

CASTE AND ADAPTATION: THE CASE OF THE NEPALIS IN DARJEELING

Tanka Bahadur Subba

Introduction

The variations in the degree of development of different countries and societies have posed a major problem for the sociologists trying to explain this phenomenon comprehensively. A comparative study of societies, in a traditional way, is often found fault with for including 'value judgements' and for not being a 'reality judgement'. This is where Parsons finds the necessity for formulating an abstract theoretical model of 'adaptive mechanism' to meet the inadequacies of the earlier social theories. This development, which Parsons was trying to popularize for the last twenty years of his life is expected to fulfil many of the aims of sociology.

Parsons thought that the differential advancement of societies can be explained in terms of their 'adaptive capacity'. The process of adaptation to the internal as well as external environment is true of all human societies, as well as plant and animal species. But adaptation, according to Parsons, does not only mean an adjustment to a new environment, but also an improvement on the previous condition by exploitation of the new resources. He called it an adaptative upgrading.¹ In this sense adaptation means not just a passive process of social adjustment, but an active and innovative process as well.

The concept of differentiation, developed by Eisenstadt, is very closely related to the concept of adaptation. Parsons contended that the adaptive capacity of a society becomes

manifest as the social organization becomes more complex. This is where the concept of differentiation comes in because, unless the social organization is complex, the differentiation remains negligible. But differentiation by itself is not an index of advancement, it must also include greater adaptation.² Adaptation, however, is a more or less universal phenomena. In every society there are some people who have adapted better than the others. The better-adapted people form the higher classes, and the less-adapted people the lower rungs of the society in question.

A study of the Nepali castes in the hills of Darjeeling becomes quite significant in this context because a primary acquaintance with the people and the region makes me feel that the higher caste people have adapted better in this newly colonized area than the lower caste people. Before this theme is developed and tested empirically, knowledge of the caste and migration history of the people in the region is necessary.

Caste background

The Nepali society is often conceived of as a homogeneous one, something which it has never been. Traditionally, in Nepal, evidence is found of a caste structure of the Newars that existed parallel to the Hindu caste structure:

In theory, the Newar caste organization is based on the same Hindu principle which stipulates the five-fold division of society headed by the Brahmin and to be followed in order by the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, the Sudra and the Untouchable.⁴

...it is only in the 14th century that caste was organized on a uniform basis in Nepal. It was King Jayastithi Malla who, with the help of five Brahmins from the Indian plains, organized the society of the Valley into four varnas and sixty-four castes on the basis of hereditary occupations and genealogies.⁵

With the conquest of the Valley in 1769, the leadership for preserving Hindu traditions in Nepal passed on to the victorious Gurkhas who looked down upon the vanquished, recognized their own Brahmin and Kshatriya orders and created a double order between them and the Vaisya, to be accorded to two Mongoloid tribes, Gurung and Mangar who formed along with them the military castes of Nepal. Though on secular grounds,

the higher castes among the vanquished who spoke Newari and followed Newari cultural traditions, were recognised as the Nepalese counterpart of the Indian Vaisya, they were considered ceremonially as Sudra owing to their traditional practices relating to diet, marriage and divorce.⁶

The caste hierarchy that existed in Nepal has been present more or less in the same way in the Darjeeling area. The caste structure is as follows (Table 1):

TABLE 1. Caste structure of the Nepalis

<i>Status</i>	<i>Castes</i>	<i>Traditional Occupation</i>
High	Brahman { Upadhyaya Jaisi	Priesthood Agriculture
	Chhetri { Thakuri (Jharra) Chhetri (non-Jharra)	Warriors
Middle	{ Newar, Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Yakha, Gurung, Mangar, Jogi, Bhujel, Sunwar, Yolmu, etc.	Mainly agriculturists, except Newars who are in business
Low	{ Sunar Kami Sarki Damai	Goldsmithy Ironsmithy Cobbling Music

Though basically the caste structure of the Nepalis in this region is comparable to that existing in Nepal, there has been a series of changes which may be called 'adaptations' in the sense earlier sociologists like Mandelbaum used the term.⁷ The first index of adaptation can be the changing titles—the Brahmans are called Sharmas, the Newars Pradhan. The Rai is an adapted form of Jindar, the Limbus are called Subbas, the Yakhas Dewan, Kamis Biswakarma, etc.

Another change that is observable is in the attire. The Nepalis of Darjeeling are rarely seen in their traditional costumes,

'Dawra Suruwal' and 'Chaubandi Cholo', or, 'Pharia'. All of them have adopted western clothes like shirts and trousers. Only a few people, the old ones in the villages or a few floating immigrants, are ever seen donning the traditional garb.

Yet another change is in their intonation. The Nepalis of Nepal speak with long and twisting intonations, while the Nepalis of Darjeeling have adopted an intonation that is closer to the English or Hindi ones.

These changes have taken place in a long sequence of historical development. In this context, it is worthwhile to note briefly the migration history of the Nepalis in this region.

Migration history

Migrations to and from Nepal have been going on since time immemorial, but the migration into the Darjeeling area has an authentically recorded history only from the time of the East India Company's rise to power.

The Anglo-Nepalis Peace Treaty, 1816, which was modified later, empowered the British Government to raise three regiments of Nepalis hill people. But the Nepalis Government, later on, began to discourage the recruitment of its subjects to the British army. To overcome this problem the British began to settle the Nepalis in the northern hills of India. The Nepali policy on this issue was relaxed later by the Prime Minister, Bir Shumsher.⁸ This was followed by the steady recruitment of soldiers from Nepal. The soldiers settled down in this region after retirement, though a few went back to Nepal.

After another peace treaty in 1861, and the subsequent demarcation of the boundary between Nepal and India, the Nepal Government tried to settle the hill people in the Terai, and thereby meet the state expenditure from the revenue so collected. But the Government failed to persuade the hill Nepalis to settle in the plains. The hill people were reluctant to go down due to various problems, some of which were ecological, such as that of adaptation to the hot, humid and malarial plains, the distance of the Terai land from the hills, etc. Due to the prevalence of malaria below 4000 feet, the population increase in the hills had already reached its peak. Ultimately, they had to emigrate to the northern regions of India, where the ecological

conditions were similar.

Kansakar writes:

Until the installation of democracy in 1951, the main destination of the Nepalis migrants was India. In the absence of employment opportunities outside agriculture, Nepalis hill people migrated to India, and India became the safety valve for the country's growing population.⁹

Moreover, after malaria eradication in 1958 in Rapti Valley, and gradually from the other parts of the country, the hill people of Nepal have been migrating to the plains of Nepal in large numbers.¹⁰

When the district of Darjeeling was taken over by the East India Company from the Raja of Sikkim in 1835, the total population of this district was only 100. In Darjeeling, the first tea plantation was started in 1839, but the population growth in the initial stages was not rapid. In 1850, according to Dr. Campbell, the total population of the district, excluding Kalimpong sub-division, was 10,000. Kalimpong was annexed from Bhutan in 1865.

Table 2, shows the population of the local people, as well as their places of origin, in 1931.

TABLE 2. Population and their places of origin, 1931

<i>Place of origin</i>	<i>Population</i>
Bengal, including Darjeeling district	2,18,935
Bihar	24,540
Sikkim	5,321
Elsewhere in India	8,277
Nepal	59,018
Elsewhere in Asia	2,052
Europe, other than U.K. and Ireland	130
U. K. and Ireland	486
Miscellaneous	878
Total	3,19,635

Source: Bengal District Gazetteer, Ed. A.J. Dash, 1947.

The preceding Table shows that by 1931, 59,018 people had come from Nepal. The field data show that the Nepalis had come from other places also, like Assam, Burma, Kwinta (Pakistan), etc.

In the following Table 3, the population growth of different castes of Nepalis has been shown. Though the Table does not include all the Nepali castes, it can still throw some light on the caste-wise population growth of the Nepalis.

Table 3 shows a very irregular percentage growth rate on the whole. Such an irregularity may have been due to the coming and going back of a large number of Nepalis in the earlier decades. (These days, however, the coming and returning process has been reduced both in number and frequency).

The Table shows that among the Newars, the population growth is quite low, except between 1911 and 1921, i.e. 26.33 per cent. Among the Kamis, the highest population growth has been evident during 1931 to 1941, 43.61 per cent. The figures on the Bhujels are insignificant, but among the Chhetris, it has been very high during 1911-1951 (141.79 per cent). Among the Mangars it is normal, but again, among the Gurungs, it was quite high during 1931-1941 (38.56 per cent). Among the Rais and the Limbus, the figures do not show any significant growth of population.

Though the above census figures only partially enlighten us on the movement of the people, the field data given below show that such a process is still continuing though the percentage of immigrants per decade has fallen. In this context, it is interesting to study, on the basis of a few criteria like education, occupational mobility, spatial mobility, etc., whether the better-castes have adapted better than the middle and the lower castes, or, the lower-castes have done equally well.

The Villages

It would be worthwhile to describe briefly the villages prior to developing the theme empirically. The present paper is based on the data collected in two villages of the district, one in the Kalimpong sub-division, and the other in the Darjeeling Sadar sub-division.

Tanek, the village in Kalimpong sub-division, is three miles off Kalimpong town, on the left side of Rishi road, the National

TABLE 3. Caste and population growth

Caste	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Newar	5,770	6,927	8,751	10,235	12,242	14,827	n.a.
	—	20.05%	26.33%	19.96%	19.61%	21.11%	—
Kami	9,826	10,939	11,771	11,331	16,272	19,432	19,851
	—	11.33%	7.60%	-3.74%	43.61%	19.42%	2.61%
Bhujel	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	5,816	5,745	n.a.
	—	—	—	—	—	-1.22%	—
Chhetri	11,597	12,599	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	30,463	n.a.
	—	8.64%	—	—	—	141.79%	—
Mangar	11,912	12,451	14,934	16,299	17,262	19,413	n.a.
	—	4.52%	19.94%	9.14%	5.91%	12.46%	—
Gurung	8,738	9,628	9,575	11,154	15,455	17,864	n.a.
	—	10.48%	-5.5%	16.49%	38.56%	15.59%	—
Rai	33,133	40,409	41,263	47,431	56,794	64,745	n.a.
	—	21.96%	2.11%	14.95%	19.74%	13.99%	—
Limbu	14,305	13,805	14,191	16,288	17,803	19,835	n.a.
	—	-3.49%	2.79%	14.78%	9.30%	11.41%	—
							n.a.=not available.

Adapted from : G.C. Bagchi, *Village Survey Monograph on Upper Pedong, 1972: Census of India, 1961.*

Highway that connects Kalimpong with the other parts of the country. Rangbull, the Darjeeling village, is about twelve kilometres off Darjeeling town. The Hill-Cart Road and the railway line run across the village. The former is a relatively backward village, while the latter is more urbanized, in spite of the greater distance between the village and the town.

Historically speaking, Tanek was a predominantly Lepcha village. The Nepalis, the Bhutias, the Biharis, etc. immigrated later on. On the other hand, in Rangbull, the tea plantation labourers of Dooteriah Tea Estate were settled initially. Later, ex-military or ex-railway employees settled there. Besides them, the business communities like the Marwaris, the Biharis, the Bhutias, and the Dukpas also came to settle in the village. It is predominantly a Nepali village which can hardly claim any caste or tribe as among the oldest inhabitants, though a few people in the village do state that the village originally belonged to the Lepchas. This argument is based on the origin of the meaning of the name Rangbull, which is supposedly a corruption of the Lepcha word 'Rongpal', meaning a group of Lepcha habitats. It may be that the Lepchas were the original settlers, but the inability to compete with the dominant Nepalis caused them to move towards Kalimpong. Or, they might have been displaced when the Dooteriah Tea Estate took over the area. However, this is an assumption and no recorded history is available.

The following Table 4, is furnished here to show that the migration is still going on in this region.

TABLE 4. Caste and migration, generation-wise, in Tanek (T) and Rangbull (R).

Caste	No. of persons interviewed	%	Migrated during (time)				
			Great G.F.s Before 100 yrs	G.F.s 100 yrs	F's 60 yrs	Own 30 yrs	
Brahman	T	3	50.00	—	—	1	2
	R	2	50.00	—	—	—	2

Table 4 Continued

Thakuri	T	—	—	—	—	—	—
	R	6	33.33	2	—	3	1
Chhetri	T	15	46.88	1	5	3	6
	R	7	36.84	1	—	3	3
Newar	T	14	50.00	1	5	8	—
	R	3	42.86	2	—	1	—
Rai	T	2	52.17	1	2	1	8
	R	14	37.84	4	—	2	8
Limbu	T	20	46.51	2	9	8	1
	R	5	33.33	—	1	2	2
Yakha	T	1	50.00	—	—	1	—
	R	3	33.33	2	—	—	1
Gurung	T	2	66.61	—	—	2	—
	R	4	40.00	—	—	1	3
Tamang	T	6	46.15	3	1	1	1
	R	30	28.85	13	—	10	7
Mangar	T	6	46.15	1	1	3	1
	R	2	40.00	—	—	—	2
Jogi	T	1	100.00	—	—	—	1
	R	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bhujel	T	2	66.66	—	—	1	1
	R	1	100.00	—	—	—	1
Yohmu	T	—	—	—	—	—	—
	R	1	100.00	—	—	—	—
Thami	T	—	—	—	—	—	—
	R	1	50.00	1	—	—	—

Sunwar	T	1	100.00	—	—	—	1
	R	1	50.00	1	—	—	—
Kami	T	4	50.00	1	2	1	—
	R	4	25.00	2	—	2	—
Sarki	T	2	40.00	—	—	—	2
	R	1	100.00	—	—	1	—
Damai	T	1	50.00	—	—	1	—
	R	1	50.00	1	—	—	—
Total	T	90	—	10	25	31	24
				(11.11%)	(27.78%)	(34.44%)	(26.67%)
	R	86	—	28	1	25	32
				(32.56%)	(91.16%)	(29.07%)	37.21%

Table 4 shows that immigration has been taking place in almost every caste. The percentage of immigrated people in the last thirty years was 26.67 in Tanek and 37.21 in Rangbull.

Now, an attempt has been made to see the differential adaptation on the basis of criteria like education, occupation and spatial mobility, etc. In the presence of such steady migration, the adaptation process can be better seen at the family level, but in view of the difficulties of doing so and steady immigration being common to all the castes, studying adaptation at the caste level would still be meaningful. The criteria chosen are discussed separately, to facilitate understanding and analysis.

Caste and education

Education is regarded as an important factor in understanding the differential adaptation among the various castes. But, since at the primary level of education no difference can be traced today, the paper includes only secondary education and above. The following Table 5, gives a picture of the educational differentiation among the three caste groups in the two villages.

TABLE 5. Caste and education in Tanek (T) and Rangbull (R)

Caste	Total no. of person.	Total no. of literate	Sec- ondary education (I)	College & univ. education (II)	Total of I & II	Per- centage of I & II
High						
T	226	117 (51.77)	59 (50.43)	4 (3.42)	63	53.85
R	237	185 (78.06)	73 (39.46)	10 (5.40)	83	44.86
Middle						
T	732	390 (53.28)	152 (38.97)	4 (1.02)	156	40.00
R	1169	983 (84.09)	474 (48.22)	34 (3.46)	508	51.68
Low						
T	89	40 (94.94)	18 (45.00)	1 (2.5)	19	47.50
R	109	84 (77.06)	30 (35.72)	1 (1.19)	31	36.90
Total						
T	1047	547 (49.99)	229 (44.80)	9 (2.31)	238	43.51
R	1515	1252 (79.73)	577 (41.13)	45 (3.35)	622	49.68

Note: The figures in brackets in cols. 3,4,5 denote the respective percentage.

The preceding Table shows that Tanek has a lower percentage of literacy (49.99), compared to Rangbull, (79.73). At the secondary level however, Tanek has a better percentage (44.80), than Rangbull (41.13). This may have been due to the presence of three secondary level schools, St. Augustine's, St. Philomena's and St. Joseph's near Tanek. But at the college and university level, Tanek has a lower percentage (2.31), against 3.35% in Rangbull. This may be because there is only one college in the area, the Kalimpong College, which is eight kilometres away from the village Tanek, and the conveyance facilities are also not satisfactory. On the other hand, there are three colleges in Darjeeling, St. Joseph's, Loreto, and the Government College. The communication facilities from Rangbull to Darjeeling are also fairly good.

At the caste level, the higher castes are found to have a higher percentage rate (53.85) at the secondary level and above in Tanek, whereas in Rangbull it is only 44.86. Contrary to this, among the middle castes, the percentage in Rangbull (51.68) is higher compared to Tanek, (40). Again, among the lower castes, Tanek has a higher percentage (47.5), than (36.90) in Rangbull. This high percentage of the lower castes in Tanek may be due to the following reasons: firstly, their living near the road facilitates their going to the schools in town as well as those nearby; secondly, due to the privileges guaranteed to them constitutionally.

Considering only the college level and above, we find that the higher castes have a higher percentage, both in Tanek and Rangbull. Among the middle castes, it is quite high in Rangbull, but in Tanek, the percentage is higher among the lower castes. On the whole, the higher and middle castes have a higher percentage in both the villages, except in Tanek, where the lower castes also have quite a high percentage (47.5). This shows that in general terms, the higher and the middle castes have adapted relatively better than the lower castes, which are also, however, following the steps of the higher and middle castes quite steadily.

Occupational diversification

Occupational diversification depends on a large number of factors like land relations, education, capital, aptitude, etc.

TABLE 6. Caste and occupation in Tanek (T) and Rangbull (R)

Caste	1 Total popula- tion	2 Non house- hold working popula- tion.	3 Agri- culture (as per- cent of 2)	4 Service class*		5 Business (as per- cent of 2)	6 Others (as percent of 2)	
				Total 4 (i) (as per- cent of 2)	4 (iii) (Each as per cent of 4)			
T	226	89 (39.38)	61 (68.54)	—	2 (16.67)	10 (83.33)	3 (3.37)	13 (14.60)
R	237	59 (24.89)	24 (40.68)	—	3 (18.75)	13 (81.25)	10 (16.95)	9 (15.25)
T	732	218 (29.78)	162 (74.31)	—	5 (17.24)	24 (82.76)	4 (1.83)	23 (10.55)
R	1169	275 (23.52)	112 (40.73)	8 (8.79)	20 (21.98)	63 (69.23)	29 (10.54)	37 (13.54)

Low	T	89	38	31	1	—	—	1	2	4
			(42.70)	(81.58)	(2.63)			(100.00)	(5.26)	(10.53)
	R	109	35	18	8	—	2	6	2	7
	T	345	(32.11)	(51.43)	(22.26)		(25.00)	(75.00)	(5.71)	(20.00)
Total	R	1515								
	R	(24.36)								

*Service Class 4 (i) = Salary more than Rs. 700 p.m.

4 (ii) = Salary between Rs. 500 to Rs. 700 p.m.

4 (iii) = Salary between Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 p.m.

'Others' = Construction workers, workers in small-scale industries, etc.

Therefore, it seems worthwhile to consider it as an index of differential adaptation of the different castes. The preceding Table 6, shows the occupational diversification among the three caste groups in the two villages.

The preceding Table also shows that Tanek is basically an agricultural village, with 74 per cent of its non-household working population engaged in agriculture. Rangbull has only 44.28 per cent in agriculture; a large number of people being engaged in non-agricultural works in Rangbull.

At the caste level, in Tanek, the percentage of people in agriculture is the highest 81.58 per cent in the lowest caste groups, and 68.54 per cent among the highest caste groups. The service category has been divided into three classes, keeping the income in view, because one serviceman may earn Rs. 1000 p.m. while another may earn only Rs. 200 p.m. The two obviously cannot be put in the same category. In the class I category, only 8.79 per cent of the people of the middle castes of Rangbull have been represented. In class II category, the percentage of middle caste people in Tanek is slightly higher than that in Rangbull, by 0.67 per cent only, but the lower castes have not been represented at all. In Rangbull, however, the percentage of class II servicemen is higher among the middle castes than among the high castes, and still higher among the lower castes than the middle castes. In class III of the service category, the percentage of lower castes is the highest in Tanek. In Rangbull the high castes have the highest percentage, 81.25. In the business category, the middle castes have the lowest percentage (1.83), followed by the high castes, 3.37, in Tanek. But in Rangbull the higher the caste, the higher the percentage of representation in this category.

Regarding occupational diversification, the differences among the various castes have been quite insignificant. The quite high percentage of occupational diversification among the lower castes can be explained in terms of their landholding situation. Since the landholding is the least among the low castes—0.75 per cent in Tanek and 7.36 percent in Rangbull—they have no alternative but to shift over to the non-agricultural sources of income. The caste and landholding pattern can be seen from Table 7. This would explain why the occupational diversification is quite high among the low castes, along with the differences

in landholdings among the three caste groups in the two villages.

TABLE 7. Caste and landholding in Tanek (T) and Rangbull (R)

<i>Caste</i>		<i>Percentage of population</i>	<i>Percentage of landholding</i>
High	T	21.58	16.71
	R	18.66	11.40
Middle	T	69.90	42.32
	R	77.20	74.70
Low	T	8.50	0.75
	R	7.20	7.36

The above Table shows that among the higher castes and the middle castes, the percentage of landholding is relatively lower than the percentage of population in both the villages. But, among the lower castes in Tanek, the percentage of landholding is much lower (0.75), compared to the 8.50 percentage population. This automatically diverts the unsustained population towards non-agricultural occupations.

It may be pointed out here that the traditional caste occupations are still being continued, though not at the caste level but at the family or individual levels. In Tanek, for example, one Kami still does ironsmithy as a partial source of income, and in Rangbull, one Kami does it at the family level. A Brahman carries on priesthood, but he is like a paid priest; the Marwaris collect some money every month to pay him.

Spatial mobility in occupation

The growth of population on the one hand, and the limited sources of income on the other, have made the way of living really hard in the hills of Darjeeling. In the absence of heavy industries, perhaps due to geo-political conditions, the people have been going out more and more in search of occupations. Figure 1 shows spatial mobility among the three caste groups in

Tanek and Rangbull.

SPATIAL MOBILITY IN OCCUPATION IN TANEK AND RANGBULL

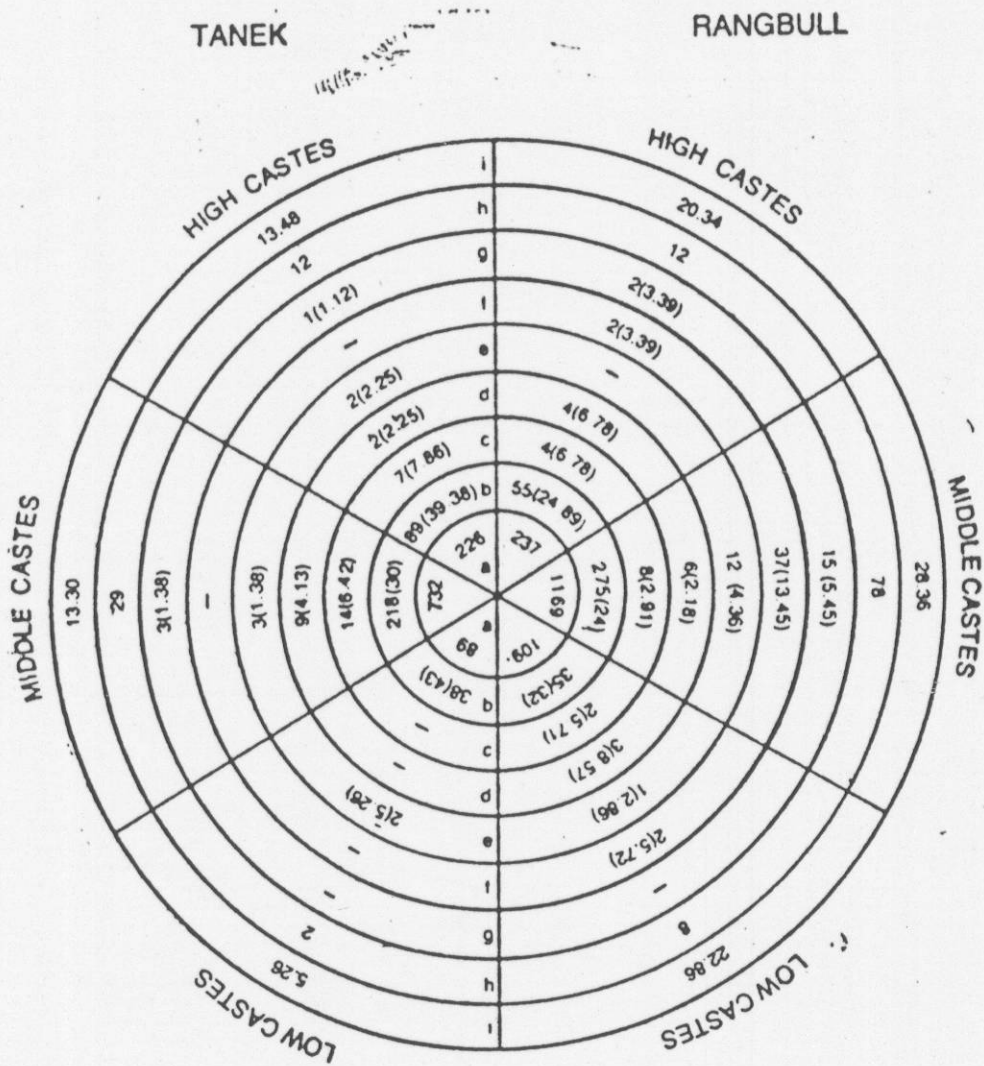


Fig. 1

- Circle a = Total no. of persons
- Circle b = Total no. of working persons
- Circle c = Outside the village but within the sub-division
- Circle d = Within the district
- Circle e = Within the state
- Circle f = Within the nation
- Circle g = Outside the nation (U.K., Nepal and Bhutan)
- Circle h = Total of c to g. Circle i = Percentage of c to g.
- Total no. of persons from c to g in Tanek = 43 (12.46%)
- Total no. of persons from c to g in Rangbull = 98 (26.57%)

FIGURE 1 shows that Rangbull has a higher spatial mobility in occupation, 26.57 per cent, compared to Tanek, 12.46 per cent. The greater spatial mobility in Rangbull is perhaps due to the fact that it has only 100.70 acres of non-irrigated land, but has a total population of 1774, whereas Tanek has 364.64 acres of land out of which 127.55 acres are irrigated. This involves a greater number of labourers in agricultural operations, but the population is only 1,370.

At the caste level in Tanek, the high and the middle castes have a higher spatial mobility, 13.48 per cent and 13.30 per cent respectively, whereas the low castes have only 5.26 percentage spatial mobility. However, in Rangbull, the low castes have a higher spatial mobility, 22.86 percentage, than the high castes, 20.34 percentage, but the middle castes have the highest spatial mobility, 28.36 percentage. In the spatial mobility outside the nation, the low castes have not been represented from both the villages. In Tanek, the low castes have not even gone out of the State.

Such a differential adaptation regarding spatial mobility in occupation may have been due to a lower degree of education and fewer contacts among the low castes. Education is definitely a determining factor in spatial mobility for better occupations. It is on this basis that there is a higher rate of spatial mobility even among the lower castes in Rangbull.

Conclusion

From the above discussions, it can be seen that on the whole, the higher and the middle castes have adapted relatively better than the lower castes. However, the middle castes seem to have adapted the most. The experience of Rangbull shows the importance of education in determining the adaptive capacity of the village as such. Besides, the adaptive capacity depends to some extent, seemingly, on human needs also. The lower sustaining power of the village for its inhabitants is directly linked to the higher adaptability of the villagers. The degree of the 'survival value' of a caste depends on its adaptive capacity, which is conditioned by its socio-economic structure.

- **References**

1. Talcott Parsons, *Social System and the Evolution of Action Theory*, London, The Free Press, 1977 p. 297.
2. Guy Rocher, *A General Introduction to Sociology—A Theoretical Perspective*, Macmillan, 1972 p. 199.
3. Talcott Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 299.
4. Gopal Singh Nepali, *The Newars—An Ethno-sociological Study of a Himalayan Community*, Bombay, United Asia Publications, p. 146.
5. *ibid.*
6. *ibid.*
7. David G. Mandelbaum, *Society in India—Continuity and Change* (Vols. I and II). Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1972.
8. Vidya Bir S. Kansakar, 'Research on Migration and Employment in Nepal'—(unpublished) paper submitted for the Conference on Population Distribution and Development, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, 1980 p. 3.
9. *ibid.*, p. 6.
10. *ibid.*, p. 7.