

Received date: January, 2026
Accepted date: March, 2026
Published date: May, 2026

Climate Through a Local Lens: A Study of Rajbanshi Indigenous Knowledge

Sushil Kumar Khanal
Lecturer: (Anthropology)
Mechi Multiple Campus,
Bhadrapur, Jhapa, Nepal
Email: sushil.khanal@
memc.tu.edu.np
ORCID: [https://orcid.
org/0009-0001-8052-
0596](https://orcid.org/0009-0001-8052-0596)

Abstract

As our world is combating the new challenges of climate change, the indigenous community possesses traditional knowledge that contributes valuable insights to the study area. In this context, this study explores the climatic knowledge of the Rajbanshi community in Jhapa district of Nepal on the basis of a local lens. The research design is explorative with an ethnographic study. The data collection procedures include unstructured interviews, key informant interviews, participant observation, and focus group discussions, which reveal the community's perception of climate change and their adaptive strategies. As research findings reveal a wider indigenous knowledge, including seasonal forecasting, traditional agricultural practices, and resource management techniques among the Rajbanshi community, transmitted through intergenerational interaction by engaging in social interaction and cultural practices. It also discloses that the Rajbanshi people have a dynamic capacity to adapt to new and changing environmental conditions. Identifying the importance of indigenous knowledge for climate change adaptation and resilience plays a vital role in climate policy and programs for adaptation and resilience.

Keywords: Rajbanshi,
climate, indigenous,
knowledge, perception,
ethnography

Introduction

In the context of climate change, the frequency and intensity of extreme events such as floods and droughts will increase, which could pose huge challenges in water resources management in the coming days. While scientific knowledge on climate threats and changing climate patterns is essential, it is also important to consider the effects in relation to how the threats are perceived and handled by local people (Devkota, 2014). Indigenous communities, with their deep-rooted knowledge systems, play a major role in understanding and adapting to these changes. Indigenous knowledge, often acquired through generations of lived experience, offers valuable insights into climate change impacts and adaptive strategies (Saloranta, 2001). Studies on various indigenous groups worldwide have highlighted the importance of integrating this traditional knowledge into climate change mitigation and adaptation strategies (Subba et al., 2014).

Nepal, nestled in the Himalayas, is particularly vulnerable to the effects of climate change. The region has experienced rapid shifts in temperature, precipitation patterns, and glacial melt, leading to different

ecological and social consequences. Impacts include altered agricultural cycles, higher flooding, and changes in water supply (Shrestha et al., 2012). In reaction to these difficulties, communities across Nepal have been adapting different strategies to cope with changing environmental conditions, often drawing upon their indigenous knowledge systems.

The Rajbanshi community is a significant ethnic group in Jhapa district, their cultural heritage strongly intertwined with the local environment and indigenous knowledge, which is supposed to be passed down from their myth, oral tradition, and local practices. The knowledge encompasses a multitude of aspects from ecological observation, agricultural practices, and other climate-related perceptions (Rajbanshi, 2007). In this context, this paper explores the perceptions of climate change within the Rajbanshi community, including their lived experiences, and their indigenous knowledge-based adaptive strategies in response to climate change.

There are several mythical facts regarding Rajbanshi history and Origin. It is said that they belong to the Bodo family that entered India in the 10th century B.C. from the East, settled on the banks of the Brahmaputra, and gradually spread over Assam and the whole of the North –Eastern part of India, particularly in North Bengal, present Bangladesh (Rangpur, East Dinajpur, North-Western part of Mymensing district), Lower Bhutan, Assam (Goalpara, Dhubri, Northern part of Kamrup and western part of Naogaon district), Meghalaya, Nepal (Bhadrapur and Jhapa, Morang districts), Eastern part of Purnea district of Bihar, some parts of Tripura (Roy, 2017).

The Rajbanshi are widely known for their own unique cultural heritage. For this reason, they would live in the bush village areas of the foothills of the Himalaya. They used to eat a large number of wild plants or leafy greens. With the use of numerous wild plants, they would make their own traditional, delicious food items. Sidol, Sukati, Horpa, Chheka, Shukta, KochuShak, Foktani, PantaBhat, are the famous traditional dishes of Rajbanshi (Monal & Barman, 2018)

Taboo was one of the cultural beliefs and practices among the Rajbanshi people to control human behavior in order to save the environment. Rajbanshi culture, religion, and their environmental beliefs showed a strong harmony with nature. (Sarkar, 2011) to maximize human satisfaction, which in turn led to serious environmental damage. The displacement of indigenous culture, habits, and practices caused the natural degradation. The rapid growth of modernization, industry, and urbanization was gradually diminishing their environmental taboos and so on. The Rajbanshi community thought that since there was no cultural control of environmental protection, there was no ecological balance between the social environment and the natural environment. They thought that the social environment was made up in accordance with natural settings and not vice versa; natural calamities were inevitable. However, the Rajbanshi community followed protective taboos in order to carry out the blessings of nature, and the following paper is meant to explore how the taboos were practiced as an environmental safeguard (Barman, 2018).

The observance of several festivals and puja of several gods and goddesses expresses the religious structure of the Rajbanshi community. In this connection, they worship several different gods and goddesses. These are BaruniSinan, Bhandani Puja, Bisua, Bisuba, Charak puja, Dharam Thakur Puja, Dham, Dhan Kata puja, Devi Puja, Gorakhanath Puja, HudumDeo Puja, Jaganath Puja, Jitua Puja, Kali Puja, Lokhi Puja, Madam KamPuja, Mecheni Puja, Monasa Puja, NayaKhawa, Othai-Pothai Puja, Royagara puja, Satya Narayan Puja, Shiva Ratri, Silua, and Utthan Ekadoshi. They show their respect to almost all the above-listed gods and goddesses. Some of the important festivals observed by the Rajbanshi and some of the gods and goddesses believed by them are described here (Roy, 2017)

Agriculture is the main subsistence of the Rajbanshi, which is exclusively based on human and animal power. Still, they sometimes also use the rice and flour mills located in the village. Agriculture, as a result, is labor-intensive for those goods harvested in winter, such as tobacco and wheat. The observation shows that Rajbanshi rarely use chemical fertilizers but use both soil and animal dung frequently. The lack of firewood due to deforestation and other constraints posed by the forest guard compel the use of cattle dung as a cooking material, which is a convenient form of energy for the rural women due to its long-lasting heat-giving capacity (Bhattarai, 1996). On the other hand, the use of animal dung as firewood also has a certain negative effect on farm production since alternative sources for fertilizing the field are lacking. Usually, the Rajbanshi use the following tools for their agricultural activities:

1. Hal-plough
2. Kodal-spade/hoe
3. Kurali-axe for splitting wood
4. Kachiva-sickle for picking
5. Husuwa-sickle for juteplant
6. Duo-chopper for cutting wood
7. Bossila-smalleraxe for cutting and splitting wood/bamboo
8. Dhungni-club to break the clods after digging
9. Mow-harrow
10. Passini-spud

There are two major ways of relating cultural and social systems (rituals, Festivals etc.) to environmental phenomena: either showing that items of the sociocultural system function as a part of the whole system that also includes the local ecological phenomena or showing that the environment phenomena are responsible in some manner for the Origin or development of the sociocultural system under investigation (Vayda & Walters, 1999)

Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative research approach, allowing for an in-depth exploration of the indigenous knowledge, perceptions, and responses of the Rajbanshi people in Jhapa, Nepal, regarding climate change. Qualitative methods are particularly suitable for understanding the complexities of indigenous knowledge and its cultural context (Dodgson, 2017). The study participants are selected purposively to ensure representation of diverse age groups, genders, and community roles within the Rajbanshi community. The selection process includes consulting the community's older people and local experts for suggestions. Prior to data collection, informed consent is collected from all participants. The consent method includes explaining the study's goals, expected outcomes, and the voluntary nature of participation.

I use a constructivist ontological stance. This perspective recognizes that reality is constructed by people and communities based on their unique cultural, social, and historical contexts (Hay, 2016). I accept that the Rajbanshi community's understanding of climate change is not an objective, universal truth but is rather shaped by their cultural experiences, customs, and social interactions. This aligns with the view that truth is subjective and context-dependent. By taking a constructivist ontological stance, it is stressed that the Rajbanshi indigenous knowledge about climate change is a product of their own social and cultural constructions.

My theoretical stance is interpretivism. This position stresses the role of interpretation, meaning-

making, and subjective understanding in the research process. I understand that the Rajbanshi community's perceptions of climate change are not objective facts but rather interpretations of their experiences. This viewpoint aligns with qualitative research methods, which aim to understand and interpret the meaning of their indigenous knowledge through interviews, participant observation, and focus group talks. Interpretivism allows you to explore how the community builds its knowledge and meanings in the context of climate change (Becker & Niehaves, 2007).

I have sincerely followed the 'ethical' concerns as proposed by the American Anthropological Association (AAA, 2009). I must claim that I did not do any harm to the safety, dignity, and privacy of the local people while doing fieldwork. Value Neutrality with Cultural Sensitivity, my axiological stance promotes value neutrality in research while also recognizing the importance of cultural sensitivity. Value neutrality suggests that researchers should strive to minimize personal biases and values that could influence the research process (Tucker, 2019). In my study, it's crucial to approach the research with an open and neutral mindset, respecting the cultural values and views of the Rajbanshi community. Cultural sensitivity is important when working with indigenous communities. I acknowledge and respect the community's values and traditions, ensuring that your research is conducted in a culturally sensitive and ethical way. This method allows for balancing the need for impartiality with the importance of respecting the cultural context of your research.

By combining constructivist ontology, interpretivist epistemology, and a stance of value neutrality with cultural sensitivity, your study aims to provide an in-depth (Bachiochi & Weiner, 2004; Guba & Lincoln, 1994) and culturally respectful examination of the Rajbanshi Indigenous Knowledge in the context of climate change in Jhapa, Nepal. This philosophical framework allows us to explore the unique and socially constructed nature of the community's understanding of climate change while respecting their cultural values and beliefs.

The primary data collection methods include unstructured Interviews: Face-to-face interviews are performed with community members to explore their indigenous knowledge about climate change, their opinions, and their responses (Irvine et al., 2013). The unstructured style allows for flexibility and in-depth responses. Similarly, participant Observation: The researcher spends time within the community, actively participating in daily activities and watching rituals, agricultural practices, and interactions related to climate and environmental changes. Focus group discussions are planned with small groups of community members. These discussions promote collective insights and community views on climate change, regarding the sampling of this research. In the research, out of 60 houses, I have selected 30 houses, and each house represents one informant for the data. The sampling procedure is convenience sampling with old and well-experienced people who have little knowledge about climate change.

Data Analysis

Data analysis follows a thematic analysis approach, allowing for the identification of patterns and themes related to the Rajbanshi indigenous. As qualitative research, it transcribes the interviews and focus group discussions into a format suitable for analysis. The coding process is done with manual coding to identify themes, patterns, and categories related to indigenous knowledge, and develop themes to capture the essence of the Rajbahshi people's knowledge and experiences pertaining to climate change. Here, I have presented different themes regarding the perception of climate and response.

The Rajbanshi community is one of the major indigenous groups in Jhapa, eastern Nepal. Though there is no exact data, they are believed to have migrated from the Koch kingdom in India around 500 years ago. The Rajbanshi speak their own language, Rajbanshi, which is similar to Bengali. The majority of people are farmers and live in small villages (Shrestha, 2009). The Rajbanshi have a rich culture and tradition, and they are known for their colorful festivals and music. They are settled in the eastern districts of Jhapa, Morang, and Sunsari. According to CBS data they are nearly 2 million people who speak their language, and the largest indigenous group after the Newar community. So far, the religion, predominantly Rajbanshi people are Hindu, but one can also find Muslims and Christians in negligible percentages (Path & Kathmandu, 2014).

Arjundhara is a Municipality, which is situated in Jhapa district, Province No. 1 of Nepal. Arjundhara has a total of 11 wards, which are spread across 110 square kilometers of geographical area. According to the 2011 Census performed by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), Arjundhara Municipality had a total population of 60,204. As per the 2011 population census, Arjundhara Municipality had a total of 60,205 people with 28,425 males and 31,780 females. Out of the total wards, ward number 11 had the largest population, 7,520, while ward number 7 had the least number of people with 7,520 (CBS,2011).

Results

My ethnographic research is based on qualitative research methods, and I have used the traditional ethnographic fieldwork methods, such as participant observation and an in-depth conversational mode of interaction with the local people, in order to generate the required data for the study. For field work, I visited the study area twice in a two-month span, conducting the fieldwork.

Belief in Nature as Divine Power

During a field visit among 30 purposively selected respondents, the older adults aged 55 to 70 years old believe that with every change of climate, there is divine power which is impossible to resist. The original name of Rajbanshis is Koch or koches (Bista, 1978). They are Worshippers of nature and followers of shamanistic religion. These indigenous Koch people have changed their name to Rajbanshi after coming into contact with Hindus.

According to them, every rapid change in climate is due to an inhuman act. More evils and sins grow; the climate also became furious. One respondent of the Rajbanshi community narrates his story in this way:

Every summer season, we worship nature by giving a sacrifice to God to appease Him. Therefore, our community raises money to arrange a sansari puja. This puja is a harbinger of rain during the summer season. As he says, we worship God Indra to make him happy, and we offer many fruits and other offerings as prasad of the puja. The rain is not coming like it used to. Sometimes it doesn't rain for months, and then it pours all at once, flooding our fields and destroying our crops." (interview with Kartiklal Rajbanshi, 10 September, 2025).

Changing Household Structure

In a field study, the traditional house, which is made up of mud and hay, has gradually been changed. With the change of their traditional house, they began to make it partly with cement and mud. The majority of the house had a concrete foundation with mud and hay mixed partition of the

room and roofing hay. As my interview with another respondent, age 55, claims that:

We do not get yellowish mud for house construction due to the rapid increase in land fragmentation. For mud, one has to go a long way near the jungle in community forestry. The private landowner strictly prohibits one from digging on the land. With a long sigh, "This has spoiled our mud sculpture and mud painting". She added that the heavy rain and hurricanes have sometimes blown our house down; therefore, to combat it, we have constructed concrete houses with steel sheets. (Narration based on Sunsar Rajbanshi on 14 September, 2025)

The profession of agriculture is changing from traditional to specialization in agriculture. The traditional production of paddy, maize, millet, and oilseed has been replaced by vegetable farming. The cattle-rearing numbers are also decreasing due to the advent of different machines. People used to till land with ox-driven plows became very rare due to the use of tractors and power tillers.

We are seeing fewer wild fruits and vegetables these days. The weather is unpredictable, and they don't grow as well as they used to." Our land is losing its fertility. The soil is dry and cracked, and it's difficult to grow enough food for our families." (Farmer, 70 years old). The easy availability of fish became very hard because of the lack of water in the riverlet and the drain. All riverlets and drains are full of pollution. We have a small pond in our homesite for fish farming. (Personal Communication, 15 September 2025)

Interconnectivity of Festival and Nature

Siruwa in Nepal and Boishakhi Utsab (Bengali New Year) are celebrated in April. This event represents the start of the new year and the new agricultural season. Rajbanshi families offer prayers to the earth goddess Bhumi Devi for a rich crop. They also perform ancient dances and songs praising nature and fertility. Rajbanshi people hold great respect for nature and believe in the connection of all living beings. This is mirrored in their festivals, which often involve giving prayers and thanks to the natural world. Many Rajbanshi communities have traditional practices that support the sustainable use of natural resources. These include seasonal farming, soil conservation methods, and planting diverse crops. Rajbanshi communities hold a rich body of traditional knowledge related to weather forecasting, plant identification, and natural remedies. This understanding helps them adapt to ecological changes and utilize natural resources sustainably. Rajbanshi festivals play a significant part in connecting the community to their surroundings, fostering a sense of appreciation and responsibility towards nature. These festivals promote sustainable practices and help to ensure the retention of traditional knowledge that ensures food security and environmental well-being.

Kardru Rajbanshi expressed his happy concern with 'Siruwa Parbha'. People had almost forgotten the native festival due to the rapid migration of the Pahade people from the hillside. After the restoration of democracy in Nepal, people show their love and loyalty towards their ethnic group. Rajbanshi Bhasha Samiti was established to preserve and protect the traditionality of Rajbanshi. Due to awareness, people are again back to preserving their culture, and we celebrate every Siruwa with great pomp and show. (Interview with Kardru Rajbanshi 2025 September 20)

Naming Ceremony

There was no custom of giving names among the Rajbanshi in the past, but there has been a change in this regard for the past couple of decades. These days, a baby is also named on the basis

of the signs of the zodiac. Traditionally, grandma names the child. The name-giving process in the Rajbanshi society is unique. The child is named after nature, events, months, days, time, seasons, culture, social events, and names of objects, birds, and animals (Shrestha, 2009). Following the hill people, they also name a child on the basis of the names of gods and goddesses. A female respondent of the Rajbanshi community

In our community, we named our newborn baby with a view of nature. If the baby is born in December or Manshir, the name will be 'Aghan',

Kartik: Kartiklal

Poush: Puspapal

Magh: Mmguru

Baishak: Baisaku

Friday sukrabar: Sukamati

Asad: Asaru

(Fieldnote and interview 2025 September 13)

Marriage Ceremony and Nature

The marriage system is based on Hindu tradition. They practiced endogamy or marriage within the community. According to their tradition and belief system, marriage also does not take place within the three generations of the Mit (fictive kin) and seven generations of the Guru (religious preacher). In this community, an arranged marriage is widely practiced. Arranged marriage is generally preferred in the Rajbanshi, but love marriages are a very rare case. In the case of arranged marriage, Karuwa (matchmaker) initiates the marriage proposal, and Gasain Thakur performs the rituals of marriage.

Regarding the marriage system among Rajbanshi Kashilal Rajbanshi, at the age of 70, shared a very unique story behind the system. Traditional Rajbanshi often get married in the month of Asad, when the rainy season begins. With laughing, when frogs make a noisy sound, that occasion is considered best. Similarly, marriage is always preferred at night, which is just the opposite of the Pahade community. He added that the rainy seasons changed the path sometime earlier than the Asad month or sometime later; therefore, the traditional month of marriage shifted to another month. (Interview with Kashilal Rajbanshi 2025 September 23)

Family Structures

Family is a universal primary institution that plays a vital role in building society. The structure changes over time due to the impact of urbanization, industrialization, modernization, globalization, climate change, and other various factors. The agricultural profession could not become lucrative and support their family. The family structure is also determined through the landowner system. Due to climate change, people are moving abroad as labor in Gulf countries. Many Rajbanshi people are in the Gulf countries, and remittance is the sole means of subsistence for their families. (Theme of interview with Maan Singh Rajbanshi, 2025 September 23)

Local Knowledge on Traditional Healing Systems

The health status of Rajbanshi is miserable due to a lack of health awareness; people have become the victims of multiple diseases. Factors such as economic, social, and educational

determine people's health awareness and sanitation. Similarly, the majority of people still do not visit hospitals or health posts; instead, some women continue to seek treatment from traditional healers like *Dhami-Jhankris* or *Sudunis*."As Dhauri Rajbanshi has expressed grief in this way:

The overwhelmed population has fragmented the land. The majority of medical vegetations are disappearing day by day. Many herbal and medicinal plants are destroyed due to numerous household settlements. The forest destruction is very rapid. Due to education awareness, people suspect plans and vegetation. But what I believe is that they were very useful and must be preserved for future generations. (Interview with Dhauri Rajbanshi, 2025 September 23)

Discussion

In my research, people were changing their perception of climate change. They are adopting different strategic plans to sustain their life. People learn through all this knowledge through experiences. This is very wonderful data; the mature knowledge and experiences ultimately make it perfect to tackle climate change. Steward suggested that cultures interact with their environmental settings by adapting features of technology, economic organization, and even kinship or religion to allow people to best pursue their livelihoods. Thus, cultural ecology views the environment as bringing problems and opportunities, not just limits (Steward, 2005).

While discussing the Rajbanshi community with ethnographic models and climate change perspectives, I found many facts where people use different plants for the healing of different diseases. This fact also demonstrates that they possess indigenous knowledge to cope with all hazards in their life. Among the Rajbanshi traditional healing methods in Nepal, there is a strong cultural and religious base. It is seen in different ways, such as ethnic or tribal groups, ritual or ceremonial behaviors (Raut et al., 2018). In Nepal, traditional healers believe that the disease-causing factors are not only the germ theory linked but also the spiritual belief. Spiritually-based five healing methods and/or approaches, Phukphak, Tantrik Puja, Bali, Jantar-mantar, and kul bigreko, used by traditional healers, were studied.

Jhapa District shows high variability in agro-climatic conditions, which affect farmers' practices of crop production and management. The different studies have shown that there have been decreasing trends in the amount of annual and monsoon rainfall, together with the increasing trend of global warming and reduction in the relative humidity of the atmosphere, which sets the situation for increased water stress on one hand and increased losses of stored soil moisture on the other, thus further aggravating the water stress.

Conclusion and Policy Implications

In conclusion, the explorative study of Rajbanshi's indigenous knowledge in Jhapa, Nepal, on climate perceptions and responses has provided useful light on the close link between local communities and the changing climate. The results presented in this study showed the significance of indigenous knowledge as a prime component in understanding and addressing the effects and impacts of climate change at the local level.

The study has unfolded a wealth of valuable insights into how the Rajbanshi community perceives and responds to climatic changes. Their local and indigenous knowledge, deeply rooted in the local ecosystem, shows a deep understanding of environmental patterns, seasonal changes, and the fragile balance between nature and human activities. This study emphasizes the importance

of recognizing and respecting the indigenous knowledge embedded in Rajbanshi culture, giving an extra view that assists scientific approaches to climate research.

Furthermore, the research showed instances where Rajbanshi's indigenous knowledge works as a reservoir of resilience, so that the community has adaptive strategies to cope with environmental challenges. The inclusion of local practices and traditional beliefs into climate adaptation policies has the potential to advance and improve the effectiveness of such local strategies in the cultural context of the community.

In the broader context, this study adds to the growing body of literature that recognizes the value of joining indigenous perspectives into global awareness on climate change. The Rajbanshi case serves as a valuable instance of how indigenous knowledge can inform sustainable practices, improve community resilience, and enrich our collective understanding of climate change.

At last, we move forward, policymakers, researchers, and practitioners should consider the importance of this study in shaping inclusive and culturally sensitive climate policies. By valuing and incorporating Rajbanshi's local knowledge, we take a step towards creating a more holistic perspective and adaptive approach to climate change that respects the diversity of human perception and knowledge across different groups.

References

- Bachiochi, P. D., & Weiner, S. P. (2004). Qualitative data collection and analysis. *Handbook of research methods in industrial and organizational psychology*, 161-183.
- Barman, R. (2018). Environmental Protection through Ethnic Taboo: A Case Study of the Rajbanshi Community in North Bengal. *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences*, 8(11), 341-348.
- Becker, J., & Niehaves, B. (2007). Epistemological perspectives on IS research: a framework for analysing and systematizing epistemological assumptions. *Information Systems Journal*, 17(2), 197-214.
- Bhattarai, H. P. (1996). The Rajbanshis of Rajgadh: Community Adaptation in the Environment of Eastern Terai.
- Bista, Dor Bahadur. The people of Nepal. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1972
- Central Bureau of Statistics [CBS]. (2011). Nepal Living Standards Survey 2010/2011. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics
- Devkota, R. P. (2014). Climate change: trends and people's perception in Nepal. *Journal of Environmental Protection*, 2014.
- Dodgson, J. E. (2017). About research: Qualitative methodologies. *Journal of Human Lactation*, 33(2), 355-358.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. *Handbook of qualitative research*, 2(163-194), 105.
- Hay, C. (2016). Good in a crisis: the ontological institutionalism of social constructivism. *New Political Economy*, 21(6), 520-535. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2016.1158800>
- Irvine, A., Drew, P., & Sainsbury, R. (2013). 'Am I not answering your questions properly?' Clarification, adequacy, and responsiveness in semi-structured telephone and face-to-face interviews. *Qualitative research*, 13(1), 87-106.
- Monal, E. A., & Barman, L. Traditional foods and dishes of the Rajbanshis of north east India:

consumed and relished with satiety.

- Path, R., & Kathmandu, N. (2014). Population monograph of Nepal. *Central Bureau of Statistics*, 2, 165-170.
- Rajbanshi, B. L. (2007). *A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Rajbanshi Language of Jhapa and Morang* Central Department of English.
- Raut, B., Khanal, D., & Kharel, A. (2018). Traditional healing practice in the Rajbanshi and Satar Community of Jhapa, Nepal. *Journal of Manmohan Memorial Institute of Health Sciences*, 4(1), 103-116.
- Roy, R. (2017). Environment and Religious Practices of the Rajbanshis Living in a Border Village of Darjeeling District in North Bengal. *Journal of People's History and Culture Volume*, 2(1-2).
- Saloranta, T. M. (2001). Post-Normal Science and the Global Climate Change Issue. *Climatic Change*, 50(4), 395-404. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1010636822581>
- Shrestha, K. K. (2009). Ethnography of Jhapali Rajbanshis. *Occasional papers in Sociology and Anthropology*, 11, 38-47.
- Steward, J. H. (2005). The concept and method of cultural ecology. *Anthropology in theory: Issues in Epistemology*, 100-106.
- Subba, C., Pyakuryal, B., Bastola, T. S., Subba, M. K., Raut, N. K., & Karki, B. (2014). A study on the socio-economic status of indigenous peoples in Nepal. *Kathmandu: Lawyer's Association for Human Rights of Nepalese Indigenous Peoples (LAHURNIP)*.
- Tucker, M. (2019). From an axiological standpoint. *Ratio*, 32(2), 131-138.
- Vayda, A. P., & Walters, B. B. (1999). Against political ecology. *Human ecology*, 27(1), 167-179.