

IDENTITY POLITICS AND INTERNAL SECURITY:

A STUDY IN EASTERN NEPAL



A Thesis

Submitted to APF Command and Staff College

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Tribhuvan University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for Master's Degree in

Security, Development and Peace Studies

Submitted by

RAM CHANDRA THAPA

Ninth Batch (2080-082)

Roll No: 123740101

TU Registration No: 7-1-25-291-98

APF Command and Staff College

Sanogaucharan, Kathmandu, Nepal

April 2025

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DECLARATION

I, RAM CHANDRA THAPA, declare that this thesis entitled **IDENTITY POLITICS AND INTERNAL SECURITY: A STUDY IN EASTERN NEPAL** submitted to APF Command and Staff College, is my own original work unless otherwise indicated or acknowledged in the thesis. The thesis does not contain material which has been accepted or submitted for any other degree at the University or other institution. All sources of information have been specifically acknowledged by reference to the author or institution(s).

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Ram Chandra Thapa

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

This thesis entitled **IDENTITY POLITICS AND INTERNAL SECURITY: A STUDY IN EASTERN NEPAL** has been prepared by Mr. **RAM CHANDRA THAPA** under my guidance and supervision. I hereby recommend it in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Security, Development and Peace Studies final examination.

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LETTER OF APPROVAL

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ABSTRACT

World has been facing the threats, challenges and problem of exploring the identity of individual or group, and community. Many developed countries have been also managing such challenges and hurdles. Even from the perspective of individual, group and community, this is the right and inherent necessity to survive and sustain in this world. Identity is based on a particular identity such as ethnicity, race, nationality, religion, denomination, gender, sexual orientation, social background, caste and social class. Identity politics is closely connected to the ascription that some social groups are oppressed such as women, ethnic minorities, and sexual minorities that the idea that individuals belonging to those groups are, by virtue of their identity, more vulnerable to forms of oppression such as cultural imperialism, violence, exploitation of labor. This study has employed explanatory sequential qualitative approach. For qualitative data, Key informant information method has adopted. especially, senior leaders of Limbuwan khumbuwan, Security chiefs of Koshi Province of all security agencies, Chief Minister of Koshi province, Internal affairs and law minister of Koshi province, local leader of political parties are the key informant information. The way of interview was open ended questions, views, ideas and thought of higher respected personalities. Open-ended questions and interviews were employed to further understand the historical background; social, cultural, geographical linguistic perspectives of indigenous society of Koshi province. Security chiefs have expressed the recent security condition and preparedness for future probable circumstance of security concern. Qualitative data have been triangulated by qualitative figure in the study. The issues that this study discussed as historical mirrors, chronological struggles, recent program and future's policy, strategy and path to reach in destination. Through this activities, probable threats, challenges and security hurdles. This study has been expected to be useful for understanding the movements and struggle of identity based political groups in eastern Nepal. Indigenous groups have been demanding the autonomous right as the constitution of 2072. The official of koshi province has focused on conversation and peaceful means of getting final decision as well as they have suggested to indigenous group to come through the political means.

Keywords: Eastern, identity, indigenous, koshi, security.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AD	Anno Domini
ANP	Awami National party
APA	American Psychological Association
APF	Armed Police Force
Assoc	Associate
BS	Bikram Sambat
CPN	Communist Party Nepal
DIG	Deputy Inspector General
Dr	Doctor
DSP	Deputy Superintendent of Police
FNCCI	Federation of Nepali Chamber of Commerce
IB	International Baccalaureate
IT	Identity Theory
KII	Key Informant Interview
KRG	Kurdistan Regional government
LGBTQ	Lesbian, gay ,bisexual ,transgender and queer
MoHA	Ministry of home affairs
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
Prof	Professor
Reg.	Registration
SIT	Social Identity Theory
SP	Superintendent of Police
TU	Tribhuvan University

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Identity politics in Nepal has undergone significant transformations since 1990 (2047 BS), particularly in the eastern regions encompassing Khumbuwan, Limbuwan, and the broader Madhesh. Various political movements and parties have emerged, advocating for the rights and recognition of distinct ethnic and regional identities. This comprehensive overview examines the chronological development of these movements, focusing on the Khumbuwan, Limbuwan, Madhesi, Tharuhat and Maoist movements as well its short term and long term impact on Nepal's political landscape.

The People's Movement of 2046/47 BS made the end of the Panchayat system and the restoration of multiparty democracy in Nepal. This political shift provided a platform for various ethnic and regional groups to voice their demands for recognition and autonomy. However, the new constitution did not adequately address the aspirations of marginalized communities, including those in the eastern regions, leading to growing discontent and the rise of identity-based political activism.

The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) launched an armed insurgency from BS 2052-062, aiming to overthrow the monarchy and establish a people's republic. The Maoists capitalized on the grievances of marginalized communities by promising autonomy and greater representation. In eastern region of Nepal, it is established the various ethnic liberation fronts, groups concerning to caste and community such as the Kirat Workers Party, Federal Limbuwan State Council to mobilize support among indigenous groups like the Rai and Limbu community.

These ethnic parties have advocated for the creation of an autonomous ethnic state in eastern Nepal, encompassing areas predominantly inhabited by the Limbu and Rai community. The ethnic groups had organized various protests and strikes to pressurize the government to get their demands. The promulgation of the Interim Constitution in 2063 BS, which overlooked federalism that a key demand of the Madhesi and other marginalized communities, finally ignited the first Madhes Movement. Led by the Madhesi Janaadhikar Forum-Nepal, activists

protested against exclusionary policies, bringing issues of federalism and proportional representation to the forefront of national politics. It was long agitation and confrontation that resulted many martyrs and casualties. The movement's intensity compelled the government to amend the Interim Constitution, incorporating these demands and acknowledging the need for a more inclusive state structure.

The adoption of the new constitution in 2072 BS was met with significant opposition from the Madhesi, Tharu, Muslim, and Janjati communities. They argued that the constitution did not adequately address issues related to federal boundaries, proportional representation and citizenship rights. This dissatisfaction led to protests and a blockade along the southern border, underscoring the persistent grievances of marginalized communities regarding their political representation and rights. In response to the perceived inadequacies of the new constitution, twenty-eight regional political parties formed the Federal Alliance in 2015. This coalition, representing diverse communities including Madhesi, Tharu and indigenous groups from eastern Nepal, demanded identity-based autonomous states and equal representation in the federal structure. However, debates over provincial boundaries and autonomy continued to fuel identity-based political discourse.

As of 2076 BS, identity-based movements in eastern Nepal, including those advocating for Khumbuwan and Limbuwan autonomy as well naming of Province with recognition of Kirati history. These was long agitation and confrontation in eastern region after naming of Koshi province, resulted many injured and one death. Recently they have raised the issues of Pathivara Cable Car construction in progress as against the civilization and history of Limbuwan.

The study is basically conducted in the Koshi Province of Eastern Nepal. The researcher has conducted field study in Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari of Koshi Province to get insights about the identity politics and its impact in the security aspects of Eastern Nepal. Koshi Province covers a significant area of Eastern Nepal both in geographic and demographic aspects.

1.1.1 Identity

Identity is the holistic and comprehensive concept that encompasses an individual's self-perception and the recognition of their place in society which shaped by various factors, including caste, culture, civilization, geography and sex, which influence an individual's

interactions, social roles and sense of belonging. Identity is dynamic, evolving with personal experiences, social structures, and historical contexts (Hall, 1990).

Caste identity is a social classification based on hierarchical structures, particularly in South Asian societies. Caste identity influences access to resources, political power and social mobility (Gupta, 2004). Cultural identity is derived from shared traditions, language, religion, and historical experiences. Culture provides individuals with a framework to define themselves, reinforcing a sense of belonging and community. Globalization has influenced cultural identities by fostering intercultural exchanges and hybrid identities (Appadurai, 1996).

Civilizational identity extends beyond national and cultural boundaries that broad historical and ideological frameworks. Huntington (1996) posits that civilizations provide overarching identities that define global interactions and conflicts. While civilizational identity fosters unity within large cultural spheres, it also creates distinctions and potential conflicts between groups. Nationalism and historical narratives reinforce civilizational identities, sometimes leading to exclusivist ideologies (Eisenstadt, 2003).

Geographical identity refers to the influence of location and environment on individual and group identity. Agnew (1987) emphasizes that geographical identity is shaped by place, territorial attachments, and spatial relationships. Migration, urbanization, and environmental changes contribute to evolving geographical identities, challenging traditional notions of belonging. Diaspora communities, for example, navigate complex geographical identities by maintaining connections with their homeland while integrating into new environments. The increasing impact of climate change and displacement further complicates geographical identity, necessitating new understandings of place and belonging (Sheller & Urry, 2006).

Sex and gender identity involves both biological and socially constructed elements. Traditionally, sex-based identity has been understood in biological terms, while gender identity reflects cultural and social roles (Butler, 1990). Gender identity is shaped by societal expectations and norms, influencing self-perception and interpersonal relationships (Connell, 2009). The recognition of non-binary and transgender identities has expanded traditional understandings of gender, challenging rigid classifications. Feminist and queer theories emphasize the performative nature of gender, advocating for a more inclusive and fluid

conception of identity. The evolving discourse on gender identity continues to shape legal, social, and cultural discussions worldwide (Elliot, 2016).

Identity is a complex and evolving construct shaped by caste, culture, civilization, geography, and sex. These factors intersect in various ways, influencing individual and collective experiences. As globalization, social movements, and technological advancements continue to reshape societies, identity will remain a fluid and contested concept. Understanding identity from multiple perspectives allows for a more comprehensive appreciation of human diversity and social dynamics.

1.1.2 Identity Politics

Identity politics is that activities which based on a particular identity such as ethnicity , race , nationality, religion, denomination, gender, sexual orientation, social background, caste and social class. The term encompasses various often-populist political phenomena and rhetoric, such as governmental migration policies that regulate mobility and opportunity based on identities, left-wing agendas involving intersectional politics or class reductionism and right-wing nationalist agendas of exclusion of national or ethnic .

Identity politics refers to political positions based on the interests and perspectives of social groups with which people identify. It focuses on the ways in which race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion and class. This phenomenon has been both celebrated for giving marginalized groups a platform to assert their rights and criticized for its potential to fragment society. This essay provides an elaborate discussion on identity politics, examining its origins, theoretical foundations, advantages, criticisms and contemporary relevance.

Identity politics is closely connected to the ascription that some social groups are oppressed such as women, ethnic minorities, and sexual minorities that the idea that individuals belonging to those groups are, by virtue of their identity, more vulnerable to forms of oppression such as cultural imperialism, violence, exploitation of labor. Therefore, these lines of social difference can be seen as ways to gain empowerment or avenues through which to work towards a more equal society.

In the United States, identity politics is usually ascribed to these oppressed minority groups who are fighting discrimination. In Canada and Spain, identity politics has been used to

describe separatist movements; in Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe, it has described violent nationalist and ethnic conflicts. Overall, in Europe, identity politics are exclusionary and based on the idea that the silent majority needs to be protected from globalization and immigration. Identity politics is rooted in the idea that political and social structures but are shaped by dominant groups to maintain power. Postmodern and poststructuralist theories have significantly influenced its intellectual underpinnings. Michel Foucault's concept of power/knowledge highlights how societal norms perpetuate inequalities (Foucault, 1977). Similarly, Kimberlé Crenshaw's concept of inter-sectionalism underscores how overlapping social identities create interconnected systems of oppression (Crenshaw, 1989).

Identity politics provides a platform for marginalized groups to assert their rights and challenge systemic inequalities. Movements such as Black Lives Matter and Me Too have highlighted issues like police brutality and sexual harassment, respectively, bringing them to the forefront of public discourse (Taylor, 2016). By advocating for policies that address specific group needs, identity politics ensures greater representation in political institutions and decision-making processes. For instance, affirmative action policies in education and employment aim to redress historical injustices (Bell, 2003). Identity politics celebrates diversity by promoting the recognition of cultural identities. This fosters a sense of pride and belonging among historically oppressed communities (Parekh, 2000).

Identity politics has the risks of dividing society into competing factions. Political theorist Mark Lilla (2017) warns that excessive focus on individual group identities can undermine collective action and shared goals. While advocating for inclusivity, identity politics can sometimes exclude or marginalize individuals who do not fully align with group norms. This has been observed in debates within feminist movements about the inclusion of transgender women (Butler, 1990). Identity politics can essentialize identities, reducing individuals to a single aspect of their identity and ignoring intra-group diversity.

In the 21st century, identity politics continues to shape global political landscapes. The rise of right-wing populism in countries like the United States and Hungary has been partly attributed to backlash against progressive identity politics (Norris & Inglehart, 2019). At the same time, movements advocating for racial justice, gender equality, and LGBTQ+ rights remain influential. Identity politics is a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon that has profoundly influenced modern political discourse. While it empowers marginalized groups and promotes inclusivity, it also poses challenges related to societal cohesion and

essentialism. Understanding its nuances is crucial for navigating the complexities of contemporary politics.

1.1.3 Internal security

Internal security refers to the measures taken by a state to maintain law and order, prevent violence and protect citizens from threats arising within its borders. In the context of identity politics, internal security is shaped by the contestation of ethnic, religious, linguistic, and regional identities, which can lead to social unrest, communal violence, or even insurgency. Identity politics plays a crucial role in shaping internal security dynamics as different groups mobilize around perceived injustices, demanding recognition, rights, or autonomy.

Identity-based grievances often lead to internal security challenges when groups feel excluded from political representation, economic resources and cultural recognition. For instance, marginalized ethnic or religious communities may resort to protests, civil disobedience, or even armed rebellion if they perceive systemic discrimination. Governments often respond to such challenges through coercive means, such as police repression or military interventions, which may further alienate these groups and escalate tensions.

A key aspect of internal security in identity politics is the role of the state in managing diversity. Multicultural policies that promote inclusive governance can mitigate security risks, while exclusionary policies may fuel resentment. For example, in Nepal, the historical marginalization of Madhesis, Janajatis, and Dalits has contributed to political instability and periodic violence (Gellner, 2020). When states fail to accommodate the demands of diverse identity groups, the risk of separatist movements or insurgencies increases, as seen in the Maoist insurgency in Nepal (Hachhethu, 2003).

Moreover, identity politics can be exploited by political actors to gain support, often at the cost of internal security. Populist leaders may use divisive rhetoric to mobilize their base, deepening social fragmentation and increasing the likelihood of communal conflict (Mudde, 2017). In such cases, security forces may be politicized, leading to biased enforcement of laws and further exacerbating intergroup tensions.

Internal security policies that effectively address identity-based conflicts often emphasize dialogue, power-sharing arrangements, and economic inclusion. Countries that have

successfully managed identity-driven conflicts, such as South Africa through its Truth and Reconciliation Commission, highlight the importance of inclusive political frameworks. Conversely, states that rely solely on military solutions without addressing underlying grievances risk prolonged instability, as seen in Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict (Uyangoda, 2011).

Internal security in the context of identity politics is a complex issue that requires balancing law enforcement with inclusive governance. Addressing identity-based grievances through political dialogue, equitable development, and multicultural policies can reduce security threats and foster long-term stability. However, when identity politics is manipulated for political gain or when grievances are suppressed rather than addressed, internal security deteriorates, leading to persistent conflict and state fragility.

Identity politics has directly impacted internal security in eastern Nepal. Movements advocating for autonomy or federal restructuring have often escalated into clashes with the state, highlighting tensions between ethnic demands and national unity (Lawoti & Hangan, 2013). Such unrest has strained local and national security mechanisms, disrupting socio-economic stability. The interplay between identity politics and internal security is complex. While addressing identity-based grievances can promote peace, mishandling them can exacerbate distrust and conflict. In eastern Nepal, balancing ethnic aspirations with national security remains a persistent challenge (Gellner, 2007).

1.1.4 Eastern region of Nepal

Nepal is a federal republic democratic country. It has seven provinces as the declared by Constitution of Nepal 2072. Out of seven provinces, Koshi province lies in eastern region. It has fourteen districts. Koshi province has the geographical, Social, cultural political and, historical diversity and specialty that consists of four terai districts, ten hilly and mountainous districts. The Arun River flows in middle parts of this province from Sankhuwasava districts to Saptakoshi River. Arun River has the historical background as social and cultural mean.

Districts from east of Arun are Sankhuwasava, Dhankuta, Terthum, Ilam, Pachthar and Taplejung as well as west Bhojpur, Khotang, Okhaldhunga and Solukhumbu. Majority of Rai caste are lived in west districts of Arun, commonly called as Khumbuwan and Limbus in east of Arun, known as Limbuwan. After unification campaign of Late king Prithibi Narayan

Shah, Kathmandu was considered as main capital city and east from Kathmandu segregated as Kirat habitant so land between Sunkoshi and Likhu river as 'Wollo Kirat', Land between Likhu to Arun river as 'Majh Kirat' and east from arun river as 'Pallo Kirat'.

Limbuwan and Khumbuwan, historical territories in eastern Nepal, were autonomous regions before Nepal's unification in the 18th century. These areas had unique governance systems and cultural practices, fostering strong local identities (Subba, 1999). The integration into Nepal's centralized state disrupted traditional autonomy, igniting identity-based grievances.

Ethical values in these regions emphasize community solidarity and respect for cultural traditions. Rai and Limbu people, for instance, value rituals, oral histories, and customary laws, which have strengthened their claims for recognition in modern Nepal (Caplan, 1970). Identity politics has been both a driver of reform and a source of instability in eastern Nepal. Demands for federal restructuring based on ethnic lines have led to policy changes, such as the adoption of federalism in 2015 (Lawoti, 2005). However, unresolved issues have occasionally erupted into protests, straining internal security.

Before Nepal's federal restructuring, ethnic groups in eastern Nepal engaged in advocacy and protests for autonomy and recognition. Movements like the Limbuwan and Khumbuwan demands for self-governance reflected historical grievances (Subba, 1999). After the naming of provinces, ethnic activities evolved. While some groups expressed satisfaction with federalism, others criticized the new structure as inadequate. These mixed reactions have influenced ongoing debates over identity, governance, and security in eastern Nepal (Gellner, 2007).

Eastern Nepal is characterized by its rich cultural diversity, encompassing ethnic groups like the Limbu, Rai, and Madhesi communities. Geographically, the region spans from the plains of the Terai to the Himalayan highlands, fostering unique social dynamics (Gellner, 2007). Its fertile plains and strategic borders make it economically and politically significant. Historically, eastern Nepal has been a hub of cultural and political activity. The region's distinct ethnic compositions and historical autonomy, such as the Limbuwan and Khumbuwan territories, have shaped its identity. These factors have played a crucial role in fueling identity-based movements (Subba, 1999).

Table 1.1*Ethnicity composition of Koshi province*

Description	Percentage	Remarks
Chhetri	14.8%	
Brahmins	12.1%	
Rai	11.3%	
Limbu	8%	
Tamang	4.7%	
Others	49.1%	

Source: FNCCI-Koshi province website, 2023

The province's ethnic tapestry is rich and diverse. Indigenous groups such as the Rai, Limbu, and Tamang coexist with other ethnic communities, including the Tharu, Magar, and Chhetri. Each group contributes to the province's vibrant cultural heritage through unique customs, festivals, and traditions. Interactions among these communities create a blend of cultural influences while preserving distinct identities.

Nepali language serves as the lingua franca of Koshi Province, uniting its diverse populace. However, numerous local languages like Limbu, Bantawa, Maithili and Tharu are spoken, reflecting the region's ethnic diversity. Language preservation initiatives aim to sustain the province's linguistic heritage, particularly as global influences continue to shape local cultures.

Historically, Koshi Province has been a significant crossroads for trade and culture. It was a critical part of ancient trade routes connecting India and Tibet. The region's history is marked by the Kirat Dynasty, which played a foundational role in shaping its identity, followed by influences from the Licchavi and Malla periods. The unification of Nepal under King Prithvi Narayan Shah integrated the province into the broader national framework, further diversifying its historical narrative.

Caste systems play a prominent role in the social structure of Koshi Province. Dominant castes like Brahmins and Chhetris co-exist with Dalits and indigenous groups, each with specific roles and social standings. Efforts towards social reform and inclusion have

gradually reduced caste-based discrimination, yet challenges remain in achieving equitable societal integration.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Identity politics is the holistic and comprehensive subject in context of internal security and expectation of peoples. In terms of eastern region of Nepal, the political movement of different political parties and ethnical groups from long history to till date, many dimensions and time interval has crossed as well many achievements and struggles. After promulgations of new Constitution of Nepal, 2072, Nepal has seven different states and as accordance of Article 295(2), then No 1 state parliaments has named as “Koshi” with support of two –third majority of parliaments members.

On March 1, 2023, supporters of ethnic identity and religious organizations launched protests against the decision on the same day when Koshi name was tabled in the assembly and passed. ,various political parties, Federation of Indigenous Nationalities and various social and religious organizations have been protesting since the Constituent Assembly of 2008 demanding the restructuring of the state along with identity. Contrary to their demand, when the name Koshi was passed by the Provincial Assembly in Province 1, the agitation has intensified. Illegal and intensives movements with organizational structures of different ethnical groups specially Limbuwan and khumbuwan in against of ignoring of historical ethnical identity as well many ethnical groups have been supporting in their movements, specially (Democracy resource center Nepal , 2023).

While various social and religious factions involved in the movement have a consensus against the name Koshi and the new name should reflect the ethnic identity of the province, there is no consensus about what the alternate name should be. The major point of agreement is that the name should reflect the multi-ethnic identity of the province with possible options being ‘Kirat-Limbuwan Koshi’ or ‘Limbuwan-Kirat-Koshi. Besides these, other strong options put forward have been Kirat or Limbuwan.

However, based on conversations with the individuals from the Rajbanshi community in Jhapa, the emphasis was put on naming the province Kochila. The community feels that their demand will not be fulfilled by the Joint Struggle Committee and as such they will form a Kochila Struggle Committee (consisting of many other smaller communities) to further their

demand. While the protesters belonging to the Dhimal community from Morang feel that they can accept a 'Dhimal autonomous area' inside Limbuwan province, however, protesters from the Rajbanshi community feel that they cannot accept such a special or autonomous region. Similarly movement leaders argued that such special autonomous area could be offered to the Sherpalung (Sherpas), however the protesters themselves are not confident that the Sherpa community would accept the offer. Few ethnic communities from Jhapa shared that indigenous groups should organize a roundtable discussion to finalize the identity-based name of the province. These conflicting interests of different communities could make the naming decision tricky. The Limbuwan and khumbuwan has their many evidences, legal background and history for claiming their demand for rights but governments of Nepal has refused so there may be the possibilities of confrontation of thoughts and power/physical agitation. So it is better to search the best options for long term solution.

After abolition of Kipat system through Land Reform Act 2021, majority of Limbu community have become agitated against the Government and frequently demanded for their identity rights, such as representation and inclusion, reflected in latest issues of Cable car construction in Taplejung and many other struggles, movements, strikes, confrontations and agitations. After the promulgation of the interim constitution 2064 and new constitution 2072, every caste, sex, groups, stakeholder and society demanded for their right and identity. In the context where the issues of identity politics have not been identified well, preservation of culture and civilization and naming of province remain the main issues. Understanding the consequences of identity politics on internal security is important to examine from security perspectives, which has not been done yet. It is also important to identify the effective measures to solve the identity based problem or manage identity based movements in the present context.

1.3 Research questions

The study has been focused to answer the following research questions;

- 1.3.1 What are the major issues on identity politics in eastern Nepal?
- 1.3.2 What are the potential consequences of identity politics on internal security?
- 1.3.3 Which are the ways of resolving the crisis in eastern Nepal?

1.4 Objectives of the study

Having realized the Identity politics that directly affects on security in eastern part of Nepal, the study based on the research questions has set the objectives as follows:

- 1.4.1 To find the major issues on identity politics of eastern Nepal.
- 1.4.2 To explore the potentials consequences of identity politics on internal security of eastern Nepal.
- 1.4.3 To know the short term and long term solutions of identity politics in eastern Nepal.

1.5 Significance of the study

The identity, in term of caste, sex, ethnicity, nationality, religion, denomination, gender, sexual orientation, social background and social class .So in eastern region of Nepal, the long history and struggle of minority and indigenous community .Specially Limbuwan and khumbuwan has the long history since five hundred years. They have their own culture language scripts and geography.

Politics on identity became the world widely for example, the struggle of Black in America for right and long journey/movement of Nelson Mandela in south Africa. Politics become the tool for getting rights, raise voice to existing Government for their right for example, in context of Nepal, the voice of Madheshi and Tharu on western Nepal and historical struggle of indigenous community. The movement after promulgation of Constitution of 2072, they have been demanding for Limbuwan Khumbuwan autonomous State and later naming of No 1 province as “Koshi province” the struggle became more violent and long confrontation with province government and security forces. One of the members has lost his life on confrontation with security forces.

So there may be possibility of security vulnerability and threats. Many committees, organization and groups has formed from Limbuwan and Khumbuwan. Recent burning issues of eastern is Cable Car construction in Pathivara temple. The Limbuwan are expressing as the construction of cable car in Pathivara is against the Limbu religion and culture.

The research will contribute to understand the theoretical and practical ongoing struggle and movements of the identity politics of multi ethnic groups and communities of eastern region of Nepal. The historical background and root causes that lead to movements and activities.

The study will provide a comprehensive framework for analyzing the identity politics and its affects in internal security within territory of area of responsibility that directly connect to the nexus the concepts with political science, geography, international relations and security studies. This study will have practical implications for policymakers. By identifying root causes of movements and organizational agitations that directly challenges for national and regional security. The research will provide actionable insights for coordinating and collaborative security arrangement strategies and policies.

This study is significant as it addresses a critical aspect of Nepal and its citizen's soul, desire and interest. Internal security has far-reaching implications for regional stability and international relations. The findings of this research will contribute to the academic discourse on identity politics and internal security by providing insights that can inform policy-making. Moreover the study will benefit government agencies, security forces and policymakers by offering truth-based recommendations to flourish the national interest and national security.

This era of the globalization, modernization and deterritorial which has infinite truth, values, norms and beliefs.. Emerging the concept of global village and international human right which are adoptable and acceptable everywhere. This study will explore the respect of identity, historical assumptions and truths which relevancy and connectivity to current scenario. Understanding the respect of human identity and address the voice of people as well protection of nation's territory and sovereignty is essential and inevitable. Devotion and dedication with own soil and land which should be the selfishness and aim to heighten the name of nation –state and nationality. The study will provide insights to make feel of brotherhood, social harmony, commitment and national unity.

Internal security is the ultimate goal of any nation that maintains the prosperity, economic development and protection of people and their property. It has direct relation with national interest and national security, related to national soul, national pride and national unity. These are the key components of the foundations for national security .Internal security is a holistic approach and collective achievement of all factors and actors. The gaps in existing literature and providing empirical evidences as well findings on the identity politics and internal security relationship will contribute and address to the academic discourse on national policy, international practices and global security. The findings will be valuable for scholars, researchers and students in the fields of social science, international conflicts and security

studies. It will be relevant for practitioners in good governance and security fields, including government officials, security experts and international organizations.

Information and findings of this research are expected to be useful to policy makers, researchers, planners, students, educational consultancies, and other concerned organizations for the formulation of policies and for further research in this area. Finally, this study is expected to pave the way for politics of identity and security condition.

1.6 Limitation of the study

This study aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the movements and agitations of identity politics will directly affect in internal security of eastern region of Nepal since some years which causes possibility of internal conflicts, threats in national unity and sovereignty as well challenges in internal security. Researcher has selected diverse issues, the unique characteristics of each context and circumstances that may influence the finding and long term solutions universally. Access to reliable and comprehensive data on targeted groups and key persons who have provided the theoretical concepts and thoughts as well qualitative data can be limited less reliable. The thought and bites of opponent's members and leaders may be biased and irrational. The limitations of the study have been summarized as follows.

- a) Geographical Scope:- The study focuses on Koshi Province of Eastern Nepal, which may not fully represent identity politics and internal security dynamics in other regions of the country.
- b) Temporal Limitations: - The findings are based on a specific time frame, limiting their applicability to evolving political and security contexts.
- c) Subjective Interpretations: - Since identity politics is a complex and sensitive issue, the study's conclusions may be influenced by the perspectives of selected respondents and sources.
- d) Complexity of Identity Politics: - The study may not fully capture the evolving and multidimensional nature of identity politics and security issues.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Identity politics, a phenomenon where individuals prioritize their ethnic, religious, or cultural identities in political engagement, has shaped sociopolitical landscapes globally. It involves leveraging group identities to challenge systemic exclusions and advocate for reforms (Bernstein, 2005).

In Nepal, identity politics gained traction post-1990 democratic reforms, intensifying debates over inclusion and federalism (Lawoti, 2005). Eastern Nepal, with its ethno-linguistic diversity, became a focal point for movements demanding recognition and rights for marginalized groups. Identity politics refers to political actions centered on the interests of specific social groups, often based on ethnicity, religion, or culture (Gellner, 2007).

2.1 Identity and Identity Politics

Identity politics has emerged as a critical force shaping political dynamics worldwide. It is a framework through which marginalized communities articulate their aspirations within a diverse society (Gellner, 2007). It refers to the mobilization of ethnic, religious, or cultural identities to advocate for political representation and rights. In Nepal, identity politics has been particularly salient due to its diverse socio-cultural fabric, where marginalized communities strive for recognition and autonomy (Lawoti, 2005). Eastern Nepal, with its rich ethnic tapestry, has been a hotspot for such movements. Identity politics highlights the collective struggle for recognition, rights, and representation in political systems (Subba, 1999).

Over the past few decades, identity-based claims have intersected with national politics, influencing governance and policy reforms. The federal restructuring of Nepal in 2015, aimed at addressing these demands, was a direct response to identity-driven agitations (Bernstein, 2005). Eastern Nepal's Limbuwan and Khumbuwan regions exemplify how historical grievances and cultural distinctiveness fuel identity politics, impacting both local governance and internal security.

The indigenous peoples in Nepal wanted at least to have provinces names based on their history, territorial identity and linguistic features. But the dominant parties misunderstood such an identity based demand as divisive politics. In this regard, the Adivasi- Janajati in Nepal are fighting an uphill battle to be constitutionally recognized as culturally different. At this moment, their movement seems to have hit a snag in the face of seemingly democratic but substantially caste based politics in Nepal. The problem is with the state and the ruling political parties, (Chemjong, 2017). Identity politics has played a significant role in shaping Nepal's socio-political dynamics. The struggle for recognition among various ethnic, linguistic, and regional groups has led to mobilization efforts that often challenge state authority. Identity politics seeks to address historical grievances and foster equitable representation (Subba, 1999).

Identity politics has become a central theme in contemporary political discourse, as it shapes policy decisions, social movements, and power structures. It refers to the mobilization of individuals based on shared characteristics such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, or other markers of identity. While identity politics has played a crucial role in advocating for marginalized communities, it has also sparked intense debate about its implications for democracy, social cohesion, and political representation (Fraser, 2018). The major issues surrounding identity politics include polarization, exclusionary practices, the risk of essentialism, the tension between universalism and particularism and its impact on democratic institutions.

One of the primary concerns associated with identity politics is political and societal polarization. As different groups advocate for their rights and recognition, there is often a backlash from dominant or opposing groups, leading to deep societal divisions (Mounk, 2018). This polarization can result in an "us versus them" mentality, where individuals prioritize their group identity over broader societal unity. The rise of populist leaders who exploit identity politics to gain political advantage further exacerbates these divisions, leading to increased hostility and a fragmented public sphere (Fukuyama, 2018). Consequently, political discourse becomes centered on identity-based grievances rather than collective problem-solving.

Another significant issue in identity politics is the risk of exclusionary practices. While identity-based movements aim to empower marginalized communities, they can sometimes create barriers to solidarity by excluding those who do not share the same identity markers

(Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). This exclusivity can alienate potential allies and hinder broader coalitions for social change. For instance, certain feminist movements have been criticized for focusing predominantly on the concerns of white, middle-class women while neglecting the experiences of women of color, working-class women, or transgender individuals (Crenshaw, 1989). Such exclusions limit the effectiveness of identity-based advocacy and contribute to further societal fragmentation.

A related concern is the risk of essentialism, where individuals within an identity group are assumed to have a monolithic experience or perspective. Essentialism reduces the complexity of personal identities and ignores intra-group diversity (Spivak, 1988). This can lead to the marginalization of voices within the group itself, as those who do not conform to the dominant narrative may be silenced or dismissed. For example, political movements based on racial identity may overlook class differences, leading to an oversimplification of socio-economic struggles (Young, 1990). Essentialism undermines the principle that identity is fluid and intersectional, reducing the potential for nuanced discussions and effective policy-making.

The tension between universalism and particularism is another critical challenge in identity politics. Universalist approaches advocate for equal rights and treatment regardless of individual identities, whereas particularist approaches emphasize the need for group-specific recognition and policies (Taylor, 1994). This tension becomes evident in debates over affirmative action, indigenous rights, and religious accommodations in secular states. While identity-based policies can help rectify historical injustices, critics argue that they may contradict the principle of equal treatment under the law (Barry, 2001). Striking a balance between acknowledging group-specific concerns and maintaining universal democratic principles remains a significant challenge in governance and policymaking.

Lastly, identity politics impacts democratic institutions by influencing electoral dynamics, policy formation, and political representation. In some cases, identity-based mobilization has increased political participation among historically marginalized groups, leading to more inclusive governance (Dawson, 1994). However, the emphasis on identity can also lead to identity-based voting, where political decisions are made primarily based on group affiliation rather than policy considerations or competency (Chandra, 2004). This shift can undermine deliberative democracy, where political decisions should ideally be based on reasoned debate and consensus-building rather than group loyalty.

Identity politics presents both opportunities and challenges for modern democracies. While it has played a vital role in advancing social justice and political representation for marginalized groups, it also raises concerns about polarization, exclusion, essentialism and its effects on democratic governance. Addressing these issues requires a nuanced approach that recognizes the value of identity-based advocacy while fostering inclusive dialogue and universal principles of equality. Scholars and policymakers must work towards frameworks that accommodate diversity while promoting unity, ensuring that identity politics serves as a force for progress rather than division.

Identity politics refers as the mobilization of individuals based on ethnicity, language, religion, or other shared characteristics to advance political claims (Fearon & Laitin, 2000). In Nepal, identity politics has been shaped by historical state centralization, marginalization, and efforts toward inclusion following the democratic movements of the 1990s and 2006. Identity politics reflects the evolving demands of diverse communities for political representation and equality (Bernstein, 2005). It challenges the dominance of majoritarian politics by emphasizing minority rights. Identity politics can be seen as a response to perceived socio-political injustices affecting specific groups. It emphasizes the importance of cultural and ethnic identities in shaping political landscapes. The term also describes the use of cultural identity as a basis for political mobilization and demands for autonomy. Identity politics is rooted in the desire for political structures that acknowledge diversity and inclusivity (Caplan, 1970). It is a strategy for social groups to assert their rights within a nation-state. The concept involves creating solidarity among group members to advocate for collective goals.

2.2 Theories on Identity Politics

Identity theory is a micro-sociological theory, propounded by George Herbert Mead, which links self attitudes, or identities, to the role relationships and role-related behavior of individuals. Identity theorists argue that the self consists of a collection of identities, each of which is based on occupying a particular role (Stryker, 1968; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Identities can be defined as one's answers to the question "Who am I?" (Stryker & Serpe, 1982). Many of the "answers" (e.g., "I am a father") are linked to the roles we occupy, so they are often referred to as "role identities" or simply, "identities." For example, familial identities might include those of spouse or parent and occupational identities might include those of accountant or salesperson. In turn, these role identities are said to influence behavior in that

each role has a set of associated meanings and expectations for the self (Burke & Reitzes, 1981).

The concept of identity salience is important in identity theory because the salience we attach to our identities influences how much effort we put into each role and how well we perform in each role (Burke & Reitzes, 1981). According to Stryker (1968), who originated identity theory, the various identities that comprise the self exist in a hierarchy of salience, where the identities that are ranked highest are most likely to be invoked in situations that involve different aspects of the self. Identity theory should not be confused with social identity theory, which emphasizes group process and intergroup relations rather than role behavior.

This entry will focus on identity theory, rather than social identity theory. Because our focus is on identity theory as formulated by Stryker and Burke, we do not review in this article also appears as part of the Sloan Work-Family. Identity theory other sociological approaches to identity, such as identity construction, nor do we review the plethora of developmental and personality psychological perspectives on identity formation.

As a social psychology meta-theory, social identity theory (SIT) developed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner (1970), continues to evolve and expand in terms of areas of applicability and issues. Revisiting SIT can help IB scholars go beyond applying it to just in-group/out-group behavior. SIT can also be used to explain collective action, emotion and social change in the face of uncertainty. Managers can use it to address increasing relevance of identity politics, uncertainty and divisiveness. The article overviews the current use of SIT by IB scholars, identifies potential areas of application and provides theoretical and managerial recommendations for the use of SIT.

Social identity theory emerged from the European school of social psychology. It is a meta-theory of intergroup relations (determined by social categorization) and the evaluative processes of self (determined by self-categorization). It is based on various group-defining attributes, creating relevant social categories, which emerge through social interactionism within and between various types of social groups (Hogg, Abrams, Otten, & Hinkle, 2004).

Sociologists and social psychologists have been primarily interested in how people find significance and sense of belonging through social group membership, which also influences how individuals and groups behave and interact with others based on such memberships. On

the contrary, the management literature and business practice have not paid too much attention to social identity at least not much beyond organizational identification, in-group/out-group membership classifications linked to politics of power within organizations. As we expand our narrow understanding of globalization from economic and political interdependence among nations, to address a more complex interdependence in the nature, level and intensity of relationships among all social actors, a growing number of international business phenomena highlight the central role identity and various crises of identity play in our postmodern and globalised society (Fukuyama, 2019). Such phenomena, for example, range from gender equality and human rights, to the decline of the middle-class in the global west, to trade wars between leading world economies, to questions related to world order, to racism, ethnocentrism and xenophobia, to the policy and business challenges of how nations address the covid-19 global pandemic.

2.3 Studies on Identity Politics and Internal security

The abolition of slavery in the United States was a long and tumultuous struggle that spanned several decades, culminating in the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865. The institution of slavery had been deeply embedded in the American South's economy, with enslaved African Americans forming the backbone of the agricultural system. The abolitionist movement gained momentum in the early 19th century, led by figures such as Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and William Lloyd Garrison, who advocated for the immediate end of slavery (Foner, 2010). The Civil War (1861–1865) was a pivotal moment in the struggle against slavery, as it brought the issue to the forefront of national politics. President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 declared enslaved people in Confederate states free, although it did not immediately end slavery nationwide. The decisive step came with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, which legally abolished slavery in the United States (McPherson, 1988). Despite this legal victory, African Americans continued to face systemic discrimination, leading to the civil rights struggles of the 20th century.

Apartheid, an institutionalized system of racial segregation, was enforced in South Africa from 1948 to 1994. Under this system, the white minority controlled the political, economic, and social structures, subjecting the non-white majority to extreme discrimination and disenfranchisement. The African National Congress (ANC), led by figures such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and Oliver Tambo, played a crucial role in resisting apartheid

(Lodge, 1983). The Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 and the Soweto Uprising in 1976 were significant events that galvanized opposition to apartheid, drawing international condemnation (Worden, 2012). Economic sanctions and diplomatic pressures from the international community, combined with persistent internal resistance, forced the South African government to initiate negotiations in the late 1980s. The release of Nelson Mandela in 1990 marked a turning point, leading to the dismantling of apartheid laws and the establishment of a democratic government in 1994, with Mandela becoming the first black president of South Africa (Sampson, 1999). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was later established to address the injustices of the apartheid era and promote national unity.

The Chakma Movement in Bangladesh that was Fight for Indigenous Rights. Chakma people, one of the largest indigenous groups in Bangladesh, have long struggled for their rights and autonomy in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). The conflict stems from land dispossession, forced displacement, and cultural suppression under successive governments. The problem intensified in the late 20th century due to state-sponsored Bengali settlements in the CHT, which marginalized indigenous groups (Mohsin, 1997). The Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti (PCJSS), led by Manabendra Narayan Larma, spearheaded the resistance against the government's policies, demanding self-determination and cultural preservation (Chakma, 2010). The insurgency led by the Shanti Bahini, the armed wing of the PCJSS, resulted in violent clashes with the military. After decades of conflict, the 1997 CHT Peace Accord was signed between the PCJSS and the Bangladeshi government, granting limited autonomy to the indigenous people (Adnan & Dastidar, 2011). However, implementation of the accord remains incomplete, and indigenous communities continue to face discrimination, land disputes, and militarization. The struggle of the Chakma people underscores the broader challenges faced by indigenous communities in asserting their rights in the face of state policies and economic pressures

Nepal's political landscape has long been dominated by high-caste groups, leading to the marginalization of indigenous and Madhesi populations (Hachhethu, 2003). The advent of democracy in 1990 and the subsequent People's Movement in 2006 paved the way for identity-based demands, including federalism and proportional representation (Lawoti, 2005). Eastern Nepal has been a hotspot for ethnic mobilization, particularly among the Madhesi, Limbu, and Kirat communities. The Madhesi population has historically faced discrimination in political representation, employment, and citizenship rights (Jha, 2014). The

Madhesi Uprising of 2007, which demanded autonomy and recognition, led to violent clashes with security forces, exacerbating internal security concerns (International Crisis Group, 2007).

The demand for an autonomous Limbuwan province by the Limbu people has been another major aspect of identity politics in Eastern Nepal. This movement, driven by historical grievances and a desire for self-governance, has led to periodic unrest (Gellner, 2007). The Kirat movement also seeks recognition and federal restructuring, further complicating the security landscape. The restructuring of Nepal into a federal state was a direct outcome of identity-based movements (Thapa, 2016). However, this process has also led to new security challenges, including disputes over provincial boundaries, ethnic tensions, and local governance struggles (Carter Center, 2012).

The Nepalese state's response to identity-based movements has been a mix of repression and accommodation. Security forces have often been deployed to quell protests, sometimes leading to violent confrontations (Adhikari, 2018). At the same time, constitutional amendments and political negotiations have attempted to address grievances, though not always successfully (Sharma, 2019).

Internal security in Nepal has been deeply influenced by political instability and social movements. Conflicts stemming from identity-based claims, including strikes and armed uprisings, have posed challenges for maintaining law and order. Security forces have often struggled to balance responses to legitimate grievances and maintaining peace (Bernstein, 2005). Internal security is fundamental to the functioning of a stable and prosperous state. It ensures the rule of law, protects human rights, and fosters economic development by creating an environment conducive to business and investment (Buzan, 1991). Countries with robust internal security frameworks are better equipped to address social grievances and prevent conflicts from escalating.

Terrorism and insurgent activities pose significant threats to internal security. Nepal has experienced Maoist insurgency (1996-2006) that deeply impacted its social fabric and political stability. Although the conflict officially ended with the Comprehensive Peace Accord in 2006, sporadic violence and political unrest remain concerns (Upreti, 2009).

Nepal is a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, and multi-religious country. While this diversity is a source of strength, it can also lead to tensions. The eastern region, home to various ethnic groups, has seen occasional conflicts over political representation and resource allocation (Gurung, 2012). Koshi Province's demographic, geographic, ethnic, linguistic, historical and caste characteristics create a complex and vibrant tapestry that defines the region's unique identity. Mechanisms for Ensuring Internal Security Law Enforcement Agencies are The police and armed forces are the primary institutions responsible for maintaining internal security. In Nepal, the Nepal Police and Armed Police Force play crucial roles in preventing and addressing internal threats (MoHA, 2020).

Effective intelligence systems are essential for identifying and neutralizing threats before they materialize. Nepal's National Investigation Department works to gather and analyze intelligence related to internal security. A robust legal framework is vital for addressing internal security challenges. Laws such as the Public Security Act and the Anti-Terrorism Act provide the necessary tools for law enforcement agencies. Building trust and cooperation between the state and its citizens is critical. Community policing initiatives in Nepal have shown promise in fostering collaboration and addressing local grievances.

Internal Security in the Eastern Region of Nepal which includes the Koshi Province has unique internal security challenges. Its geographical location, bordering India's states of Bihar and West Bengal, creates opportunities for cross-border criminal activities. Smuggling of goods, human trafficking, and illegal trade are prevalent issues (Sharma, 2017). Additionally, the region's ethnic diversity, including groups such as the Tharus, Limbus, and Rais, has led to demands for greater autonomy and representation. While these demands are legitimate, they occasionally result in protests and disruptions (Gellner, 2007).

Socio-economic disparities can reduce grievances and prevent radicalization. Development programs targeting marginalized communities in the eastern region can contribute to long-term stability (Upreti, 2009). Investing in cyber security infrastructure and training personnel is crucial for countering digital threats. Public awareness campaigns can also help mitigate risks. Promoting Social Harmony to aim at fostering inter-ethnic and inter-religious dialogue can reduce tensions and promote inclusivity. Educational programs emphasizing unity in diversity are particularly effective (Gurung, 2012).

Long-term impact of identity politics on Nepal's security, some argue that federalism and inclusion policies have reduced conflict potential, while others warn of continued ethnic polarization and fragmentation (Gurung, 2020). Identity politics in Eastern Nepal presents both opportunities and challenges for internal security. While it has led to greater political representation for marginalized groups, it has also introduced security dilemmas that require careful policy management. Moving forward, a balanced approach combining inclusivity and stability will be crucial in maintaining peace and national cohesion.

Historical background of Limbuwan and Khumbuwan in terms of Ethnicity and Language includes the historical territories in eastern Nepal which have distinct ethnic and linguistic identities. Limbuwan, traditionally inhabited by the Limbu people, is known for its Sino-Tibetan language and rich oral traditions. Similarly, Khumbuwan, home to the Rai community, features diverse dialects reflecting its cultural complexity (Caplan, 1970). These regions' ethnic identities are deeply intertwined with their historical governance systems.

Before Nepal's unification in the 18th century, Limbuwan and Khumbuwan maintained semi-autonomous polities with localized rule. These systems upheld traditional laws and customs, fostering strong communal ties (Subba, 1999). However, the integration into a centralized state disrupted these structures, leading to identity-based grievances. Linguistic preservation has been a central aspect of these communities' identity politics, with efforts to promote indigenous languages and scripts (Lawoti, 2005). The historical autonomy of Limbuwan and Khumbuwan remains a significant factor in contemporary identity politics. Their unique cultural heritage continues to influence demands for federal restructuring and recognition within Nepal's diverse polity (Gellner, 2007).

Different movements of Limbuwan and Khumbuwan since last 10 years have witnessed various socio-political activities aimed at advancing their identity-based agendas. Advocacy for autonomy and cultural preservation has been a recurring theme. For instance, the Limbuwan movement intensified demands for self-governance, highlighting historical grievances and aspirations for regional autonomy (Lawoti & Hangen, 2013).

Similarly, Khumbuwan's ethnic organizations have mobilized to address issues such as linguistic rights and representation in local governance. Protests, strikes, and negotiations have characterized their strategies, reflecting a mix of assertiveness and dialogue (Bernstein,

2005). These activities often intersect with broader national debates on federalism and inclusivity, underscoring the challenges of balancing ethnic aspirations with national unity.

2.4 Research Gap

Many literatures have explained the identity and identity politics as well social identity theory. Social identity theory stated emerged a meta-theory of intergroup relation which determined by social categorization and the evaluative processes of self decision that determined by self-categorization. This theory is based on various group-defining attributes, creating relevant social categories, which emerge through social interaction and gathering thought, feeling and history.

Literatures explain that Identity and identity politics which to mobilize of individuals and society based on ethnicity, language, religion, culture, caste and sex. Identity politics has been shaped by historical state centralization, evidence based, archeological proof, marginalization, and efforts toward inclusion and equity following the democratic movements of the 2046 BS and 2062/63 BS. Identity politics reflects the evolving demands of diverse communities for political representation, representation on decision bench, reasonable and fair distribution of resource, power and right. It challenges the dominance of majoritarian politics by emphasizing minority rights. It can be seen as a response to perceived socio-political injustices affecting specific groups, caste and community which emphasizes the significance of cultural and ethnic identities in shaping political landscapes. The term also describes the use of cultural identity as a basis for political mobilization and demands for autonomy .Identity politics is rooted in the desire for political structures that acknowledge diversity and inclusivity.

After the promulgation of Constitution of Nepal 2072, the regime system has reformed as Federal democratic republic of Nepal. So as change and revolutionary progress in Nepal, as world scenario, the ethnic communities of Nepal has also demanded their rights as provision in Constitution. The demands of ethnic and linguistic groups of eastern Nepal are specific, law based and historical background. The Limbuwan and khumbuwan has been demanding for autonomous region as based of civilization, Geography, Historical evidences of agreements and treaty .They were demanding for identity though naming of province, special provision for rights, implementation of law that provision of Constitution of Nepal 2072 as well preservation and protection of civilization and culture of Limbuwan and khumbuwan in

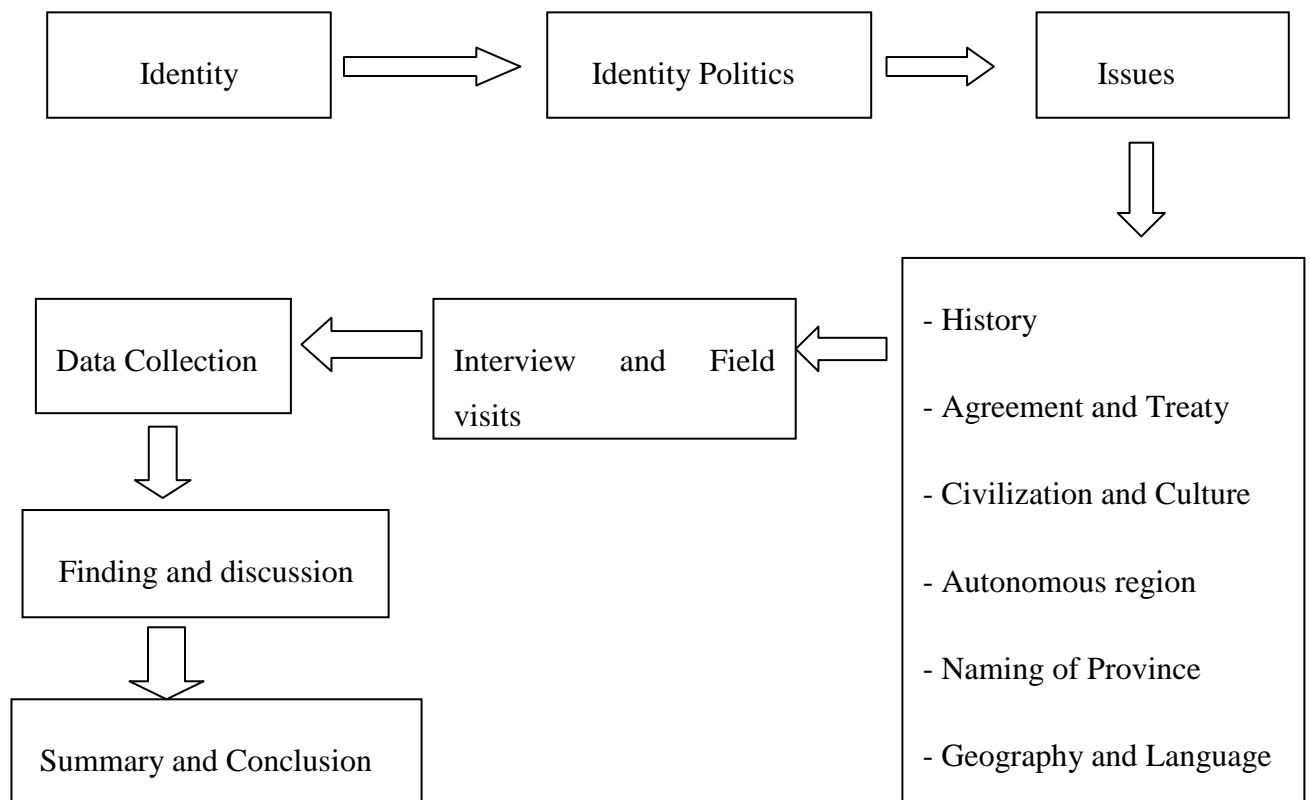
this region. So this research has based on these issues which weren't indorsed and discussed before in literature and theory.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

The researcher's synthesis of the theory and literature on how to explain phenomena is represented by a conceptual framework. It lays out the step that must be taken over the course of the study. A conceptual framework is a thorough summary that provides the holistic outlines of research. My research has done in the sequential path to find out facts as the below;

Figure 2.1

Conceptual Framework of Study



Source: Adopted and modified from Tajfel H and Turner J (1970) and Whitehead A.N (1930).

Identity is the recognition and addressed of any individuals and communities as their sex, caste, history, geography, language, scripts, sacrifices towards save the sovereignty of Nation. Identity refers to the qualities, beliefs, personality, appearance, and expressions that define an individual or a group. It is shaped by personal experiences, cultural background, social interactions, and historical contexts (Erikson, 1968). Identity can be categorized into personal identity, which relates to self-concept and individuality, and social identity, which pertains to a person's association with specific groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social identity theory suggests that individuals derive a sense of belonging from their group memberships, influencing their behavior and perceptions of others.

Identity politics that movements and thought of people which is related to caste, language, communities and history that essentialism, constructivism and Instrumentation. In term of Nepal, it is used as the tools for politics, as the concept of Instrumentations .In context of eastern Nepal and also known through theory and concept, there are many causes and issues which ignite the agitation and struggle to ethnics groups that Limbuwan and Khumbuwan. These issues are the naming of provinces, preservation of civilization and culture, identity rights, History, demand of autonomous region as provision in constitution of Nepal 2072.

Researcher has gone into fields and taken the interviews and interactions. Collection of data through interviews and observations through Key informant interview and got it as the finding, triangulation with literature and reach in discussion.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Identity politics in eastern region has been going since long time for their right, recognition and preservation of identity, history, culture and civilization. As the representatives of ethnics group stated they has their own language, history and geography which supported by historical evidences, archeological based and agreement. In recent some years ethnics groups are doing the strikes, demonstration for their rights of identity. To get the nutshell and finding about their demand, probable security issues and its resolution, researcher went through the interview, observations, their feeling, thoughts and documentations.

Khumbuwan and Limbuwan are the native habitant of eastern Nepal. They have unique and helpful behavior as well they are rigid in their nature. They have own scripts, language, geography as they had conducted the Kipat tradition since “Nun pani treaty” with Prithbinarayan Shah till regime of Late King Mahendra’s Land reform act 2021. As Creswell J.W and Creswell J.D (2023), a design of inquiry coming from anthropology and sociology that studies the shared patterns of behaviors, language and actions of an intact cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time where data collection often involves observations and interviews.

The researcher has gone to the field where the habitants of ethnics community, their philosophy and psychology are drawn and observed, explored the view of participants, met with local populations and took their long live history, tradition, culture and systems of harmony and ownership with land and people, then collection all their thoughts ,feeling and needs of communities. Researcher took an approach to analysis where he/she stayed, close to data, use interviews and interpretation for explaining the data and catalogues the information into themes.

The paper is designed to explain and analyze the politics through identity for their rights. This study has adopted the qualitative research methodology, utilizing a combination of literature review and questionnaire to gather comprehensive data on the title Identity politics and internal security: A study in eastern Nepal. The literature review has provided a theoretical framework and practical insights into the implementation of national policy, law, national security and national interest of Nation-state.

So the methodology has been used by researcher that qualitative approach as the nature and design of research that the way of phenomenological research methods with interviews and narratives have explored the understandings, perceptions and under-pinning thought of executive officials, security chiefs, local political leaders and leaders of identity-based struggle groups. Both descriptive and explanatory tools of interpretation have been used. The primary data obtained by open-ended questions, interviews, KII. The secondary data of relevant themes obtained from various literatures has strengthened the statement of the study.

3.1 Research design

The design of this research has adopted qualitative which conducted in descriptive and analytical form. The researcher has gone through the different cases study of America, South Africa, chakma issues of Bangladesh, Manipur crisis, Madhesh Movements and Protests. Identity Politics and internal security: study in eastern Nepal, it has based on a review and analysis of information gathered from a variety of primary and secondary sources including websites, journals, articles, research papers, key information informant interview as well as collected data has analyzed and interpreted in a meaningful ways.

The main theme of research is to find the causes or issues of ethnic based identity politics and its interconnect with security of concern regions and find out the possible and probable ways of solution in long ways. For this purpose, researcher chose the different participants to get the primary data and foundation of reality of identity struggles. Main and primary focus participants from identity politics struggle groups, as the interviewees and Key informant interview because they are the origin for issues and they have long history and root causes for struggles. Then Researcher moved to the local populations and local leader of different political parties to get their perceptions towards the movements and agitation of ethnic groups. They have long history on together mixed habitant in communities. Thirdly researcher focused on the security head of eastern region Nepal specially Nepali Army, Nepal Police, Armed Police Force, Nepal and National Investigation Department for their deployments, preparedness, joint structures, exercises and intelligence gathering as well Joints structures in unit level, district level and province level.

Finally, Researcher has collected the data and thought of executive of province level that Chief Minister and Minister of Internal affairs and Laws which focused on the security

managements, effort to bring in negotiations with agitators, looking for the short and long term solutions through mediation and negotiation.

Interview was open-ended design and explanatory method. Feelings and voice of local elder citizens and habitants has taken as informal ways. They expressed thought from their heart and soul. Local and who weren't directly participations in movements told that we, all mixed habitants, have been living here since many decades and treat as the kinship .We have shared our culture, customs, feast, festival and traditions. And others related stakeholders said that we have close relation with agitator's leaders and we all seeking to reach in collectives decision in win -win concept.

The perception of local people and other participation that we were together and will be forever, everyone has right to get their existences as the international and national law as tradition. Agitators told we are not against the habitants other than limbuwan and khumbuwan, this is the land for all us but our identity rights and recognition must be assured by Government of Nepal.

3.2 Area of study

The main area of this study is the eastern part of Nepal specially Koshi province. The primary data have been collected from Damak, Jhapa, Biratnagar, Morang, Dharan and Itahari, Sunsari as well from Kathmandu where many related leaders, synthesizers and theirs related central office located.

The eastern part Nepal that is Koshi province, before federation it was called as the Eastern Development region, where many ethnic group were lived in hilly region and gradually due to the unsecured situation at insurgency period, looking for employment, fertilizer land and basic facilities in terai , started to migrate .Specially Rais called as Khumbuwan have lived in Solukhumbu, Okhaldhunga, Khotang, Udaypur and Bhojpur which west from Arun River. Rais were started to migrate in Dharan, Tarahara,Itahari of Sunari and Belbari, Laxmimarg of Morang. Limbus were mainly lived in east from Arun river like Sankhuwasabha, Dhankuta, Terthum, Ilam .Pachthar and Taplejung. Limbus were migrated towards Terai in Jhapa and Morang, specially Damak, Dudhe, Kerakha Surunga of Jhapa and Pathari ,Sanischare, Letang,Kerabari and Urlabari of Morang. Even in those places, mix up of both caste and communities and others caste also live. But majority of habitant are as mentioned above.

Figure 3.1*Map of Koshi Province, Nepal*

Source-: The Rising Nepal (2025)

3.2.1 Features of selected area

Researcher has chosen the Dharan, Sunsari for Khumbuwan and Damak,,Jhapa for Limbuwan to get data .Dharan where main population of Rai living ,Leaders and Agitators, synthesizers as well civilization, culture, language, history can get .Many limbus caste lives in Damak, Leaders and Synthesizers used to live here. Movements and agitation of limbus are started from Damak. Even there in Damak is mixed society. The habitant of Limbu in Terai is

mainly East from Biratchok like city, Belbari, Pathari, Urlabari, Damak, Kerakha, Dudhe and Specially west region from kankai river in where Limbus were migrated from Terthum, east part of Dhankuta, Ilam, Pachthar and Taplejung. The outlook of Limbus as Mongolian, short height, devotion of their task, hard working, enjoying in community, based on agriculture and security service in British and India (Lahure). Most of them are engaged in domestic business. They do perfect respect to the guest and enjoying in alcohol and foods.

Koshi Province has located in the eastern most part of Nepal, spans diverse geographical features ranging from the towering Himalayas in the north to the fertile plains of the Terai in the south. The province is bordered by India to the south and east and China's Tibet Autonomous Region to the north, with provinces such as Bagmati and Madhesh lying to its west.

Key natural landmarks include Mount Everest, the highest peak in the world, and the Koshi River, which is not only the province's namesake but also a vital waterway supporting agriculture and hydropower. The province encompasses an area of 25,905 square kilometers. Total population is 49,61412 numbers and Koshi Province exhibits demographic diversity. Its population density varies significantly, with urban hubs like Biratnagar showcasing higher densities compared to remote mountain regions. The province has a youthful demographic, with a significant portion of its population under the age of 30. Migration for employment, both internal and international, is a key characteristic, shaping the socio-economic dynamics of the region.

3.2.2 Selection of Participants

Researcher has classified the participants in four sectors to collect the data as the nature of research. The field area was eastern Nepal and participants were different sectors;

- a) Leaders, Sympathizers and Agitators of ethnic groups as Khumbuwan and Limbuwan,
- b) Executives officials of province Government of Koshi province as Chief Minister and Minister of Internal affairs and Law,
- c) Local Political leaders of different parties,
- d) Security Chiefs of eastern region from different agencies/organization,
- e) Local community, other than Limbus and Rais.

As the natures of participants, questions were made and asked for research and data. The main issues, history and causes of agitation were asked to agitators and leaders of ethnic groups. Ongoing security situation, probable security consequences in future and preparedness were asked to security chiefs and Ministers. General perceptions and feeling thoughts were taken from local communities and political leaders. Participants as responders of the research were from different parts of Nepal, offices and centre office of ethnic group mainly based on Kathmandu Valley where many respected personalities, Leaders, Academia, sympathizers, well wishers.

3.3 Nature and sources of data

The nature of data for the study has been adopted both primary and secondary sources. The primary source has conducted KII, In-depth interview, questionnaire as in Appendix A,B,C and secondary sources have included the books, literature, previous studies, academic journals, articles, websites, publications Newspaper, National and International archives.

3.4 Methods of data collection

The major theme of this research is the find out the issues and reasons of identity politics in eastern Nepal from two hundred years to till now. Recent movements and agitations of ethnics groups in eastern Nepal may cause of security threats and challenges that harms in short term and long term in National security. From the history of international forum, we can learn and get education so we need to get solution in time. Researcher has gone through the “design of inquiry from the humanities in which studies the lives of individuals and asks one or more participations to provides stories about lives” Creswell J.W and Creswell JD (2023).Researcher went to field ,got data ,feeling and theme of individuals \and communities culture, traditions, civilization and history. On other side security condition and its remedy has taken with security officers and official authority of Province government.

The primary data has gathered through Key Informant Information (KII) as the Appendix A,B and C. The secondary data has collected from secondary sources such as Books, Journal articles, Newspaper publications, websites, etc through data collection, different published books, journals, reports, and articles on identity politics and its impact on internal security of related nation.

3.5 Data presentation and analysis

The study has followed qualitative design, analytical and descriptive method. Qualitative data has been analyzed to identify trends, patterns and extract insights and perspectives on the Identity politics and internal security: A study in eastern Nepal.

The security threat and challenge has created by the destructive movement, protest and agitation of ethnics groups. The identity issues are flowering their civilization and mirror of recognitions. The identity of history, culture and civilization of Rais and Limbus should be addressed by government of Nepal which provision in constitution of Nepal 2072.

3.7 Ethical considerations

The ethical issues when conducting this study have been revered. I have presented this study to the best of my knowledge and belief. Since it is prepared for the partial fulfillment of requirement of 9th APF Command and Staff Course, there is no funding of any institution and agencies for any research purpose. All the respondents had been behaved as respected person. Data collection was made with due permission only after winning the trust of participants. No discrimination of any types such as based on caste, ethnicity, status, and regionalism has been made.

The study has protected the confidentiality of the individual participants and institutions. I developed a complete trust with them; promoted the integrity of research; guarded against misconduct and impropriety that could reflect on organizations or institutions; and coped with new, challenging problems as referred by Israel & Hay (2006, as cited in Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p.144). Ethical issues as personal disclosure, authenticity, and credibility of the study, patents of the literature and compliments have been properly maintained in the study.

Data used in this paper has been analyzed to convey the original opinion of the source. No distortion or modification has been made to the tone of the source. Confidentiality of the respondents has been respected and well maintained when accomplishing the analysis. The views respondents and KII have been preserved to deliver the message they intended accordingly. The paper has been oriented to underscore the identity politics in eastern Nepal since long time and its probable circumstance in internal security. The paper is not guided to fulfill any interests. This study is purely academic.

Thus, this study has been conducted adopting the general principles of ethics as the primary responsibility respecting the intellectual property rights, rule of consent, confidentiality and privacy. A full-fledged academic justice has been made in the study. Anonymity and pseudonyms have been used to conceal the identity in the qualitative parts. Supervision and guidance when preparing the study have been respectfully acknowledged and credited. This study has followed APA 7th edition as research style.

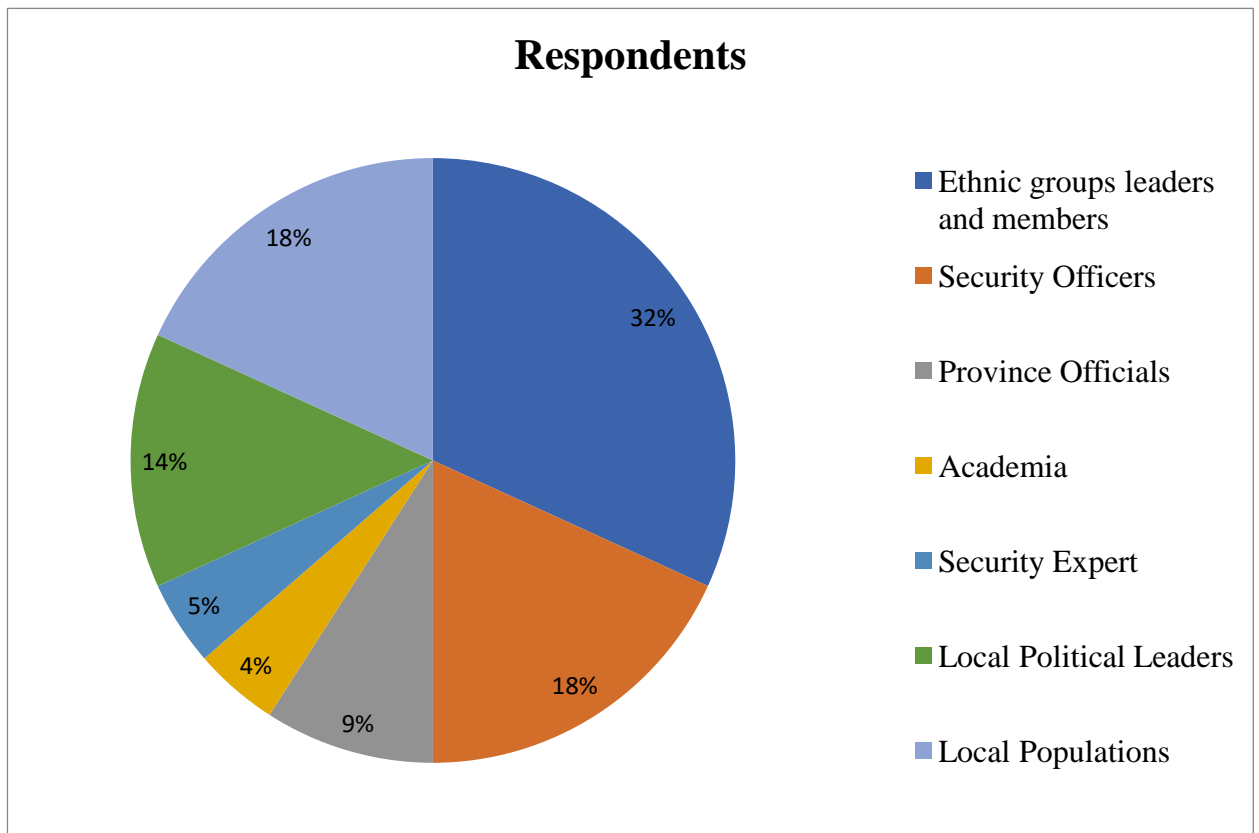
CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter analyses the major issues of politic identity, it's probable threat and challenge in internal security and resolutions for long term, specially focused on ethnic group (Limbuwan and Khumbuwan) who are the indigenous community of eastern Nepal special in hilly and mountain region. Based on the defined three research questions, the researcher has collected the data to fulfill the requirements. Qualitative methods were used to collect the primary data. More than 31 personalities were the based and sources of my thesis subjects from indigenous leaders and members, executive officials of Koshi province, Security agency chiefs of Koshi Province 24 of them were further selected for in-depth interviews as key informant information and 7 were in Telephone interview to explore and unravel the problem in depth as appendix "D".

Figure 4.1

Numbers of Respondents



Source: Field Study, 2025

The data has collected from three places of Nepal like Damak, Jhapa, Itahari and Dharan, Sunsari as well as Kathmandu and Lalitpur for collecting secondary data from different offices and organization of Limbuwan and Khumbuwan based on Kathmandu valley named “Kirat Yanthang Chumlung”, Mahalaxmithan, Lalitpur and “Aadibasi Janajati Mahasanga, Sinamangal, Kathmandu. This chapter has been divided into two sub-sections. The first section deals with findings comprised of descriptive analysis related to the first research question: major issues of identity politics in eastern region of Nepal, and security threats and challenges in internal security. The knowledge about identity politics that effects on internal security is in eastern region of Nepal as this objective. Primary data has collected using qualitative methods.

4.1 Findings

Identity politics is a tool to get the ends of a community desire for their rights and recognitions .Identity is the form and recognition of individual and groups. Politics is the systematic campaign or voice of the society as well umbrella thoughts and concepts of society. Identity politics has the objectives, goal and mission with specific issues and norms.

Established the democracy after 21 days movement of people 2062/63 BS, all caste, ethnicity, religious group, society, community were looking for their rights of language land regime etc. So there was the movement, struggle and destruction of government’s property to lure the Government for their demands. Especially in eastern region, Khumbuwan and Limbuwan members were agitating for autonomous state and renaming.

Identity must have the archeological proved, its origin and development, historical assumption and political and geographical recognition. Civilization and historical proofs emphasize the right of ethnic and indigenous community.

4.1.1 Major Issues

These issues, basic norms and value are the destination of identity politics. These issues are the reasons of recent protests, demonstrations, movements and agitations. From the treaty of “Nun Pani”(Salt and Water treaty) to protest on Pathibhara Cable Car construction debate, all the series of struggles and movements has been going on to get their right of identity of civilization, culture and geographical history.

Researcher has collected the data from various personalities specially leaders, sympathizers and members of indigenous and ethnic groups. Collective demand of them is the way that we have the history of eastern part, "Kipat" system of Pallo Kirat and unique social cultural and historical mirror of Kirat, we can assume that their demand and rights are somehow logical. As stated of Limbu P.T, President of "Kirat Limbuwan Province naming Campaign", he put their views on identity, there are five base for identity that geography, history, culture, language and scripts. He has expressed this thought towards the history of identity politics in eastern Nepal and causes of protest since long time;

Limbus have the long history of civilization in eastern part of Nepal. From the treaty between Prithvinarayan Shah and Limbus on 22 Shrawan 1831 BS, there was the agreement of autonomous region or state from east of Arun river and gradually Kipat system was developed. Kipat system was in existence till the Land reform act 2021 came as function. He enforced in National unity, unity in diversity and sovereignty security as well as sovereign centric nationality. Unity in diversity is the foundation of National unity. We can learn from China, India and Switzerland Model where follows of civilization, geography, origin and archaeological evidence for federal democratic state formation. After restoration of democracy in 2062/63, State resource distribution and restructuring commission 2064 was formed and this commission had focused on Identity based state restructuring state. The first interim constitution 2064 has also emphasized in Identity based state formation (Limbu P, Interview, 2081-09-23 BS)

The unarmed struggle, organization building and movement of people in hilly region of eastern Nepal was going led by Gopal Kirati and their mission of autonomous state and later assimilated with Maoist in 2052 BS and coordinated together till 2075 BS but there was ideological differences of self-determination and autonomous region. After 2075, Khumbuwan has been focusing in naming of province with identical recognition and cultural and religious history. In these contexts, Former Minister Mr Kirati has poured his words as below:

Many countries including India has followed the Identity based practices and Nepal has also provision in Constitution 2047 and Constitution of Nepal 2072, in preamble and Article 3 respectively. As the Article 3, The Constitution of Nepal 2072" All the Nepalese people with multiethnic, multilingual, multi-religious, multicultural

characteristics and in geographical diversities and having common aspirations and being united by a bond of allegiance to national independence, territorial integrity, national interest and prosperity of Nepal, collectively constitute the nation. He drew and not aligned with the unification campaign of Prithvinarayan Shah as well not dust out it. That was the centralized feudal system. After great Movement of 2007 BS, Late Ram Prasad Rai, Late Nirmal Lama, etc leader had great contribution in bringing democracy. He has focused in autonomous state instead of self-determination (Kirati G, interview, 2081-11-01).

Characteristics of state is changing as being development in society, the issues raised in Rana regime and contemporary circumstances is different. Prof. Dr. Chemjong D.D, Telephone interview, 2081-11-20, stated that “development and formation of Government should be the socially accepted and culturally compactable. Voice of indigenous and ethnics communities must address and collective effort should be respect”.

The Leader of Limbuwan Movements since long time based on Damak, named Limbu T.B, declared vision, mission and organization’s way forward as below:

There should be some based for identity politics that we practicing and struggling since long time, first one is Political and geographical Identity which we have, our way and path is through and way of Political, we are using political tradition and thought and we have the geography of Nine districts which east from Arun River. Second is Historical assumption which we have that the unification campaign of then King Prithvi Narayan Shah and after long armed conflict between both warriors or Armys, there was no final decision of war and finally, both Army commander made a treaty that This Land will be within the territory of Nepal but Limbus have the regime of autonomous. Third one is Archaeological based proof, that we have, our script, our language, religion history that are strong proof. Final one is origin and development that we have history and we gradually adopting the development of our human history that way of Anthropology (Limbu T. B., Interview, 2081-09-23 BS).

The voice of people has to come through the way of ballet not bullets, it has the democratic value and norms, which is universal acceptance that has been continuously repeated by political leader of eastern Nepal. In such circumstances, Leader of Limbuwan Limbu, D. T (who was secured third position with about 12000 votes in by election of Ilam in 2081BS as

Free/independent candidate “Identity Group”) Coordinator of Identity - based Province No1 renaming campaign Committee has expressed his thoughts like as:

We have struggling for Nepali people .Our demand for identity of all community society who are deprived from right and Opportunities. Identity for protection is not to erase the history. Government of Nepal has provided the right and ensured the right as the provision in Constitution of Nepal 2072.Nepali people will feel of pride and ownership with Act and implementation as the Article 26(2), Constitution of Nepal 2072.If not our struggle, Movement will not stop and Nepali land and people are seeking for Third People Revolution (Limbu D.T, Telephone Interview, 2081-11-04).

The Researcher has visited the many local leader of different political parties, leaders of Aadibasi Janajati Mahasanga, Security Chief of Koshi Province ,Chief Minister and Internal Affairs and law Minister of Koshi province as well many others academia, personalities and Central office of Janajati Mahasanga, Sinamangal and Kirat Yanthung Chumlung Mahalaxmithan ,Lalitpur.

Andambe D.B, member of Kirat Yanthung Chumlung, Mahalaxmithan ,Lalitpur put this words through social media in direct contact on 16 Falgun 2081 BS as “The major issues on identity politics in eastern Nepal are ethnic/national, land-based territorial, historical, cultural, linguistic, economic and social issues”.

Federalism and world philosophy has been cornering in the conflicts of existence .World has been adopting the globalization and Industrialization as the world dimension has changed. The desired and need has shifted day by day .In such periphery, Mr Lingden K.“Mirak”, President of Federal Democratic National Forum stated that:

“Rights, identity, existences are the foundation of human civilization. Every individual, society, community has struggling for their existence that explored by their right and identity. To get the right of land and humanity, government should secure their identity and existence. Everyone should aware for their existence. Main ideology of federalism is the co-existence. Our existence will be secured after the provision of Autonomous region and assured the preservation of our culture and civilization” (Linden K., Interview, 2081-11-19).

As the above narratives, the identity politics of eastern Nepal by the ethnics group and communities has been struggling through movement, protest, agitation and unarmed conflicts. Different thoughts and ideas shared as the contemporary issues of struggle of eastern Nepal that major issues of the identity politics in eastern Nepal are as below which come under the constitutions and civilizations of ethnic community;

a) Autonomous region

An autonomous region or state is a subdivision of a country that has been granted a degree of self-governance beyond what is typically afforded to other regions within the country. This autonomy may encompass political, economic, or cultural self-rule, and is often established to accommodate ethnic, linguistic, religious, or historical distinctiveness within a larger sovereign state (Ghai, 2000). Autonomy arrangements vary widely in terms of scope, governance structures, and legal foundations.

Autonomy can be classified in various ways as the Political Autonomy that region has its own governing institutions and decision-making powers and Economic Autonomy that Control over local resources, taxation, and economic policies as well Cultural and Linguistic Autonomy which preservation of distinct cultural and linguistic identity. In most cases, autonomous regions exist within unitary states but have governance structures similar to federal systems (Hannum, 1996). These regions can emerge through constitutional arrangements, historical treaties, or political negotiations to address minority demands or regional disparities.

Researcher has met many respondents and found different perception. Leaders and members of agitating groups have the ends that autonomous state but others ,province government officials ,local leader of political parties have opposite thought that agitating groups has to come through political means and have to win heart of people. So even Nepal is smaller and poor country, comparing to neighboring Countries that difficult to take more burdens.

b) Naming of province

The identity of Limbuwan and Khumbuwan in eastern Nepal as through geography, linguistic, religious and territorial way, specially, they have the demand to rename of Koshi province as recognition of this region. They have been demanding the name as, Limbuwan,

Khumbuwan, Kirat Limbuwan province. They claim that name has the theoretical identity and it flourishes the culture, history, civilization of Limbuwan and Khumbuwan.

At the field research, other than agitating groups haven't prepared for renaming from caste, ethnic and religious way but Limbu and Rai community are demanding the renaming of province by theme of culture and civilization of Kirat and Limbu history. Eastern Nepal is the multi-ethnic, multi linguistic region so name should be touched the collective perception and thoughts.

c) Preservation of Civilization and culture

Limbu and Rai has the long history and civilization in eastern, specially Arun river and its surrounding, tradition, culture, religious factors, which recognized the their identity and explores in holistic concept. This is the true that eastern Nepal has the glorious history, culture and civilization of Kirati and Limbu community so preservation, protection and development of culture and civilization of Limbuwan and Khumbuwan.

d) Representatives of ethnics groups in political level.

Ethnics groups of eastern Nepal have demanded for the secured the seats and position in decision levels. The voice of minority should be addressed and Government has to format as the collective voice of people. Nepal has adopted the inclusion and representation of all caste, sex and geography as the constitution of Nepal 2072.

4.1.2 Potential consequence in internal security

After promulgation of Constitution of Nepal 2072, many ethnic group, community, caste were demanded their right of identity in term of autonomous state, right and name. Madhesh movement, Tharuhat movement and Movement of Khumbuwan and Limbuwan was going since long time. A group of G Kirati (Khumbuwan) named "Kirat Workers Party" led by Gopal Kirati was strengthening their team with demand of autonomous region of Khumbuwan since before Maoist's insurgency 1996 AD. Kirat Worker Party was collaborated with Maoist and went on Armed Struggles because their main aim of Identity based State restructuring. But there is an ideal differentiation of self-determination or autonomy state. the same way east from Arun River Limbuwan were struggling for long time led by Kumar Lingden after restoration of democracy after Monarchy's then king direct regime.

The struggle was going increasing day by day so security situation of eastern was going worsening .The internal security was fragile and uncertain. To cope and address such fragile security condition ,Government of Nepal had decided to establish the Armed police Force security bases in Terai districts of then Mid–region and Armed Police Force ,Company in nine districts of Eastern hilly districts .The security condition was made more robust and proactive to cope the probable security threats and challenges.

In term of Khuwalung that is a big stone in Koshi river which assumed as the civilization and represent of culture issues. It is a stone in middle part of Arun river which said to be the representation of Kirat civilization and history. Naming of then No 1 province as “Koshi” was burning issues in eastern part of Nepal. Khumbuwan and Limbuwan members disagreed and did agitation against the province government for the couple of months and one of the members has died at the agitation and many were injured.

There were many chronological movements after 2072 in Eastern region. Nepal formally transitioned into a republican state with the promulgation of the new constitution on Ashoj 3, 2072 BS. Following federalization into seven provinces, the issue of identity became a contentious topic, leading to complexities in the naming of provinces. While the provincial assemblies successfully named six provinces during their first term, Province No. 1 remained unnamed. Despite the intense focus on identity, only Madhesh Province was named based on identity, leaving other provinces named otherwise.

As a result, identity-based groups expressed dissatisfaction and launched protests. However, due to a lack of widespread public support, these movements in other provinces gradually lost momentum. Despite numerous efforts, Province No. 1 could not be named during its first provincial assembly term. Proposals such as Koshi, Sagarmatha, Kirat, Limbuwan, Kirat Limbuwan, and Koshi-Sagarmatha-Kirat were presented but failed to secure consensus or the two-thirds majority required.

In the second term of the provincial assembly, the name "Koshi" garnered maximum consensus. On Falgun 17, 2079 BS, a vote was held in the assembly, with 82 members voting in favor, 4 against, and 6 absent out of 92 total members. With an overwhelming majority exceeding the required two-thirds, the name Koshi Province was officially adopted.

After the naming, as seen in other provinces, identity-based groups launched protests. Unlike other provinces where protests subsided quickly, movements in Province No. 1 have persisted far longer than anticipated. This has escalated the identity issue and protests, leading to a prolonged and complex situation.

Security consequences, threats and challenges have been increasing as the political dynamics change. The ongoing protests have resulted in significant human and material losses. Notable activities include:

- a) Physical attacks on political party leaders.
- b) Removal of government office signboards bearing the name "Koshi Province."
- c) Conducting marches and training under the banner of "identity-based forces."
- d) Issuing threats to political leaders, party members, and government officials.

These undesirable and illegal activities have been consistently observed, further exacerbating security challenges in the region. The Limbuwan and khumbuwan have done jointly movements and protest as the "Aadibasi Janajati Mahasanga". Many Negotiation teams were formed to make in conclusions. The recent burning issue in Cable Car in Pathivara Temple, Taplejung.

The researcher has visited and interviewed to security chiefs of koshi province , firstly Major General of Nepali Army Mr. Ghimire P.R, Division Commander of Eastern Nepal, and Investigation Director of National Investigation Department Mr Lama I.S as well Telephone interviewed to DIG of Nepal Police Mr Bhattarai R, telephone interview and DIG of APF, Nepal Mr Subedi S ,telephone interview ,about the identity politics and probable security circumstance/conditions that will affect in short term and long term :

We all security agencies are well aware and keen proactive in this matters. This is the security issues and challenges not only for Koshi Province but also to the Nepal .We have the coordinating mechanism in ground level security units to Province level. We have the well information sharing mechanism. It has not immediate affected in security threats but somehow small challenges .The agitating groups are connecting to local issues with the identity Politics. Political leadership has the decisionary vision and power to detect it and its final resolution through the political negotiation. (Ghimire P.R,et al , Interview,2081-09-24).

Visiting and interviewed to Chief Minister and Internal Affairs and Law Minister of Koshi Province about the ongoing movement and agitating of Limbuwan and Khumbuwan for their identity right and probable security challenges and threats as well management of security situations Koshi province which as below;

We have strong security management and security collaboration for uncertain situations. This is the political issues so its solution will be through the negotiations and debate. We have formed three member committee (chairmanship of State Minister) for negotiation. Long term solution will be through negotiation and ballots means Elections (Karki H and Bhandari R,Interview,2081-09-24)

Leader of Limbuwan,,Limbu D. T, Coordinator of Identity –based Province No1 renaming campaign Committee, telephone interview,2081-11-04,1725 hrs, has expressed his thoughts like as-“.Nepali people will feel of pride and ownership with Act and implementation as the Article 26(2), Constitution of Nepal 2072.If not ,our struggle and Movement will not stop and Nepali land and people are seeking for Third People Revolution.

Andambe D.B, member of Kirat Yanthung Chumlung, Mahalaxmithan , Lalitpur put this words as ;

“The potential consequences of identity politics on internal security is depend up on the state's or government's policy on treating or behaving with the peoples who are upraising their issues democratically. If the state takes it democratically then it will not cause any problem in internal issues. If the state does not take it seriously and democratically, then there will be risk of playing outer national and international powers which may cause problem in internal security too”(Andambe D.B,social media whatsapp,2081-11-16).

The leader of Khumbuwan and former Minister Kirati G. stated that we are the way of autonomous state not the right of self- determination which is responsibility of Government of Nepal for respect of identity right of ethnic groups .If Government has missed its way of forward, we have to go on protest, agitation and movements, our agitation will via the non violence means .Our next movement will be the “Third People Movement”.

The collective versions of people in eastern region that this is our land and we have been living here since our forefather. All caste and religion are staying happily by sharing their

happiness and sorrow. There is a mixed society of Caste. Unity in diversity and social harmony in different religion, caste, sex and community has existed. The collective theme of thoughts, views of leaders of agitating and protesting groups which belongs to ethnic class and indigenous since decade of years. The security situation in recent and upcoming future of eastern Nepal due to movements of identity politics has explored as below;

- a) Fragile security condition,
- b) Local issues has connected to national level,
- c) Protest, long tenure movement, strikes and Agitation,
- d) Probability of formation of unarmed team,
- e) Probable attack and sabotage in Government Offices and Officials,
- f) Internal conflicts/Confrontation between ethnics groups (Agitation and non agitation groups),
- g) Minimum chances of armed conflicts.

Even though security is the holistic and comprehensive approach. Security has the broader aspect. It is not only physical presence in particular place but also its contents of psychological perspectives. Eastern Nepal has shared with its border Sikkim and West Bengal of India in East and north side China as well south with Bihar of India. Open and porous border, Close relation with Sikkim and West Bengal in term of language, culture, tradition, music, feast and festival may be the threats and opportunities.

4.1.3 Ways of resolving

Every action has the reaction and problems bring itself solutions but there is to be initiated by somebody. Ethnic community has their issues that demanding with government of Nepal to address with respect of their contemporary issues. Autonomous region is first and core issue, for this they are struggling since long time through identity politics.

One of Local Political leader of Damak, Jhapa, and named Prasai P. said that:

This is our land and the dream of autonomous state will not be succeed .We have to secure our culture, social harmony and cohesion. But what Limbuwan doing, this isn't the way of bonding and unity between different denomination, society, caste and religious groups. He emphasized in by maintaining identity of individual, groups and society, equal and equity based society will be flourished. And we have to accept the

existence of another denomination and society. World has been entering in globalization and global village concept but such movement had pushed to society in backward. It is better to reconnect and unite each other and let's built and develop our Home, society and nation more better, prosperity and developed (Prasai P., interview, 2081-09-23).

The thought and feeling of others Caste who are not participated in Movements of Limbuwan that we are living together since long time, we have the feeling of brotherhood and we exchange our fest and festival. We share; we exchange our happiness and sorrow together.

Mr. Andambe D.B, member of Kirat Yanthung Chumlung, Mahalaxmithan ,Lalitpur put this words as;

“The movement in eastern Nepal is a movement of Nepali identity in real sense. It is the movement of protecting and promoting identity and existence of Nepal and Nepali in real sense. So, the ways of resolution is to hear, respect and address the people voices which are raised peacefully and democratically in time” (Andambe D.B,Social Media,2081-11-16).

The civilization and history of Limbu in eastern region of Nepal is the knowledgeable and academic study which is connected with tradition, norms, values, religion, festival, attire and dietary practices with Sikkim, Darjeeling, some part and community of Assam and Manipur. Specially communal system in Limbu is “Kipat” system where certain Limbu family lived and did agriculture business ,habitant within a certain Land, there was no entry to new family ,if wanted to entry ,had to take permission from community head and there was a method of convert into Limbu who were non –limbu caste ,called Chengpongthim method (according to former minister Kirati G.).

There were ideological differences of self-determination and autonomous region in internal politics of Maoists. After 2075 Khumbuwan has been focusing in naming of province with identical recognition, civilization and cultural as well religious based. In these contexts, Former Minister Mr Kirati G. put his words as below:

Many countries including India have followed the Identity based practices and Nepal has also provision in Constitution 2047 and Constitution of Nepal 2072, in preamble and Article 3 respectively. As the Article 3, The Constitution of Nepal 2072” All the

Nepalese people, with multiethnic, multilingual, multi-religious, multicultural characteristics and in geographical diversities and having common aspirations and being united by a bond of allegiance to national independence ,territorial integrity, national interest and prosperity of Nepal, collectively constitute the nation”. He drew and not aligned with the unification campaign of Prithvinarayan Shah as well not dust out it. We have to be more unite with right and sovereignty. He stated that the re naming of Koshi province and cultural identity of Mukunglung (Pathivara). His upcoming agitation/Movements program will be the peacefully and it is the “Third People’s Movement” that will be more dangerous for Government of Nepal (Kirati G. interview, 2081-11-01).

The Koshi provincial government has formed a committee to hold talks with the identity supporters who are expressing dissatisfaction with the name of the province. A three-member negotiation committee was formed under the leadership of Minister for Drinking Water, Irrigation, and Energy of Koshi Province, Til Kumar Menyangbo Limbu, during the cabinet meeting held on Wednesday. The members of the Negotiation Committee are Agriculture and Cooperatives Minister Bhakti Prasad Sitaula and Minister for Social Development of Koshi Province, Buddhi Kumar Rajbhandari. Since the Provincial Assembly meeting on March 1, where the province was named Koshi, identity supporters have been staging a series of protests. One person has died during the protests, and many others have been injured in clashes with the police personnel (Republica, June 7, 2023).

Security expert Dr. Nyalbo D. telephone interview, 2081-12-11, has stated that identity politics is based on history of indigenous and need to respect and preserve them not use of force brutally. Solution is in hand of government and provision of right and identity of indigenous and ethnic community.

The leaders of ethnics group and Government side are looking for the best way of solving this knot. Conflict is the hurdles for peace and development. Without development, the prosperity and happiness of people is impossible. Identity politics and its related movements, struggles and agitations are more violent and decisionary because this is a voice of groups, community and society. From the different perspectives and thought of members and leaders of agitating groups as well authorized officials of eastern Nepal, shows as below;

- a) Negotiation and political debate

- b) Political talks
- c) Robust and proactive security arrangement
- d) Representation and Inclusion.

As the native of above statements and views, province government has formed the negotiation committee and called for table talk to search the solution for movement. Such movements and protest are linked with feeling of people .Government has to call the agitation party for negotiation and these parties also should be ready to talk. State has also responsibility to give the space in government as equality and equity basis. But as the security agency, collect the information, prepare with professionally and tactically, take the proactive measures of security managements.

4.2 Discussion

The Historical background of Khumbuwan Limbuwan has come from the unification campaign of Prithvi Narayan Shah, .wollo kirat and Majha kirat was defeated by Prithvi narayan force .Nine districts which east from Arun river called Pallo kirat (Limbuwan) had also invaded by prithinarayan’s force ,after fought many time ,both force couldn’t declare the war. And finally made the agreement/treaty of Pallo Kirat to accept the autonomous land of Nepal. The Kirat people, indigenous to the eastern Himalayas, had a rich history that spans millennia. Comprising various ethnic groups such as the Rai, Limbu, Yakkha, and Sunuwar, the Kirat have significantly influenced the cultural and historical landscape of regions like Nepal, Sikkim, and parts of West Bengal (Gurung, 2011).

The identity politics in Nepal since long time especially in eastern region, Khumbuwan and Limbuwan has been demanding their right of identity with respectful meaning for autonomous region. Ethnic groups of eastern region have the long history and civilization. They claim as their own scripts, language, tradition and culture since couple of decade of years. They raised the voice for renaming of Koshi province that will reflect the culture and civilization of geography and ethnicity.

Researcher took the view and narratives of many leaders and other academic think tanker, all have the single voice and demand is autonomous region with absolute right. Autonomous regions serve as mechanisms to accommodate diversity, prevent conflicts, and ensure political stability. However, their effectiveness depends on legal frameworks, the willingness of the central government to uphold autonomy and the political aspirations of the regional

population. As seen in Catalonia, Hong Kong and Kurdistan, autonomy does not always guarantee stability and can lead to tensions when expectations diverge between regional and national authorities.

A Case studies of autonomous region that Kurdistan Region, Iraq where population in Iraq has long sought autonomy due to historical marginalization. The 2005 Iraqi Constitution formally recognized the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) as an autonomous entity (Natali, 2010).The Kurdistan Region has its own government, armed forces (Peshmerga), and control over domestic policies, including education and health. It also has economic independence, managing oil revenues independently of Baghdad (Stansfield, 2003).Despite its autonomy, disputes over oil revenues, territorial boundaries and political tensions with the central government have led to conflict. A 2017 independence referendum opposed by Baghdad and neighboring countries, resulted in economic and military repercussions (Natali, 2010).

On August 2, 1984, Sankara announced the renaming of the country from Upper Volta to Burkina Faso, a name that amalgamates words from two major indigenous languages: "Burkina" from more, meaning "honest" or "upright," and "Faso" from Jula, meaning "homeland." Collectively, Burkina Faso translates to "Land of Upright People" or "Land of Honest People," symbolizing the nation's commitment to integrity and the empowerment of its citizens.

Second case study from the Pakistan where the name North-West Frontier Province changed into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2010 that a significant renaming process, influenced by ethnic identity and political advocacy. Established during British colonial rule in 1901, the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) was named based on its geographical location relative to British India, without consideration for the ethnic composition of its inhabitants. The province is predominantly inhabited by Pashtun, an ethnic group with a distinct language, culture, and historical heritage. For decades, Pashtun nationalists and political parties, notably the Awami National Party (ANP), campaigned for the province's name to reflect the Pashtun identity. They proposed the name "Pakhtunkhwa," meaning "Land of the Pashtuns," to acknowledge and honor the indigenous population. In April 2010, through the 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan, the province was officially renamed Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This change was a monumental acknowledgment of the Pashtun identity and a step towards rectifying historical oversights regarding the region's indigenous population.

The renaming of provinces in response to the aspirations of ethnic or indigenous groups reflects a broader global movement towards recognizing and verifying cultural identities. Both Burkina Faso and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa exemplify how such changes can serve as powerful symbols of empowerment, fostering a sense of pride and ownership among indigenous populations. However, these processes also reveal the intricate challenges that arise in multicultural societies, emphasizing the necessity for thoughtful engagement and policies that honor the rich tapestry of human identities.

The constitution of Nepal 2072 has also explained the right of all ethnic groups as as the Article 3, The Constitution of Nepal 2072, “all the Nepalese people, with multiethnic, multilingual, multi-religious, multicultural characteristics and in geographical diversities and having common aspirations and being united by a bond of allegiance to national independence, territorial integrity, national interest and prosperity of Nepal, collectively constitute the nation”. And Article 26 (2) “every religious denomination shall have the right to operate and protect its religious sites and religious Guthi (trusts)”. The members of ethnics group have claimed the Constitution of Nepal 2072 has also addressed our Voice. Our voice is under the constitution. Government of Nepal has to follow that what is written over there.

As the mentioned in literature review, Lawati (2005) stated that identity politics has been particularly salient due to its diverse socio-cultural fabric, where marginalized communities strive for recognition and autonomy . And another literature of Subba (1999) explained as in eastern Nepal, with its rich ethnic tapestry, has been a hotspot for such movements. Identity politics highlights the collective struggle for recognition, rights, and representation in political systems. According to Barry (2001) identity-based policies can help rectify historical injustices, critics argue that they may contradict the principle of equal treatment under the law and Caplan (1970) has focused on the Identity politics is rooted in the desire for political structures that acknowledge diversity and inclusivity .

Identity theory is considered a micro-sociological perspective which focuses on the individual, with roots in psychology. Social identity theory focuses on group processes and relations within/between groups with roots in social psychology and sociology.

At nutshell, the collective views and narratives of ethnics group’s leaders and members of rai and limbu community that autonomous region is our ends and destination which we are claiming on the basis of history, geography, language, scripts, culture, proof and

treaty/agreements .Many country have made provision and renamed of province. Constitution of Nepal 2072 has also made the provision on secure the right of indigenous and ethnics communities. Fourteen districts of Koshi province where the history of Limbu and Rai/Kirat is immortal and unique, proven by the documents and history of civilization. Even the as treaty of Nun Pani and continuation of its till Land tenure acts 2021 shows the Limbu had the informal communal /occupancy in land. There was the tradition of “Kipat” which is similar to communal system.

Some cases study of Kurdistan region, Iraq and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2010 was the good example of provision of autonomous region after demand, protest and struggle of ethnics and indigenous community. And there is example of renaming of province as the culture, heritage and civilization as mentioned in above paragraph of case study. Our supreme leader of Main Political parties used to say that Constitution is not a unchangeable document, we can revise it time to time as the views, need and demand of Nepali people.

The solo theme of different literature and theory of identity is that identity politics in eastern Nepal has diverse socio-cultural fabric, where marginalized communities are doing the collective struggle for recognition, rights, and representation who seeking for the recognition and autonomy. Identity-based policies can help rectify historical injustices; critics argue that they may contradict the principle of equal treatment under the law that is rooted in the desire for political structures that acknowledge diversity and inclusivity.

Nepal is the multi lingual, Multi-ethnic, multi-religious and diverse regional characteristics nation. Diversity in geography, demography and religious are the peculiar characteristic of Nepal. Every Character will have their own desire and demand. The nation is the unitary form of geography and soul of people. State cannot fulfill of all people’s desire and demand in such cases.

The example of India that Gorkhaland movement and Manipur crisis, related to the autonomous region and ethnics, cultural and movement of identity were less succeed. After people’s revolutionary movement ,2062/63,many voices of Newa state, Magarat state, Tamsaling state ,Madhesi state, Tharuhat, Khas autonomous region etc has heard and raised but all were settled as the Government of Nepal has initiated. Their demand and desire of indigenous and ethnic group of eastern Nepal as the international study and constitution of Nepal 2075 will be rationale and relevance but if Nepal is the comparative small country and

economically moderate country. The burden of economy cannot tolerate more. We have many examples of provision of autonomous region and renaming of province as well example of unsuccessful protest and movement for autonomous region. So Government of Nepal should be the aware of voice of citizens and respect the all marginalized, indigenous and ethnic people.

The history of Limbuwan has started from the war between soldiers of then king Prithvinarayan shah and Limbu soldiers. The unification campaign was in east of Kathmandu and they were moving forward till Arun east after winning the west of Arun River. After the few days of war both warriors couldn't win and they had done the "Nun Pani Ko sandhi" There was treaty of "Salt and Water" known as "Nun-Pani sandhi" refers as a historical agreement between the Gorkha kingdom, led by king Prithvi Narayan Shah and Limbu Chiefs of Limbuwan, marking the annexation of Limbuwan into the Gorkha territory, essentially signifying the loss of Limbu Chieftaincy and the establishment of Gorkha rule in the region. The salt and water likely symbolizes the essential elements of life and the submission to Gorkha authority (Chemjong, 2017).

The struggle development of Limbuwan and Khumbuwan in eastern region has been seen in last some years after restoration of democracy and multi party system in 2046/47 BS .The New Constitution has provision of identity of all ethnicity in Preamble and Article but implementation was not done so some people of Kirat were formed the organization "Kirat Workers Party" and assimilated many Kirati youth also campaign program were lunched. After revolution of Maoist in 1996, the Kirat workers group was joined in Maoist's armed struggle. After peoples revolution in 2062/63, Federal democratic republic state was established 2072 BS, promulgation of Constitution of Nepal 2072,there is provision in Article 3 and 26(2), that secure the right of indigenous community .There were many movements and agitating .Kirat community raised the issues of preservation of "Khuwalung" as the history of civilization. The naming of No 1 Province "Koshi" was in Falgun 2079 and there were numerous struggles and movements for renaming as ethnic ,history and civilization of ethnics and indigenous community should be flourished .One members of Limbuwan has lost his life in the agitation and many were injured including security personnel in Biratnagar. Now recent burning issues of Mukkumlung (Pathivara) where 3 members injured in agitation with security forces and many more security personnel were injured.

The Darjeeling Gorkhaland movement, the Manipur crisis, the Chakma refugee issue, and Bangladesh-related movements all highlight persistent ethnic, political, and security challenges in India's northeastern and eastern regions. The demand for Gorkhaland stems from the Nepali-speaking Gorkha community's aspirations for a separate state in West Bengal, leading to periodic unrest. Meanwhile, Manipur faces an ongoing ethnic conflict between the Meitei and Kuki communities, exacerbating security concerns. The Chakma refugees, originally from Bangladesh, have long struggled for citizenship rights in Arunachal Pradesh, creating tensions with local indigenous groups. Migration from Bangladesh has led to demographic shifts and local resistance in Assam and other border states, further fueling socio-political tensions. These issues pose significant security threats, including insurgency, border infiltration, and internal displacement, challenging India's sovereignty and stability (Baruah, 2023). A comprehensive approach involving political dialogue, economic development and strengthened border management is essential to address these threats and challenges.

Many literature reviews are related to eastern Nepal, Gellner (2007) the region's ethnic diversity, including groups such as the Tharus, Limbus, and Rais, has led to demands for greater autonomy and representation. While these demands are legitimate, they occasionally result in protests and disruptions. Members of agitating groups are erasing and renaming of Government office in remote villages that has long-term impact of identity politics on Nepal's security. Caplan, (1970) has written in his literature, there is the cultural complexity in eastern region that Limbuwan, traditionally inhabited by the Limbu people, is known for its Sino-Tibetan language and rich oral traditions. Similarly, Khumbuwan, home to the Rai community, features diverse dialects reflecting its cultural complexity.

Gurung, (2020) has different views on his literature that federalism and inclusion policies have reduced conflict potential, while others warn of continued ethnic polarization and fragmentation. Identity politics in Eastern Nepal presents both opportunities and challenges for internal security. While it has led to greater political representation for marginalized groups, it has also introduced security dilemmas that require careful policy management. Moving forward, a balanced approach combining inclusivity and stability will be crucial in maintaining peace and national cohesion. Similarly Lawoti & Hangen, (2013) added the Limbuwan movement intensified demands for self-governance, highlighting historical grievances and aspirations for regional autonomy and Bernstein (2005) focused on Protests,

strikes, and negotiations have characterized their strategies, reflecting a mix of assertiveness and dialogue. Bernstein (2005) pointed out the broader national debates on federalism and inclusivity, underscoring the challenges of balancing ethnic aspirations with national unity.

Since 2015 (2072 BS), the Limbuwan and Khumbuwan movements in Biratnagar have been pivotal in advocating for ethnic identity and autonomy within Nepal's federal structure. These movements, representing the indigenous Limbu and Khumbu communities, have focused on issues such as provincial naming, territorial delineation, and the preservation of cultural heritage. Whatever the security agencies should be the well aware and proactive. Robust security units should be established to cope the situations. Intelligence networking must be in depth and collaborative approach.

Political entities like the Sanghiya Loktantrik Rastriya Manch, established in 2007 (2064 BS), have been instrumental in advocating for the rights and recognition of indigenous groups. The party has consistently pushed for the formation of an autonomous Limbuwan state and has participated in various protests and political dialogues to further this cause. In April 2023, grassroots organizations affiliated with the CPN (Maoist Centre) submitted a memorandum to Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal, urging the government to take ownership of the ethnic identity movement and address the demands of the indigenous communities through dialogue.

The movements and struggles of Limbuwan and Khumbuwan in Biratnagar from 2015 to 2024 have been marked by persistent advocacy for ethnic identity, autonomy, and recognition within Nepal's federal framework. Despite facing challenges, including internal debates and clashes with security forces, these movements continue to strive for the preservation and acknowledgment of their cultural heritage and political rights. The above literature and finding shows the long history of Kirati (Limbuwan and Khumbuwan) from Rural to Urban and parliament to Pathivara as well Kipat, Treaty of salt and Water to Khualung, Mukumlung and naming of Province and renaming of Koshi Province.

Identity Politics has demanded through movement, struggle, and agitation, then armed struggle, agitations member put their voice to government that manage the provision of right as constitution has assured. Eastern region has been evoked the many security challenges and threats because of movements of Khumbuwan and Limbuwan. Madheshi movement and Tharuhat struggles were shown as destructive. Some lessons from Manipur crisis and

Darjeeling “Gorkhaland Movement” are the lesson able example. The security senior officers of Koshi Province stated that we have well prepared of unpredictable situation. The security condition is sound, strong and well managed. All security agencies have the well collaboration and joint security plan as well critical situation handling emergency plan. Even the last resort for solution is political dialogue and negotiation.

A significant aspect of these movements has been the contention over the naming of Province No. 1. Many activists have opposed the designation "Koshi Province," arguing that it disregards the historical and cultural identities of indigenous groups. Protests erupted in March 2023 (Chaitra 2079 BS) when the provincial assembly adopted the name "Koshi," leading to demonstrations in Biratnagar and other regions. These protests were organized by the Province Naming Joint Struggle Committee, which includes various indigenous organizations such as the Kirat Rai Yayokkha and the Sanghiya Loktantrik Rastriya Manch. The demonstrators demanded a name that reflects the ethnic identities of the indigenous populations.

The protests intensified, leading to clashes between demonstrators and security forces. On March 19, 2023, a protest in Biratnagar turned violent when police allegedly used baton charges to disperse the crowd. During this incident, Padam Limbu Lajehang, a central co-commander of the Limbuwan Volunteer affiliated with the Sanghiya Loktantrik Rastriya Manch, sustained severe head injuries.

Their demand is preservation and secured of cultural and historical evidence of Limbuwan and eastern region should have the recognition of historical background. Limbuwan is our Homeland and Nepal is our Country as the slogan of Limbuwan .The Limbus constant struggle for forming a political force of their own with their own leadership not only resisted the state but also the Bahun and Chhetri castes that dominated the organs of the state. The desire of the conquered groups for liberation and their understanding of democracy would both have been different from those of the ruling groups (Chemjong, 2017).

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter discusses summary and conclusion. Identity of the special caste through their history, civilization as well as culture that in such subject their right, inclusive and equity are assured and addressed by politics .In context of Nepal, eastern region where many Mangolian tribes, specially Rais, Limbus are the indigenous community . They have the cultural, geographical and ethnical history. This study has adopted eclectic way of analysis and interpretation.

5.1 Summary

Identity politics in Eastern Nepal has played a crucial role in shaping political landscapes, social structures and internal security dynamics. This phenomenon has been fueled by historical grievances, ethnic consciousness and demands for equitable political representation. Ethnic groups such as the Limbu, Rai and Madhesi communities have mobilized to assert their rights, often leading to friction with the province and central government. The federal restructuring of Nepal in 2015, which aimed to address these issues, has led to both political empowerment and security challenges.

Before Nepal's unification in the 18th century, regions such as Limbuwan and Khumbuwan had semi-autonomous governance systems which allowed local communities to maintain their distinct cultural identities. The annexation by the centralized Nepalese state disrupted these structures, creating long-standing grievances. In contemporary Nepal, identity-based movements have taken different forms, from peaceful protests to violent clashes with security forces. For instance, the demand for an autonomous Limbuwan province intensified after 2006, leading to unrest in the region. The Madhesi Uprising of 2007 further exemplifies how identity politics can lead to internal security crises.

The implementation of federalism in Nepal was largely a response to identity-driven movements. It was meant to provide marginalized communities with greater autonomy and representation. However, issues such as the naming of provinces have continued to spark discontent. The renaming of Province No. 1 as "Koshi Province" in 2023 led to widespread

protests, with indigenous communities demanding recognition of their historical identities. These agitations highlight the tension between national unity and ethnic aspirations.

Nepal has the diverse in geography, society, ethnicity and culture. Eastern Nepal where many caste and ethnic community have been settling since long ago. Rai and Limbu community are the indigenous and they have unique history. They had the khat system since 1831 BS and ended by Land reform act 2021. After this; Constitution has provision of securing rights but Government ignored to hand over the rights. In this consequence, after promulgation of Constitution 2072, for their right of identity, demand for renaming of koshi provinces and others issues, many struggles, movements and protections has occurred. In the context where the issues of identity politics have not been identified well, preservation of culture and civilization and naming of province remain the main issues. Understanding the consequences of identity politics on internal security is important to examine from security perspectives, which has not been done yet. What may be the issues of agitation and how such activities can affect the internal security of eastern Nepal as well its short term and long term solution?

The design of this research has adopted qualitative which conducted in descriptive and analytical form. The researcher has gone through the different cases study and literature for more and relevant fact and truth.. Identity Politics and internal security: study in eastern Nepal, it has based on a review and analysis of information gathered from a variety of primary and secondary sources including websites, journals, articles, research papers, key information informant interview as well as collected data has analyzed and interpreted in a meaningful ways. Researcher went in field visit at Damak, Jhapa and Dharan Sunsari also Biratnagar, Itahari. Respondents are the leaders and members of agitating groups, security officers, province officials, academia and security expert for primary data.

Identity-based movements have had significant security implications in Eastern Nepal. The deployment of security forces to suppress protests has often led to violent clashes, further straining state-community relations. The movement for an autonomous Limbuwan, along with the Madhesi and Tharuhat struggles has resulted in internal security challenges such as strikes, blockades and armed conflicts. The state's response has been a combination of repression and political negotiations though grievances remain unresolved.

Security agencies, including the Nepal Police and Armed Police Force, play a crucial role in maintaining internal stability. Interviews with security chiefs reveal a proactive approach to

managing identity-based agitations. Political leaders emphasize the need for dialogue and negotiation as a means of resolving conflicts. However, the lack of concrete policy actions has led to continued unrest and dissatisfaction among ethnic groups. The discourse on identity politics extends beyond governance and security, influencing economic development and social cohesion. Political instability has deterred investment and disrupted local economies. Politicization of ethnic identities has sometimes led to communal tensions, challenging and threats.

Identity politics is not unique to Nepal; similar movements have been observed globally, such as the Gorkhaland movement in India and indigenous rights struggles in Latin America. These comparisons provide insight into the potential trajectories of Nepal's identity-based movements and the importance of inclusive policies in mitigating conflicts. Identity politics in Eastern Nepal is both a catalyst for social justice and a source of security concerns. On one hand, it has empowered marginalized communities by giving them a political platform. On the other hand, it has led to tensions that threaten national unity and stability. Federal restructuring has been a double-edged sword. While it has given ethnic groups a sense of recognition, disputes over provincial boundaries and naming conventions have continued to provoke unrest. The case of Koshi Province underscores the challenges of implementing federalism in a multi-ethnic state.

Examining other countries' experiences with identity politics highlights the importance of institutional mechanisms that balance diversity with unity. Nepal can learn from case studies such as Canada's approach to indigenous rights and India's handling of regional autonomy demand. These examples suggest that constitutional amendments and inclusive governance models can mitigate conflicts.

A sustainable resolution to the challenges posed by identity politics requires a holistic approach that Constitutional Reforms by addressing ambiguities in the federal framework and ensuring meaningful autonomy for ethnic groups and Political Inclusivity which Engaging diverse communities in governance through proportional representation. Second one is Security Sector Reform that Enhance training programs for security personnel to handle ethnic tensions sensitively that Economic Development that Implement policies that address socio-economic disparities among ethnic communities and Cultural Recognition by Promoting indigenous languages and traditions within the national framework to foster inclusivity.

The intersection of identity politics and internal security in Eastern Nepal presents a complex challenge for policymakers. While demands for ethnic recognition and autonomy are legitimate, they must be balanced with national stability. A democratic and inclusive approach that integrates political, economic and security measures are essential for long-term peace and development. Nepal's future depends on its ability to harmonize ethnic diversity with national unity, ensuring that identity politics serves as a force for progress rather than division.

5.2 Conclusion

The study of identity politics and internal security in Eastern Nepal has highlighted the complex interplay between ethnic identity, historical grievances and national stability. The demands for recognition, renaming of Province and autonomy by the Limbuwan and Khumbuwan movements have deep roots in Nepal's history, stretching back to the pre-unification era. These groups have consistently struggled to preserve their cultural heritage, civilization, language and political identity. The research has demonstrated that identity politics in Nepal is not merely an expression of cultural pride but is deeply intertwined with political representation, resource allocation and governance structures.

Researcher has visited and met many legend leaders of ethnic and indigenous community and interacted with them. In 1831 BS Salt and Water treaty between Limbus and representative of then king Prithvinarayan Shah. This treaty gave the provision of like autonomous and started Kipat system. King Mahendra had abolished the Kipat system, replaced by Land reform act 2021. Then Kirati and Limbus community became against the decision of then Government. Their struggle for right, representation and identity was peacefully in initial phase and gradually Maoist insurgency, armed conflict motivates them as the ethnic state in federal provision.

Indigenous and ethnic community from eastern Nepal has been raising their voice since long time. Constitution of Nepal 2047, Interim constitution 2064 and new constitution 2072 are formulated and made provision to address the voice of all sex, caste and religious but delayed to implement. At the formulation of federal system, especially in province level issues in naming, representation, preservation of culture, history and civilization. Even khumbuwan and Limbuwan were agitating and putting their demand for ethic state as Khumbuwan and Limbuwan or Kirat state but in 2079 BS, name of no 1 province renamed by Koshi province,

the protest and movement has gone in destructive ways, lost one member of agitating groups and injured many in both side of movements. Issues of renaming to Cable car constructions issue have made the threats and challenges to internal security and government.

Main issue and demand is autonomous region/state with renaming and full right of administrative, executive and legislatives. Such demand was raised in Madesh province before and had long struggle, lost many lives being martyrs and also in Tharuhat struggles. But government made it balance and find out the best solution. Same history and civilization are in many indigenous communities, they also look for same, if government make provision to autonomous state in eastern. Nepal is the multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural state. CPN Maoist party has proposed for fourteen states within Nepal as the ethnic basis. So if government made decision for autonomous region for one, remaining thirteen will repeat the same path that's why nationality, sovereignty will weaken.

Renaming of koshi province is the secondary demand of indigenous and ethnic federation. According to agitating groups, the word "Koshi" can't recognize the history, culture and civilization of Limbus and Rai community. Even globally many example of renaming of province like as Burkina Faso and Pakistan is to respect the voice and desire of people. But Province government has looked for the common and mass acceptable name from River and made many committees in this subject. Koshi province government has stated that if the people realize to rename, they will vote to those who wants and rename with two third majorities.

Identity-based movements in Eastern Nepal have evolved over time, moving from peaceful advocacy to organized protests and confrontations with security forces. The renaming of Province No. 1 as Koshi Province has served as a flashpoint for renewed agitation, with indigenous groups arguing that the name fails to acknowledge their historical and cultural identities. The government's response, characterized by dialogue and occasional force, has been met with continued resistance, reflecting the deep-seated nature of these grievances.

Internal security remains a significant concern in Eastern Nepal, particularly in regions with strong identity-based movements. The research highlights several security challenges, including protests, strikes, confrontation, destruction of governmental property and attempt to physical assault to officials and finally probability of escalation into armed conflicts. The lessons from the Madhesi agitation and Tharuhat movements, even they could not be

addressed as demanded but somehow it managed. International examples such as the Gorkhaland movement and Manipur crisis in India, indicate that prolonged identity-based struggles can lead to enduring instability if not managed effectively as well as lesson is also Government has to manage through use of force and Negotiation parallely.

Security management is robust and proactive through four layers of security encircles as National Investigation Department, Nepal Police, Armed Police Force, Nepal and Nepali Army. Presence of security force even in remote village and from Kimathanka, Sankhuwasava and Namche Solukhumbu to Sahebgunj ,Sunsari. Even voice of People cannot be neutralized by bullets but proactive measures can apply and peaceful settlement can make.

Six months long continue protest in Biratnagar for renaming of Koshi province, many strike, movement; struggles in demand of ethnic state, Khuwalung issue, Mukunglung issue, replacing the name of government office in remote area of Koshi province are the indication of dissatisfaction and antipathy of ethnic groups. We have the example of neighboring country like Gorkhaland movement 2012, Manipur crisis 2023 and Chakma movement in Bangladesh. From all this study and experiences; can assess the security condition and circumstances.

There is the need for a balanced security approach that prioritizes dialogue over repression. Security forces are trained to handle identity-based protests with professionally, sensitivity, avoiding excessive use of force that could escalate tensions. Establishing joint committees with representatives from indigenous groups, security agencies, and provincial authorities could facilitate better communication and conflict resolution.

The comprehensive threat analysis should be conducted to anticipate potential flashpoints and develop preemptive strategies. Security agencies should adopt a coordinated approach, ensuring that intelligence sharing and joint action plans are in place to address emerging threats. Rather than viewing identity-based movements solely as security threats, the government should recognize them as expressions of legitimate grievances that require political solutions.

Fundamental demands of the Limbuwan and Khumbuwan movements is the autonomous state ,renaming of Koshi province, recognition of their historical, civilization and cultural heritage. The loss of traditional governance systems, such as the Kipat system, and the

marginalization of indigenous languages have contributed to the feeling of exclusion among these communities. The government should take concrete steps to preserve and promote indigenous cultures, including integrating indigenous history and languages into the educational curriculum, supporting cultural institutions, and providing official recognition to indigenous scripts and practices.

Symbolic gestures, such as renaming public spaces, government offices and infrastructure projects in accordance with indigenous heritage could also serve as confidence-building measures to address the voice of indigenous. The recognition of cultural heritage is not merely about placating identity-based groups; it is an essential step towards building an inclusive national identity that respects Nepal's rich diversity.

Economic empowerment, employment, fundamental needs like education, health can serve as a indirect tool for mitigating identity-based grievances. The government should prioritize development projects in indigenous-majority areas, ensuring equitable resource distribution and economic opportunities. Such program has tailored to the needs of indigenous communities can create pathways for social mobility and integration.

Civil society organizations and the media have played a crucial role in shaping the discourse around identity politics in Eastern Nepal. The study finds that while some media outlets have provided balanced coverage, others have exacerbated tensions through sensationalized reporting. Responsible journalism and community engagement initiatives can help bridge the gap between identity-based movements and the wider public. Civil society organizations should continue to facilitate dialogue between indigenous groups and government authorities. Programs that promote interethnic understanding and social cohesion can contribute to long-term stability as well as youth engagement initiatives can empower young members of indigenous communities to participate in democratic processes rather than resorting to protests or confrontations.

The dynamics of identity politics and internal security in Eastern Nepal underscore the importance of inclusive governance, cultural recognition, economic development and strategic security measures. The ongoing struggles of the Limbuwan and Khumbuwan movements are symptomatic of broader national challenges related to federalism, representation, and historical grievances. The government must engage in sincere dialogue, recognizing that identity-based movements are not threats but expressions of legitimate

concerns. Security forces should adopt a restraint-based approach, prioritizing conflict resolution over suppression. Development initiatives should be targeted towards indigenous communities to bridge economic gaps and create opportunities for social integration.

The alternative way of short term solution will be the necessity for inclusive governance. The exclusion of indigenous groups from decision-making processes has fueled dissatisfaction and unrest. A more inclusive approach, incorporating indigenous leaders in provincial governance and decision-making could alleviate tensions and provide a platform for constructive dialogue. Nepal's federal structure was designed to accommodate ethnic and regional diversity, yet its implementation has often fallen short of expectations that leading to continued discontent among marginalized communities.

The study suggests that constitutional provisions alone are insufficient to address the grievances of identity-based movements. While Nepal's Constitution of 2072 (2015 AD) provides recognition of indigenous rights, its implementation has been inconsistent. The government must take proactive measures to ensure that these rights are not only acknowledged in legal texts but are also reflected in policies and governance structures. The reluctance to engage in meaningful dialogue and the occasional use of force against protesters have only intensified the identity-based struggles rather than resolving them.

In nutshell, the resolution of identity-based conflicts in Nepal will depend on the willingness of all stakeholders' government authorities, political parties, indigenous leaders, and civil society to engage in constructive dialogue and implement policies that promote inclusivity and national unity. While challenges remain, a proactive and holistic approach can pave the way for a more stable and cohesive Nepal. The recognition and accommodation of identity-based demands within a democratic framework are essential for long-term peace and stability. The future of Eastern Nepal depends not on the suppression of identity politics but on the creation of a political and social environment where diverse identities can coexist harmoniously within the broader framework of Nepalese nationality.

Appendix “A”

(Refer to Page No. 33)

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR MEMBERS OF IDENTITY –BASED POLITICIAN

(Key Informant Interview-Member of Agitation/Movement)

Form Serial No:

Date: 2081/ /

The following questions are the part of practices for academic propose to get the knowledge about “Identity Politics and Internal security: A study in eastern Nepal” which in Armed Police Force ,Nepal conducted by Ram Chandra Thapa, an investigator/student of Master in Security, Development and Peace Studies (MSDPS) at APF Command and Staff College Sanogaucharan, Kathmandu. Your candid answer will provide invaluable information about historical background and documentations, recent demand, struggle, agitation and achievements, strengths and weaknesses, organizational structure and expansion, future program road maps and etc. I assure that your participations in this interview is completely voluntary, if you don’t want to take part in this interview or if there are any particular questions you don’t wish to answer. All personal information shared will remain secret. The confidentiality of your participation will be maintained and your responses will not be accessible to government officials or others entities. Please reply to every question to the best of your ability.

Basic Information**Details of Respondent:**

Name:

Sex: Male /female/Others

Responsibility:

Ethnicity:

Occupation:

Bramhan-Chhetri/Janajti/Dalit/others

Qualification:

Below/SLC/SEE/Plus2/Bachelor/Master/Other

Age:

(20-30) yrs/(30-40) yrs/(40-50)yrs/(50-60)yrs/above 60yrs

QUESTIONS

1. What is the historical background and issues of your this agitation and movements?

.....
.....
.....

2. What is your role in movement and what is status of organizational structure ?

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.....
.....

3. How are you coordinating to other ethnical groups and reason of agitation?

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.....
.....

4. If province governments will change the name of province, your agitation will stop?

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.....
.....

5. What is the mission and objectives of movements and agitation?

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.....
.....

6. What is future program in this movements and ultimate goal?

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.....
.....

Appendix “B”

(Refer to Page No. 33)

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR MEMBERS OF IDENTITY –BASED POLITICIANS

(Key Informant Interviews- Responsible dignitaries, Political Leaders and Social thinkers)

Form Serial No:

Date: 2081/ /

The following questions are the part of practices for academic propose to get the knowledge about “Identity Politics and Internal security: A study in eastern Nepal” which in Armed Police Force ,Nepal conducted by Ram Chandra Thapa, an investigator/student of Master in Security, Development and Peace Studies (MSDPS) at APF Command and Staff College Sanogaucharan, Kathmandu. Your candid answer will provide invaluable information about historical background and documentations, recent demand, struggle, agitation and achievements, strengths and weaknesses, organizational structure and expansion, future program road maps and etc. I assure that your participations in this interview is completely voluntary, if you don’t want to take part in this interview or if there are any particular questions you don’t wish to answer. All personal information shared will remain secret. The confidentiality of your participation will be maintained and your responses will not be accessible to government officials or others entities. Please reply to every question to the best of your ability.

Basic Information**Details of Respondent:**

Name:

Sex: Male /female/others

Responsibility:

Ethnicity:

Occupation:

Bramhan-Chhetri/Janajti/Dalit/others

Qualification:

Below/SLC/SEE/Plus2/Bachelor/Master/Other

Age:

(20-30) yrs/(30-40) yrs/(40-50)yrs/(50-60)yrs/above 60yrs

QUESTIONS

1. How are you looking the movements and agitation of multi ethnic groups in Koshi province?

.....
.....
.....

2. What will be the long term solution of this movement?

.....
.....
.....

3. How does this movement effect in security condition of Eastern Nepal?

.....
.....
.....

4. What steps federal/province governments should take for solutions?

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.....
.....

5. What will be the ultimate goal of this movements and possibility?

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.....

6. If you add something related to this struggle and movements of identity politics?

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.....

Appendix “C”

(Refer to Page No. 33)

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR MEMBERS OF IDENTITY –BASED POLITICIANS

(Key Informant Interviews - Security Officers/Other Official)

Form Serial No:

Date: 2081/ /

The following questions are the part of practices for academic propose to get the knowledge about “Identity Politics and Internal security: A study in eastern Nepal” which in Armed Police Force ,Nepal conducted by Ram Chandra Thapa, an investigator/student of Master in Security, Development and Peace Studies (MSDPS) at APF Command and Staff College Sanogaucharan, Kathmandu. Your candid answer will provide invaluable information about historical background and documentations, recent demand, struggle, agitation and achievements, strengths and weaknesses, organizational structure and expansion, future program road maps and etc. I assure that your participations in this interview is completely voluntary, if you don’t want to take part in this interview or if there are any particular questions you don’t wish to answer. All personal information shared will remain secret. The confidentiality of your participation will be maintained and your responses will not be accessible to government officials or others entities. Please reply to every question to the best of your ability.

Basic Information**Details of Respondent:**

Name:-

Sex: Male /female/Others

Responsibility:

Ethnicity:

Occupation:

Bramhan- Chhetri /Janajti/ Dalit/others

Qualification:

Below/SLC/SEE/Plus2/Bachelor/Master/Other

Age:

(20-30) yrs/(30-40) yrs/(40-50)yrs/(50-60)yrs/above 60yrs

QUESTIONS

1. How are you looking the movements of multi ethnic groups in Koshi province?

.....
.....
.....

2. What will be the long term solution of this movement?

.....
.....
.....

3. How does this movement effect in security condition of Eastern Nepal?

.....
.....
.....

4. As you the security officer, how are you arranging security management in AOR?

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.....

5. What will be the long term solution of this movement as the security perspectives?

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.....

6. If you add something related to internal security of identity politics?

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.....

Appendix “D”

(Refer to Page No. 36)

Participants of Key Interviews:

SN	Participant	Age	Organization	Status
1	KI1	40-45	Province renaming Campaign	President
2	KI2	35-45	Aadibasi Janajati Mahasanga,Sunsari	President
3	KI3	40-45	Federal Democratic National Forum	President

Participants of Interviews:

SN	Participants	Sex	Age	Organization	Responsibility
1	P1	M	55-60	Koshi Province	Chief Minister
2	P2	M	60-65	Koshi Province	Province Minister
3	P3	M	65-70	Khumbuwan Mukti Morcha	President
4	P4	M	50-55	Nepali Army	Division Commander
5	P5	M	50--55	Nepal Police	Regional Chief
6	P6	M	45-50	APF,Nepal	Brigade Commander
7	P7	M	45-50	NID	Province Chief
8	P8	M	45-50	Nepali Kangress	Area Incharge
9	P9	M	55-60	Ra Pra Pa	Province Chief
10	P10	M	40-45	CPN Maoist	Area Member
11	P11	M	35-40	CPN UML	Area member
12	P12	M	45-50	Nepali Kangress	District member
13	P13	M	50--55	Trivuvan University	Professor
14	P14	M	40-45	Academia	Security Expert
15	P15	M	40-45	School	Teacher
16	P16	F	25-30	Media person	Journalist
17	P17	M	35-40	Media person	Freelancer Journalist
18	P18	M	40-45	Banker	Asst Manager
19	P19	M	35-40	Local people	Social activist
20	P20	M	40-45	Local people	Social activist
21	P21	M	40-45	Kirat Rai Yakthung	Member

22	P22	M	35-40	Janajati Mahasanga	Member
23	P23	M	65-70	Local people	Senior Citizen
24	P24	M	70-75	Local people	Senior Citizen
25	P25	M	80-85	Local people	Senior Citizen
26	P26	M	45-50	Local people	Senior Citizen
27	P27	F	65-70	Local people	Senior Citizen
28	P28	M	35-40	Local people	Youth

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