

1. Conceptualisation

This chapter starts with the basic concepts of land-based discrimination namely, i) Power and domination, ii) Deprivation and exploitation, and iii) Discrimination and violence. These concepts are considered appropriate to explain land-based discrimination.

1.1 Power and domination

Power has great to do with domination. This is a concept basically used in relation to individual and small groups. Domination implies relation among major antagonist groups within a society and it is related more to structuralism (hierarchy in a society due to stratification) and functionalism (the way through which society operates). Domination belongs more to the Marxist vocabulary (Lieten and Srivastav 1999).

Domination does not operate in vacuum. Rather it is structurally embedded in the controlling position in the varied institutions of the society. By borrowing the argument of Marx, class dominance is defined in relation to the ownership of means of production and appropriation of labour surplus (ibid).

The Marxian concept of class involves the totality of relations of households to the means of production and labour processes. The delineation of rural classes or categories of agrarian classes is based on an exchange (emanating from the ownership of land or other means of production) which is rooted mainly in agricultural production, for example, the ownership of land allows the big land owning households to exercise control over land, labour and credit market. This relationship splits into the socio-political spheres.

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In Marxist ideology, autonomy of political power has not been a focus, rather political power is subservient to economic power and fundamental changes in the society are determined and caused by the economic forces and modes of production. Mode of production determines the political and social superstructure. In material life, it determines the general character of social, political and spiritual process.

In the past, feudalism was based on ownership of land, the dominant mode of production. Political power was dominated by absolute kings and feudal overlords. Wealth and position in society was derived from the land ownership and the land-owners had dominated different state structure. This dominance ensured the class characteristics of the state. Thus, the land-based discrimination principally appears in a structural sense.

Structuralists have used the terms 'structural constraints' and the 'logic of system' as the means of explaining why a system serves the interests of dominant class. Going beyond the control of an individual, it tries to show how the intentions of people and actions are influenced by the factors outside their control and tries to provide concepts which could be used to analyse system constraints. It also attempts to show how different structures contribute to the maintenance of system and eventually to the perpetuation of division of power established by the system (Joseph 2004).

In sum, political power is the means of dominance and oppression in hands of possessing class to further their class interest. Economic power has affected and subjugated the political power or, it means that, the economic power governs political power.

1.2 Deprivation and exploitation

An individual, group or any community feels something inferior, frustration, anger or some sorts of deprivation when they lack some goods, resource, service or comfort. They are more likely to organise to improve their conditions or to fight against barriers of deprivation.

Similarly, Sen (1981) argues that starvation and poverty are matters of deprivation. They are explained through the use of the entitlement relation and exchange of the entitlement. This entitlement relation describes about the ownership structure which is determined by certain rules of legitimacy. There are four types of entitlement relations: trade-based, production-based, owner labor, and inheritance and transfer entitlement (ibid).

A person's ability to avoid starvation depends upon his ownership and exchange entitlement. The exchange entitlements faced by him/her rely naturally on one's position in the economic class structure as well as the mode of production. What one owns will vary with his/her class. The actual exchange entitlement differs with his ownership position. But even in the same ownership position, the exchange entitlement is different depending upon the available economic prospects. This depends on the modes of production and one's position in terms of production relation. For example, while a peasant differs from a landless labourer in terms of ownership (a peasant owns land, a labourer does not), a landless share-cropper differs from a landless labourer not in respective ownership, but in the way one can use the resource. Landless labourers are employed in exchange for a wage whereas a share-cropper cultivates and owns some portions of the produce. Thus, starvation is a result of inability to establish entitlement to enough food (ibid).

Relative deprivation is characterised by the condition and feeling of deprivation. It is an objective sense to describe situation where people possess less desire of attributes, i.e. assets, income, power than do others. Feeling of deprivation cannot be independent of the condition of deprivation. Indeed, there is irreducible core of absolute deprivation in the idea of poverty which translates the report of starvation, malnutrition and visible hardship into the diagnosis of poverty without having to ascertain first the relative pictures.

On the one hand, Sen (1997) describes capability deprivation by borrowing Adam Smith's concept 'inability to interact freely with others, or inability to appear in public without shame - more generally taking part in the life of the community, is an important deprivation in itself'. On the other hand, being excluded from social relations can lead to other deprivation as well, thereby further limiting living opportunities. For example, no opportunity for employment or no ways of receiving credit may lead to economic impoverishment that may, in turn, lead to other deprivation (undernourishment and homelessness). Such social exclusion can, thus, be constitutively a part of capability deprivation as well as instrumentally a cause of diverse capability failures.

Being excluded can sometimes be in itself a deprivation. This can be of intrinsic importance of its own. For example, not being able to relate to others and to take in the life of community can directly improve person's life. It is a loss on its own, in addition to whatever further deprivation it may indirectly generate. This is a case of constitutive relevance of social exclusion.

Landlessness is similarly an instrumental deprivation. A family without land in a peasant society may be deeply handicapped. In a peasant society, of course, it gives the age-old value system. Landlessness can also be constitutive in the world value system. A family's special relation with its land is there, i.e., 'to be without land may seem like being without a limb of one's own'. But whether or not a family attaches direct value to its 'own land', landlessness can also help generate economic and social deprivation. Indeed, alienation of land has been appropriately enough a several consequences.

1.3 Discrimination and violence

Simply, discrimination implies the translation of prejudices and stereotypes into practices. The prejudices and stereotypes are attitudes or state of mental being whereas discrimination refers to the act or the unequal treatment of people because of the membership of the concerned group (Thompson and Hickey 1994). There are different bases of discrimination such as gender, caste, race, ethnicity, age, geography etc. Despite various bases, the root cause is an individual's wish to maintain his or her hegemony over others based on the prejudices and stereotypes. Similarly, land-based discrimination (also termed as class-based discrimination) is basically structural. The land holding or land distribution pattern in Nepal is unequal and it has resulted into various agrarian classes. It means that there is differential access to principal means of production (especially land) in an agrarian society like Nepal. Thus, access to land determines a pattern of production relation. Then the social relation of this 'production and reproduction' appears either in the form of feudal or semi-feudal relations and respective exploitation. These domination and discrimination can be observed in the forms of violence to a varied degree and intensity.

According to Galtung (1996), there are three types of violence: i) Direct violence ii) Structural violence and iii) Cultural violence. Additionally, systematic violence is also an important category in the case of land issues. It occurs one after another following the determined course of action. Sometimes, it possesses characteristics of these three in same case as syndrome.

Direct violence appears in individual, social and world space, intended to harm or hurt (at least with a will to harm). It can be divided into verbal, physical and violence harming over time. Structural violence is defined as building into personal, social and world spaces. It is indirect, invisible

and unintended. This sort of violence has to do with politics, repression, economy and marginalisation. There is vertical as well as horizontal structural violence. The vertical structural violence is repressive (political power), exploitative (economic power) and alienated (cultural power). But the horizontal structural violence keeps the people who want to live together apart, and does so to the people who want to live apart together. Cultural violence serves to legitimise direct and structural violence motivating actors to commit direct violence or to omit counteracting structural violence. It is both intended and unintended. This type of violence is divided on the bases of religion, law, ideology, language, art, empirical formal science and cosmology. The carriers of cultural violence are schools, universities and media. Further, systematic violence refers to the violence that occurred in successive stage one after another. It appears in syndrome and ultimately leads to severe results. It is indirect too.

2. Agrarian society and Marxism

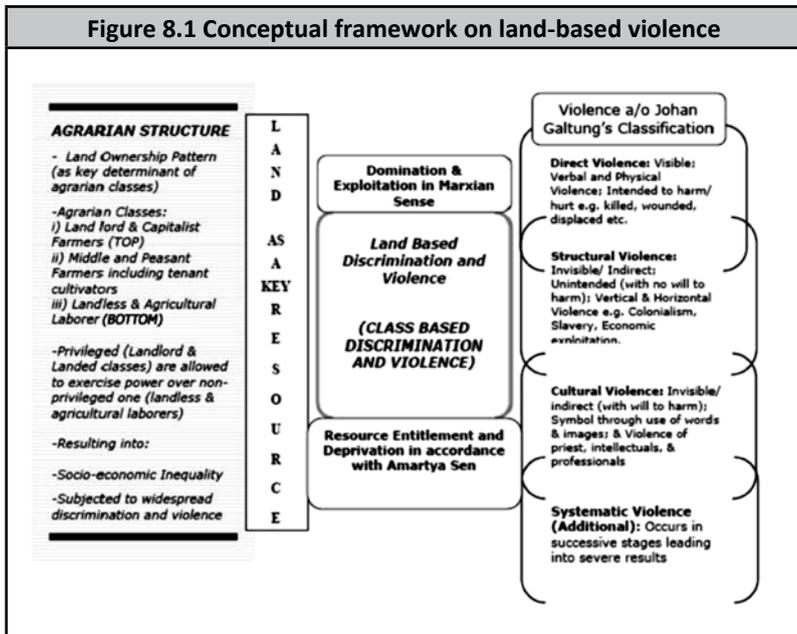
Agrarian society simply refers to the pattern and interaction of people engaged in land and agriculture. In general, structure of agrarian society, tenurial condition, production and distribution processes, role of groups in the agrarian process and rural economic interactions are the basic components of an agrarian society. An agrarian society is also understood as a way, and the mutual interaction and understanding of use, control and pattern of land ownership. In this chapter, land is put at focus of the agrarian society.

Land is the most important input in production enterprise. Size of land holding owned by a household determines its economic and social position in society. Historically, a person's affluence or poverty solely depends upon his/her control over land. It also has been one of the safest forms of saving and insurance against financial crisis.

Referring to the ownership of land, tenurial structure and structural matrix, the agrarian structure of production relation has been explained in three tier systems i) Landlord and capitalist farmers ii) Middle and peasants farmer including tenant cultivators and iii) Agricultural labors. Further classification was done into six categories by Verma (1993a). They are i) Feudal landlords ii) Rural rich (Rich farmers, Capitalist farmers and Traditional landlords) iii) Rich Peasants iv) Middle Peasants v) Poor Peasants and vi) Landless agricultural laborers.

Summing up, resource entitlement (for e.g. land) provides a sense of power in agrarian setting because land ownership pattern determines

agrarian structure in a society. Agrarian structure consists of various classes ranging from the big land owners to the landless laborers. There is a relationship among classes of persons involved in agriculture and landed interests and other social groups or agrarian classes that occupy central positions in the society in relation to land control and its use. It is necessarily an economic relationship and has to do with the parties' interests in a particular piece of land. There is a social relation of production and reproduction. Positive and negative implication of power appears in an agrarian society. In this regards, land discrimination refers to class-based discrimination that originates from class structure determined by land holding. It has also negative implication of class structure which appears in the forms of violence. Employing classification of violence as described by Galtung (1996), land-based violence are of four types, namely direct violence, structural violence, cultural violence and systematic violence as mentioned earlier. These sorts of prejudices and stereotypes come from class structure which is determined by land holding.



Source: Adapted by the authors based on the theoretical concepts of Marx, Sen and Galtung

3. Land-based discrimination and violence

As land possesses material, symbolic and emotional value, it measures a broader socioeconomic status of an individual in an agrarian society. It is also a principal means of production. As a result, there are different modes of production in the form of domination, exploitation and discrimination in society. These are typical characteristics of land-based feudal and semi-feudal institutions. It determines the super structure of a society. It is because of the inequitable and skewed distribution of land. Accordingly, different types of power relation (master-serf or patron-client) operate in society. By virtues of possession of these values, all political forces (whether left or right) act on land issues and accordingly gain popularity or come into power by raising these issues and putting slogan such as 'land to the tillers'. These are becoming merely the means for political activism. Though it was attempted in different temporal dimensions, no such forces have shown their political desire or will for effective implementation of land reform yet. Due to the efforts of land reform in 1964, only 1.5 per cent (i.e. 29,124 ha) of total arable land has been distributed (Zaman 1973; CBS 2006).

Though land issues rarely seem to be the cause of violence, these might cause outbreak of conflict. Under the influence of political activists, it can therefore easily be turned into a tangible object of dispute, possibly leading into a violent conflict. In a situation characterised by a lack of opportunities rather than by poverty or inequality per se, dispossessed or frustrated groups are all the more likely to be vulnerable to such maneuvering. It is more so especially when it leads to believe that there cannot be any negotiated solution to their plight. Thus, land eventually comes to play a central role as it increases the economic profitability of violence.³ In the absence of efficient livelihood sources other than related to land, land-related conflict may thus emerge not only in rural, but also in urban and peri-urban areas. Various forms of discrimination, exploitation and domination still exist in rural (agrarian) society in varied forms, degree and intensity. Therefore, borrowing from John Galtung's (Galtung, 1996) concept of violence explained earlier under conceptual section, domain of land-based discrimination or violence has been listed in the tabular forms. Three types of violence given by Galtung are i) Direct violence, ii) Structural violence and iii) Cultural violence. Additionally, systematic violence has been also added in that table.

³ www.oecd.org/dataoecd/29/50/29740608.pdf; retrieved on 12 May, 2010.

The following section documents some conceptual aspects related with Haliya, Kamaiya, Haruwa and Charuwa systems. Aforesaid land-based violence and discrimination cannot be observed in distinct category. Rather, they are embedded in these systems intrinsically.

3.1 Haliya system

Haliya simply means 'one who ploughs' but it is understood to have a broader sense as an agricultural labourer who works on land other than his own. Haliya is associated closely with a system of debt bonded in caste based communities which is present in the western hills of Nepal.

Socio-political spheres of Haliya are controlled by the landlords due to the debt bondage. As all of the land owners do not possess large farms, they cannot provide employment for a whole year. During off-season, Haliyas are not needed in the field. So, they go out in search of work to city centres and sometimes to the neighboring country India. They have to come back when landlords want them to return. Hence, seasonal migration as one of livelihood option is a peculiar characteristic of Haliya system.

3.2 Domestic slavery

There is a practice of domestic slavery in eastern Terai of Nepal. Such slaves do not own land and houses at all. Instead, they sleep in the stable and under eaves of landlord's house. They are required to perform domestic as well as field works. In this situation, landlords virtually control every aspect of their lives, from where they sleep to what they eat. The following instances give some of the pictures of domestic slavery in Nepal.

3.2.1 Kamaiya system

Generally, Kamaiya system is found to be practised in some of the western districts of Nepal. Characterised by the system of bonded labourers and serfdom, Kamaiyas are usually paid in kind and bonded by debt. There is compulsion for them to stay on the land all the year round. A verbal contract is traditionally made with the landlord during the festival of Maghi in mid-January in each year.

3.2.2 Haruwa and Charuwa system

The major issues and exploitation like wage discrimination, debt bondage, social injustice and mental harassment by the landlords and masters are very similar to Haliya and Kamaiya system. Haruwa and Charuwa systems are the rituals of hiring people under certain terms and conditions for

fixed period. Haruwas are for ploughing and Charuwas are for grazing cattles. Basically, these systems originate from landlessness and poverty. They enter into contract either annually or as per negotiation.

4. Land and state governance

A study conducted by Meyer and Chalise (1999) has mentioned that economic class of person, in Nepalese context, is loaded with a connotation of relativity, as value of land property in different districts of Nepal. The result was that an overwhelming majority of 76.7 per cent (out of 60) comes from middle class followed by 13.3 per cent from the higher and 10 per cent from the lower class respectively in national council. Similarly, of the then 205 members of the House of Representatives, a majority of 56.6 per cent fall in middle class category while the remaining 35.1 per cent and 8.3 per cent of the members fall in the higher and lower economic strata respectively. The data, at the parliamentary level, depicts that most of the members, that constitutes 61.1 per cent, have a middle economic class background among the general populace at the constituency. The higher economic backgrounds enjoy as much as 30 per cent and the lower economic status registers as less as 8.7 per cent strength in the bicameral legislature.

Blaike et al. (2000) also state that deprivation and poverty are the products of complex structure of relationship between deprived households (majority of peasant community) and more privileged and powerful minority. This sort of Nepal's crisis reflects structural underdevelopment of political economy which is persistent and chronic. It results into the production and reproduction of the deprivation and poverty. That is why people are struggling against such a deprivation by securing private means of production and challenging patron-client relationship for their socioeconomic security.

5. Consequences of discrimination

Allport (1954) mentions five stages to describe hostility action in successive stages that originate from the prejudices, beliefs and attitudes i) antilocutions, ii) avoidance, iii) discrimination, iv) physical attack, and v) extermination. After discrimination, two stages such as physical attack and extermination come and they promote violence. The physical attack brings the loss of property and life. Similarly, extermination is the expression of extreme form of hostility and violence leading to a total destruction and

eradication of opponent party. For example, the Germans under Hitler tried to exterminate the Jews. Similarly, during 1947-48 before and after the partition of India, the Hindus and the Muslims wanted to exterminate each other (ibid). This is the most violent expression of hostility. Thus, it is clear that prejudice against a group or agent may lead logically from avoidance and antilocution to physical attack and finally to extermination. If this trend is not broken or not restrained, the exploited and/or deprived groups will follow this trend against the dominant group.

This section thus introduces with the concept of discrimination and dominance which originates from the interplay of means and modes of production (borrowed from Marxian framework) in an agrarian society. Class exploitation is liable to be regarded as one forms of domination over several others (for e.g. men over women, one brother over others etc). On the other side, it is precisely the centrality of exploitation in class domination - implying the existence of opposing (antagonistic) material interest stemming from unequal control over the means of production.

Class domination goes beyond material exploitation. It includes the exercise of political power as well as ideological domination. Ideological domination can be interpreted as a control over system of values underlying relationship between exploiters and exploited. It seems more meaningful to examine the complex of material, political and ideological conditions that enable one class to control the other, rather than to establish whether these conditions constitute an aspect of one or the other of the concepts mentioned above.

Generally, discrimination starts from prejudices and stereotypes (the state of mental being) and it is visible when it is in practices. As it advances, it can also be observed in violent forms like war, attacks and insurgency. In this regard, the trend of exploitation in agrarian society might create hostile attitude and action between exploiters and exploited groups. These sorts of tension, violence and relations are against national integration.

6. Discrimination and disintegration

The rural society in Nepal is divided. One of the causes of division is the existing land holding structure. It has also created superstructure of the society in stratified forms and power operates accordingly. All the lower economic class people are always at the bottom line and these marginalised and the weakest section of people are always not at the decision-making level. Though there are a lot of development interventions, all these have

tended to reinforce power of land holding people. The deprived sections of the population have negative feeling towards the state mechanism and hence have kept in their hearts a high degree of frustration, feeling of indifference and discrimination. This feeling, to a large extent, had fuelled the last decade's armed insurgency.

Among the various agrarian classes, the marginalised sections of people are laborers. In fact, these laborers are trapped or bonded in different degrees and intensity. In contrast, privileged minority is becoming richer and richer at the cost of labourers and efforts of the lower economic classes. Thus, in one way or the other, socioeconomic inequality is increasing day by day, resulting into a state of injustice and disparity in Nepal.

If discrimination continues, people will lose psychological feeling of being a citizen. They will hold negative feelings towards their nation. There will be no alternative but to adopt different forms of violent activities to escape from different forms of insecurity emerging thereafter. This scenario will be a fertile ground even for terrorism. Different strategic and vested interest could take place in the forms of violence.

If one group or class continues to exploit others, there will be a tendency to get rid of this. Different forms of domination or exploitation makes exploited group organise against others. They ally with different resources or groups to question the legitimacy. Such a trend tends to solidify to overthrow exploitative patterns or relations. During this period, different attacks and counterattacks will appear in the forms of violence.

Despite aforesaid land-based discrimination and desperate consequences, it seems that the key stakeholders have not yet realised it as an important dimension of Nepal's overall peace process. But land reform is clearly mentioned in CPA 2006 so as to end the feudalistic land holding pattern and land-based feudal institutions, to guarantee land entitlement to landless, Haliya, Haruwa, Charuwa, Kamaiya, bonded labourer etc., and to ensure social justice to all the land victims. It is even well-reflected in the Interim Constitution-2007 and Interim Plan-2007 aiming to end 'feudalistic land ownership system'. Redistributive land reform is placed as a prime concern even in the government agendas.

Though land reform includes various elements in a package, those elements of are dealt separately in our practice. For example, the return of property seized during decades' insurgency is a centre stage of current peace process [for e.g., the nine-point understanding of November 2009 between Nepali Congress and UCPN (Maoist)]. It is used as a bargaining

tool to gain political leverage in during the negotiation. If the influential members of political parties have been significantly affected, there is the possibility of striking a deal. In many cases, properties seized during the conflict have been 'redistributed' to the 'landless'. Any forceful eviction also has the potential to erupt in violence which could easily escalate and destabilise peace process as happened in Dudejhari, Kailali in late 2009. Consequently, there is increasing acknowledgement that the restitution of property should be linked with a wider solution of land reform.

Land reform commission formed in 2008 could not complete its work because of change in government. A new commission formed in 2009 ignored the tasks completed by the previous commission. Though the second Land Reform Commission (formed in 2009) submitted its report, it is politically debatable because the UCPN (Maoist), the largest party in the Constituent Assembly, is not represented there. It is clear that land reform is an area of contested political interest. A land reform policy designed to reduce poverty and promote social justice could look very different in practice from one designed to increase investment in land and agricultural production, or one designed to conserve natural resources. In practice, promoting structural change in an area like this needs an approach that goes beyond what any government is able to deliver on their own. There is a need to build consensus among national stakeholders including political parties. Such a consensus could then pave the way for an effective designing of a new land policy. So far, reaching this consensus in Nepal has not been possible in the case of land reform.

7. Equity and justice

Nepal is characterised by its diversity in terms of class, caste, ethnicity, gender and geography. The distance or gap created and maintained by these dimensions are acting as obstacles or negative forces. This diversity (mutual respect and relationships) needs to be addressed properly. If any element or aspect of national integration is not addressed or some alternation occurred in any one element, the whole system might be ruined. It means that state building cannot be achieved at all, until and unless there is equal footing in the all dimensions of national concern. The economic class dimension is one of the prominent issues of state building. There have been observable changes occurred temporally in gender, caste, ethnicity and geographical dimensions. But, class dimension, i.e. production relation, has not changed for a long time despite various attempts on land reform. Hence, there is still a tendency of continuation

of feudal and historical legacies that perpetuated economic inequalities and created gaps between the poor and the rich. Therefore following points have to be taken into account to attain meaningful state building:

- a) Constitutional guarantee of access to and ownership of land for excluded groups: National statistics reveal that the majority of excluded groups in terms of caste, class and ethnicity are landless. Those communities have been facing various kinds of discrimination and violence. The new constitution has to guarantee land entitlement to the excluded community because it determines class status in an agrarian society.
- b) Addressing poverty and injustices through agrarian reform: Other than trade and commerce, land is one of the productive assets in an agrarian society. Thus, land reform or agrarian reform is the precursor to foster economic prosperity of a household as well as of a nation. Hence, it is one of the proven measures to alleviate poverty and injustices in such societies.
- c) Integrated land use planning: Scattered ways of dealing with land issue is creating ambiguities and problem for land reform. It is because of different perspectives for land use. All these perspectives should negotiate and compromise for optimal utilisation of land and it will foster economic growth as well as ecological balance of the nation. It is only possible through integrated land use planning.
- d) Scientific and computerised land record system: Interim Constitution 2007 has a provision of policy to implement scientific land reform and Three Year Interim Plan (2007) has also positioned land reform in economic sector. It mentions that the usage and productivity of land will be increased through land reform. In this scientific context, land record system should be precise, valid and accurate. In their absence, the objective of scientific land reform will not be attained and consequently intended socioeconomic reform will also not be achieved.
- e) Defining scientific land reform and its process/mechanism: Though scientific land reform is well mentioned in the Interim Constitution and plans, it has not yet been defined properly. Thus, its meaning, process and mechanisms have to be clearly mentioned.

- f) Ending feudal land ownership: Historical feudal legacies are maintained for centuries. Thus inequitable ownership is a barrier for agricultural development which is a dominant sub-sector of the national economy. Therefore, all these feudal land ownership should be abolished.
- g) Property Commission or High Level Commission for Land Reform: There are different debates for land reform from the very beginning with their own theoretical and valid arguments. Therefore, it should not be done on an ad hoc basis due to its positive and negative consequences. Hence, High level Commission for land reform with full-fledged authority and power should be formed for its intensive and rigorous work prior to the land reform and its effective implementation. This commission with full-fledged power should provide and ensure social justice to the landless people during and after the reform.
- h) Ensuring effective implementation: Land reform brings various consequences even during the implementation period. Various types of conspiracy, blocking and inhibitions might be observed and these also act as barriers of land reform at macro, meso and micro level. Further, it should focus on the principle of 'land to the tillers'.
- i) Provision for the post-reform measures: Even after the reform, there is a tendency of regaining ownership right from tillers to landlords due to the existing feudal system or debts. If such trends reappear, land reform cannot transform the society socio-economically. Therefore, post-reform measures have to be simultaneously launched to achieve the true objective of the reform.

Land reform by itself cannot bring changes or transform the society. Rather it will create a broader base for socioeconomic transformation. It will also enhance the access on the principal means of production (land) and change the modes of production and production relations. Hence, it gives a sense of socioeconomic security, mutual relationship among various groups and equal footing in the society. Once these realisations occur, an individual will feel as a responsible citizen of nation does. In this way, national integration and state building can be promoted.

8. Conclusion

Land is one of the key factors to determine power structure, especially in an agrarian structure, of a society. Unequal distribution of land is the basis for differential access to resource (land) or principal means of production. It creates different agrarian classes in hierarchy. This is manifested in various forms such as discrimination, dominance, exploitation and violence.

In spite of the past development interventions, political changes and land reform programmes, the feudal and historical legacies in production relation have not changed much. As a result, this has helped in perpetuating the socioeconomic inequalities in every spheres of Nepalese society resulting into a fertile ground for conflict and violence.

On the one hand, a privileged minority group or landed aristocracy has always been exploiting landless people and are becoming richer at the cost of the helpless ones. On the other, these landed ruling class are everywhere in state governance. Land-based agenda has not been yet a central agenda of the state, and same production relations have remained as it used to be in the past. In such a reality, those who are exploited and discriminated can never think, feel or realise themselves as a responsible citizen of the nation. Hence, guaranteeing the access of land to the majority of the poor people is one of the necessary conditions to attain meaningful state building.

Scientific land reform can help create a broader basis for socioeconomic transformation in general, and foster the pace of reducing land-based dominance, discrimination and exploitation in particular. Therefore, aforesaid specific measures should be adopted to attain efficiency (increasing production per unit area) and equity (special focus on the landless and disadvantaged people) of land reform. It should be directed towards the economic prosperity of citizens as well as peace and sustainable development of the nation. Hence, national integration and state building should be viewed from the window of the class based perspectives.

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