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Editorial

The Editorial Board is pleased to publish and disseminate the “Journal of APF Command and Staff College”, Volume 2, Issue 1, 2019. We believe that the contributions by the authors in this issue reflect conceptual, theoretical and empirical research works in their respective fields. The researches have been confined to ethos of security, development and peace spectrum. It encompasses articles from scholars, researchers and practitioners aligning it with contemporary issues and security related dynamics of modern era. Professors, academics, researchers, policy makers and students may seize learning opportunity and will highly be benefited from the articles included in the journal. The editorial board reserves the right to edit, moderate or reject the article submitted.

The articles included in this journal are mostly research based. Views expressed in the articles are purely personal and academic opinion of the authors and are not necessarily endorsed by APF Command and Staff College and the Editorial Board. We would like to express sincere thanks to all the contributors for their respective inputs.

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Message



It has given me immense pleasure that Armed Police Force, Nepal APF Command and Staff College is publishing its pioneer journal (Volume 2, Issue 1) on the auspicious occasion of its fourth anniversary.

Establishment of APF Command and Staff College is a milestone to develop the career of the mid-level officers. The effort to publish academic journals, like Journal of APF Command and Staff College, reflects its endeavour to produce the professional officers for future leadership and it also helps to enhance their capacity by knowledge and experience. This effort will definitely pave the way to establish the college as a center of excellence for professional courses.

Understanding the different dimensions of peace, security and development together with police and military science of management and security helps to set the goals in the field. The academic mindset and the professional skills are the most important factors to establish peaceful society and good governance which ultimately lead the prosperous and developed state in the long run.

Finally, I wish for the successful publication of this second volume of the journal and hope it will be a good resource for the academicians and practitioners.

(Shailendra Khanal)
Inspector General
Armed Police Force, Nepal

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Security for Enhancing Peace and Stability in Changing Context of Nepal¹

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Abstract

The world is facing new security challenges in 21st century that has forced global and national security actors to think differently. Unconventional security issues such as resource scarcity, climate change effects, livelihood insecurity, environmental insecurity, food and water insecurity, health insecurity, natural calamities and disasters, pandemic diseases, etc. are now integral part of security going beyond conventional security issue of protecting sovereignty and territory of the state. Further, Nepal has also specific geopolitical and geo-strategic issues and challenges emerged from the Sino-Indian dynamics. Global economic and strategic power is shifting from US to China and therefore China will be most influential in the world order in coming few decades. Similarly, India is also rapidly expanding its influence in global and regional sphere. Hence, small countries like Nepal will have both negative and potentially positive efforts (economically, politically, strategically) to deal in the changing global order (protecting national interests in a situation of aggressive approaches of old and emerging powers) in the context of China-India rivalry. As Nepal is having rapid change in political and strategic sphere advancement of security sector is eminent. However, dealing with new security challenges requires enabling environment (favourable legal-regulatory provisions, supportive institutional arrangement, required resources, investing in capacity development especially in education and research, developing sound intelligence and integrating security policy with international relations, economic development and social services). Hence, it is essential to expand security discourse and engage citizen to develop ownership, strengthen the National Security Council, create enabling environment (developing relevant policy and strategies, promulgation of laws and development of rules and procedures, creating responsive institutional mechanisms, developing capabilities, making required resources available, parliamentary oversight and monitoring provisions, invest in security research and education) to address emerging new security challenges of the 21st century.

Key Words: Challenges, Nepal, peace, stability, security

Introduction

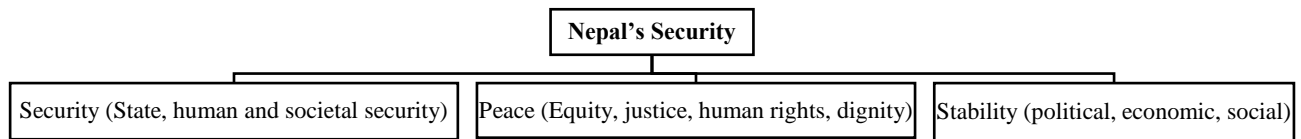
Security is a major concern at present context. It is conceptually interdependent, methodologically complex and strategically fundamental to secure nation's social, economic and political interests against the threats arising from other states (Huntington, 1985) and to protect its citizens (Upreti et al., 2013; Upreti, 2009a). Though security in the conventional notion is interpreted in the frame of national security to be provided by security forces with major role of military using different strategies and activities that minimise or neutralise the efforts of external actors (mainly from other independent nations), the modern concept of security goes beyond conventional scope and deals with societal and human security issues (Upreti et al, 2015; Upreti 2014; Upreti & Vanhauette, 2009; Hough, 2004). Security debate in changing context needs to look from this background. Hence, while envisioning the Nepal's security the components of the following figure provides the board purpose.

Figure 1 below provides an overview of the Nepal's long term security vision where three complementary building blocks are identified. They are: a) security (3 components of security are state security, human security and societal security), b) basic elements of the peace (4 components are namely equity, justice, human rights and dignity), and c) stability (3 important components are namely political

¹This paper is revised and updated version of the chapter 6 (I wrote) entitled 'security for peace and stability by 2030' of the book entitled Nepal Vision 2030 edited by SR Sharma, B. R. Upreti and K. N. Pyakuryal (2012) and published by Kathmandu University and NCCR.

stability, economic stability and social stability). The term comprehensive security or holistic security frequently used in this paper refers to these 3 interdependent components presented in the figure 1.

Figure 1: Nepal's Long Term Security Vision



Source: Adapted from Upreti, 2012b

Historically, Nepal's security concerns were dominated by the state security and security of heads of the fiefdoms, kingdoms and elites surrounding the power. During the time of Rana Rule and Panchayat regime security arrangements: policy and strategies, laws, rules and procedures, institutional mechanisms, capabilities, resources, and monitoring provisions were narrowly focused. Laws and regulations were developed and used accordingly (Phuyal & Urscheler, 2010). Ad hoc security policy guidelines were issued considering the context. No comprehensive national security policy was developed and applied. Even until few years back there was no separate national security. Security debate was limited to military and police (Bhattarai & Cave, 2009) because of lack holistic understanding of political and policy decision makers. Since last one decade the security debate is moving fast that resulted in a National Security Policy, which goes beyond the understanding of security is the only responsibility of security forces. The strong perception of security is only related military and debate initiated outside the security actors is seen as intrusion in their territory. In the past one debate military, police and scholars are critically reflecting on need of comprehensive security, engaged in informed debate and early warning based on the analysis of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and challenges of security forces, which is needed to further advance. Understanding are gradually developed and space for security debate is quite expanded (Upreti et al. 2013; Upreti 2014, Upreti 2016).

Even when the multiparty democratic political system was started in 1990, the security debate was not much on public reach mainly because:

- Security was narrowly understood. It was under the shadow of the Palace and therefore it was out of debate and reform agenda. Politicians were not able visualise security as public concern and to be debated in public. Hence, it was not their agenda debate and modernization. They were entirely relying with security forces on strategic issues instead of engaging and updating with the recent development in security thinking. Consequently, they prefer to avoid engaging themselves in the national debate on need for a new vision of security to address emerging security challenges such as climate security, human security, and societal security. The space for debate was formally opened by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) especially with the provision to integrate and rehabilitate Maoist combatant army. This provision forced to initiate and to engage in security debate and researchers, practitioners, policy makers started examine different dimensions of security. But still performance of political leaders in this issue weak for appropriately handling crucial contemporary security issues (Upreti 2012, Upreti et al 2016).
- Security forces for long were trained and nurtured in such a way that security issues belong only to them and therefore they perceived that the debate going beyond their circle is encroachment in their territory. Such feelings and perceptions have overtly or covertly developed resistance on security forces to collaborate with wider groups working on security issues. Consequently no informed constructive debate on new security challenges and ways of addressing them for long.
- As new security challenges were not debated widely, decision makers working on the security issues were less informed, less engaged. Therefore new security challenges were not comprehensively reflected in the national policies, strategies, regulatory frameworks and institutional arrangements.
- There were no systematic efforts on ensuring institutional arrangements for academic programme (education), research and public debate on security issues for long and since few years security institutions in collaboration with the Tribhuvan University started it but still weak. There are not yet well established think tanks, higher academic courses and specialized research centres related to security issues that undermine the meaningful and constructive engagement of general public in national security debate.

- National Interests Protection Committee of the Constituent Assembly had opened the debate and at envisioned holistic security for this country. However, without sound research, grounded analysis, constructive debate, the efforts were insufficient. Nevertheless, positive provisions were incorporated in the new constitution.

While looking to the existing situation, following are some of the most common features (from the governance and institutional perspectives) observed in security sector of Nepal:

- **Conceptual understanding:** Security policy makers and decision makers (at both political and security levels) are yet to fully internalize the holistic security perspective going beyond sector or individual organizational scope because of the reasons discussed in the section one. Nepal's security policy makers still need to expand their understanding of new concepts; unconventional security challenges and political economy of global security. It is essential to move from conventional understanding of security as a domain of military or government's security bodies and look for holistic security framework to deal with the security challenges of 21st century. It is essential now to operate higher education in security issues, established thematic security think-tanks and invest in research and capacity building to address the new security challenges.
- **Allocation, use and distribution of budget:** Insufficient allocation or misplaced priority or contested and sometime even questioned by Parliamentary Committees. Hence, addressing these issues is essential to improve performance of security sector.
- **Promotion, reward and punishment:** More work is needed on these issues to enhance reputation and performance of security sector. Transparent, fair and timely promotion, rewards, trainings and capacity building are core for modernization and strengthening the security organizations.
- **Internalisation of rule of law:** One of the important elements of successful modern security organizations is to internalize rule of law and operate in this spirit. Selective use of law and use as per the convenience is detrimental for any security organizations. Hence, security organizations and oversight mechanisms need to work together to transparently implement the rule of law.
- **Service to ordinary people:** Owing heart and mind of ordinary people is the most important aspect of enhancing the civilian-security relation and for that easy access of ordinary people to security services is the prime condition. It enhance public ownership of security organizations, minimise misunderstanding and gap between civilian and security forces, and develop confidence, trust and mutual respect which is the core of success of security organizations.
- **Efficiency and effectiveness of resources:** Efficiency and effectiveness are two crucial elements of modernization of the security organizations. Resources are often scarce and need judicial allocation and transparent use. Security organizations have to work on traditional as well as modern/unconventional security challenges and therefore required to be equipped with scientific technology and equipment. So, judicial allocation of resources and transparent are key for security organizations to success.
- **Political interference:** Security sector, especially police force is permanently suffered from the rampant political interference and ultimately discrediting and dysfunctionalize security organization. Therefore it is a collective responsibility of the parliament (to bring law to keep security forces away from political interference and parliamentary oversight), the government (ensure that security organizations are operating independently as per their mandate and legal framework without external interference).
- **Civilian-security relations:** A good relation of security forces with civilian is a key to success. Often, in difficult time (armed conflict and war, political unrest, etc.) security forces focuses on the main objectives and undermine civilians or ignore the importance of establishing good relations with ordinary people and later face different consequences of abusive acts. Hence, one of the important work of security organizations to enhance relations with general public. In the past few years security forces of Nepal are well aware of importance of this aspect and working on it but it needs to make more regular, important task.

The points discussed above clearly demonstrate the need as well as progress made in dealing with the new security challenges in relations to our security arrangements (policy and strategies, laws, rules and procedures, institutional mechanisms, capabilities, resource-base and monitoring provisions). Nepal's

security sector learned from trial and error, learning by doing and institutional legacies but moving to right direction to tackle security challenges of the 21st century. The scope of this paper is not a SWOT (strengths, weakness, opportunities and threats) analysis of the security organizations operating in Nepal but to very quickly reflect the situation and envision new security discourses that contains emerging security dimensions in addition to conventional one. Therefore, all dimensions of existing security organizations are not part of the paper. The main focus of the paper is to bring holistic focus (state security, human security and societal security) in public debate and help to concerned stakeholders and policy makers to promote comprehensive security in the country.

Changing Context and Need for a Wider Security Discourse

Nepal has frequently rewritten political history. The political changes of 1951, 1990 and 2006 laid foundation for a transformation of a centralised, monarchical, exclusionary state into a modern inclusive nation. However, political parties and their leaders are repeatedly failed to manage the change as per the expectation of Nepali people (Sharma et al 2012; Upreti et al 2016). In the past 12 years, entire political processes were focused on managing transition and ensuring fundamental restructuring of the nation (Upreti, 2010). The CPA had provided broader framework and 'transformational skeleton' on which the Constituent Assembly together with political parties worked further and institutionalised changes brought by the political movements. However, delivery of the constitutional provisions to server ordinary citizen of Nepal is weak and frustrating. Security is one of several sectors of the state such as judiciary, bureaucracy, legislatives to deliver service to people (Upreti, 2009b) and security sector alone cannot deliver security if other sectors are not operating properly. Hence, their role is complementary to provide services of people and improving the existing economic, social, political, cultural-religious practices (Upreti, 2010).

For long, Nepal's security sector faced institutional and governance bottleneck. Institution in this paper covers the organisational dimensions as well as the rules, procedures and value systems of security organizations such as Nepal Army, Armed Police Force, Nepal and Nepal Police. Governance of the state security organisations for this paper is a process of translating policies and regulations into practices including balance of confidentiality and transparency, accountability, application of rule of law, efficient and effective use of available resources, respecting basic human rights principles and humanitarian law as well as parliamentary oversight and civilian control. Nepali security forces sent abroad for UN peace keeping operation and other purposes have demonstrated excellent performance and built high reputation but Nepali political decision makers are not able maximize potential opportunities arise from such good performance. Why? Answer to this issue is lack of diplomatic efforts, lack of internalization of the achievements made in this area or ignorance that need to change. Role played by security forces especially in UN peace keeping operation is special strength of Nepal's security forces and therefore it essential to expand and use for diplomatic purpose (enhancing visibility and importance of Nepal in the world affairs). Examining the effectiveness of security agencies, effective institutional arrangements (in terms of service delivery, resource use, neutrality and free from politicization), motivated, well trained and committed human resources, adequate legal framework and appropriate security policy (that encompasses strategy, procedures, oversight mechanisms, civilian control) presented in the Figure 2 utmost essential.

Figure 2: Components for Effective Security Service Delivery by the Security Agencies



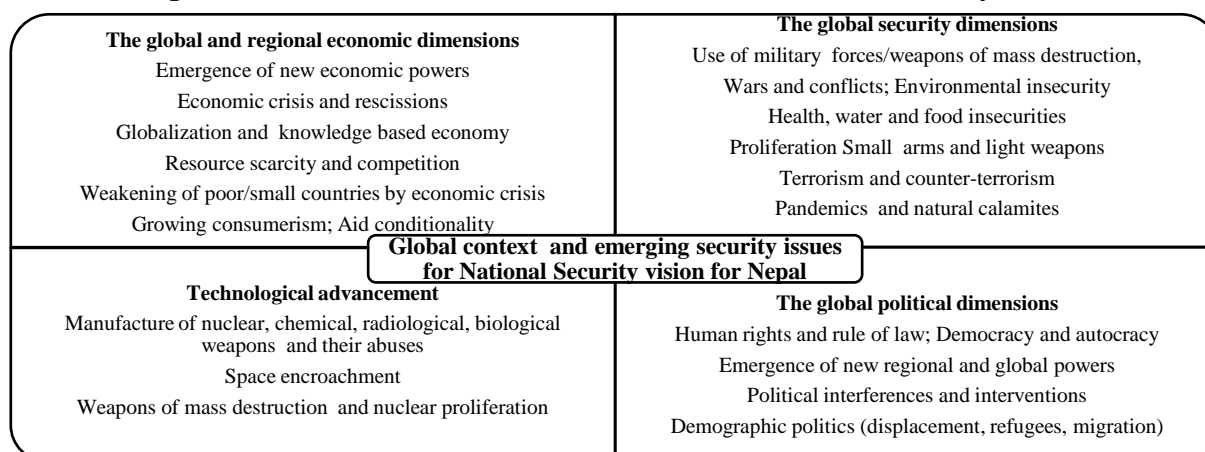
Source: Upreti (2012b)

Quick Envisioning of Future Security

The future security discourse are shaped by 4 important global dynamics i.e., global security, global economic and regional dynamics, global political dynamics and global technological advancement.

Future security of any country is shaped by these dynamics and therefore preparing the Nepal's security visions for coming several decades depends upon these four factors (see Figure 3 about each of them).

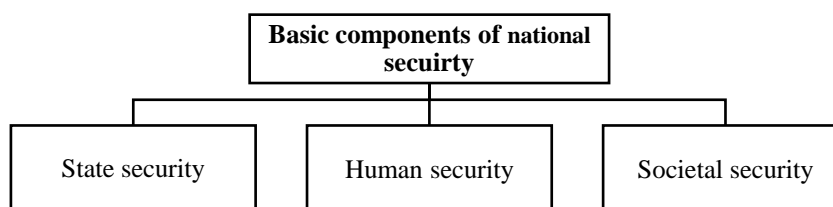
Figure 3: Four Interrelated Dimensions That Affect Future Security Debate



Source: Adapted from Upreti, 2012b

Often after large scale political changes (either regime change or system change) security sector falls on contestation or controversy, blamed for wrongdoing and not ineffective and therefore demands for review and reform (Sharma et al 2012; Bhattarai & Cave, 2009; Sapkota, 2009; Upreti, 2012b). It also demands for developing a comprehensive national policy for security sector to gives broader framework for future decision on security related issues, to make security sector more acceptable, respected and institutionalized. Security sector need to be owned by political parties and citizens irrespective of their political affiliation of orientation towards particular political party/ideology. While developing such policy, three fundamental components: i.e., state security, human security and societal security (See figure 4) are crucially important because they are complementary to each other and conceptually coherent and make a holistic framework.

Figure 4: Basic Components of New National Security



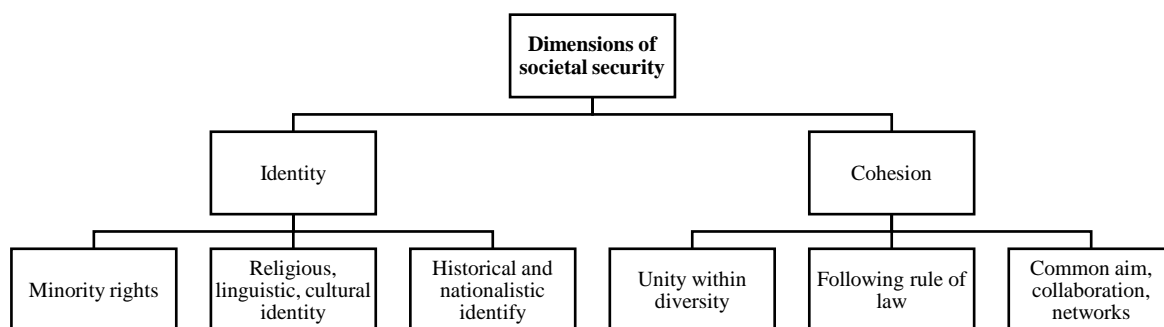
Source: Upreti (2012b)

State security often focuses on the state sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the military is assigned to maintain the sovereignty and territorial integrity. Human security focuses on the human dimension such as ensuring basic human rights, food and water, right to health and so on. Societal security refers to the broader security concerns of society as a whole such as securing the public from natural calamities, disasters and disease pandemics, protecting public property and public places (Lulian *et. al.*, 2008). Romania, Moldova, Ukraine, Australia, USA, Canada, Finland, Germany, New Zealand, UK and Netherlands have incorporated societal and human security dimensions in addition to state security in their national security policy². In the new and changing global, regional and national political context societal security is fundamentally important (Government of Australia, 2009; Government of Canada, 2004). However, it is not getting right priority in the policy making and political decision making levels.

² See a) Finish Security and Defense Policy 2009 (Prime Minister's Office Publication 13/2009, b)Securing a Open Society: Canada's National Security Policy April 2004; Canada Privy Council Office' c) Defense Policy Guidelines for the area of responsibility of the Federal Minister of Defense, Germany, 21 May 2003, d) National Security Strategy of the Netherlands, Ministry of Interior and Kingdom Relations, May 2007, e) The New Zealand Defense Force Strategic Plan 2007-2011, Ministry of Defense, and f) National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom: Security in the Interdependent World. See the Cabinet Office, March 2008, for details about the inclusion of societal security in their national security policies and strategies.

Figure 5 presents different dimensions of societal security on which Nepal has to give priority in the coming decades.

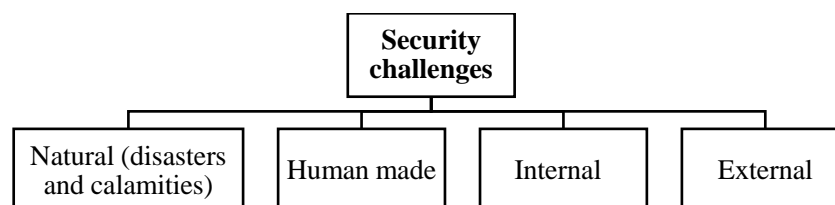
Figure 5: Different Dimensions of Societal Security



Source: Upreti (2012b)

Societal security is affected by and related to many factors, which can be grouped into two, i.e. identity and cohesion. For identity, it is important to respect minority rights and protecting religious, linguistic and cultural identity without affecting others rights and identity. Further, respecting historic identity of particular groups is crucially important and has to go side by side with acknowledging and enhancing national identity for achieving societal security. Cohesion brings unity within diversity, respecting plurality and mutual respects. If we fail to balance between identity and cohesion it potentially becomes a perennial source of tension and conflict and poses domestic security challenges and provides space for external force to engage in.

Figure 6: Different Challenges to Security

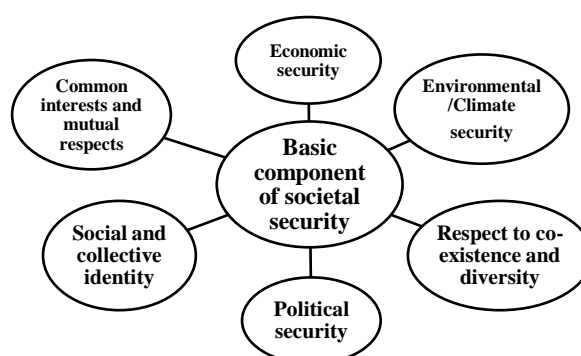


Source: Developed by author

Security is a major challenge anywhere in the world and every country allocates essential resources to tackle insecurity and to provide security to its citizens. Conceptually security challenges can be categorized into two interrelated category:

- Based on externality: external and internal security challenges
- Based on source: natural (disasters such as flood and landslides, earthquake, tsunami, drought, forest fire and so on) made and manmade (blockade, political violence and insurgencies, religious, ethnic or other form of bloody conflict and civil war, nuclear/radioactive, biological and chemical contaminations and attacks, pollutions, breaking of big infrastructures, food shortage etc.)

Figure 7: Fundamental Basis of Societal Security



Source: Upreti (2012b)

In political security, full participation in politics and appropriate representations (proportional representation could be one best option) are some of the important elements. In economic security, livelihood security of individuals and employment opportunities are important. Ensuring opportunities for securing basic livelihoods and health and education are crucial for the economic security. In environmental security, judicious use, balancing the ecological and economic use of environmental and natural resources and protecting and preventing environment from the effects of climate changes are crucial. Further, collective commitment (achieving security is a common concern of all citizen) and society's collective identity (uniting rather than fragmenting into smaller identity) are fundamentally important to achieve security in the coming many years. Hence, preventing radicalization of ethnic religious sensitivity and causing intolerance and ignoring the co-existence requires appropriate handling of these issues.

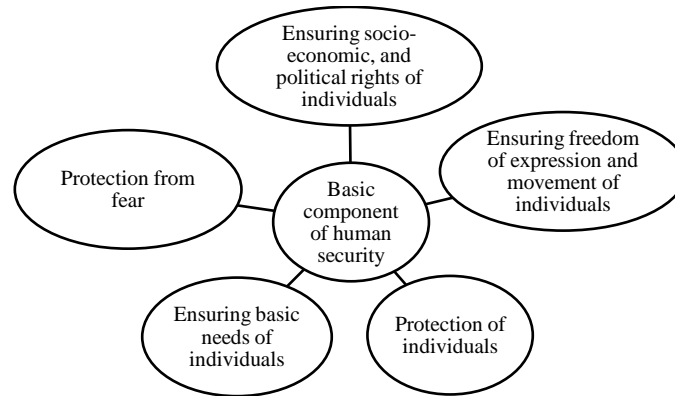
Societal security has to provide security and protection to population and vital infrastructures (hydropower, telecommunications, roads and suspension bridges, airports, industrial estates, etc.) from human made disasters and natural calamities. Further, provision of fire safety, road safety, defining construction standards to protect from construction hazards, ensuring livelihood (food, drinking water, health) security, environmental security and security from adverse effects of climate change are important components of the societal security, in addition to the conventional areas of state security (state's ability to defend against external threats). Promoting collective efforts for social welfare, mutual respects and co-existence must be priority for the national security for coming three decades.

Any future security framework must be able to tackle conventional and unconventional security challenges. In case of Nepal we need to develop our national security capacity to tackle the problems such as:

- Natural calamities and disasters (earth quakes, landslides, flooding, droughts, forest fire, avalanche, etc.),
- Manmade disasters like nuclear/radioactive, biological and chemical contaminations and attacks, pollutions, breaking of big infrastructures, food shortage, disaster from misuse of science and technology
- Pandemics like bird flu, SARS, HIV Aids, Hepatitis and other outbreaks
- Information (electronic war, cybercrime), space security (mainly missiles, navigation and aeronautics), etc.
- Strategic implications of rise of India and China, two giant neighbours
- Expansion of global terrorism (e.g., *Al Qaeda*) and its focus in South Asia (India, Pakistan, Afghanistan) (though Nepal is not a primary target country so far but the possibility exists for both soft (big public places such as cinema halls, malls and super markets, airports, bus stations, temples and churches, etc.) and hard targets (security stations and camps, ministries and government building, etc.).
- Organized crimes: narcotics, money laundering, smuggling of small arms, human bodies, abuses of inflammables and explosives
- Energy crisis, resource scarcity
- Demographic change and challenges (migration, displacement, high ratio of aging population, etc.)
- International vested interests and pushing Nepal (knowingly or unknowingly) in risky and dangerous controversies (e.g., peace conference of unification church, engaging in and pulling from BIMISTIC related joint military exercise,) or extracting our valuable natural resources, etc.
- Governance challenges (respecting Rule of Law and constitutional provisions, balancing confidentiality and transparency, ensuring accountability, combating corruption, overcoming duality and hypocrisy, etc.)

Human Security and Its Components

One of the prime concerns in the contemporary security debate is ensuring human security which is more fundamental and directly related to the life and livelihood of people. The following figure 8 shows the important elements to be considered for ensuring the human security:

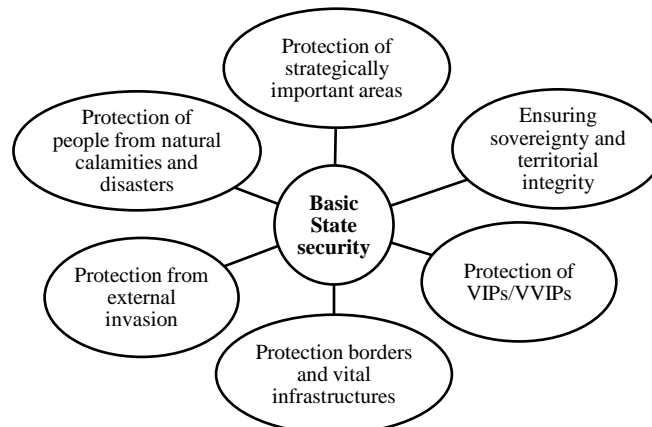
Figure 8: Fundamental Basis of Human Security

Source: Upreti (2012b)

Human security is one of the major security concerns in the changing context, where state security alone is not enough to protect individual citizens of any country. There are other interrelated components form human security, i.e. a) protection of individual from fear, b) ensuring individuals' basic needs, c) physical protection of human being, ensuring individuals' freedom to express and move, and d) ensuring socio-economic, political, religious and cultural rights. The human security perspective is therefore driven from the human rights perspective too. It has to be complimented by the state security to make the nation secure.

State Security and Its Components

The basic components of the state security comprises of protection of strategically important areas, and structures; assurance of national sovereignty and territorial integrity; protection of important dignitaries of the state; protection and control of border areas (particularly security sensitive areas); securing of state and people from external invasion; and help/protection of people from natural calamities and manmade disaster (Upreti et al. 2013, 2015 & 2016; Upreti 2010; 2012ab). The major components of the state security are presented in Figure 9 below:

Figure 9: Fundamental Basis of State Security

Source: Upreti (2012b)

Security in Federal System

Managing security in the federal set up is a daunting task and it is even more complicated when federalization is initiated in a unitary country with established security infrastructures. It is mainly because:

- Too difficult in negotiating power and authority between the federal units,
- Lack of experiences in dealing with and managing security in the federal structure (In Nepal federalization was outcome of the frustration and negative perception about unitary system and therefore always focuses on dismantling central power. However, security is a very sensitive issue and a lot of special power need to be vested in the federal level which often the federated units do not like that ultimately invites tussle and tension).

- Covert interests of external forces also indirectly play with resistance or manipulation.
- Lack of substantial debate on managing security at provincial and local governments especially on structures, size and responsibility of security structures in the changing context. It is crucially important to adapt participatory and inclusive approaches that ensure constructive engagement of public in security debate where they assist the state to achieve security. Engagement of public not only develops ownership but also helps to win the hearts and minds of people to tackle the security concerns and challenges of the country.
- Confusion created by the influence or copying of different practices/arrangement of security management in different federal countries, which are not totally relevant because of our specific context, need and capabilities.
- In many federal countries often military are kept in the central level and paramilitary like Armed Police Force, Nepal are kept in both central and state level but often police are kept at province levels. In case of Nepal, the constructive debate is still lacking on the roles, size and structures of security forces in relation with the current context.
- Developing competent human resource is essential to strengthening Nepal's security. Nepal is situated in geo-politically very strategic place and role of security intelligence is crucial. The rise of China as super power and the economic development of India, growing interests of USA in the region, Indo-Pak tension and nuclear expansion in the region, concentration of millions of poor people, water stress and food insecurity make South Asia strategically important from the security perspective and Nepal is in the centre geo-politically. Therefore, developing competent human resources capable of implementing the long term security vision is crucially needed. Hence, human resource development through academic courses, offering training courses, creating research institute for the security/strategic research and engage in security analysis, early warning, risk assessment and threat analysis are crucially important for Nepal.
- Nepal has already changed the narrow security vision but needed enabling environment. Tackling potential security challenges for coming decades needs a new approach to make country safe, secure and peaceful for which the government must create enabling environment for tackling these challenges.
- Role of National Security Council need further strengthening. A fully functional, highly competent professional body responsible for advising the government on the security policy, strategy is precondition. It will have to take decision based on strategic analysis, research, and early projections, threat and risks assessment. Also provide suitable environment for army, police and armed police forces to grow in a highly professional, competent, modern security structures.
- The government and the parliament need to ensure that all 3 state security forces operate according to the internal standard practices. Their relation with people is cordial, political parties do not interfere the security structures. They operate under the full civilian control and parliamentary oversight to enhance credibility of security structures and make them respected at national, regional and international levels.
- Strengthen intelligence: In the changing context (domestically federalization and externally several vested interests and emergence of radical nationalistic behavior of powerful countries ignoring the principle of co-existence) Nepal need a highly professional, extremely intelligent, regionally and internationally recognized organization operates globally to strengthen the national interests, state security, human security and societal security and enhances visibility and recognition of the country in the world.
- Issue of border security is becoming even complicated in the federal set up as role of provinces is crucially important in facilitating border issues. In addition, Nepal's forces have also to deal with the security of tourists, ensuring industrial security forces. Disaster risk reduction, relief and humanitarian assistance are other important areas where security forces of Nepal have gained great experiences from their past engagements. Based on the experiences so far, Nepal needs to establish a very effective and resourceful humanitarian assistance mechanism fully functions to assist the people of the country. As Nepal has gained excellent experiences in disaster management it can provide expert service to disaster related problems across the globe.
- Integrated strategy: It is utmost essential to integrate security policy, foreign policy, development policy and economic policy of the nation. Nepal's international relation policy have to entail security,

economy, human rights as integral components and Nepal's foreign policy influences economic, security and political decision making at regional level.

- Establishment of, and investment in, specialized research and analysis must be one of the core priority of Nepal to strengthen the security. Nepal needs to develop highly competent, globally renowned research and analysis think tanks and research institutes in the areas of security, international relations, and strategic issues if it wants to be secure. Further, Nepal has to have sophisticated laboratories for biological, chemical, radiological and other security related tests and they will be recognized in the region and beyond. Demands for their professional services will increase globally.
- It is urgent to establishing and strengthening defense science and technology in Nepal. Nepal has to have specialized defense sciences and technology centres to study space security, information security, climate monitoring, to counter bio-terrorism etc.

China-India Factor and Our Security Concerns

China

As Nepal is situated in a geo-strategically sensitive place between the competing giants China and India, security sensitivity is one of our prime concern especially when both of them have multifaceted contested issues and with multi-polarization, they are one of the largest geo-political, geo-economic and geo-strategic actors in the global distribution of power able to challenge the existing world powers (e.g., USA, Japan, France, UK). In this context once Kevin Rudd (former MP of Australia) in his key note speech at London (16 Dec 2013) said, *"I believe the single great challenge of our age is the rise of China and its impact on the current international order"*, referring to China's economic and political rise. Western strategists often emphasize that in coming decade Chinese will surpass USA in terms of economic and military power parity as economic power and ultimately shapes strategic and political powers. The worry of Western power in relation with the Chinese expansion is reflected that a non-western, non-English and non-democratic country to be world's largest power in future and they are concluding that whatever change in the current world order may occur will be due to rise of China (and other southern countries).

Similarly, China and India are competing among themselves in global order: economic, security, global structures (UN-UNSC, IMF, WB) and engaging in maritime security regime, developing space based security technology including cyber security, concerned with non-traditional security concerns (climate and environment, food and water; migration, health and education, energy. They are also competing for regional security (geopolitics of particular geographical areas especially: South Asia, South-East Asia, Asia Pacific, Africa), but want a stable Asia-Pacific to sustain their economic prosperity. However, their alliances are different. India seeks US presence to minimize possible Chinese excesses, where as China views US containment attempts in the region.

The geopolitical revelry is one of the major factors for Sino-Indian relations. The major ones are a) Dalai Lama-India relations and China's concerns, b) Pakistan-China relations and India's concerns, c) expanding influence in South Asia: (India's concern over China's influence in Sri Lanka, Maldives Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan through major infrastructure development-belt and road initiative, defense cooperation, trade (for example, China had provided submarines to Bangladesh and now China is largest trading partner of BD, after 28 years Chinese President Xi Jinping visited Bangladesh Oct 2016 and signed 27 agreements. Likewise, in 2015 Indian PM Modi visited Bangladesh and signed 22 agreements. This is a concrete example how these two countries are competing in the region.

China is funding large projects in South Asia, for example China-Pak Economic Corridor, Hambantota port and Norochcholai Thermal Plant in Maldives; which are of concern of India. Further, India and China has some unsettled issues constantly affecting their relations. One example is the historical tension on Arunachal Pradesh (China views that Arunachal Pradesh is in India only because of McMahon Line drawn in 1911 otherwise it should be in South Tibet. China had furious reaction when India allowed Dalai Lama to visit Arunachal Pradesh on 4 April 2017 (and received and accompanied by India's junior home minister Kiren Rijiju) as the Indian ambassador at Beijing was summoned and handed over the formal protest with strong worded statement (harming the bilateral relations and facing the consequences). China had also opposed US supported Indian interest to be member of Nuclear Suppliers Group., China also built China-Pakistan Economic Corridor through disputed Kashmir against Indian

interests. India was furious on China built ports (e.g., Gwadar of PK, Container terminal at Colombo) and large infrastructure investment in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh; engagement of China in peace talk between Afghan Taliban and the Afghan government. However, despite these rivalries both countries are trying to improve relations: President Xi Jinping was birthday guest of PM Modi in 2014 in his hometown Ahmedabad, Modi lifted restrictions imposed by previous Indian government on Chinese investment on sensitive sectors such as ports and telecoms.

China is massively engaged in oil industries, mines and minerals, dams, trade, private business and development infrastructures around the world that became instrumental to international expansion of China. China aims to turn economic strengths into strategic expansion through new cooperation platforms like Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), BRI, BRICS, and Asian Infrastructure Development Bank to weaken the hegemony of conventional power and strategic means to expand economic influence. Another means of influence is China's Indian Ocean Strategy (which has greater focus on sea and expansion of naval base to be a 'major maritime power') and aim to expand maritime routes (maritime silk road initiative) to Middle East and beyond through Indian Ocean as bridge between Asia and Europe and Africa, its strategy to expand to Indian Ocean Rim (Australia to Middle East and South Africa). Further, it has increased investment in defense (35 billion \$ in 2006 to 141 billion \$ in 2015). In 2021 China is celebrating century of founding of Chinese Communist Party and in 2049 it will mark century of People's China where China is working to materialize "duel Century Goals" for which by 2021 it will 'complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects' and by 2049 it will 'build a modern socialist country that is strong prosperous, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious', what Xi Jinping says "Dream for China's future". China is also having lead role in UN International Finance Cooperation and becoming influential in issues like climate change and sustainable development.

China sets up the Central National Security Commission (CNSC) to advise the politburo and highest level of leadership responsible for security strategy; to coordinate between different departments of party, government, military and society and assessing external and internal security threats and crisis management. These all Chinese strategies and activities will have covert or overt effects (both positive and negative) for Nepal.

India

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Damodar Modi adjusted Indian foreign policies and strategies to make more 'progressive', assertive and 'prominent', and mobilized Indian diaspora. His international relations were focused on economic advancement and he made efforts for global outreach to expand Indian influence. His priority is to also strengthen cooperation, for example, Free Trade Agreement between India and Eurasian Union, North South Transport Corridor (including Russia, India, Iran) to integrate South Asia, Iran, Central Asia and Russia, expansion of Indian defense cooperation with Russia, hard efforts to secure permanent seat at the UNSC, ensuring Russia-India-China (RIC) bilateral agreements and summits in 2014, These all efforts of Indian will have overt or covert effects (both positive and negative) to Nepal and we need to be able to deal with the negative effects of both neighbours.

Similarly, changing global power dynamics, advancement of sciences and technologies (IT, quantum physics, etc.), globalization and market domination (arms trade), emerging global security risks (chemical and biological weapons, space wars, etc.), securitization of movement, effects of terrorism, pandemics, international migration multiplied by the globalization and environmental insecurity, scarcity of energy resources (it is at the heart of future inter-state conflicts) and increasing military spending in all BRICS countries (they were among the top ten military spenders in 2011 with China occupying second place (after the US), Russia third, India eighth, and Brazil tenth), increasing world's population (1.6 billion at the beginning of the 20th century that will reach 8 billion by 2030, and more than 9 billion in 2050); dramatic increase in population growth in Muslim countries (Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Turkey) and negative population growth rate in developed countries, growing marginalized population (one billion people, 1/6th of the world's population live in slum with very low-paid jobs, unemployment: begging, drugs, prostitution, and crime & urban violence); emergence and expansion of radicals, extremists and terrorists (e.g., al-Qaida, Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant, Boko Haram, etc.), possible manipulation against one China policy (Tibet + Taiwan), South China Sea dispute (border to determine according to the 'nine-dash line'), disputed borders/territories in Senkaku (Diaoyu)

islands, East China Sea, Kuril Islands, The Korean peninsula, Western Sahara, Antarctica, Israel/Palestine, Somaliland, Taiwan, Jammu & Kashmir etc.), expanding terrorist networks and counter terrorism responses (investment in military capabilities, human rights abuses, etc.) potential dispute on capturing global commons, secessionist tendencies in Tibet; terrorist and secessionist activities in different parts of world (e.g., in Xinjiang of China, North East Indian states); territorial disputes in South China sea with Japan and South Korea Vietnam; extraction of resources from poor countries (investment in infrastructure and other lucrative areas) are some of the factors directly and indirectly shaping global, regional and national security concerns in future and we have to prepare to deal with the effects. Nepal to work for balancing relations (neutrality, equi-distance, non-alignment etc.), develop negotiation capacity and ability to deal with contested issues (infiltration of separatists and terrorists and other forces interested to destabilize China and India), handling regional water scarcity and tension, effects of volatile population of South Asia affected from poverty, inequality, discrimination, ethnic and religious tensions, balancing the interests of India, United States, China, EU countries for strategic, economic, political concerns, and ensuring the Nepal's national interests while dealing with external interests.

Conclusions

So far, direction taken by Nepal in dealing with new security challenges is right but need more efforts at the national, provincial, and local levels to create enabling environment. Enabling environment includes favourable legal-regulatory provisions, supportive institutional arrangement, required resources, investing in capacity development especially in education and research, developing sound intelligence and integrating security policy with international relations, economic development and social services. Further, expanding the security discourse and engaging citizen of the country to develop ownership is essential for which the government need a dedicate programme on strengthening relationship between citizen and security actors of the country. Moving from narrow, militaristic, centralised security arrangement to a holistic security arrangements discussed in the preceding section require time, commitment, resources and therefore it has to be national priority going beyond certain ministries or security agencies.

Security concerns are not limited to military and state security forces and therefore it has to integrate, economic, foreign, development policies into national security policies. The going to be soon revised National Security has to ensure this arrangement. The National Security Council has to ensure strong coordination mechanism among the concerned ministries (Defence, Home, Foreign Affairs, Federal Affairs and General Administration, Communication and Information, Ministry of Education, Science and Technology) and collaboration with key stakeholders (central, provincial and local governments, experts and academics and civil society).

Creating enabling environment (developing relevant policy and strategies, promulgation of laws and development of rules and procedures, creating responsive institutional mechanisms, developing capabilities, making required resources available, parliamentary oversight and monitoring provisions, invest in security research and education) is a pre-condition for addressing the security challenges of 21st centuries (unconventional security challenges such as resource scarcity, climate change effects, livelihood insecurity, environmental insecurity, food and water insecurity, health insecurity, natural calamities and disasters, pandemic diseases, etc.) as well as conventional security issues such as protecting sovereignty and territory of the state.

Global economic and strategic power is shifting from US to China and therefore China will be most influential in the world order in coming few decades which will have direct effects to Nepal. Economic and geo-political interests will be the determinants of the engagement of China and India in future with any countries including Nepal. Small countries like Nepal will have hard time (economically, politically, strategically) to deal in the changing global order (protecting national interests in a situation of aggressive approaches of old and emerging powers). China and India are surely going to change geopolitics and it will have great effects (both positive and negative) to Nepal. Nepal has both opportunities and challenges for its geo-strategic location but risks are high (use for vested interested by the powerful countries as Nepal is still weak in negotiation. Most difficult aspect for Nepal will be the rivalry and competing priorities of India and China on major global issues (e.g., Asian security, regional stability in S/E Asia) and their attempts to get support of Nepal.

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Prosperity of Nepal Vs Security Forces of Nepal: Virgin Field of the Study

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Abstract

We analyze the prosperity of Nepal in relation to security forces of Nepal. The main argument discussed in this article is competent and committed security forces of Nepal contribute to foster and promote prosperity of Nepal. The prosperity of Nepal means the safeguarding sovereignty, territorial integrity, nationality, unity in diversity and maintaining law and order situation in the country. This can be achieved through development of security personnel, formulation of good policies which guides security forces and cultivation of favourable environment in the country. However, there are risk factors associated with this venture if not working properly.

Key Words: Prosperity, security forces, policies, human resource development, management

Introduction

Security has been becoming very crucial aspect for the prosperity of any country. It is assumed that security has pivotal role for the development of the country. It means that less security of the country would result less development and more security more development. Therefore, state invests their huge resources for the security forces to breed favorable environment in order to achieve prosperity of the state. Thus invested huge resource would be productive when the state achieves its prosperity. In the mean time, question is raised, how? There could be hundreds of modality. The modality is framed state-wise. Basically, policy makers set the modality. It depends on the ways of decisions are taken by the policy maker. How the security forces are mobilized? How efforts of security forces are linked to the prosperity of the country? Therefore, it would be pertinent to define prosperity of the particular state and mobilization of its security forces. In this context, we take this opportunity to define the prosperity of Nepal and the roles assumed to play by the Nepalese security forces. We also elucidate the relationship between prosperity of Nepal and the security forces of Nepal.

Methods of the Study

This study is basically based on exploratory research design based on policy documents. It focuses its analysis on the contents explained in its national documents which include the Constitution of Nepal, 2072, Nepal Army Act, 2063 and its Regulation, 2069, Armed Police Force Act, 2058 and its Regulation 2072, Nepal Police Act, 2012 and its Regulation 2071 including periodic plan of Nepal. Two factors- prosperity of Nepal and security forces of Nepal are identified from the policy documents. The prosperity of Nepal is defined from constitution and periodic plan whereas security forces are from their policy documents and the constitution.

Prosperity of Nepal

Our assumption is that Government of Nepal forms competent and committed security forces which are full of required knowledge, skills and attitude. They collectively act to maintain peace and security in Nepal. They safeguard life and property of Nepalese people. Nepalese people can move freely because of security. Nepalese are free from internal and external security threats and challenges. In fact, it is too abstract to define prosperity of the country. Eastern philosophy explains prosperity as all are happy, all are survived with peace and dignity and no one gets any pain and hurt. There should be peace in earth, cosmos, plant, sun, and other. Thus, peace building is main concern along with happiness. Prosperity can be measured from two angles- materialistic and non-materialistic. Materialistic refers to economically sound and full of physical substances whereas non materialistic is about social and individual values, norms, belief, and peace. In case of materialistic life, World Bank define the state which has less than US\$1005 per capita income is low income country, US\$ 1006 to 3955 middle-income country and US\$ 3956 to 12235 high middle-level income and more than US\$ 12236 a high income country. Likewise,

United Nations is also categorized nations on the basis of their per capita income and other social indicators as least developing country, developing country and developed country. On the basis of above categories, Nepal remains in low income and least developed country category.

Constitution of Nepal 2015 assumes that sovereign right is vested on Nepalese people. It also provides right to autonomy and self-rule. People can enjoy freedom in free and fair manner. There must be territorial integrity along with national unity. Nepal would end all forms of discriminations and oppression protecting and promoting social and cultural solidarity, tolerance and harmony. Nepal shall have unity in diversity. Nepalese state policy will be based on socialism oriented economy. The constitution explains national interest in its article 5. This is obligatory to each Nepali and actors for safeguarding of the freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity, nationality, independence and dignity of Nepal, the right of the Nepalese people, border security, economic wellbeing and prosperity. Whoever and whatever the actors, they have to act their activities under this umbrella of the national interest. No one can go beyond this national interest.

The constitutions also explain following four objectives to achieve through the state mechanism. These objectives also signify the prosperity of Nepal. Our efforts should focus to achieve following objectives. First, the political objectives include welfare system of governance, rule of law, safeguarding human right, gender equality, proportional inclusion and social justice. Second, the social and cultural objectives shall be to build a civilized and egalitarian society by eliminating all forms of discrimination, exploitation and injustice. Third, the economic objective of the state shall be to achieve a sustainable economic development while achieving rapid economic growth by way of maximum mobilization of the available means and resources. Likewise, the fourth objective is their international relations which refers to enhance the dignity of the nation in the world community by maintaining international relations on the basis of sovereign equality while safeguarding the freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence and national interest of Nepal. To achieve these objectives, the constitution also directed more than one dozens of policies in its article 51.

Besides, the constitution is advocated rights based approach of prosperity of the country. There is separate part for the fundamental rights that have to protect, promote and safeguard by each individuals and state mechanism. Seven fundamental rights were guaranteed in constitution 1951, economic and social rights in the constitution 1959, 22 rights in the constitution 1990, 21 rights in the constitution 2006, and 31 rights in the constitution 2015. Thus, the constitution of Nepal refers safeguarding sovereignty, respect of fundamental rights, national unity within diversity, socialism oriented economy, balanced international relations and achieving national interest etc as the prosperity of Nepal. In the same manner, the periodic plan of Nepal explains prosperity of Nepal more concretely with quantitative indicators. According to this periodic plan, independent, prosperous and socialism oriented economy is main mission of Nepal. Nepal will enter into middle level income country through welfare and social justice country. There would be productive employment oriented, just redistributive oriented high economic growth to eliminate poverty in the country. The main indicators of the periodic plan are as follows.

Table 1: Indicators of Prosperity of Nepal

Indicators	As of 2015/16	2018/019
Average economic growth rate	0.8	7.2
Agricultural sector's growth rate	1.3	4.7
Non agricultural sector's growth rate	0.6	8.4
Money inflation	9.5	7.5
Per capita income(In Rs in,000)	79.4	116.5
People living below poverty line	21.6	17
Human Development Index(HDI)	0.54	0.57
Gender Empowerment Index(GEI)	0.56	0.58
Life expectancy	69	72
Drinking water supply (%)	83.6	90
Admission rate in secondary school	37.7	45
Literacy rate(15-24 yrs)	88.6	92
Electricity generation(MW)	851	2301
Access to electricity (%)	74	87

Irrigation(in Hector Lakh)	13.9	15.2
Internet access	44.4	65

Source: Periodic Plan (2015-2018)

The present periodic plan explains the prosperity of Nepal to achieve by the end of 2018. The country should achieve 7.2 percent of economic growth, USD 1165 per capita income, reducing poverty rate from 21 to 17 percent, 92 percent of literacy rate, 72 years of life expectancy, 2301 MW electricity generation and 87 percent accessibility of electricity etc. When we achieve these indicators by 2018, we will claim we are moving towards prosperity of Nepal. Nepal is a signatory part of global forum of Post sustainable development goals (SDGs). There are 17 goals that should be achieved by Government of Nepal. SDGs refers to ending poverty, ensuring healthy life and equal and quality education, achieving gender equality, making sure of healthy drinking water and sanitation, achieving sustained economic growth, combating with climate change etc. (NPC, 2015). Thus, the prosperity of Nepal refers to implementation of existing periodic plan and achievements of SDGs though abiding present constitution of Nepal. It means socialism oriented and sustained economic growth which reduces poverty from the country, peace and welfare, and respect of human rights through maintaining national unity within the diversity of the country under the umbrella of national interest fixed in the constitution of Nepal.

Security Forces in Nepal

Management of security personnel in Nepal: Human resource development in Nepal Army is managed by Nepal Army Act, 2063 and its Regulation 2069, Armed Police Force, Nepal by Armed Police Force Act, 2058 and its Regulation, 2072 and Nepal Police by Nepal Police Act, 2012 and its Regulation 2071. In Nepal Army, there are about 91 thousand soldiers, 37 thousands (approx) in Armed Police Force, Nepal and 69 thousands (approximately) in Nepal Police. Altogether, about 200 thousands securities personnel excluding intelligence police are serving to the nation. There is huge resource invested for the sake of national prosperity of the country (Racovita, 2018). To manage these human resources, Public Service Commission conducts their examination to ensure merit-based selection. Hundreds percent followers and soldiers in each security forces are recruited through open competition. In case of Nepal Army, 100 percent Pyuthe to Subedar are filled through promotion. There are 30 percent seats allocated for internal competition for those who are already in the Nepal Army service and rest 70 percent for open for the second lieutenant. Positions above than second lieutenants are fulfilled through promotion. In case of Nepal Police, Assistant sub-inspector is fulfilled through both open and promotion competition. The ratio is 40:60 percent. The officer, Inspector is also fulfilled through both open and promotion competition. Sixty percent of total vacant seats are allocated for open competition and rest of 40 per cent for promotion. Positions above than Inspectors are fulfilled through promotion. The same trend is also employed for Armed Police Force, Nepal except Assistant Sub-Inspector. Sixty percent seats are allocated for open and rest 40 percent for promotion competition. To maintain inclusive security forces of Nepal, quota system is adopted. Among total vacant seats, the 45 percent seats are allocated for inclusive category and 55 percent for open category. Assuming 45 percent seats as a 100 percent, 20 percent seats are reserved only for women, 32 percent for ethnic community, 28 percent for Madhesi, 15 percent for Dalits and 5 percent for backward areas of Nepal.

Separate syllabus is prepared for each category for recruiting security personnel. The assumption is qualified security personnel work efficiently and effectively in the security agencies of Nepal. To promote from one position to immediate higher position, training, performance evaluation, medal, and seniority are major ingredients taken into consideration. Thus, these factors make sure of qualified security personnel working in our security forces. To hunt best qualified candidate in security forces, Nepal Army has conducted Master's in Strategic Studies (MSS) in Shivapuri, Post Graduate Diploma in Police Science (PGDPS) and Master of Police Science (MPS) in Maharajganj by Nepal Police and Masters in Security, Development and Peace Studies (MSDPS) in Sanogaucharan, Kathmandu by Armed Police Force, Nepal. All these programs are affiliated to Tribhuvan University of Nepal. To motivate security personnel in Nepal, there are provisions of both monetary and non-monetary incentives provided through their respective regulations. Salary, insurance, provident funds, pay leaves etc include monetary incentives whereas leaves, medals, trainings etc are non-monetary incentives (Paudel & Pahari, 2018). Thus, the security management policies of Nepal envisioned qualified security personnel can be instrumental to achieve institutional goals which eventually lead towards prosperity of the country. These

policies are based on merit based recruitment and promotion, higher study opportunities, inclusive security forces based on Nepal's demographic situation.

Guiding policies of security forces in Nepal: As per this constitution of Nepal, Nepal shall have four security forces viz. Nepal Army, Armed Police Force, Nepal, Nepal Police and Nepal Investigative Department. The constitution also provisions for state police and municipality and rural municipality police. As per article 266, all security forces will be monitored and mobilized under the policy set by National Security Council. The Council is set for making recommendation to GoN, Council for Minister for formulation of a policy on overall national interest, security and defence of Nepal and for the mobilization and control of the Nepal Army. In this council, prime minister will be chairperson and ministers of Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Chief-Secretary of GoN and Commander-in-chief of Nepal Army as members. In this council, Secretary at the Ministry of Defence shall act as the member secretary. The article 267 is focused for Nepal Army and article 268 for Nepal Police, Armed Police Force, Nepal and National Investigation Department. These all security forces will be mobilized as per laws of Nepal. The Nepal Army shall be established for the protection and Defence of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of the state of Nepal (Military Act, 2063). Likewise, Nepal Police is a capable instrument for preventing and investigating crime and maintaining law and order (Nepal Police Act, 2012). Similarly, Armed Police Force, Nepal is established and operated for the protection of life, property and liberty of the people by maintaining peace and order in Nepal (Armed Police Force Act, 2058). Finally, Nepal Investigation Police is set to collect, analyze and disseminate information on Nepal's freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, dignity, unity, interests and those against social cohesion. As per this constitution, the guiding policy of security agencies is policies relating to national unity and national security of article 51(a).

- To keep intact the national unity while protecting the freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Nepal;
- To promote the national unity while developing mutual cooperative relationship between the Federal Units by maintaining mutual cohesion, harmony and solidarity between various castes, tribes, religions, languages, cultures and communities;
- To maintain law and order by developing a national security system
- To guarantee the overall human security system;
- To make all security organs, including the Nepal Army, Nepal Police and Armed Police Force Nepal, competent, strong, professional, inclusive and accountable to the people, on the basis of national security policies;
- To make and keep the citizens ready and competent to serve the nation as and when necessary;
- To make proper use, in nations' interest of the knowledge, skills and experiences of former public employees including former employees, military and police.

As per National Security Policy, 2073 the roles and responsibilities of security forces are grouped categorically. The main task of the Nepal Army is to defend Nepal's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity from external infiltration and aggressions and to be ready for defending the border security. The main security role of the Nepal Army will be to face the challenges in case of serious threats to national security. In addition to war, Nepal army has to assist in maintaining internal security, combat with terrorism, foster developmental activities, safeguard vital specified places, maintain cordial relations with government and other security agencies develop relations with other neighbour countries etc. Likewise, Nepal Police is designed for maintaining internal law and order situation in the country. Nepal police needs to get cooperation and support from the public by maintaining law and order and internal security in the country thereby assuring people of their security; take preventive actions against disturbance likely to occur in any part of the country; collect, analyze and flow information relating to laws and order; formulate a long-term plan for development of credible and capable organization to assure people of security by maintaining internal peace and security; provide security to VVIPs and VIPs; control, prevent and investigate all types of criminal activities; expand relationship with government and non-governmental organization; manage transportation system of the country etc. Similarly, Armed Police Force, Nepal is a police force of paramilitary nature which has to support for Nepal Army and Nepal Police in demand. Armed Police Force, Nepal has to fulfill responsibilities such as controlling against unlawful activities; protection of Nepal's border; providing security to industrial sectors;

mobilizing to control kidnapping, looting, organized crime or serious type of law and order problem aroused or likely to arise etc.

Working environment of security forces: Security forces have to work with the close connection with government of Nepal. The main source of authority is government. Government has right to give direction, control and supervision of these security forces. We do not assume these forces go beyond the government permission. It depends on how government cultivates the working environment. In addition, the people, non-governmental organization, national geographic situation, religious, social values and norms etc. determine the working environment of security forces. Thus, it can be said that working environment also determine the level of performance of security forces directly and indirectly.

Interrelationship between Prosperity of Nepal and Security Forces of Nepal

Prosperity of Nepal is main concern of Nepal. To achieve prosperity of Nepal, there are hundreds of efforts carried out by Nepal. The role of security forces is one of among them. Therefore, we are going to find out dynamic relationship between prosperity of Nepal and security forces of Nepal. For the sake of analysis, the prosperity of Nepal is examined in two dimensions. The first is low which means Nepal does not able to achieve goals which are explained through its policies documents. Second is high which refers to the goal achievement prescribed in its policy documents.

The security forces of Nepal are analyzed from three dimensions. The first one is human resource development. Despite of many efforts measures, there could be two types of human resources working in security forces- unskilled and skilled. Unskilled human resource includes security personnel who do not learned knowledge, skill and attitude despite of many training and other measure for their upliftment. Skilled human resource refers to those competent security personnel they are full of knowledge, skill and attitude. Security personnel learn required knowledge, skill and attitude from training, education and culture of security forces. The second dimension is about guiding policies. These also could be two types- bad and good. The bad for study purpose means that the policies cannot be materialized despite of many efforts whereas good policies refers to each activities of security forces connected through policies so that security forces are functioning smoothly. The third dimension of security forces is its working environment. The working environment is also examined from two angles- unfavorable and favorable. Unfavorable environment means there could be conflict between government and security forces regarding to the policies execution. Government may not able to prescribe policies, guidelines and instruction as and when required. Citizens would remain indifference with security forces. NGOs and other religious organization would criticize the activities of security forces. The favorable environment means government and citizens are working together with security forces. Government enables security forces through resource and policies. Citizens, NGOs and other organizations support the programs launched by security forces for the sake of sovereignty, national integrity, and achieving national interest and territorial integrity.

Table 2: Interrelationship between Prosperity of Nepal and Security Forces of Nepal

Parameters		Security Forces of Nepal					
		Human resource development		Guiding Policies		Environment	
		Unskilled	Skilled	Bad	Good	Unfavorable	Favorable
Prosperity of Nepal (PoN)	Low	Negative indicators of PoN	Not linked to PoN	Negative indicators of PoN	Not linked to PoN	Negative indicators of PoN	Not linked to PoN
	High	No effect of HR to PoN	Positive signs of PoN	No effect of security policy to PoN	Positive signs of PoN	No effect of environment to PoN	Positive signs of PoN

While analyzing interrelationship between prosperity of Nepal and human resource development situation of security forces, it would result following four conditions.

- When there would be skilled human resource in security forces and high degree of prosperity of Nepal, the result would produce positive symptoms of prosperity. The skilled human resources contribute to safeguard sovereignty, territorial integrity, national pride, peace and security in the country more economically and efficiently. In addition, security forces would set programs and action-plan and work as per national interest as described in the constitution of Nepal.

- When there is unskilled human resources developed in security forces and the prosperity of Nepal remains low degree, there would be negative indicators observed in the country. There might be threats to the safeguarding sovereignty, law and order situation of the country and law enforcement.
- When there is high degree of prosperity of Nepal achieved even if unskilled human resource developed in security forces, there would be no effect of human resource development in security forces for prosperity of Nepal. It signifies the resources invested in the security forces would remain worthless.
- When there is low degree of prosperity of Nepal even though there is skilled human resources developed in security forces, there would be no linked between program of prosperous Nepal and activities carried out by security forces.

Similarly, while analyzing relationship between prosperity of Nepal and guiding policies of security forces, it would result four situations.

- When there is good policies prescribed government of Nepal and executed by security forces and high degree of prosperity of Nepal is achieved, there would result positive indicators of prosperity of Nepal. Nepali people remain optimistic for future. Our national interest would be even stronger and Nepal would remain unity within the diversity.
- When there are bad policies which governed security forces and low degree of prosperity of Nepal is achieved, there could be negative symptoms of prosperity of Nepal. It might result chaos within security forces which hamper to promote and foster national interest.
- When there is high degree of prosperity of Nepal even if bad policies are operated to guide security forces, it might result no effects of security forces for the sake of prosperity of the country. Therefore, it demands to be cautious while formulating security forces policies.
- When there is low degree of prosperity of Nepal eventhough there is good polices executed to govern security forces in the country, it shows no linked between security forces and prosperity of Nepal. Therefore, it indicates both prosperity of the country and security forces are working in isolation.

While prosperity of Nepal and its environment are taken into consideration for their interrelationship analysis, there would also result four conditions.

- When there is high degree of prosperity of Nepal and favourable environment, Nepal would shows stronger indicators of prosperous Nepal. Nepali citizen would be optimistic and gives continuous support to security forces and government. It makes easy to implement policies on safeguarding sovereignty, territorial integrity, national unity and achieving national interest.
- When there is low degree of prosperous Nepal and unfavorable environment for security forces, negative symptoms of prosperity would appear before citizens. There might be difficult to implement the policies by the government as well as security forces. Ultimately, it might affect prosperity of Nepal.
- When there is high degree of prosperity of Nepal even if there is unfavorable environment for security forces, there might be no effect of its environment. The working environment of security forces and prosperity of Nepal are working in isolation. Therefore, there should be close connection between them otherwise it might result negative implications for the prosperity of the country.
- When there is low degree of prosperity of Nepal even though there is favourable environment for security forces, there may not be linked between the environment of security forces and prosperity of Nepal. It shows favourable environment of security forces might not contribute to prosperity of Nepal. It means safeguarding sovereignty, territorial integrity, nationality and unity within diversity might not achieve from security forces.

Conclusion

The analysis of prosperity of Nepal and security forces shows that both topics should go parallel. In the absence of prosperity of Nepal, the role played by security forces remains worthless though security forces are constituted only for prosperous Nepal. As per constitution, security forces are solely responsible for the sake of safeguarding sovereignty, independence and nationality, maintaining peace and security in the country, free from external aggression and terrorism and collectively achieving national interest. The above analysis shows that skilled human resources, good policies of security forces and creation of favourable environment would result the prosperity of the country. The investment on

security forces contributes for the prosperity of country. Achievement of these constitutional provisions by security forces are prosperity of Nepal. Despite of these positive indications, there might be risk factors associated if security agency could not work in close connection with government and people of Nepal. To minimize these risk factors as explain above grid, our security agencies would be more alter for the sake of development of skilled security personnel, formulation of good policies that linked to prosperity of Nepal and its execution and creation of favourable environment in Nepal. To materialize this topics more concretely, there needs more research. Therefore, this is very virgin areas for the sake of study.

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Cross-Border Crime and Its Security Concerns in Nepal

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Abstract

The paper analyses the geopolitics of Nepal which significantly provide the opportunities for the cross-border crime enhancing the internal and external security threat to the country. It accounts various interest groups, overtly and covertly involved in the country, who have their vested interests play their role provide opportunities for the organised criminal groups. The paper interprets the secondary data, both qualitative and quantitative in nature, to interpret the topic. In conclusion, the paper highlights the supply and demand factor of Nepal, its neighbours and their geopolitics also affect the cross-border criminal activities in Nepal as well as via Nepal. The research finds the changing political and economic circumstances in the region and the geographical opportunities develop the abundant grounds for the organised criminal groups in Nepal.

Key Words: Borderline, organised crime, geopolitics, opportunities, security

Introduction

Cross-border crime is the illegal activities of individuals and organisation whose actions straddle territorial boundaries and whose objectives are to maximize economic profits or achieve political objectives (Lo, 2009, p. 3). In Indo-Nepal border areas, there is additional concern about the increment in crime, especially cross-border crime. The involvement of organised criminal gangs in drug, counterfeit, kidnapping and extortion with a nexus between the politicians and the criminal gangs have been accounted (KC, 2016). They significantly misused the people vulnerable to the crime.

Smuggling is quite prevalent in the border points all over the world but is organized in nature. The practice of smuggling of ordinary goods in the border areas has import or export taxes imposed that lead to the smuggling of contraband goods. Reckless (1967) outlined that smuggling is the main characteristic of international border crime (p. 117). He further highlights that smuggling in the borderline is the result of import or export duties on commodities and the national border seems to attract and make smugglers.

Millets (2007) defines border as significant for a homogeneous society and culture whereas it is marginalized from the central area, and thus criminal gangs can conduct criminal activities. Organized criminal groups can get local support due to vulnerability, both geographically and socially, and they misuse people for their vested interests. Conway (2002) argues the role of modern technology in enabling the cross-border crime. Technical innovation and its speed cross the border which also contributes to the spreading of criminal activities. Aas (2007) uses the term 'transnationalism'- changing the form of social relation that plays a vital role in changing the form of crime.

Cross-border crime is twenty-first century's booming illegitimate industry. According to Devetak (2008), goods, capital, people, information and principle beliefs, as well as arms, drugs, criminals, terrorists and pollutants, now appear to traverse nation-state borders with greater ease and speed and in larger volume than ever before. Thachuk (2007) mentions that smuggling and trafficking, now more than ever, are booming industries (p. 3). In this era of rapid globalization, the incentives for cross-border crime have increased, as criminals have identified the opportunities to gain greater rewards from criminal activity outside their traditional boundaries. Organized criminal groups have enhanced and extended their networks throughout the world, weakening borders of the nation-state. Illicit goods are smuggled and proliferated across the border in which the borders are misused or affected.

The geographical significance, the land between two powers India and China, of Nepal provide feasibility to the cross-border crime that also affects the internal security of the country. Legal and illegal goods flow through the land and air rout of Nepal which leads the country towards the bridge of criminal activities prior in between India and Nepal. The new forms of cross-border crimes are accounted which also enhance organized crime in Nepal. In several contexts, the motivation of the crime is not only limited to the monetary interest also to the political interest.

Literature Review

There are several notable works related to the socio-economic interrelationship on Indo-Nepal border society. Nayak (2011) explores the economic vulnerability of people due to unemployment in the Tarai region of Nepal. According to THRDA (2011) report, the unemployment in youth contributes to the increment of crime. ICG (2007) sketches the structural transformation of Tarai society from agriculture to industry based. IAFP (2008) reported the lack of opportunities among young in Tarai which is contributing to crime. IAFP (2007) explores the rising frustration of youth of Eastern Tarai of Nepal due to lack of educational and economic opportunities. Housden (2009) outlines Tarai as the most unstable and deeply troubled region of Nepal and specifically highlighting the pervasive lawlessness. He further adds that historic exclusion and limitation of choices and opportunities, lead marginalized groups to be involved in criminal activities. Miklian (2008) traces the limited state capacity, a porous border, easy access to weapons and financial incentives for criminality in Tarai. IAFP (2008) explores the motivation of youth towards criminal gangs due to lack of opportunities, are the target of criminal gangs who misused them in their vested interests. Regarding the situation of Africa, SEESAC (2003) outlines the relationship between limitation of opportunities and serious crimes¹ which facilitates small arms trafficking across the border.

Sirseldudi (2004) conducted research of Sri-Lanka, sketches the role of arms conflict in motivating young towards related crimes. Stucky (2006) argues the political factors behind the increasing crime. THRDA (2011) explores the youth who abandon the armed faction in Terai join criminal activities. UNICEF (2009) reported the recruitment of children and teens in armed related activities in Tarai. It argues that the political factors are affecting the society, imposing a large number of vulnerable sections of social members towards crime. KC (2017a) argues that cross-border smuggling becomes a way of life for several people resided in the Indo-Nepal borderline. It shows that the geographical opportunity in the available social milieu motivates the people towards the crime. Various researches conducted in other parts of the world are a landmark to analyze and understand crime in the areas where war was fought and the situation was transitional. The political instability and volatile political nature of Tarai provide terrain for organized criminal groups to operate their activities in their vested interest.

A considerable quantity of research has been conducted in cross-border crime but limited research work has been conducted on geopolitical aspects. Meanwhile, less attention has been paid to the geographical significance of the border in influencing crime and in turn leads social challenges. As a result, no comprehensive finding appears to exist in case of Indo-Nepal cross-border crime. Despite the importance given to the challenges of cross-border crime, limited researchers have studied in the related topic.

Methodology

The researcher has applied the strategies based on document analysis, a qualitative research technique with an efficient and effective way of gathering secondary data. The document those published from 1936 to 2018 were reviewed and interpreted to analyze the title of the study. Those documents have provided information and broad coverage of data contributed to the contextualizing the research within its subject. Furthermore, it has pointed out the question raised around the topic of the impact of cross-border crime in the internal security of Nepal. The documents are public records, personal documents and physical evidence made accessible through the books, libraries, government offices, e-libraries and online search engine.

The researcher has collected the data from documents such as newspapers, official reports of Armed Police Force, Nepal Police, media and other independent reports, journals, research works and books related to the cross-border crime, security-related issues associated to Nepal-India and Nepal-China. The researcher utilizes the paper presented at the seminar, unpublished papers, newspapers' reports. The paper indicates the gap in the previous research work including the government and nongovernment data. It has analyzed the contributing factors of Indo-Nepal cross-border crime.

The study has included a detailed description of the cross-border crimes and their interlink to the security issues. The study addresses the broad range of issues regarding the title, including geographical

¹ "Serious crime" shall mean conduct constituting an offence punishable by a maximum deprivation of liberty of at least four years or a more serious penalty. See: *UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime*. 2000. p. 1.

characteristics of Nepal-India borderline and the interest groups active in the area. The study has considered strategies for ensuring credibility and considers ethical issues, e.g. confidential documents.

Theoretical Perspectives

Environmental Aspects

An environment is an important factor of crime, motivates social members towards crime. Though it provides opportunities to them, however, it may or may not motivate towards crime. Study based on environment known as environmental criminology is concerned with crime, not criminality (Wortley, 2008, p. 15). It looks for crime patterns and seeks to explain them in terms of environmental influences. Coleman (1989) argues environmental situations or cultural attitudes can change much more rapidly and therefore a learned disposition towards crime seems more likely (p. 109). Explaining society as the product of individuals' actions, actions that are enabled or constrained by society, Lee (1997) argues that human individuals both effect and are affected by their "environment" (p. 20). It also applies to crime because certain environment emphasizes or deemphasizes criminal acts. Skinner (1953) recognizes that criminal behaviour cannot occur without opportunity, which he saw as a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the crime.

An environment cannot be neglected because the given environment enforces social members towards crime. Environment motivates social members to act legally or illegally which depends upon opportunities and the capability to grab such opportunities.

Geographical Aspects

Geography is one of the important factors which influence criminal activities in the society. Park and Burgess (1936) studied the geographic locations of high crime rates rather than criminals and developed the notion that urban development is patterned socially and develops naturally in concentric zones (p. 1-15).

Brantingham (1981) arguing any crime consists of four dimensions of the law, the offender, the target, and the place (p. 4). The place is one of the important dimensions which provides appropriate conditions for crime, affects the social condition of people. Geography deals with social relations to direct attach and detach societies, also generate several social problems like crime. Geography as a factor influencing social structure can encourage crimes. Border as a geographical location segregates nation-state is the line which plays a role to determine the action of social members. It is further illustrated by Carter and Jones (1989) describing crime is to a significant degree the product of locality and not solely the character residents (p. 83).

Geography develops close social relation among cross-border people, who share positive and negative outcomes. Geography not only contributes to socio-cultural similarities across the border but also gives risk to similar social problems. Bondeson (2005) has noted that crime trends are very much the same in the Scandinavian countries, where a striking similarity between trends over the past fifty years. Despite developed welfare systems, these countries exhibit the same increasing trends for crimes. Geographically attached, India and Nepal have similar crime trends which are aroused due to similar social problems. The similarities of problem and crime are able to cross the border through various networks, getting an advantage due to socio-cultural interconnection. Geographical characteristics of Nepal, between huge and diverse societies like China and India, has deep effects on its social structure. Indo-Nepal cross-border crime can be understood by analysing the characteristics of the geography and socio-cultural, socio-economic aspects as well as other external factors affecting the internal structure of the society. Nepal is situated at the heart of Asia and landlocked between two neighbours, India in the South and China in the North (Yadav, 1992, p. 28). On the basis of the explanation of geopolitics, scholars explain the socio-political situation. The people living near the borders of the north and south have easy access to the neighbouring countries for trade and social intercourse.

Eagle (1999) outlines that Nepal lies between two major civilisations (China and India) which are cultural, linguistically and racially distinct (pp. 272-327). Though the two big countries have dissimilarities, the edge of Southern Nepal has more geographical and socio-cultural similarities in comparison to another border of both nations. Nepal shares borders with five Indian states: the longest and most significant are with Bihar and Uttar Pradesh; there are also borders with Uttaranchal, West Bengal and Sikkim (ICG, 2007, p. 25). The researchers also highlighted the Indo-Nepal border regions as

a definite geographical region from the southern part of Nepal, called the Tarai, is extended from the Indian border to the bottom of the foothills rather than analyzing historical significance of socio-cultural similarities. Nepal India and China are facing the challenges of organized crime which has strong networks throughout the region. The Indo-Nepal border regions are highly affected, facing cross-border criminal activities, especially smuggling and small arms-related crimes. The Tarai is engulfed in a perfect storm of limited state capacity, a porous international border, easy access to weapons, financial incentives for criminality, and violent actors (Miklian, 2008, p. 2).

Balibar (2002) argues about the border as a key geographical concept at the centre of the politics of mobility, identity, and economy. These three terms are directly interlinked with the social setting which is deeply structured across the border societies. Borders are also a means and symbol of place-making (Houtum, 2010, p. 37-58). Chiara (2009) argues that borders are socio-political discursive constructions where symbolic, historical, and religious values are shared by social communities (pp. 582-88). The shared values by the close attachment make them structured as one society, interrelating socially, politically and economically. Some people nearby border always try to make free flow, maintain a unique identity and do their best to get benefit from the economic activity happen from the border areas. People in the Indo-Nepal border are geographically attached which has also been at the centre of the politics of mobility, identity and economy. In the border areas like Indo-Nepal, society social practices are common rather than shared. India and Nepal shared a long border, opened and porous, in which people in edges have a similar culture. By virtue, geographical attachment and similarities in border regions are beneficiaries for free flow and cross-nation contact, but it is also providing advantages to criminals. Definite society in the border areas are highly interactive with each other, meanwhile, there is an impact of changes in other parts of the world. In brief, globalization has affected the border where societies of the two nations are in a close tie and economic as well as political activities are growing due to the rapid speed of technology and communication.

Lakshman and Jha (2001) argue that the ethno-cultural proximity of Indo-Bangladesh populations on both sides of the borders, and the absence of physical barriers and vigilance by security forces have facilitated illegal border trade. Despite tight border security and fencing, socio-cultural affinity is capable to demolish the enforced law and physical barriers set up by nations. Cross-cultural closeness has such a capacity that they can challenge the imposed law and order, thus crime occurs in the form of cross-border crime. Laxman and Jha (2001) further mention that the success of the fencing experience in Punjab, Indo-Pak border, influenced the government's decision to fence the entire India-Bangladesh border. Crime in the border area is organized in nature due to economic reasons.

Affinities Provide Opportunities

Societies on both sides of the Indo-Nepal border areas have similar identities and social structure. The society of the border is taken seriously for reasons of security but overlooked in social understanding. This approach has seeds that can lead to problem and challenges in politically segregated areas even though they are socially and culturally similar. Whenever the question of cross-border crime is raised, it becomes more intriguing given the tight security in the border areas.

Cross-border crime is related to transnational activities and organized network of different groups across the border, link up each other and contribute to flourishing transnational organized crime (KC, 2013a, p. 59). Transnational organized crime is a phenomenon with multiple facets which has grown exponentially. Dwyne (1996) argues that transnational crime should be understood as a more or less direct reflection of the prevailing international market relationships of supply and demand (p. 342). Meanwhile, the way of trafficking is modernized in terms of both supply and demand side. Vlaesius suggests (2000) organized criminal groups are extending their activities around the globe, and are engaging with an increased level of sophistication in a variety of activities that range from the tradition to the modern (p. 10). Border people are in vulnerable zone as they are attempted to motivate themselves towards crime. Criminal gangs try to access up to leadership level, particularly powerful political leaders, and ethnic leaders and then they make access to the people of the region and ethnic groups who are socially vulnerable, misused them in risky activities. Transnationalisation² has the long history in terms of India and Nepal. The

² Transnationalisation is a process by which inter-governmental relations at an international level are supplemented by relations between non-governmental individuals and groups. See: Waters, M. (1995). *Globalization*. London: Routledge. p. 29.

people of both the country have close social ties through marriage and family relations. The criminals of Indian border society can have a better understanding of the Nepalese side and vice versa which support them to handle their activities across the border. Meanwhile, they can hide in any side by crossing the border if they are unsafe from legal institutions (KC, 2013a, p. 63). Global production, technological changes and vibrant communication enhance transnational organized crime which specifically carried out crime by organized crime organization, thus provide better strength to cross-border criminals who are active in Indo-Nepal border areas who have already the advantage of socio-cultural similarities across the border.

Several cross-border crimes, such as human trafficking, drugs trafficking have a direct effect on the country's youth population. The country is continuously losing the youth population of the country. Traffic youth from Nepal to the third countries are rescued in Indian cities. On the other hand, organized criminal groups are misusing Nepal's land which is accounted in the case of counterfeit notes. Meanwhile, internal instability of the country makes better terrain in the country for organized criminal.

Challenges in Indo-Nepal Borderline

Regarding the dimension of crime at the political border in Indo-Nepal border areas, it is not unique, since border crime has long existed throughout the world. The Indo-Nepal border faces crime related to national boundaries on the political borders. Das (2008) interprets the disadvantages of Indo-Nepal open border system which provide the opportunities for smugglers, drug and arms traffickers, terrorist and insurgents, petty criminals, etc. According to Watson and Crozier (2009), the open border between Nepal and India is perceived to be a key contributing factor to the high levels of crime in the Terai regions (p. 15). According to Shrestha (2017), the open border has more or less disturbed the security system of Nepal and India and at present context, challenges are growing from outside Nepal (p. 264).

Blaming the characteristics of border such as geographical viability, people, culture, cross-border contact and borderless nature is a way of stereotyping the region as a crime zone. Braun (2010) concludes that a porous border is one of the causes of cocaine trafficking in West Africa (p. 4). Lo (2009) regards the borderless nature of the entire Greater China regions is the prominent factor shaping the incessant cross-border crime (p. 187). Upreti (2010) describes the cross-border connection of criminals in Indo-Nepal border areas (p. 249-50). It may not be obvious that the adjoined border area is unsafe due to the terrible crime rates on the other side. Despite the border adjoined with the city of Mexico, world's dangerous place, in terms of crime rates, El Parlo city of Texas is ranked among one of the safest cities in America. Shashikumar (2008) states that Nepal-Bihar border is largely unmarked, unguarded and highly porous, where cross-border smuggling is out of control. McDonald and Vaughn (2013) outline India-Nepal border as a porous. Baral and Pyakurel (2013) urge India-Nepal border as an "open border" not "porous border". KC (2013a) has challenged the trends of biased arguments which blame open border as a prime cause and further developed the concept that open border with India is not the prime cause of Indo-Nepal cross-border crime and dismiss the presumption that the open border is possibly leading (p. 86).

The supply and demand context play vital role on cross-border criminal activities. Research conducted by the Department of Custom in 2007 shows that average daily two ways flow of the people across India-Nepal is 13 283 whereas daily smuggling legal/illegal cost NRs. 44 600 000. It has estimated that annual stolen and smuggled materials cost thirteen billion eighty-one crores rupees (NRs 13,810,000,000).³ The context shows Nepal and the demand side and India as the supply side of the goods illegally smuggled through the land route. On the other hand, illegal goods smuggle in both the sides depending on their market and opportunities for vested interests.

Organized Crime in Border Areas

Major types of Crime

- Drugs
- Human
- Small-Arms
- CITES

³ Department of Custom, Ministry of Finance, Nepal, on 26 January 2007 has published Annual Report indicated the estimation of the cost of the daily smuggling illegal/legal goods across the Indo-Nepal border. Also See: KC. 2013. *Crime and Money in Nepal*. Kathmandu: Brothers Books. pp.176-177.

- Gold
- Counterfeit
- Kidnapping

Organized crime is more organized than the state (Nordstrom, 2004, p. 133). Organized crime strengthen their networks in Indo-Nepal border areas for operating drug cultivation and trafficking, gold smuggling, trafficking of counterfeit notes, human trafficking, CITES⁴ crimes (Wildlife crime), and smuggling of goods by illegal channels.

Global Financial Integrity report Nepal lost 8.7 billion US dollars due to a large-scale capital flight has taken place in between 2003-2012 (Kar & Spanjers 2014, p. 44). In two different cases of capital flights, 1.5 million and 1.8 billion being siphoned off the country in 2009 and 2010 respectively (KC, 2013b, p. 86).

Criminal elements can infiltrate any political system by forging links with politicians and government officials (Lo, 2009, p. 6). Criminalization of politics is evident in more or less all over the world. On the other hand, increasing corruption is the major problem of Nepal.⁵ The bureaucracy in Nepal and India is highly susceptible to corruption that may ease the organized criminals to penetrate in local level to high-level bureaucracy deploy in Nepal-India borderlands.

Security Challenges

The motives of cross-border Crime are:

- Economic
- Political
- Social

Nepal has faced several challenges of cross-border crime, interlink to the organized crime. The cases of smuggling of gold, illicit drugs, human trafficking, CITES crime, has been increased (See Table no. 1). Regarding the involvement of well organized criminal groups in such crime, it becomes a threat to the internal security of the country. Regarding the gold smuggling cases in Nepal, KC (2018) argues that Nepal has become a transit point for transporting illegal goods such as drugs, endangered species, gold and even human beings to other countries.

Table 1: Filed Cases of Organised and Economic Crimes in Nepal Police

Fiscal Year	No. of Cases
2071/72	3189
2072/73	3723
2073/74	3593
2074/75	4656

Source: Nepal Police, 2018

The activities of fake currency racket have their vested interest. KC (2017b) argues that the proxy war between regional powers reflect in fake currency related activities in Nepal's Terai. It shows that the influence of external forces in cross-border organised crime. Similarly, smuggling of red-sandalwood disclose the well-organised criminal groups actively involved in smuggling of illegal goods in between India and China making Nepal a bridge for their illegal activities.

Figure 1: Third India-Nepal Coordination Meeting in Kathmandu between Sasatra Seema Bal, India & Armed Police Force, APF, Nepal in August 7-10, 2018 in New Delhi



Source: Armed Police Force Nepal, 2018

⁴Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora regulates exports, imports and re-exports of wildlife.

⁵ Corruption Perception Index (CPI) 2015, the survey released by the Berlin-based watchdog Transparency International, has placed Nepal in 130th position with a score of 27 among 167 surveyed countries indicates Nepal in a highly corrupt category. See: Beddow, Rachel, ed. 2016. Corruption Perceptions Index 2015. Berlin: Transparency International.

Islamic Fundamentalist and the separatists are active in the Indo-Nepal border areas. They have their vested-political interests. KC (2017c) mentions that several fundamentalists and separatists, Yasin Bhatkal, Tunda, Niranjana Hojai, etc., active against India were arrested in Nepal (p. 77). Hence, trans-border crime sometimes may have a link with terrorism. Regarding the arrestment of Niranjana Hojai, leader of India's separatist group, in Kathmandu, his interlink to the money laundering has been accounted (KC, 2013c, p. 68). The arrestment of Indian fugitives and members of terrorist groups in Nepal's land shows that they are creating an internal security threat to the country. According to Baral (2018), cross-border crimes and terrorism create tension between Nepal and India. India always proposed mutual cooperation to tackle such problems. However, Nepal has proved that it is not a safe place for organised criminals and terrorist groups (KC, 2017c, p. 17).

The security forces have their grave concern on the activities of the separatist, both violent and non-violent, in Terai. Baral and Shah (2018) mention that armed groups based on the Terai with separatist outlook are launching violent activities. The transnational organized criminal groups misuse such outfits to accomplish their vested interests. The members of such groups are vulnerable to crime and likely a threat to the internal security.

Governmental Intervention

The two countries have deployed the border police to guard the border-line; moreover, other security forces are also active formally and informally. India has deployed Border Patrol Force [Seema Surakshya Bal (SSB)] on the entire Nepal-India borders establishing her armed posts in about three kilometres gap whereas Nepal has deployed Armed Police Force setting her posts in between 15-20 kilometres gap (Baral & Pyakurel, 2013, p. 6). The aims of both armed police forces are to stop smuggling, prevention of criminals from passing the border, and prevention of girls trafficking, the transaction of fake currencies, arms and amenities and security of customs checkpoints. Despite the increments of the number of the border force in the borderline and tightening the regulation procedures at the checkpoints, smuggling as well as illegal cross-border trade has increased. On the other hand, informal extradition of criminals, who run and hide on the other side of the border, has been practised. However, the results of the regulation and the extradition have not found to be efficient than its prediction to combat cross-border crime.

Table 2: Armed Police Force, Nepal's Deployment along Nepal China Border

S.N.	Province	No. of Company	Remarks
1.	1	3	1 Company = 160 APF personnel
2.	3	4	
3.	Gandaki	3	
4.	Karnali	3	
5.	Sudur Paschim	2	
Total		15	

Table 3: Number of Border out Posts of APF, Nepal along Indo-Nepal Border

S.N.	Province	No of BOPs	Remarks
1.	1	17	1 BOP=35 APF personnel
2.	2	49	
3.	3	3	
5.	5	17	
6.	Sudur Paschim	5	
Total		91	

Source: Armed Police Force Nepal, 2018

The characteristics of the Indo-Nepal borderline and borderlands has rapid changing dynamics (KC, 2017d, p. 168). The government has increased the security budget to curb the crime rather than social development. Till 2014, the Nepalese government had established 21 Armed Police Force (APF) border security offices and 48 border outposts to tackle cross-border crime (KC, 2016, p. 48). In view of checking possible infiltration of criminal elements and curbing cross-border crimes, Nepal has prepared to strengthen security presence along its international border with India and China. According to APF, there are a total of 91 BOPs along the border with India and 15 companies in along the border with China (Table No. 2 & 3). The government plans to increase the number of BOPs to around 125 along the border with India and additional 12 BOPs along the Chinese border in the north. Currently, there are only two APF outposts — Tatopani and Rasuwagadhi. The number of BOPs will be increased in each of these districts

based on security sensitivity. APF, Nepal is planning to set up 200 BOPs along International Border in the next two years. Also, it has launched operations in Terai to curb the small arms and related crimes. APF conducted a joint operation with Nepal police in Terai region beside it has done the single-handed

operation to curb small arms-related crime.⁶ Further, it has prioritized surprise checkpoints and vigorous mobile as well as foot patrols.

According to KC (2018), the organised crime organisations and their activities create further threats to the security of the South Asian region which, in turn, fuels terrorist groups. Hence, Nepal alone cannot solve the problem of such crimes. However, Nepal implements the plan and policies based on the strengthening of security forces.

Regarding the investment in border security and deployment of security force along Nepal-India border and Nepal-China border, APF has seized immense illegal goods through the borderline. In 2074/75, the APF seized goods of estimated price of 250 million (See: Table No. 4). However, the seized goods are nominal in comparison to the real figure of smuggled goods through the borderline of Nepal. In Fiscal Year 2074/75, Nepal Police has seized 178 kg, estimated price of NPR 890 million, gold smuggled in the country which is generally smuggled towards India (See Table No. 5). The increasing numbers of organised crime cases filed in the police also reflects the magnitude of crime in the borderline. Despite the tight security and increment of the deployment of the security force, the cross-border crime is increasing. Hence, increasing the deployment of the security force is not the ultimate solution. While tightening the security and increment of the deployment of the security force, the government has to focus on various sectors that affect the cross-border crime.

Conclusion

Nepal, the land between two economically and politically powerful nations: India and China, has the geographical significance which provides feasibility to the cross-border crime that also affects the internal security of the country. Legal and illegal goods and money flow through the land and air route of Nepal which leads the country towards the bridge of criminal activities prior in between India and Nepal. Various forms of cross-border crimes enhancing organized crime in Nepal are accounted. In several contexts, the motivation of the crime is not only limited to the monetary interest but also to the political interest. Nepal India and China are facing the challenges of organized crime which has strong networks throughout the region. The Indo-Nepal border regions are highly affected, facing cross-border criminal activities, especially smuggling and small arms-related crimes.

The supply and demand context plays a vital role in cross-border criminal activities. The context shows Nepal as the demand side and India as the supply side of the goods illegally smuggled through the land route for most of the smuggled goods. On the other hand, illegal goods smuggle in both the sides depending on their market and opportunities for vested interests. The changing political and economic circumstance in the region, as well as the geographical opportunities, develops the fertile grounds for the organized criminal groups in Nepal.

Organized cross-border crimes become a threat to the internal security of the country. In several contexts of cross-border crime, the crime operator misuses Nepal's land as a transit point for transporting illegal goods such as drugs, endangered species, gold and even human beings to neighbour countries as well as third countries. Organized criminals have been misusing Nepal as a bridge between India and China for their illegal activities.

Illegal ultra-forces and the separatists are active in the Indo-Nepal border areas. They have vested-political interests with their association to the organized criminal groups. The increasing numbers or organized crime cases filed in the police stations also reflect the magnitude of crime in the borderline. The government implements the policy of tightening security and increment of the deployment of the

Table 4: Seizure of Goods, Weapons, Illegal Drugs Etc. In Borderline by APF

Fiscal Year	Estimated cost of Confiscated Goods (NRs.)
2074/75	25,00,00,000
2075/76 (Till Kartik)	6,00,00,000

Source: Armed Police Force Nepal, 2018

Table 5: Seized Smuggled Gold in Nepal

Fiscal Year	Seized Gold (kg)
2071/72	111.44
2072/73	68.50
2073/74	91.38
2074/75	178.12

Source: Nepal Police, 2018

⁶Armed Police Force.Presentationon Illicit Use of Small Arms in Nepal. Retrieved December 11, 2018, from <http://www.unrcpd.org.np/uploads/conferences/file/Illicit%20Use%20of%20Small%20Arms%20in%20Nepal,%20Mr.%20Guna%20Khar%20Khanal,%20Armed%20Police%20Force.pdf>.

security force. In spite of such policies, the cross-border crime is increasing that shows the deployment of the security force is not an ultimate solution.

Transnational interrelationship and movement are playing a role of a catalyst in the world which also leads criminal activities throughout the world. Border, whether they are open or closed are more or less porous due to organized crime rooted around the world, especially in the border regions. Combating cross-border crime is a tough task because of strong networks among smugglers, political leaders, security personnel, bureaucrats and gangsters. Interestingly, the new forms of technology are beneficial for organized criminals. Such rackets operate their activities in such a way that they do not need borderland. Regarding the cross-border criminal activities in Nepal's frontiers, new challenges are evolving. Hence, Security is the prime field of concerning issues. Security cannot be overlooked in the name of economic development and temporary prosperity. On the other hand, internal security is essential for the economic growth of a nation. Unless and until the border is safe and strengthen Nepal cannot gain its prosperity.

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Impact of Displacement on Civil and Political Rights of the Internally Displaced Persons in Dolakha District of Nepal

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Abstract

The explanatory paper discusses the impact of displacement on the civil and political rights of the internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Dolakha District of Nepal with special reference to the displacement caused by the 2015 Nepal Earthquake. The discussion has focused on studying the answer for whether the disaster-induced IDPs enjoyed the civil and political rights particularly during the Federal, Provincial and Local elections in Nepal. The findings are based on the primary data collected from the respondents, IDPs and the people's representatives, who are the key aspect of the real time empirical familiarity, and of course supported by secondary data. The main issue in the paper is whether the IDPs could enjoy the civil and political rights during the tri-phases of election in 2017 in Dolakha District of Nepal, and the claim is that some of the civil and political rights of the IDPs were unconstructively impacted because of their status of being displaced.

Key Words: Civil and political rights, disaster, election, internal displacement, IDPs

Introduction

Internal armed conflict 1996-2006 remained the significant contributor to let the public know about internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Nepal, even though disaster has been prominent contributor. Nepal was defectively struck by the earthquake in April 2015 killing nearly nine thousand and leaving thousands homeless to become IDPs (International Organization for Migration, 2015). Disasters, especially earthquake and flooding, have been other terrible causes of internal displacement. Nepal Earthquake 2015 alone displaced above 2.6 million people in Nepal ("Nepal third in internal displacement by natural disasters," 2016). The displacements Nepal faces vary depending mainly upon occurrence of indents of natural disasters specially earthquake and flooding. Nepal did not face any earthquake shaking in the year 2017 but the number of IDPs was remarkable. The number of disaster-induced IDPs in Nepal was 384,000 in the year 2017 (IDMC, 2018).

Dolakha, a mountainous District, lies in Province No. 3 in the northern part of Nepal. The district is 133 kilometers far from the capital city Kathmandu and 141 kilometers from Janakpur, the nearest big city in Tarai. Dolakha, laid on the lap of Mount Gaurishankar, is worth mentioning district from touristic point of view due to the historical, religious, cultural and natural beauty (District Development Committee, Dolakha, 2015). Maximum land of the district is covered by high hills and mountains, and only ten percent of the land is flat (DDC, Dolakha, 2015). Seventy percent of the land in Dolakha is more than 30 degree slope. Around 92 percent of the population in the district depends on agriculture (DDC, Dolakha, 2015). Together with other districts, Dolakha was also badly hit by the Nepal Earthquake 2015. The report of DDC, Dolakha (2015) states that the number of people injured was 663 and death toll was 177. Total number of the people's houses destroyed was 58,388 which include 55,873 fully destroyed and 1,506 partially destroyed. These numbers of the destroyed houses include only the private ones. For describing current status, some of the IDPs have still complained in the local bodies of missing from the list of beneficiary, but most of them have already received second round of reconstruction payment from National Reconstruction Authority. The number of reconstruction beneficiary is 51,940 and retrofitting beneficiary is 637 from Dolakha ("Map of beneficiaries in Dolakha," 2018).

Nearly 90 percent of the houses were fully destroyed by the earthquake in Dolakha (DDC, Dolakha, 2015). The effected families were uprooted from their residents to become IDPs. The life condition of those displaced had been observed feeble in the pitiful shelters. The displaced were often in need of ensuring their access to basic requirements at least for their survival including basic services such as food, water, health and education. During this situation, Nepal has moved through the three tiers of election for federal, provincial and local governments but the question "have the IDPs enjoyed their civil and political rights?" remains unexplored. In this backdrop, the paper endeavors to discuss the issues:

effects of displacement on IDPs, impact of displacement on the civil and political rights of the IDPs and the causes of those effects in Dolakha District of Nepal.

Defining Internally Displaced Person

IDPs are the people uprooted from their habitual residence but have not crossed the state border. These people are forced to flee their homes due to the situations like armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights, natural or human-made disasters (“Guiding principles on internal displacement,” 1998; “National policies on internally displaced persons,” 2007). The “Guiding principles on internal displacement” (1998) did officially define IDPs as

persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border (p. 1).

This definition by United Nations Guiding Principles is widely used one which paved the way for further minutely perceiving the causes and effects of the internal displacements. Slightly more elaborative definition comes from the “National policies on internally displaced persons” (2007), according which IDP is

a person who is living somewhere else in the country after having forced to flee or leave one's home or place of habitual residence due to armed conflict or situation of violence or gross violation of human rights or natural disaster or humanmade disaster and situation or with an intention of avoiding the effects of such situations (p. 3).

Following the Guiding Principles, international community realized the need of addressing the internal displacement issues. African Union was the first regional organization to adopt convention on internal displacement. This “Kampala Convention,” (2009) adds development projects and harmful practices as the causes of displacement. Refinement on the definition of internal displacement continued and “National policy on internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Nigeria” (2012) included extreme poverty, lack of equal access to socio-economic resources, imbalanced development, unemployment, environmental-induced displacements in the list of causes. In this paper, internal displaced caused by the earthquake is considered in discussion for the study purpose.

Standpoint on Civil and Political Rights

The civil rights ensure the liberty and freedom of the people. Civil rights include the right to life, dignity, protection, equality, non-discrimination, movement, expression, assembly, privacy. The political rights guarantee the participation of the people in the government. Political rights include right to fair trail, association, petition, elect and to be elected. The civil and political rights protect the freedom of the people against encroachment by the state, social organizations and private individuals (“Civil and political rights,” 2001). From the normative integrated perspective on rights, civil and political rights incorporates other rights such as economic, social and cultural (Elisabeth Koch, 2006).

The International Covenant on Civil and Political rights (ICCPR), 1966 protects the civil and political rights of the citizens in their respective states (“ICCPR,” 1966; Joseph & Castan, 2013). The Constitution of Nepal, 2015 has a more comprehensive list of fundamental rights relating to the civil and political rights of the citizens, which includes wider range of rights that are not incorporated in the ICCPR. The “Constitution of Nepal” (2015) and the “ICCPR” (1966) have conferred the civil and political rights as shown in the following table 1. In this study, the basis of discussion on the civil and political rights is primarily based on the international instrument that is ICCPR.

Table 1: Civil and Political Rights as Conferred in the Constitution of Nepal, 2015 and ICCPR, 1966

Attributes of Civil and Political Rights	Conferred in the Constitution of Nepal, 2015	Conferred in the ICCPR, 1966
Right to life and live with dignity	Article 16	Articles 6, 10
Freedom of opinion and expression	Article 17	Article 19
Freedom to assemble peaceably	Article 17	Articles 21, 25
Freedom to form political parties	Article 17	Articles 22, 25

Freedom to form unions and associations	Article 17	Articles 22, 25
Freedom of movement	Article 17	Article 11
Equal protection of law	Article 18	Articles 3, 9, 14, 26
Right to communication	Article 19	-
Rights relating to justice	Article 20	Articles 9, 14
Right of victim of crime	Article 21	-
Right against torture	Article 22	Articles 7, 8
Right against preventive detention	Article 23	Article 9
Right against untouchability and discrimination	Article 24	Article 20
Right relating to property	Article 25	Article 17
Right to freedom of religion	Article 26	Article 18
Right to information	Article 27	Article 19
Right to privacy	Article 28	Article 17
Right against exploitation	Article 29	Article 8
Right to clean environment	Article 30	-
Right relating to education	Article 31	Article 24
Right to language and culture	Article 32	Article 27
Right to employment	Article 33	-
Right to labour	Article 34	Article 8
Right relating to health	Article 35	Article 18
Right relating to food	Article 36	-
Right to housing	Article 37	-
Rights of women	Article 38	Articles 3, 6, 23
Rights of the child	Article 39	Articles 10, 24
Rights of senior citizens	Article 41	-
Right to social justice	Article 42	Article 27
Right to social security	Article 43	Article 27
Rights of the consumer	Article 44	-
Right against exile	Article 45	-
Right to family	-	Article 23

Source: The “Constitution of Nepal” (2015) and the “ICCPR” (1966)

Review of Literature

The displaced persons are noticeably obliged to face hard moments due to fleeing from homegrown places in the search of sanctuary. There are generation of various and uncommon portions of life as well as some kind of emotion of insecurity to the IDPs and noticeable additional security challenges to the host community and the state authority as well. As per Cohen (2004), internal displacement has become one of the most stressing security concerns today. The shortage or scarce of the daily basic needs creates chaos in the location. Cohen (2004) argued that internal displacement poses threat to national solidity. IDPs face local unfriendliness while returning as well (Fagen, 2004). According to Lischer (2008), the displacement pessimistically affects the law and order of the society. Swain (2006) claimed that there is existence of conflicts between locals and migrants because of the lessened values and cultural maladjustments. The disinclination of resource sharing can be the reason of the hostile behaviour of the host community. García Amado (2016) sees residential security of the IDPs and host/return community as the immense concern.

Bearing the responsibility of managing internal displacement has been of less priority for most of the states (Cohen, 2004). States are mainly responsible for managing internal displacement but resource limitation may pose constrain. Sri Lankan effort on dealing with the IDPs during counter insurgency was fine. India's response to Kashmiri displacement is better but at the same time trifling in northeast (Cohen, 2004). The host society hardly welcome IDPs' persistent stay but government's effort to support can be extensively supported by the civil society when rationally called for (Rekhviashvili, 2015).

Mertus (2004) stated that displacement leads to theatrical changes in family construction and gender roles. The changing roles make vulnerable people like women and elders go out for their livelihood. Perpetrators can exploit this situation of helplessness. Mertus (2004) further elaborated that IDPs' life is influenced by the cultural values of the surrounding communities. The displaced persons are forced to

adapt in new location for long or time being. There is no choice to adopt the strange locality for the displaced persons. Eweka and Olusegun (2016) claims that the improper management of the IDPs may make the countries prone to violent conflicts (p. 207). States may not have capability to address the eventualities of displacement and they may call for national-international support. The tension of IDP's could be eased by the willingness of government that can provide a huge relief to the IDPs. Eweka and Olusegun (2016) opine that the only the way to manage the internal displacement is through working together by the stakeholders.

Most of the literatures indicate that there exist problems when displacements occur, but without linking them with the civil and political rights of the IDPs. This pertinent issue regarding IDPs has not been the subject of investigation in Nepal. At this point, this study has aimed to explain the displacement in Dolakha district and its impact on the civil and political rights of the IDPs.

Methodology of the Study

The study will be based on the displacement caused by the Nepal Earthquake 2015 with particular reference to the impact made on the civil and political rights of the IDPs. Civil and political rights are the concerns of the study mainly taking the local, and provincial and federal elections respectively held on 14 May and 26 November 2017 in Dolakha District of Nepal into consideration. Dolakha District was chosen for the study because of some specific incidents like killing of the person during the election ("Man dies in Dolakha police firing," 2017).

There were some villages in danger in the district which need to be transferred to the safe locations. The number of the effected persons in those villages was above hundred in five local bodies namely Bhimeshwor municipality, and Kalinchok, Baiteshwor, Shailungeshwor and Melung rural municipalities. Among these five, three local bodies namely Baiteshwor, Bhimeshwor and Kalinchok were selected for the questionnaire with IDPs through network sampling method, where the security officials posted in Company Headquarters of Armed Police Force, Nepal in Dolakha and permanently residing in those local bodies were used for the networking. Ten IDPs from each local body were sampled for the structured questionnaire through simple random sampling, as first ten were sampled via lottery from the list of the available persons in the village on the day of data collection. There are nine local bodies in Dolakha. Among eighteen Heads/Deputy Heads of the local bodies, six (three Heads and three Deputy Heads) were selected as the sample through systematic random sampling. Out of seventy-four Chairpersons of the Wards, nine were sampled through systematic random sampling. Among those respondents of the questionnaire, nine IDPs were again selected through the simple random sampling for the telephone interview. There was semi-structured telephone interview with these IDPs, Heads/Deputy Heads and Ward chairpersons. The explanatory telephone interview was aimed at finding out the causes of being able/unable to enjoy the civil and political rights by the IDPs. The interview was targeted to probe the causes of changed impact on the rights after being displaced due to the Nepal Earthquake 2015 based on empiricism. The data received from the questionnaire gave an idea to conduct telephone interview.

Findings and Result Discussion

Effects of Displacement on IDPs in Dolakha

The Nepal Earthquake 2015 caused huge loss of life and property, and left deepening unpleasant impact on the life style of the people (DDC, Dolakha, 2015). The effects of displacement on IDPs' life are assorted and vary from place to place depending upon the situation. Some affected places were easily accessible for relief distribution and some were not. To find out the common effects of the displacement on displaced persons, questionnaire was carried out that found the effects as shown in the table 2.

Table 2: Effects of Displacement on IDPs' Life

S.N.	Effects of Displacement	Responses (in percentages) from IDPs (N=30)	
		Yes	No
1.	Death of Relatives	13.3	86.7
2.	Self Injury	36.7	63.3
3.	Injury to Relatives	43.3	56.7
4.	Emotional and Mental Trauma	53.3	46.7
5.	Lack of Food	93.3	6.7

6.	Lack of Clothes	96.7	3.3
7.	Financial Problem	100.0	0.0
8.	Homeless	93.3	6.7
9.	Loss of Agro Field	100.0	0.0
10.	Loss of Animals and Birds	86.7	13.3
11.	Landlessness	50.0	50.0
12.	Bad effect on Education	73.3	26.7
13.	Lack of Health Facilities	66.7	33.3
14.	Lack of Water	56.7	43.3
15.	Lack of Electricity	46.7	53.3
16.	Lack of Firewood	43.3	56.7

First ten effects in the list of the table 2 were included in the structured questionnaire but remaining six came through the option 'other effects'. Death and injury were the earliest effects of the displacement. Some 40 percent of the respondents also received some types of injury during the earthquake. In such displacements, IDPs largely feel the paucity of the health services (Adekola, Allen, & Tinuola, 2017). Around 60 percent of the respondents stated that they lacked health services. Remarkable 53.5 percent said that they went through some kind of emotional/mental trauma.

Education is another considerable area negatively impacted due to the displacement (Ambe-Uva, 2012). Above 70 percent respondents agreed upon the unconstructive effect on the education due to the displacement. The Earthquake 2015 caused remarkable loss of economic production (Salgado-Gálvez, 2018). Hundred percent of the respondents stated that they faced financial problems and also lost agricultural products during earthquake. Around 90 percent of the respondents were homeless, lost their animals and birds, and experienced the lack of food and clothes. Some half of the respondents also faced the problems of water, electricity, firewood, and land to reconstruct house because government of Nepal declared some of the locations danger place to live.

The effects of displacement as enlisted in the table 2 are in fact those rights enlisted in table 1 in slightly different forms. Lack of health facilities is the deprivation of the right relating to food that the Constitution of Nepal protects. Without ensuring public health, rights can never be guaranteed (Toebes, 2015). Dolakha as a hilly district is geographically harsh to reach but the basic requirements are similar for all locations. All the stakeholders working hand in hand is the only instrument to ensure citizens' access to health care services (Orach et al., 2009). Similarly, homelessness is the deficiency on the right to housing. The imagination of the welfare state is almost impossible without ensuring the right to housing (Casla, 2016; Yung & Lee, 2012). Government mechanism needs to be sensitive in guaranteeing the right to education (Banks & Carbonell, 2013). We can observe that there is more or less deficiency on the right relating to property, employment, social justice, education basic needs and of course right to live with dignity, which are conferred in both the Constitution and the ICCPR.

Displacement and Its Impact on Civil and Political Rights of the IDPs in Dolakha

The political rights guarantee the liberty to contribute to the process of governing the society and the county as a whole. The displaced people as the citizen of the state have equal right to freedom of movement so that freedom of participation in religious, cultural, economic, social and political activities can be ensured. These rights should not be alienated for being an IDP. The state has the responsibility to respect, protect and fulfill the rights. In fact, civil and political rights including economic and social rights of the citizen are of primary concern for any good governments (Yigen, 2000). The table 3 shows the responses of structured questionnaire from IDPs and semi-structured telephone interview with the IDPs, and heads/deputy heads and ward chairpersons of the local bodies.

Table 3: Effects of Displacement on Civil and Political Rights

S.N.	Considerations within Civil and Political Rights	Responses (in percentages) from IDPs through Questionnaire (N=30)				Responses (in percentages) from Heads/Deputy Heads of Local Bodies, Ward Chairpersons and IDPs (6+9+9) through Telephone Interview (N=24)			
		Before Displacement		After Displacement		Before Displacement		After Displacement	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No

1.	Personal and Family Security	90.0	10.0	91.6	8.4	75.0	25.0	91.6	8.4
2.	Community Security	93.3	6.7	93.3	6.7	75.0	25.0	83.3	16.7
3.	Freedom of Movement	76.7	23.3	80.0	20.0	62.5	37.5	91.6	8.4
4.	Human Dignity and Respect	96.7	3.3	73.3	26.7	83.3	16.7	75.0	25.0
5.	Respect and Security of Children and Elderly People	50.0	50.0	30.0	70.0	83.3	16.7	62.5	37.5
6.	Exploitation and Violation against Women	16.7	83.3	30.0	70.0	62.5	37.5	41.6	58.4
7.	Fair Listening and Addressing the Problems by Government Authority	40.0	60.0	53.3	46.7	25.0	75.0	83.3	16.7
8.	Freedom of Association	50.0	50.0	73.3	26.7	50.0	50.0	83.3	16.7
9.	Freedom of Joining Interested Political Party	66.7	33.3	93.3	6.7	50.0	50.0	79.1	20.9
10.	Freedom of Participating in Political Activities	60.0	40.0	46.7	53.3	25.0	75.0	83.3	16.7
11.	Freedom of Expression	73.3	26.7	90.0	10.0	50.0	50.0	91.6	8.4
12.	Freedom of Political Campaign	76.7	23.3	30.0	70.0	62.5	37.5	79.1	20.9
13.	Luring Voters	46.7	53.3	70.0	30.0	62.5	37.5	62.5	37.5
14.	Security of Movement for Election	50.0	50.0	60.0	40.0	25.0	75.0	91.6	8.4
15.	Fearless Voting	50.0	50.0	60.0	40.0	25.0	75.0	91.6	8.4

The IDPs were asked whether these attributes of civil and political rights were affected negatively or positively before/after the displacement. The similar question of negative/positive status of civil and political rights on IDPs before and after their displacement was asked to the respondents (table 3, column 4). Mixed responses were received through both data collection tools. The interviewees were asked an open-ended question “what were the causes of changes on the status of civil and political rights before and after displacement?”. The discussion hereunder includes those empirical causes received from the respondents to explain the changes on the condition of the civil and political rights.

The IDPs stated that there was no change on the personal and family security aspect in the previous election and the elections held after their displacement i.e. local, provincial and federal elections. On the same issue, interviewees found improvements and the cause was change on the circumstances that the constitutional assembly election was held aftermath of the armed conflict. The interviewees claimed that the rights to freedom of movement, association, expression, joining political parties, participating in the political activities and security of movements of the voters during election were better later. The rational put forward was the improved situation from conflict to peace through political peace process. IDPs contrarily stated that freedom of participating in political activities and political campaign decreased by respectively by 14 and 46 percentages. Opposingly, around 80 percent interviewees claimed the political participation is improved due to the resolution of armed conflict. Here, IDPs’ claim seems logical as most of the displaced people were out of their villages concentrating in the less vulnerable geographic locations or some are even relocated and settled in the safer places by the government order. Let us take the case of relocated Boch Village. It is obvious that twenty families of Boch-4 (now Bhimeshwor Municipality- 3) in Dolakha District, living in the Setidevi Community Forest in Boch-3 (now Bhimeshwor Municipality-8), are unable to become the usual element of the village where their documents belong to. Feasibility of their involvement in the political activities cannot remain conclusive. It is not compatible with the spirit of the Civil Rights Act (1955) that all citizens have right to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and associations, and not even with the provisions of ICCPR.

Displacement displaces rights of the displaced persons (Franke, 2008). We could find negative impact on the rights of the disaster induced IDPs as shown in the table 1 and 2. Protection is the central anxiety in the post-disaster situation (Rubin, 2009). Protection of the individuals, community, children, women and elderly people are the main issues. As the signatory to the ICCPR, the burden of protection lies on the states and it should be an observable impact on the state party's actual behavior (Keith, 1999). Interviewees found that the condition of individual, family and community security has been getting better due to the increasing political stability. Financial problem and lack of basic needs have caused implications to women. Women are obliged to be more dynamic in social and economical activities to maintain their home. Few of those women became empowered and more vulnerable to domestic violence, exploitation and abuse. Some 16 percent IDPs agreed that there was violence and exploitation before

displacement but 30 percentages of them agree on after displacement. On the contrary, 62.5 percent interviewees agreed that there was such violence against women before but the situation is getting better after displacement. Not the displacement but advancement on the information communication technology and access of women to the authorities through women right activists has contributed to ameliorating women condition.

Around 90 percent IDPs lost their houses due to the earthquake. In such situations, we find menace against right to adequate housing (García Amado, 2016). It took time to reach the relief items including shelter to the affected areas due to the damages on the infrastructure. Some interviewees stated that the geographic and political biasness on the distribution of the relief items was detrimental to the right to basic needs including shelter. There is need of field-based agencies to support the IDPs for addressing the daily problems (Guego, 2017). Governmental and non-governmental initiatives to ensure easy access of the affect population will minimize such tribulations. Insufficient budget to support the displaced persons has been common issue elsewhere (Guego, 2017). Government's proper response to the citizens' voice through answerable mechanism can decrease grievances. About 50 percent respondents of the questionnaire found that government authority's response to the problems is unsatisfactory. Opposingly, 75 percent of the interviewees said that response was negative before but 83.3 percent claimed the government response is good now. The reason for improved government response, as claimed by the interviewees, is the establishment of the local government through the election. To guarantee the civil and political rights, a good political system is able to respond to the preference of its people (Hobolt & Klemmensen, 2005). Here, the main role to support the people of the affected country comes to the court of international community. Capacity-building initiatives of international agencies in favour of IDPs will strengthen the government's response (Guego, 2017).

We see the agenda of human dignity of huge priority in the social/political movements but in practice is thinning (McCrudden, 2008). IDPs who found human dignity and respect in decreasing trend after their displacement are more by 20 percent than before displacement and equal interviewees agree on the lessening values due to the effect of modernity. Similarly, preventing social detachment among older individuals is the emerging concern of today's community (Sander et al., 2015). Fifty percent of the respondents of the questionnaire found the respect and security of the children and senior citizens was good before but only 30 percent agree for the respect after displacement. At the same time, 37.5 percent interviewees gave negative response for the status of protection of the children and elderly people after the displacement which was 16.7 percent for before displacement. Protection of the children and elderly people has been vulnerable due to the displacement.

IASC guidelines (2011) also protects the rights of the IDPs to documentation, freedom of movement and participate in public affairs. The rights to peaceful association and assembly of the people are protected by United Nations ("UDHR," 1948). IDPs' rights to vote, participate in governmental and public affairs are protected by "Guiding principles on internal displacement," (1998) as well. Successful promulgation of the Constitution of Nepal 2015 through the elected Constituent Assembly and affirmative political development has contributed for the elevation of the civil and political right situation. Judiciously employed election has constructive repercussion on postconflict peace and reconstruction (Flores & Nooruddin, 2012). Fifty percent of both respondents stated that the freedom of association was positive, and 73.3 percent of the IDPs and 83.3 percent of the interviewees claimed that condition of associative right is better. Positive associative freedom is required to fulfill the social needs of the people (Brownlee, 2015). Both respondents said that freedom of joining political party of own interest has been good. This freedom is coincidentally aligned with after the displacement however the open-ended responses of the interviewees show that improvement on most of the rights incorporated in the table 3 is due to the socio-political development of the country from conflict to constitution to Nepal election 2017. About 90 percent of both respondents said that expressive right is better later. The right to freedom of expression is quite good after the constitution that positively affected the IDPs' response as well. Freedom of expression is vital for the development of an individual and for expansion of democratic civilization (Howie, 2018).

Parties spend huge resources for campaigns to win the elections (Gowda & Sridharan, 2012). Misusing the resources to attract the voters hinders the fair periodic election of any democratic culture. Nearly 50 percent of the IDPs agree that there were happenings of luring voters during election even before their displacement but 70 percent of them agreed on its augment after displacement. Similarly, 62.5 percent of the interviewees agreed that IDPs are attracted for voting through unethical means. We can connect this

statistics to the data of table 2, which shows IDPs were in terrible scarcity of essentials after displacement. Fulfilling basic requirements at the movement was choiceless option for the IDPs and this condition was exploited during election campaign. The pitiable circumstances forced the IDPs not to rebuff the funds and supplies offered by the election campaigners. Unethical enticing voters hinder the fundamental of any democracies that is free and fair periodic election. IDPs might have wrongly casted their voting rights influenced by those offerings during election campaign. Providing assistance to ensure basic needs and assured security system become supportive to minimize immoral election campaigns. Around 50 percent of the respondent IDPs stated that security of the movement was almost similar during previous and this elections. On the contrary, only 25 percent interviewees claimed there was good security of movement in previous election and 91.6 percent surprisingly claimed the local election was good. On the response to the question whether the voting was fearless or not, about 50 percent of the IDPs stated both elections – constituent assembly and local – were good. At the same time, interviewees conflictingly stated that previous election was fearful (75%) and later one went fearless (91.6%). The reason for this drastic improvement as per the interviewees was recovered political setting in the country after the promulgation of the constitution.

Conclusion

The paper concludes that displacement caused detrimental effect on some of the civil and political rights of the IDPs. Lessening human dignity and protection of children and elderly people has become common concern in the situations like displacement. The changes on the circumstances due to the displacement cause women to be more involved in socio-economic activities which resulted in ongoing violence and exploitation against women. It was found that government has been slightly responsive to address people's problems. Authority's responsiveness will obviously minimize the general grievances. Associative and expressive freedom is in good status and needs small progress. The study found freedom of participation in political activities and political campaigning need to be improved as ensured political participation is the backbone of democracy. Immoral activities of attracting voters can raise question on the free and fair election. Offering resources during constituent assembly and local election campaigns might have lured IDPs. Improvement on the position of the IDPs to fulfill their essentials can minimize unnecessary influences for voting. Further study to probe the ways to reduce bad effect on free and fair election in the situations of displacement can be an interesting topic for further study. The scholars can find the issue "what emotional and mental trauma the IDPs went through and how the health facilities to overcome the issues can be ensured" can also be an area of further study.

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Dark Tourism: Understanding the Concept and Recognizing the Values

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'Man stands in his own shadow and wonders why it's dark' (Zen Proverb; in Stone, Hartmann, Seaton, Sharpley & White, 2018, preface).

Abstract

Dark tourism is a youngest subset of tourism, introduced only in 1990s. It is a multifaceted and diverse phenomenon. Dark tourism studies carried out in the Western countries succinctly portrays dark tourism as a study of history and heritage, tourism and tragedies. Dark tourism has been identified as niche or special interest tourism. This paper highlights how dark tourism has been theoretically conceptualized in previous studies. As an umbrella concept dark tourism includes than tourism, blackspot tourism, morbid tourism, disaster tourism, conflict tourism, dissonant heritage tourism and others. This paper examines how dark tourism as a distinct form of tourism came into existence in the tourism academia and how it could be understood as a separate subset of tourism in better way. Basically, this study focuses on deathscapes, repressed sadism, commercialization of grief, commoditization of death, dardainment, backpackers, darsumers and deathseekers capitalism. This study generates curiosity among the readers and researchers to understand and explore the concepts and values of dark tourism in a better way.

Keywords: Dark tourism, authenticity, supply and demand, emotion and experience

Introduction

Tourism is a complex phenomenon involving a wide range of people, increasingly seeking for new and unique experiences in order to satisfy the most diverse motives, reason why the world tourism landscape has been changing in the last decades (Seabra, Abrantes, & Karstenholz, 2014; in Fonseca, Seabra, & Silva, 2016, p. 1). The concept of pleasant diversion in pleasant places' is changing and broadening into new market demanding, more complex and even unusual (Wight, 2006; in Fonseca et al., 2006). The questions are how dark tourism studies got introduced in the academia? What is the significance of dark tourism and how does it defer from other types of tourism? How could it be promoted in the new places where dark tourism is viable? The purpose of this study is to advance knowledge and understand the phenomenon of dark tourism.

The concept of dark tourism and thanatourism has created an opportunity for tourism researchers to explore new issues and push the boundaries of tourism research in new directions (Ashworth & Isaac, 2015; Johnstone, 2011; in Light, 2017, p. 93). Over the past decade dark tourism (and, to a lesser extent, thanatourism) have become established as mainstream research topics within tourism studies/tourism management, and are the focus of vigorous debate and critique.

The term 'dark' describes alludes to a sense of apparent disturbing practices and morbid products and experience, within the tourism domain (Stone, 2006, p. 146). The attention given to events of death, suffering, and atrocity and the subsequent development of dark tourism sites is attributed to an inherent curiosity towards mortality and the darker aspects of humanity (Foley, 2009; in Fonseca et al., 2016, p. 1). Humanity has been interested in the end of life since the time of pilgrimages (Titta, 2010). Death is clearly one such issue that raises uncertainties and anxieties and hence becomes a major issue to bracket out of everyday consciousness, contemplating death as taboo. Berger's (1967) seminal text suggested death was essential feature of human condition, requiring individual to develop mechanisms to cope with their ultimate demise. Commentators are now challenging death taboos by exploring contexts where the dead share world with living justified by Harrison's (2003, 2004) logic of absorption done through graves, images, literature, architecture and monuments, Lee's (2002) concept of disenchantment of death that advocates death as 'coming out of the closet to redefine our assumptions of life'. As Bauman (1992, p. 10; in Davidson, 2008, p. 15) observes of survival, it can be more about outliving others than about our own longevity: 'we never live through our death, but we do live through the deaths of others, and their death gives meaning to our success: we are still alive'.

According to Seaton (1996), the relationship between death and tourism, or 'thanatourism', intensified from the nineteenth century onwards, but it is only more recently that 'dark tourism' has become the focus of increasing academic attention (Biran & Hyde, 2013; Sharpley & Stone, 2009; Stone, 2013). There is broader growth of interest in issues of death and dying within the social sciences as the growing profile of 'death studies' as a multidisciplinary research focus testifies (Light, 2017, p.293). An Institute of Dark Tourism Research (IDTR) has been established at the University of Central Lancashire (UK) (Light, 2017, p. 276). Once recognized as a phenomenon several countries have tried to integrate dark tourism as a product into their tourism industry (Blom, 2000). Many destinations around the world implemented structures to support this new offer, playing dark tourism an important role in both a country's economy and its image. Thereby, for the individual who wishes to journey and gaze upon real or recreated death, plethora of sites, attractions and exhibitions are, new emerging across the world to cater to the 'dark side of travel' (Sharpley & Stone, 2009).

'Dark Tourism' was first coined by Foley and Lennon (1996a, 1996b) in a special issue of the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, their analysis relates primarily to 'the presentation and consumption of real and commodified death and disaster sites. However, the work was not the first to draw attention to the phenomenon of 'darkness' in tourism. In 1989, Uzzell (1989) discussed hot interpretation of war and conflict sites (see Sharpley, 2009). In addition, Rojek (1993) discussed the emergence of 'black spots' which "refer to the commercial developments of grave sites and sites in which celebrities or large number of people have met with sudden and violent death" (p. 136; in Raine, 2013, p. 249). Another early reflection on dark tourism includes Seaton's reference to 'thantourism' (p. 15) and Tunbridge and Asworth (1996, p. 114; in Raine, 2013, p. 243) and introducing the term 'horror tourism' (p. 129; in Raine, 2013) which they explored in terms of heritage management. However, the focus on the relationship between sites associated with war, death and atrocity was included in heritage tourism context which explains 'dissonant heritage' (Tunbridge & Asworth, 1996) 'sensitive heritage' (Frew, 2012), 'contested heritage' (Naef & Ploner, 2016) and 'industrial heritage' and ghost town (Delyser, 1999; Meheman, 2011; Stone, 2016; Tang, 2018).

Although the term "dark tourism" is used by the authors of this study various synonymous terms are used in literatures, for example dark tourism has been referred to the "thanatourism" (Seaton, 2001), "milking the macabre", "the dark side of tourism" (Dann, 1998; in Dann & Seaton, 2001), "tragedy tourism", and "mea culpa tourism" (Richter, 1999 ; in Dann & Seaton, 2001). In order to understand dark tourism in better way, first and foremost it is noteworthy to mention how dark tourism as an important product came into existence. Later refined by their assertion that dark tourism is 'an intimation of postmodernity' (Lennon & Foley, 2000:11). That is, firstly, interest in and the interpretation of events associated with death is to a great extent dependent on the ability of global communication technology to instantly report them and subsequently repeat *ad infinitum* (hence time-space compression). Secondly, it is claimed that most dark tourism sites challenge the inherent order, rationality and progress of modernity. Thirdly, at most sites the boundaries between the message and their commercialization as tourist products have become increasingly blurred. Lennon and Foley's aforementioned temporal positioning of dark tourism as a modern or 'within living memory' phenomenon remains an issue of contention with other literatures i.e. Ryan and Kohli's (2006) study of 'buried village' in New Zealand in 1886- concurs with Lennon and Foley's idea. That is, the experiences of contemporary tourists at the site are multifaceted and not predominantly related to disaster in 1886.

Generally, there are two distinct bases for analysis is evident in the emergent work of dark tourism. On one hand, Seaton explores dark tourism or thanatourism as a behavioral phenomenon, pointing to the existence of 'dark tourist' or 'thanatourist'. Thus, for Seaton, thanatourism is a form of tourism consumption. On the other hand, significant attention is paid to dark sites or attractions- the objects of dark tourism consumption- in general, and their definition, interpretation and management in particular. In either case, however, little attempt is made to delve beneath the surface of these issues, to explore differing approaches to and meanings of dark tourism's demand and supply. Seaton and Lennon (2004; in Farmaki; 2013, p. 282) identified two main motives related to dark tourism:

- Schadenfreude (i.e. the pleasure of seeing others' misfortune and ;
- Thanatopsis (i.e. the contemplation of death).

According to Seaton (1996), there are just five possible categories of dark travel activity: 1. to witness public enactments of death; 2. to sites of individual or mass deaths; 3. to memorials or internment sites; 4. to see symbolic representations of death; 5. to witness re-enactments of death.

Accordingly, whoever studied on different aspects of dark tourism they have defined their own perceptions, although the crux of study is multi-layered mixture of history and heritage, tourism and tragedies. In this way scholars defined dark tourism on their own way which has been cited by Light (2017). Since, 1996 to 2017, Light has listed more than 171 scholars who have conducted research on various aspects of dark tourism and defined it on the basis of practices, types of places, motivations, form of experiences and heritage. Overall, Light (2017) has compiled few important definitions of dark tourism through the tabular representation.

There is a growth in number of visitors to dark tourism sites in recent years. For example, in 2010, nearly 8,00,000 tourists visited the Jewish Museum Berlin, a record since its opening in 2001 (Plocki & Plagemann, 2011; in Isaac & Çakmak, 2014, p. 164), while the Anne Frank House and Alcatraz Prison (Rheenen, 2011; in Isaac & Çakmak, 2014) have received more than one million visitors annually. Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia has more than four million visitors, and perhaps the most iconic dark tourism site, the Auschwitz Concentration Camp reached another record number of visitors in 2011, with almost 1, 400,000 (Auschwitz- Birkenau Memorial and Museum, 2011; in Isaac & Çakmak, 2014, pp.164-165).

Dark Tourism scholars have diversified the notion of death-related tourist activity as ‘thanatourism’ (Dann, 1994 ; Seaton 1996), ‘black-spot tourism’ (Rojek 1993), ‘morbid tourism’ (Blom, 2000), ‘grief tourism’ (O’Neill, 2002 ; Trotta, 2006) and ‘atrocity tourism’ (Ashworth, 2002), phoenix tourism (Causevic & Lynch, 2011), natural disaster tourism (Miller, 2008 ; in Ashworth & Isaac, 2015, p. 3), disaster tourism (Antick, 2013), hot-spot tourism (Pelton, 2003; in Ashworth and Isaac, 2015, p. 3), holocaust tourism (Buntman, 2008), prison tourism (Strange & Kempa, 2003; in Fonseca, Seabra & Silva, 2016), cemetery tourism (Abranja, 2012; in Fonseca, Seabra & Silva, 2016), ghost tourism (Davies, 2007; in Fonseca, Seabra & Silva, 2016), battlefield tourism (Henderson, 1997; in Seaton, 2012, p. 522), conflict tourism (Ryan & Kohli, 2006) (involving visits to places which are under threat) and produce a typology comprising plantation tourism, suicide tourism and doomsday tourism (Trotta, 2006; in Simone-Charteris, Boyd, & Burns, 2013, p. 63), negative sightseeing (MacCannell, 1976), tragic tourism (Lippard, 1999), slumming (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998), strange tours (Weiner, 2008), poorism (Popescu, 2007).

In course of doing research, scholars have developed various types of dark tourism which are cited by Kuznik (2015, pp. 331-332; Fonseca, Seabra, & Silva, 2016, p. 3; Titta, 2010, pp. 13-14). Kuznik (2015) highlights following types of dark tourism: grave tourism-visiting famous cemeteries; war or battlefield tourism-visiting former war places; holocaust tourism-visiting concentration camp and memorial sites with cruel history; genocide tourism-visiting places of genocide; prison tourism-visiting former sites of punishment that have dark history attached and that combines education and entertainment; communism tourism-visiting places where communism was originated and existed; cold war and iron curtain tourism-seeking out traces and remains of Berlin wall; disaster area tourism- visiting places of natural disasters; nuclear tourism-visiting sites of civil nuclear disaster; murderers and murderous places tourism- visiting spots where murderous act occurred; slum tourism/favela tourism -visiting impoverished areas; terrorist tourism- visiting areas where terrorist acts occurred; paranormal tourism-visiting places where paranormal activities are traced; witched tourism/ghost tourism- visiting places, allegedly proceeding ghost haunting; accident tourism-visiting vehicle accident sites; icky medical tourism-visiting body world museum and sites; dark amusement tourism- visiting dark experiences themed amusement parks.

In developing a typology of dark tourism consumption, Sharpley (2005) draws upon Holt’s (1995) earlier typology of consumption practice in which four ‘metaphors’ of consumption are proposed:

- Dark tourism as experience: may be consumed in order to give phenomenological meaning to tourist’s own social existence by visiting war cemeteries/memorials; paler fantasy; battlefields and other war related museums or attractions.
- Dark tourism as play: Representing ‘paler’ experiences, consumption as play focuses upon the shared, communal consumption of dark tourism sites or experiences. Death of an individual or group of people is initial driver for collective celebration, remembrance or mourning. Thus, dark

tourism becomes pilgrimage, or journey followed by the experience of ‘communitas’.

- Dark tourism as integration: Two shades of dark tourism as integration. On the one hand with evident links to the notion of consumption as fantasy, tourists may integrate themselves into the object of consumption, the fascination not being in death itself but in broader context within which death occurs. On the other hand, the darkest form is where tourists seek to integrate themselves with death, either through witnessing violent or untimely deaths (travelling, for example to the scene of disasters or murders) or, in the extreme perhaps, travelling in the knowledge or expectation of death.
- Dark tourism as classification: In the context of dark tourism, status may be sought through undertaking forms of travel that are dangerous for the tourist. This form of consumption falls towards the paler end of dark tourism continuum and demonstrates that fascination with death may often not be the principal factor driving such experiences. If, as Sharpley (2005) proposes, there exists a ‘continuum of purpose’ of supply of dark tourism attractions, varying from ‘accidental’ supply to supply that is directly intended to exploit, for profit or otherwise, people’s ‘thanatopsis’.

More recently, dark tourism has embraced a more materialist, post-human stance, putting relations and affective relationality between a ‘now’ and a ‘them’ on the agenda, as a replacement of purely constructivist paradigms (Sather-Wagsatff, 2011; in Knudsen, 2017, p. 174). Stone’s (2006) ideas of complexities of defining dark tourism include two propositions that are relevant to this chapter: a) the distinction between purposefully constructed sites attractions or exhibitions that interpret or recreate events or acts associated with death, and the macabre and so called ‘accidental’ or non-purposeful sites. That is, those sites, such as cemeteries, memorials or disaster sites that have become tourist attractions by ‘accident’ because of their relationship with turbulent and tragic events; and b) the fundamental reasons why and how dark sites/ experiences are produced or supplied – for example, political reasons, for remembrance purposes, for education, for entertainment or for economic gain.

For a newbie in dark tourism academia having questions on where are dark sites? There are several sites at present which brings past events, sharing information, and causing emotions. Fonseca et al. (2016, pp. 4-5) have collected approximately thirty dark tourist sites worldwide. They are :Concentration and Extermination Camp in Auschwitz, Poland; Ground Zero - The National September 11 Memorial in New York USA; Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park Hiroshima, Japan; The Dracula's Castle - Bran Castle Wallachia (Transylvania);Alcatraz Federal Penitentiary San Francisco Bay (USA); Pompeii Naples, Italy; Leap Castle Coolderry County Offaly, Ireland; Père – Lachaise Paris, France; Squatter Camp Soweto - Soweto South Africa; TuolSleng Museum Phnom Penh (Cambodia); Dharavi Slum Mumbai India; Latvian Prison Hotel and Museum Liepāja Latvia ;Alma Bridge Paris France; Arlington National Cemetery Virginia, USA; Paris Catacombs Paris, France ;Titanic Belfast Belfast (Northern Ireland); Sedlec Ossuary Sledec, Czech Republic; Oklahoma City National Memorial & Museum Oklahoma (USA); Museum of Genocide Victims Vilnius (Lithuania); Hoa Lo Prison Hanoi Vietnam ;Chapel of Bones Évora (Portugal) ; Island of the Dolls Mexico City (Mexico); The Suicide Forest Mount Fuji (Japan); The London Dungeon London (UK) ; Chernobyl Disaster Pripyat (Ukraine); Gallipoli Campaign Gallipoli (Turkey); Belchite Saragoça (Spain); Jack The Ripper Tours London; Hothell Porto (Portugal); Anne Frank House Prinsengracht (Amsterdam); Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre Rwanda.

Methods in Dark Tourism

‘Understanding the Concept, Recognizing the Value’ as an approach has been borrowed from Williams (2010) for making the title of this study. The researchers reviewed the secondary sources such as books, research articles and the research notes. Though there are various approaches of reviewing the literature, the authors followed textual narrative approach instead of following narratives synthesis (in-depth approach) which is drawn from a number of studies, both qualitative and quantitative. According to May et al.(2005; in Mair, Ritchie, & Walter, 2014, p. 4), narrative reviews may include thematic analysis.

However, a wide range of methodological approaches have been adopted (usually reflecting the disciplinary background of the researcher). A summary of the research methods adopted in more than 100 academic paper and chapters over the 1996-2016 period is presented by Light (2017, p. 292). As he writes the most common research approach involves qualitative methods usually a combination of in-depth interviews and observations of visitors’ behavior. Such methods are predominantly used by

authors with backgrounds in anthropology, sociology and human geography, mirroring a broader trend within tourism studies towards greater use of qualitative research approaches (Wilson & Hollinshead, 2015; in Light, 2017, p. 292). There are another group of scholars with a disciplinary background of psychology, consumer behavior or business management studies that followed quantitative approach (usually questionnaire surveys with large sample). The third group of scholars has employed formal analytical techniques (such as semiotic analysis, discourse analysis, or content analysis).

Review of Literatures

In the study of dark tourism, Lennon and Foley (2000) have been popularized as a benchmark in the academic discourse of dark tourism. The book defines dark tourism as tourist interest in recent death, disaster and atrocity borne of a fundamental shift in a way which death, disaster and atrocity are being handled by those who offer associated tourism products (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p. 3). The book highlights on the several economical, sociological, technological events upon which dark tourism sites are selected, interpreted and offered as tourism products (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p. 3). There are several case studies on the dark tourism sites highlighted in the book which discusses on the dark tourism sites and its interpretations through media, political forces and social change.

Sharpley and Stone (2009) address several questions related to theories and concepts of dark tourism, management and implication of dark tourism and practice of dark tourism. It advances knowledge and helps to understand the phenomenon of dark tourism by providing contemporary and comprehensive analysis of dark tourism (Sharpley, 2009, p. 7). Korstanje (2011) highlighted on an emergent class of “death-seekers” who consume the spectacle of the disaster, exploring spaces of mass death and suffering. Sites that are obliterated by disasters or tragic events are recycled and visually consumed by an international audience, creating a death-seekers economy, drawing on the premise that the society of risk as imagined by post-modern sociology sets the pace to a new society: thana-capitalism. White and Frew (2013) have concentrated on visitor motivation, destination management, place interpretation from the viewpoint of demand and supply perspectives. Hooper and Lennon (2017) have dedicated to showcase the country specific case studies on Dark Tourism incidence. Recently, Stone, Hartmann, Seaton, Sharpley and White (2018) have been branded into an internationally recognized taxonomy to denote travel to sites *of* or sites associated *with* death or ‘difficult heritage’ within global visitor economies.

So far as dark/disaster tourism in the context of Nepal is concerned, the area which remained untouched for so long despite of the immense possibility. The discourse of dark tourism only started after 2015 earthquake. It is Hepburn (2012, 2017; in Light, 2017, p. 281) who wrote first article on dark tourism in the context of Nepal and in that paper entitled “Shades of darkness: Silence, risks, and fear among tourists and Nepalese during Nepal’s civil war” published in *Writing the Dark Side of Travel* edited by Skinner (2012 adopted from Hepburn, 2017). It is Kužnik (2015) who proposed Nepal as a disaster tourism destination along with other different dark tourism destinations. They are Kunwar and Limbu (2015), Kunwar (2016a, 2016b) who published three articles on disaster related tourism in the post-earthquake. Kunwar proposed to introduce dark tourism or thantourism as an alternative product in Langtang of Nepal. But there are many other dark tourism destinations in Nepal which are the subjects of research.

Four Shades of Dark Tourism

Sharpley (2009) attempted to offer a more holistic view of dark tourism by incorporating supply and demand factors. Specifically, he establishes a link between the site’s attributes and experience sought by tourists and proposed four shades of dark tourism:

- Black tourism, describing a pure dark experience;
- Pale tourism, referring to minimal interest in death;
- Grey tourism demand, describing visitation to dark sites motivated by fascination;
- Grey tourism supply, which refers to sites developed to exploit death by attracting tourists with little inherent interest in the sites.

Some prominent instances are Miles (2002), distinguishing between dark, darker and darkest sites, and Stone (2006) proposed spectrum, ranging from lightest to darkest sites. Yet this approach has been criticised as leading to an increasing dilution and fuzziness of the notion of dark tourism as it arbitrarily combines markedly diverse visitor experiences (Sharpley, 2009).

Motivation

According to Biran, Poria & Oren (2011), dark tourism motivations could be grouped into four factors, namely: 1. “see it to believe it” (participants’ interest in seeing the site out of a need to believe that such atrocities really happened); 2. “Learning and understanding” (participants interest in being educated about Second World War and the atrocities that took place in Auschwitz); 3. “famous death tourist attractions” (general interest in sites of death, willingness to see the real site, and feel empathy with the victims); 4. “emotional heritage experience” (the desire to connect to his/her heritage and have an emotional experience). Preece and Price (2001; in Ryan & Kohli, 2006,p.214) in a study of Port Arthur, proposed, based in interviews with visitors , three main themes of visitation, these beings a) learning ; b) historical interest and c) a fascination with the abnormal or bizarre.

Push-and-pull travel motivations play an important role for individuals in determining when and where to travel. Push factors are internal drives that motivate people to travel. They are general and non-destination-specific attributes. Crompton (1979)’s “socio-psychological motives,” Dann (1981)’s “anomie” and “ego-enhancement,” and IsoAhola (1982)’s “escaping” and “seeking” are examples of the push factors. In addition, push factors are not only responsible for establishing a desire to travel but also determine when and where to travel (Crompton 1979) and precede pull factors, which respond to and reinforce the push motivation (Dann, 1977). Snepenger et al. (2006) found that personal seeking, personal escape, intrapersonal seeking, and intrapersonal escape were salient intrinsic motivational push factors for tourism behavior. Likewise, Pearce and Lee (2005) assessed that escape, relaxation, relation enhancement, and self-development were core push travel motivations that do not change during travel career patterns (Rittichainuwat, 2008, p. 423). In contrast, pull factors refer to the attractiveness and specific features of the destination perceived by potential tourists that attract people to travel once the decision has been made. For example, specific attributes of a tropical beach destination, such as warm weather, a relaxed atmosphere, friendliness of the local people, and environmental quality of air, water, and soil, were important pull factors in attracting inbound tourists to Caribbean destinations (Turnbull and Uysal 1995). However, common activities easily accessible in the tourist’s home environment, such as sport and entertainment, were the least important pull factors (Jamrozy & Uysal 1994). Potential tourists consider “various,” not “single,” pull factors, which adequately correspond to the motivational push factors (Dann, 1981). Curiosity is an important push travel motivation for thanatourism. According to Crompton (1979), curiosity is a synonym of novelty, and a search for new experience, which results from actually seeing something rather than simply vicariously knowing about it. A sense of “ought to see” initiates the selection of a destination. Likewise, curiosity about the hidden features of punishment and extraordinary disasters pushes people to travel and pulls the curious from around the world to dark sites (Strange & Kempa, 2003). Blom (2000) suggests four similar motivations to visit dark sites:

- tourists seek to experience something different than happens in their everyday lives;
- there is competitive demand in the tourism market to create new and unique attractions;
- tourists are searching for “catharsis” (p. 34), which can be achieved by confronting unpleasant events to which we have no personal or individual connection; and
- the media exposes us to new places and people we would not be aware of under other circumstances, thus generating interest in visiting such sites (Raine, 2013, p. 243).

Dunkley (2006, in Raine, 2013, p. 244) identifies several reasons and interests to visit dark sites, including contemplation, special interest, thrill/risk seeking, validation, authenticity, self-discovery, iconic sites, convenience, morbid curiosity, pilgrimage, remembrance and empathy. There is a particular gap in research into visitor motivations to visit burial sites specifically, which is the primary concern of this paper. The Cemetery Research Group identifies four main motivations for visiting cemeteries. These include:

- an interest in local history;
- nature lovers;
- those visiting for educative purposes; and
- people who seek passive recreation by merely walking through the site (Thomas, 2007).

Seven Dark Suppliers

Stone (2006) writes in his article about typology of dark tourism sites from a supply-oriented view. He presents “Seven Dark Suppliers” in order to construct a conceptual framework in which the supply of

diverse and fragmented dark tourism product may be located. The order of different suppliers varies from the lightest to the darkest based on Miles' tourism paradigm presented above.

- Dark Fun Factories are entertainment focused sites which present real or fictional death and macabre events with commercial ethics. Stone brings out "Dracula Park" in Romania as an example.
- Dark Exhibitions offer products related to death often with a commemorative, educational and reflective message. Despite the conservational ethic these sites encompass some tourism infrastructure and commercial focus.
- Dark Dungeons present bygone penal and justice codes by bringing the history back through tours and acts. It is suggested that these sites may occupy the center ground of the spectrum, having both dark and light elements. Entertainment and education as a core product.
- Dark Resting Places refer mainly to cemetery sites. These revolve around a history-centric, conservational and commemorative ethic. People visit cemeteries primarily for respecting and commemorating the loved lost ones but also for exercising, relaxing and studying nature and local history.
- Dark Shrines are often situated very close to the site of death and within a short time period of the death occurring. Most Dark Shrines are non- purposeful for tourism and have very little tourism infrastructure. These sites have temporal nature and they work as an act of remembrance and respect for the recently deceased.
- Dark Conflict Sites are history-centric, war-related and originally non- purposeful in the dark tourism context. These sites essentially have an educational and commemorative focus, although, Dark Conflict Sites often have strong political ideologies on the background. Due to increased trips by tour operators, these battlefields and other war-related attractions are becoming more commercialized.
- Dark Camps of Genocide occupy the darkest age of the dark tourism spectrum. These sites represent places which have genocide, atrocity and catastrophe as the main thanatological theme.

Classification of Tourists

Based on a large-scale survey (i.e. 34000 respondents), Richards (2015; in Yousaf, Amin, & Santos, 2018, p.199) identified three large groups of travellers: global nomads, backpackers and flashpackers. Global nomads will most likely seek contacts with local people and everyday life the destination, 'staying in local people's homes and connecting to local communication networks as well as the Internet' (Richards, 2015, p. 148; in Yousaf, Amin, & Santos, 2018, p. 199). Backpackers typically travel together with other backpackers from home countries, and these travellers are driven by the desire to independent and alternative ways and strengthen ties or create new ties with backpacker communities, finally according to Richards (2015, p. 148), the flashpacker the most connected traveller using social media frequently and ... being more likely to mix and blur work and leisure. In the study of dark tourism, the visitors are categorized as 'backpackers' (Podoshen, 2013), a term given to black metal fans who engage in tourism activity, who tour not only to experience live music and festival atmospheres, but to visit sites where violence associated with black metal artists and fans has occurred.

Krippendorf (1987; in Rucinska, 2016, p. 1459) said: the traveller has a mix of characteristic that are not simple to choose one category of their tourism motion. Swarbroke (1995; in Blom, 2000) uses a classification (of the tourists) based on the attraction. He speaks of four attraction typologies: natural sites, artifacts, facilities, and arrangements. In Burns and Holden's (1995; in Blom, 2000, p. 30) classification of tourists, the category adventurers is defined as those who 'seek', new activities, culture and people.' (Blom, 2000) adds the following those who seek and demand the unknown and the frightening which in one sense is a form of adventure.

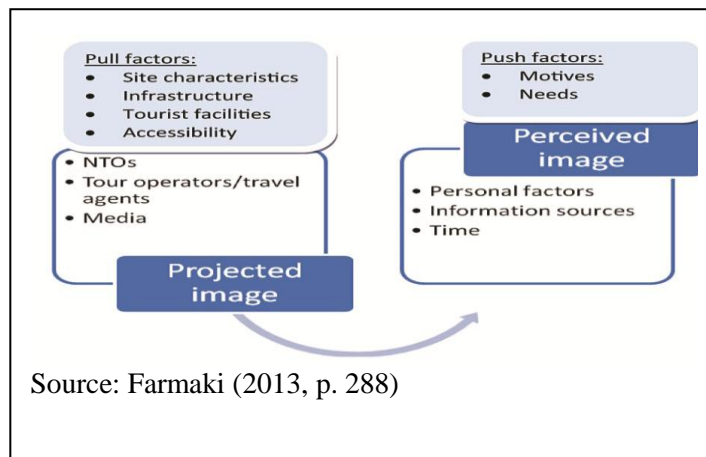
Supply, Demand and Integrated Model

To explain the supply-demand phenomenon in dark tourism, three approaches exist. The first approach and the prevailing one is a supply perspective (Seaton & Lennon, 2004; Stone & Sharpley, 2008). The supply perspective adopts a descriptive understanding (Apostolakis, 2003; in Biran et al., 2011, p. 821), emphasizing the individual's presence in spaces associated with death. This line of thought has led to an eclectic collection of studies exploring a diversity of death-related sites, ranging from lightest to darkest. The supply perspective ignores the diversity of the individual's inner experience and motives, leading, in

turn, to a simplified understanding of dark tourism, one which arbitrarily combines possibly unrelated experiences.

The second approach employs a demand-oriented perspective, where dark tourism is defined in terms of the motivation for the visit. The demand oriented approach follows the hidden assumption that the presence of tourists at death-related sites reflects at least some degree of thanatouristic motives (Slade, 2003; in Biran et al., 2011, p. 822). This approach overlooks the possibility that the reasons for visiting and the sought experiences might be completely devoid of interest in death.

The third approach, integrated supply-demand perspective, highlights the need to consider the nature of both supply and demand, narrowing the scope of dark tourism. Sharpley (2005, 2009), for example, calls for clarifying the links between the site's attributes and the experience sought, based on a "continuum of purpose" (Sharpley, 2009, p. 19) and recognizes four "shades" of dark tourism.

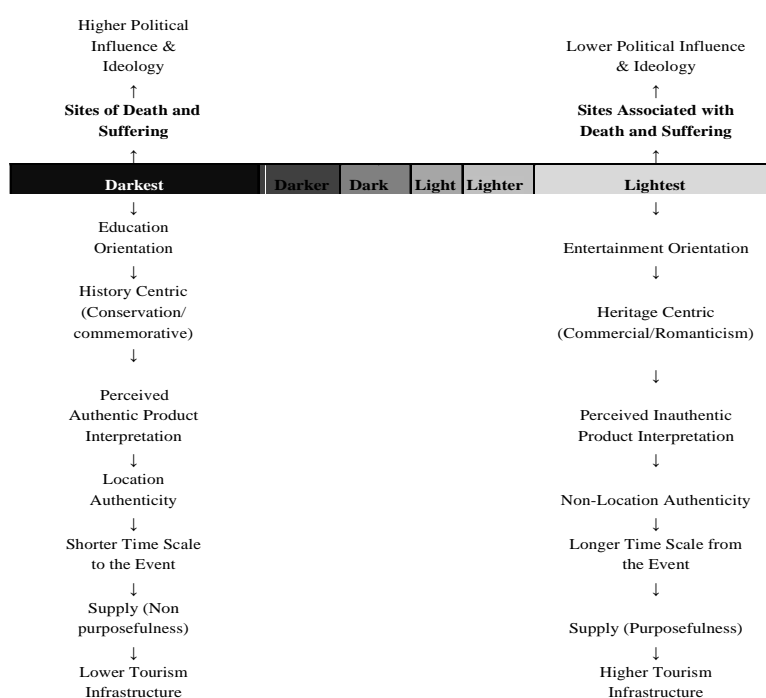


As can be seen from Figure, supply stakeholders such as national tourist organizations and tour operators are largely responsible for promoting dark sites. The projected image is also influenced by communication channels such as the media. Several factors interact to attract visitors to a site, including site-specific characteristics, the infrastructural environment, the existence of tourist facilities, and the location of a site. The projected image of the site consequently influences the perceived image held by tourists and ultimately the experience at the site. Nevertheless, a

tourist's perceived image is interrelated to their motivations and intrinsic needs, which act as push factors for visiting dark sites. Similarly, several factors influencing demand and the tourist experience, including the source delivering information about the dark site (i.e. internet, tour operators, etc.), the passage of time since the dark event took place and personal factors of tourists such as nationality, sense of solidarity with the affected community and knowledge level.

Dark-light Spectrum Scale

Figure: Dark-light spectrum scale



Stone (2006, p.146) points out that certain sites may be darker than others due to their characteristics, perceptions and product traits. Using his model each dark tourism product can be described and analyzed. According to darkest-lightest framework of supply (Stone), the continuum represents different levels of contact with the dark provided by dark tourism sites. On the left side of the image we can see the darkest tourism that concerns the site where death and suffering have actually occurred like Auschwitz (Poland) the world's most dark destination, symbolizing the genocide of thousands of Jews at this level the main goal to educate tourists about the place/event. On the right side of the color scale we are able to see the lightest tourism which is performed at sites merely associated with death, and therefore

need to possess excellent touristic infrastructure created with the intention of being attractions and entertain the tourists, one example is the Darculapark (Fonseca et al., 2016). Based on Stone's spectrum scale, cemeteries lie on the darker end of the spectrum. They are sights of death, giving educational, history-centric information and interpretations of the past. However, there is much more to cemeteries than darkness as many cemeteries around the world prove.

Place Identity and Attachment

Significant studies have been done on place interpretation of international contemporary and historic sites associated with death, disaster and atrocity and their association with tourism. According to Relph (1976: 46; in Frew & White, 2013, p. 14), "our experiences of places are direct, complete and often unconscious". Referencing Albert Camus's writings (1965), the author presents three major components of the identity of places: the static physical settings, the activities and the meanings or symbols. The meanings of a place may stem from the physical setting and the activities, but still belong to the realm of experiences. Meanings can change from one object to the other hand, for any given object, they may vary from one individual to the other. Moreover, the feelings and identity associated with a specific place will be determined by the context (social, economic and cultural) in which people live. Thus, identity is based both on the object and the individual, and on the global culture to which they belong (Blom 2000). 'Space' and 'place' are not synonyms but belong to different perceptual categories (Borghini & Zaghi 2006; in Frew & White, 2013, p. 14). 'Space' is changing, moving and is no one's property. In contrast, 'place' is more or less stable, absolute, occupied and provides the possibility to experience sensations related to the area. A place is thus a tried and consumed space. Debenedetti (2004: 7; in Frew & White, 2013, p. 14) defines place attachment as "an affective and positive bond between an individual (or a group) and its physical environment". Tilley (1994, p. 15; in Bird, 2013, p. 167) acknowledges, "the affective, emotional and symbolic significance of the landscape ... the relationship between people and the land, and the manner in which it is culturally constructed, invested with powers and significances". Low and Altman (1992: 5–6) maintain that "place refers to space that has been given meaning through personal, group or cultural processes", and that place attachment "implies that the primary target of affective bonding of people is to environmental settings themselves". The analysis of "dark resting places" (Stone 2006) focuses on cemeteries as potential objects of dark tourism.

Remembrance

Remembrance is not memory (King, 1998; in Walter, 2009, p. 47). Remembrance entails a commemoration of those whose suffering and death one may not have personally witnessed, but is not yet history. When memory is not first hand, it turns into remembrance or history, genealogy, or ancestry ...and doubtless other possibilities too (Walter, 2009, p. 47). If there is no formal way to care for the dead, all that is left is to remember them. If a shrine is where the dead are cared for, prayed to and where guidance is sought from them, a memorial is more simply place of memory. Memories may be internal to the individual visitor, or shared within the group, but a memorial is not designed to be a place of interaction between the living and the dead-or at least, not officially.

Commodification

As Tarlow (2005) reminds us dark tourism has the commercial side making the horrors of yesterday to the business of today for this reason souvenir shops can be seen in the places of tragedy, individual's memory is replaced with collective one and those who pay their respect to the victim become the consumers. Despite the growing amount of dark tourism literature, we are presented with notable gap in terms of how marketing, branding, and destination marketing link with dark tourism sites. Site management, representation and interpretation of sites, moral issues, visitor motivations, and symbols of sites have been some of the main themes to date. Commodification has three distinct dimensions. The first is whether financial transactions of any sort should be allowable at thanatourism sites or whether they should be kept free of commercial *taint*. The second is, if some commercialization is allowable, who should benefit? And the third is, if commercialization is introduced: how should it be achieved in a way that does not adversely affect the site? (Seaton, 2009, p. 87). The first two may be considered together. While the introduction of, for example, an entrance fee, a gift shop or catering outlets may seem crash at a historic or religious site, it becomes less so if the revenues are used to maintain it and to employ local people. Thus, in most cases the decision to run a thanatourism site on a commercial or semi commercial basis need not be contentious if a local community supports the development and the proceeds are seen to help maintain it and/ benefit regional communities (Seaton, 2009, p. 77).

Brown et al. (2012; in Bird, Westcott, & Thiesen, 2018, p. 648) identify the need for the discipline and distinction of what they refer to as dark marketing. Dark marketing is defined as 'the application or adaptation of marketing principles and practices to domains of death, destruction and the ostensibly reprehensible' (Brown et al., 2013, p. 198). The financial model is geared toward the overall success and the profitability of the attraction. This involves the development of a darsumer market, a term used to describe consumers of dark tourism products that commercialized operators attempt to retain through marketing processes (Robinson & Dale, 2009b), this includes promotional activities and relationship building with costumers to encourage brand loyalty and repeat visits.

Niche Tourism

A special interest or niche tourist's motivation is either to indulge in or to develop a new interest in a new or familiar location. Special interest tourism can be either the focus of the whole holiday or a way to spend one or two days during a holiday. Dark tourism is also recognized as a special interest form of tourism appealing to those keen to visit sites or attractions associated with the dark side of human nature and often tied to death, atrocity or tragic events of the past (Asworth & Hartmann, 2005; Lennon & Foley, 2000; Kuznik, 2015, p. 324). The themes of interest military history and visiting battle fields can be also mentioned as an example (Swarbrooke & Horner, 2007, 37-38 ; in Titta, 2010, p. 7; Novelli, 2005). Niche tourism, at one end of the spectrum, can be defined as breaking down into still relatively large market sectors (macro-niches-i.e. cultural tourism, rural tourism, sport tourism etc.), each capable of further (micro-niches-i.e. geo-tourism, gastronomy tourism, cycling tourism etc.). At the other end of the spectrum, niche tourism is focused on very precise small markets that would be difficult to split further but as well as niche tourism based around what tourist's do, there is also a *geographical dimension* by which location of highly specific offers are able to establish themselves as niche destinations (Robinson & Novelli, 2005, pp, 5-6). While describing about dark tourism, Tarlow (2005, p. 52) writes, "there is a blending of past and future, creator and observer, when perpetrators become producers of the attraction- the niche product and those who remember the victims become the consumers" to which Robinson and Dale (2009 b, p. 213) darsumer as mentioned earlier.

Edutainment

The dead may be encountered for educational purposes. Educational visits to the dead, whether in the classroom through books or at heritage sites through educational tourism, are the basis of the teaching of history. Sometimes the dead are physically present, as in exhibitions of mummies and bog bodies. The exhibition, like all popular yet purportedly serious exhibitions, museums and heritage sites, and indeed like comparable television documentaries, is edutainment. The dead, like much else from the past, are used to educate and entertain today's massed- as they were too in 18th-century public executions (Walter, 2009, p. 48). To which Roberts (2018) Dale and Robinson (2011) called 'dertainment', which identifies both dark attractions that attempt to entertain (Robinson & Dale, 2009 b; in Dale & Robinson, 2011, p. 213).

Authenticity

Authenticity (see in detail MacCannell, 1976; Olsen, 2002; Wang, 1999) can be defined based on five perspectives: objective/essentialist, constructivist, negotiated, existentialist, and theoplicity. The essentialist (also referred to as objective by extant literature) notion refers to being original and genuine, such as being manufactured in the place of origin or made/produced locally by ethnic communities, and pristineness (Chhabra, 2010; in Chhabra, Lee, Zhao, & Scott, 2013, p. 147). The constructivist viewpoint advocates the notion that all judgments are colored by the prevailing market forces and environments. The readings based on this perspective relate to completely commodified forms of authenticity such as hyper-real settings and carefully constructed pseudo-backstages (MacCannell, 1992; in Chhabra et al., 2013, p. 147).

Next, the negotiated school of thought advocates a trade-off between the (1) essentialist and constructivist and (2) existentialist and essentialist theories. The essentialist/constructivist negotiation points to a co-creation of authenticity based by the suppliers and the consumers. It argues that it is possible to sustain elements of object authenticity by carefully embracing change and market demand. This process can, therefore, serve a useful purpose of mapping a middle path. Theoplicity, the second negotiated position version of negotiation argues that consumers can have an optimal and exhilarating experience in objectively authentic settings. The last notion of authenticity argues that personal meanings

and state of mind dictate an optimal authentic experience and refers to terms such as 'self discovery', 'being true to oneself' (Steiner & Reisinger 2006, p. 299; in Chhabra et al., 2013, pp. 147-148) and exalted living within tourist moments (Wang, 1999). MacCannell (1976) argues in his seminal work that the modern tourist recognises the inauthenticity of contemporary social life and thus becomes a secular pilgrim seeking the authentic: 'sightseeing is a kind of collective striving for a transcendence of the modern totality, a way of attempting to overcome the discontinuity of modernity' (MacCannell, 1976). For MacCannell, however, the tourist's quest for authenticity is doomed to failure; authenticity is inevitably 'staged' for tourists (MacCannell, 1973; in Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 116). It has been suggested that academic attention should be focused not on the degree of authenticity of particular tourist experiences, but on the process of 'authentication' of tourist sites and attractions – that is, how and why they are deemed authentic (Xie & Wall, 2008; in Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 116).

In the study of dark tourism, Sharpley and Stone (2009) follow MacCannell's concept and they write ... the tourist as pilgrim seeking to challenge the discontinuity of modernity is fundamental to understanding the need for an emotive, affective or authentic component in dark heritage interpretation. The consumption of dark tourism sites or attractions may be driven by the need not only to remember or commemorate the death/ suffering of others, but also to confront and contextualize it within the individual tourist's own social world. Thus, Sharpley and Stone emphasize to show the link between the consumption of experience of the site and its subsequent contribution to identity creation. As considered elsewhere, the consumption of goods and services in general, and of tourism experiences in particular, is related to their social significance (Munt, 1994; in Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 117).

Interpretation

'Interpretation is an essential component of visitor experiences at attractions' (Moscardo & Ballantyne, 2008, p. 237; in Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 113). It provided the link between an attraction and its visitors it is the process by which a place, an event, history, a building, a collection of items or more generally what may be referred to as heritage is accorded meaning which is then communicated by one means or another to the visitor. Interpretation plays a key role in this process, acting as a 'filter' to emotional responses to a dark site or attraction. On the one hand, appropriate interpretation may enhance the visitor experience and fulfil the need for understanding and meaning. As Tilden (1977, p. 9; in Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 114) suggests in his first principle of interpretation, 'any interpretation that doesn't somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile'. For Tilden, interpretation is 'an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information (Tilden, 1977, p. 8; in Sharpley & Stone, p. 114). As a management 'tool', interpretation has also benefited, of course, from technological advances as the more traditional forms of interpretation such as guided tours, information signs and panels, visitor center and live performances are being augmented by, for example, self-directed tours using pre-downloaded mp3-format audio tours, like those offered by English Heritage for some of their historic sites (see www.english-heritage.org.uk) (Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 114). On the other hand, interpretation that misleads, trivializes, commercializes the experiences may act as a barrier.

Postmodernism

Much of the literature on dark tourism invariably defines the phenomenon in the context of postmodernism. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the origins and chronology of post-modernism in order to fully comprehend the role dark tourism plays in today's society. A starting point is modernism, the movement from which post-modernism emerged. Many more are human accidents provoked by the very technology that we celebrate (Riding, 2003). The sociological discourse of postmodern tourism consists of two theoretical frameworks-"simulational" and the "other" postmodern tourism (Munt, 1994; in Uriely, 1997, P. 983). The simulational line of scholarship is focused around the analysis of "hyperreal" experiences and refers to simulated theme parks and other contrived attractions as typical postmodern environments (Baudrillard, 1983; Eco, 1986; Featherstone, 1991 Lash & Urry, 1994; Pretcs, 1995; in Uriely, 1997, p. 983). Conceptualizations of the "other" Postmodern tourism stress the search for the "real" and point to the growing appeal of the "natural" and the countryside as postmodern expressions (Barrett, 1989; Munt, 1994; Poon, 1989; Urry, 1990; in Uriely, 1997, P. 183). It seems as though the distinction between the "simulational" and the "other" dimensions of postmodern tourism follows the polarity noted among the earlier theories of modern tourism. While the "simulational" post modern

tourism follows Boorstin's notion of "pseudo-events" (1964; in Uriely, 1997) the "other" postmodern tourism follows McConnell's (1976) argument regarding the quest for authenticity. Uriely's (1997) analysis suggests that unlike the polemic, authoritative, and homogenizing discourse of modern tourism, the discourse of postmodern tourism consists of compromising statements and stresses the multiplicity of tourist experiences. 'The other' typically meant 'People not like us', as Hawthorn's definition suggests:

...to characterize a person, group or individual as 'other' is to place them outside the system of normality or convention to which one oneself (Hawthorn, 1994, p. 141; in Seaton, 2009, p. 76).

Othering is a process that happens whenever one group first encounters an unfamiliar one (Seaton, 2009, p. 78).

..., the Other may be a desire for difference that takes them 'out of ourselves', a desire for a sabbatical from the everyday self and mundane society, for others, the Other is what always brings them back, an anti-structure that serves, in opposition to its perceived wrongness, to keep them right in their own world (Seaton, 2009, p. 83). To these two may be added a third assertion: that the Otherness of death is the most powerful of all Others and one which, as the unique element in thanatourism, distinguishes from all other kinds of tourism (Seaton, 2009, p. 83).

Theorizing Dark Tourism

Some conceptualisations of dark tourism do not involve death at all. Biran and Poria (2012) propose that dark tourism should be defined in terms of deviance (specifically "negative deviance") that is participation in activities which are shameful or socially condemned. This approach effectively equates dark tourism with dark leisure (See also Yan et al., 2016; in Light, 2017, p. 281), but also implies that dark tourism need not have any association with death. Another conceptualisation draws on the notion of tourism in darkness (Hepburn, 2012, p. 122; in Light, 2017, p. 181) to argue that places of socio-political danger" represent dark (or forbidden destinations) so that visit to such places constitute a form of dark tourism (Buda & McIntosh, 2013; in Light, 2017). Similarly Buda & Shim (2015, 9. 4; in Light, 2017) argue that tourists visit North Korea from a desire for "dark, forbidden and possibly dangerous activities and locations". However, Connell (2017) claims that visiting North Korea represent a form of "moral political tourism" (p. 6). There is a growing body of work that considers visits to dangerous places and conflict zones from the perspective of dark tourism (Buda, 2015a; in Light, 2017) which means that the boundaries between dark tourism and adventure tourism are increasingly blurred.

Traditional theories of tourism motivation have been limited use in explaining the consumption of dark tourism or thanatourism. By far the most detailed and sophisticated theorization of dark tourism consumption is the 'mortality mediation' model proposed by Stone & Sharpley (Stone, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2011b, 2011c, 2012a, 2012b, 2013a; Stone & Sharpley, 2008, 2014; Walter, 2009; In Light, 2017, p. 288) which draws upon notions of thanatopsis and the sociology of death to understand visits to places associated with death and suffering. The mortality mediation thesis argues that death has been sequestered (removed from the public sphere) in contemporary societies, leaving individuals isolated from the realities of death because individuals may feel a sense of anxiety and vulnerability about death in ways that can challenge senses if self. At the same time there has been marked increase in the representation and recreation of death within popular culture so that 'absent death' has become present in new ways i.e religion, body world museums. Visiting places associated with death through dark tourism prospect enables individuals to encounter and negotiate death in situations that do not involve terror or dread. It presents setting for individuals to satisfy their curiosity and fascination about death and to confront the inevitability of their own death through gazing upon the death of significant others (Stone, 2009a). Stone (2012 b) recognizes that a visit to a dark site is an opportunity to accumulate "death capital" (Stone, 2011 b, p. 698).

Dark tourism is thus conceived as a non-religious mediating institution between the living and the dead, offering an opportunity of thanatopic contemplation in face of inevitable (and meaningless) of death. Stone (2006) quotes Lennon and Foley's (2006, p.149) assertion that dark tourism is primarily western phenomenon. In this regard, Cohen (2018, p.157) further clarifies that once tourism was also considered Western phenomenon but now it universalized that tourism is globalised. Then, question can be asked do dark tourism phenomena exit non-Western emergent world reason ... Cohen suggests that the Stone's paradigmatic approach could thus be broadened into comparative conceptual framework... The crucial point of Stone's paradigmatic approach is the modern secular "theology" with life and death. For present purposes this can be concisely presented in a few basic premises:

- Human life is a once only event;

- Death is an inevitable terminal point of individual life, the point of the ontological cessation of individual extreme;
- There is no afterlife either as eternal life or rebirth;
- Hence, death is meaningless; there is no hope.

Mortality mediation is a complex and challenging theory. It suggests that visitors to sites associated with death and suffering may reflect upon (and contemplate) death in a multitude of ways (which will often be incidental, unintended, or implicit) and some visitors may not engage in such reflection at all. The nature of reflection will also vary according to the social and cultural background of visitors. Best and Kellner (2001, p. 16) note that present-day society 'is in the midst of a tempestuous period of transition and metamorphosis, propelled principally by transmutations in science, technology, and capitalism' and, perhaps more recently, by geopolitical turmoil in a post 9/11 world. Hence, that the 'secularisation of life should be accompanied by the secularization of death should come as no surprise: to live in the modern is to die in it also' (Tercier, 2005, p. 13).

Role of Media

'Disasters are unusual, dramatic, and often have great impact upon people's lives. This combination makes disasters newsworthy and creates the expectation that news outlets, which are driven by commercial imperatives will report them' (van Belle, 2000, 250; in Sharpley & Wright, 2018, p. 335). In other words, as Cockburn (2011; in Sharpley & Wright, 2018, p. 335) observes "the media generally assume the news of war, crime, and natural disasters will always win an audience", hence the well known adage in journalism – 'if it bleeds it leads' (Sharpley & Wright, 2018, p. 335). In other words, once a disaster has been publicized, it becomes an attraction to those who, for whatever reason, wish to travel to gaze upon it (Rojek, 1997; in Sharpley & Wright, 2018, p. 336). Seaton (1996; in Stone, 2006, p. 150) suggest that the role of the media has been central to this growth in tourism to sites, attractions and exhibitions associated with death, principally through increasing the geographical specificity of murder and violent death and, more recently through global communication technology that televises events almost as they happen into people's 'living rooms' around the world (Seaton & Lenon, 2004; in Stone, 2006, p.150).

Media Interest is growing: but a fundamental question with respect to dark tourism remain unanswered, whether it is actually possible or justifiable to categorize collectively the experience of sites or attractions that are associated with death or suffering as 'dark tourism'. Since the collective umbrella term includes a variety of sites, attractions and experiences its meaning has been diluted and fuzzy. More specifically, it remains unclear whether dark tourism is tourist-demand or attraction-supply driven as a (post) modern propensity for 'mourning sickness' (West, 2004).

The media generally provide the first impressions of a place or origin. In morbid tourism the media plays a crucial role by focusing on describing places, regions, events and phenomena, the media create an image or symbol, which produces associations in the individual. These images or symbols function as a kind of 'clothes hanger' on which the individual can hang their experience and feelings (Blom, 2000). The news media love a disaster (Tarlow, 2011; in Sharpley & Wright, 2018, p. 335). 'Disasters are unusual, dramatic and often have great impact on people's lives. This combination makes disaster newsworthy and creates the expectation that news outlets which are driven by commercial imperatives, will report them' (van Belle, 2000, p. 50; in Sharpley & Wright, 2018, p. 335). In other words, as Cockborn (2011; in Sharpley & Wright, 2018) observes, 'the media generally assume that news of war crime and natural disasters, will always an audience', hence the well-known adage in journalism- 'if it bleeds, it leads'. Moreover many of the myths are created by the media industry more generally ; books and films, for example have used the crucible of disaster as a setting for the espousal of tales of tragedy, chaos, suffering, love, and courage acted out by a menagerie of heroes, villains, fools, cowards, and scoundrels (Wenger, 1985, p.2; in Sharpley & Wright, 2018,p.336), such tales being the source of myths that persists both in disaster reporting and public conscientiousness (Sharpley & Wright, 2018, p. 336)....once a disaster has been published, it becomes an attraction to those who, for whatever reason wish to travel to gaze upon it (Rojek,1997; in Sharpley & Wright, 2018, p. 336).

Emotion and Experience

Emotion can be defined as felt short-lived responses to external stimuli (Reeve, 2008; in Asworth & Isaac, 2015, p. 4). According to Tarlow (2005), there are four basic emotions which interact on a dark

tourist psychological state: insecurity, gratitude, humility and superiority. Visiting a dark attraction can raise multiple feelings as well as dark tourism can be seen in various ways. Plutchik (1980; in Asworth & Isaac, 2015, p. 4) described eight primary emotions namely: joy, sadness, acceptance, disgust, fear, anger, surprise and anticipation. He categorized this into positive (joy, acceptance, anticipation and surprise) and negative (anger, fear, disgust and sadness) emotions. Nawijn and Fricke (2015; in Asworth & Isaac, 2015, p. 4) expanded the list to ten, divided into five positive (relief, pleasure, fascination, joy, positive, surprise) and five negative (anger, sadness, scare, shock, negative surprise). Asworth and Isaac have listed emotions most usually experienced at dark tourism sites that include curiosity, shame, empathetic grief, psychotic disturbance, offence/ anger and fear. Emotional experiences undoubtedly vary over time and between individuals an individual visitor, whose visit was motivated by a number of reasons, may then experience, during their visit, a spectrum of emotions from curiosity about the unusual and unfamiliar through empathetic grief and sorrow to offence and anger wherever directed.

An experience is something that happens to somebody because of exposure to an external circumstance. The study of the experience as dark leads to a focus upon human sentiment as a response to this experience. Few would disagree with a statement such as, 'a visit to a dark tourism requires emotion on the part of the visitor' (Miles, 2002, p. 175). The meaning of 'experience' is essentially synonymous with 'psychological outcome' to bespeak the specific response that is supplied by dark tourism sites, frequently referring to emotion and cognition (Shin, Jaakson & Kim, 2001; in Yan et al., 2016, p. 110). As Desmond (1999; in Robb, 2009, p. 56) has argued effectively the notion of touristic experience should be expanded to include a wide range of embodied aspects.

Desmond agrees that tourism is important in generating knowledge, where in an event, history, or a famous person's life and death can be internalized and inscribed within the being of the visitor. At the same time, in the case of dark tourism, this experience makes the suffering of the other just that -radically other (Robb, 2009, p. 56). Dark tourism provides not only an emotional (Cheal & Griffin, 2013; Mowatt & Chancellor, 2011; Podoshen, 2013; Rittichainuwat, 2008; Stone, 2012; in Yan et al., 2016, p. 110) or cognitive space (Stone, 2012; Yan et al., 2016, p. 110) through which tourists can acquire 'dark' experiences that differ from routine experiences but also a physical space through which one can relate desired psychological outcomes with actual psychological outcomes (Shin et al., 2001). Thus, in dark tourism, the tourist host (i.e., tourist) and object (i.e., destination) are distinguished as follows:

- Dark tourism is a psychological consumption process that offers tourists desired psychological outcomes and actual psychological outcomes to satisfy tourists' emotional demands.
- Dark tourism is a symbolic consumption process that supplies emotional and cognitive experiences to tourists who have an interactive relationship with a dark tourism product, including either man-made or natural disaster destinations.

Tourist Experience

In the age of postmodernity, the experience of consumers plays an increasingly important role in economic and social life. In social science literature on the tourist experience, most researchers focus on the experience *in sharp contrast* to the daily experience. The tourist experience is thus understood as the "pure", "net" or "peak" experience, usually derived from the attractions, rather than "mixed", "gross" or "supporting" experience such as eating, sleeping and so on. The relationship between the two (Peak experience and daily experience) can thus characteristically summarized by a series of "opposition" between the daily and the peak experiences, such as "the ordinary" vs. "the extraordinary", "routine" vs. "usual", the "familiar" vs. "novel", "the profane" vs. "the sacred" and so on (Quan & Wang, 2004, p. 300). Those experiences that are regarded as the extension of the daily experience to the tourist journey, such as the experience of accommodation and transport, are mostly either ignored or taken for granted (Quan & Wang, 2004, p. 297).

There are two general approaches to the study of the tourist experience, namely, the social science approach and the marketing/management approach. This refers to the experience of the attractions that constitute the major motivations to tourism. The latter treats the tourist experience as supporting consumer experience, which refers to the experiences of gratifying basic consumer needs on the journey, such as eating, sleeping and transport, which do not constitute the major motivations to tourism whereas the former regards the tourist experience as peak experience being in sharp contrast to the daily experience. Both approaches catch important and essential dimensions of the tourist experience, which is

conceptually different, but constitute an organic whole through structural model such as extension – intensification – contrast, which helps to better understand. Such a structural model clarifies the loci and the structure of the components of "familiarity" and "novelty" in the total tourist experience and has practical implications for tourism management (Quan & Wang, 2004, p. 301).

Ethical Dilemma of Dark Tourism

Significant debate surrounds on whether is it ethical to develop, promote or offer the dark sites for touristic consumption or not i.e. viewing platform at Ground Zero, enabling voyeuristic visitors to stand alongside those mourning the loss of loved ones (Lisle, 2004). The rights of those whose death is commoditized through dark tourism represent an important ethical dimension deserving consideration. Dark tourism in some cases, result in the transformation of violence into one more attraction, wedged in between more typical tourist activities. When atrocity becomes a recreational attraction, visitors are themselves inflicting further violence as they search out unique and authentic experiences. Ethically one must question whether tours undertaken in the name of social justice or global awareness are actually experienced as such or whether they might instead work to mask the recreational, voyeuristic allure of violence. At times dark tourism can produce "recreational grief" (West, 2004, p. 11; in Robb, 2009, p. 55) a form of grief in which mourning the deaths or afflictions of others becomes an enjoyable past time. In terms of supply- there has been increasing number of people keen to promote or profit from 'dark' events as tourist attractions. At the same time, there is evidence of greater willingness on the part of tourist to visit dark attractions.

Criticism

Although dark tourism research prompts important discussions about the intersections of touring and death, Sharpley (2005: 216) rightly notes that 'dark tourism literature remains eclectic and theoretically fragile, raising more questions than its answers'. Likewise, Keil (2005: 481; in Bowman & Pezzullo, 2009, p. 188) argues that '[the dark tourism] phenomenon has so far been inadequately described, and lacks a theoretical relationship to wider studies of violence and by-standing'. Even so, many who have questioned the term thus far have exacerbated the problem by trying to identify different 'shades' of or umbrella terms for 'darkness' without challenging the term itself (e.g. Miles, 2002; Strange & Kempa, 2003; Sharpley, 2005: 224–26; Stone, 2006; Bowman & Pezzullo, 2009, p. 188). Lennon and Foley (2000: 11) offer no explanation for their choice of terms and state that they 'do not wish to enter into any philosophical debates' over its use. However, the negative valence of the term is unmistakable in western cultures: 'dark' is understood as a place devoid of light. In tourist studies, we might assume the label serves as a contrast to the trifecta of Sun, Surf, and Sex that many narrowly associate with a holiday vacation. 'Dark' also could allude to the 'dark deeds' (e.g. genocide, assassination, murder, war) that animate such sites and the 'dark mood' or morose tones such events might invite. Lennon and Foley link dark tourism with the contemporary (post-World War I) historical period and there is perhaps a suggestion that dark tourism is a sign that the postmodern, post-Enlightenment world augurs a new 'Dark Ages'. Finally, we find in the range of connotations of 'dark' a suggestion that such sites are devoid of actors and performances: 'The theatre has gone dark'. In contrast, we suggest that remembering and attending to the performances at sites associated with death might undo or at least help trouble the troubling nomenclature of 'dark tourism' to reclaim space for different approaches (Bowman & Pezzullo, 2009, p. 188).

Conclusion

For Dann and Seaton (2001; in Ryan & Kohli, 2006, p. 214), any travel to sites associated with death, disaster, acts of violence, tragedy, scenes of death and crimes against humanity may be defined as "dark tourism". Increasing academic attention has been paid over the last two decades to the phenomenon of dark tourism in general (e.g., Johnston & Mandelartz, 2015; Lennon & Foley, 2000; Sharpley & Stone 2009; Stone, 2013), including disasters (Coats & Ferguson, 2013; Gould & Lewis, 2007) and motives for participating in dark tourism in particular (e.g., Isaac & Cakmak, 2014; Raine, 2013; Seaton, 1996; in Sharpley & Wright, 2018, p. 337). Though this phenomenon has been sufficiently criticized by number of scholars, it became popular not only in the West but also it is gradually extending towards other parts of the world, to justify this statement. The study of dark tourism is both justifiable and important for a number of reasons... all dark tourism sites or attractions require effective and appropriate development, management, interpretation and promotion. These in turn require a fuller understanding of the

phenomenon of dark tourism within social, cultural, historical and political context (Sharpley, 2009, pp. 7-8). Dark tourism is both supply and demand driven, and it is important to understand both in order to gain a fuller understanding of the phenomenon of dark tourism (Raine, 2013, p. 243). The values of dark tourism are four shades of dark tourism; dark tourism spectrum framework; and seven dark suppliers' categorization with varying degree of darkness. Tourism and death may seem an odd conjunction. This entered tourism discourse as thanatourism in 1996 and dark tourism in 2000.

Cohen (2018, p. 168; Cohen & Cohen 2015b) distinguishes between two major thanatourist sites in Asia. Firstly, memorial sites to popular non-kin deceased person and, secondly, memorials of war, atrocities and disaster. The philosophy of death has been distinguished between theology (Western regions) and soteriology (Asian regions) (Cohen, 2018, P. 168). Dark tourism has been characterized by contemplation of death. Dark tourism brings to life the history of the tragedies once occurred, reason why, the innumerable sites/attraction that it offers; permit the individuals to have further contact, in a safe ambience with death (Fonseca et al., 2016, pp. 3-4). Dark tourism as an alternative type of tourism is gaining and increasingly interest and needs to be designed more profoundly. Dark tourism cannot be perceived as an expression of tourist demand only, but rather needs to be considered in conjunction with tourism supply (Fonseca et al., 2016, pp. 3-4). When this discourse came in existence in 1990s, many people from different countries were encouraged to visit battlefields, celebrity death sites, graveyards, cemeteries, atrocity and disaster sites, murder location, memorials, museums of war, torture, horror and conflicting zones. The consensus between the literature researchers is that dark tourism has a typology depending on the visitors' motivations and sites. Though the term dark denotes devoid of light, dark tourism as a new tourism product tends to provide awareness, education and entertainment on several cases of history and heritage, tourism and tragedies. Overall the prime focus of dark tourism is grief after death caused by fatality of 'Others' (Seaton, 2009). Therefore, scholars of various disciplines, in course of studying dark tourism brought many different concepts such as "sensation sites" (Rojek, 1997), "repressed sadism" (Krostanje, 2018), "sadist spectacle" (Blom, 2000), "darktainment" (Roberts, 2018), "deathscapes" (Maddrell & Sidaway, 2012; in Yan et al., 2016, p. 110) "memorialscape" (Fridrich, Stone, & Ruksha, 2018), "backpackers" (Podoshen, 2013), "recreational grief" (West, 2004; in Robb, 2009, p. 54), "mortality mediation" (Stone & Sharpley 2012; Walter, 2009), "thanacapitalism" (Krostanje, 2017), "everyday dark" (Hepburn, 2017). Multidisciplinary and Postdisciplinary approaches have become major methodological concern in dark tourism studies. Until 2016, Light (2017) has shown that 58 out of 139 studies followed qualitative research methodology in the study of dark tourism. Much of the literatures on dark tourism invariably defines the phenomenon in the context of post-modernism. Overall, dark tourism has been promoted as commercialization of grief and commodification of death which has become the centre of attraction. This study identifies several scopes of dark tourism/thanatology tourism in Nepal.

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Human Security in Nepali Perspective

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Abstract

The conventional security paradigm was challenged and changed, especially after the end of the Cold War. It becomes more specific towards the human security when the UNDP published the Human Development Report in 1994. Thus scope of Human Security specifically focuses on different area which is related to the freedom and dignity of an individual thus it is people centric concept. Due to the globalization after the end of the cold war, the underdeveloped countries like Nepal, got globalized impact on human security. The Human security even more compromised due to the internal armed conflict and various kinds of natural disaster including the massive earthquake in 2015. There are regional organizations such as SAARC which mainly focus on the arms proliferation rather than promoting the Human Security. The 21st century became more dangerous due to terrorism, poverty, internal conflict, manmade and natural calamities which challenge to the Human Security globally. Nepal is ranked at 4th position by UNDP, Nepal to the vulnerability to climate change, and less coping capacity to disaster due to poor economic conditions which also leads to the insecurity in Human beings. Even there are global challenges to Human Security and threat from all direction, there are few efforts were taken by the International Organization for the promotion of the Human Security. Thus, Human Security can be promoted by putting the People in a center with coordinated efforts of state as well as non-governmental organization especially by the United Nations with the name of means of collective security.

Key words: Human security, people centric, freedom and dignity, security, peace and security

Introduction

Human security represents a powerful, but controversial, attempt by sections of academic and policy community to redefine and broaden the meaning of security. Traditionally, security meant protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states from external military threats. This was the essence of the concept of national security, which dominated security analysis and policy-making during the cold war period. In the 1970s and 1980s, academic study on security, responding to the Middle East oil crisis and the growing awareness of worldwide environmental degradation, began to think of security in broader, non-military terms. Yet the state remained the object of security, or the entity that is to be protected. The concept of human security challenges the state-centric notion of security by focusing on the individual as the main referent object of security.

The concept of human security has expanded the notion of security. The traditional notion of security was one where policy makers were more interested in making policy for their borders to deter external influence and threats. However, due to the changes occurring in the international arena, where states no longer wage war against each other; other emerging issues, threats and challenges have effectively caused states to unite and pool resources together through joint policy frameworks to tackle these challenges that individual states cannot resolve on their own. Briefly the insufficiencies of national security led to the emergence of human security. While the traditional concept of national security, which dominated the Cold War era, was mainly geared towards the security of states and aimed at protecting their sovereignty and territorial integrity from military threats, the advocates of human security demanded that this traditional notion of security be deepened and widened. Furthermore, non-military risk factors such as poverty, disease, and political violence were to be taken into greater account. In the nuclear debate, for example, it has been argued that the stability and wellbeing of communities and nations rests as much on factors associated with human development, economic growth, and democracy as on acquisition of a weapons arsenal (Acharya, 2004).

In defining the concept, it should be noted that as with all concepts, there is no universally accepted definition for the term. Different academic discourses have framed the term differently as a new theory or concept, as a starting point for analysis, a world view, a political agenda, or as a policy framework (Edwards, 2016). Although the definition of human security remains an open question, there is

consensus among its advocates that there should be a shift of attention from a state-centered security notion to a people-centered approach to security. It is also imperative to stress that human security is a not a replacement for State security. Rather, it seeks to examine every aspect of human life, taking into account the various possible threats at different levels (local, national and regional). Human security entails a global approach linking security, governance, solidarity and development issues. It addresses security in a broad sense that includes all political, economic, social and environmental dangers (Aduloju & Pratt, 2014).

This concept Human Security became more prominent with the 1994 Human Development Report issued by the United Nations Development Program on Human Security, which was drafted and championed by former Pakistani Finance Minister MahbubulHaq with strong support from economist Amartya Sen. The report defined the scope of human security to include seven areas:

- **Economic Security** - an assured basic income for individuals, usually from productive and remunerative work, or, in the last resort, from some publicly financed safety net.
- **Food Security**- ensuring that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic food.
- **Health Security** - guaranteeing a minimum protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles.
- **Environmental Security**- protecting people from the short- and long-term ravages of nature, manmade threats in nature, and deterioration of the natural environment.
- **Personal Security** - protecting people from physical violence, whether *from* the state or external states, from violent individuals or sub-state factors, from domestic abuse, and from predatory adults.
- **Community Security** - protecting people from the loss of traditional relationships and values, and from sectarian and ethnic violence.
- **Political Security** - ensuring that people live in a society that honors their basic human rights, and ensuring the freedom of individuals and groups from government attempts to exercise control over ideas and information.

Figure 1 : Areas of Human Security



Source: UNDP (1994)

The concept of human security represents both a vertical and a horizontal expansion of the traditional notion of national security such as protection of state sovereignty and territorial integrity from external military threats. In its broader sense, human security is distinguished by three elements, firstly its focus on the individual or people as the referent object of security secondly, its multidimensional nature and lastly, its universal or global scope, applying to states and societies (Baylis, Smith, & Owens, 2017).

Further, the concept of human security attracted global attention in 1994 when it was discussed in the Annual Human Development Report produced by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1994. The UNDP report

highlighted the following four core characteristics of human security:

- Human security is a *universal* concern.
- The components of human security are *interdependent*.
- Human security is easier to *ensure through early prevention* than later intervention.
- Human security is *people-centered*.

Subsequently, in May 2004, the Human Security Unit was established to manage the UN Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS) and develop practical tools in collaboration with stakeholders to apply human security concepts into practice. The UNTFHS has been financing different projects to promote the agenda of human security and protect vulnerable people across the world (Yousaf, 2017).

Contested Concept of Human Security

Human security can be said to have two main aspects. It means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life-whether in homes, in jobs or in communities. Such threats can exist at all levels of national income and development (UNDP 1994). According to former Pakistani Finance Minister MahbubulHaq, who drafted and championed the Human Development Report in 1994, that Human security is not a concern with weapons. It is a concern with human dignity. Similarly, according to Kofi Annan, Human security can no longer be understood in purely military terms. Rather, it must encompass economic development, social justice, environmental protection, democratization, disarmament, and respect for human rights and the rule of law. Moreover, these pillars are interrelated progress in one area generates progress in another (Baylis et al., 2017). UN Commission on Human Security identified the objective of human security is to safeguard the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment.

Human security is about security for the people, rather than for states or governments. As such, it has generated much debate. On the one hand, critics wonder whether such an approach would widen the boundaries of security studies too much, and whether 'securitizing' the individual is the best way to address the challenges facing the international community from the forces of globalization. On the other hand, advocates of human security find the concept to be an important step forward in highlighting the dangers to human safety and survival posed by poverty, disease, environmental stress, human rights abuses, as well as armed conflict. However, human security might not just concern human rights and injustices only but it encompasses the environmental security is a massive part of human security as well (Buzan, 2007).

Human Security Paradigm: People Centric

Human security focus on freedom from fear because firstly, a broad definition is simply an itemized wish list and secondly, there are no clear gains from linking security and development (Krause & Jütersonke, 2005). The conventional security paradigm was challenged and changed, especially after the end of the Cold War, by rising concerns about who needs to be secured geographical territory or human beings or both. Feeling the need to move beyond military issues or warfare, the scope of the concept of security has been extended to embrace other non-military issues, like health, economy, gender, for the well-being and protection of human beings. Freedom from fear seeks to limit human security to protecting the individual from violence while recognizing that violence is strongly associated with poverty and weak states (Bourne, 2014). The approach of human security places human beings as the main focus of security rather than merely the state. Unlike traditional security framework that relies on building armies and use of force to safeguard territories, the human security emphasizes on development and protection from the perspective of individuals and assumes that all other security concerns derive from the sovereignty of people (MacFarlane & Khong, 2007). The world is entering a new era in which the very concept of security has been changed dramatically. Security has been interpreted as the Security of people, not just territory; Security of individuals, not just of nations; Security through development, not through arms; Security of all the people everywhere in their homes, in their streets, in their communities, in their environments (Haq, 1995).

The prime concern of those advocating the human security concept is protecting human life and promoting dignity with freedom. The concept of human security is not limited to mere physical survival of people in conditions of war or peace, but is equally concerned with the realization of basic needs of people while protecting their human dignity. Moreover, the approach of human security is protective not reactive, which means it is also cost effective as it prevents threat(s) from occurring or addresses it in the initial stages rather than waiting or delaying the response until the time the threat might become widespread and pose serious risks to humans. Hence, human security requires institutionalized arrangements not only to prevent occurrence of threats but also to foresee any possible threat e.g., famines, floods, and make advance arrangements or have intuitional mechanism in place to minimize the damage caused by sudden disruption of people's everyday lives (Yousaf, 2017).

A world where the wellbeing of humans will be at the core of all policies, be it social, economic, political, security etc., in order to prevent the outbreak of conflict. It combined the total fulfillment of three fundamental human rights in formulation of the notion of human security:

- The right to freedom of want
- The right to freedom of fear and
- The right of future generations to inherit a healthy planet.

Human Security and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)

The region of South Asia provides an example of stark imbalance between human security and state security as the governments dominantly focus on conventional security, rather than social development, and spend billions of dollars annually on the military-related expenditures, which also makes this region one of the most militarized parts of the world (Karim, 2014). However, on December 8, 1985, seven South Asian states signed the charter to establish the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) to promote peace and prosperity across the region through mutual collaboration and peaceful settlement of all disputes. However, unlike many other regional organizations (e.g., The European Union), SAARC has had little effect in promoting regional prosperity and well-being of the people through improving the quality of their lives. This is true mainly because conventional issues overshadow nonconventional issues (Yousaf, 2017).

Threats of Human Security

The United Nations Commission on Human Security defines human security as the effort by states and organizations to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment as well as empowering people to provide and care for them. Specifically, it entails creating systems that provide people the foundation for survival, dignity and livelihood. This definition encompasses the two core strategies of human security: protection and empowerment of people. In simple terms therefore, this concept emphasizes that in order for people to be secure, their lives must be free from any pervasive threats (violent or benign) to their rights and their safety. It thus encompasses both the traditional and non-traditional threats to people's security. The threat range includes the following:

- Economic threats
- Food threats
- Health threats
- Environmental threats
- Personal threats
- Community threats
- Political threats
- Gender-based threats
- Demographic threats
- Crime in all forms, including terrorism
- Natural disasters
- Violent conflicts and wars
- Genocide
- Anti-personnel mines, Small Arms and Light weapons (Aduloju & Pratt, 2014) .

Global Challenges of Human Security

After the first decade of the 21st Century, we have come to recognize that the world has become a dangerous place, with terrorism and bloody local conflicts. Humanitarian efforts and human rights laws are largely ignored and systematically violated. Social inequality, inside states and among states, has increased dramatically, and poverty in the poorest areas is deepening. Consequent increasing competition for scarce resources contributes to unstable political structures and favors eruption of conflicts. Fluctuations in world commodity prices can trigger dangerous destitution and civil strife. Indeed many of the apparently senseless violent conflicts and acts of terrorism in the world become markedly more transparent when such roots are explored. On the basis of different analysis and study, the challenges for the 21st century can be listed as follows:

- **Poverty:** Gender inequality and poverty are increasing both within and between countries. Humanity possesses both the capital and the knowledge that everyone has enough.
- **Hunger and Thirst:** Day by day the number of hungry and thirsty people has risen to more than a billion. Enough food stuff is produced every year to feed everyone on earth well, if justly distributed. Increasing production through sustainable agriculture which restores soil and conserves water can ensure that this continues to be the case in coming days as well.
- **Climate Change:** Due to rapid number of industrialization and deforestation the planet is warming fast, and rising sea levels which caused shifting rainfall that will drive millions of people from their homes, slash harvests, and disrupt societies. Developing existing clean technologies will do much to produce the sustainable growth required to ensure a future of low carbon prosperity.
- **Resource Depletion:** One of the major problems in the underdeveloped countries that cannot regulate the over-exploiting land, water, fisheries, forests and other natural resources will result in scarcity and growing conflict – and this *threatens* to get worse as the population rises to nine billion over the next few decades. Just an eighth of global defense spending would provide massively enlarged programs to reduce suffering and the mentioned threats.
- **War and Conflict:** The world is producing more and more arms and ammunition which needs more spending in this field and which encouraged by deeply entrenched vested interests. There must be a new determination in resolving conflict.
- **Reconciliation, justice and forgiveness are interdependent:** We must genuinely commit to human rights and International humanitarian law for all and address seriously injustice and oppression (Sommaruga, 2011).

Promoting Human Security

The role of the international community for the promotion of the human security is very important because of the broad and contested nature of the idea of human security. It is difficult to evaluate policies undertaken by the international community that can be specifically regarded as human security measures (Baylis et al., 2017). But the most important multilateral actions include the establishment of several War Crimes Tribunals, the International Criminal Court (ICC), and the Anti-Personnel Landmines Treaty. It could also be said that Western powers have capitalized on human security and aid, by privatizing companies that provide aid and development agencies to further their own interests (Johns, 2014).

The surge in UN peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations has contributed to the decline in conflict and enhanced prospects for human security. Since 1948, the UN has undertaken 67 peacekeeping operations and over 117,000 personnel were serving on the sixteen UN-led peace operations on four continents. UN Specialized Agencies also play a crucial role in promoting human security. For example, the UN Development Program and the World Health Organization (WHO) have been at the forefront of fighting poverty and disease respectively. Other UN agencies, such as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), have played a central role in getting particular issues, such as refugees and the rights of children and women, onto the agenda for discussion, and in providing a platform for advocacy and action (MacFarlane & Khong, 2007).

The non-state factors such as non-governmental organizations contribute to human security in a number of ways such as a source of information and early warning about conflicts, providing a channel for relief operations, often being the first to do so in areas of conflict or natural disaster, and supporting government or UN-sponsored peacebuilding and rehabilitation missions. NGOs also play a central role in promoting sustainable development. A leading NGO with a human security mission is the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Established in Geneva, it has a unique authority based on the international humanitarian law of the Geneva Conventions to protect the lives and dignity of victims of war and internal violence, including the war-wounded, prisoners, refugees, civilians, and other non-combatants, and to provide them with assistance. Other NGOs include Medecins Sans Frontieres (emergency medical assistance), Save the Children (protection of children), and Amnesty (Baylis et al., 2017).

The United Nations is the international organization with mandate of promotes human security in all its facets in the five continents by preserving international stability on the basis of the promotion of values such as:

- The supremacy of the law
- The respect for democracy
- The defense of human rights
- Equality before the law
- Good public affairs management
- The peaceful resolve of conflicts and
- The protection of the environment, etc.

Human Security in Nepal

The major human security concerns of Nepal are poverty, social protection, food, health, migration, climate change, environment and politics. As one of the economically very poor nations in the world, Nepal is plagued by poverty and resulting low education and health indicators (Upreti, Bhattarai, & Wagle, 2013). As a consequence of the poverty, many people living in Nepal experience human insecurity in their daily lives, with little hope of bettering their situation. In this context, Nepal has made improvement towards reducing poverty and its associated development indicators, much more change is required. Only with effective and sustained development efforts will Nepal be able to reverse the insecurity in which many of its people live.

Nepal, as a country very much prone to natural disasters (for example the earthquake in 2015 and other several floods and landslide every year), is in particular need of robust social protection mechanisms for pre-event disaster training and post-event relief packages. While social protection should be a priority of any government, the dual problems of widespread poverty and susceptibility to natural disasters render social protection especially imperative in Nepal (Upreti et al., 2013). In order to counter the geographic, caste and gender dimensions of health security, the Government of Nepal has been trying to introduce systems to improve the health status of marginalized sections of the population; however reforming the country's health system to properly address the existing problems which preclude people from accessing healthcare. The changing domestic and global context, such as increasing dependency on healthcare services as the population ages, mutating and drug-resistant disease strains and bio-terrorism, pose additional threats to Nepal's human security, particularly in health sector.

Nepal is ranked as one of the most climate vulnerable countries in the world (Maplecroft, 2011), making climate change an issue of prime importance to human security. Climate variability impacts human security in many ways; for example, unseasonal weather patterns can adversely affect food and energy production as Nepal is reliant on hydropower. Nepal's strategic location between the rapidly industrializing global powerhouses India and China also impact the status of climate change. Several aspects of environmental security are particularly important in the case of Nepal: its topography, which renders it prone to natural disasters; the need to properly care for agricultural land to ensure food security; the interrelationship between energy production & consumption pattern; political & economic instability; and the interrelationship between political tension, conflict and environmental abuse (Upreti et al., 2013). Nepal's topography also plays a part in human security concerns. One consequence of this hugely varied topography is that people residing in the Tarai, Hills and Mountain regions face different human security challenges; for example, inhabitants of the Mountain region often lack easy access to education, healthcare and food reserves. A second human security implication of Nepal's topography is environmental. In a country already prone to heavy monsoonal rains which can result in flooding and landslides, as well as glacial lake outbursts, forest fires and seismic activity, unusual weather patterns have the potential to trigger natural disasters which could result in large-scale displacement, starvation or death. This uncertainty and vulnerability make striving for human security particularly important. Nepal needs to recognize the gravity of this cross-border dimension of human security and begin to work towards addressing it (Stoett, 1999).

Internal problems which cause and/or contribute to human insecurity within Nepal, including poverty, social protection, food, health, migration, climate change, environment and politics, should be of primary concern to Nepal's security agenda. Nepal is actively involved in and often the driving force behind international climate change initiatives, for example at COP 24 in Katowice, Poland. Adopting a human security approach will not only benefit Nepal's inhabitants by improving their human security condition, it will also advance the security of the state. Primarily, a greater sense of public wellbeing would likely result in a more stable political situation. It is especially hoped that the Government of Nepal and its policy-makers start to consider the ideas and implications of human security.

Conclusion

The basic concept of human security reflects a number of developments that have incrementally challenged the traditional view of security as the protection of states from military attack. What initially began as a rejection of orthodox notions of economic growth in favor of a broader notion of human development has been reinforced by new security threats such as genocides in the Balkans and Africa, the Asian financial collapse of 1997, and the threat of global pandemics. The concept of human security represents an on-going effort to put the people at the center of national and global security concerns while expanding our understanding of the range of challenges that can threaten individual safety and well-being, to encompass both armed conflict and social, economic, and ecological forces. To be sure, human security has travel long journey to have universally accepted definition. The linkages between armed conflict, poverty, disease, and environmental stress are poorly understood and need clarification and elaboration. Nonetheless, there can be little doubt that threats to human security, whether understood as freedom from fear or freedom from want, are real world challenges which cannot be wished away or dismissed because of a lack of agreement over the concept and meaning of human security. Nevertheless debates about the utility and scope of human security, there is increasing acceptance that the traditional notion of security, focusing on state sovereignty, independence, will no longer suffice, and that the international community must develop new responses to ensure the protection of people from transnational dangers in an era of globalization. The challenge for the international community is to find ways of promoting human security as a means of addressing a growing range of complex transnational dangers that have a much more destructive impact on the lives of people than conventional military threats to states. Thus the state as well as non-state factor should focus on the human security for the sustainable development.

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A Relationship between Natural Disaster and Poverty

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Abstract

This paper aims to discuss the impact of a disaster on the lives and livelihood and how it contributes to poverty. For this purpose, two major disasters in recent history were taken as reference. The common approach in defining and measuring poverty is the monetary approach; often disaster has seen only a matter of humanitarian importance. Nepal as a prone to different kinds of natural disasters has a significant impact on lives and livelihood as well. Despite this fact, poverty is narrowly defined. As there is a significant linkage between disaster risk and poverty, the poverty-related discussions must incorporate the impact and risk of disaster while formulating poverty reduction related policies.

Key Words: Disaster, poverty, vulnerability, economic loss, livelihood

Introduction

The natural disasters have a considerable impact on the lives and livelihood of people. Nepal being the Himalayan country is vulnerable to different natural and human-induced disasters. Given its geographic location and geophysical characteristics, it regularly experiences a natural disaster. Notably, more than 80 percent of the population is at risk from different hazards such as flood, landslide, earthquake, fire, and hailstorm. A natural hazard is a condition that may cause loss of life, injury, property damage; loss of livelihoods social and economic disruptions; and environmental damage (UNISDR, 2009). All-natural phenomena may not be a hazardous or disastrous. A disaster is defined as a serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society, involving widespread human, mental, economic and/ or environmental losses and impacts that exceed the ability of the affected community to cope using its own resources (UNISDR, 2009).

Nepal is among the 20 most disaster-prone countries in the world. Globally Nepal ranks 4th and 11th for its vulnerability to climate change and earthquakes respectively (MoHA, 2015). The Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA) has recorded a total of 16 kinds of disaster in country such as heavy rainfall, hailstorms, avalanche, cold wave, earthquake, flood, landslide etc. For the period of 2015 to 2016 a total of 2,940 disasters in which 9,698 people were killed, 1,085,797 houses damaged, NPR 709,788,288,091 of economic loss and 1,086,420 families were affected (MoHA, 2017). The figures are remarkably high mainly due to the earthquake in 2015, but annually hundreds of people are killed, thousands are displaced, and millions of economic losses occur due to recurring nature of disaster.

In 2017 flood and landslide during the monsoon season killed 134 people, and destroyed 43,400 houses, 191,700 houses were partially damaged, and 20,900 families were temporarily displaced, and around 1,688,474 people were affected (NPC, 2017). Further to the loss of life, injuries the natural disaster also significantly damages property, destruction of assets, loss of services, social and economic disruption and environmental degradation.

This demonstrates that the natural disaster has a considerable impact on the lives and livelihoods of people of Nepal, and widely recognized for affecting disproportionately the poorest in a community due to their higher exposure and vulnerability to disasters. Additionally, recurrent events exacerbate the vulnerability of the poor to the disasters further increasing poverty level and often unable to break the poverty cycle.

Disaster Risk and Poverty

Different methods and concepts are used in defining poverty- the concept may directly have a policy implication in addressing the problems. However, the definition of poverty is contextual and relative with given set of standards and priorities. Poverty is usually considered an important factor for determining household vulnerability to hazards because household income level determines people's coping and adaptation capacities. Moreover, poverty exacerbates the negative effects of disaster on households, increasing the severity of existing poverty.

The most common definition is based on household and per person incomes. A person is considered to be poor if his or her income level falls below some minimum level necessary to meet needs such as housing, food, clothing, education, health and so on. This minimum level is called the 'poverty line'. The World Bank defines the global poverty line to be in the range of US\$ 1.25 and US\$ 2 per day. An alternative measure used to describe poverty is the ability to meet basic needs. The basic needs poverty is the minimum income that an individual requires to meet his or her basic needs and is based on the food poverty line and the non-food poverty line.

There is a considerable anecdotal evidence of a link between disaster risk and poverty. It is often seen that the poor families often live on marginal lands and in poorly constructed houses, with poor access to basic services. Majority of poor live in poorly constructed houses and have poor access to basic needs, and often do not have food and minimum level of nutrition. Living in poverty thus increases their vulnerability to disaster. Furthermore, given limited income and savings, the ability of the poor to respond to and recover from disaster is limited. Furthermore, the poor cannot easily adapt to disaster by investing on disaster-proof technology, relocating to less hazardous areas, replacing lost items and even taking out insurance (World Bank, 1997).

It has been noted that disaster can even induce or source of the poverty, especially among those living near the poverty line. Often it is seen that the destruction of assets of the poor during disaster trap families in chronic poverty because they lack necessary resources to rebuild their homes, replace assets and meet back needs. The ability of community to cope with and recover from disaster also depends on access to natural resources, human capital, physical asset and financial resources available to people (Carney, 1998). It is also often stated that recurring disasters can hold back development and progress towards national development goals.

The impact of natural disasters at the community is, however, not merely a matter of social and humanitarian importance; they are of economic importance too. The impact of disaster at household, communities and national levels limits their ability to respond to and recover and rehabilitate from distastes.

Earthquake 2015

The earthquakes have disproportionately affected the poorer, in both rural and urban areas (NPC 2015). Even within a prosperous area such as Kathmandu Valley, households that were already poor were severely affected. According to the World Bank the earthquakes pushed around 700,000 additional people (2.5 to 3.5 percent of total population) in poverty. As the communities were vulnerable prior to earthquake there were roughly 50 to 70 of increase in poverty in the rural areas of mountains and hills in the earthquake affected districts. Additionally, the deterioration of water and sanitation services, disruption of schools and health services, and the food insecurity led to a bigger impact on multidimensional poverty. The loss of poorly built residential houses; farmland and livestock amplified livelihood difficulties, and pushed poor households below the poverty line for extended period. The earthquakes have affected the livelihoods of about 2.287 million households and 5.6 million workers across 31 affected districts.

Although human development (HD) is to a large extent intangible, there are several indicators that can capture relevant dimensions of it, such as income, assets, health, education, inequity, gender inequality, child welfare, and security. All of these have been affected by the earthquake, the duration of the negative impact lasted for long as recovery efforts were prolonged. Poverty is one of the most important considerations, because it affects all other aspects of HD. There is a significant proportion of the Nepali population that subsists just above the US\$1.25 line but below \$2. The vulnerability of this group, especially female-headed families and those with a high-dependency rate is a serious concern. The second immediate effect has been felt in education, especially in the schooling due to the destruction of schools and mental trauma experienced by students.

A damage and loss to productive assets have exacerbated poverty. On the one hand, damage or destruction of houses implies the loss of rental income for many households and, on the other, signifies higher rental costs for those households previously living in rented dwellings. Destruction of productive assets such as land, seeds, machineries and working tools led to limited economic activities in the aftermath of the earthquakes. Finally, the earthquake ended up pushing an additional 2.5-3.5% Nepalis below the poverty line in rural central hills and mountains.

Tarai Flooding 2017

Nepal experienced incessant rainfall from August 11 to 14, 2017, resulting in widespread floods across 35 of the country's 77 districts. Several districts experienced the heaviest rainfall in over 60 years. This led to the inundation of about 80 percent of the land in substantial parts of the Tarai region (NRCS, 2017). The total damage caused by the floods is NPR 60,716.6 (USD 584.7) million, which almost amounts to 3 percent of Nepal's GDP. The household sector accounts for the largest share of damages as many homes and standing crops were damaged. Income losses were not significant, the floods, however, have a larger impact on the local economy as a result of extensive damage to rural infrastructure in the Tarai region. As some of the affected districts are already among lowest on the Human Development Index (HDI), the difference in income and access to basic services will widen gap between people living in the flood affected areas and other parts of the Terai.

The percentage of population living below the poverty line is higher in the Terai region than in the hills. The economy in the Terai is much less diversified, and more than 70 percent of the people depend on subsistence farming. Further, households in the region are larger in size with smaller landholdings. A slow rate of growth in the agriculture sector has not helped people rise above the poverty level, fueling an epic scale of temporary out-migration over the past decade. At the household level, food insecurity and poor nutrition are major concerns. Damage to houses and destruction of standing crops will pose serious problems for these households.

Conclusions

The natural disasters are in an increasing trend over the last decades- the climate change and human interventions such as infrastructure development and deforestation have further exacerbated people's exposure to the hazards. Every year more people are exposed to different kinds of hazards. Furthermore, there is a huge loss in economy and livelihood of people, often the disaster disproportionately affects the poor and marginalized people as they are highly exposed to hazards and underlying vulnerabilities. Given the lack of resources to recover, more often the disaster further poor people below the poverty line. Therefore, there is high need to consider building resilience or strengthening coping mechanism of the community against any kinds of hazardous events.

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Socio-Economic Impacts of Wildlife Tourism in Kasara, Chitwan¹

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Abstract

Tourism is considered as one of the largest and fastest developing sectors of the world. Its high growth and development rates bring considerable volumes of foreign currency inflows, infrastructure development, employment generation, regional development, economic multiplier effects and introduction between host and guest peoples experience actively affect various sectors of society, which can positively affected to the social and economic development. However the tourism also generates a number of other negative socio-economic impacts on local communities. This study considers the mainly socio-economic impacts on local community through tourism development in Kasara. The study is focused to identify the social and economic impacts on local community and their perception towards the tourism. The study is adapted the qualitative methodology and the data is generated through primary and secondary source, personal interviews, discussions and social interaction. The study identified that community has developed positive attitudes about the tourism development and the community is accepted tourism as a major income source through active and passive participations. As usually the tourism has generated both positive and negative impacts in the society. However, the negative impacts are at a minimum level when compare with the positive impacts. The social tradition, culture and human behaviour exchange between host guest interactions. The tourism revitalizes the culture and sometime declines the culture of the host country. The tourism helps to develop the livelihood of the people and can earn money from the different business and cultural activities. Community empowerment and their capacity building are highly important in this context.

Key Words: Tourism, socio-economic impacts, economy, wildlife, livelihood

Introduction

The name Chitwan is a composite of the Sanskrit words “Chitta”, transliterated "Citta" meaning heart and “Ban”, transliterated "Vana" meaning jungle or forest. Thus, the meaning of Chitwan is Heart of the Jungle. Chitwan was a dense forest ruled by the Tharu God/King Chitrasen Baba. “People believe him as the incarnation of Lord Vishnu. Still today, Tharu people worship their idol during HariBodhini Ekadashi in Chitrasari (Headquarters of Chitrasen Baba), way to Sauraha” Chitwan (Chitwan, 2013a).

The Chitwan district is located in the southwestern part of province no. three having with Bharatpur, the fourth largest city of Nepal, as its district headquarters. “It covers an area of 2,238.39 km² (864.25 sq mi), and in 2011 had a population of 579,984 (279,087 male and 300,897 female) people. Out of the total area of district, about 64% is covered by forest area, a major part of which is the Chitwan National Park and wildlife conservation area placed in the World Heritage Site” (Pedersen, 2002, p. 89).

Chitwan meets three criteria for the World Heritage natural properties, such as the last surviving example of the natural ecosystems of the Terai region, superlative natural features of exceptional natural beauty in terms of its scenic attractions of forested hills, grasslands, great rivers and views of the distant Himalayas and significant populations of several rare and endangered species, especially the one horned Asian rhinoceros and the Gharial crocodile (DNPWC, 2013).

In 1988, Smith stated many of the widely quoted definitions of the field come from the World Tourism Organization's (WTO) guidelines on statistical data collection standards. Among the words, they define "tourist" as:

Any person residing within a country, irrespective of nationality, travelling to a place within this country other than his usual place of residence for a period of not less than 24 hours or one night for a purpose other, than the exercise of a remunerated activity in the place visited. The motives for such travel may be (a) leisure (recreation, holidays, health, studies, religion, sports); (b) business, family, mission, meeting (World tourism organization, 1981).

In 1936, the League of Nations defined a foreign tourist as "someone traveling abroad for at least twenty-four hours". Its successor, the United Nations, amended this definition in 1945, by including a maximum

¹This study paper is based on ongoing thesis and findings are based on currently collected primary and secondary data.

stay of six months (Theobald, 2005). In 1941, Leiper defined tourism as "the sum of the phenomena and relationships arising from the travel and stay of non-residents, in so far as they do not lead to permanent residence and are not connected with any earning activity".

Wildlife tourism is an element of many nations' travel industry centered on observation and interaction with local animal and plant life in their natural habitats. Wildlife tourism, in its simplest sense, is interacting with wild animals in their natural habitat, either by actively (e.g. hunting/ collection) or passively (e.g. watching/photography). It has experienced a dramatic and rapid growth in recent years worldwide and many elements are closely aligned to sustainable tourism (Gautam, 2011).

Tourism focused principally on natural resources such as relatively undisturbed parks and natural areas, wetlands, wildlife reserves and other areas of protected flora, fauna and habitats (Laarman & Durst, 1993; Weaver, 2006). Wildlife-watching tourism is a type of ecotourism that should be distinguished from other forms of wildlife tourism, such as captive-wildlife, hunting and fishing tourism (Higginbottom, 2004; Newsome, Dowling, & Moore, 2004). Peter (1964) defined as relating to or concerned with the interaction of social and economic factors as:

The prefix socio- refers to "the study of the behaviors of people," including the ways they interact with one another or their family structures. The word economic refers to the economy, such as people's income and finances. Socioeconomic links financial and social issues together (Peters, 1964).

Wildlife tour is one of the best jungle safari tour not only in Nepal but also in Asia. Chitwan National Park is probably Asia's finest one which the first national park in Nepal. It was established in 1973 and granted the status of a World Heritage Site recognizing its unique biological resources in 1984 (CNP, 2013a). It covers an area of 932 km² and is located in the subtropical inner Terai lowlands of south-central Nepal and extends to Parsa, Chitwan and Makwanpur. Altitudinal variation ranges from about 100 m in the river valleys to 815 m in the Churia Hills (Pedersen, 2002). In early days before the national park establish the jungle was popular as hunting spot among Ranas and king/royal family. Lieper's definition, the most complex of these examples, states that tourism should be considered as:

... the system involving the discretionary travel and temporary stay of persons away from their usual place of residence for one or more nights, excepting tours made for the primary purpose of earning remuneration from points reroute. The elements of the system are tourists, generating regions, transit routes, destination regions, and a tourist industry. These five elements are arranged in spatial and functional connections. Having the characteristics of an open system, the organization of five elements operates within broader environments: physical, cultural, social, economic, political, technological with which it interacts (Leiper, 1979).

Lieper's expressed purpose for this definition is as ambitious as the definition is long. He hopes the definition will serve as a guide for "general tourism studies" and as a bridge between two academic camps, which he describes as being "the business enterprise and economic development camp" and the impact and externalities camp.

Tourism is considered as one of the largest and fastest developing sectors of the world and its high growth and development rates, considerable volumes of foreign currency inflows, infrastructure development, and introduction of new management and educational experience actively affect various sectors of economy, which is positively affect to the social and economic development of the country. Tourism provides about 10 percent of the world's income and employs almost one out of tenth of the world's workforce. Many people emphasize the positive aspects of tourism as a source of foreign exchange, a way to balance foreign trade, an "industry without chimney". But there are also a number of other positive and negative sides of tourism's economic impacts on local communities (Nayomi & Gnanapala, 2015).

Tourism is one of the most important components of the global economy. It generates billions of dollars in revenues and millions of jobs worldwide (Paul, 2012). It is considered by many communities, especially in emerging countries the only tool for development, and the only chance for increasing the quality of life. Thus the tourism industry has stretched from seaside to mountain resorts and from small villages to big metropolises. But at the same time, tourism started to show its uglier side.

Wildlife-watching tourism is a type of ecotourism that should be distinguished from other forms of wildlife tourism, such as captive-wildlife, hunting and fishing tourism. From the socio-cultural perspective, tourism brings together people from different backgrounds, cultures and traditions. More than fifty five percent tourist visits Chitwan among tourist arrival in Nepal. The tourist focused Chitwan

to visit wildlife in Chitwan National Park (CNP, 2013a). People believe that tourism is a service industry that takes care of visitors when they are away from home. Some restrict the definition of tourism by number of miles away from home, overnight stays in paid accommodations, or travel for the purpose of pleasure or leisure (Wikramanayake, et al., 1999). Others think that travel and tourism should not even be referred to as an industry.

Chitwan National Park and the community forests provide shelter to several rare animals. Wildlife tourism in Chitwan is well-known as the inhabitant of one-horned rhinoceros. “Thousands of internal as well as international tourists visit the park as well as the community forests every year to view the animals and the resources like Tiger, Bison, Deer, Bear, Crocodile Breeding Center and the rare insects. Chitwan National Park, being the oldest national park in the country inhabiting a diverse biodiversity, broadens the scope of the wildlife tourism in the district and the country” (CNP, 2013a). Chitwan National Park has been attracting the tourists from around the world.

The park also provides the facilities of elephant safari so that the visitors can get a close view of the animals sitting on the elephants. After increment of hotels and lodges in Chitwan, slowly tourism industry started to get heads up. Basically the most relational sector to tourism industry is hotel industry. All the business holders started their business for improvement of their own and for increasing the number of tourists' visit. It is also argued that tourism should be seen as a means of development in a broader sense (Krapf, 1961; Kaiser & Helber, 1978; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Murphy, 1985; Wahab & Pigram, 1997). These analysts describe the broader sense of tourism to mean the potential of the industry to have direct socio-economic impacts on destination community after guest and host interaction.

To conceptualize the socio-cultural impact of tourism, first we need to understand the terms society and culture. Sociology is largely concerned with the study of society and focuses on people in groups and the interaction of those in groups, their attitudes and their behavior. Culture is a similar concept to society and is about how people interact as observed through social interaction, social relations and material artifacts. According to Burns and Holden (1995), when discussing culture within the context of tourism, they indicate that it consists of behavioural patterns, knowledge and values which have been acquired and transmitted through generations. Burns and Holden (1995) provide more detail when they indicate that “culture ...includes knowledge, belief, art, moral law, custom and any other capabilities and habits of people as members of society (p. 113)”. Social and cultural impacts are the ways in which tourism is contributing to changes in the value systems, morals and their conduct, individual behaviour, family relationships, collective lifestyles, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies and community organization. It refers to the effects on the host community as a result of direct or indirect association with tourists in host community.

Tourism may have many different effects on the social and cultural aspects of life in a particular society, depending on the cultural and religious strengths of that region. The interaction between tourists and the host community can be one of the factors that may affect a community as tourist may not be sensitive to local customs, traditions and standards. The effect can be positive or negative on the host community. The socio-cultural impacts of tourism described here, are the effects on host communities of direct and indirect relations with tourists and of interaction with the tourism industry. For a variety of reasons, host communities often are the weaker party in interactions with their guests and service providers (Cook, 2011). The impacts arise when tourism brings about changes in value systems and behavior, thereby threatening indigenous identity. Furthermore, changes often occur in community structure, family relationships, collective traditional life styles, ceremonies and morality.

Statement of the Problem

Since the second half of the twentieth century, tourism has been gaining momentum and in 2011 total revenues from tourism activities have reaches 1000 billion dollars (UNWTO, 2012). So it can firmly say that tourism, compared to other industries, it has a superior capacity to distribute wealth and promote regional development; it has a high multiplier effect; it generates a varying consumption of goods and services. But a series of scholars and researchers have found a growing number of examples of negative impacts of tourism in the host regions. In the present paper, Paul (2012) trying to present a series of positive and negative impacts of tourism from two points of view: economic and socio-cultural. Hall (2000) stated that the main reason why governments, particularly in developing countries encourage tourism investment because of the expectations that it will contribute to economic development for

country. In Chitwan, “There are one-star hotel one, twenty one two-star hotels, three star hotel sixty five, four star hotel three and five star hotel four” (Personal communication, 23 November 2018).

In this context study focused to the socio-economic impacts of wildlife tourism in Kasara. Because of its “rich wildlife diversity and scenic beauty, Chitwan National Park has attracted tourists from various countries” (Bhusal, 2007). The natures of tourism in destination areas make it have socio-economic impacts, an aspect that this study aims at addressing. The peoples reside in near hotel and surrounding areas of the Kasara also has been involved in tourism field in different ways. Some of them are selling their products and some of them are getting temporary job in this tourism sector. Peoples are engaging in the tourism but how they are benefitted or what kinds of impacts on host society are not researched. So study focused on how tourism contributes for people’s livelihood and what are the impacts of tourism in neighboring society. The study focused on how wildlife tourism contributes for the livelihood of peoples, and what impacts of wildlife tourism in host society Kasara.

Literature Review

This study has emphasized that socio-economic impacts of tourism can be better understood at regional scale than at the local scale where tourism activities are really taking place. Tourism comprises the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited (UNWTO, 2000). Tourism industry does not have a single entity but it is the combination of different sectors including primary suppliers like attraction of the destination, transportation industry (air and surface), hospitality industry (hotels, restaurant etc.), tour operators, travel agents, banking, insurance, shopping and entertainment. For instance, a hotel required supply of vegetables, fruit and other items in order to provide its services further, therefore fruits and vegetable suppliers are the secondary suppliers of the tourism industry as suppliers to primary suppliers (WTTC, 2012).

Bhattarai et al. (2005) described Chitwan National Park as a typical example of externally induced, uneven development rather than a model of wildlife conservation. Several authors argue that the endangered species in the park are indeed protected, but only to be commoditized for the consumption of high-class tourism (Bookbinder et al., 1998; Jones, 2007; Spiteri & Nepal, 2008b). It is further argued that the park’s establishment has severely disrupted the domestic economy of local people (Stræde & Helles, 2000; McLean & Straede, 2003; Hjortso et al., 2006). Tourism is now one of the world’s major industries and is continuously expanding. It can be viewed in term of demand of the tourist and supply of the attractions, facilities and services, transportation, promotion and information. Market trends shows that tourists are becoming more activity oriented and environmentally conscious, and that tourist markets are increasingly fragmented (Kunwar, 2017, p.15).

In 1982, Mishra stated that the Chitwan National Park is a popular destination for overseas tourists visiting Nepal, whereas the Kasara and Sauraha sector as the major destinations. Governmental controls on tourist concessionaires inside Chitwan national park and the small number of domestic elephants available for tourists have limited the impact of tourism on economic sector. In 2017, Kunwar stated in his book ‘Tourist and Tourism’ tourism hospitality as “... rather than assuming that hospitality entails a particular context (such as the home or hotel) or particular objects (such as food and beds) or particular actors (such as host and guests), ... hospitality as both a condition and an effect of social relations, spatial configurations and power structures” (Lynch, et al., 2011). To justify it they (Lynch, et al., 2011) further express that, hospitality is constructed by, also productive of certain contexts, spaces, politics, objects, social roles and relation.

The establishment and management of parks and protected areas are receiving increasing attention worldwide. Whether spurred by the realization that protected areas play a valuable role in maintaining biological diversity or by a desire to reap economic benefits from tourism and other direct uses, governments are analyzing the various alternative ways of establishing and managing these areas (Dixon & Sherman, 1990). Managers of protected areas are generally confronted with a classic financial problem: they may be in charge of highly valued properties and yet not have the means to generate an income flow to sustain the assets. In the developing world, sustainable funding resources for conservation are scarce (Park, N. J. M. C., & Bardecki, 2016).

Wildlife tourism can contribute enormously to the management of protected areas. Benefits include foreign exchange revenues, employment opportunities, improving awareness of conservation objectives and stimulation of economic activity. In addition, wildlife tourism is a major vehicle for realizing tangible benefits of conservation for local communities with wildlife populations occurring on their land. However, the benefits accruing to local communities from tourism have so far been overstated (Roe, 1997). Popular captive wildlife and ecotourism attractions are such as zoos and aquariums. Wildlife tourism can be understood as a form of tourism that is based on interactions between tourists and non-domesticated animals. Tourism is a major driver of economic growth (Frost, 2011; Grajal, 2013; Higginbottom, 2004) annually host approximately 700 million visitors worldwide (World Association of Zoos and Aquariums, 2016); are a major motivation for tourist visitation (Higginbottom, 2004); and are thus ideally placed to educate visitors about the need for animal and environmental conservation.

Tourist typology can be grouped in to general categories these are: a. interactional type and b. cognitive-normative models, which stress the motivations behind travels. According to the researcher Cohen (1972) developed four types of tourist these are namely Drifter, Explorer, Individual mass tourist and Organized mass tourist (Kunwar, 2002). Protected areas must be valued as areas where sustainable resources use and rural development can operate in partnership with a wide range of stakeholders (Wikramanayake, et al., 1999). It is important for successful management of protected areas to understand their economic value, but equally important to find ways of capturing that value (Roe, 2003). The difficulty in capturing value comes from protected areas having not only direct and commercial values but also indirect values, option values, existence values and non-use benefits (Cook, 2011).

The literature regarding wildlife tourism and its socio-economic impacts in Chitwan, there are little literature particularly related to topic but can find abundant amount of literature regarding other aspects tourism impacts. The socio-economic impacts of wildlife tourism are new and less focused in academia. Some practical paper, guideline, information are available which can be taken as source of knowledge for socio-economic impacts of wildlife tourism in Chitwan. Most of the available literatures are focused in Sauraha for wildlife tourism and its socio-economic impacts. Majority of literature are talking about the concept of wildlife tourism and people. A meta-analysis is typically a systematic review using statistical methods to effectively combine the data used on all selected studies to produce a more reliable result. Kasara based researches were not found in the subject 'tourism and its impacts on livelihood and host society'. Taking this entire factor in consideration, research focused on socio-economic impacts to the host society Kasara. Research concentrated especially in how tourism contributes the livelihood of the people and how tourism impacts to the society of the Kasara.

Methodology

The study is carried out in Kasara, which is famous tourism destination in Chitwan after Sauraha. Kasara is the headquarters of the Chitwan national park. The Chitwan national park, local community and surrounding areas/society are well covered for this study. Descriptive report, primary and secondary sources of information and internet are used for more relevancy. The sources of information were books, reports, articles, newspaper, websites and answer given by participant and other related to the topic are covered. Person working in the field of tourism and other stake holders has been consulted. The primary data collected through in-depth interview, focus group discussion, observation and participants' responses. Some of the data has been collected from government officials. According to Nachmias and Nachmias (2000), field research is a way of empathizing with and understanding the subjective meanings of the people and collects the subjectivity of research participants.

The study is targeted to the hotels, tourism business, and the local community of Kasara. At present there are 9 hotels in Kasara and managers are working in the different hotels and about 282 families are living in the Kasara village. For convenience of study, random selected 30 families and 9 executive managers of hotel for the data collection through personal interview and discussion. Questions administered to safari operators and home-stay operators, house makers and the head of the family and tourism-related businesses and representatives of the Kasara, ward no 23 of Bharatpur metropolitan city. Although random sampling technique has been adopted, representation from all groups has been well covered. Variation of age, occupation, ethnicity, education has been covered in research and authentic data are used. Majority of people with literacy, balance number of ethnicity and majority of people with agricultural background has been interacted for data collection. The information collected from primary and secondary source of data are presented and analyzed descriptively, analytically and explanatorily.

Finding and Result Discussion

Impacts of Tourism

The tourism industry generates substantial economic benefits to both host and guest countries. Especially in developing countries, one of the primary motivations for a country to promote itself as a tourism destination is the expected economic improvement. As with other impacts, this massive economic development brings along both positive and negative consequences (UNEP, 2003). The socio-economic impacts of tourism described as the effects on host communities from direct and indirect relations with tourists, and interaction with the tourism industry. The impacts arise when tourism brings about changes in value systems, behavior and thereby threatens indigenous identity. Furthermore, changes often occur in community structure, family relationships, collective traditional life styles, ceremonies and morality. But tourism can also generate positive impacts as it can serve as a supportive for foster pride in cultural traditions and help avoid urban relocation by creating local jobs. The tourists have different kinds of interest and intention while coming for tourism. The participant said that the some of the local peoples are supporting them to fulfill their negative and criminal interest like supply of marijuana, meat of wild animals, sell them wild animals' organs. These all demands are motivating to the local peoples for criminal activities.

Current roles of tourism to enhance incomes of local residents varied greatly. The hotels and restaurants generally buy and/or consume agriculture (like vegetables) and livestock products (like milk, meat) from local producers to serve their guests. It can boost incomes to the residents. However, current level of demands and consumption of these products at the local market was reported to be low. Besides, local hotels sometimes denied buying local products for their lower quality. It suggests that existing tourism business offer modest level of contribution to enhance incomes from agriculture and livestock.

The participants of group discussion opined that contribution of tourism to enhance family business and tourism related activities was higher. Tourism business enhances small family business by purchasing food and beverage items, snacks, maps and other souvenirs. Such businesses enhance the networking to build enterprising capacity of the family. Likewise, tourism based activities demand various services (interpreter, guide, information etc.) and development infrastructure which facilitate direct and indirect incomes to the tourism entrepreneurs and service providers. Therefore, incomes to the tourism operators rely solely on the range of tourism activities offered. Interestingly, incomes related to the remittances, pension and salary were independent of any tourism activities in the villages.

It is also revealed that contribution of tourism to the livelihood of local residents was recognized at the minimal level. It was partly attributed to the fact that most of the income derived from tourism was siphoned to the limited number of tourism entrepreneurs. Although the impacts of tourism to socio-economic, environment and community development were discussed, it was hard to comprehend these benefits to boost incomes for livelihoods of local residents.

Further, tourism was perceived as an opportunity to the local community to enhance incomes. Tourism business can, directly or indirectly, generate/enhance various capitals towards achieving secured livelihood outcomes. However, the capability of local residents was inadequate to grasp such opportunity. Such capabilities are often circumscribed by various capital assets that the household can access and manipulate for productive outcomes. Such assets may be shared by community members (like road) or owned by the individual households (land, skills). The changes on the status of various livelihood assets can affect the level of incomes to the households in particular and community in general. Respondents perceived that national park and its resources is the major natural asset for promoting tourism in the community. However, accessibility to the national park is regulated by the local institutions and national policies. Increased restriction on entry essentially reduces the access to and satisfaction from the national park safari and other activities.

Socio-Economic Impacts

Physical infrastructure was perceived to be substantially increased in the community. Although tourism triggered the development of infrastructure like roads, bridges and hospitals, these were not necessarily specific to the tourism. These infrastructures have largely contributed towards the overall economic development. While majority of the respondents (86 percent) perceived substantial improvement in transportation, 38 percent of them stated marginal or negligible progress on other tourism focused facilities like sanitation and viewing towers. It indicated that the increased transportation and travel

facilities was not perceived to be directly linked to the tourism promotion until there are other facilities like information centers, eco-parks, viewing towers and trails to inform and engage visitors.

The tourism has affected financial assets and opportunities of the households in the community. For majority of respondents (74 percent), the tourism has enhanced markets for local products like milk, meat and vegetables. The agricultural producers were able to sell their products to the hotels and restaurants which could fetch better incomes to the households. In addition, there was common practice of membership in different types of saving and credit cooperatives and groups in the community. Such cooperatives have facilitated regular saving and increased access to the easy loan at lower interest rate. However, 66 percent of respondents perceived that memberships in such cooperative has increased only marginally or remained stable over last ten years.

Likewise, tourism activities were perceived to increase employment opportunities in the community. The employment types included managers, nature guides, waiters, fishing and other local clubs. The hotel entrepreneurs were the major employer. Currently, 123 individuals in Kasara and 263 in Megghauli were employed by different hotels. Most of the low level staffs were hired from local communities. It meant that most of the luxury hotels were owned and managed by the bigger investors from outside the community. The local communities operated smaller outlets for selling snacks and other souvenirs to the tourists. It indicates that the major part of the incomes accrued from tourism has been siphoned outside local economy.

Overall, tourism has direct impacts and contribution on the livelihood assets of people. It has enhanced the capacity of local communities to diversify economic activities in local communities. The skill and knowledge has increased the confidence to run different tourism and other production activities like tourist operators/guide, small outlets to serve causal demands. Likewise, environmental awareness among local communities has enhanced capacity to advocate towards nature tourism for its sustainability. Though tourism is itself sensitive to many factors, it can provide opportunities for stable incomes during the normal periods. The tourism has increased the interaction with park authorities and hotel entrepreneurs to promote local employment and development. Such development enhances production system in the community. In addition to national park, the buffer zone forest has appeared to receive tourists for sight-seeing and nature trekking. As the economic activities have increased, it has enhanced the culture of regular saving among the villagers which acts as financial security at the time of need. The tourism has catalyzed the development of other infrastructures like roads and public facilities. Such infrastructures can enhance economic activities for the alternative livelihoods. Therefore, the tourism can be considered as the important vehicle toward enhancing different livelihood assets in the communities.

Moreover, tourism can have long and short term impacts to the livelihoods opportunities of the people. It has direct impacts on livelihood of people. Though current rate of employment is low and latitude of tourism activities is limited, it has certainly increased the opportunities to the communities to go beyond the traditional mode of production for their livelihoods. With the increasing health concerns from commercialized products, the demands for organic products are likely to increase in near future. Local communities can produce and offer products on demands to the tourists through hotels and restaurants. The increasing trends of homestays can promote local products which, in turn, fetch better incomes to the host families. Such opportunities gradually enhance the enterprising capacity and employment leading to the secured livelihoods. Some other impacts are listed below:

The host communities seem to lose their local identity and values: Commercialization of local culture is possible when the host societies consider tourism as a business. Businesses are meant for profits, and the profits are ensured with visitors' satisfaction. To satisfy the visitors, the host societies prefer economic ways of providing facilities to meet the expectations of the visitors. The host societies focused on satisfying the visitors by providing desired souvenirs, food and drinks, and accommodation. The conventional local food drinks, and accommodation might not be exactly what visitors prefer in faith tourism. In order to satisfy the visitors, there can be some changes in food, drinks, and accommodation. For example, visitors are likely to buy souvenirs from local businesses. As the demand increases, local businesses can change the indigenous taste of souvenir products to be economical or in line with the new design.

Cultural clash is likely as a social impact in the host community: Kasara consist of Hindu majority villages. Based on religious belief, there are about 91 percent of Hindus and remaining are others (CBS, 2011) and the host societies may suffer a stress from the other religions of the tourist. People from other

religions dislike the unusual behaviors of the tourist against culture and religion because there is a threat of change in religious belief. Cultural clashes can further arise through economic inequality, irritation from visitor's behavior, and job related issues. Culture and indigenous practices of host community may revitalize and some time it may decline.

The social stress can lead to social disadvantages for host community: Peoples from the host societies can cause riots, vandalism, bullying to remove heritage items, and disrespect to the visitors. A conflict is possible from uses of scarce resources between the tourism industry and host societies.

Possible offence in the host Community: As the population grows, the crime rate increases. Economic inequality helps increase crime for valuable belongings and money with visitors. A large number of visitors with a big sum of money to spend and their expensive belongings such as cell phones, cameras, and gold jewelries motivate criminals for crimes. In the same time, criminals and drug dealers can come to host societies for their interests that are also a challenging social impact for host community.

Economic Impacts: In the focused group discussion collectively they said that the tourism industry plays a significant role in increasing financial activities in the host societies. Tourism industry has direct, indirect, and induced impacts to the economy. The direct impacts can be seen in commodities, industries, and sources of spending. Accommodation, transportation, entertainment, and attractions are major sectors in commodities impacts. Some of them argued that the flow of tourists determines the rate of occupancy of hotels. Hotel businesses are very close to tourism activities and create various types of jobs for skilled and unskilled people. Travel agents are the businesses that sell itinerary, tickets, and counsel the tourists for their comforts. Restaurant businesses depend on a flow of tourists in the host societies. A large number of local jobs are created in restaurant businesses trekking, guide, porters and language assistance which also contribute to the local society.

Foreign Currency Income: The responders said that the role of tourism as an important source of foreign currency and income has been well established the world over. In most of the developed as well as developing countries, tourism is an important source for maximizing foreign money earnings. This may be the single most important contribution of this industry. A major economic benefit in promoting the tourism industry has therefore, tended to be the earning of foreign currency. Tourism industry contributes a good amount of revenue to the government of a country from taxes and duties on things tourists use and buy.

Income and Employment: Tourism as a source of income is not easy to measure, at least with any degree of accuracy. This is because of the multiplier effect. The flow of money generated by tourist spending multiplies as it passes through various sections of the economy through the operation of the multiplier effect. The multiplier is an income concept and this mechanism has also been applied to tourism and in particular to tourist expenditure. The money paid by a tourist in, say paying his hotel bill is used by the hotel management to provide for the costs which it had incurred in meeting the demands of the visitor, e.g., such goods, and services as food, drink, furnishing, laundering, electricity, and entertainment. The recipients, in turn, use the money they have thus received to meet their financial commitments.

Business Effects: Another significant benefit from the tourism industry to the local community is that it provides impetus to the development of trade and business. Development of tourism creates demand for different goods and services which will help to promote domestic trade. Tourism is expected to promote sales of handicrafts, curios, souvenir and other products. Tourists are found to spend considerably in such items. According to a study made in Europe, it is estimated that tourists reserve about 33% of their money for on the spot purchases of national products.

Local Development: Similarly the economic implication of tourism may also manifest in its impact on the structure of local economics and on the regimes of production and distribution as well as trade. New employment and income opportunities, particularly in hospitality services and trade sectors can open up due to tourism. Specialization in the production of agricultural, horticultural and livestock products for the tourist market may be one distinct expression of the impact on the production regime. The provision of tourist infrastructures like road, water system, electricity, hospitals, schools, hotels, shops and other public utilities highly contributed to the overall development of the economy of locals. The provision of tourist road may cause access of local farmers to market centers and moreover, the growth of tourism is likely to benefit large landowners through the effect on land prices.

Infrastructure Development: Development and improvement of infrastructure is another important benefit of tourism. The benefits from infrastructure investments, justified primarily for tourism airports, roads, communication, electricity supply, water supply and other public utilities. In addition to development of new infrastructure, the improvements in the existing infrastructure which are undertaken to attract tourists are also of crucial importance. These improvements may confer benefits upon the resident population by providing them with amenities which, hitherto, they have not been enjoyed.

International Understanding and Interaction: Tourism also helps to improve international understanding between different nations and among the people of these nations also. In fact, travelling widens the knowledge of people. Face to face meeting the people of different races and culture enables them to promote greater understanding of common problems. Tourists can play a vital role in international understanding and keeping peace in the world by developing social, cultural, economic as well as political understanding among the peoples of different nations and by way of bringing diverse people face to face. Tourism promotes friendship and goodwill between the visitors and the people of host countries. The interaction between different peoples belonging to different countries and societies practicing different lifestyles and speaking different languages come together to makes friends.

Economic Costs of Tourism: The economic impacts of tourism and tourism-related development consist broadly of benefits and costs. Many of the socio-economic impacts discussed above have both positive and negative dimensions. Employment opportunities will increase the further development of tourism industry and also supports for the livelihood of the peoples. Commitments to develop infrastructure (water systems, roads and waste disposal systems) may be advantageous to both tourists and local communities.

Conclusion

This study takes an effort to identify the major socio- economic impacts on community through wildlife tourism with special reference to Kasara, Chitwan. The study identified the both of negative and positive socio-economic impacts of tourism. Positive impacts of tourism are to increase jobs, quality of life for locals and an increase the living standards of peoples. Tourism also has the advantage of rebuilding and restoring historic sites and encouraging the revitalization of cultures. Sometime tourism may decline the culture. Tourism impacts on residence and residence impacts on tourism. While interacting between hosts and guest each other they exchange their culture among them. While interacting between host and guest, the local community accepts of copying tourists' culture, dress style and language. They interact with the tourists; mix with people from diverse backgrounds which create a cosmopolitan culture in the region. Among the equity, power, lifecycle, social exchange and social representation theory the socio-economic impacts of tourism are related with social exchange theory. As social negative impact, cultural invasion, offensive activities, changing living styles and behavior of the young, language, tradition, work and technology religion, dress patterns were founded. Tourism can deliver benefits to the individual households and community. For individual household, tourism can enhance skills and opportunities to adopt alternative livelihood strategies. It is entirely dependent on the types of accessible livelihood assets and capacity to utilize them for enhancing incomes. At community level, improved physical infrastructure and networking can stimulate development to boost incomes. However, there was growing concerns that tourism business is largely captured by external investors. Local residents were often employed for low paid jobs and the hotel owners were found indifferent towards the local development. As a result, major part of the tourism based income was siphoned off the village. Therefore, the notion that tourism business improves livelihood of local resident is illusive in the study area. For this, policies intervention should focus on generating and enhancing livelihood assets of local residents through training, soft loan and linking them to the tourism markets. Such policy provision can help local residents to grasp the emerging livelihood opportunities from tourism sector.

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Shifting Security Paradigm in Contemporary Era: Role of Law Enforcement Agencies

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Abstracts

In setting of today's security challenges, striving for sound policing of military character through paramilitary, auxiliary and armed police forces has usurped. The law enforcement agencies are engaged to curb the security threats at realm of dynamic security challenges. The changing perspectives of security scenario along with modern security challenges like terrorism, out and in migration, armed activities and actions of non-state actors are very common to states. The security challenges due to the increase in terrorism, extremism, armed conflict, insurgency, civil war, cyber threats, and non-state actor's activities, are some of the looming security concerns affecting effectiveness and efficacy of the law enforcement agencies. This research is conducted by applying descriptive research method and secondary sources to identify the perspectives of modern-day security situation and role of law enforcement agencies to combat these challenges. This paper highlights the contemporary security challenges contextualized at the global realm to offer possible future strategies in general for the security agencies within and outside the country.

Key Words: Security paradigm, contemporary era, law of enforcement agencies, modern security challenges, paramilitary

Introduction

“Security is like virginity: you’re either a virgin or you’re not. You either have security or you don’t” (President Lennart Meri; in Kaljurand, 2012).

This quote from the former Estonian President Lennart Meri rightly defines the essence of security, even if no state can claim to possess security in absolute terms, because security in absolute terms does not exist, no state can be satisfied with being only a little bit secure. Hence every state, whether big or small, needs a strategy to provide its nation with security (Kaljurand, 2012).

Security is a multi-dimensional concept that relates to the protection from harm or ‘freedom from threat’. Thus, questions arise as to what security actually means? Who needs security? Who are the security providers? So, security topics come to their where security in the sense of protection to state and people’s lives. The state is the security provider from inside and outside threats. Without security a country remains exposed to and vulnerable to many threats, thus security of lives and property is a dire need for any thriving country (Iregbenu & Uzonwanne, 2015). Security in its comprehensive sense is the degree of resistance and protection from harm or danger (Baral & Shah, 2018, p.1). The agencies that work for the protection of the state and people are called law enforcement agencies. The law enforcement agencies identify the probable threats to the life and property of the people of which the state has the responsibility to protect and secure. It is the security agency which helps to ensure that people obey particular laws and rules in a defined territory, state or country. In fact, the security agencies enforce the legislation in any state. Threats are challenges to the state. The Westphalia notion of security which advocated the core idea of security was concentrated on security of state, popularly called the conventional notion of security. Multiple threats that defy military solutions have driven scholars to challenge conventional notions of security, and to redefine the concept so that it encompasses not only freedom from physical violence, but also material well-being of individuals and the environmental health of the planetary system (Dokubo, 2010, p.139; Ngwube, 2013, p. 263). A responsible state should enhance the personal safety of people who reside within and outside the defined territory.

In this contemporary era, security studies scholarly research and academic writings have mainly started focusing on armed conflicts and problems associated inside the society of the state like ethnic conflict, regionalism, secessionist movements, armed struggle, civil war and insurgency. In 1996, Boutros-Boutros Ghali, the Secretary General of the United Nations (UN), observed that globalization was creating a world that has become increasingly interconnected, and a positive force for, inter alia,

decolonization, good government, development, human rights, and the environment (Manwaring, 2011, p.58). The Secretary General understood, too, that fragmentation was acting as a negative force leading people everywhere to seek refuge in smaller groups, characterized by isolationism, separatism, fanaticism, and the proliferation of intrastate conflict (Manwaring, 2011, p. 58). Therefore, the living standard of the people has been constantly changing due to the innovations of science and technology. Also, globalization of trade and economics has given rise to technological advancements and interconnection among states and peoples.

The contemporary security challenges identify the questions relating to the security of state power from the micro dynamics. The citizens of the nation are considered as state power. As a guardian of the state, the law enforcement agencies have the responsibility to protect the people from harm and maintain peace and stability within the state. One of the primary purposes of any law enforcement agency is the security of the nation and its people. Rather, the contemporary security challenges for the law enforcement agencies are to identify the major inadequacies that have made the society vulnerable to social crimes, considering the threats to the internal security of states. This article highlights the major challenges in the contemporary era and looks for questions regarding what the modern security challenges are. What are the international law enforcement agencies trends to defeat the contemporary security challenges? What are the mechanisms and initiatives developed by state to tackle the security challenges? This article reviews various studies related to contemporary security issues and the role of law enforcement agencies in the security sector. It provides an opportunity for law enforcement agencies that have been facing persistent security challenges to mitigate the internal security threat and study some ideas that are being currently practiced by some of the law enforcement agencies regarding internal security matters, and curb the threats to society and people.

Review of Literature

Samuel and Sharma (2016) explained that technology plays a pivotal role enabling various societal functions but the terrorists possessed technologically advanced apparatus like Global Positioning System, online mapping tool, Google Earth to retrieve satellite images of the intended targets and this marked a significant shift in this contemporary era (p.28). He wrote that ISIS has tremendous presence on social media platforms e.g. Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, WhatsApp, Tumblr and Instagram (p. 29). The best example would be the Mumbai terrorist attack in 2008 which was an eye opener for the law enforcement agencies regarding the changing challenges to the security situation around the world. The United States has currently invested a huge amount of capital along with robust mobilization of intelligence and law enforcement to counter the terrorist networks. Along with this, the US military strategy is to strengthen the paramilitary force of Kurdish Regional Government in Iraq, which has been operating against ISIS. Irondelle and Cadier (2013) pointed out that terrorism has come to be the principle challenge to international security, elevated from domestic terrorism to international terrorism and reaching a global audience. Among the three broad approaches as suggested regarding counterterrorism, the first approach is based on policing and intelligence which is a commonly used method in Europe and reflects a conception of terrorism based on criminal analogy (p.9). The second approach requires long-term strategies and third strategy is through the lens of war analogy (use of force, pre-emptive strikes, etc.). They quoted key threats from migration and distinguished three areas where migration can impact on national and/or international security; state capacity and autonomy; the distribution of power among states; and the nature of violent conflict (p. 12). The danger of migration is that migratory flows have been exploited by organized crime networks to generate profits from the smuggling of human beings, as well as by terrorist networks to access target states (p. 13).

Methodology

This research has carried out applying descriptive research method. Secondary sources are referred while conducting the research paper. As regards to identify the modern security challenges and international trends to curb the contemporary security challenges, the researcher has moved out through the major security problems faced by states in internal security and the strategy as initiated along with major development to defeat the threats has taken. The state mechanisms and initiatives in curbing the contemporary security challenges has screened through the security measures (policy, planning, legal systems, security arrangements, cooperation among states in regional and global scenario and other practices in terms of discourse analysis) applied by law enforcement agencies. Based on this analysis, this paper draws conclusions of role and review of law enforcement agencies in contemporary era.

Conceptual Clarification of Security

The word security emanated from the Greek word *se-cura*, meaning ‘to be in a state of no fear’ (Kasali, 2011, p. 19). Though security is a contested concept, scholars on security agree that security is ‘freedom from threat’ to the human life through any means. With the development of the human society over the years, the security concepts have been framed as conventional security, traditional security, non-traditional security, human security and collective security. Traditional security is also called the security of the nation from outside threat to the sovereign existence of any independent state, and advocates the supremacy of the state interest and security of the people that should be the core interest and the state has no other options for survival other than through military might. In conceptualizing internal security, the scholar Mijah (2007) described that internal security may be conceived as the freedom from or the absence of those tendencies which could attenuate internal cohesion and the corporate existence of the nation and its ability to maintain its vital institutions for the promotion of its core values and socio-political and economic objectives, as well as meet the legitimate aspirations of the people; and finally internal security also implies freedom from danger to life and property and the presence of a conducive environment for the people to pursue their legitimate interest within the society (Imobighe, 1990, p. 224). But traditionally, most writings of security scholars were bound with the concept of the national interest and sovereignty in the sphere of *realpolitik* in international relations and having policy of nations called national policy. The development of the human society has been the emerging source for the development of new theories and principles in security disciplines from *realpolitik* to the concept of global security as a whole.

Paradigm Shift in Security

A security paradigm can be understood as a conception of security situation in a particular society which has a particular trend. There is no doubt that security has been a subject that has attracted a rapidly growing interest and concern among the scholars in social sciences on a wide spectrum of issues on the subject and security has been studied and new breakthroughs and findings have been made. The experience of the world in recent times emphasizes a paradigm shift in security discourse (Kasali, 2011, p. 19). The notion of security paradigm has different roots like security situation of Middle East countries are different from West African states. The Westphalia notion of security was that the threat that came from the other state called the state-to-state aggression. During this notion, the major threat to the political sovereignty of any State usually emanated from another State (Kasali, 2011, p.19). After World War II, the concept of security has shifted to the individual person and groups, and responsibility has shifted to the state for protection and promotion. Subsequently, since the emergence of Cold War in 1945, the main challenge of state security has altered and new trend has found to internal security situation where most countries became plagued with insurgency and civil wars as experienced in every continent (Kasali, 2011, p. 20).

The end of the cold War in 1989 widened the scope of security studies due to the emergence of states without any defined political boundaries. The sharp increase in intra-state conflict in the developing world in the 1990’s was a driving force for the re-evaluation of the relationship between development and conflict or insecurity (Smith 2001; Woods 2005; Swiss, 2011). The human security concept develops into wider scope and enlarges the horizon of security analysis from traditional security to the security of people. The interest and motives behind of some state and groups to the other state on political economy, power politics, resource; and influence of non-state actors in the domestic politics has also seen increasing. Due to these characteristics, the scope of security has been added ample of challenges to the state and people at large. For instance, the security environment of Southeast Asia has been challenged by the rapid economic changes, actual and potential disease epidemics, and a growing sense of shared interest and grievances among the region’s Islamic populations are among the region’s main transnational concerns (Ott, 2006).

Modern Security Challenges

The sources of threats have been changing day by day. This is the era of globalization with easy availability of information technology tools. While considering the modern security challenges, I relate the threats/challenges being faced by the modern states to the same problems as described by the ancient strategic philosopher Sun Tzu. He claimed that with the changing times, the threats have evolved and as he said, ‘we must force ourselves to ways of defeating a new enemy, one that is generally unseen, is

driven ideologically, does not seek a set battle, and is like no other force before' (Rice, 2006). After the Cold War, the small states of South Asian countries have become the centre for external actors because of ideological collision among the states and lack of regional integrity. The proliferation of nuclear and small arms, Muslim fundamentalism, armed conflicts, secessionist tendencies and political transformation have rudiment in the world. And the emergence of brutal terrorist organization, ISIS, which practices new measures to attack and terrorize the people, has created a situation of vulnerability for the small and developing countries. Groups such as Al-Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiyah have been prepared to engage in symbolic crimes, directed at iconic social or cultural targets (e.g. the Pentagon), signal crimes (e.g. transport and nightclub bombings), intended to disrupt everyday life and perceptions of security, and spectacular crimes that combine the two types (Baral & Shah, 2018, p. 5).

The suicidal tactic of using as a human bomb has become popular among the Jihadist Islamic groups, and such threats witnessed in European; South and West Asian countries, give the negative impression that security threats can be sponsored by certain groups and due to these techniques, now it has become difficult for security forces to identify and locate the terrorists. Thus, the human bomb is another complex challenge. The trend of suicidal attacks has increased dramatically. There were only a few attacks in the 1980s and it rose slightly in the second half of the 1990's. However, it increased from 54 incidents in 2001 to 535 in 2007 (Atran, 2006; Moghadam, 2008; Irondelle & Cadier, 2013). The recent trends of violence and attacks by the terrorists are such that the participation of such people at the spot itself is low but the degree of mass casualties leading to violence, hatred, threat and enmity is very high. At times, the attack may be relatively small in scale and harm, but the possibility that it was a trial run for a larger and more destructive attack in the future must be borne in mind as extremists have improved their explosive engineering skills (Noor, 2015, p. 7). In the past decades, EU has severely affected due to the growing instability and conflict in the neighbouring countries like Libya, Syria, and Sahel, Ukraine etc. The other problems such as economic and financial crisis in 2008, euro crisis in 2011-2-13, illegal immigration from the third countries, terrorist attacks and current threat of jihadist terrorist create the security situation of EU complex. The rate of suicide terrorism is also increasing in conflict prone countries like Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and Libya.

International Practices to Defeat the Contemporary Security Challenges

The writings of contemporary security scholars have been characterized by the emphasis laid on equipping the security agencies with sophisticated weapons, arms and ammunitions, technology, intelligence gathering and training as per the growing internal threats to the society. Countries now emphasize newer approaches to security and aim for networked force structures that are both multi-usage and mobile (Gandhi, 2015). High policing was traditionally the function of security services using covert intelligence gathering directed at circumventing threats, while low policing was performed by public police, based on overt strategies of disruption of crime opportunities (Brodeur, 2007). The armed forces are divided into military forces, auxiliary forces and reserve forces. The rise of armed forces in the world is due to the threats and challenges that have been increasing with the changing global scenario. Of course, international security environment have a greater role in the domestic security situation of countries. Many contemporary security challenges – such as international terrorism and transnational organized crime – no longer neatly fit into one category, as they typically have both internal and external dimensions (Lutterbeck, 2013). The dynamics of security situation and its challenges to other countries within a short span of time, accompanied with the complexity of the threats enforced on the states have compelled countries to establish a strong armed security agency, referred to by different names in different countries like paramilitary force in India, gendarmerie force in Europe and Armed Police Force in Nepal. They have a role like that of the military but with a police identity. These security forces have the potential to curb the contemporary security situation and show their role by effective neutralization of threats.

In Australia, for example, successive new legislation from 2001 onwards has greatly expanded the size, role and functions of the Australian Federal Police (AFP – a national agency), given them broad new powers, and expanded and harmonized the counter-terrorist functions of the various state and territory police, responsible for most criminal law enforcement (Ransley & Mazerolle, 2009; AFP, 2017). From this perception, the police agencies have been categorized on the basis of their functions to curtail security problems and their role and responsibilities have also been framed as per the level of threats that they need to tackle. Security policy experts note that the rise of non-state actors will dominate the future

global scene (Hauser, 2007). The perspective is that it is of paramount necessity to establish police forces with specific training to tackle the modern security challenges. This type of security agency has named as 'paramilitary', i.e. role of police and military. Auten defines 'paramilitary' as organized military, but not part of or in cooperation with the official armed forces of a country; having to do with military force in its tactics, or existing where there are no military services, or existing alongside the military services and professional non-military but formed on an underlying military pattern as a potential auxiliary or diversionary military organization (Auten, 1986, p. 68).

US Department of Homeland Security

For the United States, the 9/11 attacks led the country to declare a 'global war on terrorism', military intervention in Afghanistan to defeat the Taliban regime and destroy Al Qaeda's base, and in 2003 a pre-emptive war in Iraq. The most significant development after 9/11 was the reorganization of federal agencies under the umbrella of the US Department of Homeland Security (Ackleson & Heyman, 2010). The 9/11 Commission had substantially faulted the lack of cooperation among government intelligence agencies (Eldridge et al., 2004; Warner, 2010). They indicated that the United States had not been prepared to counter a major terrorist attack because of lack of coordination of intelligence agencies and law enforcement (Warner, 2010, p.28). As per the Homeland Security Act, 2002, the United States formed the Homeland Security. At home, the US government undertook fundamental organizational reforms, including establishing a Department of Homeland Security and rearranging the nation's intelligence bureaucracy into a National Counterterrorist Centre. Armed Police and paramilitary organization patrol the US-Canada border, referred to as the "longest undefended border" in the world, but that changed dramatically after 9/11 (Winterdyk & Sundberg, 2010, p. 27; Warner, 2010, p. 29).

Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA)

The government of Canada introduced a number of measures to prevent and intercept "irregular migrants" from entering or remaining within its borders (Aiken, 2006). In a move parallel to the United States' creation of the Department of Homeland Security, Canada created the umbrella Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) to house the former customs, immigration, and food inspections services, and it became the first armed service to patrol (Warner, 2010). Canada has allocated resources to interdiction of "irregular migrants" to prevent or intercept the entrance of terrorism suspects (Aiken, 2006; Warner, 2010). Canada passed its Anti-Terrorism Act in 2001. The Anti-Terrorism Act is well sufficient to deter, prosecute, convict and punish the terrorists and terrorist groups those are acting in soil of Canada. In 2006, the Canadian government allocated \$101 million to arm 4,800 Border Services officers like ballistic vests and carry handguns to operate as a paramilitary organization (Warner, 2010). The CBSA is responsible for integrated border security in Canadian border. The CBSA works closely with international partners to identify best practices and guidelines and has adapted its own learning products to meet the specific needs of recipient administrations and this agency has internationally renowned centres of expertise that deliver training and provide mentoring expertise related to marine operations, border services officer recruitment, detector dog programs, and laboratory and forensic sciences (CBSA, 2014).

European Union Context

Prior to 2001, the European Union (EU) did not have a common definition of terrorism or penalties (Warner, 2010). Following 9/11, a debate has been continuously raising on state foreign and security policy. For the foreign policy of the EU, '9/11' did not constitute a turning point in the first place [nor did the terrorist attacks in Madrid in March 2004 and in London in July 2005] (Biscop, 2008). Increasingly, even the strongest military powers in the EU, Britain and France accept that they cannot deal with global security problems on their own, but despite the strength of the argument for collective action, the EU has been able to act (Chappell, Mawdsley & Petrov, 2016). In Europe, the EU raised terrorism to priority status as per its 2003 Security Strategy, called European Security Strategy (ESS), while it expanded counterterrorism policies and tightened counterterrorism links with the US (EU Council, 2003; Irondelle & Cadier, 2013). Ten years earlier the European Security Strategy (ESS) claimed 'the post-Cold War environment is one of increasingly open borders in which internal and external aspects of security are indissolubly linked,' and where 'none of the new threats is purely military; nor can any be tackled by purely military means' (European Council, 2003, p. 2-7; Shepherd, 2016, p. 1).

International, and especially transatlantic, police, counterterrorism and intelligence cooperation have since then developed to unprecedented levels (Irondelle & Cadier, 2013). In 2008, terrorist activity in EU member states except for the United Kingdom decreased by 24 percent as compared to 2007 (Europol, 2009; Warner, 2010). In 2008, 515 terrorist attacks were prevented before mission accomplishment and over 1,000 terrorist suspects were arrested in 13 EU states (Warner, 2010). Accordingly, the EUROPOL aims improving the effectiveness of the member states, and also has been working in gathering and sharing intelligence with member states.

While considering the development of gendarmerie force in EU, the evidence is seen in the considerable expansion of gendarmerie- type forces since the 1990s, as well as their increasingly important role in addressing many security challenges of the contemporary period, ranging from border control and counterterrorism to international peace operations (Lutterbeck, 2013). The internal security of France is the responsibility of two major police forces: the national police force, governed by a civil statute, which is under the supervision of the Ministry of Interior, and the national gendarmerie, which is the military police under the supervision of the Ministry of Defence (Vitkauskas, 1999). The European Gendarmerie Force in Italy also called Carabinieri having the nature of paramilitary force with military status, capacity to perform of security and justice and mitigating threats and risks in a complex environment of international terrorism, organized crime and crisis situations.

Indian Paramilitary Forces

In India, each state has its own police system. The central government is empowered by the constitution to raise and organize forces to protect the nation and to maintain its territory (Mishra, 2015). As of 1979, the paramilitary forces like Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), Border Security Force (BSF), Central Industrial Security Force (CISF), Coast Guard, and Assam Rifles were existed. The CRPF was established by the colonial rule in situation of people's protest that the British Indian Army was not effective in controlling the freedom movement. Subsequently, CRPF was engaged in several operational activities to control the insurgency movement following important role played during the 1965 Rann Kutch conflict. After Rann Kutch, BSF was created for ensuring border security of India. The BSF has more modern and sophisticated weapons and its education and training are of a high level (Mishra, 2015, p. 374). The Coast Guard was established in 1976 under the control of the Ministry of Home Affairs to protect the territorial waters along its 3400 mile coastline.

Accordingly, the paramilitary security agencies like ITBP, BSF and Assam Rifles were established for the purpose of counter-terrorism, border guards, and to deal with other various security threats, riots and violence. ITBF was raised in 1962 to guard the India-China border along Tibet; BSF was created in 1965 to ensure the security of India-Pakistan border; NSG came into existence in 1986 as a specialized commando force to deal with specific threats posed by terrorist violence. The ITBP and SSB guard the Indo-Tibet and Indo-Nepal and Indo-Bhutan borders respectively; the CISF is engaged in providing security cover to all major airports, metro stations, and nuclear installations and about 200 PSUs across the country. The NSG today is a well-equipped and has two strikes and three support battalions suitably poised to rapidly respond to any internal security contingency ('Role of Paramilitary and Central Armed Police Forces in India's National Security', 2012). The terrorist attack on Hotel Taj in Mumbai, in 2008, is a typical example of handling and controlling the situation by NSG, a specialized armed force.

Paramilitary Force in Indonesia

In Indonesia, a paramilitary unit with 12,000 personnel has been established as an elite corps unit with the mission of domestic security and defense operations (Dillon, 1997). Though, Indonesian National Police is the second largest police force after the army it is active in the security role as a regular police force of the country. Indonesia has a different style of security arrangement consisting of four agencies called the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, or ABRI) directly serving the nation through dual functions. ABRI consists of four services: The army, navy, air force, and police and among the services, the army has a dominant role (Dillon, 1997). The Indonesian National Counter Terrorism Agency instituted in 2010, is currently domestically active against terrorism.

Armed Police Force, Nepal

In changing trends of global security and increasing non-traditional threats, Nepal government established Armed Police Force, Nepal, popularly known as the APF in 2001 with motto "Peace, Security

and Commitment” and ethos “Any Task, Any Time, Any Place”. Though the establishment of the organization was at the period of Maoist insurgency, the government of Nepal has deployed APF with multiple tasks and responsibilities. Previously, Nepal Police along with National Investigation Department were performed as law enforcement agencies and engaged in internal security of Nepal. APF has established to neutralize contemporary security challenges like terrorism, insurgency, transborder crime and riots along with other security challenges. Currently in Nepal, the Armed Police Force Nepal has been tasked with thirteen mandates regarding the internal security of Nepal. The roles like border security, counter insurgency, controlling armed violence, and separatist movements, riot control, VIP/VVIP security and industrial security are core mandates of Armed Police Force Nepal. Accordingly, now in APF, about thirty seven thousand troops having effective and efficient capacity in Disaster Management, Industrial Security of Nepal, Revenue and Custom Security are performing well.

Intelligence Agencies in Internal Security

The design of security operation depends on intelligence. The utilization of Intelligence is common in internal security of any state. The intelligence agencies have become a compulsory for the state security. Within the framework of complex and volatile environment of non-traditional security, states have been deploying intelligence for the internal security. The practices of intelligence collection of many countries include overt and clandestine methods. The DST (la Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire) is responsible for domestic security intelligence in France (Vitkauskas, 1999, p. 7). The main function of the DST is to collect information that includes foreign intelligence. The DST is part of a wider national police structure and DST Director maintains close relations with the Director General of the National Police (Vitkauskas, 1999). In Germany, the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution or the FOPC, functions as a domestic civil security intelligence service; the British Security Service, the so-called MI5, is responsible for domestic security intelligence in the United Kingdom but British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS, also known as the MI6) conducts foreign intelligence; domestic security intelligence in the US is collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) for foreign intelligence (Vitkauskas, 1999, p. 7). The location tracking and all necessary information for the special force (marine commando) in Bin Laden operation can be taken as a good example of intelligence role in national security.

Findings

Unless the roots of the security threats are identified, it can generate unprecedented dilemma for the security agencies to curb such threats. However, new opportunities for the law enforcement agencies are generating better ways to address or overcome those challenges in a more effective and efficient manner. Most of the countries across the world have established armed forces to defeat the contemporary security challenges. The nature of policing is more to engage in crime control and democratic policing. Due to the nature of modern security threats, it has become more complex to control only through regular policing. The rise of law enforcement agencies like APF has been more effective in curbing the contemporary security challenges. Thus, the international trends are being empowered armed police, paramilitary and auxiliary type law enforcement agencies with relevant training programs, weapons and logistics so that they can better contribute to the internal security of the nation. Similarly, the state's intelligence agencies are being equally enhanced even more to collect security information to counter threats. Their role consists of active participation for collecting information regarding the various security issues that directly and indirectly pose threats to the internal and external security of the nation. According to Hans J. Morgenthau, ‘armed strength as a threat or a potentiality is the most important material factor making for the political power of a nation’ (Troxell, 2008, p. 209). Clearly, it is seen that the international practices to deal with contemporary security challenges have been shifted to the auxiliary or paramilitary security agencies that has the capacity to perform actions like regular army due to the complex security environment. Likewise, the Intelligence related agencies can also perform in internal security with a bird's eye view against anti-national and anti-social activities.

Conclusion

Contemporary security is vulnerable due to the negative implications of globalization, interdependency of states, transnational activities of criminals and armed groups, sectarian politics, influence of domestic issues by non-state actors, and global terrorism. Presently, the lives of people are highly threatened due to these nonconventional types' security threats. Due to the geography and location of some sates, it is

found that they are more susceptible to contemporary security threats than others. Hence, to fight against these security challenges, the law enforcement agencies should be able to perform effectively. In this 21st century, the law enforcement agencies, particularly, armed police types law enforcement agencies having military nature are more effective to curb the contemporary security challenges. Accordingly, intelligence agencies are also carrying out to support the other law enforcement agencies in security related operations and activities.

After the 9/11 terrorist attack in US, the government has established new law enforcement agency, Department of Homeland Security that has the capacity to tackle the security challenges. Similarly, Canada and EU has also established and reformed the law enforcement agencies and introduced new security measures to control the new threats. Similarly, different countries have introduced new plans in internal security. Most of the countries border security is generally concentrated for the prevention of terrorism, extremism, transborder crime and other security threats that pose serious threat to the national security of the nation. The internal security is the responsibility of all security agencies of the state. The internal security would be strong if the state security mechanisms are bonding collectively to tackle the challenges. However, the international practices to defeat the contemporary security challenges could be a lesson learnt for the law enforcement agencies in present context. Ultimately, long-term security, peace and stability will depend on the security policy of the nation, so a comprehensive security policy should be indigent that reflects safety and security, rule of law, respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms of the people.

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City Centric Migration and Security Concern in Nepal

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Abstract

This article tends to focus on the trend of internal migration and its security concern in Nepal. There are different social and security concerns of migration which are not taken seriously. The repercussion might be in different fields and effects can be seen after short or long epoch. Migration and its linkage with the security are varied. It is the subject of interest for people who want to develop and make their birth land, village or cities prosperous. Current tendency of migration in Nepal indicates that the extensive out-migration of people to foreign countries is either for job or to study. Effects on migrants and communities they leave, rural to urban migration, differ according to the type of migrants, the volume of migration, and the nature of the places involved. The volume is increasing in recent days that people are migrating from rural to urban part of country even in district level. Migrants leaving rural areas are not generally replaced by other migrants. This loss of population in the rural areas and their potential contributions affects the dependency ratio, rates of unemployment and underemployment, levels of human capital, and potential for innovation. This article examines the pattern of migration and also it tries to explore the push and pull factors of migration. The security concerns of migration which involves different forms like human security, physical security, environmental security etc are analyzed in this article.

Key words: Migration, security, human capital, gross domestic product, push and pull factors

Introduction

In simple meaning migration is the act or instance of moving from one place to another which may be temporary or permanent depending on the duration of absence from the place of origin and the duration of stay in the place of destination.. There are different meanings in different disciplines like ecology, biology, natural science, information technology, arts and media. There are different definitions of migration since various scholars define in various ways. Migration is one of the basic factors affecting change in population of an area along with fertility and mortality. Shryock, Stockwell and Siegel (1976) define "Migration as a form of geographic or spatial mobility involving a change of usual residence between clearly defined geographic units. It should be noted that in present definition temporary movements are not included". Mejo (2013) defines migration as a process of moving, either across an international border or within a state. It is population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever is its length, composition and causes. It includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people and economic migrants.

People move from one place to another with the intentions of settling in a new location. As the migration history of Nepal is concerned, it began after the treaty of Sugauli in 1816 AD, Nepali people started to migrate to India to be recruited in the British Indian Army. The establishment of the first Army Battalion (Sirmour Battalions) was the major turning point in the emigration of Nepali people. There were Nepali from Kathmandu who used to go to Tibet for business in limited numbers but they played a very insignificant role in Nepali emigration phenomenon. Besides, the recruitment in British-Indian Army, new agricultural programs, carried out by the then British-India in the provinces such as Assam, Darjeeling, Burma attracted many peasants from Nepali hills to work and settle there. Later, people also started to go to India for employment which still continues. Nepali goes to India to work as watchmen (guards) and hotel boys. The recent trend shows the flow of Nepali to Asian, European, American and Gulf countries and many more for skilled and unskilled jobs (Gautam, 2008). A person who moves from home to another place because of natural disaster or civil disturbance may be described as a refugee or, especially within the same country, a displaced person. This refers to a change of residence within national boundaries, such as between provinces, cities, or municipalities. Businessmen travel in different parts of country and also abroad. Unlike pilgrims, the traders who move faster look for profit and if possible set up new settlement (Swain, 2006, p. 15). People may migrate as individuals, in family units or in large groups due to different reasons which can be named as pull and push factors.

In historic times, since about 3000 BC, various clearly identifiable groups of people have moved from one area to another area of the globe. In doing so, they have profoundly influenced the human story of the society. In prehistory the movement of a group is usually evident through traces of a shared language, which the migrants bring to a new place. The spread of cultural influence, such as styles of pottery or religious practices, shows that there was a close link between regions but will not necessarily prove permanent migration. There are specially two areas which are directly affected by the migration. First is the area of origin where people leave the area and the fertile land remains unfarmed and food security for country can be in threat. And the second is destination where people go and occupy the area. Conflict in different forms can be occurred in new area such as religious, ethnic and other social conflicts. Physical security and environmental security might be in threat because of dense population. In this circumstance, this article tries to find the current trend of migration in Nepal, describe the pulling and pushing factors of city centric migration and analyze the security concerns of city centric migration in Nepal.

Review of literature

Migration has become the most bothering issue for developing and least developed states. Ravikant (2017) found that due to the political and economic instability, migration has been a rite of passage particularly for young men in their transition into adulthood. It has been a pulling-pushing factor as a door-opener to formal and informal education and gaining the experiences that is central to further mobility. Mukharji (2006) presents the experiences of migration in Asia defining all the basic terms related to migration and covering almost all the factors related to the subject. Since the author seems to be oriented for Indian college students, it is more focused on Indian context. However, the description given about the main phenomena, migration, urban economic structure and polarized investment in the research is based on Asian context. A very sad story of massive poverty induced migration of illiterate labours into different mega cities of South Asia is really heart touching for all. Ravikant (2017) includes the different aspects of the subject matter like emigration, immigration and Diaspora relations in India, Global migration and local development in Nepal, Nepal India open border and life line and other related facts about migration.

Swain (2006) argues about the sociology of migration in India and specially focusing on Marwari immigrants including the circumstances, psychology and compulsions that force their migration and their strategies to come to terms with the culture in an alien land. It casts ample light to help understanding migration and its cross-cultural dynamics. Sah (2003) describes about different aspects of migration including involuntary migration: issues and methods, interface of different authorities and other related facts related to the research subject. Cohen and Layten-Henry (1997) present different aspects of migration through different perspectives with different phenomena of migrations. Freeman (1986) describes about the migration and political economy of the welfare state. National welfare states are compelled by their logic to be closed systems that seek to insulate themselves from external pressures and that restrict rights and benefits to members. Baubock (1991) presents a notion of citizenship which goes beyond its nominal meaning of 'membership of a state'. Citizenship is seen as a normative as well as an analytical concept, which refers to the equality and universality of rights embedded in the institutions of political communities.

Hollingsworth (1971) mentions that distance has a very great influence upon the decision to migrate, but no very clear law relating the distance moved to the frequency of movement has emerged. However, one can usually say that almost all the volume of migration into or out of an area is short-distance. This has the corollary that the size of the area considered is itself important, because for a fairly large area much of the movement will be inside it and not be counted as migration. Thus people change house much more often than they change the district in which they live; and they change the region, or country, or continent that they live in much less often still.

Nogle (1997) affirms that in all US states, new arrivals of immigrants are fuelling the growth of the foreign-born population. For a few states, though, the most recent immigrants do not arrive from abroad; many come from other parts of the US, resettling after their initial arrival. Very little information has previously been available on the number or characteristics of foreign-born persons who migrate within the US. Using 1990 census data, it calculates the flow volume between states and from abroad; also, a multinomial logistic regression model of destination choice is estimated for resettlers and for migrants from abroad.

Methodology

The methodological design of this article is descriptive and analytical. Qualitative method is used to present the facts in this article. While preparing this article, available books and internet sites related to migration are referred. This paper is based on secondary data basically from secondary and tertiary sources referring various national and international past literatures and websites of related organizations. It is also based on the data available with Department of Foreign Employment (DoFE), Ministry of Education (MoE), Ministry of Finance (MoF), Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), Nepal Living Standard Survey (NLSS) and other related website of different offices.

This article is based on the functionalism theory since migration is a function of persons in society. Functionalists believe that without collective conscience, shared values and beliefs, achieving social order is impossible and social order is crucial for the well-being of society. They believe that value consensus forms the basic integrating principle in society. As a structural theory, functionalism sees social structure or the organization of society as more important than the individual. Functionalism is a top down theory. There is a relationship between all these parts and agents of socialization and together they all contribute to the maintenance of society as a whole.

Pulling and Pushing Factors of Migration

The seasonal movement of a complete population of animals and birds from one area to another is also known as migration. Migration is usually a response to changes in temperature, food supply, or the amount of daylight, and is often undertaken for the purpose of breeding. Mammals, insects, fish, and birds all migrate. But human migration is caused by different pulling and pushing factors. There are different histories of migration. The largest migration is estimated around 14 million Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims were displaced during the partition of India, the largest mass migration in human history. The largest documented voluntary emigration in history was the Italian Diaspora from Italy between 1861 and 1970 in which about 13 million people left the country.

Migration can be classified into two terms: International and internal. International can be subdivided into Emigration and Immigration. Internal migration can be subdivided into life time migrant, inter-zonal; inter-regional, intra-zonal, inter-district, rural urban stream and periodic migration. According to Song and Cook (2015), different pulling and pushing factors as shown below create the circumstances for migration:

Pushing factors	Pulling factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unemployment • Less opportunities • Inadequate resources • Desertification • Famine or drought • Political fear or persecution • Slavery or forced labour • Poor medical care • Poverty • Natural disasters and Life threats • Desire for more political or religious freedom • Landlord/tenant issues • Bullying • Environmental Pollution • Poor housing • Mentality • Discrimination • Poor chances of marrying • Condemned housing • Civil War 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job opportunities • Better life standard • The feeling of having more political or religious freedom • Enjoyment • Better Education • Better medical care • Attractive climates • Security • Family links • Industry • Better chances of marrying • Trade and business • Development • Entertainment • Better environment • Peace

International Migration

International migration occurs when people cross state boundaries and stay in the host state for some minimum length of time. International migratory movements may be classified as temporary or permanent movement of individuals or families, movement of whole nations or tribe, movements of citizens or aliens, movement of voluntary or forced and movement for study, work and other purpose. International migration in Nepal has been a matter of great concern in the context of open border with India. The unrecorded movement of Nepali and Indians across Nepal-India border and the role of remittance in the economy mean that the implications of short-term and circular movement (international) are far reaching. Internal and international migrations are not comparable in terms of their impact in the economy and polity in the country. International migration situation can be

Source: Song and Cook (2015)

discussed under two headings: emigration or going abroad and immigration or entry of aliens. The World Bank's Migration and Remittances Fact book (2011) estimates the total number of immigrants for 2010 to be 215.8 million or 3.2 percent of world population. In 2013, the percent of international migrants worldwide increased by 33 percent with 59 percent of them targeting developed regions. At present, nearly half of all households in Nepal have at least one member abroad or a returnee (World Bank, 2011).

The number of labor migrants is increasing every year and so is the scale of remittances they send back. The top destinations to which Nepali migrate either for work include the Gulf countries, Malaysia and Korea or for study comprises the US, UK, Germany, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and also countries where there is no distinction between international and domestic students such as in France, Greece, Japan and so on. However, there is no strict and universal definition of who are student migrant and how distinctly they could be categorized from labor migrants or other form of migrants. Almost half of these migrants are women, which is one of the most significant migrant-pattern changes in the last half century. Women migrate alone or with their family members and community. Even though female migration is largely viewed as associations rather than independent migration, emerging studies argue complex and manifold reasons for this. Often a distinction is made between voluntary and involuntary migration, or between refugees fleeing political conflict or natural disaster vs. economic or labor migration, but these distinctions are difficult to make and partially subjective, as the motivators for migration are often correlated. The World Bank's report estimates that, as of 2010, 16.3 million or 7.6 percent of migrants qualified as refugees. At the end of 2012, approximately 15.4 million people were refugees and persons in refugee like situations, 87 percent of them found asylum in developing countries. Migration can lead to economic insecurity among the native population in terms of replacing the natives from scarce job and putting extra burden on the country's economy in terms of health, sanitation and other social services (Ravikant, 2017).

Nepali people began to migrate on a large scale mostly to Gulf countries and Malaysia after 1980. When the globalization movement started, there was an oil boom in gulf countries, and shortage of unskilled and semi skilled human resources in the destination countries. This was accelerated by unemployment and high under-unemployment and later conflict (1996 – 2006) in Nepal. In the last two decades Nepal has experienced a dramatic growth in international and internal migration, especially from rural areas to urban centers and foreign countries such as America, Germany, Britain, Canada, Japan, Qatar, Malaysia, United Arab Emirates (UAE) and other countries including India (Gautam, 2008). The current scale of foreign labor migration from Nepal is unprecedented, providing an alternative to hundreds of thousands of youth who are unable to find satisfactory, or even any, employment within the country. Foreign labor migration is now an intrinsic part of everyday life for a majority of Nepali. It has also become a source of lucrative business for those involved in sending workers abroad. As per the report of Ministry of Foreign Employment Nepal, 2012, there are approximately 800 licensed organizations related to foreign employment business for labor migration. The main incentive for emigration is the promise of higher wages. The countries of destination profited from increased supply of low paid active labors whereas the countries of origin saw labors market pressures ease. It shows that the growing impact of migration is felt especially in the economic sector of Nepal. However, there is no proper policy to utilize the remittance amount. Hence, about 80 percent of the remittance amount has used in consumption. The bulk of the economic gains from migration accrue to migrants and their families, and these gains are often large. Wage levels in high income countries are approximately five times those of low-income countries for similar occupations, generating an enormous incentive to emigrate. Essentially migrants can earn salaries that reflect industrial-country prices and spend the money in developing countries, where the prices of nontrade goods are much lower (WB, 2006). Obviously, the labor market and economy of Nepal can't absorb all the available human resources and those employed are not satisfied with the offered wages. Migration and remittances have the potential to improve well-being, stimulate economic growth and reduce poverty directly and indirectly, while their effects on inequality are much more ambiguous. The money that migrants send home remittances is an important source of extra income for migrants' families and for developing countries: in aggregate, remittances are more than twice as the size of international aid flows.

This fact shows its relevancy to the economic condition of Nepal where a large chunk of a GDP pie is covered by the remittance money. Moreover, as the report of Fiscal Policy 2011/12, Nepal received about 42 billion rupees as foreign aid whereas in the same period Nepal received about 360 billion rupees as remittance. In 2010, some 214 million people, almost three percent of the world's population lived

outside their country of origin. The majority of migrants cross borders in search of better economic and social opportunities. A relatively small percent of migrants, about 10.5 million in 2011 are refugees fleeing armed conflict. New patterns of migration have arisen, and many countries that once sent migration abroad for example, Argentina, Ireland and South Korea are now experiencing migrant inflows as well. South Korea is emerging as new potential for Nepali migrant workers with the introduction EPS.

The government of Nepal started to grant permission to work in the foreign country from the year 1993. The advent of democracy in 1990 has given some impetus to go for foreign employment because it is convenient to have passport even by the common people. Workforce migration has retained strong and steady trend among the Nepali youths. As stated by the Department of Foreign Employment (2012), in the last six years approximately 1.72 million youth went abroad for employment. This consistence growth is mainly because the 4.5 percent economic growth rate has not been able to absorb some 400,000 new entrants in the labor market annually. The international migration rate is increasing day by day in recent year which can be seen in the table 1.

Table 1: Number of Nepali Labor Migration by Year

Fiscal Year	Number of Nepali Labour Migrants
2006-07	204,433
2007-08	249,051 (Increased by 21.82 percent)
2008-09	219,965 (Decreased by 11.76 percent)
2009-10	294,094 (Increased by 33.70 percent)
2010-11	354,716 (Increased by 20.61 percent)
2011-12	384,665 (Increased by 8.44 percent)

Source: Department of Foreign Employment, 2012 left country and

Internal Migration Trend in Nepal

Internal migration is a continuous process of society. Internal migration is defined as movement of population within a country with change in address and associated with change of usual place of residence within the national boundary. This refers to a change of residence within national boundaries, such as between states, provinces, cities, or municipalities. An internal migrant is someone who moves to a different administrative territory. Migration is one of the major demographic factors to bring change in population size, structure and distribution. It is generally defined as a geographical form of population movement involving change of usual place of residence. Although the role of armed conflict, which challenged the overall personal security of youths for various reasons in villages, was a major factor especially for migration, this was expressed as a factor by a nominal number of the absentees' families.

Historically Nepal has witnessed four distinct motions of internal migration. The first motion of internal migration came during the unification of Nepal by King Prithivi Narayan Shah and his successors until the early eighteen century. Internal migration in this period was mainly under the compulsory labor services imposed by the then rulers, called Jhara labour, in which youths were used for different purposes such as transport of military and other supplies, construction of temples, palaces, bridges, forts, etc. Jhara labour was a kind of forced and generally unpaid labor. Resettlement program from hill to Terai is another motion of migration and after the advent of the democracy in Nepal in 1951, the third motion if migration was occurred. The fourth beckon can be taken after the period of armed conflict in Nepal. During and after armed conflict, many individuals and families have left their hometown and flew away for better and safety life.

The temporary or permanent relocation volume of internal migration depends on the size of the defined geographical area. For example, area can be defined as a ward of a rural municipality and any movements between wards could be regarded as migratory movement. Likewise, the geographic area could also be defined as a municipality or a district or Terai, Hill and Mountains. It should be noted that the larger the geographic area smaller the migratory movements. The defined geographic areas, time unit are also play an important role in the measurement of internal migration. In Nepal, internal migration data usually comes from national censuses where data on place of birth and place of residence is usually collected and information is provided for migratory movement on a lifetime basis. In Nepal till the fifties, Terai area was infested with high prevalence of Malaria. Till then internal migration from Hills and Mountain Region to Terai area was very limited. After the successful control of Malaria in the Terai region migratory movement from Hill and Mountain areas to Terai started to increase. Major factors in this migratory movements included harsher condition in the Hills and Mountains for example; limited supply of arable land, lack of employment and educational opportunities, and lack of infrastructural facilities in these areas. Moreover, availability of arable land in Terai immediately after the control of malaria and better infrastructural facilities, migration from Hills and Mountains to Terai was increased rapidly. This

migratory movement of people from Hills and Mountains to Terai was also facilitated by the resettlement program set up by the government in the late sixties. The trend of migration is city centric. People are seen Terai centric in the following table:

Table 2: Population Distribution by Ecological Zones Nepal

Census years	Mountain	Hill	Mountain & Hill	Terai	Total
1952/54	-	-	5349988 (64.8%)	2906637 (35.2%)	8256625
1961			5991297 (63.6%)	3421699 (36.4%)	9412996
1971	1138610 (9.9%)	6071407 (52.5 %)	7210017 (62.4%)	4345966 (37.6%)	11555983
1981	1302896 (8.7 %)	7163115 (47.7 %)	8466011 (56.4%)	6556828 (43.6%)	15022839
1991	1443130 (7.8)	8419889 (45.5 %)	9863019 (53.3%)	8628078 (46.7%)	18491097
2001	1687859 (7.3 %)	10251111 (44.3 %)	11938970 (51.6%)	11212453 (48.4%)	23151423
2011	1781792 (6.7 %)	11394007 (43.0 %)	13175799 (49.7%)	13318705 (50.3%)	26494504

Source: CBS, Nepal

in the Terai region. People move from one place to another place due to different reasons. The 2001 census included five main reasons for migration such as trading, agriculture, employment, study/training and marriage. Economic reasons were the main motivators for moving from one residence to another within the region. However, when moving from one region to another it was mostly for employment reasons followed by social and environmental reasons. The relative importance of the types of reasons for moving from residences to residences within the region or in another region was dependent on how long people had been living at their previous residence. As a comparison, a residence within the same region was chosen mainly for environment, social and economic reasons and these reasons were of similar importance. In the contexts of Nepal, political instability has always been the major challenge and constraint in development of country. Decade long armed conflict, changing of government time to time and dispute among political parties and leaders has hindered all sector of Nepal and also directly affecting the development of country. People have to think for them to sustain peacefully. The migration is city centric which can be anticipated from the population of Kathmandu valley shown in table 3. As the data presented in the table above, the population Kathmandu valley is increasing in large scale in recent days. It is not only cause of birth rate but the migrants occupied more area of valley than native citizens.

Table 3: Population of Kathmandu

Population of Kathmandu		
Year	Population	percent
1991	675341	3.65
2001	1081845	4.67
2011	1,744,240	6.58

Source: CBS, 1995, 2003, 2012 & Population Report 2014

Migration and Security Concern

Migration and security are inter-linkage with one another. Migration can contribute to human development, especially if the rights of movers are improved (UNDP, 2009) but can cause human security threats. It is said that migration is a much talked, poorly understood and loosely handled issue in Nepal. It is an influenced by various social, economic and cultural factors owes a lot to the internal and international migration of various caste/ethnic groups in the country at various time scales. To what extent migration is good or bad can be debated but migration has been established as livelihood option of Nepali household from past to the present. There are numbers of questions that is related to subject matter. Why people migrate from one place and why they are easily leaving their birth place is the recurring questions. It is not easy to leave the birth place and there might be different social and security impacts due to migration either it might be planned or unplanned. However, most of the policies have shown limited success and that reiterates the fact that the problems of controlling human mobility are quite difficult even in a small, ethnically homogeneous country with a strong central government (Mukherji, 2006).

The history of the migration-security nexus cannot be conceptualized without the notion of state and the citizenship and identity that the state provides. Gradually the notion of security in migration and the state's need for controlling migrant populations led to the emergence of policy agendas, institutions and processes of migration (Torpey, 2011). In geography, this security concern reinforced notions of physical borders and boundaries. In social aspects it gave birth to the notion of the 'alien' and the 'native' and the rationale that forms the basis of social interaction between them and the state. On the political front, it reasserted the legitimacy of the state to control 'alien' populations and the state's capacity to provide identity and define who would be 'native' and 'alien'. These interdependent systems then led to the birth of processes of immigration and documents related to identity and movement, such as passports.

The issue of migration as a human security threat is said to have re-emerged in the present decade primarily due to the overwhelming increase in different forms of migration. Refugees, IDPs induced by conflict, development interventions, climate change, internal and international labour migrants, student and highly skilled migrants and the general increase in mobility of people have made certain issues relevant for the security of the state as well as that of the people. The security concerns of migration can be analyzed as follows:

Migration and human security: There are many aspects of human security that are affected by migration. The conventional terms as a national security might be also in threat due to international migration and refugee problems. Migration must be treated not only as a matter for humanitarian concerns but also as a political problem which must be placed in the mainstream of agenda as a potential threat to peace and security. Large-scale immigration, particularly of a domineering population can often result in human security threats. More recently, the Beijing government has actively encouraged the influx of ethnic Chinese into Tibet in the name of security.

Economic security: Many of the security issues associated with immigration, particularly illegal immigration and asylum seeking, relate to economic security. However, there are evidences to suggest that migrants create jobs, directly and indirectly. Indeed, many countries have policies of giving favorable status to wealthy immigrants with an entrepreneurial bent who are prepared to invest in job creation activities. Canada has operated such a scheme since 1986, New Zealand since 1987 and the United States since 1991. The Australian government estimates that between 1994 and 1995 each wealthy business person who created jobs in mentionable numbers. Most of the analysis here has been from the perspective of receiving nations. However, there are significant migration-related economic security issues for sending nations. On the positive side, remittances from migrants can be substantial and particularly valuable for local communities, families and individuals in sending countries. In the developing countries, most of young people try to settle abroad specially European and American states. Often it is the best educated and more entrepreneurial who move, leading to a brain drain which can have serious impacts on the economic, political and even the cultural security of the countries they left. Also the man power can be lacking in industrial and agricultural sector in such countries.

Political security: Immigrants are often blamed for being involved in international terrorism particularly where a significant element of political exile and dissent exists. For example, Palestinian exiles in Lebanon became a political and security problem for Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel and other countries. The problem for the security of some sections of diasporas is that of rejection by the host because of racism, ethnic tension, economic jealousy, cultural friction or political instability. The Indian community in Fiji is leaving that country in increasing numbers because of discrimination by the native Fijian population but once Mahendra Chaudhary of Indian origin was able to be prime minister of Fiji..

Social security: Threats to social security often relate to crime and disorder internally in society. Immigrants, particularly the young, are often blamed for crime of varying kinds at a national level. Internal disorder can occur when immigrant communities hold demonstrations that protest at conditions in the host or origin country. Immigrant groups themselves often become the targets of right-wing and anti immigrant demonstrations. Another area of concern is the decline in the education and skill levels of immigrants.

Cultural security: Cultural threats are usually a matter of difference and the ability and willingness of host and incoming group to accept each other. Often this has to do with 'ethnic affinity' which itself can vary according to circumstances. 'Who is or is not "one of us"' is historically variable in different society and cultural groups.

Environmental security: Generally it is said that migrants have an adverse impact on environmental systems. The environmental degradation associated with global capital's voracious resource demands has created large numbers of environmental refugees who appear set to become a prominent. The pattern of society differs due to the migrant population. Environmental pollution and other effects also can be caused by migrant populations.

Conclusion

In order to achieve quality of life people migrate. There are numerous powerful push and pull factors behind a decision to migrate like as employment and opportunities, economic disparities, family reunification, poverty, environmental degradation, armed conflict, demographic pressures, natural disasters etc. On the other side, globalization has played the catalytic roles for international migration in the present world. International migration can have important benefits for development of home countries

and contribute to the welfare of host societies, to develop livelihood of the community to reduce poverty at the individual level through which investments fund can be provided and structures can be established. Ideologies and support networks can be reinforced for development activities. The significant migration from Mountain and Hill to Terai can be explained by different pull factors like resettlement program, availability of fertile arable land, employment opportunities and better communication and transportation facilities. A survey conducted by Central Department of Population Studies in 1996 indicated that out of the total population in Nepal, 22 percent were internal migrants. Migration rate among females was far higher than males. It does not necessarily mean females are more mobile than males rather it could be due to marriage migration, because in this survey, movements from one municipality to other were also regarded as migration. Persons aged 15-39 were more mobile than other age groups.

Regarding migration and security, the idea of surveillance of human movement is said to have begun in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. People who were mobile needed to be registered in a given territory and documentation was later extended to the mobile population. Thus the notion was to control movement. Migration automatically affects the security of specific area or places where they move from and move to. The form of threats differs in different situation and different places in time gap. The security concerns of migration are not same in all time and all territory. It differs as the situation and other dimensions related to society. It can be managed using different mechanisms. The concerned authority must assure people that they are safe and secured. If people can feel safe socially and physically, they wouldn't leave their birth place easily. The migration rate would be decreased in coming days in such condition that security concerns of people are addressed properly.

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Foreign Policy of Nepal: Continuity and Changes

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Abstract

After the unification of Nepal, the founder of the nation, King Prithvi Narayan Shah formulated an underlying principle of Nepal's foreign policy based on Geopolitics. He described the geographical situation of Nepal as a yam between two boulders,' referring to the two big neighbours of Nepal – China and India. King Prithvi Narayan Shah was not only a great warrior but a visionary leader, who had appropriately assessed the geopolitical sensitivities of Nepal and adopted non-aligned foreign policy. He also said it was important for the county to keep a balanced relationship with these two huge neighbours. He cautiously moved maintained distance and balance considering the imperatives of the fragile situation. Nepal's foreign policy thereafter has passed through the turbulent periods; extreme loyalty had been maintained to the southern neighbour and pro-northern approach surfaced consequently. With the formation of the elected government after the promulgation of new constitution, major shift is observed in Nepal's foreign policy- the diversification of Nepal's trade and transit to China.

Key Words: Geopolitics, balance, non-alignment, Zone of Peace, interferences

Introduction

Foreign Policy determines the state of relationships between countries and guides the diplomatic negotiations. In the modern globalized world, every country has foreign policy to protect its national interest. In a digitally convergence world, isolationism in foreign policy does not exist. All countries, in a way or other, have been forging alliances and partnership for the common goals of shared development and prosperity. In the discipline of International Relations, there is a System Theory that interprets the world as a system. The sovereign states are naturally the part of global system. 'Ever since its introduction in the late 1950's, System Approach has been regularly used by a large number of Political Scientists for analyzing relations among nations '.This theory is an attempt to capture the relationship between the units of the international system (generally, the states) and the elements of the structure of the international system most relevant to their behavior.

The approach to study the historical development of Nepal's foreign policy in this paper is based on this System Theory. Nepal has glorious history of independence. The greatest powers of world have experienced the tempestuous history - demolition, dissolution, and colonization- but Nepal never faced such confrontational situation.

Despite this sovereign history, which is exception in forming and framing the state from ancient to modern period, Nepal's foreign policy and relation has sometimes been dragged into controversy. No historic formal written document has found about the first formal ruling dynasty of Nepal, who were Gopal Bansa and Mahishpal Bansa (dynasty), even the authentic documents on Kirant rulers could not be acquired. From Licchavi period, which was also called the golden period, Nepal's history has been formally documented in written form. In Malla Dynasty, Nepal was divided in 22 and 24 principalities, which period was known for business, also known for loyal to British India. King Prithvi Narayan Shaw of Gorkha unified Nepal winning all the small states in 1769. Since he unified Nepal, he is called the father and architect of modern Nepal.

This article will try to find out the historical perspective of Nepal's foreign policy. Similarly, it will highlight the major features of Nepal's foreign policy- continuity and changes. I have covered the period of King Prithvi Narayan Shaw to the current Republican period focusing on major departure and continuity. The main objective of the article is to analyze the changing dynamics of Nepal's foreign policy. Similarly, this article will briefly present the evolution of Nepal's foreign policy, continuity and changes.

Methodology

Descriptive and Analytic study is the methodological design. The secondary books, journals, newspapers are the sources of data and information. The qualitative method is followed.

Evolution of Foreign Policy

King Prithvi Narayan Shah is the founding father of modern and unified Nepal. While describing Nepal's geopolitical situation, he said, "Nepal is a yam between two boulders". This statement had rightly mentioned the geographical location and size of the two giant neighbors. After projecting the neighbourhood policy, he separately attributed the two neighbours. He said Nepal should be cautious with the South, while a close friendship should be maintained with the North- China. Similarly, King Prithvi Narayan Shah dismissed the European missionaries and clerist, who were here to spread Christianity. He suggested that Nepal should forever maintain good friendship with China. Regarding the policy towards the British on the South, however, he suggested to maintain friendship but also warned of their shrewdness. "In terms of regional neighbours, Prithvi Narayan advises to maintain a treaty of friendship with the emperor of China. Further, he emphasizes the significance of a treaty of friendship with the emperor of the southern sea (the British Company in Hindustan)" (Adhikari, 2015).

He was very clear in his advice that Nepal should not operate military initiatives against either of them. Its preparedness should only be for defensive wars. Prithvi Narayan Shah had no imperialistic ambition. His sole aim was to unify Nepal. This explains why he did not treat Kathmandu as a vanquished city and plunder it. He not only reassured the people of Kathmandu through his amicable treatment, but also chose Kantipur as his capital. The Kingdom that he unified not only remains unified till today, but also continuously maintains independent existence and expresses the collective consciousness of its people.

Policy of Isolation

Rana period began in Nepal after the rise of Jung Bahadur Rana in Nepal on 1846. Jung Bahadur Rana became Nepal's first Prime Minister to wield absolute power relegating the Shah King to mere figurative heads. He started a hereditary reign of Rana Prime Ministers that lasted for 104 years. Rana period was the period of isolation in foreign policy. The foreign policy of Rana was clearly the British India-centric. Jung Bahadur was the first Prime Minister of Nepal who had visited UK on 1850. He was aware that that time British power had dominated the whole region and China's power was declining. So he adopted British-India centric policy (Rose, 1971, p. 106). According to Rose, Jung Bahadur's rise to power resulted in a major redefinition of Nepal's foreign policy, more particularly viz-a-viz China and British India. The foreign policy Jung Bahadur adopted is also evident of the British support for making him powerful. He was indebted to the British and adopted British-centric policy, which continued throughout the Rana rule (Lamsal, 2017).

As a result, Nepal remained in isolation for many years. His appeasement policy was to ensure security for his regime. China, at that time, was not much interested in Nepal's internal affairs as it was more occupied with its own internal problems. Beijing did not want to antagonize the British. China was satisfied as long as its Tibet's border with Nepal was secure. China's only interest and intention of that time was to contain Nepal and keep British far from the Himalayas, for which Beijing wanted Nepal to remain a weak buffer between China and British-India so that there might not be any chance of direct confrontation with the British. Jung Bahadur made some important choices regarding Nepal's foreign policy. "Firstly, he decided that Nepal was to remain isolated from the outside world. Secondly, he decided to ignore China since it was a declining power and thirdly, relationship with the British was strengthened by helping to quell the *sepoy mutiny* in 1857, in which Nepali troops fought in Lucknow for the British (Lohani, 2011, p. 3).

Special Relationship

The Ranas were overthrown in a democratic movement of the early 1950s. Soon after the overthrow of the Rana oligarchy, King Tribhuvan was reinstated as the executive Head of the country. Under the leadership of King Tribhuvan, Nepal first introduced democratic system in the country. But the foreign policy of Nepal was dominated and directed by Indian government. In fact, during the period of King Tribhuvan, there was no official formal foreign policy of Nepal. "Nepal had no foreign policy during the period of 1951 to 1955, Delhi used to represent Nepal in international forum" (Rose & Dayal, 1969, p. 60). Democracy and interventions of India came along with the throne of King Tribhuvan. Indian government had sent Govind Narayan Singh, then Secretary of Bihar provincial government along with King Tribhuvan as his Personal Secretary. Nepal's every information were first reported to India. During the four years of rule of Tribhuvan, Nepal was colonized by India imposing New Delhi's decision to

Nepal. Even the Indian Ambassador of that period was powerful, who used to direct to the King to fulfill the Indian desires. It was in practice that the Indian Ambassadors attended the cabinet meetings.

When Nepal and India signed the treaty of Peace and Friendship on April 1950, Indian Prime Minister Nehru presented this treaty as an evidence of "Special Relationship" between Nepal and India. The two countries were described as having had "special relation" with each other (Muni, 2016).

During the Tribhuvan period, diversification was not totally abandoned but it was severely handicapped by Nepal's explicit alignment with India. King Mahendra not only has revived the diversification but has vastly expanded its scope and significance within the total context of Nepali foreign policy. The four years of the post revolution period were characterized to have an excessive influence of India on both the internal and external fronts of Nepal. The period witnessed the special relationship with Nepal (Adhikari, 2000, p. 27)

Diversification of Foreign Policy

After the King Tribhuvan, his son Mahendra ascended to the throne. King Mahendra was nationalist Monarch though he was ambitious for power. In early 1959, Mahendra issued a new constitution and the first democratic elections for National Assembly were held. The Nepali Congress got two third of seats and Nepali Congress leader BP Koirala became first elected Prime Minister of Nepal. But by 1960, King Mahendra dissolved parliament, dismissing the first democratic government. Despite his authoritarian rule, King Mahendra brought a change in foreign relations. King Mahendra is considered the architect of Nepal's foreign policy. He extended Nepal's foreign relations and initiated substantive relations with China. During his tenure (1955-1972), Nepal maintained diplomatic relations with many countries and got the membership of United Nations. Nepal became the member of Afro-Asian community and participated in Bandung conference (Acharya, 2070, p. 126).

Prime Minister BP Koirala signed a historic peace and friendship treaty with China on 1960. Chau En Lai, Premier of China and BP Koirala signed in that historic document in Kathmandu. Similarly, both the countries signed the border agreement. During the period of King Mahendra, China agreed to construct the Kodari Road, the first road linked Nepal to North China. Upon King Mahendra's accession to the throne, diplomatic relations with China quickly gained a new significance. It was in that period that Nepal's historical role as a channel of communication between the civilizations of south and East Asia began to be emphasized by both the Nepali officials and intellectuals, often in extravagantly exaggerated terms (Rose, 1971, p. 218).

The tactics devised to achieve these objectives were, first, a careful balancing of relevant external forces in order. It was aimed to minimize their capacity to restrict Nepal's freedom of maneuver, to maximize the benefit (e.g. foreign aid) derived there from and to contribute to a Nepal's security and secondly, a cautious tackling back and forth between Nepal's two great neighbors as circumstances seemed to dictate. During the Mahendra period, political diversification, though the diplomatic relations with a large number of countries and an active role in the United Nations was accomplished in a relatively short time and with a minimum of fuss and bother (Rose, 1971, p. 284).

Prime Minister Kirtinidhi Bista made the most explicit statement in June 1969 on the diversification of Nepal's foreign policy. "It is not possible for Nepal to compromise its sovereignty or accept what may be called limited sovereignty for India's so called security". B.P. Koirala and King Mahendra shared an opinion that Nepal's independence would be bolstered by having formal diplomatic relations with Peoples Republic of China (Sangroula, 2018, p. 489). King Mahendra was bold enough to thrash the Indian leadership for their highhandedness in Nepal. 'India should behave with us as friend if we behave with them as a friend. We should not be distracted by the irresponsible behavior of the spoilers' (Panchayat Smarika, 2043, p. 423).

Zone of Peace: Non-Alignment Policy

Another change in Nepal's foreign policy was the manifestation proposal of Nepal as non-align nation. This was declared by King Birendra as Nepal a Peace of Zone. The slogan of non alignment which had been adopted in 1956 "equal friendship for all" was gradually reinterpreted to mean equal friendship with India and China. This led eventually to a declaration of non alignment in the Sino-Indian dispute- that is, formal neutralization" of Nepal (Rose, 1971, p. 282). In the 1970s and early 1980s, Nepal tried to continue its policy of equidistance between China and India. Though China recognized India's influence

in Nepal, it was also trying to counter Indian influence by supporting Nepal's independence and calling for foreign non-interferences. But, this proposal of King Birendra was not accepted by India while China and Pakistan had immediately accepted. Later it was supported by 114 nations of the world but it was not endorsed after the obstruction of immediate neighbour-India. Though this proposal had not been considered as a major policy departure in Nepal's foreign policy, it had enduring impact thereafter. King Birendra fought against the Indian blockade and maintained balance relations with both India and China.

The thrust of King Birendra's foreign policy was - "Friendship with all, enmity with none". The main theme of declaring Nepal as "Zone of Peace" was to maintain neutrality in external and regional conflicts and ensure domestic political stability and economic development (Muni, 2016, p. 234-235).

Democracy-centric Foreign Policy

India's role was sought to end the King's autocracy. Absolute monarchy was abolished; constitutional Monarchy and Multiparty democracy was established. In April 1990 the Panchayat System was replaced by a multiparty system of governance. This twin pillar - Monarch as titular head and Multiparty System - was a result of power and personality cult between the Gandhi and Shah dynasty of Nepal. Democracy, however, was in centre as the foremost priority of Nepali leaders. The political leaders of India lend its support to the democratic forces of Nepal. The new government in India decided to improve its relations with Nepal on a priority basis. India adopted a liberal approach towards the interim government of Nepal and initiated a process of normalization (Upreti, 2009, p. 20). During this period, Nepal-China relations remained close, warm, friendly and cooperative even though Nepal embraced multiparty democracy while China remains communist state. This policy of Nepal continued even in the period of republican movement. In republican period, Nepal's foreign policy seems to be more India-centric. This period had the replica of first Delhi agreement- that was the period of King Tribhuvan.

"The second Delhi agreement, which is known as 12-point agreement between Nepal's seven Party Alliances (SPA) and the warring Maoists was signed in New Delhi." (Khanal, 2073, p. 347). Though Nepali leaders denied the role of India's establishment in facilitating the 12-point agreement; it was possible due the India's tacit support. After the establishment of Republic Nepal, India's micro management in the daily affairs of Nepal was pervasive as a result Nepali Prime Minister's tenure was an issue of constant change.

Shift in Foreign Policy

In the history of Nepal's foreign policy and relations, the period of elected government after the promulgation of new constitution, remained as major departure. Oli became Prime Minister first time on 2016 and second time on 2018. His first premiership was full of adversaries. India had imposed the fourth blockade on Nepal. The then government fought against India's blockade with maintaining national interest. The evident of historic departure in foreign policy was to sign an agreement with China on Trade and Transit. In 2016, Prime Minister KP Sharma Oli and Chinese President Xi Jinping agreed for trade and transit and that was signed in Beijing (Joint Statement, Nepal-China, 2016)

Nepal had been relying in India for transport and transit facilities. This agreement had diversified Nepal's trade and transit with China. Nepal should not depend upon India for transporting goods even from the third countries. The recently concluded transport transit agreement with our friendly neighbour China has transformed our country, which was once dependent on a single country for transit, into a truly land locked country (Selected Speeches of KP Sharma Oli, 2016). Not only that, some other agreements were made during that period. The majors are - opening up new routes to northern borders, transmissions line- which could have an enduring impact in bilateral and multilateral relations of Nepal and China. The government further enhanced the relations with China beginning the implementations of those agreements signed in 2016. The protocols were prepared. Now all the foundations are ready to shift the agreement into action. The further agreement made by the Oli government is the rail connectivity. Nepal and China agreed to connect Chinese role to Nepal via Kerung-Rasuwadhi way.

Balance Relationship

The term balance relationship is not absolute balance, it is relative balance. It was previously interpreted as equi-distance, later as equal proximity. The balance relationship is more of geopolitical urgency than a policy. In Nepal's history, a delicate balance has been maintained by this government. Oli became Prime Minister second time after the first election held under this constitution. When he became Prime Minister

first time he was the chairman of Nepal Communist Party - Marxist and Leninist. When he became Prime Minister second time, he was the chairman of Nepal Communist Party. Unlike his first time, his second innings was very convenient. He gave a foreign policy speech introducing the 'Neighbourhood Policy' officially, where the balance relationship to both the neighbour has been mentioned (Foreign Policy Speech, 2018). He was welcomed by both India and China. Prime Minister Oli visited India first and China second. In both the visit, Prime Minister put the national interest at the top through the endeavour to maintain good relationship with them. With India, the normalcy in relation was restored. The railway agreement was signed between Nepal and India.

With China, the rail way agreement was signed. Both sides expressed happiness over the signing of the MOU on Cooperation for Railway Connectivity. They underscored it as the most significant initiative in the history of bilateral cooperation and believed it would herald a new era of the cross-border connectivity (Joint Statement, Nepal and China, 2018). The approach of balancing relations was further evident when Prime Minister Oli agreed with India for connecting Indian rail to Nepal. In the state visit of India, Prime Minister Oli and Prime Minister Narendra Modi agreed for rail way linkages (Joint Statement, Nepal and India, 12 May 2018).

Conclusion

Nepal's Foreign policy, formally formulated by King Prithvi Narayan Shaw has passed through many ups and downs but the fundamental element has still remained the same. The geopolitical locations of Nepal have drawn the global attention at a time when the world's power balance is shifting towards Asia. The shifting global diplomatic order has further brought Nepal in limelight that could have more opportunities and complex Challenges as well. Prithvi Narayan Shaw cautiously handled the adversaries and maintained the balance relations with both the giant neighbours. After King Prithvi Narayan Shaw, the conduction of Nepal's foreign policy was based on the interest of rulers, not in the interest of the nation and people. Ranas were the sincere aides to British India for continuously ruling the country without obstruction. King Mahendra boldly diversified Nepal's relations with China but he compromised with India just to sustain the power signing the secret arms deal. King Birendra brought the concept of non-aligned foreign Policy but could not implement it effectively. The democratic period saw the petty interest in terms of formulating and conducting foreign policy. The southern intervention in the domestic affairs of Nepal and the counter strategy of northern neighbour are the phenomena constantly seen. But after long period of political instability, the stable government with the overwhelming majority has been focusing on economic development and prosperity. The new republican constitution has set out the journey towards 'Happy Nepali, Prosperous Nepal'.

The government has deployed the balance foreign policy to India and China openly urging the rising economies to invest in Nepal. Neighbourhood policy has been formed and relations of mutual benefit have been practically executed. Foreign Policy is called the extension of domestic policy. The long-achieved political stability should be reflected in foreign policy too. Nepali political parties and other concern stakeholders should formally ready to formulate uniform foreign policy. For this to happen, the identification of national interest is pre-requisite.

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Understanding the Belt and Road Initiative

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Abstract

China's project of the century- Belt and Road Initiative - is a signature foreign policy project of President Xi Jinping. Launched in 2013, BRI contains two components- overland belt connecting China with Central Asia, Russia, South Asia and Europe, and Maritime Silk Road for enhancing connectivity, and maritime cooperation linking Chinese ports with Southeast Asia, South Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Europe. BRI wraps up these two initiatives in it and intends to cover the number of countries along the route that happens to be the biggest market in the world with enormous potentials for trade and investment cooperation. BRI has both economic and strategic messages behind a massive infrastructure plan covering a vast network of connectivity linking 60 countries.

BRI has sparked a variety of responses, some welcoming and supporting it, some expressing reservations, some willing to participate "for shaping the outcome from within", and some wanting it to firmly match the international standards of transparency, openness, and the fiscal soundness of the country. Nepal formally became a part of BRI by signing a Memorandum of Understanding on Framework Agreement in May 2017 for enhancing more connectivity and integration, though Nepal is not included in any of the six economic corridors unveiled by China. China recently suggesting Nepal to trim projects from 35 to 9 reflects the standard of the work done by the Nepali government and its lack of preparedness and seriousness. Infrastructure development is key to progress and prosperity. As China remains engaged in improving connectivity in the neighborhood, there is a great optimism about BRI in Nepal. Against this background, this article looks at the significance of BRI, examines past attempts made at connectivity, responses to BRI and Nepal's participation in it.

Key words: China, President Xi, maritime, Silk Road, connectivity, collaborative measures

Introduction

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is China's signature foreign policy project of President Xi Jinping. The project has completed almost half a decade of constructional phase. Within this phase, it has gone through several conceptual adjustments. The project has come along with 'Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era', and has been enshrined in the Chinese Communist Party's constitution. BRI reflects China's ascendancy to global power politically, economically and strategically. It also symbolizes China's resurgence as a world power through China's tacit influences in various sectors using visible economic cooperation as an approach to access resources of participating countries. BRI seeks to link China with Central Asia, South Asia, Russia, Europe, North Africa/Southwest Asia, and northern parts of Sub-Saharan African countries (Fig. 1). Passing through the ancient Silk Road and utilizing already built Chinese roads, railways, ports and pipelines, and trade routes, BRI will increase people-to-people contacts through various cooperation schemes that would help China to come at par with the USA (Kummer, 2017). Aiming to accomplish Beijing's geopolitical goals, it tries to break perceived US encirclement in the Indo-Pacific region and constrain the growth of India in South Asian region (*Times of India*, 2017). The Maritime Silk Road also connects Chinese ports with Southeast Asia, South Asia, Middle East and North African (MENA) countries, Sub-Saharan African countries (mainly Kenya), and Europe (Fig. 1 with Table). It is described as the project of the century with an estimated investment of \$4-8 trillion (Rana, 2017).

In the past four years, about 100 countries and international organizations have supported this initiative. In 2017, some resolutions of the UN General Assembly and Security Council refer to it. China's total trade with other "Belt and Road countries in 2014-2016 was over US \$3 trillion, and China's investment in these countries crossed US \$50 billion" (Rana, 2017). "Chinese companies have set up nearly 60 economic cooperation zones in 20 countries, generating over US \$1 billion of tax revenue and some 180,000 jobs in these countries" (Rana 2017:2). The Economist (2017) stated that the 'one belt, one road' (OBOR) will consist of 900 infrastructure projects, valued at about US \$1.3 trillion. Much of the funding is expected to come from Chinese banks, financial institutions, and special funds from China (Bilal 2017). Other funds may come from the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the New

Development Bank of the Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS). Already, Beijing has over US \$100 billion fund for “Silk Road”. Critiques argue that only about half the announced funds actually materialize, and the pledges amount will not be available because the BRI is unlikely to produce returns commensurate with the investments and many businessmen are withdrawing from investments. Since its goals have been changing over time, several countries are still in wait and see approach to determine their full participation in this initiative (*The Times of India* 2017). Many consider this mega project of China as a challenge to the United States (U. S.) more directly than any Chinese leaders have had with different strategies since Mao Zedong. This BRI project has become one of the major concerns of the U. S. as China has plans to modernize its army by 2035 and “achieve a world class military by 2050 that could fight and win wars” (Bijian, 2017).

Figure 1: The Network of Proposed Belt Road Initiatives



China is taking this BRI as her major “agenda for strategic expansion on the global agenda” (Kummer, 2017; Stratfor, 2018). China is aggressively expanding her influences through increasing economic, technical assistance, naval skills and power projection capabilities to make this BRI a success. This is causing a large headache for established, emerging middle and small powers alike. U.S. announcement of its intention to develop opportunities in the fields of digital economy, infrastructure, trade, investment, and energy across the Indo-Pacific region is seen as an approach to contain the rising influence of China and the expansion of BRI in the region. U.S. concerns for “free and open” environment where states “thrive in freedom and peace”, and independent countries “play by the rules” are being challenged by Beijing. Contrary to U.S. position, Beijing terms democracy as a chaotic and instable system. These ideas are perceived to have come

wrapped in a package of BRI, whose implementation has become the top diplomatic agenda of the Chinese foreign policy.

The BRI is intended to forge an integrated and extensive network of regional infrastructures with China at its hub (Yu, 2017). This network not only would benefit over three billion people representing the biggest market in the world with enormous potentials, but also would have great impacts in global politics, security and economy. This will break the old order and China in its extraordinary economic success while influencing leaders of impoverished countries that are touched by the BRI (Bijian, 2017). These developments are making China an influential factor in internal electoral politics, particularly in Pakistan, Malaysia, Sri Lanka (Yu, 2017), and the Maldives (2017). As of now, India is not in agreement with the BRI, but China has proposed to have maritime connection with Indian port of Kolkata (Fig. 1).

This article briefly first, looks at the background of the BRI in terms of connectivity and unfolding geopolitical transformation. Second, it seeks to answer how China’s dreams, of building a “community of common destiny” through BRI, would affect the geopolitics of Asia in general and the Indo-Pacific region in particular. Third, it looks at the significance of the initiative in the context of evolving Chinese foreign and security policy. In this section, it reviews the past attempts made including by China for wider connectivity using Silk Road. Fourth, it reviews various responses from countries and agencies. Fifth, it presents Nepal’s responses to BRI and partnership with this mega project. The final part is about conclusion followed by references.

Evolution of BRI

The concept of BRI first emerged from a speech by President Xi at the Nazarbayev University, Astana (Fig. 1), capital city of Kazakhstan, on 7 September 2013. In his address, President Xi proposed to jointly

build an "economic belt along the Silk Road" linking his home province Shaanxi, as the starting point of the ancient Silk Road, to Astana (President Xi, 2013). This route was very much used by steady stream of envoys, caravans, travelers, scholars and artisans travelling between the East and the West. This Silk Road was also instrumental for the exchanges between the Eastern and Western civilizations and a media for the interactions and cooperation between various nations and cultures. This overland belt connected China with Central Asia, Russia, South Asia, and Europe. Creating an "economic belt along the Silk Road" is a great undertaking that will benefit almost three billion people of various cultures and traditions. This will create the biggest market in the world with enormous potential for trade, investment and cooperation between the relevant countries (President Xi, 2013).

On October 2, 2013, President Xi in his speech at Indonesia's Parliament talked about the Maritime Silk Road to increase connectivity and maritime cooperation with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The maritime road connected Chinese ports situated in Southeast Asia, South Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Europe (Fig. 1). President Xi wants China to become 'global leader in terms of comprehensive national strength and international influence by midcentury.' These steps of President Xi are unveiling the 'dream of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.' The two speeches given in Nazarbayev in Kazakhstan and Indonesia were combined to form a unified concept known as Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). This grand initiative, comprising various routes by sea and land, is intended to connect China with Southeast and South Asia, Central Asia, Pacific Oceania, Africa and Europe. It is centered on both soft and hard infrastructure connectivity, aiming to forge an integrated and extensive network of regional infrastructure with China at its hub (Yu, 2013).

On 14 May 2014, China hosted the opening ceremony on the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation with a theme of "*Work Together to Build the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road.*" This ceremony was attended by 60 nations including 28 heads of State. In this conference, President Xi called the BRI as a project of the century. He further said that BRI would be the only showcase that would span thousands of miles. Within such a wide area, the BRI would help maintaining peace and cooperation with inclusiveness, mutual learning and mutual benefit. The Silk Road spirit has become a heritage of human civilization (President Xi, 2017). Bijian (2014) described the May 14 conference on BRI as the next phase of globalization that promises a new foundation for shared growth of global engine. Bijian (2017) further said it is about building upon converging interests and fostering communities of interests with "cooperative development."

President Xi (2017) argued that the silk routes not only helped in trade (Chinese exporting silk, porcelain, lacquer work and ironware to the West, Chinese also importing pepper, flax, spices, grape and pomegranate from Southwest and Southeast Asia into China), but also helped to exchange knowledge. Additionally, these routes also facilitated the spread and exchange of religions; for example, Buddhism spread into Southeast Asia (Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Japan) and Islam penetrated into the western part of China (Xinjian, Ningxia, Gansu, and Quighai), southern part of Thailand, western part of Myanmar, Malaysia, all over Indonesia. Confucianism, which was born in China, appreciated much by the European thinkers such as Leibniz and Voltaire spread worldwide through this route. Calendars and medicines produced in the Middle East and Persia penetrated into China through these routes. The Silk Road also facilitated in the exchange of technology; for example, the exchange of silkworm breeding technology in different countries (President Xi, 2017)."

Within four years of the beginning of this project, over 100 countries and international organizations have supported and got involved in this initiative, and even the UN in its one of the important resolutions at the General Assembly and Security Council of 2017 mentioned about the BRI (Xi, 2017). The BRI has compressed spatial distances connecting many distantly located places. It has been instrumental in strengthening the friendship, sharing development, maintaining peace and harmony and making the future better. China has pledged substantial investment and made diplomatic commitments to countries in the belt. In his three and half hours speech in the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in October 2017, President Xi termed his first term as 'truly remarkable,' in which, China 'stood up, grown rich and become strong.' He declared, "It is time for us to take centre stage in the world and to make a greater contribution to humankind." He recommended other countries to draw on 'Chinese wisdom and follow' a Chinese approach to solving the problems facing the humankind. This brings China's governance model at the front and center of its foreign policy, erasing the dividing line between domestic and foreign policy. These remarks of President Xi suggest that Beijing is seeking to export its political values across the globe. There are widespread perceptions that China wants to perpetuate its

model of economic development with the robust engagement of the countries in Asia, Europe and Middle East through this BRI.

Significance of BRI

The BRI has made a departure from the long-held policy of Deng era “biding time and building capabilities” and “keeping a low profile in international affairs” (Bijian, 2017). Over the years, “the source of [Chinese Communist] party’s legitimacy has undergone changes from ideology to performance to nationalism.” Foreign policy has now become assertive and proactive in a multipolar world. China is aiming to provide leadership to the world through its foreign policy decision making and is determined to reshape the world order (Yu, 2017). Chinese leadership has leveraged its financing, strong manufacturing base and infrastructure development capacity, as well as its political and diplomatic resources at its disposal to present China as a global power. The journey to “great national rejuvenation” will be towards the achievement of the two “centenary goals.” When Chinese communist Party celebrates its hundredth anniversary in 2021, Chinese leaders aim at building an “overall moderately well-off society” with per capita income of \$7000, 60% urbanization and a life expectancy at birth of 76 years, (Xi 2014, Rolland, 2015). In 2049- the hundredth year of the founding of the People’s Republic of China, China aims to become a “modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious” (Xi 2014, Clarke, 2017). This reflects the wish of Chinese leadership to make China ‘global leader in terms of comprehensive national strength and international influence by midcentury.’ This would have far-reaching political, social, economic and strategic implications both at home and abroad.

BRI is the biggest initiative by any country since the launching of Marshall Plan to rebuild post World War II Europe. It is taken as China’s Marshall Plan with promises to invest over \$1 trillion in infrastructure development. The initiative is presented as a win-win proposition. Its reach is wide, and implications go far-and-wide. The initiative is not merely the sum of its infrastructure projects. It is rather “seen as a strategy with a clear set of ends, ways and means to be evaluated on its ability to support China’s geopolitical objectives (Qayyum, 2015). The essence of BRI “is to divert China’s strategic attention and resources to engage countries in China’s western flank including Central Asia, West Asia, South Asia and beyond, and avoid direct and high intensity confrontation with other major players in the Asia-Pacific” (Li, 2016). China’s aims also include ideals to link its inland cities to global markets with a diversified network of transit routes and energy pipeline, many of which would take inland routes and serve as alternatives to existing sea-lanes (Li, 2016). This is seen as a step forward to China becoming “one day a rule shaper in the global arena and regain a position of pre-eminence in the world” (Yu, 2017).

BRI has great significance in the modernization because China considers physical infrastructures as the first step towards integration and creation of economic corridors in the 21st century. China’s international strategy includes among others, “retaining control of the economy”, “building hard power, leading regional integration with Chinese characteristics”, and “deploying sharp power along with traditional use of soft power which is more coercive and intrusive” (*The Economist*, 2014).

Shifting Power from the Euro-America to Eurasia

With the BRI, China aspires to shift the global center of gravity from Euro-America to Eurasia and it is considered as a counter-weight to US influence. BRI envisions creating world order in deference to Chinese interests and peace and stability for prosperity. To support this move, China has created financial institutions to fund BRI, and earmarked hundreds of billions of dollars on the projects across Eurasia. Beijing has enlisted various existing regional cooperation mechanisms like Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and Greater Mekong Subregion in this plan. China will spend billions of dollars to build ports, pipelines, roads and telecommunication facilities across the countries that have joined BRI. It is an ambitious endeavor, encompassing as many as 900 projects more than 80 of which are contracted to Chinese firms (Economy, 2015). Along with BRI, China has taken multipurpose projects. For example, in Pakistan, the plan includes not only railroads, highways and dams, but also a proposal to develop a system of video and Internet surveillance similar to that in Beijing and a partnership with a Pakistani television channel to disseminate Chinese media content (*The Economy*, 2018). China runs ports and terminals in 34 countries including in Greece, Pakistan, Djibouti, and Sri Lanka, which provide China an opportunity to advance its military objectives (Fig. 1).

China came out with six economic corridors as part of BRI where it would enhance existing transportation networks, construct new roadways and build intermodal transport hubs and energy pipelines along with power plants and communication technology such as fiber-optic cables. The six economic corridors (Fig. 1) are as follows (Qayyum, 2015):

- The China-Mongolia-Russia corridor, anchored by the Trans-Siberian railway;
- The New Eurasian Land Bridge, anchored by a set of railways running from central China (Wuhan, Chongqing and Chengdu) to Europe via Kazakhstan, Russia and Belarus
- The China-Central Asia-Western Asia Corridor, speculated to follow the overland Silk Road Economic Belt as depicted in maps released last year by the state-owned Xinhua News Agency, passing through Central Asia, Iran and Turkey to reach Europe
- The China-Pakistan Corridor, which would extend the Karakoram Highway, which already crosses the mountains between China and Pakistan, and build highway and rail links all the way through Pakistan to the port of Gwadar
- The Indochina Peninsula Corridor
- The Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Corridor.

Nepal figures is nowhere in these six corridors in relation to BRI. Only a document of National Development and Reform Commission (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China, March 2015, mentions Nepal in relation to promoting 'the border trade and tourism and culture cooperation between Tibet Autonomous Region and neighboring countries.' Nepal is referred to as the neighboring country while elaborating the importance of BRI and international relationships (NDRC, 2018).

Past Attempts at Connectivity

The United Nations, European Union, Asian Development Bank, Japan, and United States made several attempts on the connectivity both at the individual and multilateral levels much before the launching of BRI. They included transportation and trade facilitation, energy projects, bridges, pipelines, railways, airports to facilitate the movement of goods, services, and people. The UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) came out with the idea of a trans-Asian railway, connecting Asia to Europe (Singapore to Istanbul), to assist in postwar reconstruction since the 1960s. Eurasian regional infrastructure network emerged under the aegis of the UN in 1960s. Several projects were launched for a regional infrastructures network. During 1950s, and 1960s, China pursued building an expansion of a transportation network in Northeast China, where heavy industries were located. Rail was chosen over roads to carry huge quantities of raw materials from resource-rich provinces to the country's Manchurian "rust belt" (Rolland, 2017).

China focused on the development of its coastal regions and pursued cross border infrastructure projects. Since 1992, China invested an average of 8.5 percent of its GDP on domestic infrastructure. The Chinese government has launched a series of landmark projects, one more grandiose than the next (Chen & Woetzel, 2013). They all aimed at unlocking the socioeconomic potential to enable the recipient countries' eventual integration into liberal international order and transforming them from being landlocked to land-linked. Following the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989, all the 14 republics of erstwhile Soviet Union fragmented marking the "The End of History" ending the ideological conflict between liberalism and communism. The moment brought the primacy of geo-economics over geopolitics. More attempts were made to promote infrastructures connectivity and economic development to transform post-communist world into a democratized and stable region and integrate them into global economy and rule them based international order.

Japan's initiatives before and during World War II to create a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere"-a self-sufficient bloc of countries, under its leadership can be considered a part of enhancing connectivity. In the light of increasing expansion of international economic community beyond national borders, globalization of economic activities, and economic interdependence, Japan launched initiatives to create an 'arc of freedom and prosperity' in Eurasia. Japan's Prime Minister talking to the Japan Association of Corporate Executives in July 1997 recalled Japan's deep-rooted nostalgia for this region stemming from the glory of the days of the Silk Road (Hashimoto, 1997). The "the Central Asian Republics and nations of the Caucasus region have come into existence in this vast area, which we may call the Silk Road region" (Hashimoto, 1997, p. 1). Hashimoto (1997) observed the great efforts made by these Central

Asian and Caucasian countries to establish affluent and prosperous domestic systems under a new political and economic structure, and to forge peaceful and stable external relations with their neighboring countries. The rich oil and natural gas resources in the Caspian Sea region are having a steadily expanding influence on the world energy supply with a great potential of serving as bridges between European and Asian countries. However, due to economic recession, Japan had to cut budget priorities and was unable to join this mega wagon.

After the end of Cold War, it was realized that without the trust of cooperation, merely racing with arms and colonization and enslavement would not do any good for human kinds. On September 4, 1990, erstwhile Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the Second International Conference on the Asia-Pacific region said that after the Cold War, Europeans, Asians have reached out toward each other to overcome the walls of division, self-imposing isolation of individual countries, the nightmares of colonial occupation and enslavement, regional conflicts and material inequality. The great Silk Road transcended wars and violence, the thin silk thread of history linked together time and space. It was realized that the slow-moving silk caravans giving way to optical cable technology and electronics could bring together the formerly divided worlds (Shevardnadze, 1990).

Between 1994 and 2002, UNESCAP's secretariat studied existing routes of international importance linking regional capitals or major industrial and commercial hubs. The study focused on the project's economic feasibility and necessary technical standards and requirements. UNESCAP also sought to generate regional dialogue among the potential participants in order to minimize some of the politically induced local difficulties. The Intergovernmental Agreement on the Asian Highway Network (IAAHN) was adopted in November 2003, and the Intergovernmental Agreement on the Trans-Asian Railway Network (IATARN) was adopted in April 2006 (Rolland, 2017). Several institutional cooperation and coordination were needed at different levels to establish a transcontinental network (Rolland, 2017). EU also developed its own vision of an integrated sub-regional infrastructure system. The European Commission launched the Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia (TRACECA) assistance program in May 1993 as part of its greater neighborhood diplomacy and attempts to reach out to its newly independent Eastern neighbors.

Between 1996 and 1998, Ukraine, Mongolia, and Moldova joined the existing eight participants (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan), followed by Bulgaria, Romania, and Turkey in March 2000; by Lithuania as an observer in June 2009; and by Iran in July 2009. In September 1998, the Basic Multilateral Agreement on International Transport for Development of the Transport Corridor Europe–the Caucasus–Asia was signed, laying the foundation for further institutionalized regional cooperation on railway and road transportation and commercial maritime navigation, as well as the unification of customs and documentation procedures. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development also financed a series of projects to modernize transportation infrastructure in some of the TRACECA countries.

Erstwhile Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, envisaged that one would be able to have “breakfast in Amritsar, lunch in Lahore, and dinner in Kabul (*The Hindu* 2007). Asian Development Bank (ADB) has been working to meet infrastructure needs in the region for the last five decades. ADB has been playing a role in addressing financing, planning, and institutional arrangements to promote better integration of Asian infrastructures. It has initiated several studies to examine the links between regional roads in the light of growing momentum for regional cooperation and integration (RCI) in Asia. The much-talked Asian Highway network of about 140,000 kilometers (km) of standardized roads crisscrossing many Asian countries aimed at providing links to Europe. ADB's sub regional programs in Asia included among others the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) and Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation (CAREC) programs (Madhur et al., 2009). Madhur et al. (2009) underscore the needs for infrastructure across Asia and the Pacific, with an emphasis on the upgrading of “infrastructure that will set the standard for quality, encourage economic growth, and respond to the pressing global challenge that is climate change.” Madhur et al. (2009) reported the estimated cost of ADB as \$550 billion per year of infrastructure spending in the developing Asia-Pacific between 2010 and 2020. However, this cost has been revised recently to \$1.5-\$1.7 trillion per year through 2030 (ADB, 2017).

Responses to Belt and Road Initiative

BRI has evoked a variety of responses from governments, commentators and analysts throughout the region and beyond. Countries appear divided to the extent to which they should participate in the

initiative. Though some expressed overwhelming support for the BRI, while others have shown their reservations, appear reluctant and unwilling to join it. They include among others ASEAN, United States, Japan and India. EU seems willing to cooperate for 'shaping the outcome from within'. They want to 'cooperatively shape future security landscape in line with EU's stated priorities in relations to global governance, state-societal resilience and cooperative regional orders. Europeans believe that this will be the best way to influence China on a range of issues of their interests.'

Government of Japan has always viewed this "One Belt, One Road" very critically whether it would contribute to sustainable regional development (Kishida, 2017). Japan wanted the "One Belt, One Road" be open to all countries that meets international standards, and it should be Free and Open Indo-Pacific based on the rule of law. The Foreign Minister of Japan made it clear that Japan is not totally against the project, but cooperation to this project would be based on a case-by-case basis. These conditions include but not limited to matching international standards, transparency, openness, the fiscal ability of the country, and acceptable environmental and social conditions (Kono, 2018). Ever since the emergence of this concept, the Indian security establishment is deeply suspicious of China's Silk Road initiatives. Delhi's strategic community has long objected to China's road construction on land frontiers and port building in the Indian Ocean as "strategic encirclement" (Mohan, 2018). Delhi has expressed concerns over Beijing's push to develop major land and maritime trade routes around India's periphery (Wong, 2018). India has kept aloof, condemning it as a sneaky Chinese scheme to entrap unsuspecting client states in debt (The Economist, 2018).

India was invited to the May 14-16, 2017 Conference on OBOR in China but declined to participate. The official spokesperson of the Government of India, "while sharing international community's desire for enhancing physical connectivity," said, India believed that it should bring greater economic benefits to all in an equitable and balanced manner. Further, the spokesperson expressed clarified that "connectivity initiatives must follow principles of fiscal responsibility to avoid projects that would create unsustainable debt burden for communities; balanced ecological and environmental protection and preservation standards; transparent assessment of project costs; and skill and technology transfer to help long term running and maintenance of the assets created by local communities. Connectivity projects must be pursued in a manner that respects sovereignty and territorial integrity." On China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), India views that "no country can accept a project that ignores its core concerns on sovereignty and territorial integrity" (GoI, 2017).

China-India bilateral relations are considered among the most important yet complicated. Given the long-standing territorial disputes and competing in Aksai Chin (disputed Kashmir) and Arunachal Pradesh (North East Frontier Agency) conflicting interests on a variety of issues, power rivalry between them is inevitable. India considered BRI not an international initiative. Indian Foreign Secretary labeled it a national initiative with national interests and it is not incumbent on others to buy it. He referred to "in the absence of agreed security architecture in Asia, it could give rise to unnecessary competitiveness."

China is spreading its influence through infrastructures, aid and investment projects that go under the BRI. The influence is increasing across South Asia with sheer speed. Beijing has made "significant inroads into India's backyard by engaging and investing in myriad infrastructures development projects, such as roads, railways, sea ports and airports, in Pakistan, Nepal, Maldives, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Myanmar (Blah, 2018). Chinese influence- and investment- have been decisive factors in electoral upsets in some of the countries in Asia, particularly in Pakistan, Malaysia and Sri Lanka the Maldives. Since the West criticized the authoritarian rule of President Abdulla Yameen, he looked to Beijing for support and decided to join the BRI. Beijing established its embassy in Male, and entered into a Free Trade Agreement with Male, which is seen in favor of the later. The defeat of BRI-friendly leader in election in the Maldives is generating momentum for a review of projects under BRI elsewhere also. In Nepal, the communist party of KP Oli won 2017 elections on anti-Indian plank, as he reached out to China to lessen the over dependence on India.

As China's presence in the region expands through BRI, India's ability to influence is seen to be declining. New Delhi seems compelled to adopt a moderate posture. This situation puts China in intense rivalry with India. Also, it brings regional tensions in South Asia for example the tweet from Mahinda Rajapaksa after he was appointed premier after the abrupt dismissal of incumbent Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe. Rajapaksa was warmly greeted by Chinese ambassador in Colombo, and Chinese President Xi did not delay in sending a congratulatory message to Rajapaksa (Financial Times, 2018)

though the appointment was later nullified by the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka.” While most countries, including India, the US, UK and Canada expressed concern and urged Sri Lanka to abide by its constitution, and uphold democracy, Beijing immediately recognized Mr. Rajapaksa as the new prime minister and said it “always follows the principles of non-interference in other countries affairs”. This is also the reflection of “their contradictory views on the accommodation of China’s interest vis-à-vis those of India (*Financial Times*, 2018).”

Sri Lankan Prime Minister, Ranil Wickremesinghe, who led his country’s delegation to Belt and Road Forum in Beijing on May 14, said, Sri Lanka will leverage its strategic location and connectivity to become the hub of the Indian Ocean. He said, “The Belt and Road Initiative will provide the much needed hard and soft connectivity in the Indian Ocean required for rapid economic and social development.” Pointing to the various Chinese-funded projects in Sri Lanka, such as the Hambantota Port, Mattala Airport and the southern expressway, Wickremesinghe said “the BRI complemented the island nation’s efforts to build advanced infrastructure (Shrinivasan, 2017).” As the usual western donors were reluctant, to support the post war Sri Lanka to finance infrastructure projects, Sri Lankans see the BRI holding “the prospects of helping to bridge the significant infrastructure financing gap, increase connectivity, link local markets to regional and global value chains, and thereby increase trade and investment in the participating countries (Gooneratne, 2019).”

Fear of Debt Trap

BRI is also seen loaded with an agenda for Beijing’s strategic expansion and fear of debt trap. Countries are fearful that China could ultimately exert its influence to gain ownership of the strategically important ports. Sri Lankan Government leased the Hambantota Port to China for 99 years, as it could not pay back its debt to China. The state-owned China Merchants Port Holding Company will develop the Hambantota Port, in spite of stiff opposition from the local people (Sirilal & Aneez, 2017). The port of Hambantota is indispensable for China's energy security because the country imports two-thirds of its oil through shipping lanes south of the port. Another example of possible debt trap is from the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). This CPEC is the flagship project of the BRI. The \$46 billion project launched in 2015, which was subsequently increased to \$62 billion over a 15-year period. It is considered a game changer in Pakistan. It includes energy projects, rail and road connectivity, expressways, infrastructure development and industrial zones. Given the scale and nature of the CPEC, it is called the BRI’s ‘most politically contentious and strategic project’ as it passes through Kashmir - a disputed territory between India and Pakistan.

CPEC will strengthen the relationships between China and Pakistan. These countries are linked by through roads, railways, pipelines, and optical fiber networks. It extends up to Xinjiang province in China via the contested Pakistan-occupied “Kashmir” territory. CPEC will provide access and connect Beijing with the Arabian Sea, which would enable China to transport oil supplies and other energy resources from the Middle East in general and Iran in particular. The CPEC projects will make Pakistan a debtor of China and further add to Pakistan’s financial burden. Additionally, CPEC will offer special security cover for the Chinese investments and workforce (Kim 2018). Pakistan plans to transform Gwadar into one of the world’s largest port cities by 2055, housing steel mills, terminals for liquefied natural gas, oil fields and other facilities. Pakistan’s debt to China is rising (Khan, 2018). Khan (2018) further argued that because Pakistan has to counter weight India and China needs it, thus, Beijing "cannot afford" to bankrupt Pakistan. Thus, China’s primary interest in Pakistan is “geopolitical rather than strictly economic, and therefore, for China, repayment of the debt burden will be secondary to maintaining a good political and economic relationship with Pakistan" (Khan, 2018). Khan (2018) does not see any danger of China making Gwadar a military port in the future. Thus, "Gwadar is 100 percent % commercial.” If at all, China needs a military base, she can use Ormara naval base (Lat. 25.201237° N and Long. 64.667350° E) (Yamda, 2018).

Pakistan's trade deficit with China has been rising, and there are concerns about what happens if it is unable to repay its debt. As with other countries that have benefited recently from Beijing's largesse, some in Pakistan worry that the price of such investment could be a huge debt burden (Yamda, 2018). Pakistan’s new government led by Imran Khan announced that it is cutting down on loans from the People’s Republic of China (PRC) under CPEC and has reduced \$2 billion in loans for rail projects (Siddiqui, 2018). Prime Minister Khan said he would request that Beijing realign CPEC’s goals to his

government's agenda, but PRC authorities reportedly brushed aside his proposals to re-negotiate CPEC deals (Basit, 2018).

Bangladesh joined the BRI to benefit from its economic potentials. Chinese President Xi's visit to Bangladesh in 2016 -the first by a Chinese head of state in 30 years bears more significance. He announced projects amounting to \$26 billion. Three key BRI projects in Bangladesh include the Dhaka-Jessore rail line, the Payra power plant and the Karnaphuli Tunnel -- the country's first-ever underwater tunnel. Chinese development banks dominate the projects' financing; while Chinese contractors often take over the construction process. Geopolitical issues are seen affecting its actual execution. In 2016, Dhaka turned down China's offer to develop a deep-sea port at Sonadia in favor of Japan's proposal for a deep-sea port just 25 km away at Matarbari, which was considered to be more beneficial to Bangladesh (Ramachandran, 2016).

Afghanistan showed its early interest in BRI. Welcoming it, Kabul saw it as an initiative reshaping the international development order carrying great significance for human development in the 21st century. It hopes that BRI will work to support the peacebuilding process in Afghanistan, improve trading opportunities connecting with regional rail and road network and help emerge it as an important partner in regional energy market and fighting the regional narcotic drugs.

The implementation of BRI demands collaborative measures among several nations. Given the growing importance and significance of India's profile, India's support is essential for the implementation of BRI. Both the most populous nations are emerging as global powers, and have done well economically. India, though yet to be a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council carries influence on a variety of issues including on climate change, and international peace and security. China's regional ambitions have better chances of being realized if it can take India on board. Beijing is urging Delhi to jointly develop a trans-Himalayan economic zone of cooperation with Nepal and Bhutan (Mohan, 2019). For emerging and transitional economies which face major infrastructure deficits, Chinese financing such as Silk Road Funds and the Asia Infrastructures investment Bank (AIIB) provides a significant boost to the majority of BRI countries than IMF and World Bank and other including their own domestic financing. They all need money which China can provide.

Nepal's Response to the BRI

There is a considerable interest in the BRI in Nepal. Early on in 2014, the Sushil Koirala government welcomed China's One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative (MoFA, 2015). Nepal expressed its desire "to work in close cooperation with China towards enhancing more connectivity and integration between nations and boost their infrastructure, trade, energy sector and tourism, which would ultimately contribute to regional harmony, peace and development" (MoFA, 2015). In view of the desperate needs to expand infrastructures across the country, Nepal looks to benefit from the BRI in which opportunities to harness its vast potential sources —hydropower—for export. Nepal's Foreign Secretary and Chinese Ambassador in Nepal signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on the framework agreement on China's "One Belt One Road Initiative" (OBOR), marking Nepal's official move to become part of Beijing's ambitious plan to revive ancient Silk Road trade routes. The signing of the agreement took place in Kathmandu on May 12, 2017 just two days ahead of a summit on the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation in Beijing. The MoU provides to set up border economic zones and its expansion, and to rebuild Chinese-Nepali transit road network agreements.

It is expected that BRI will bring the investment into the wide areas and help change the economic map of Nepal through developing local industries and improving the living standards of the low-income groups. The cross-border optical fiber network between Nepal and China, connectivity of its own kind established for the first time between the two neighbors through Geelong-Rasuwgadhi border point, has ended Nepal's sole dependence on India for connecting the Himalayan country with global telecom and internet services (MJ in Xinhua, 2017). MoU's major thrust was described as promoting cooperation on connectivity of facilities, trade and people, financial integration, and promoting people-to-people exchanges. It seeks "to strengthen cooperation in connectivity sectors including transit transport, logistic systems, transport network and related infrastructure development such as railway, road, civil aviation, power grid, information and communication (MJ in Xinhua, 2015)." MOU provides that Nepal and China would work collaboratively with a view to promoting China's investment in Nepali infrastructure, enhancing the regional stability and facilitating economic growth with all the neighbors. "This agreement will bring Nepal and China closer through road connectivity and bring home the Chinese investment"

(Mahat, 2015). "With the signing of the MoU, a new chapter has begun in the area of foreign investment and trade promotion," adding Nepal would reap benefits from the Chinese project which would expand to Europe and Africa" (Mahat, 2015). "Nepal needs the maximum investment and we want Chinese investment channeled in Nepal through this new project (News18.com, 2017)." BRI was labeled as a significant achievement of Nepal's development endeavour, by connecting capital Kathmandu with Lhasa in Tibet. Describing the agreement as a major development, Mahat said the move is a major step forward in strengthening Nepal-China relations. "Road and railway connectivity is very important for" Nepal, and investment is needed for it. This project would serve the national interest (MJ in Xinhua, 2017).

Nepali Planners and Policy makers termed this agreement as a step to open up a new door with multiple opportunities for infrastructure development and economic growth. BRI will include cross-broader highways, railways, transmission lines and internet connectivity that will contribute to bringing drastic changes in Nepal's socio-economic landscape. As Asian region is seen as the hub of global economy, analysts often argue that the initiative will "improve physical connectivity, deepen economic integration among Asian countries, and thereby unleashing full potential of Asia". With this project, Nepal would be able to reap the benefits to the global value chain through China. It is expected to bring tremendous opportunities creating a win-win situation between China and Nepal (*New China*, 2017). Nepal expressed its readiness to actively participate in the "Belt and Road" construction, to push Nepal-China all-round cooperation to new and higher levels (MoFA 2018). Talking of 'Nepal-China relations and development prospects in trans-Himalayan region', Foreign Minister of Nepal highlighted the development of cross-border railways between Nepal and China as a priority for the Government of Nepal along with other connectivity related infrastructure (Gyawali, 2018). The Minister further said, "Nepal takes pride in seeing China's growing profile on the world stage, both politically and economically. China's role is very important in shaping global agenda for a just and equitable world order (Gyawali, 2018)." With a growing role in international relations for global peace and harmony, China has emerged as a major factor of global stability and growth.

The BRI aims to have peace and prosperity in the region and beyond, which holds far-reaching implications for the development of its neighbours. Transit facility from China will leverage Nepal from transit bottleneck in its international trade. An official of the government of Nepal said the proposed 550 kilometer-long railway would connect China's western Tibet region to Nepal's capital of Kathmandu and will carry goods and passengers. He said the railway will travel over 400 kilometers in China to the Nepal border, and then about another 150 kilometers from the Nepali border to Kathmandu, he said. On priority of Nepal he said, "Our first priority is railway, and second will be hydropower projects and cross-border transmission lines between Nepal and China. (Reuters, 2017)" During the visit of Nepal's Prime Minister to China in June 2018, the two governments agreed to intensify implementation of the MoU on BRI to enhance connectivity, encompassing such vital components as ports, roads, railways, aviation and communications within the overarching framework of trans-Himalayan Multi-Dimensional Connectivity Network. They also agreed to reopen the Zhangmu/Khasa port at an early date; improve the operation of the Jilong/Keyrung port; ensure the sound operation of Araniko Highway; and carry out the repair, maintenance and improvement of Syaphrubesi-Rasuwadadhi Highway and push forward the construction of a bridge over Karnali River at Hilsa of Pulan/Yari port at an early date (MoFA, 2108).

During his visit to China in June 2018, Prime Minister K.P. Oli, during his meeting with his Chinese counterpart Li Keqiang at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on June 21 presented the list of 35 projects to be funded under the BRI. With sluggish progress in negotiations, the Chinese side has now insisted that Nepal bring down the number of projects under Beijing's flagship foreign policy initiative to the single digit (Giri, 2019). Accordingly, the government is reported to be preparing a list of nine projects which will be funded under the BRI. They include: Upgradation of Rasuwadadhi-Kathmandu road, Kimathanka-Hile road construction, Dipayal to south border with China Tokha-Bidur road, Galchhi-Rasuwadadhi-Kerung 400kv transmission line Keyrung-Kathmandu rail (feasibility study), Tamor hydroelectricity project (762MW) and Phukot Karnali Hydro Electric Project (426MW) (The Kathmandu Post 2019). It demonstrates the confusion and lack of clarity in the Nepali leadership about the projects to be decided under BRI and utter unpreparedness on part of the government.

About Indian concerns on Nepal's participation in the OBOR, Nepal came out strongly to underscore the significance of its ties with India, saying no country can change its geography. An influential cabinet minister was quoted as saying "We have conveyed to China that our joining the Belt and Road initiative is not at the cost of Nepal's relations with India, and its genuine security concerns. And China has

appreciated it (Ghimire, 2017).” “What we have is only a framework agreement (on OBOR) with China and the modalities of terms and conditions for fund utilization will be worked out later. All such considerations will be made on merit and in keeping with our national interest,” said Nepal's ambassador Deep Kumar Upadhyay. He argued “Even China acknowledges that we can't change geography. We need 365 days of continuous supplies. We have joined OBOR, but we have also made it clear to the Chinese that by joining OBOR we don't want to, or mean to, undermine the relationship with India which we are proud of (Parashar, 2017).” In an interview, Prime Minister K.P. Oli made it clear that Nepal decided to join OBOR absolutely in view of its well-judged national interest (Oli, 2018). Our interest in this regard is to develop infrastructure and connectivity with our northern neighbor and this is where our participation in OBOR is focused on. Under the Belt and Road Initiative that Nepal signed with China, Nepal is also expected to receive huge investments to finance its vastly underfunded hydropower, connectivity and tourism sectors. Chinese tourists provide enormous potentials provided if there is a better connectivity and infrastructure in place. The Qinghai-Tibet railway line, which travels through the world's highest plateau, has arrived in Tibet's second city Shigatse and is expected to connect the Nepal-China border point of Kerung (also called Gyirong or Kyirong) by 2020 (Upadhyaya, 2018).

China has emerged as an international actor and player. Its role in global peace, security and development is increasing and gaining importance. BRI is seen as China's outreach program to countries in Asia, Europe and Middle East. Never before, China had come with such an outgoing strategy in its foreign policy. BRI stands *primus inter pares* among Chinese policy initiatives. Issues that are associated with BRI drive China's relationship with the wider world. It tops the talking points with visiting heads of state and government. While projecting China as global power, statements of President Xi reveal a plan for a “risen China sitting at the heart of a Sino-centric regional order” (The Economist, 2018). The Xi Administration project China as the global power. It says BRI does not require recipient countries to transform their sociopolitical systems in exchange for investment. Xi Jinping believes that “countries have different historical processes and realities,” and that they have “the right to choose their own development path independently (President Obama, 2015).”

Conclusion

BRI is a foreign-policy initiative aiming at: strengthening economic collaboration, improving road connectivity, promoting trade and investment, facilitating currency conversion, and bolstering people-to-people exchanges. Overland and maritime Silk Road contains a proposal for the re-establishment of the old sea networks to create a twenty-first century “maritime Silk Road” to foster international connectivity, scientific and environmental research, and fishery activities. Strength abroad begins with strength at home. With economic strength at home, Beijing is strategically moving forward around Asia and in the rest of the world. This is creating a significant geopolitical transformation and challenges. Ever since Xi Jinping became the general secretary of the Communist Party of China (CCP) in 2012, he is increasing his political power by assuming the leadership of most important committees overseeing policy including cyber issues, economic reforms and nation security. His name and ideology ‘Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese characteristics for a New Era’ were enshrined in the party constitution.

BRI reflects the ascendancy of China politically, economically and strategically. It is cited to be a symbol of China's resurgence as a world power, a tool to sustain economic growth, as a vision for the ‘uncontested leading power’. China's willingness to play a leading role in reshaping the world is well known. It is therefore important to understand BRI in wider perspectives. Though much has been written and discussed, BRI is still evolving and its study for many seems to be in infancy and rudimentary stage. However, despite some confusion, some twists and bumps in initial phase, BRI has acquired an undeniable momentum. China hopes that realization of the China Dream would “benefit the people of the world” as it is based on principles of “peace, development, cooperation and win-win relations.” Given the comprehensive nature of the initiative, it is necessary to think in a holistic manner about its objectives and strategies, ponder its impact, examine environmental standards and local impact of various projects, and evaluate costs and opportunities associated with it. Key findings from the study of eight countries include: project delays concern about ballooning deficits leading to unmanageable debts to Beijing, and concerns related to sovereignty and territorial integrity among others. Critics say BRI fails to take a holistic view of risks and opportunities. China says: BRI is all about connectivity and development with larger ownership and dominant local stakes.

Projects designed under BRI should be fully aligned with national priorities and selected by host country. Nepal's untapped immense potentials including in tourism, hydropower and development of high altitude medicinal herbs require huge investment. The win-win collaboration can create value chains to their mutual advantage by utilizing these potentials. Nepal should enhance productive capacity and produce goods and services for export to China. This is all the more important when trade deficit with China is assuming alarming proportions. One-way traffic is no win-win cooperation. Only by promoting rule of law, enhancing productive capacity and developing national institutions, building infrastructures, and connectivity, could we enhance trade and investment possibilities.

Nepal is important for both of our neighbours: India and China. Both of our neighbours do not want to cede traditional influence to each other. Nepal's importance is increasing every day in the foreign policy discussions of emerging and established powers. Through world class connectivity, and skillful management of sensitive and fragile geopolitics, Nepal can be a gateway to South Asia for China and gateway to China for India. Entire Himalayan region will benefit, and great civilizational links further enhanced and enriched. Nepal occupies a "special" place in the Indo-Pacific region and must remain stable and prosperous, Washington has said, asserting that America has a "profound stake" in the success of the Himalayan nation. Given its geostrategic location, Nepal's importance in the evolving global strategic scenario has sharply increased. Geography does not argue, it is what it is. Kathmandu needs to conduct its foreign policy sensitively and seriously guided by geopolitical realities, accompanied by good research and studies and should be able to say no to bossy and judgmental decisions of outsiders for preserving the long-term interests of its people and the country.

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Assessing Everyday Peace Indicators (EPI) in Tandi and Padampur Areas in Chitwan, Nepal

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Abstract

Everyday Peace Indicators (EPI) measures the community level indicators of peace and strategies developed to ensure long lasting peace not only in the level of individuals and community but towards achieving broader goal of the country. Realizing significance of grass root level indicators, in academic discourse and policy formulation, this article centered on the accepted wisdom of peace by wide ranges of people with their experiences, feelings and aspirations, which is summarized as everyday indicators. This core focus of this article is EPI, which is based on people's testimony collected in May 2017 in two communities of Chitwan district of Nepal. Summarizing the common aspirations of people, political stability, security, peace and access to basic needs are considered as common indicators of everyday peace among individuals participated in research process. Also, the freedom from fear, involvement in income generating activities and ownership of property in the name of women, adequate job opportunities and access to basic services; i.e. health, education, transportation and alcohol free environment in communities, religious and cultural freedom, harmony among the people in communities were identified as common indicators of peace.

Keywords: Peace, rural, urban, everyday peace indicator, security

Introduction

In general peace is freedom from war or hostilities; that condition of a nation or community in which it is not at war with another. Peace is not static. It is contextual; it has been viewed as absence of tension having the presence of justice or a respecting human rights, well being and freedom of individuals or a virtue and state of mind or absence of violence to attain social goals (King & King, 2014; Abrams, 1995; Brussel, 1970; Fishel, 2008 and Galtung, 1969). Prior to the study of everyday peace indicators, it is important to be on familiar terms with that human society has been in conflict within, between and among individuals, groups, communities, nations, regions and peace building came along with conflict (Pro-Public & Seed, 2016). At the global level, Global Peace Index (GPI) is an attempt to measure the relative position of nations' and regions' peacefulness. The index gauges global peace using three broad themes: the level of safety and security in society, the extent of domestic and international conflict and the degree of militarization. The five year GPI shows Nepal to be in 93th position ranking 2.08 for 2017 and ranked 82 with 2.058 in 2013 (IEP, 2017). Aligning with the GPI, EPI measures the individual to community level indicators of peace and strategies developed to ensure long lasting peace not only in the community but towards achieving the goals of National Planning Commission in Nepal.

After a decade long conflict in Nepal, Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction at national level and local peace committees at the district level were established. The Ministry was established in April 2007, in the aftermath of the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) between the Government of Nepal and the then Communist Party of Nepal -Maoist. It was envisaged that the Ministry would assume the work of the previous Peace Secretariat in supporting the technical aspects of the peace process while also taking on increased operational functions in implementing provisions of the CPA. However, majority of peacebuilding initiatives in Nepal never tried to deal with peace indicators but have concentrated more in the sector of reconstructing the damages happened during the conflict. As indicated by Pro-Public and Seed (2016) study report, National Planning Commission included in its 13th plan (2013-2016) a program to strengthen 'Infrastructures for Peace'. Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction (delivering citizen-state peace services); the local peace committees (delivering intercommunity peace services); the community mediation committees (delivering interpersonal peace services); and the dialogue facilitator pools (delivering intrapersonal peace services) are some institutions already in existence to support peace.

In common, everyday peace serves important analytical purpose by turning the lens on to peace in a locality and the experiences of different people as they negotiate their everyday lives (Williams, 2015). It assesses and investigates alternative, bottom-up indicators of peace and how such bottom-up information can be meaningfully integrated into policy processes to develop participatory indicators of peace in the communities of the study areas in order to develop a more participatory form of measurement and evaluation of program work and interventions in respective communities. Despite the engagement and sincere efforts of large number of organizations in peace building work, it is commonly believed that ‘many of the approaches to measuring peace favored by international organizations, INGOs and donor governments are deficient’ (Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2013). How peace is socially and spatially understood at communities is important for peace building programs and also the universal indicators on peacebuilding have also been criticized for failing to capture the complexities of local political, cultural and historical context. Country-level indicators, by comparison, can be designed to take on board unique circumstances (Mack 2014). In order to explain this grounded approach to “everyday peace” the article centrally draws on different scalar narratives and practices of peace.

Research Methodology

The nature of this research is qualitative and based on primary research through case study. The research site is Chitwan district, which is one of the rapidly growing cities in Nepal with migrated people of mix communities; from hill and Terai. Also, Tandi Bazar is one of the business hubs and considered as one of the potential conflict hotspot, if there is misunderstanding scale up between Madheshi and Hill People or ex-combatants and community members. Two places; Belsi Village of Ratnanagar Municipality and Padampur village of Kalika Municipality were chosen as research sites. The sites were chosen based on indicator belonging to low economic status of people in this particular area. No matter if they are from urban or rural, 80% of the respondents had their livelihood based on agriculture and livestock production. For the purpose of the study Delphi method was used to find and analyze the peace indicators, which was qualitative method. The original Delphi method was designed in 1950 by Norman Dalkey to solve issues in the Rand Corporation in the US. The objective of his study was to identify and discuss reliable views from experts in the company. Linstone and Turoff (2002) define the Delphi technique as a method for structuring a group communication process in the way that the process is effective in allowing a group of individuals to deal with a complex problem. This method is mostly used for problem solving, planning and decision-analysis. Primary data were collected conducting 10 focus group discussions (FGD), in which around 80 individuals participated in discussion process, including men, women and youth. Altogether 10, FGD were conducted with urban male and female, rural women and men and youth, whereas five FGDs were conducted in Tandi area and other five were in Padampur area. As the Delphi method does use sampling methods, respondents were chosen among in the rural and urban setting though these areas now were municipality: Urban Male groups and Urban Female groups; Low economic status and conflict affected women and male groups and Mixed youth groups.

Literature Review

The definition of peace by Johan Galtung indicates two dimensions. The first dimension is a “violence” dimension, consistent with the notion of “negative peace”. The second dimension of peace indicated by absence of violence and “harmony” dimension, which refers to the degree that individuals, families, groups, communities, or nations are engaged in mutually harmonious relationships (Galtung, 1996). Peace is happiness, justice, health and other human ideals something every person and culture claims to desire and venerate, but which few if any achieve at least on an enduring basis (Webel & Galtung, 2007). Therefore, in common, peace can be defined as condition in which individuals, families, groups, communities, and/or nations don't experience violence and engage in mutually harmonious relationships. Rummel (1981) interpreted peace has always been among humanity's highest values, seen as concord, or harmony and tranquillity. It was viewed as peace of mind or serenity, especially in the Eastern philosophy. It is defined as a state of law or civil government, a state of justice or goodness, a balance or equilibrium of Powers. It can also be said that, seeing peace as absolute harmony, serenity, or quietude; that is, as opposed to any kind of conflict, antagonistic or otherwise. It means Rummel further looked at the dimensions of peace in 3 conceptual frames that is—conceptual level, social level and conceptual (met peace) dimension. Rummel (1981) defined peace as perhaps the most popular (Western) view is as an absence of disagreement, hostility, or war, a meaning found in the New Testament and possibly an original meaning of the Greek word for peace, *Irene*. Pacifists have adopted this interpretation, for to them all violence is bad. Similarly, religious beliefs often seek to identify and address the basic problems

of human life, including the conflicts between, among, and within persons and societies. The definition of Peace also stresses that it is a lack of conflict and freedom from fear of violence between heterogeneous social groups.

Therefore, it can be said that peace being a pleasant word also refers to the peaceful society and the beautiful world. So far peace is commonly understood as the absence of war or violent hostility, peace often involves compromise, and therefore is initiated with thoughtful active listening and communication to enhance and create genuine mutual understanding. In general, peace is freedom from war and violence, in which conditions people can live and work together happily without disagreement. As a dimension of peace, it can be classified into two ways; internal and external peace. It is said that internal peace is a state of calm, serenity and tranquillity of mind that arise due to having no sufferings or mental disturbances such as worry, anxiety, greed, desire, hatred, ill-will, delusion and/or other defilements. Internal peace is peace within oneself; it is derived from practicing or training of mind of an individual. Khemanando (1995) explains that external peace occurs in society, nations and the world; it is a normal state of society, countries and the world and it is a state of peaceful and happy co-existence of people as well as nature. External peace, in order to see it clearly, can be described in its negative and positive sense. As negative sense, it is defined as the absence of war, hostility, agitation, social disorder, disturbances, social injustice, social inequality, violence, violation of human rights, riot, terrorism, ecological imbalance, and in positive sense it is perceived as a state of social harmony, social justice, social equality, friendship or friendly relation, concord, public order and security, respect for human rights and ecological balance, etc. World Council of curriculum and instructions paper sub-classified peace into nine level; intra personal, inter-personal, intra-group, inter-group, intra racial, inter-racial, intra-national, and international and world peace (Prachoomsuk, 1983).

Historically peace efforts have been documented from the ancient ages to current peace efforts by several authors indicating how welfare approaches, making justice and addressing human rights supported peace building and movements. As per the international peace movement history, the documentation mentions that the peace building to peace movements, several peace conferences took place like since the beginning of 1800's international conventions discussed peacekeeping and the first World Peace Conference met in London in 1843 and simultaneously Peace conferences met in many places: Brussels, Belgium, in 1848; Paris in 1849; and Frankfurt, Germany, in 1850 and in The Hague in the Netherlands in 1899 and 1907. Overall the concept of peace so far have been studies in depth and widely indicating varieties of concepts and perspectives on peace such as concept of human rights for peace, concept of justice for peace, concept of non-violence for peace, concept of peace education, concept of peace culture, concept of peace gender, concept of peace media, and concept of peace environment are presented to understand those concepts that peace is related to and those fields that peace is studied in. Everyday Peace Indicator here also tried to look into the conceptual to social level peace that strengthens the social cohesion, address the environmental justice and bringing happiness to individual to a society at last. Thus analyzing these peace indicators it can be observed that peace can be taken up as a construct means that "peace" serves a stepping-stone role in theory.

Findings

Rural Indicators

This section briefly summarizes how local actors actively negotiate and (re)produce peace as policy, narrative, practice and strategy within different urban and rural setting across different scales. The findings indicate that first the women may need movement of freedom, income generation and land ownership in their name. Besides that rural areas not having good education and job employment has been their worries and were found to be concerned about their kids future. Having access to services like health, education and alcohol free environment are some major indicators that have affected their daily life. All these indicators as said by them can be achieved if the political stability is there within the nation and good leaders in their community and not have discrimination among poor and rich classes. People expressed that to be free from hunger and availability of food throughout the year, adequate health facilities, involvement of women in income generation activities, no discrimination in communities, peaceful environment in academic institutions, free from drug consumption, women's participation in decision making level, absence of disputes in family affairs as well as quality education were considered as major determinants of peace by respondents. In most of the rural areas majority of the respondents do not have sufficient land that they can produce to feed their family and not having proper job makes their life worse off. Therefore having land is not sufficient they should be provided with good agriculture

technologies which are gendered friendly. Regarding the health facilities, study areas don't have access to health centers and they have to travel a long distance when people are sick. Majority of the poor cannot afford to pay medical bills and they sometime be in debt, therefore health services has been their major concern for being in peace. Having income generation activities for women especially has been one of the key peace indicator, indicating that if women have some cash in hand they do not need to ask their husband and they can participate in cooperatives where they benefit to take loans and support their family in need. Income generation activities also make the women empowered and they think they can gain respect in the society as well. Family disputes were reported in the society from property rights issues and if they are resolved than peace can prevail in the society and even domestic violence reduced. It is believed that when students enter colleges they get into bad habits and after education they cannot find jobs they get into drugs and alcohol. Having good education and being educated is a peace indicator meaning if the society is educated then the discriminations are reduced and even the mothers can be of help to their children. Cultural and religious sites are the binding factors of social cohesion, but after the 10 year long conflict people believes that people are falling apart and peace can be attained when you go to the temples and be part of the cultural events.

Urban Indicators

Though the indicators were developed from two different sites of the urban areas and youth concern, the indicators of peace indicated having good governance, youth having good education and arms free to reduce violence in the society to areas having employment opportunity. The women especially mentioned having good education centers and temples where they could share their grief and be in peace. The Padampur site being a resettled area of ex-combatants and other migrated people, the concern of the community for peace is having their land ownership in their name and health services in the area provided by the government. When there is lack of job employment the rate of men and youth migrating is also high, which have increased tension among women thinking and hoping that their families are safe outside. When migrating people reside together, sense of trust is also low and needs to be built for strong social cohesion. The urban poor and middle class still feel discriminated not having equal opportunity in trainings and not able to enhance their skills for livelihood. If these trainings were provided then especially the women would have an opportunity do things on their own and men instead of drinking and gambling could work and divert their mind. For example in Padampur and Belsi women were finding peace being involved in thread weaving, sewing and tailoring or maize farming. The urban parents felt at peace when their kids are not into drugs and going to schools regularly. One critical issues of peace indicator were to have good services and infrastructure for drinking water, drainage and irrigation facilities for their daily livelihood compliances.

Analysis

The information discussed in the finding section clearly shows that peace and the indicators of peace are mostly influenced by the level of one's satisfaction. This level of satisfaction is not individual but covers the family and sometimes the extended one. Mostly discussed themes by participants are connected to structural factors related to violence and peace. In their view, violence is not only direct aggression to human beings, but it includes other kinds of factors that damage people, such as corruption or lack of opportunities inequality and tension in the society. For the everyday peace all the respondents felt that the environment and surrounding are also the major determinants of peace. Homes, movie hall, park, meditating space in community as well as touristic places outside the community are considered as determinant of peace. Also, homogenous society (people with similarities in nearby areas) is more peaceful in some context and heterogeneous in other. Usually if discrimination happens in the villages and in nation with respect to benefit sharing and access to services conflict arises and that needs to be removed ensuring fair and equitable sharing of benefits and have access to services. Women were still not feeling empowered and not making their own decisions were some cases mentioned when they do not feel at peace. For example, if a woman was able to decide some of the stuffs without taking the permission from her husband, it really makes her happy and leads to peaceful situation. There have been cases reported that when the children fought the parents not talking to each other for a year not knowing these minor cases destroying the peace in the community.

“A case reported by women, from Tharu community, saying initially the women thought that there was no happiness when they were not formed in a group nor have their own saving and credit program that was initiated by Heifer International. When women joined all the men were angry and when the project staff or men visited in their communities, men used to say there your kings have arrived and now you go and worship them than do the house work, which created violence in the house. But later on the

project taught the men of social cohesion and 7 Principles and ethics then slowly men were able to understand and today no violence and women have easy access to loan without collaterals”.

As per the urban responses, respondents said that the world is founded in two things: greed and love - for this people will do - both peaceful and violent activities. Therefore, peace was not purely achieved it is relative and contextual. It was also observed from the Padampur area where more migrants were settled, they think that the area being the land of migrant people - which does not create strong bonds among the people in this locality. In some context, peace was interpreted as the condition of being all the family members at home. However it was just opposite when they would be in the group of unemployed crowd. Social cohesion happens where there is a give and take relationship in the society, Nepal believes a lot in barter system but diminishing, which maintained a trust and festival and social gathering like concerts and health camps and other social functions; peace events has been a medium for building peace and harmony. For example, in case of migrant people after resettled they felt that previously they were in their own place of origin - where as transportation from the place of origin to market areas were problem. In addition, lack of education facilities and health services were other problems. However, in terms of maintaining social cohesion and ensuring social solidarity in the time of crisis was good. The situation is different in new settled area. People are living in cluster - which is considered as slum settlement - only a tap, access to resources is problematic. Finding showed that locality also matters in the happiness of the people. Community surrounding also make significant changes in the life of the people. Discrimination prevails in various societies and cultures which is a rooted social and cultural norms such as Dalit (the untouchable groups) have to wash their own dishes and still not allowed to enter the Brahmin and Chhetri houses. Once they are migrants they have restriction on use of resources i.e. community forest, water resources, and other resources as well making them more vulnerable.

Conclusion

Reviewing the information gathered in different rounds, participants arrived at certain understanding that peace is possible, but only if structural conditions are adequately addressed. Investment in education, promoting economic growth, reducing inequalities, and fostering opportunities, are other factors explicitly shared by participants throughout the study. The need for building links, active participation, and promoting peace from the grassroots, were some of the repeated patterns during the focus group discussion. The fact that these themes reached saturation suggests that policymakers should pay attention to them. The key messages from everyday peace indicators from rural perspectives are as follows:

- Everyday peace is a requirement in the community for social cohesion
- Everyday peace is among the political parties could make country peace
- Everyday peace could supporting in creating tolerance, freedom of movement, communication and sharing of information
- Everyday peace can come when all the citizens are socio economically strong and equally educated.
- Everyday peace means reduction in discrimination among caste and class in the society.

Whereas, the key messages from everyday peace indicators from urban perspectives are summarized as:

- Everyday peace is a prerequisite for good governance
- Everyday peace is having good health, education and jobs and access to services and benefits equally by all the citizens
- Everyday peace in the community means having men not gambling and drinking alcohol and reduction in domestic violence
- Everyday peace is conducive when all the political parties are in less conflict and sense of trust is built

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State Fragility and Organized Crime

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Abstracts

There are always probabilities of strong relationships between transnational organized crime group, the government, semi-government agencies and irregular formations. Because, at the fundamental level, motivations and aspirations of all these agencies and groups may be similar, i.e. making as much money or profit as quickly as possible; whether in a semi-legitimate or illegitimate means and ways. For this, they will be ready to use any modus operandi; the end result and harm they cause to the nation and society will be the same. Therefore, more often it is also very difficult to distinguish them one from another. In this regard, they all can be termed “the silent partners” of the legitimate government agencies, semi-government corporations and the organized crime groups (OCGs) and wherever they belong: they converge at a single platform, i.e. the Organized Crime. Therefore, the silent partners of the Organized Crime Group can be any of these: a private party or person, a government officer or his office, a semi-government official or a group of people belonging to these organizations. There may be another similarity among these too;...i.e. they all do their utmost to avoid their appearance in public or willingly acknowledged their involvement in any form and deeds on such cooperative undertaking. There are many ways such organized syndicates apply their methods that may be soft, peaceful to even gruesomely violent means to get access to state power, money or government resources. In this regard, they may apply all types of legitimate and illegitimate means, to name the few, such as protection rackets, and capture public resources, seize of property and land forcibly in an illegitimate way, and eventually entry into the licit private sector by money laundering and other means.

Key Words: Organized crime, organized crime groups (OCGs), transnational criminal groups, corruption, and fragile-state

Introduction

Regarding contemporary scenario of Nepal, Felbab-Brown writes, “Rather than focusing on adopting lasting governance procedures to advance the national interest and well-being of all Nepalese, political competition in Nepal has centered on narrow, parochial competition between a variety of powerbrokers seeking to leverage their control of specific communities, voting blocks, resources and patronage networks” (Felbab-Brown, 2013). She has interpreted Nepal as a deeply improvised but resource-rich country (that) can ill afford further political paralysis and Nepal’s politics over the past few years characterized as ‘protest without prescription’ (Felbab-Brown, 2013, pp. 56-57).

For any external observer like Felbab Brown, the contemporary Nepal looks like “... a process leading to severe degradation in administrative capacity, a pervasive lack of merit-based personnel system, and poor service delivery (Felbab-Brown, 2013, p. 57). In the past two decades, especially during the armed conflict of 1996-2006, many parts of Nepal were controlled by irregular armed groups, political parties, local armed groups, and criminal gangs but less by the state government. Despite all these, organized criminal acts, encompassing both politically-motivated and economically-driven crimes, are still in its initial developmental stages (Felbab-Brown, 2013, p. 57). Unfortunately, in this post-conflict scenario of Nepal, the nexus between crime and political parties seems to be getting deeper and stronger, and getting immune and collaborate with criminal groups for political purposes, including demonstrating street power, raising money for the party, and securing contracts for clients and so many government undertakings. Hence, contemporary criminal landscape of Nepal is still primitive state in organized crime formations. The criminal groups tend to be mostly small, territorially limited organizations, and their operation is not highly complex (Felbab-Brown, 2013, p. 57).

Many commitments of ‘zero-tolerance on crime and criminals’ have been repeatedly emphasized by many successive government of Nepal since the political changes of 1990 till date; and especially after the second people’s revolt 2006. In this regard, Nepal seems to becoming a fertile ground for the Organized Groups (OCGs) and their silent partners in these days. For this, it would be pertinent to understand the appropriate meaning of organized crime. Gus Taylor (1962) defines organized crime as, “Organized Crime (Racketeering) crops up mostly in the new areas of new business enterprise which

have not yet been reduced to order or become subject to tradition, and where economic change moves more rapidly” and he further reiterates, *“the serious threat of violence and crime appear at the times of greatest social change, involving rapid migration of population, the shifting of industries, the contact and clash of subcultures, the improvement of living standard, and the opening of new perspectives for which people are not yet prepared”*. At the present context, Nepal seems to be falling more and more on the trap of criminals of Organized Crime Groups (OCGs) day by day.

In any organized crime, the ‘big fishes’ have always proven to be stronger and smarter. Like any weak and fragile countries of Asia, Africa and South America; criminal groups in Nepal are increasingly gaining power and money; spreading their tentacles wider and wider, faster and gaining more ferocity. At the present juncture, people are apprehensive of a strong possibility of the development of strong nexus and partnership between government, regular/ irregular groups and the OCGs to work as silent partners in legitimate business in an illegitimate way which may harm the country and the people in the long run.

After the promulgation of the Federal Constitution 2015, Nepal is in a process of restructuring its whole system and processes. Therefore, it is but natural to be at a fragile state, more vulnerable to all types of challenges, including social disorder, dissention and organized trans-national crime. In such a precarious and vulnerable situation, organized and transnational crime may become stronger and institutionalized, because they are always on a move to find a platform for their criminal operation as a safe heaven, a transit point or even a criminal base that may threaten and stabilize the whole South Asian region.

Recently, there is a growing trend of writing biographies and books by many prominent social elites of various disciplines whether it is the chief justice of the Supreme Court, the Army Chiefs, Inspector General of Police or the journalist, business tycoons and Helicopter pilot. Their books have helped Nepalese people to understand the depth of our economic social and political environment where illegal, unethical partnership between the government stakeholders, power brokers, manipulating private parties with various national and international organized crime groups are working together.

In this regard, Former Chief Justice Sushila Karki has mentioned some big cases dealt by her in her book, *Nyaya [Justice]* (Karki, 2018, pp. 217-299). In her book, she has clearly indicated the public, government officials and general public working like the silent partners who engage in corruption, illegal and illegitimate transaction amounting to crime in one way or another. One of the former IGP of Nepal Police, Achyut Krishna Kharel elaborates some of the cases of the criminalization of politics and politicization of crime by politicians, ministers and high level government officials in his biography. He has boldly written the involvement of government ministers and their involvement in gold smuggling through international airport of Nepal (Kharel, 2018). A prominent journalist of Nepal, Sudheer Sharma has depicted Nepal as a Laboratory of foreign agents, organized crime group, commission agents and various nefarious activities from Nepal as a platform. Similarly, Sudheer Adhikari has written about the organized crime nexus in Nepal since decades that has initiated the crime and violence amounting to murder, assassination and terror in Nepal orchestrated by the notorious organized crime boss Dawood Ibrahim since two decades. That was one of the bloodiest international crime amounting to Indian counterfeit currency and assassinations of the parliamentarian Mirja Dil Sad Begh, Media Tycoon Jamim Shah and Faijan Ahmad as a result of their turf war within Nepalese territory (Adhikari, 2012).

As a matter of fact, post conflict Nepal after 1996 till date can be taken as a best harvesting session for national and international OCGs and Transnational Organized Crime Groups (TOCGs) in Nepal. Since the beginning of the armed conflict in 1996, the competency and efficiency of Nepal Police was irreparably damaged. Before that, Nepal Police was a credible investigating and law enforcement agency. But since the armed conflict after 1996, its mandate, power and authority was curtailed and negotiated by the government and the irregular forces by creating new departments like the Department of Immigration, Department of Money Laundering and the Department of Transport and Licensing Department. These departments, at the present context have become a liability than asst to the government. They have not been fully functional and active to investigate, contain and control organized and financial as they are supposed to do.

At this juncture, former, assertive role of Nepal Police and Armed Police were limited to reactive and more of a protective services that gave full play of serious and organized crimes. The overriding comprehensive power and authority of Nepal Police was disintegrated by the formation of new departments like the department of immigration, department of transport, the department of money laundering and many others. It disintegrated police jurisdiction and mandate on one hand, but it gave

much more leverage for the OCGs to play around one against the other. The problem with these new departments was their lack of expertise, expertise and strength that was an unmatched to deal with the OCGs. For example, organized crimes, transnational crimes and money laundering demands overriding authority, power and strong law enforcement capability, which these department does not possess.

Similarly, law enforcement of crime and financial investigation is complementary and inseparable. The investigation of money laundering has been assigned to a different set of government servants who have not been able to come with any substantial result in money laundering cases which is the other side of a coin of organized and transnational crime. All these new arrangement gave space to the novo-rich and adventurism that gave way to more gray areas in the society.

Since the beginning of the armed conflict initiated by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) [CPN (M)] Nepal Police started to lose its power and man on the onslaught of the Maoist guerillas. Consequently, Nepal Police became the first victim for it was not prepared for the armed confrontation it had faced during insurgency period. On the other hand, CPM (M) started to behave like an irregular group with all tactics to gain power and money. It gave way to various armed criminal activities like bank robbery, kidnapping, summary execution, extortion to forcible land usurpation. In the year 2006, the Comprehensive Peace Treaty (CPA-2006) recognized the People Liberation Army of the CPN (M) and their sister organization Young Communist League, UNMIN took the responsibility to management of the cantonments and reintegrate the Maoist combatants. At this time, Nepalese security apparatuses had more or less role to play by appeasing the rebel group, factional contradicting political parties. This situation somehow gave full opportunity for illegal, criminal national foreign elements to all activities: legal, semi-legal and sometimes even illegal. In a way, it gave way to impunity and lawlessness to a larger extent.

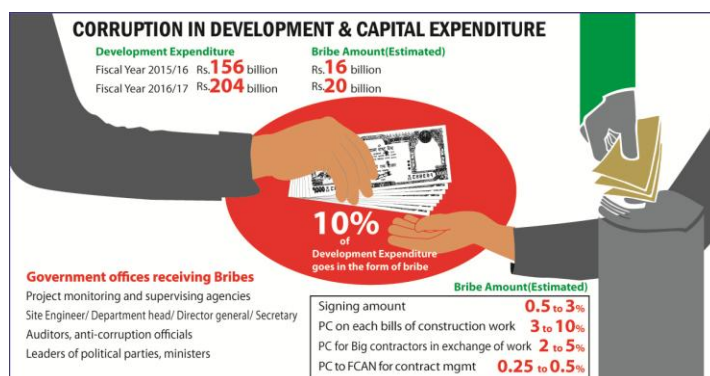
Organized Crime

What is organized crime and how do the organized criminals look like? This is a common question that is coloured by the films and media stories where most of the criminal bosses and king pin become the role model for an ambitious risk taking young Nepali who may see and admire them as a hero *“sitting behind marble desks, wearing expensive suits, with their ties done up to 11 o’ clock”*. But, they tend to forget that, their role model, wearing expensive suit with their ties done up to 11 o’clock may be a syndicate leader, and boss of the organized syndicate, who may ... steal their cash (Crowley, 2009)!

Some of the crucial features of organized crime are fear, intimidation, and violence. Their prime motive focuses merely on to gain power, earn money, and demand respect by conspiracy, coercion, and corruption, or whatever means. OCGs love to take unwarranted risk, financial misrepresentation, money laundering, engage in white collar crime and fraudulent acts. Comparatively, there might be less violence in organized crime in Nepal compared to Mexico, Colombia, and Afghanistan; because the stage of OCGs in Nepal is still in its infantile stage. It is a common fact that the objective of all criminals whether organized or less organized, white collar or blue collar, one the major motivating factor is money and profit. It is also true that crime of any type will have a lot to do with illegal, unethical and nefarious activities that is prohibited by law.

Some Cases Amounting to Organized Crime in Nepal

In the fiscal year 2016/17, the government of Nepal spent Rs. 204 billion in capital expenditure in infrastructure projects, out of which it paid its 10 percent (about 20 billion) in bribes and commissions to civil servants, engineers, department heads, secretaries and ministers (Pangeni, 2017). A former president of the Federation of Contractors’ Association confesses that, “percent is an open secret and practiced in almost all public procurements. In this regard, spokesperson of the Ministry of Procurement and IT says “the commission are not to be reflected on paperwork and cannot be talked about.” that means that engineers of roads and bridges receive Rs. 2.5 million and Rs. 15 million from a contract worth 500 million. These commissions are shared by an entire system ranging from the junior staffers to officers (60 percent) to ministers (40 percent); and those unable to satisfy ministers and politicians get transferred. In these transactions; ‘top brass and political parties themselves collect commissions if the contract is too big, worth billions of rupees’. Despite police warning, such corrupt and ill gotten money get distributed onto gang leaders and ringleaders who get around 2 percent, Treasury Controller Office seek up to 0.2 percent, and Auditor’s Office also gets 0.2 percent.



Source: <https://myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com/news/33171/>

S.N.	Substandard drugs	Brand name	Batch no.	Manufacturer	Remarks
1	Metronidazole Tablets 400 mg BP	Metro-400	MTT-0914	Lomus Pharmaceuticals Pvt. Ltd	GoN
2	Esomeprazole Magnesium Tablets 40 mg	Emez 40	TEZS-106	Alive pharmaceuticals Pvt. Ltd.	Private sectors
3	Ibuprofen Tablets 400 mg IP	Ibuaet 400	IB2-077	Vijaydeep Laboratories ltd.	Private sectors
4	Acetaminophen Oral Suspension 125 mg/5 ml USP	Alice P	BEAP 127	Ind-Swift Limited	Private sectors
5	Tamsulosin Hydrochloride Modified Release Capsules 0.4 mg	Flopress-0.4	FP4-09	Nova Genetica Pvt. Ltd.	Private sectors
6	Silver Sulfadiazine & Chlorhexidine Gluconate Cream IP 1%w/w +0.20%w/w	Silver Chlor	FSC5 52	Arya pharma lab Pvt. Ltd.	Private sectors
7	Paracetamol Tablets 500 mg BP	Cetophen	CT-0314	Lomus Pharmaceuticals Pvt. Ltd	GoN
8	Digoxin tablet 0.25 mg	Digicard 0.25	15CQ06	Omnica laboratories Pvt. Ltd.	Private sectors
9	Metronidazole Tablets 200 mg BP	Metroleb-200	T-2983	leben laboratories Pvt. Ltd.	GoN

Source: <https://www.inheadline.com/news/nhrc-investigates-substandard-drugs-supplied-by-government-and-public-sectors>

NAME	AUDITED AMOUNT	UNACCOUNTED	PERCENT	EMBEZZLED
Province 2	Rs26.58 Billion	Rs 3.53 Billion	13.27%	—
Province 3	Not available	Not available	11.19%	—
278 Local Units	Not available	Rs 228.1 Million	Not available	—
Khandbari Municipality document shows Rs 21.64 Million deposited in bank	Rs 13.99 Million deposited in bank.	Rs 7.65 Million not deposited in bank	—	—
Pokhara Village Development Committee (VDC) Secretary misused social security fund.				Rs 3.84 Million
Jijodamandau VDC Secretary misused social security, recurrent and capital budget and reserve fund from previous fiscal year.				Rs 3 Million
Amount financed by 567 co-operatives and invested by Youth and Small Entrepreneur Self Employment Fund at high risk				Rs 361.8 Million

Source: <http://kathmandupost.ekantipur.com/news/2018-04-13/ag-exposes-dubious-accounting-practices.html>

Another case of OCGs partnership with the internal agency, the constitutional body and the government of Nepal is demonstrated by the 55th Attorney's Annual Report as given in the table. For example, if we look at the table, the annual report of the Attorney General Office of the Government of Nepal shows that the dubious accounting practices and amount embezzled by corrupt government officials at various levels of local units of the provinces. It is also a form of organized crime in partnership with the government constitutional body, government ministry, semi-governmental agency and the private party. These cases are as serious as any organized crime where guns and physical violence is used. This is a particular example of government, systemic organized crime of the government official in collaboration with the private party.

The definition understanding and interpretation of organized crime is different and difficult to understand in Nepal. For example, production, sales and distribution of substandard drugs is as illegal and criminal as selling illegal substances like Hashish, Heroin and Precursor-chemicals that is used to manufacture illegal drugs anywhere in the world.

For example, if we look at the list of substandard drugs as given on the left, the responsible department, distributor and the seller of the product need to be prosecuted and penalized immediately. They ought to be treated like the traffickers of narcotic drugs and be prosecuted as severely as any perpetrator of the traffickers of hashish and marijuana. But the public, accountable stakeholders and the government have turned a blind eye because there is a lot of money in this systemic organized crime and corruption. It is a paradox that all responsible parties are mum in such a serious case putting 3 million Nepali lives into a risk.

Another example of the crime committed by public office in collaboration with the international donors and private parties is well evidenced by the expenditure of millions of dollars by the Election Commission of Nepal (EC). The audit report prepared by the Office of the Auditor General and submitted to the President of Nepal where EC had spent millions of rupees from foreign donors without any audit details (*EC spends millions, 2018*). Election logistics gifted by India and China were not taken into account in its report submitted to the OAG even after holding 3 elections.

It further explains that the Election Commission (EC) had received 280.90 million from UNDP, Rs. 290.95 from USAID, and Technical Assistance from IDEA. But the EC Body did neither bother to submit financial details nor asked for the OAG's or auditors' assistance. In this case the EC was also accused of 'promoting nepotism in awarding contracts for voter education programs and producing logistic'. It is said that the EC had also provided 121 percent of salary as additional allowance to election officers during the elections. Apart from not keeping records of foreign aid and maintaining financial discipline the EC had not settled Rs. 190.71 million arrear ("EC spent Millions in Dollar Funds with no Audit: OAG Report, 2018, Apr 13").

One of the living example of the decade long organized crime nexus is the gold smuggling in a low income post-conflict country Nepal. On May, 2018, the violent killing of a gold courier, Sanam Sakya dramatized the decade old long gold smuggling via Nepal which is guessed to be amounted to 7 tons of gold till the date this case was busted. As for the defence of the gold smuggling there were public outcry to justify the smuggling that advocated the disbalance between the demand and supply of the gold necessitated the smuggling of gold in Nepal. Such alibi and apathy of the government has given enough ground for the organized criminal nexus to run the business for decades in Nepal.

According to Raju Chaudhari, 85% of gold is imported out of Banking process as directed by the Government of Nepal. There is an association of Gold and Silver business houses that challenges that there has never been an investigation and indictment of any gold business persons, therefore, government has no authority to declare such transaction illegal. It shows the gap in the investigation, mandated authority for investigation and a clarity in substantive and procedural law regarding gold transaction in Nepal. As a result, despite a big hue and cry, the investigation of the 33 Kg. of gold and prosecution of offenders have come to nothing till date.

Corruption

In general terms, corruption can be understood as a transaction propagated by people having influence and vested interest. Generally, corruption is willful conduct or intent aimed at securing undeserving or illegitimate gains through illegal, unethical or immoral means. Characterized by deliberate abuse or misuse of one's authority or position.

According to the 2018 Corruption Perception Index reported by the Transparency International (TI), Transparency International (TI) has ranked Nepal 124 out of 175 countries in their list of least corrupt countries the world. According to the same Report, corruption rank in Nepal has averaged 127.40 from 2004 until 2018. (Transparency International Report, 2019).

Nepal has been gradually losing public trust in its financial system, its politicians and political parties. Politicians in power and their coteries are among the leading perpetrators of corrupt practices. Nepal needs to develop measures to prevent politicization of students, teachers, educational institutions and the civil service as well.

Nepalese government is abusing state funds by arbitrary channelling financial aid to handpicked dubious recipients without any regard for accountability. Such malpractice has inflicted avoidable suffering of the country and the people. As the ultimate accountable entity, the government leadership's deliberate inaction or reluctance to eradicate this evil is equivalent to becoming a partner in crime, and promoting and perpetuating corruption. World Happiness Report 2018 has ranked Nepal 101 among 156 countries of the world. Therefore, Nepal's political leadership has the moral obligation and legitimate authority to end this anomaly (Wostey, 2018). The article cited above clearly illustrates the undesirable, unethical partnership or the organized criminals, brokers, commission agents and the politicization of crime that has introduced a common parlance of "*the criminalization of politics and the politicization of crime*".

Recently, the government had decided to regulate the Transport Syndicates which it had created to support its own political system. But unfortunately, the government had to withdraw its decision when it

found out that the transport syndicates had developed onto an organized cartel not weaker than the government by any means. As the issue surfaced into public notice, people were shocked to know that all the public transports were dictated and monopolized by five big syndicates all over the country. For example *Prithvi Rajmarg (Highway) Bus Syndicate alone controlled 1,375 vehicles*. This Syndicate spends more than 30 million from its welfare fund only. It spends 50 million insurance per year. It has got 400 staffs and 700 driving staffs only. Similarly, area-wise *ArnikoYatayat (Arniko Transport)* covers four districts and spends 40 million per annum, it has 200 busses and has a total of single and corporate shares of 650 transport agencies. It shows that the private organization like transport organizations, whose partnership and collaboration has become indispensable for the smooth running of the government. There are numerous professional organizations working like a sister and partner organization of various political parties today, such as medical associations, bar association to barber's association and syndicates.

At the present moment, there are five powerful transport syndicates that control the whole of the national transport businesses and they are: Narayani Transport Management Syndicate (*Narayani Yatayat Byabasai Sangathan*), West-Nepal Bus Business Organization, Butwal Nepal (*Paschim Nepal Bus Byabasai Sangh*), Prithvi Highway Bus Management Syndicate (*Prithvi Rajmarga Bus Sanchalak Samiti, Pokhara*), Arniko Transport Services Committee, Kathmandu (*Arniko Yatayat Sewa Samiti*), and Rapti Zone Private Bus Business Committee (*Rapti Anchal Sarbajanik Bus Byabasai Samiti*).

It shows that the organized syndicates are gaining strength to bargain and on the line to become business cartels if not the organized criminal syndicates as yet. But there is one thing is common in the syndicates, trade unions students and sports associations, i.e. they are developing the characteristics of criminal syndicates and cartels that can be seen in other parts of the world. There are similar features of all these groups with that of the criminal syndicate is that – they all are strongly motivated to make profit, they all are very aggressive and assertive to protect their interest, they have their own code of reward and punishment, protection of their own interest; and ultimately they are becoming more powerful and united to challenge the government to assert their interest before the national welfare an interest. There are many instances where the government and its constitutional bodies show helplessness to take action on the bureaucratic highhandedness and abuse.

The broad definition put forward by the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, where OCGs are described as:

a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences in order to obtain financial or other material benefit (UNODC, 2010).

How to translate this definition in Nepali parlance? In practice, organized crime is about making money as much as possible as quickly as possible through any means available, both legitimate and illicit. That is exactly what is happening in the social, political and economic of post conflict Nepal after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2006. Like any other countries of the world, public perception of Nepalese is also often influenced by the glamorized portrayal of organized crime in fictional representations in television and film, as opposed to the less sophisticated groupings of “seedy, immoral, and grubby individuals” who make up a typical OCG. This mismatch between reality and perception equally applies to the methods and resources available to tackle the threat, and subconsciously influences expectations at every level (Keene, 2018, p. 8).

Challenges of Organized Crime in Nepal

For most of the 20th century, organized crime was predominantly seen as a law enforcement problem. However, this changed during the 1990s when organized crime, especially transnational organized crime (TOC), evolved to become a wide-ranging security issue as a consequence of globalization and market deregulation (Williams, 2009). Organized crime is not a new phenomenon in Nepal, but contemporary socio-political mindset of globalization, democratic freedom and changed social political context seems to have embraced it to a very dangerous proportion.

Besides political, socio-economic reasons, they are other factors that have contributed speedy momentum and energy to OCGs and TOCs in Nepal. “As Internet and cell phone technologies became increasingly accessible and affordable, they also inadvertently supported the activities of global criminal networks. Consequently, OCGs flourished, taking advantage of all the technological, physical, and economic

advantages globalization had to offer, enabling them to expand geographically across borders to become better networked and interconnected than ever before (Keene, 2018, p. 4).

In the year 2000, United Nations (UN) Convention against Transnational Organized Crime represented a milestone in global policy response to the threat. Warnings about the rise of organized crime also came from several additional sources including the UN Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2010). Concurrently, the complex nature of organized crime and its threats have been heavily talked and debated in Nepal too. But the lack of adequate understanding, seriousness and commitment from the government and the people has given full advantages to the OCG and TOC locally, vertically and horizontally. Talking about locally, Nepalese people understand and know goons like , Chakre Milan, Min Krishna Maharjan, Dinesh Adhikari aka Chari, Gaite, Deepak Manage, Ganesh Lama and so many in the capital of Nepal. There are several such notorious law breakers, goons, government contractors and brokers who are exposed but proven untouchables by the concerned stakeholders; whether it is the government, public or private entity. Vertically there are many people in the government, politics, bureaucracy; people roaming around their periphery who get exposed repeatedly with no indictment, action, prosecution. Time and again, big names of Nepalese business tycoons and social political stalwarts and their suspected involvement in the capital flight and money laundering, tax evasion and international scams, stashing billions of dollars in Panama, Switzerland and many off-shore banks.

In Nepal, like any other countries of the world, ‘there is a tendency of oversimplification and generalizations in describing and tackling organized crime has been observed widely by scholars and practitioners’ (Keene, 2018, p.9). In the case of fragile states in particular, there is a further tendency to use the term “OCGs” or “TOC” to describe all types of organized crime activity, as well as seeing TOC as an inevitable consequence of the fragile environment without understanding the dynamics of how and why they occurs (Keene, 2018, p. 9). This may be one of the reasons, why Nepalese government to responsible law enforcement officers to the people in general take organized and transnational crime as a normal destiny to be taken too lightly as if it is nothing.

Transnational Crime

OECD defines Transnational Organized Crime as:

“Transnational organized crime (TOC) has recently developed in ways that place it at the top of the international agenda. Advances in technology and communications as well as in the global political economy have brought about significant changes in the way TOC behaves and operates. TOC is established in many countries around the world irrespective of their levels of development. It is a fluid and diversified industry that engages in a host of illicit activities including drug trafficking, human trafficking, piracy and counterfeiting. Although it may affect strong states, it is above all conflict affected or otherwise weakened states that are vulnerable to TOC predations and may serve as bases for international criminal enterprises (Miraglia & Briscoe, 2012).”

Most widely-accepted definitions however presents two important elements when defining TOC: 1) sales of illegal goods and services; 2) a certain organized structure with some form of hierarchy that has its goal the profiting from the above mentioned provisions of goods and services; and 3) the perpetuation of their existence through violence (or threat of violence) and corrupt relations with public officials (Miraglia & Briscoe, 2012). With secrecy being one of the foundations of TOC’s survival it is difficult to assess the scope of its diversity and operations; however today we do know much more about TOC than ever before. But the problem with the TOC is the lack of adequate understanding of the term. However, (OECD) elucidates TOC as follows:

With secrecy being one of the foundations of TOC’s survival it is difficult to assess the scope of its diversity and operations; however today we do know much more about TOC than before. The sweeping generalizations which are often used to bracket together international crime and fragile states as a leading global ‘threat’ tend to ignore important nuances in the way particular countries and regions have been incorporated into illicit markets (Miraglia & Briscoe, 2012).

State Failure and Organized Crime

US Fund for Peace and Foreign Policy magazine have identified 12 indicators of state failure that is further sub-divided into social, economic and six political indicators. It has pointed demographic pressure, refugees or internally displaced people, vengeance and ethnic grievances / violence, and human flight as social indicators. It has identified - uneven economic development and economic decline, balance of payment, inflation, unemployment and capital flights as economic indicators. And, most importantly, it has identified six political indicators as – the criminalization of politics, (politicization of

12 INDICATORS OF FRAGILE STATE - INDEX 2018	
COHESION INDICATOR	C . 1. Security Apparatus C . 2. Factional Elite C . 3. Group Grievances
ECONOMIC INDICATOR	E . 1. Economic Decline / Poverty E . 2. Uneven Development E . 3. Human Flights / Brain Drain
POLITICAL INDICATOR	P . 1. State Legitimacy P . 2. Public Service P . 3. Human Rights & Rule of Law
SOCIAL INDICATOR	S . 1. Eemographic Pressure S.2. Refugee and IDPs
CROSS CUTTING INDICATOR	E . 1. External intervention
Source : https://issuu.com/fundforpeace/docs/951171705_fragile_states_index_annu	

crime), endemic corruption and lack of transparency and accountability, and loss of people's confidence on state institutions, deterioration of public services, politically induced violence, abuse of legal and political rights; abuse of security institution as "state within a state", factions and fragmentation among ruling elites and state institutions, and growing foreign interest, influence and political indicators leading to a failed state (Fund For Peace, 2018). Although, Nepal has got a two third majority government and the government is striving for rapid economic development, but the indicators are showing quite the

opposite. All these have to be studied on the basis of local, national, serious organized and including transnational crime indicators, corruption, money laundering and capital flight, brain drain.

According to Fragile State Index 2018, Nepal has fared Afghanistan 9th Position with 107.3 points, Pakistan (17th Position with 98.9 point), Nepal in the 33 position with 91.0, point, Bangladesh 39th Position with 89.1 Point, Sri-Lanka – 47th Position with 86.6 Point, India - 72nd Position with 77.9 Point, and Bhutan with 83rd Position 76.0 Point, Maldives in the 86th Position with 74.4 Points (The Fund for Peace, 2018).

Models of Organized Crime

OECD has also classified different types or models of organized crimes as follows:

- Local organizations primarily concerned with local crime;
- Local organizations with global reach (illicit production)
- Transnational logistical networks and
- Fragile states as transit points for transnational organized crime

Local organizations primarily concerned with local crime:

Local crime may occur and become exacerbated as a result of the absence of a functioning state or inclusion with the state. Examples have been observed in post-conflict countries where OCG have been involved in significant criminal activities with strong state links. However, their linkage with transnational illicit markets carry marginal importance which may be sporadic than systematic. In tackling localized crime, a localized disruption strategy utilizing local actors may be sufficiently enough. In such a situation, adequate consideration and response need to be prioritized so that it does not aggravate the people so they may come to street to challenge the government institution as a whole. The police encounter of Dinesh Adhikari aka "Chari" to Ghaite, Ganesh Lama, Chakre Milan, Gorkhali and various Don scattered around the country may be classified under this category. This also shows the risk of police high-handedness of orchestrating fake encounters that may lead to more revenge killing and gun culture and violence as seen in Mexico and Afghanistan and Sudan and so many other post conflict countries.

Local organizations with global reach (illicit production):

In comparison to the locally confined crimes, more efforts and international approach may require to address and tackle local organizations with global reach. Recently many great events have been exposed by Nepalese media where Nepalese local parties with global reach have been questioned by the public at least. The exposures of seven business houses with direct link with PANAMA PAPERS, 52 business houses with their undeclared foreign bank accounts abroad and purchase of aboard to Wide Body Aircraft has been the latest episode where the suspected persons are Nepalese with international connections.

Such parties can be described as having TOC origin at home and their unspecified questionable involvement abroad. Some of the examples are, cultivating and producer nation of any narcotic substance or illicit goods manufactured in conditions of conflict and distributed to the global market through

international commercial intermediaries. The key factor that determines these types of organized crime groups is their supply chain requires logistical skills in transport and delivery, as well as domestic and international connection to succeed. A recent case of precursor chemical, Pseudo-ephedrine was seized where the owner of big pharmaceutical company and also the founder of the prestigious bank was arrested and indicted. Sanghai who owned a pharmaceutical company who was also the founder of Sunrise Bank was arrested by the Narcotic Control Bureau of Nepal. The chemical he used to trade via Nepal was neither produced in Nepal nor used to produce any medicine. But despite all hue and cries, the case got cooled down with any further investigation without any legal action and prosecution. The notorious case of 33 KR. Gold Smuggling can be taken as an example of such case.

The key factor that determines the success of this type of OCG is its illicit supply chain which requires logistical skills in transport and delivery, as well as domestic and international connections to succeed. Here, domestic and international interventions combined would seem most appropriate to disrupt the criminal network both in-country and internationally.

Transnational logistical networks:

The significance of the third category identified, namely transnational logistic networks, is that they play a central role as intermediaries in the global distribution of illicit goods. Although as much as 85% of the total value of trade is estimated to derive from the drug trade according to the UNODC, established illicit networks can also be utilized for other criminal commodities (UNODC 2010).

Fragile states as transit points for transnational organized crime:

The fourth and final category identified by OECD is nation-states, which allows countries to become safe havens for global, local, and international crime. This is highly relevant as the state, which is supposed to disrupt crime, is instead a sponsor and an enabler of crime; ... in which corruption plays the key (Keene, 2018, p.11).

Traditional Organized Crime and Its Deviation

Since last two decades, there has been a significant change in OCG and TOC activities. Contemporary OCGs have moved away from a system of hierarchical, turf-based groups into interconnected, flexible, and opportunistic networks. Unlike traditional OCGs like Mafias, Yakuza, Tirade and Korean and Vietnamese, new types of OCGs have new formations comprising broader, developed, and less formal structures, often lacking formally defined roles or its members, where continuity of membership is often less of a defining factor (Reed 2009, p. 8).

Another recent change that has been observed in many countries is the move away from a monopolistic setting where one or two larger criminal organizations control international criminal trade, to the emergence of smaller, more reactive networks. This flatter, more informal structure has come about partly as a result of advancements in communications technology which require less formalized command and control structures to be in place (Shawand & Kemp, 2012, p. 7).

As a result, these less formal structures can make it difficult for intelligence analysts, law enforcement agencies to conduct up-to-date network analysis and operations as their relationship and membership constantly keep on changing (Keene, 2018, p.12).

Negative Impact of Organized and Transnational Crime

- OCG activities can be harmful to stabilization, peace-building, and development of a country in several ways. For example, criminal funds may distort the political process by funding the activities of some political parties and not others. This in turn may result in corrupt parties getting into power or retaining the power.
- Another destabilizing factor of widespread OCG's presence is its impact on the local economy. When legitimate means of economic survival gets threatened by OCG activities, it leads to economic instability, inflation, unhealthy competition, corruption that may lead to further increase in crime when legitimate means of economic survival becomes difficult if not impossible and ultimately further conflict and violence (Keene, 2018, p. 13).
- In a fragile economy of a post conflict political transition, it is natural for government and people to strive hard to strengthen local economy. When organized group undermines healthy economic growth through syndicate, partisan politics; through immoral illegal practices corruption,

intimidation and violence, it will drive the society into organized crime and violence. Such environment is likely to prevent new businesses from opening, thus reducing the legitimate employment opportunities as well as fair trade and market competition.

- A poor economic environment will also result in brain drain and muscle drain; as well as scaring away foreign investors and donors to divert their investment elsewhere; (Keene, 2018, p. 14). Because, without a vibrant economy there is no place to invest or spend the money. When this phenomenon is ignored by the government and the OCG, the economic health of the country is doomed to failure.
- Suppose, even where criminal money is injected or stays in the country, there will be a lot of negative consequences which affect the local economy and have a destabilizing influence in the country. One example is price inflation, which can occur as a result of the circulation of criminal money. This in turn increases the cost of living and makes their people struggle just to survive or become poorer or dependent more on foreign aid. In such situations where aid is unavailable, or where regular aid is withdrawn by the donor, the recipient country will be forced to resort to crime as the only means of their survival. This will automatically induce petty criminals to join organized crime and develop themselves of new OCGs from among themselves. Transport Syndicate and Trade Unions resembles this group in a larger extent. Many poor conflict ridden countries of Africa and Asia like Afghanistan, Sudan, Sierra Leon and CIS countries and countries of former Yugoslavia and even Nepal may be put into this category. Whenever such countries resort to crime, joining OCG or insurgency group in return for payment or sustenance, further strengthening the position of these groups (Shawand & Kemp, 2012).

Irregular Forces

IHL refer the term ‘irregular forces’ to combatants that form part of a country’s armed forces in an armed conflict and that do not belong to country’s regular forces (Boczek, 2005). CPN (Maoist) prior to 2006 Comprehensive Peace Agreement could be termed as Irregular Force of Nepal.

On the other hand, to be categorized as ‘regular armed forces,’ the Hague Conventions’ (1899, 1907, and Hague IV) four conditions must be met. First, they are commanded by a person responsible for his subordinates to a party of conflict. Second, regular forces have a fixed distinctive emblem, recognizable at a distance. Third, they carry arms openly, and fourth, they conduct operations in accordance with the laws and customs of war (The Geneva Convention 1949). Combat forces that do not satisfy these criteria are referred to as irregular forces. As such insurgency groups and terrorist organizations fall under the definition of irregular groups (Keene, 2018, p.16). The fundamental difference between OCGs and irregular groups may differ in motivation and aspirations. The OCGs are found to be driven predominantly by economic gain and power; whereas irregular groups may be seen as being more motivated by political change. But in many ways, drivers of OCGs may look similar to private organizations whose aim is also to maximize profit. All OCGs are essentially a business, albeit criminals generally intend to enjoy the illegal proceeds through legitimate way or use legal proceed in illegitimate business whereas irregular groups may be more willing to die fighting for their cause (Keene, 2018, p. 15).

The primary motivation for terrorism and irregular groups in general, however, may not be only financial. For them finance is a means to an end, that may be either ideological and political aspirations or financial gain for power and prestige (“Money laundering & Terrorist Financing – A Global Threat, 2004”). A significant portion of terrorist funding is derived from donors, some of them may be fully aware of the intended purpose of their contribution and others may not be (Keene, 2018, p. 17). Nonetheless, where legitimate resources of funding such as donations are inadequate or unavailable, terrorists also may seek alternative sources by turning to criminal activity, such as extortion and hostage taking for ransom. Like any criminal network, terrorist organization may also derive funding from a variety of criminal activities of varying scale and sophistication form low level crime to serious organized crime (“Money laundering & Terrorist Financing – A Global Threat, 2004”).

In some cases, terrorist’s involvement in trafficking and crime may not be only strategic; they may do it for sustaining their organization financially. They may also garner and provide them political support and legitimacy within and among local population which depend upon the protection and for their livelihood. Such criminal activity is rife in fragile sates where the risk of prosecution is low as a consequence of weak or absent rule of law (Keene, 2018, p. 19).

More often both OCGs and the irregular forces demonstrate the ability to move between licit and illicit markets to finance their activities, particularly by laundering money. Traditionally, money laundering is associated with the proceeds of crime, which is usually derived from the sale and distribution of illicit goods and services, which is then moved in a way so as to disguise its origin and appear as legitimate funds. Money laundering techniques are used not only to conceal money origination from narcotics, but also for a whole range of other criminal activities (Keene, 2018, p. 20).

Organized Crime and Irregular Groups

There are scholars and practitioners who acknowledge that there is always a possibility for OCGs and irregular group (that may include terrorist organizations) to convergence through collaboration, alliances and tactical appropriation, reaching some central point where their objectives meet. Others argue that their partnership may even go beyond convergence to emerge into hybrid groups, which share common ground in ideology, modus operandi, and profit generation.

Transnational Organized Crime and Fragile States

Hybrid Entities

The hybrid entities concept builds on the theory of convergence, whereby the entities continually converge to the point where the two groups actually become one hybrid group. According to the report for the European Parliament in 2012:

Hybrid groups either begin as organized crime groups that appropriate terror tactics and simultaneously seek to secure political aims, or they begin as terrorist groups that appropriate criminal capabilities to the point that they begin to use their political (ideological) rhetoric as a façade for perpetrating organized crime (Keene, 2018).

TOC and Security Organizations in Nepal

Politicians in Nepal also have vocalized TOCs and OCGs as their top priority and policy, which then filter down to security institutions such as Nepal Police and Armed Police Force, Nepal. To actualize this commitment, politicians need to be able to demonstrate their seriousness in action. But there is a great risk that dealing with the OCGs and TOCs on ad-hoc basis and its gross generalization can be very counterproductive and harmful to the society and the nation as a whole (Keene, 2018, p. 8).

Conclusion

The fundamental questions for all concerned stakeholders of Nepal have a minimum level of conceptual, metaphysical, methodological understanding of organized crime, transnational crime and white collar crimes? It is also necessary to examine the seriousness, committed of the government to deter, prevent, deter, or obliterate (if possible) the cause and consequences of the organized crime? Because it is far elusive, complicated, difficult, risky than dealing with day to day isolated, petty, emotionally led street crimes. Below listed concluding recommendation can be applicable:

- Recognize OCGs as a threat to the National Security
- Widen the scope of network analysis – enhance intelligence assessment by widening the network
- Tackle corruption – develop and understanding of how corruption enables partnership to from between OCGs irregular groups, state officials, and identify ways in which this can be tackled.
- Address intelligence knowledge gaps – develop multidisciplinary approach incorporating experts from different disciplines.
- Provide training and education to enable deeper understanding of how OCGs, irregular groups, and corrupt state officials collaborate. Adopt an integrated approach to ensure that the widest possible intelligence picture is captured on OCGs and state actors, and engage dialogue to develop a collaborative approach to tackling the problem
- Prepare for unintended consequences and consider how these can be mitigated.

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APF Command and Staff College, Sanogaucharan, Kathmandu, Nepal

APF Command and Staff College is a newly founded educational institution affiliated with the Tribhuvan University, Nepal. Human Capital is being recognized as the most important capital of developmental and security sector in present contemporary world. Quality education to the future Commanders is the primary motto of this college. The only paramilitary type organization, APF is tasked with different mandates by Government of Nepal. To have the better knowledge and professionalism on the mandated task, to produce competent, professional and vibrant mid level officers, to identify the present security challenges within the country and abroad, to extract the essence considering the political, social, cultural, religious, economic, diplomatic and other issues in a coherent manner, this college was established aiming to fulfill the present gap in mid level command and staff appointments.

The College located in the center of Kathmandu Valley is trying to be the centre of excellence and also works on research issues of the organization. This college trains its selected officers in the administrative, operational, staff and policy aspects of the organization. Besides, participating officers get an opportunity to have Masters in Security, Development and Peace Studies (MSDPS) hand in hand with professional studies of Command and Staff Course honoured by the symbol “psc”. Through a unique blend of professional experiential and academic programs delivered within a student-centric culture, this college prepares its students for internal security challenges and need of Nepal and acquaints them with the global security perspective.

The college is headed by a Deputy Inspector General of APF, Nepal assigned as the Commandant of college and chairperson of College Management Committee. The College has two wings, namely Academic Wing and Professional Wing. Academic Wing is coordinated by Academic Program Coordinator responsible for the overall academic program of MSDPS. Eminent professors, professional experts and academicians run their program with independent deliberations. Professional Wing is headed by Chief Instructor and is composed of Directing Staffs/internal instructors (Faculties) who are all Command and Staff Course qualified from Nepal or abroad. This part is conducted in a syndicate room and is facilitated by internal faculty. Apart from its designed syllabus, College is also conducting seminars, conferences and workshops as part and parcel in cooperation and collaboration with Tribhuvan University, other academic institutions and related stakeholders.

To give quality exposure to the student officers, college organizes excursion visit in neighboring countries security organizations (Similar in job nature) which is helping to exchange empirical understanding and experiences among the officers working in the field of law and order. College also organizes internal study tour to expose the student officers with working environment of the units in different work place throughout the country.



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