालका जनजातीय समूहहरू र परिस्थितिकीय विशिष्टीकरण, हुम्ला जिल्लाका सन्दर्भमा गरिएको जनजातीयता अध्ययन आदि जस्ता विषयहरूमा तथ्यपरक प्रस्तुति समेटेका छन्।

लेविनका अनुसार नेपालको जनजातीयता क्षेत्रमा दुईवटा विशेषताहरू रहेका छन्। पहिलो- असीमित जनजातीय विविधता (Unlimited ethnic diversity) र दोस्रो- हिन्दु विपरित बौद्ध, जनजाति विपरित जातजाति, हिमाली विपरित मध्य पहाडी, पहाडी विपरित तराईका जनजाति प्रतिद्वन्द्विताका सीमित आधारहरू (Limited set of ethnic contrasts)। उनले नेपालको सुदूर उत्तरपश्चिमी कर्णाली जिल्लाअन्तर्गतको हुम्ला जिल्लाको दृष्ट्यान्त दिँदै त्यहाँका जनजातीय सम्बन्धहरूलाई विभिन्न समूहहरूबीचको प्रतिद्वन्द्विता र प्रतिस्पर्धी सीमाहरूका आधारमा नभई अन्तर्क्रिया, अन्तर्निर्भरता र गतिशीलताको रूपमा चारित्रीकरण गरेका छन्। हुम्ला जिल्लामा व्यक्तिहरू र यहाँसम्मकी समग्र गाउँ नै आफ्ना जनजातीय सम्बद्धतालाई जात व्यवस्थाको स्थानमा परिवर्तन गर्न तत्पर हुन्छन्। त्यहाँका जनजातीय समूहहरू क्षेत्रीय आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक व्यवस्था

गरिसकेका छन्। स्तरक्रम (Rank) सँगको सरोकारका सदृशमा आर्थिक र आत्मीयता जस्ता तत्त्वहरू महत्वपूर्ण रूपमा देखापरेका छन्। तसर्थ हुम्ला र उत्तरी कर्पाली क्षेत्रमा ऐउटा जातजातीय पहिचानबाट अर्कोमा परिवर्तन हुने प्रक्रिया आर्थिक परिवर्तन र आत्मीयताका सम्बन्धहरूको स्वरूपमा आउने परिवर्तनसँगै जोडिन पुगेको छ। यसले दुईवटा कुराहरू इङ्गित गर्दछ। **पहिलो**- देशभर पृथक् जनजातीय सीमाहरू संहज पारगम्य (Quite permeable) छन्। र **दोस्रो**- कुनै समूहले आफ्ना कारण ओगटेको स्थानको रूपमा जनजातीयता बढी मात्रामा आर्थिक र सामाजिक स्थितिहरूको परिणाम हुने गर्दछ।

1. 2020, Q. No. 2; 2019*, Q. No. 2 (Long Answer Question)

What are the factors that have contributed to changing the ethnic boundaries in North-West Nepal? (Levine 1987).

OR

What are the key factors, according to Levine (1987), that have contributed to shifting ethnic boundaries in North-West Nepal?

Ans: Nancy E. Levine is the Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, United States. He has analyzed the various aspects of the ethnic boundaries of Nepal in his research-based article *Caste, State and Ethnic Boundaries in Nepal* (1987). This article was published in the *Journal of Asian Studies*.

According to Levine, models of ethnicity in Nepal stress, on the one hand, unlimited ethnic diversity and, on the other, a rather limited set of ethnic contrast. Hindu versus Buddhist, tribe versus cast, mountain versus middle hills versus low land Terai. However, ethnic relations in North-West Nepal (especially in the Humla district) are characterized more by interaction, interdependence, and mobility than contrasts and boundaries between groups. Levine argues that, in Humla, individuals and even entire villages readily change their ethnic affiliation and their position in the caste system. There too, ethnic groups are linked by the regional economic and social system, and changes in a group's ethnic affiliations are coincident with changes in their economy and style of life.

Humla and the Northwest provide a specific instructive case for understanding the process of ethnic accommodation in the Himalayan regions of Nepal. It is a region where Nepal's principal ethnic groups have lived alongside one another for longer periods than elsewhere in the country. It is also a region where non-Hindu ethnic groups fell under Hindu rule early. Furthermore, like the rest of Nepal, Humla populations have been subject to states discriminating against their citizens based on ethnic identity and caste position.

Levine analyzed the following factors that have contributed to changing the ethnic boundaries in Northwest Nepal:

i. State Policies and Ethnic Group Formation

According to Levine, the ethnic mix we see in Nepal today is the outcome of governmental attempts to grapple with the country's remarkable ethnic diversity and peoples' responses to the system the government created. However, as András Höfer points out in his landmark study (1979), territorial unification of the country in 1789 was only a first step. The government also had to unify Nepalese society, which consisted of three historically and regionally autonomous caste hierarchies, culturally

specific Tibeto-Burman-speaking populations (many from remote areas), and peoples of Tibetan ethnicity on the northern border. The response was to create a national caste system that stipulated a place for each group, guided, as would be expected by rulers' notions about caste.

a. *The effect of the Legal Code*

Unlike the caste system in India, the Nepalese hierarchy placed the non-Hindu middle hills and mountain groups in a middle-ranking position, despite their great cultural and social divergence from Sanskritic ideals. They were well above the low Hindu service castes, although below the *Parbatiya*, or Nepali-speaking Hindus of the hill regions, and similarly below high-ranking Terai and Newar castes. At the same time, the code and other state policies reinforced the cultural dominance of Hindu groups and disadvantaged those groups that conformed least to Hindu norms. One effect of this was that the non-Hindu groups, with the exceptions of remotely situated Tibetan speakers, came to deal with the states as the state-defined them, in the guise of castes. Another effect was specifically effective in integrating such diverse groups because it is, at the base, an incorporative model for ethnicity.

b. *State economic and Political politics*

According to Levine, the state influenced ethnic groups and group intersections through various political and economic policies beyond legislating relative rank in the caste hierarchy. Some policies led groups to draw their ethnic boundaries more narrowly; others led groups to seek allies in ever-widening circles of culturally similar populations. For example, the Thakali of Thakstate provides a classic illustration of how a small group's efforts to retain economic advantages led to their differentiation from other culturally similar groups. Thaksatsae's opportunities came initially through a combination of good luck and location and were returned by the group's ability to organize in pursuit of common interests. *First*, Thaksatsae is located along one of the major and easier traveled routes to Tibet, which Tibetans using Yak as pack animals can visit in summer when the passes are open, and middle hills people can visit in winter when their agricultural work is completed. It makes Thaksatsae the only permanent link in the region's principal north-south trading system. *Second*, Thaksatsae men had proved helpful to the government in settling on the earlier dispute in the area. This process leads the government to favor them in appointments to positions of local leadership and supervision over local trade. The Limbu's circumstances took them in quite the opposite direction. There is a situation of ethnic incorporation—the massing of a large ethnic constituency to maintain traditional land tenure of a large ethnic constituency that Limbu has struggled to rights. The system of land tenure that Limbu has struggled to maintain is known as *Kipat*. It is specifically advantageous because land labeled as *Kipat* is an inalienable and exclusive right of Limbu members. Over time the government has tried to convert *Kipat* land to the system of state landlords prevailing throughout the country.

ii. Ethnic Groups and Ecological Specialization

Nepal's conventionality is divided into three zones of habitation, each occupied by a distinctive set of ethnic groups. These include a northern, high-altitude zone peopled by Tibetan language and culture groups. A middle-altitude zone inhabited by distinctively Nepalese peoples who combine Tibetan, Indian, and probably certain aboriginal factors common to neither and deriving from cultures that both may have preceded; and *Parbatiya* in the valleys and lowland zone occupied by Hindu, Muslim, and certain long-resident populations such as Tharu.

iii. The Effects of Hindu Rule

Humla and the Karnali zone have been subject to the Hindu Kingdom than any other country region except Kathmandu. Unfortunately, there is little information about the early period of that rule. We know that the region initially was part of a unified kingdom that included most of West Nepal, as far south as Dullu, and Kasikot near Pokhara, which may have controlled Guge and Purang in West Tibet without question, mounted several raids against Kathmandu. The rulers were known as Malla, and they supported both Buddhism and Hinduism. Their capital was Sinja, north of Jumla (the modern zonal capital) and south Humla. The Malla kingdom began in the early twelfth century and continued until the middle of the fourteenth century when it collapsed.

iv. Ethnic interchange: The Breach of Endogamy

In the popular view, caste systems are predicted to separate groups in marriage (endogamy). This tradition may be the most common practice, but we also find it regularized hypergamous marriages across Nepal and India. **Louis Dumonet (1970)** explains this as a manifestation of the greater principle of hierarchy, applying to the superiority of the groom over the bride's family. Similar processes seem to have occurred among Humla Tibetan speakers, *Buras*, and *Chhetris* in the past. Moreover, similar processes of intermarriage and assimilation are ongoing today; genealogies and demographic data alike reveal repeated intermigration and marriage from one ethnic group to the next.

v. Ethnic Metamorphosis and Economic specialization

Through intermarriage, individuals manage to transit ethnic boundaries. However, there is more to Humla ethnic mobility than this. Entire villages have changed their ethnic affiliations and improved caste standing. Instead of being concerned with rank, the critical factors seem to be economic and affinity. Thus, changes from one ethnic identity to another proceed hand in hand with economic changes and changes in patterns of affinal alliances. It suggests two things: that case and ethnic boundaries in Humla are quite permeable, despite the perpetuation of distinct ethnic categories over centuries, and that ethnicity can be as much a consequence of the economic and social niche a group occupies as its cause.

- v. पक्षपातरहित, सहभागितात्मक र न्यायिक विकासको अनुभूति प्रदान गर्ने विकास कार्यक्रमहरूमा सार्वभौमिक उपागम प्रभावकारी हुन्छ।

विकास अर्थशास्त्रीहरूका अनुसार सार्वभौमिक उपागमका निम्नानुसारका बेफाइदाजन्य पश्चात्य हुन्छन्:

- पिछडिएको र सुविधाविहिन क्षेत्रमा लक्षित गरी विकास सुनिश्चित गर्ने नसकिनु,
- सामाजिक-आर्थिक संरचना असमान वा विषमतापूर्ण भएको देशमा विकासको सार्वभौमिक उपागम प्रभावकारी हुन नसक्नु,
- सिमान्तीकृत र अल्पसङ्ख्यक वर्गले यस्तो उपागममा आधारित विकास कार्यक्रमबाट समुचित लाभ लिन नसक्नु,
- समतामा आधारित विकास (Equity based development) लाई प्रोत्साहन गर्न नसकिनु,
- विकासका एकसमान प्रयासहरू सबै क्षेत्र र सबै अवस्थाका नागरिकहरूका लागि समान रूपबाट सान्दर्भिक एवम् औचित्यपूर्ण हुन नसक्नु।

3. 2020, Q. No. 7; 2016, Q. No. 8

What are the merits and demerits of using targeted and universal approach in development interventions? Give Nepal's examples (SDC 2013).

Ans: The Swiss Agency for Cooperation and Development (SDC) is an important donor organization focusing on various development projects in Nepal—poverty alleviation and improving the living standards of disadvantaged groups. It is adopting a different approach to development and economic reform, focusing on the overall socio-economic status of the disadvantaged groups, which is called the **Targeted Approach**.

The Target Approach charter—*Approach for Targetting Disadvantaged Groups (DAGs)* (2013), published by The Swiss Agency for Cooperation and Development (SDC), defines the target approach in this way—*providing more services and facilities to the group or community, which require more assistance than other, is a targeted approach.* The targeted approach includes the following processes:

- Identify the criteria or basis required to receive specific types of support and services, i.e., define the target group and determine the basis.
- Identify mechanism and methods with the need and work of effective targeting process for at least the following three reasons:
 - Resource considerations:** Budgets or other resources are not always justified to be 'for all' or ubiquitous; ubiquitous hold area is not always necessary.
 - Equity considerations:** Guarantees of fairness and justice, that is, groups that need more support should receive more returns proportionately.
 - Efficiency considerations:** To make a more positive impact on the poor and vulnerable by providing small financial assistance.

A targeted approach under development programs is a new concept put forward against the universal approach. According to the universal approach, uniform and definite development programs should be conducted or implemented for all citizens in all areas. As a result, comprehensive development programs require

relatively more investment. However, the targeted approach recognizes the disadvantaged minorities, the marginalized, and the poor and seeks to adopt special development strategies for their upliftment. Based on all of the above considerations; the following merits of targeted approaches under development programs are reflected:

- i. Helps uplift and develop the weak, helpless, marginalized, backward classes, women, and disadvantaged groups in society.
- ii. Targeted approaches are effective in reducing poverty.
- iii. This approach is suitable for protecting and promoting human rights by developing the capacity of the poor and disadvantaged citizens.
- iv. Targeted approaches are particularly useful in maintaining access and equality for all citizens in-state resources.
- v. It is appropriate to use targeted approaches to end the existing ethnic, class, regional, gender, and economic inequalities in the society and ensure equal opportunities and humane treatment to the neglected and disadvantaged people.

However, some development economists have even pointed out the shortcomings or **demerits of the targeted approach**, which are as follows:

- i. Equal participation and equal rights of all citizens cannot be maintained in such a development approach.
- ii. Targeted approaches to development programs are not considered long-term development strategies because it is not necessary to continue development programs based on such approaches after the socio-economic reform of the target group.
- iii. This approach lacks sovereignty because it only targets identified groups within a certain area to conduct development programs.

The universal approach to development programs has the following advantages:

- i. Equal development can be guaranteed to citizens of all regions, classes, and groups.
- ii. Equality-based development can be ensured.
- iii. Universal approach to development is effective in countries with homogeneity in socio-economic structure.
- iv. The common participation and partnership of all can be ensured in development programs.
- v. The universal approach is effective in development programs to provide a sense of impartial, participatory, and equitable development.

According to development economists, the **universal approaches of development have the following disadvantages:**

- i. Failure to ensure targeted development in backward and underprivileged areas.
- ii. Universal development cannot be effective in a country where the socio-economic structure is unequal or heterogeneous.
- iii. Marginalized and minorities cannot take proper advantage of development programs based on such approaches.
- iv. Not being able to promote equity-based development.
- v. Not making uniform development efforts equally relevant and justified for the citizens of all sectors and all conditions.

तस्य जनजाति समय अन्तरालसँग नयाँ ढहगबाट स्थापित एवम् पुनस्थापित गरन्छन्। यसप्रकार विगतदेखिको परम्परागत, लचकदार, स्थायी स्वरूपको, द्रव्यात्मक वा लचिलो जनजातीयतालाई स्थिर, अचल र ठोस प्रकृतिको स्वरूपद्वारा विस्थापित गरिन्छ। यसरी फिशरले नेपाली जनजातीयता लचिलो रहेको तर्क औल्याएका छन्। नेपालमा दूलो सद्ख्यामा विशिष्ट जनजाति समूहरू रहेको अवस्था छ। जनजातिहरूलाई उनीहरूले बोले भाषा, उनीहरूले अबलम्बन गर्ने कृषि पढ्दति, धर्म र नातेदारी व्यवस्थाका आधारमा पहिचान गर्ने गरिन्छ। तर के जनजातीय पहिचान जन्मजात र आदिकालीन हुन्छ, के जनजातीय पहिचान पारस्परिक साभा विशेषताहरूको परिणाम हो; के भाषा, धर्म र पोशाक जनजातीयताका प्रमुख निर्धारक हुन्, के जनजातीय पहिचान बदलिँदा राजनैतिक र भौतिक अवस्थाहरूमा सतहाकृत हुन्छ, के जनजातीय पहिचान ठोस किसिमको हुन्छ वा यो अमृत स्वरूपबाट निर्माण भएको हुन्छ भन्ने जस्ता सवालहरूमा आधारमा जनजातीय पहिचानको उदय र विशेषताका बारेमा विश्लेषण गरिएर्दछ।

उदाहरणको लागि थारु समुदायमा साभा पहिचानसहितको एक विशाल जनजाति समूह रहेको छ। थारहरूले आफ्नो पहिचान वा कम्तिमा पनि एउटा पहिचान साभा रूपमा रहेको अनुभव गर्दछन्। वर्तमान समयको बदलिँदो आर्थिक-सामाजिक-राजनैतिक परिवेशमा राज्यबाट बढीभन्दा मोतसाधनहरू प्राप्त गर्न तराई क्षेत्रकै बढी शिक्षित, बढी एकताबद्ध र बढी प्रभावशाली समूहहरूका तुलनामा थारहरूले भन् बढी एकताबद्ध र साभा अवधारणामा समाहित हुनैपर्दछ। थकालीको सन्दर्भमा थारहरूको भन्दा केही विपरित मान्यता विद्यमान रहेको छ। थारहरू यो विश्वास गर्दछन् की उनीहरूको एउटा मौलिक भाषा थियो तर वर्तमानमा त्यो भाषा विस्तारै लुप्त हुने अवस्थामा रहेको छ। थकालीहरूको पनि मौलिक भाषा थियो तर अधिकांश थकालीहरू त्यो भाषा बोल्न नसकिने धारणाबाट प्रभावित भए। सामाजिक आर्थिक अवस्थामा आएका परिवर्तनहरूसँग जनजाति समूहका थुप्रै पक्षहरू अब एउटा मात्र साभा पहिचानमा आबद्ध हुने प्रवृत्ति बढ्दै गइरहेको ह। थारु र थकालीका सन्दर्भमा मात्रै नभई अन्य विविध जनजाति समुदायहरू पनि हाल खण्डित विशेषताहरू भन्दा पनि साभा धारणा र साभा विशेषतामा आबद्ध हुँदै गइरहेको फिशरले औल्याएका छन्। यसरी नेपाली जनजातीयताको लचिलो स्वरूपलाई फिशरले विश्लेषण गरेका छन्।

4. 2019*, Q. No. 4; 2019, Q. No. 7; 2017, Q. No. 5

Is Nepalese ethnicity plastic as argued by Fisher (2012)? Elaborate with examples.

OR

How, According to Fisher (2012), is Nepalese ethnicity plastic? Elaborate with examples.

OR

According to Fisher (2012), Nepalese ethnicity is plastic. Elaborate with examples.

Ans: James M. Fisher is an American anthropologist. He has been actively involved in Nepalese ethnicity research and studying its various aspects in past decades. He has published numerous research articles and books related to Nepalese ethnicities, such as *Trans Himalayan Trades* (1986), *Sherpas: Reflections on Change in Himalayan Nepal* (1990), and *Living Martyrs: Individuals and Revolution in Nepal* (1997).

Fisher has presented the factual analysis of the plasticity of Nepalese ethnicity in his research-based article *Reification and Plasticity in Nepalese Ethnicity* (2012). According to Fisher, the conventional and long help

anthropological understanding of ethnicity consisting of clear-cut, bounded, easily identifiable cultural groups (everywhere, not just Nepal) is grounded in fundamental error. This instance is seen in many examples in Nepal, including *Tharu* (who share no symbolic or structural sets, such as language or religion). *Thakalis* (who do have some of these things but contest who is eligible to claim them). *Sherpas*, who vary geographically (Khumbu, Pharak, Solu, Helambu, Sherpaized Tamangs). *Margaret* (mainstream Kham, Kaike, Tibetan, and Nepali-speaking). Fisher has discussed each of these cases, but he also reminded that building a new Nepal and restructuring it along federal lines will ultimately only work if it tears down walls that separate people, not building them, and uniting people instead of dividing them.

Constructions of ethnicity can be simultaneously new (in the sense of being novel combinations) and retrogressive (reestablishing categories along primordial lines, for example, from the time of Prithivi Narayan Shah), as traditional, flexible, permeable, malleable, fluid, and what Fisher calls plastic ethnicity is being replaced by rigid, stable and solidified reifications of it.

The governing assumption, as Fisher argued, was that Nepal was composed of a large number of distinct ethnic groups. Variously described in English as tribes or castes), and that describing (or even “discovering” them, although being discovered would have seemed absurd to people who had long known to they were) was the key to solving the anthropological puzzle of this part of Himalayas—who spoke what language or raised what crops or practiced what religion or had what kind of kinship system. Nevertheless, describing ethnic groups that gave people identity is only part of what needed to be accomplished. Anthropologists had not thought enough about the need to understand the nature of ethnic identity itself.

For example, what we have in the case of the *Tharus*, then is a large group of people who feel they share an identity, or at least should share an identity, but cannot figure out what it is. One suspects they also feel that community had better have a unifying identity. Otherwise, they will be left behind the struggle for political and economic resources with others. Terai groups who might be better organized, better educated and more influential than they are—all of which follow from knowing what their identity is being part of a group that can stick together and is full of potential “Afno Manche” to lend a hand when needed, is not a trivial consideration.

The case of *Thakalis* is in some ways opposite that of the *Tharus*. *Tharus* believe that they had an original language, but they have lost it; *Thakalis* have their original language but suffer that they not many speak it. Also, unlike the *Tharus*, the *Thakalis* know exactly where they came from, but only 20% of them live there.

Like the *Tharus*, *Thakalis* have tried to discover their culture and figure out to whom it belongs. In 1983 they met to codify their culture, but there were many disagreements. Some thought they should return to Hinduism; others thought their ancestral religion was Buddhism and wanted to return that; one woman said that both these alternatives were wrong; participants said they did not have any gods; they do rituals. What unites *Thakalis* is their belief that their true culture is somewhere else, but it has too many competitors vying for the distinction. True *Thakali* culture needs to be found and decided upon in almost a democratic way; they even expected the anthropologist to help them find it.

Nevertheless, the anthropologist wanted to understand the different arguments, as different groups were contesting different versions of it.

From Fisher's above discussion and arguments, we can say Nepalese ethnicity is plastic.

5. 2019, * Q. No. 8; 2019, Q. No. 8

Write short notes on ANY TWO:

- a. Essentialism and social constructivism (Linton 2015, Wimmer 2008)
- b. Fluidity of Newar ethnicity in the USA (Gubhaju 1999) (TU, 2020)
- c. Intra and inter categorical approach
- d. Marxist-feminist critique of intersectionality (Mitchell 2013)

(द्रष्टव्य: शीर्षकहरू a, b र c का सद्विक्षित नोटस्का लागि सम्बन्धित अध्यायहरू ऋमशः 1, 5 र 2 मा हेरुहोस।)

Ans:

- b. संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा नेवार जनजातीयताको तरलता (गुभाजु 1999)

[Fluidity of Newar ethnicity in the USA (Gubhaju 1999)]

बिना गुभाजु अष्ट्रेलियाको अष्ट्रेलीयन नेशनल युनिभर्सिटी अन्तर्गत Australian Demographic & Social Research Institute मा कार्यरत प्राध्यापक हुन्। उनले सन् 2006 मा अमेरिकाको पेन्सीलभानीया राज्य विश्वविद्यालयबाट पिएच. डी. प रा गरेकी थिएन। जनसङ्ख्या, परिवार र घरधुरी अध्ययन तथा जनजातीय अनुसन्धानमा उनको विशेष दख्खल रहेको छ।

गुभाजुद्वारा लिखित लेख *The Fluidity of Ethnicity: The Case of Nepal and Newar Identity in the United States (1999)* अन्तर्गत संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा देखिएको नेवार जनजातीयताका बारे प्रकाश पारिएको छ। गुभाजुका अनुसार जनजातीय सम हको पहिचानका सीमाहरू व्यक्ति, परिस्थिति र सन्दर्भमा निर्भर रही विविधतापूर्ण हुन सक्दछन्। नेपालभित्र जनजातीय पहिचानका सीमाहरूभन्दा कुनै अर्को देशमा आप्रवासीको रूपमा गएका तिनै जनजातीय सम हका पहिचानहरू भिन्न हुन्छन्। गुभाजुका अनुसार जनजातीयता एक अस्पष्ट एवम् अमर्त अवधारणा हो, जुन साँस्कृतिक रूपबाट निर्मित (Culturally constructed) हुन्छ। जनजातीयताअन्तर्गत भाषा, धर्म, जात, राष्ट्रियता र पहिचानका अन्य तत्वहरू समावेश हुन्छन्। यसका अतिरिक्त जनजातीयताको निर्माण गर्ने तत्वहरूको सापेक्षित महत्त्व विभिन्न परिवेशहरू अन्तर्गत परिवर्तनशील हुन्छ। तसर्थ आफ्नो मातृभ मि देशमा नेवार जनजातीयतालाई जुन शैलीबाट परिभाषित गरिन्छ, अमेरिकामा रहेका नेवारहरूको सन्दर्भमा त्यहाँ सोही जानजातीयता पहिचानलाई केही फरक रूपबाट परिभाषित गर्ने गरिन्छ।

आप्रवासीको परिस्थितिमा रहेका जनजातिहरूले आफ्नो गृहथलोको सामाजिक-साँस्कृतिक पृष्ठभ मिभन्दा केही भिन्न रूपबाट जनजातीयताको सिर्जना गर्ने प्रयास गर्दछन्। अमेरिकामा रहेका आप्रवासी नेवार जनजाति सम हका दृष्ट्यान्त प्रस्तुत गर्दै गुभाजुले औल्याएकी छिन् कि अमेरिकामा नेपाली समुदाय एक अल्पसङ्ख्यक सम हका रूपमा रहेको मानिन्छ। गृहथलोको जात र जनजातीयको परिभाषाभन्दा त्यहाँ जात र जनजातीयतालाई केही फरक ढड्गबाट लिइन्छ। जसको परिणामस्वरूप नेपालमा बढी पृथक् र विशिष्ट देखिएका जनजातीय र जातीय भिन्नताहरू अमेरिकाको नयाँ वातावरणमा अदृश्य जस्तै बन्न पुग्दछन्।

गुभाजुका अनुसार अमेरिकामा रहेका नेवारी समुदायहरूमा जनजातीय जागरूकतासम्बन्धी केही उच्च भावना (Heightened sense of ethnic awareness) रहेको देखिएको छ। जनजातीय र

जातीय पहचानहरू अमेरिकाका सन्दर्भमा अदृश्य जस्तै रहेका भएतापनि नेवार समुदायका सन्दर्भमा यो तथ्य केही मिथ्याभाषपर्ण वा विरोधाभाषपर्ण रहेको देखिन्छ किनभने त्यहाँको बाप सन्दर्भअन्तर्गत नेवारी जनजातीयतालाई बढी जोड एवम् महत्त्व दिइएको छ। आफ्नो गृहयत्ती देशमा कायम रहेको अनुपयुक्त समय सन्दर्भ त्यसको एक कारक हुन सक्दछ। नेपालमै अल्पसङ्ख्यक समुदायको रूपमा नेवार समुदायले अमेरिकामा आफ्नो संस्कृतिबारे सिक्नु र उभनु बढी आवश्यक ठान्दछन्। अमेरिकामा रहेका नेवारहरूलाई त्यहाँ 'नेपाली' कहलाइन्छ तर त्यहाँका प्रभु त्यागाली सम हहूभन्दा आपल्लाई पृथक गर्न र आफ्नो पहचान सिर्जना गर्न नेवारहरू सँझै प्रयत्नशील स्थेन गर्दछन्। वाशिङ्टन डि.सी. मा नेवार समुदायमा आधारित **Nepa Pasa Pucha** नामक सङ्गठन रहेको छ। अमेरिकामा बढाई गइरहेको नेवार जनसङ्ख्यालाई मध्यनजर गई नेपाल बाहिर उनीहरूका सांस्कृतिक धरोहरहरूलाई संरक्षण र सम्बर्द्धन गर्ने उद्देश्यले यस सङ्गठनको स्थापना गरिएको हो। त्यसैगरी आप्रवासी अमेरिकी नेवारहरूको सांस्कृतिक धरोहर, परम्परा र रीतिरिजाहरू संरक्षण गर्ने उद्देश्यले अमेरिकाबाट **DABBHU** नामक मासिक पत्रिका प्रकाशित हुने गरेको छ। यसप्रकार गुभाजुले निष्कर्ष प्रस्तुत गर्दै नेपाली संस्कृति त्यसमा पनि विशेष गरी नेवारी संस्कृतिले बदलिंदै सामाजिक परिस्थितिअनुसार आफ्नो सांस्कृतिक धरोहर संरक्षण गर्ने प्रक्रियामा निरन्तरता प्राप्त गरेको छ। तर आगामी नेवारी पुस्ताले अमेरिकी समाजमा नेवारी संस्कृतिको संरक्षणमा कृति निरन्तरता दिन सक्ने हुन भने सम्बन्धमा ठोस किट्नीका साथ भन सकिने अवस्था छैन।

5. 2019,*Q. No. 8; 2019, Q. No. 8

Write short notes on (any TWO):

- a. Fluidity of Newar ethnicity in the USA (Gubhaju 1999)
- b. Intra and inter categorical approach
- c. Essentialism and social constructivism
- d. Marxist feminist critique intersectionality (Mitchell 2013)

(Note: For short notes on the topics 'b', 'c', and d; please see in concerned chapters 5, 1, and 2 respectively)

Ans:

a. Fluidity of Newar ethnicity in the USA (Gubhaju 1999) (TU, 2020)

Bina Gubhaju is Professor and researcher at the Australian Demographic and Social Research Institute at the Australian National University (ANO). She received her Ph. D. in 2006 from the United States Pennsylvania State University and is a specialist in population, family and household study, and ethnicity research.

Gubhaju highlighted the fluidity of Newar identity in her research article *The Fluidity of Newar Ethnicity: The Case of Nepali and Newar Identity in the United States (1999)*. According to Gubhaju, an ethnic group's boundaries may vary depending on the individual, the situation, and the context. The boundaries of the ethnic identity in the context of Nepal may differ from that of other ethnic groups' identities in other nations. Gubhaju argues that ethnicity is an ambiguous concept that is culturally constructed. Ethnicity may involve language, religion, caste, nationality, and other identity factors. Also, the relative importance of the factors constituting ethnicity may shift within different contexts. An immigrant Newar person, in his piece, has defined Newar ethnicity in terms of language, culture, tradition, literature, and art. In immigrant Newars, all of these categories are important in determining Newar identity and ethnicity. Immigrant Newars questioned whether their ethnic identity could be determined by their last name alone or something more to it. Certainly, according to Gubhaju, coming to the United States sharpened his perception of

ethnicity and made them think of other ways of defining their ethnicity differently from their homeland. This change in their perception of ethnicity suggests a dynamic nature of the term.

According to Gubhaju, the concept of ethnicity changed depending on the situation and context as it is the people in the society who define the ethnicity's boundaries. In a immigrants' situation, they attempt to create an ethnicity for themselves in a place away from their homeland. The people themselves create this new sense of identity by talking about these notions and setting boundaries for themselves. Newars (such as one of them *Maharjan*) identification of the various categories, such as language, religion, nationality, the tradition in determining Newar ethnicity, also shows that ethnicity is a very broad category inclusive of many different characteristics. However, the Nepali immigrant population of the United States is very small compared to other Asian and South Asian countries. Among the Newars, there seems to be a heightened sense of ethnic awareness. Caste and ethnic differences among the Nepalese in the United States had disappeared. However, the case of the Newars is paradoxical because their ethnicity, rather than disappearing, has become more pronounced in this specific context. The unusual circumstances of the Newars in their homeland may be the cause of such a phenomenon. Since a Newar in the United States will always be considered a "Nepali," it seems that they are attempting to create an identity for themselves that distinguishes them from the dominant group.

In Washington D.C., a Newar-based organization called the *Nepa Pasa Pucha* is an ethnically based organization directed towards the Newar community. It was established as an increasing population of the Newars in the United States felt the need to preserve their cultural heritage outside Nepal. The same organization publishes a monthly Newar magazine called the DABOO. As stated in the publication, the association's main goal is to conserve the cultural heritage, traditions, and customs of Newar.

In this way, Gubhaju concludes that the shifting importance of ethnicity, seen in the case of the Newar, supports the notion that ethnicity, rather than being something static, is a process in continual flux. The boundaries and definitions of ethnicity are never clear-cut. In an immigrant community, their ethnicity is defined by nationality as "Nepalese," whereas in Nepal, they would be defined through their caste and distinctions. "Nepali" becomes an umbrella term to identify the various caste and ethnic groups present in the United States. However, the Newars in the United States attempt to create an identity apart from the larger Nepalese immigrant community. These instances show that the concept of ethnicity is relative, depending on the situation.

6. 2019, Q. No. 5

What are the merits and demerit of using targeted approach in development interventions (SDC 2013)?

[विकास कार्यक्रमहरू अन्तर्गत लक्षित उपागमको प्रयोगका फाइदा र बेफाइदाहरू के-के छन् (स्वी.वि.नि. 2013)?]

Aus: स्विस विकास सहयोग नियोग नेपालमा विभिन्न विकास परियोजनाहरू, गरिबी निवारण र सुविधाविहिन समूहहरूको जीवनस्तर सुधारमा केन्द्रित रहेको एक महत्वपूर्ण सहयोगी दातृसंस्था हो। यसले सुविधाविहिन समूहहरू (Disadvantaged groups) को समग्र आर्थिक-सामाजिक

यद्यपि केही विकासात्मक अर्थशास्त्रीहरूले लक्षित उपागमका कमीकमजोरी वा बेफाइदाहरू (Demerits) औल्याएका छन्, जुन निम्नानुसार छन् :

- i. यस्तो विकास उपागममा सबै नागरिकहरूको समान सहभागिता र समान अधिकार कायम हुन सक्दैन।
- ii. विकास कार्यक्रमका लक्षित उपागमलाई दीर्घकालीन विकासात्मक रणनीति मानिन्दैन किनभने लक्षित समूहको आर्थिक-सामाजिक सुधार भइसकेपछि यस्तो उपागममा आधारित विकास कार्यक्रमहरूलाई निरन्तरता दिइनु आवश्यक हुँदैन।
- iii. यस उपागममा सार्वभौमिकताको अभाव पाइन्छ किनभने यसले निश्चित क्षेत्रअन्तर्गत पहिचान गरिएका लक्षित समूहहरूमा मात्र विकास कार्यक्रमहरू सञ्चालन गर्नुपर्ने मान्यता राख्दछ।

6. 2019, Q. No. 5

What are the merits and demerit of using targeted approach in development interventions (SDC 2013)?

Ans: The Swiss Agency for Cooperation and Development (SDC) is an important donor organization focusing on various development projects in Nepal—poverty alleviation and improving the living standards of disadvantaged groups. It is adopting a different approach to development and economic reform, focusing on the overall socio-economic status of the disadvantaged groups, which is called the **Targeted Approach**.

The Target Approach charter—*Approach for Targetting Disadvantaged Groups* (DAGs) (2013), published by The Swiss Agency for Cooperation and Development (SDC), defines the target approach in this way—*providing more services and facilities to the group or community, which require more assistance than other is a targeted approach.* The targeted approach includes the following processes:

- i. Identify the criteria or basis required to receive specific types of support and services, i.e., define the target group and determine the basis.
- ii. Identify mechanism and methods with the need and work of effective targeting process for at least the following *three* reasons:
 - a. **Resource considerations:** Budgets or other resources are not always justified to be 'for all' or ubiquitous; ubiquitous hold area is not always necessary.
 - b. **Equity considerations:** Guarantees of fairness and justice, that is, groups that need more support should receive more returns proportionately.
 - c. **Efficiency considerations:** To make a more positive impact on the poor and vulnerable by providing small financial assistance.

A targeted approach under development programs is a new concept put forward against the universal approach. According to the universal approach, uniform and definite development programs should be conducted or implemented for all citizens in all areas. As a result, comprehensive development programs require relatively more investment. However, the targeted approach recognizes the disadvantaged minorities, the marginalized, and the poor and seeks to adopt special development strategies for their upliftment. Based on all of the above considerations, the following merits of targeted approaches under development programs are reflected:

- i. helps uplift and develop the weak, helpless, marginalized, backward classes, women, and disadvantaged groups in society.
- ii. Targeted approaches are effective in reducing poverty.
- iii. This approach is suitable for protecting and promoting human rights by developing the capacity of the poor and disadvantaged citizens.
- iv. Targeted approaches are particularly useful in maintaining access and equality for all citizens in-state resources.
- v. It is appropriate to use targeted approaches to end the existing ethnic, class, regional, gender, and economic inequalities in the society and ensure equal opportunities and humane treatment to the neglected and disadvantaged people.

However, some development economists have even pointed out the shortcomings or **demerits of the targeted approach**, which are as follows:

- i. Equal participation and equal rights of all citizens cannot be maintained in such a development approach.
- ii. Targeted approaches to development programs are not considered long-term development strategies because it is not necessary to continue development programs based on such approaches after the socio-economic reform of the target group.
- iii. This approach lacks sovereignty because it only targets identified groups within a certain area to conduct development programs.

7. 2019, Q. No. 3 (Long Answer Question)

Some see *Madhesi movement of Nepal* as a regionalist movement whereas others (e.g., Mishra 2012) see it as ethnic movement. Which of the two views you subscribe to? Explain.

[नेपालको मधेशी आन्दोलनलाई केहीले क्षेत्रीयतावादी आन्दोलनका रूपमा हेर्दछन् जबकि अन्यहरू (जस्तै, मिश्र 2012) ले यसलाई जनजातीयतावादी आन्दोलनको रूपमा हेरेका छन्। यी दुवैमध्ये तपाइँले कुन दृष्टिकोणलाई उपयुक्त रूपमा लिनुहुन्छ ? वर्णन गर्नुहोस्।]

Ans: समाजशास्त्री चैतन्य मिश्रले आफूद्वारा लिखित लेख *Ethnic Upsurge in Nepal: Implications for Federalization (2012)* मा मधेश र जनजातीयता आन्दोलनका विविध पक्षहरूमा गहन विश्लेषण प्रस्तुत गरेका छन्।

मिश्रका अनुसार मधेश भन्नाले एउटा सामाजिक वर्ग (Social category) हो जसलाई तराईअन्तर्गत बसोबास गर्ने 'जनजाति पहाडी' र अन्य पहाडी क्षेत्रबाट छुट्याउनका लागि प्रयुक्त गरिन्छ। उत्तरी भारतसँगको सम्बन्ध र त्यहाँको विशिष्ट साँस्कृतिक, भाषिक र अन्य फरक विशेषताहरूका कारण मधेशलाई फरक क्षेत्रका रूपमा चारित्रीकरण गर्ने गरिन्छ। सन् 1960 को दशकमा पूर्व-पश्चिम राजमार्गको निर्माण, 1959 मा गरिएको वनजद्गाल राष्ट्रीयकरण, खेतीयोग्य भूमि र विर्ता व्यवस्थाको विस्तार, शिक्षाको विकास, सन् 1964 मा लागु गरिएको भूमिसुधार प्रणाली र पहाडी क्षेत्रबाट मधेश क्षेत्रमा भएको ठूलो मात्राको बसाइसराइले मधेश क्षेत्रको पहिचान स्थापित गरेका थिए। उर्वर भूमिका कारण पहाडका तुलनामा तराईमा प्रतिव्यक्ति कृषि उत्पादनको अंश अधिक रहेको छ। मधेशमा राष्ट्रिय र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय नीजि लगानी पर्याप्त मात्रा परिचालन गरिएको छ। अधिकांश औद्योगिक तथा आर्थिक गतिविधिहरू मधेशमा केन्द्रित रहेका छन्। मधेश क्षेत्रमा पहाडी क्षेत्रका तुलनामा बढी दक्ष र सीपयुक्त जनशक्ति विद्यमान रहेको मिश्रले औल्याएका छन्। पहाडी क्षेत्रका तुलनामा तराई र मधेश क्षेत्रमा बढी विविधतापूर्ण अर्थतन्त्र (Moral diversified economy) रहेको छ। सामाजिक सेवाहरूको पहुँच पहाडी क्षेत्रका तुलनामा मधेशमा उच्च रहेको छ। भण्डै 50 वर्ष अर्थात् पाँच दशक पहिले मधेशले नेपालको कूल

मिश्रले आदिवासी र जनजातिलाई एउटै ठाउँमा राखेर हर्ने गरिएको दृष्टान्त प्रस्तुत गरेका छन्। कतिपय हिसाबमा आदिवासी र जनजाति एउटै हुन् भने विचार पर्ना प्रकट भइरहेको छ। जनजाति भनेका आदिवासी नै हुन् भने गरेको पनि पाइन्छ। सरकारले आदिवासी-जनजाति भनेर मान्यता दिइसकेको अवस्था छ। यसै आधारमा २-३ वटा आयोग पनि गठन भइसकेका छन्। ती आयोगहरूले नै जनजातिको वर्गीकरण गर्ने गरेका छन्। यसरी नेपालको राजनीतिमा जनजातिहरूको बलियो उपस्थिति देखिएको छ। तर जनजातीय आन्दोलनहरूको मूल मर्म जनजातीय आधारहरूमा प्रदेशहरू बन्नुपर्दछ त्रा पर्दैन भने सवालसँग जोडिएको छ। मिश्रले जनजातिअन्तर्गत केवल पहाडका मात्रै नभई मधेशका वर्ग समावेश हुने तर्क गरेका छन्। तसर्थ मधेश आन्दोलनलाई क्षेत्रीयतावादी आन्दोलनका रूपमा बुझिए पनि यो एक प्रकारको जनजातिकै आन्दोलन हो भने उनको बुझाइ रहेको छ।

जनजातीय आन्दोलन पहिचान, समानता र पहुँचको आन्दोलन हो। नेपालका विभिन्न क्षेत्रमा रहेका आदिवासी-जनजातिहरूले पहिचान, समानता र पहुँचको मुदालाई आधार बनाएर विभिन्न आवाजहरू उठाइरहेको अवस्था छ। वस्तुतः मधेश आन्दोलन पनि पहिचान, समता, समानता र पहुँचका लागि थालिएको आन्दोलन हो। जनसङ्ख्याका आधारमा राज्यका हरेक निकायमा मधेशी नागरिकहरूको समान पहुँच कायम हुन सकेको छैन। त्यसमा पनि मधेशका कतिपय जिल्लाहरू अशिक्षा, गरिबी र पछ्याटेपनको चपेटामा जीवन निर्वाह गरिरहेको अवस्था छ। यी सम्पूर्ण परिदृष्टिहरूलाई आधार मान्दा मधेश आन्दोलन क्षेत्रीयतावादी आन्दोलन नभई जनजातीय आन्दोलन नै हो भने चैतन्य मिश्रको दृष्टिकोणलाई मैले उपयुक्त ठान्दछु।

7. 2019, Q. No. 3 (Long Answer Question)

Some see *Madhesi* movement of Nepal as a regionalist movement whereas others (e.g., Mishra 2012) see it as ethnic movement. Which of the two views you subscribe to? Explain.

Ans: Sociologist Chaitanya Mishra in his article *Ethnic Upsurge in Nepal: Implications for Federalization (2012)*, has presented an in-depth analysis on various aspects of the *Madhes* and ethnic movement. According to Mishra, *Madhes* is a social category used to separate the 'ethnic hill people' and other hilly areas living under the Terai. Due to its relationship with northern India and it is distinctive cultural, linguistic, and other distinctive features, *Madhes* is characterized as a distinct region. The construction of the East-West Highway in the 1960s, the nationalization of forests in 1959, the expansion of arable land and land management, the development of education, the land reform system implemented in 1964, and the large-scale migration from the hilly areas to the *Madhes* region established its identity. Because of the fertile role, the per capita share of agricultural production is higher in the Terai relative to hills. A sufficient amount of national and international private investment has been mobilized in *Madhes*. Most of the industrial and economic activities are also concentrated in *Madhes*. Mishra pointed out more skilled human resources in the *Madhes* region than in the hilly areas. The Terai and *Madhes* regions have more diversified economies than the hilly areas. Access to social services is higher in *Madhes* than in hilly areas. Nearly 50 years ago, five decades ago, *Madhes* occupied only 20% of the total population of Nepal, but now the entire Terai *Madhes* region has more than 50% of Nepal's population.

Although this region is called Terai or *Madhes* as synonyms, some groups living in the Terai point out a difference between the original meanings of the two words. Terai refers to the plains. Geographically, the words Terai

and *Madhes* refer to the same region of the country, although the word *Madhes* often refers to the Central and Eastern Terai. Population statistics are also divided into hilly and *Madhesi*, with most people living in the high hills being called *Madhesi* living in hilly and flat areas. Nevertheless, importantly, for the people of *Madhes*, the word *Madhesi* refers to the geographical meaning and the historical, cultural, and linguistic features of the citizens living there. The new use of the word Terai and *Madhes* has also caused some dissatisfaction with the synonymous use of the two words as some citizens living in the Terai do not want to consider themselves as *Madhesis* and disagree with the naming.

Balanced development has not been managed in Nepal in the past. As a result, the entire *Madhes* also remains victim to underdevelopment. There is still more poverty, inequality, illiteracy, and unemployment in some districts of *Madhes* than in the hilly districts. The *Madhesi* political parties themselves and their supporters argue that the state has discriminated, suppressed, and excluded *Madhes*. The long-running suffering and discrimination were manifested in the *Madhes* struggle in January 2063, which is called the *Madhes* movement.

Socio-political analysts have also noted that the then movement, including the *Madhesi* community's demand for '*One Madhes, One State*', should be taken as a regionalist movement. Emphasizing the slogan of '*One Madhes, One State*', the *Madhes* movement of that time had also increased the interest of the small ethnic community, which did not want to be included in the *Madhesi* class. These communities held the view that the history and culture of the minority communities living in the Terai would be lost due to their inclusion in the *Madhesi* community. Therefore, many believed that the *Madhesi* movement was regionalist.

However, Chaitanya Mishra argues that the *Madhes* movement should be taken as a tribal movement. For this, he has taken the period from 1950 onwards as a period of analysis. The educational status of the *Janajati* community has been strong for the last 20–30 years. Due to changes in education, socio-economic status, and civilization, the relationship between tribes and ethnic groups is also growing. When there is such a growing imbalance in society, the Egyptians believe that the tribal movement should be taken as a serious issue. He believes that the entry of tribal movements in Nepali politics may be one of the factors. Controversial differences have arisen over natural resources or the demand for an ethnic state. The tribes have been discriminated against in the political arena. Their voices of positive discrimination are also being raised. Therefore, the tribal movement has become more important in Nepal than the current class movement. In present politics, the issue of class is almost extinct. There are a lot of discussions and debates of tribal and social groups in political parties. Various discussions and debates have been held in the party's central committees on tribal issues. The Egyptians have called it the construction of tribalism.

Mishra presents an illustration of keeping Adivasi and *Janajati* in the same place. In some respects, the idea that Adivasi and *Janajati* are the same is also emerging. It is also said that the tribes are the Adivasis. Even the government has recognized it as an Adivasi-*Janajati*. On this basis, 2-3 commissions have also been formed. These commissions have been classifying the tribes. Thus, there is a strong presence of tribes in Nepal's politics. However, the essence of

the tribal movements is linked to whether provinces should be formed on a tribal basis. Mishra has argued that the tribes include not only the hill tribes but also the *Madhes*. Therefore, even if the *Madhes* movement is understood as a regionalist movement, it is a kind of *Janajati* movement.

The tribal movement is a movement for identity, equality, and access. Indigenous peoples in different parts of Nepal are raising different voices on the issue of identity, equality, and access. The *Madhes* movement is also a movement for identity, equality, and access. *Madhesi* citizens have not been able to have equal access to every state body based on population. Even in that, some districts of *Madhes* are living in the grip of illiteracy, poverty, and backwardness. Based on all these scenarios, Chaitanya Mishra's view that the *Madhes* movement is not a regionalist movement but a tribal movement is appropriate.

8. 2017, Q. No. 2 (Long Answer Question)

According to Levine (1987) "ethnic relations today are the outcome of historical processes of accommodation between ethnic system and policies of a centralizing state." Do you agree or disagree? Explain.

[लेविन (1987) का अनुसार "वर्तमान जनजातीय सम्बन्धहरू जनजातीय व्यवस्थाहरू र केन्द्रीकरण हुँदै गरेका राज्यका नीतिहरूबीचको अनुकूलनका ऐतिहासिक प्रक्रियाहरू हुन्।" के तपाईं सहमत वा असहमत हुनुहुन्छ? वर्णन गर्नुहोस्।]

Ans: नेप्ति इ. लेविन अमेरिकाको क्यालिफोर्निया विश्वविद्यालयअन्तर्गत मानवशास्त्रका उप-प्राध्यापक हुन्। उनीद्वारा *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 46 मा लिखित लेख *Caste, State and Ethnic Boundaries* (1987) अन्तर्गत नेपालको जनजातीयताका विविध पक्षहरूमा गहन विश्लेषण समेटिएको छ। यस लेखमा उनले नेपालको सन्दर्भमा राज्यका नीतिहरू र जनजातीय समूह निर्माण, जनजातीयतामा कानूनी ऐनहरूको प्रभाव, राज्य अर्थतन्त्र र राजनैतिक नीतिहरू, नेपालका जनजातीय समूहहरू र परिस्थितिकीय विशिष्टीकरण, हुम्ला जिल्लाका सन्दर्भमा गरिएको जनजातीयता अध्ययन आदि जस्ता विषयहरूमा तथ्यपरक प्रस्तुती समेटेका छन्। यी प्रस्तुतीबाट उनले नेपालको सन्दर्भमा वर्तमान जनजातीय सम्बन्धहरू जनजातीय व्यवस्थाहरू र केन्द्रीकरण हुँदै गरेका राज्यका नीतिहरूबीचका अनुकूलनका ऐतिहासिक प्रक्रियाहरू हुन् भन्ने तथ्य उजागर गरेका छन्।

लेविनका अनुसार नेपालको जनजातीयता क्षेत्रमा दुईवटा विशेषताहरू रहेका छन्। पहिलो-असीमित जनजातीय विविधता (Unlimited ethnic diversity) र दोस्रो- हिन्दु विपरित बौद्ध, जनजाति विपरित जातजाति, हिमाली विपरित मध्य पहाडी, पहाडी विपरित तराईका जनजाति प्रतिद्वन्द्विताका सीमित आधारहरू (Limited set of ethnic contrasts)। उनले नेपालको सुदूर उत्तरपश्चिमी कर्णाली जिल्लाअन्तर्गतको हुम्ला जिल्लाको दृष्ट्यान्त दिँदै त्यहाँका जनजातीय सम्बन्धहरूलाई विभिन्न समूहहरूबीचको प्रतिद्वन्द्विता र प्रतिस्पर्धी सीमाहरूका आधारमा नभई अन्तर्क्रिया, अन्तर्निर्भरता र गतिशीलताको रूपमा चारित्रीकरण गरेका छन्। हुम्ला जिल्लामा व्यक्तिहरू र यहाँसम्मकी समग्र गाउँ नै आफ्ना जनजातीय सम्बद्धतालाई जात व्यवस्थाको स्थानमा परिवर्तन गर्न तत्पर हुन्छन्। त्यहाँका जनजातीय समूहहरू क्षेत्रीय आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक व्यवस्था (Regional economic and social system) द्वारा जोडिएका छन् र समूहहरूका जनजातीय सम्बद्धताहरूमा हुने परिवर्तनहरू उनीहरूको अर्थतन्त्र तथा जीवनशैलीमा आउने परिवर्तनहरूसँग समान रूपबाट आधारित छन्। यसप्रकार हुम्ला जिल्लाको जनजातीयताको यस्तो विशेषताका आधारबाट अन्य समाजशास्त्रीहरूले औल्याएजस्टै लेविन सहमति व्यक्त गर्दछन् कि : वर्तमान जनजातीयता सम्बन्धहरू क्षेत्रीय जनजातीय व्यवस्थाहरू (*Regional ethnic system*) ।

तर लिम्बुहरूको सन्दर्भमा भने राज्यले थकालीहरूका तुलनामा ठिक विपरित किसिमको नीति अद्यगीकार गरेको थियो । सम्पत्ति र भूमिअधिकारका लागि लिम्बुहरूले दूलै सङ्घर्ष गर्नुपरेको थियो । वि.सं. 1845 मा राजा रणबहादुर शाहको पालामा जारी लालमोहरमा किपट प्रथा व्यवस्थित गरिएको थियो । त्यस समयमा लिम्बु जनजाति समुदायलाई दिइएको किपट जग्गामा व्यक्तिगत अधिकार नभई सामूहिक वा समुदायको अधिकार हुने र चार किल्ला तोकिएको उक्त जग्गाअन्तर्गत पर्ने वनजड्गल, भिरपहरा, नदिखोला आदि सम्पूर्ण प्राकृतिक स्रोतहरू किपट प्राप्त गर्ने 'किपटिया' ले उपभोग गर्न पाउने व्यवस्था थियो । किपटिया लिम्बुले आफूले प्राप्त गरेको किपट क्षेत्रको प्रशासनिक कार्य, न्यायिक प्रबन्ध, शान्ति सुरक्षा, विकास निर्माण, राजशव असुली र अन्य सबै कामहरू गर्नुपर्ने गरी राज्यले नीति निर्धारण गरेको थियो । वि.सं. 2007 को परिवर्तनपछि तत्कालीन राजा त्रिभुवनबाट पल्लो किराँत लिम्बुवानका किपटिया लिम्बुहरूलाई वि.सं. 2008 मंसिरमा परम्परागत रीतिथिति संरक्षण गरेको लालमोहन प्रदान गरिएको थियो ।

राज्यका आर्थिक तथा राजनैतिक नीतिहरूले राई, तामाङ, गुरुङ, थारु, मगर आदि जस्ता थुप्रै जनजाति समुदायलाई प्रभावित पारेका दृष्टान्तहरू लेविनले प्रस्तुत गरेका छन् । यसका अतिरिक्त जनजाती सन्दर्भ, नेपालका विभिन्न क्षेत्र र तत्कालीन राज्यहरूमा कायम हिन्दु शासनको प्रभाव, जनजातीयता अन्तर्परिवर्तन आदि सम्बन्धमा पनि तथ्यपरक विश्लेषण समेतदै लेविनले 'नेपालका वर्तमान जनजातीय सम्बन्धहरू विभिन्न जनजातीय व्यवस्थाहरू र केन्द्रीयकरण हुँदै गरेका राज्यका नीतिहरूबीचका अनुकूलनका ऐतिहासिक प्रक्रियाहरू हुन्' भने तथ्य प्रमाणित गरेका छन् । तसर्थ म उनीद्वारा व्यक्त र सिद्ध गरिएको उपर्युक्त वास्तविकताप्रति सहमत छु ।

8. 2017, Q. No. 2 (Long Answer Question)

According to Levine (1987) "ethnic relations today are the outcome of historical processes of accommodation between ethnic system and policies of a centralizing state." Do you agree or disagree? Explain.

Ans: Nancy E. Levin is an Associate Professor of anthropology at the University of California, Los Angeles. He published an article in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 46, *Caste, State and Ethnic Boundaries* (1987) contains an in-depth analysis of various aspects of Nepal's ethnicity. In this article, Levin has made factual presentations on state policies and ethnic group formation in Nepal, the impact of legal acts on ethnicity, the state economy and political policies, ethnic groups and ecological specialization in Nepal, and the study of ethnicity in the Humla district. In these presentations, he highlights that in the context of Nepal, the current ethnic relations are historical processes of accommodation between ethnic systems and the policies of the centralizing state.

According to Levin, Nepal's ethnic forgiveness has two characteristics. *First*, unlimited ethnic diversity and the *second*, limited ethnic contrast between Hindu vs. Buddhist, caste vs. ethnic groups, Himalayan vs. mid-hilly, and hilly vs. Terai peoples. He cites the example of Humla district in the far northwestern Karnali district of Nepal, where ethnic relations are characterized by interaction, interdependence, and dynamism instead of conflict and rivalry between different groups. In the Humla district, the people and even the entire village are eager to change their ethnic affiliation into a caste system. The regional economic and social system links the ethnic groups, and the ethnic affiliations are equally in line with the changes in their economy and lifestyle. Thus, based on the

characteristics of Humla district's ethnicity, as other sociologists point out, Levine agrees following points:

i. **State Policies and Ethnic Group Formation**

According to Levin, Nepal's current ethnic structure results from government policies on ethnic diversity and public reactions to those policies. In the book *Caste Hierarchy and State in Nepal (1979)*, an important study conducted by anthropologist Andreas Hoffer, he argued that the unification of Nepal, initiated in 1789, was the first step taken by the state in the ethnic group formation process. Besides unifying Nepal, the government also united Nepali society, including three historically and regionally autonomous caste hierarchies. The state had divided the ethnic groups into two parts. *First*, the culturally specific Tibeto-Burman-speaking populations, and the *second*, the people of the Tibetan ethnicity on the northern border. If these arrangements created a national caste system in Nepal, then the practice of directing each caste according to the system and perceptions created by the ruler about caste was established. Nepal's first Civil Code 1910 laid down different provisions regarding the general practice of inter-caste practices, physical contact, and the penal system according to the caste status of the individual. Caste ranking and ethnic membership were also included in government economic policies. Accordingly, the state provided different land, resources, and economic resources to different castes, and tribes were institutionalized. As a result, some ethnic groups came to the economic and political spheres with their distinctive identities. Some groups were limited to closed ranks, while others merged into larger groups. As a result, some ethnic groups were forced to live in a state of oppression.

ii. **State Economic and Political Policies**

According to Levin, apart from the relative orderliness of the caste system, the state also influenced ethnic groups and their interrelationships through various or varied political and economic policies. Due to some policies, some ethnic groups were able to strengthen their socio-economic status further, while others were integrated into the cultural perimeters of their respective populations. Referring to the context of the Thakalis, Levine explores the fact that state policies have economically and socially strengthened the Thakalis. For example, the Thak Khola region of Mustang, the birthplace of the Thakalis, was determined by the state and government to establish economic trade with Tibet. As a result, trade flourished there, and even Chinese and Nepali tourists used Thakkola as the main gateway. From this, the Thakalis got a good opportunity to establish themselves in the affluent tribes.

However, in the case of the Limbus, the state had adopted the opposite policy compared to the Thakalis. The Limbus had to fight hard for property and land rights. In 1845 B.S., i.e., during the reign of King Ranbahadur Shah, the stingy practice was organized in the red seal. At that time, the cheap land given to the Limbu tribe was not an individual right but a collective or community right. The state had determined the policy for Kiptia Limbu to carry out the administrative work, judicial management, peace and security, development, revenue collection, and all other works that he had acquired. After the change of 2007 B.S., the then

King Tribhuvan transferred the Kipatiya Limbas of Pallo Kirant Limbuwan to B.C. Lal Mohan was awarded in December 2008 for preserving traditional rituals.

Levin presents how the state's economic and political policies have affected many ethnic communities, such as the Rai, Tamang, Gurung, Tharu, and Magar. Besides, the factual analysis of the ethnic context, the influence of Hindu rule in different regions and states of Nepal, and the transformation of ethnocentrism. In this way, Levin has proved that 'Nepal's current ethnic relations are historical processes of adaptation between different ethnic systems and centralized state policies.' Therefore, I agree with the above reality expressed and proved by him.

9. 2017, Q. No. 7

What are the factors contributing to the formation of Newar ethnic identity in the US (Gubhaju 1999)?

[संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा नेवार जनजातीय पहिचानको निर्माणका लागि योगदान पुन्याइरहेका तत्त्वहरू के-के हुन् (गुभाजु 1999)?]

Ans: बिना गुभाजु जनजातीयता, जनसङ्ख्या र घरधुरीसम्बन्धी अध्ययन अनुसन्धानमा विशेषज्ञता प्राप्त अनुसन्धानकर्मी तथा हाल अष्ट्रेलियाको Australian National University मा कार्यस्थ प्राध्यापक हुन्। उनले अमेरिका, युरोप, सिङ्गापुर र अष्ट्रेलियाका थुप्रै विश्वविद्यालयमा अतिथि प्राध्यापकको रूपमा जिम्मेवारी बहन गरिसकेकी छन्।

गुभाजुद्वारा Contribution to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 26 अन्तर्गत लिखित लेख *The Fluidity of Ethnicity: The Case of Nepali and Newar Identity in the United States (1999)* मा संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा नेवार जनजातीयता पहिचानको निर्माणका लागि योगदान पुन्याइरहेका तत्त्वहरूको अनुसन्धानमूलक विश्लेषण समेटिएको छ।

गुभाजुका अनुसार जनजातीयता पहिचानको निर्माणका लागि योगदान पुन्याउने तत्त्वहरू विभिन्न सन्दर्भ र परिवेशअनुसार फरक-फरक हुन सक्दछन्। कतिपय अवस्थामा आफ्नो जन्मभूमिभद्वा अलग रहेको देशको सामाजिक स्थितिमा पनि जनजातीय जागरूकता विकास हुन्छ। जनजातीय पहिचानको निर्माणमा भाषा (Language), संस्कृति (Culture), परम्परा (Tradition), साहित्य (Literature) र कला (Art) जस्ता तत्त्वहरूले योगदान पुन्याइरहेका हुन्छन्। नेवारी जनजातीयताको पहिचान र निर्माणमा उपर्युक्त तत्त्वहरू महत्त्वपूर्ण मानिन्छन्। यद्यपि आप्रवासी नेवारहरूको जनजातीय पहिचानमा त्यहाँका सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक तत्त्वहरूले प्रभाव पार्ने गर्दछन्। अमेरिकामा रहेका सबै नेपालीहरूको पहिचान राष्ट्रियता (Nationality) का आधारमा हुन्छ। नेपालका सन्दर्भमा यहाँ राष्ट्रियता कुनै नेपालीको जनजातीय पहिचानको तत्त्व हुँदैन किनभने सबै नेपालीहरूको राष्ट्रियता समान हुन्छ। अमेरिकामा नेपाली आप्रवासीहरूको जनसङ्ख्या अल्पसङ्ख्यक रहेको छ। तसर्थ त्यहाँ नेपाली समुदायलाई थप वर्ग वा उपवर्गमा वर्गीकरण गरेर पहिचान कायम गरिनु सम्भव हुँदैन। अमेरिकामा नेवारलगायत सबै जातजातिहरूलाई 'नेपाली' वर्गद्वारा पहिचान गरिन्छ। नेपालमा जुनसुकै भौगोलिक, भाषिक र जनजातीय विविधताका क्षेत्रबाट गएका नागरिकहरू भएतापनि त्यहाँ (अर्थात् अमेरिकामा) उनीहरूको पहिचान 'नेपाली' का आधारमा हुने गर्दछ। नेपालका जुनसुकै समुदायका नागरिक भएतापनि आप्रवासीको रूपमा अमेरिकामा रहेका नेपालीहरूले शुद्धसँग 'नेपाली भाषा' बोल्दछन्। तसर्थ नेपालभन्दा बाहिर 'नेपाली भाषा' नेवारलगायतका सबै नेपालीहरूको जनजातीय पहिचानको तत्त्व बन्दछ। यद्यपि अमेरिकामा नेवार र नेवार नागरिकबीच भने नेवारी भाषा बोल्ने गरिन्छ। आप्रवासीको रूपमा अमेरिकामा रहेका नेवारहरूलाई उनीहरूको नेवारी भाषाले त्यहाँ उनीहरूबीच सुदृढता वा एकता (Solidarity) को प्रतीकका रूपमा भूमिका निर्वाह गर्दछ।

अमेरिकामा आप्रवासी नेवारहरूको बढ्दो जनसङ्ख्यालाई मध्यनजर गरी नेवारहरूको संस्कृति र धर्म प्रबद्धन गर्ने उद्देश्यले विभिन्न स्थानमा नेवारी संघसंस्थाहरू स्थापना गरिएका छन् । यी संघसंस्थाको मुख्य उद्देश्य अमेरिकामा नेवारी सांस्कृतिक धरोहर, परम्परा र रीतिरिवाजहरूको संरक्षण गर्नु रहेको छ । यस तथ्यबाट के स्पष्ट हुन्छ भने आप्रवासीको रूपमा अमेरिकामा रहेका नेवारीहरूले संस्कृति, परम्परा र रीतिरिवाजका आधारबाट आफ्नो पृथक् पहिचान कायम गर्न चाहन्छन् । यसप्रकार सांस्कृतिक धरोहर, परम्परा र नेवारी रीतिरिवाजहरूलाई संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा नेवार जनजातीय पहिचानको निर्माणका लागि योगदान पुन्याइरहेका तत्त्वहरू मानिन्छ ।

तुलसी महर्जन (1997) द्वारा गरिएको अध्ययनको प्रसङ्गलाई औल्याउँदै गुभाजु प्रकाश पार्दछिन् कि अमेरिका आउनु र आफ्नो संस्कृतिबाट यढा रहनुले नेवारहरूमा केही उराठपनाको अनुभूति गराउँदछ । यस्तो अनुभूतिबाट त्यहाँका (अर्थात् अमेरिकामा रहेका) नेवारहरूबीच सांस्कृतिक जागरूकताको भावना उत्पन्न गराउँदछ । तसर्थ गृहथलोबाट यढा रहेको सन्दर्भमा सांस्कृतिक धरोहर (Cultural heritage), भाषा (Language) र परम्परा (Tradition) गरी तीन बय तत्त्वहरू जनजातीयता निर्माणका प्रमुख तत्त्वहरू बन्न पुग्दछन् ।

उपर्युक्त सम्पूर्ण विवेचनाका आधारमा निष्कर्षमा भन्न सकिन्छ कि जनजातीयताको पहिचान निर्माणमा भूमिका, निर्वाह गर्ने तत्त्वहरू परिवेश र सन्दर्भको परिवर्तनसँगै परिवर्तनशील तथा गतिशील रहन्छन् । जनजातीयताको सीमा र परिभाषा स्पष्ट र निश्चित हुँदैन । जनजातीयतालाई एउटा आदिमकालीन वा परम्परागत धारणा मानिएतापनि त्यसको निर्माणमा टेवा पुन्याउने तत्त्वहरू समयसापेक्ष गतिशील हुन्छन् । विशेषगरी भाषा, धर्म र संस्कृतिलाई जनजातीय निर्माणमा योगदान पुन्याउने तत्त्वहरू मानिन्छ । नेवारहरूको जनजातीयता पहिचानको निर्माणमा पनि उपर्युक्त तत्त्वहरूको महत्वपूर्ण योगदान रहेको छ । आप्रवासी नेवारहरूको सन्दर्भमा उनीहरूको 'राष्ट्रियता' जनजातीय पहिचानको साभा तत्त्व हुन्छ । यद्यपि अमेरिकामा बढ्दै गइरहेको नेवार समुदायको जनसङ्ख्यालाई ध्यानमा राखी त्यहाँ उनीहरूका भाषा, संस्कृति, परम्परा, मूल्य मान्यता, संस्कार र रीतिरिवाजहरूलाई संरक्षण गर्ने कार्यहरू भइरहेका छन् । तसर्थ संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा राष्ट्रियता, भाषा, संस्कृति, परम्परा, रीतिरिवाज र मूल्यहरूलाई नेवारहरूको जनजातीयता पहिचान निर्माणमा योगदान पुन्याइरहेका तत्त्वहरू मानिन्छ ।

9. 2017, Q. No. 7

What are the factors contributing to the formation of Newar ethnic identity in the US (Gubhaju 1999)?

Ans: Bina Gubhaju is a researcher specializing in studying and researching ethnicity, population, and household affairs. She is currently a Professor at the Australian National University in Australia. She has also served as a Guest Professor at several universities in the United States, Europe, Singapore, and Australia.

Her article in *Contribution to Nepalese Studies*, Vol. 26, *The Fluidity of Ethnicity: The Case of Nepali and Newar Identity in the United States (1999)* contains a research-based analysis of the factors contributing to the formation of Newar ethnic identity in the United States.

According to Gubaju, the factors that contribute to the formation of ethnic identity may vary according to different contexts and circumstances. In some cases, ethnic awareness develops even in the social situation that is separate from its homeland. Factors such as language, culture, tradition, literature, and Art contribute to the formation of ethnic identity. The socio-cultural factors are influential in this process.

All Nepalese in the United States are identified based on nationality. In the case of Nepal, nationality is not a factor of any Nepali ethnic identity because all

Nepalese have the same nationality. Nepalese immigrants are a minority in the United States. Therefore, it is impossible to classify the Nepali community there as an additional class or subclass. In the United States, all ethnic groups, including Newars, are identified by the 'Nepali' category. In the United States, their identity is based on "Nepalese." Nepalese living in the United States speaks Nepali fluently, regardless of Nepali nationality. Newar immigrants speak the Newari language in the United States, and their Newari language serves as a symbol of solidarity among them.

Because of the growing population of Newar immigrants in the United States, Newari organizations have been established in various places to promote Newar culture and religion. The main purpose of these organizations is to preserve Newari cultural heritage, traditions, and customs in the United States. What is clear from this fact is that Newari living in the United States as immigrants want to maintain their separate identity based on culture, tradition, and customs. Thus, cultural heritage, traditions, and Newari customs are contributing factors in the formation of Newar ethnic identity in the United States.

Pointing to the context of a study by Tulsi Maharjan (1997), Gubhaju points out that coming to the United States and staying away from one's own culture causes some Newars to feel awkward. However, such an experience creates a cultural sense of awareness among the Newars there (i.e., in the United States). Therefore, in the context of being away from home, three factors, including cultural heritage, language, and tradition, become the main factors of ethnic formation.

Based on all the above considerations, it can be concluded that the factors that play a role in forming ethnic identity remain changeable and dynamic with the change of environment and context. The boundaries and definition of ethnicity are not clear and definite. Although ethnocentrism is considered a primitive or traditional concept, the factors that support its construction are dynamic over time. Especially language, religion, and culture are considered factors that contribute to ethnic formation. The above factors have also made a significant contribution to building the ethnic identity of the Newars. In the case of immigrant Newars, their 'nationality' is a common factor of ethnic identity. However, because of the growing population of the Newar community in the United States, efforts are being made to preserve their language, culture, traditions, values, customs, and rituals. Therefore, in the United States, nationality, language, culture, traditions, customs, and values are contributing factors in the formation of Newar ethnic identity.

10. 2017, Q. No. 8

Write short notes on ANY TWO:

- a. Targeted approach
- b. Intra-categorical approach
- c. Structural and political intersectionality
- d. Ambiguity and incompleteness of intersectional approach
(Davis 2008)

(द्रष्टव्य: शीर्षकहरू b, c & d सद्विक्षिप्त नोटस्का लागि ऋमशः अध्याय 5, 2 र 2 हेरुहोस।)

- iv. राज्यका स्रोतसाधनहरूमा सबै नागरिकहरूको पहुँच र समता कायम गर्ने लक्षित उपागम विशेष उपयोगी हुन्छ।
- v. समाजमा विद्यमान जातीय, वर्गीय, क्षेत्रीय, लैडिगिक र आर्थिक असमानताहरूको अन्त गर्दै उपेक्षित र सुविधाविहिनको स्थितिमा रहेका व्यक्तिहरूलाई समान अवसर तथा मानवेचित व्यावहारको सुनिश्चितता प्रदान गर्ने लक्षित उपागमको प्रयोग उपयुक्त हुन्छ।

यद्यपि केही विकासात्मक अर्थशास्त्रीहरूले लक्षित उपागमका कमीकमजोरी वा बेफाइदाहरू (Demerits) औल्याएका छन्, जुन निम्नानुसार छन्:

- i. यस्तो विकास उपागममा सबै नागरिकहरूको समान सहभागिता र समान अधिकार कायम हुन सक्दैन।
- ii. विकास कार्यक्रमका लक्षित उपागमलाई दीर्घकालीन विकासात्मक रणनीति मानिन्दैन किनभने लक्षित समूहको आर्थिक-सामाजिक सुधार भइसकेपछि यस्तो उपागममा आधारित विकास कार्यक्रमहरूलाई निरन्तरता दिन्मुख आवश्यक हुन्दैन।
- iii. यस उपागममा सार्वभौमिकताको अभाव पाइन्छ किनभने यसले निश्चित क्षेत्रअन्तर्गत पहिचान गरिएका लक्षित समूहहरूमा मात्र विकास कार्यक्रमहरू सञ्चालन गर्नुपर्ने मान्यता राख्दछ।

10. 2017, Q. No. 8

Write short notes on ANY TWO:

- a. Targeted approach
- b. Intra categorical approach
- c. Structural and political intersectionality
- d. Ambiguity and incompleteness of intersectional approach (Davis 2008)

(Note: For short notes on the topics 'b,' 'c,' and 'd,' see in relate chapters 5, 2, and 2, respectively)

a. Targeted approach

Ans: The Swiss Agency for Cooperation and Development (SDC) is an important donor organization focusing on various development projects in Nepal—poverty alleviation and improving the living standards of disadvantaged groups. It is adopting a different approach to development and economic reform, focusing on the overall socio-economic status of the disadvantaged groups, which is called the Targeted Approach.

The Target Approach charter—*Approach for Targetting Disadvantaged Groups* (DAGs) (2013), published by The Swiss Agency for Cooperation and Development (SDC), defines the target approach in this way—*providing more services and facilities to the group or community, which require more assistance than other is a targeted approach.* The targeted approach includes the following processes:

- i. Identify the criteria or basis required to receive specific types of support and services, i.e., define the target group and determine the basis.

- ii. Identify mechanism and methods with the need and work of effective targeting process for at least the following three reasons:
 - a. **Resource considerations:** Budgets or other resources are not always justified to be 'for all' or ubiquitous; ubiquitous hold area is not always necessary.
 - b. **Equity considerations:** Guarantees of fairness and justice, that is, groups that need more support should receive more returns proportionately.
 - c. **Efficiency considerations:** To make a more positive impact on the poor and vulnerable by providing small financial assistance.

A targeted approach under development programs is a new concept put forward against the universal approach. According to the universal approach, uniform and definite development programs should be conducted or implemented for all citizens in all areas. As a result, comprehensive development programs require relatively more investment. However, the targeted approach recognizes the disadvantaged minorities, the marginalized, and the poor and seeks to adopt special development strategies for their upliftment.

Based on all of the above considerations, the following **merits of targeted approaches** under development programs are reflected:

- i. helps uplift and develop the weak, helpless, marginalized, backward classes, women, and disadvantaged groups in society.
- ii. Targeted approaches are effective in reducing poverty.
- iii. This approach is suitable for protecting and promoting human rights by developing the capacity of the poor and disadvantaged citizens.
- iv. Targeted approaches are particularly useful in maintaining access and equality for all in-state resources.
- v. It is appropriate to use targeted approaches to end the existing ethnic, class, regional, gender, and economic inequalities in the society and ensure equal opportunities and humane treatment to the neglected and disadvantaged people.

However, some development economists have even pointed out the shortcomings or **demerits of the targeted approach**, which are as follows:

- i. Equal participation and equal rights of all citizens cannot be maintained in such a development approach.
- ii. Targeted approaches to development programs are not considered long-term development strategies because it is not necessary to continue development programs based on such approaches after the socio-economic reform of the target group.
- iii. This approach lacks sovereignty because it only targets identified groups within a certain area to conduct development programs.