

# CHAPTER – FIRST

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Preamble

Election largely is not considered as new phenomena to those societies or nations where democratic system is being practice as well as functioning relatively in a smooth manner. Election in its generic sense is the process of choosing a person or a group of people for a position, especially in a political position, by voting. As defined by the World Book Encyclopedia, Volume—6, 1992, “election is the process by which people vote for the candidate or proposal of their choice. In democracy, most people believe that citizens have full right to choose the officials who will govern them. Most countries of world currently hold election to select government”. Nepal, a land-locked and developing nation, remained closed for centuries. Owing to dynamic attributions of society and people, things, however did not remain the same. Consequently, the people’s uprising of 1950s ultimately terminated the oligarchy *Rana* regime—which was ruling in Nepal over 100 years. That political movement not only opened the nation for global system also paved the way for democracy and electoral process.

The history of election, in Nepal, formally commenced from the late 1950s AD. The first national multi-party election—held in 1959—produced the result overwhelmingly on the favor of Congress Party. The party won 74 seats out of 109 in the election and formed Nepal’s first democratically elected government (INSEC:1990). Unfortunately, king Mahendra suspended the elected government by usurping absolute power and outlawed political parties in 1960. The move of king halted activities of Political Parties (PP) and all electoral procedure. Nonetheless,

students' demonstrations as well as other upsurges incessantly put pressure on the palace against the Panchayat system. As a result, king announced referendum in 1979. The national referendum subsequently held in 1980 to determine public views on—democracy or Panchayat—political system. The Panchayat system reaffirmed by 55 -45 margin. During the 30years lifespan of party less Panchayat regime, other two national elections were held in 1981 and 1986 respectively. Major party figures however did not participate in both elections. Constant movements and mounting up contraction between autocracy vs. democracy ultimately wrecked the existing system and opened the political arena for multi-party democracy.

The successful movement of 1990s reversed the political reality by consolidating the politics towards the doctrine of constitutional monarchy and multi-party democracy ousting autocratic *Panchayat* system. General elections for forming government, as like other democratic countries, were held on various times. Such sort of elections were held in 1991, 1994 and in 1999 and subsequently made various governments. No any government, however, remained in power until its full term. Government forging and ousting process became common during this period. Since the last election of 1999 no any election, except Constituent Assembly (CA) election held in 2008, was held because of Maoist insurgency and repressive state counter-insurgency, and following political upheaval.

By influencing the ideology/doctrine of Chinese revolutionary Communist leader Mao Zedong, Maoist as a political party was formed formally in 1995 by the leaders assembling from different left parties. It declared People's War (PW) in earnest in February 1996 and subsequently launched armed struggle chiefly aiming to introduce New Democracy (ND) governing system, attacking young democracy

inception in 1990s. However, the early years of a multi-party system was not performing well because of competent and instable government corruption, lack of inclusive, good governance with the old axis of palace together with the army and police being largely intact, added to an entrenched culture of patronage in the upper echelons of government and within the mainstream political parties, the most basic requirements for starting to establish democratic governance based on answerability to human rights concerns were widely neglected (Bleie, 2007: 83). The inequality in terms of economy, politics, social, culture, regional development, class, caste, ethnic and gender, lack of social justice were increasing which were gradually frustrating people.

The basic aim of the UCPN(M) armed struggle was to capture state power and establish 'new people's democracy' (*naulo janabad*). The concept of 'new democracy' is inherited from the thought of Mao Zedong, which in turn built on the view of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. The 'new democratic revolution' marks the transition from the classical Marxist stages of bourgeois hegemony ("old democracy") to proletarian hegemony ("new democracy") (International Crisis Group: 2005). When the Maoists launched the PW, they used their appeal to citizens to declare their resolve "to initiate the process of forcibly smashing this reactionary state and establishing a New Democratic state", in accordance with "the almighty ideology of Marxist-Leninism-Maoism to free humanity forever from the yoke of class exploitation" (Ibid).

Before launching the PW in February 1996, 40-point charter of demands was presented by the Maoist leaders to prime Minister with giving certain deadline to be fulfilled, although demands were widely neglected by the government. The list contained demands for a new constitution drafted by a constituent assembly, abolition of the monarchy, abrogation of all

unequal treaties with foreign governments, and several specific demands related to political, civil rights and economic right (Thapa and Sinjapati, 2003:189-194). Before the deadline had expired, a number of government installations were attacked on 13 February. The PW, a military extra-constitutional means of realizing the political aim of first establishing a 'New Democratic State' and eventually communist state, was on. It would soon spread to western and mid-western districts and to the far west as well as some of the eastern regions (Bleie, 2007:83). In the period of 2004 and 2005, Maoists engulfed and permeated their struggle throughout the nation. The decade-long insurgency had left more than 13,000 dead and uprooted nearly half a million people from their homes (Shah, 2008:481-499). However, the insurgency led by Maoist has been covered by a wide range of disciplines (Hachhethu, 2004:58-78). Despite some brutal and ghastly killings of innocent people and severe human right violations, the insurgency, as far as I view, remained a wide range of disciplines, albeit no any independent and extensive investigation has been conducted so far.

Here, it should be noted that the Maoist made a fundamental break with its past in 2003 when it declared that its immediate political program would henceforth be geared not towards a ND state, but towards the 'Completion of Bourgeois Democratic Revolution (CBDR)' (Mishra, 2007:5-6). To complete CBDR Maoist decided to adopt of CA election process and took strategies accordingly. It was this watershed declaration and transition with of Maoist that prepared the ground for a series of agreements—as well as the currently ongoing cooperation—between Parliamentary Parties (PP) and Maoist (Ibid). This, furthermore, made conceivable for the PP and for the neighboring and other states as well as

international organizations to support Maoist's political agendas: CA election and ongoing peace process as well.

When Maoists began their PW and gradually escalated it across the nation inevitably brought intense tripartite—king, parliamentary parties and Maoists—contradiction within country. But the king's take over in 2005 on the stance of military force converted tripartite contradictions/struggles of king, parliamentary parties (PP) and Maoist to bilateral struggles of king versus PP and Maoist. Subsequently, to fight against autocratic monarchical regime both (PP and Maoist) collaborated making 12 point agreement in 2005 on the condition of CA election. Consequently, society and politics sharply polarized into two poles—autocracy vs. democracy. The contradictions/struggles then intensified and escalated intensely. As a result, the people's movement, called by collaborated parties, eventually succeeded to reinstate democracy dethroning the king's absolute power. The successful movements henceforth geared the nation towards the CA election through the process of making 'Comprehensive Peace Accord'(CPA) on November, 2006 that formally terminated decade long insurgency, interim constitution and forming interim government.

The voice of Constituent Assembly (CA) election widely heard and debated in political spectrum of Nepal since 2003 when United Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) UCPN (M) demanded strongly in its negotiation table for social and economic transformation as well as lasting peace and stability. Constituent assembly election—an election to choose representatives with the power to make or rewrite country's constitution—held on 10<sup>th</sup> April, 2008 in the first time in country. As defined by Kashiraj Dahal, a law expert, 'constituent assembly refers to an extra-parliamentary body convened for a specific period of time whose

primary purpose is to draft or consider changes to a constitution such assemblies could also consider non-constitutional changes (Dahal, 2007:10-12). In the political history of Nepal, after the ousting of despotic Rana regime, the king declared new constitution would be formulated written by body of elected representatives of people or CA members. The declaration, however, was dismissed by the successor of former king promulgating autocratic imposed constitution. As a result, the dream of CA election in order to reform state structure remained unfulfilled till 2007. Since 2003 Maoist intensified the need of CA election and demanded immensely with primarily two purposes: to reform/restructure state breaking with relationship of pre-capitalist production system for bourgeoisie capitalist revolution; and to end almost decade long armed struggle. As per the previous 12 point agreement, after restoration of democracy CA election was held principally two intensions a) to reform of existing political-economy, by introducing industrial capitalism b) to establish sustainable peace by reaching peace process in logical conclusion. The recent CA election can be, thus, taken as a fundamental step in contemporary Nepali society in terms of political-economy perspective and ongoing nascent peace process point of view. Now, both tasks constitution drafting process as well as peace process are going on, but unfortunately in very slim motion.

Now, Nepali society is in the throes of drastic and progressive change. It has been, and is, undergoing tremendous change speedily since half century particularly since last decade. Different political struggles, insurrections, movements (ethnic, gender, dalit, Madhesi, civil right), holding of historic Constituent Assembly (CA) election and victory of Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and subsequently abolition of feudal based Shah dynastic monarchy are the testimonies of change.

This change has thoroughly signified, along with has consolidated Nepali society, polity and economy towards the new transition era of capitalist production system and social structure/ institutions potentially under the framework of a federal democratic republican system. Capitalism is a political-economy system which thrives on the creation of commodities and on incessant expanded accumulation. The creation of commodities leads to the generation of profit, a part of which is reinvested to produce further commodities and so on. It founded on Europe approximately 500 years ago ruining the feudalism (Mishra, 2004:243). Increasingly going up market based agricultural production, widely reinvestment of profit, increasing labour migration and technological exchange, not only rapidly declination almost end of *Haliya Kamaiya* and *Mohiyani* system and mounting up of wage based working systems, reformation of social relationship, construction of individualism as well as consumerism nature, and speedily democratization of society and polity lucidly, in the scheme of Nepal, demonstrate that Nepali society has fundamentally adopted capitalist production and social system. In contrast, virtually all leftist leaders invariably argue that Nepali society is still in the period of semi-feudalism, albeit their lop-sided arguments seem to be largely inadequate to illuminate their views concretely and objectively, consequently their reasoning seems as more political slogan rather than social base analysis.

According to Election Commission (EC), nearly 60% of the electorate, especially women, minorities and backward group across the nation took part in election with great passion. Many national and international observer organizations' reports have shown that election process remained relatively peaceful and fearless as it was previously anticipated and envisaged. Nevertheless, some have criticized those reports saying that

these have only incorporated urban and developed areas election activities. This historic election gave Maoists 226 seats out of 601 total seats. First-Past-the-Post (FPP) election system provided to it 120 seats out of 240 seats and rest of 106 seats acquired it from Proportional Election System (PES) and cabinet nomination respectively 100 and 6 seats. Maoists, in this way, garnered nearly two times or 226 seats than its nearest rival Nepali Congress (NC) which received 114 seats out of 601 seats through CA polls and subsequently, as the largest party, new coalition government had forged under the leadership of its chairman. Now, in Nepal, power shifted from old established and recognized as democratic parties to far-leftist former rebel Party. The Maoist is slated to become the first far left current in any country of the world to come to national power through democratic elections since the cold war ended (available online on 15<sup>th</sup> September, 2008 at <http://www.proquest.umi.com>).

However, the Maoist-lead government remained in power only nine months. Some grave external and internal causes compelled the Prime Minister (PM) to offer resignation from his post. The constitutional president's move to overrule government's decision almost in mid night by reinstating Chief of Army Staff (CoAS) sacked by PM on the charge of disobeying the policies and orders of the elected council of ministers, according to immediate government, triggered parallel power centers in nation. According to PM resignation speech, 'president took blatantly unconstitutional and undemocratic move which established military supremacy over civilian supremacy'. Maoist currently is launching various protests programmes demanding to establish civilian supremacy and national sovereignty but Maoist itself seems to be unclear how these can be established? On the other hand, new anti-Maoist political equation

has been made and a new, but very weak government has been formed under the leadership of UML comprising many defeated person in election, the another moreover interesting mockery is that the PM himself was defeated by Maoist candidates in the CA poll from the two constituency areas. After all, because of dramatically developed events, political standoff has been deepening, consequently all the process seems to be orienting towards uncertainty and turmoil. In this way, among the series of historically developed political ups and downs, events, struggles and changes, the study mainly intends to concentrate itself in tracing the potential reasons of the CA election outcome which is mostly called unexpected.

## **1.2 Statement of Research Problem**

The central theme of proposed study is to understand why Maoist garnered relatively large numbers of votes than other political parties. Most observers both national and international expected the Maoist to place third behind the NC and UML, the two established parties. So, this was not widely anticipated and expected not only others including by the Maoists themselves as well. The problems that need to be investigated/ researched are to spell out the structural conditions and agency actions which contributed to establish Maoist as a single largest political party through CA election. Did it (election outcome) appear only due to fear psychology and intimidation crated by Maoist? Or, Can any political party be established as a single largest party acquiring votes merely through threat and intimidation? Or, Did Maoists threat — if they defeated in election they would return Jungle and resume armed struggle again — pressurize people to cast votes its candidates? Or, Did Maoist popular slogans i.e. —new leadership and new idea for New Nepal — sway people to cast to Maoists or, Did people cast vote for Maoist to see

changing and reforming face of New Nepal (NN) by restructuring existing system? Or, Did people provide mandate to Maoist to carry out 'economy revolution' as Maoist had said frequently in election campaign period? Or, were certain social, economic and political bases/structures of Nepal society which yielded the CA outcome? Or, is the product of structure-agency integration? These questions become imperative in trying to discern the causes of casting votes for Maoist and its triumph.

According to Election Commission (EC) the CPN (Maoist) has become the single large political party acquiring 37.5% seats summing up from the both First-Past-the-Post (FPP) and Proportional Election System (PES). The Maoist favored election result which astonished national and international communities, organizations, and even including Maoists themselves. Reactions and comments about the issue of CA result appeared from different standpoints. Some attributed the victory simply to the 'demand of the time'. Some others have attributed it simply 'desire for peace and stability. Some have attributed it to the activism of the 'poor', women's and 'lower caste' group. Some explained the political event, movement and transition linking historical-causal analysis and contradiction among and within broader social base/structure (Mishra, 2007:6-9). Some prefer to interpret it on the basis of broader social base/structure interrelating to the agency role and performance. Some also expressed it was surprised, unexpected, unanticipated and unusual. Even some underscored it was unbalance and inadequate. The sole aim of this research is to elucidate the potentials objective factors/causes hidden behind the unexpected, unusual, striking, stunning, and surprising and unbalance 'called' victory of Maoist by comparing, contrasting ideas and reactions of different people published in different print Media.

From this short research, I hope to analyze prime causes of ‘unexpected called’ election outcome through studying, analyzing and reviewing different opinion; reactions appeared after Maoist favored election result. By reviewing many logic comments and views, attempt has been made to present potential factors of CA outcome linking to certain theories. Hence, the main intensions of the proposed study are to review and analyze different opinions/perspectives regarding this outcome and finally, to draw up possible causes/reasons of that with interlinking to definite sociological theories.

### **1.3 Objectives**

The proposed study has chiefly three-fold objectives:

- ❖ To describe the outcome of the CA election,
- ❖ To evaluate the opinions on the result of CA outcome by placing them into specific types of Sociological theoretical standpoints, and
- ❖ To identify the structural conditions and agency actions that contributed to yield such sort of CA election outcome.

### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

Looking into of strife, change, political events and transition are regarded importantly as pivotal theme in sociology. This is because these (strife, rift, change and transition) have been important an inevitable part of society and social system in addition that these are also forces of change which open door for new system and order. Conflict, change social and political events have been becoming central issues in sociology since early 1970s. Growth of violence, conflict group struggle, students'

movement, black uprising, women movements and gay right of western society prepared essential background to establish and use Marxist approach for young radical sociologists (Slattery, 2003: 4-5). Literatures related to political issues are relatively enough and these can be found easily, although literature about political explanations and issues linking to society/social bases are rare. So, in this context, the study of political events, change and ongoing transition can be worth in the contemporary context of Nepal whose society, economy and polity are entering into new phase or New Nepal.

I have made a depth —although not necessarily sufficient—research effort to justify my assumption as well as to achieve detail explanation of my objectives. The study of political events and change linking to society undoubtedly can be useful for those who want to know contemporary society and social structure of Nepal. I hope analysis and conclusion derived by extensive research and analysis certainly provide a good academic material at the field of sociology. The need and significance of the study, hence, can be logically justified through above mentioned arguments.

## **CHAPTER – SECOND**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

It is firmly considered as well as treated that sociology is a research based discipline and it is, so, perceived research as an essential process or method so as to accomplished detail explanation of research issue in this subject. Research is a systematic and organized effort to investigate specific problems that needs solution or knowledge. The findings or conclusions from research yield better informed, less biased decision than the guessing hunches, intuition, and personal experience that were previously used (Neuman, 2008: 20) While identifying solution there must be followed certain process, rules and method which is called ‘research methods’. Research method, in simply, refer to those methods that are used for conduction of research. As my research methods, I have employed essential research designs, methods, tools and techniques to achieve a detail understanding of the research them and to elicit required information. The methods of the study are as follows:

#### **2.1 Research Design**

Research design is the plan structure and strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtain answers to research question and to control variance. It has two basic purposes: to provide answer to research questions: and to control variances (Kerlinger, 1968:300). In order to substantiate this study, my research designs are descriptive research design, analytical research design, and historical research design. Descriptive Research Design: It is a fact-finding operation searching for adequate information. It is a type of study, which is generally conducted to assess the opinions, behaviors, or characteristic of a given population and to describe the situation and events occurring at present (Wolf and

pant, 1975:100). In this context, this research design is adopted to describe the CA outcome or secured votes and seats by different political parties. I have singled out this research design which helped me to warrant my first objective. Analytical Research Design: It is logic of qualitative research which employs a systematic and exhaustive examination of a limited number of cases in order to explain and derive conclusion. From this research design, I have generated information systematically by reviewing or analyzing contents published in various news papers which contributed me to find out trends of explanations that are related to my second objective. The second objective has made a bid to evaluate the different views regarding the CA election by linking certain theoretical approaches. Historical Research Design: It is used to show the relevance of past social events activities to the present. It can be applied by collecting, evaluating, verifying and synthesizing past evidences systematically and objectively to reach a conclusion (Wolf and Pant, 1975:98). I singled out it to generate data related to historical phenomena of Nepali society and its many facets which contributed me to explain and illuminate my third objective. My third objective deals with historical development, structural features, change and it related many phenomena of society and political parties.

## **2.2 Nature of Data**

While undertaking the research both Quantitative and Qualitative nature of data have been generated and applied to elucidate research problems. Quantities nature of data, generally associated with positivist epistemology, is usually regarded as referring to the collection and analysis of numerical data (Oxford Sociology Dictionary, 1994:538). Quantitative nature of data has become useful while describing and analyzing CA outcome in numerical value and statistical form.

Qualitative nature of data, generally associated with interpretive epistemology, tends to be used to refer to forms of data collection and analysis which relies on understanding, and emphasis on meanings (Ibid). This nature of data has employed while comparing, contrasting and interpreting peoples' opinions as well as to draw up conclusion. This proposed study primarily based on qualitative nature of data than quantitative data.

### **2.3 Sources of Data**

In research procedure, data is generally collected mainly through two sources: Primary and Secondary. With regards to interpret my objectives, I have mainly assembled secondary base of data. Secondary data means data that are already available in the form of raw data and published materials (Kothari, 2009:111). As a means of my source of Secondary data, I have analyzed the contents of various news papers and magazines. Content analysis method, which I have employed here, is concerned with the classification, organization and comparison of the content of documents. It is used when we want to analyze a written or spoken record of events or items (Wolf and pant, 1975:253). The opinions, views and reactions ranging from laymen to specialized people published in newspapers and magazine, regarding the election outcome, have become my contents of analysis. In addition, several published and unpublished reports, journals, dissertations, literatures and internet browsing have been also applied as secondary data.

### **2.4 Methods of Deriving Conclusions**

The research method for this study is used 'inductive method' – a study that draw conclusion through particular cases to a whole group or cases. Induction begins from particular observations from which empirical

generalization are made. I have collected and analyzed some specific individual cases or events and have been drawn of certain hypothesis/assumption then attempts have been made to generalize assumption to the whole. Through this method, I have been able to prove my research assumptions or research questions.

## **2.5 Objective Based Data, Its Sources Area, Tools and Techniques and Their Justification.**

My First Objective describes election result of CA. The description of CA outcome and its statistical data have brought from Election Commission (EC). This is because EC is an official institution of CA election related activities. I assembled the statistical data of CA outcome by myself through secondary source. The data was excerpted from EC's record book. My Second Objective seeks to discuss structural features of society and roles of actor that created situation for the CA election. Apart from this, it also tries to explain the CA election result. Explanation of this objective is based on historical analysis, contradiction of different element and subsequently created ongoing change. Third Objective intends to review the comments of different commentators regarding the CA outcome. The review entails comparing, contrasting and reviewing of opinions of scholars, analysts and leaders of political parties published in news papers and magazines of national and international media. I gathered this information from public library and embassies' library. The reactions published in Nepali print media were acquired from central library of Tribhuvan University (TU) whereas foreign news papers were reviewed and analyzed going to related embassies. I selected TU library because I am a student of the same university but I did not find foreign news papers there so, I went to library of related embassies. I decided to review the foreign news papers, which had published CA outcome news,

to cover the wide range of views. I, likewise, used content analysis as a technique of data collection. This is because the research utterly based on library research which, in principle, involves analysis of contents. While doing so I have taken information of historical phenomena or activities related to social issues. I absorbed this detail information from articles and books of well-known Sociologists, Anthropologists and other scholars.

# **CHAPTER – THREE**

## **PRESENTATION OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (CA) ELECTION RESULT AND REVIEW OF DIFFERENT VIEWS ABOUT ELECTION OUTCOME**

### **3.1 Description of CA outcome**

The epoch-making historic Constituent Assembly(CA) election held first time in Nepal in April 10<sup>th</sup>, 2008 after formally two times putting off. It was held principally two purposes: a) to draft new constitution, and b) to establish lasting peace. The former was to restructure the society, economic and politics of country and the next for the bringing sustainable peace by reaching ongoing peace process in logical conclusion. The momentous CA was conducted under the two election system-The First-Post-the-Past (FPP) election system and Proportional Election (PE) system. The FPP is the system of election in which only the person who gets the most votes is elected. The PES is a system in which party acquires number of seats on the basis of receiving votes through the nation. As per the understanding of different political parties the numbers of CA members were determined 601. The FPP election system yielded 240seats. Likewise, from proportional election system 335 persons became CA members, the rest of 26 members were nominated by cabinet.

From the FPP election system total 240 candidates of different political parties won from their own constituency areas. Numbers of seats acquired by different political parties is given in below figure.

**Table – 3.1**  
**Election outcome under the FPP system**

Parties	Numbers of seats	Percent
Maoists	120	50%
NC	37	15.42%
UML	33	13.75%
MPRF	30	12.5%
TDMP	9	3.75%
Rest of other four parties and independence	11	4.58%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Source- Election Commission (EC)*

The Maoist with 120 seats of the total 240 seats allotted under FPP system that constitutes 50% seats. NC and UML received 37 and 33 seats which is 15.42% and 13.75% respectively total of 100%. The Terai based regional parties, MPRF and TMDP bagged 12.5% and 3.75% seats respectively among 240 seats. Rest of four parties gained 11 seats constituting 4.58% of 240 seats.

The proportional election system was managed to ensure the representation of more political parties as well as poor, marginalized, ethnic, minorities and backwards communities. Depending upon the votes received by the different political parties the EC allocated 335 CA seats under the proportional system through 'Modified Sainte league' method. Total 25 combining small and big political parties represent their candidates in constituent assembly members. Number of political parties and their seats secured by PR system is presented in following figure.

**Table- 3.2**  
**Election outcome under the PES**

Parties	Votes in Percent	Acquired Seats
Maoists	29.28%	100
NC	21.14%	73
UML	20.33%	70
MPRF	6.32%	22
TMDP	3.16%	11
RPP	2.45%	8
CPN(ML)	2.27%	8
SP	1.56%	5
PFN	1.535	5
CPN(United)	1.44%	5
Others	10.52%	28
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>335</b>

*Source: Election Commission (EC)*

From this system, Maoist obtained 100 seats whereas the NC and UML bagged 73 and 70 seats that make up 29.28%, 21.14% and 20.33% respectively. Like previous result there is no vast differentiation of gaining seats between Maoist and other political parties. The MPRF and TDMP garnered 3.16% and 2.45% that provided them 11 and 8 seats. Other smaller parties RPP, ML and SP received 8, 8 and 5 seats garnering 2.45%, 2.27% and 1.56% votes respectively. PFN and CPN (United) gained 5 and 5 seats. Remaining 14 parties bagged 28 seats out of 335 seats which constitute 10.52% of total counted votes.

### **3.2 Explanations of Election Outcome**

Explanations of election outcome are written instead of literature review. Literature review is a way to discover what other researcher in the area of our problem has uncovered. As it is first academic study about CA outcome, it lacks exact literature review. Instead of that, it has explained different views about CA result. As explanations of my study, I have reviewed various news, comments, articles and analysis regarding the issue of CA election outcome published in national and international news papers, magazines and tabloids. While reviewing explanation, I found, among others, mainly three kinds of views and elucidations. All these different interpretations and explications have synthesized, blended and subsumed under principally three categories.

The first trend invariably attributes that election result is for change. It, furthermore, contemplates it (election outcome) as courageous move and instigation of people for progressive transformation of society. The trend, nevertheless, does not reveal the meaning and significance of change in society/nation. Another category, unlike former, asserts that people cast their ballots for sustainable peace and stability. It regards Maoists as source of peace and it, moreover perceives—if they win, they will not resume the war that ultimately brings the peace in society. This trend assumes the cause of peace and conflict overwhelmingly determines actions of agency particularly Maoists roles than the social bases of particular nation. Finally, the third category of analysis, contrasting above sketched trends, entirely attributes the reasons of election outcome to the terror and intimidation of Maoists. National and international observers, however, have said the poll was largely fair.

### **A. Vote for Change and Transformation**

Krishna Khanal, Professor of Political Science and prominent civil society member, published an article and put forward his arguments related to 'Maoist victory' saying it was for new idea, new leader, new pledge and new program in general, 'change', in particular (Kantipur, April 15: 2008). Prof. Khanal has focused on 'change' that must be subscribed, however he did not precisely elaborate about what kind of change and why? Abhi Subedi, Emeritus professor of English literature and prominent writer, considers it was by rising nationwide consciousness of people and desire for change (Kantipur, April 19:2008). Columnist Khagendra Sangrawla writes that the people's war increased people consciousness and it enabled them to recognize right and wrong, for him, votes for Maoist was right choice of people for change (Kantipur, April 23:2008) Prof. Subedi and columnist Sangrawla have expressed more or less similar opinions stressing on people ascending consciousness and appetite for change. Subedi has thought that level of consciousness rose with the motion of time, but Sangrawla perceives decade long people's war extended horizon of thinking, especially of poor, marginalized and underprivileged people living in village and remote areas. They argue, election outcome was the reflection of this process. Both, however, are silence to talk about changing economic and social relation in production system is the source of consciousness which demands the change.

In an interview, Dr. Baburam Bhattarai, vice-president of Maoist and its chief ideologue, interprets the election result as the mandate for change. People were clamouring for change in the country, but old parties wanted to continue the 'Status quo', so the people have voted us to lead change. He claim people have voted us to lead change. He also says the people

voted for the Maoist because they were convinced that only Maoist could bring change, lasting peace and development (The Hindu, April 13: 2008). Dr. Bhattarai emphasizes on change and development, nonetheless, his illumination did not reveal how Maoist brings change and development. Ishan Tharor, in a reporting under the heading of 'Red Down', writes, Nepal has an opportunity to cast aside the ancient regime of kings for a modern republic, where women, low-caste groups and indigenous minorities will be fully enfranchised (Time, April 28:2008). Tharoor explanation attributes it as the change from ancient to modern society for relatively equal based right. Ganeshman Pun, president of Young Communist League (YCL), an ultra youth wing of Maoist, underscores his party triumph as epoch-making expression and step of people for change and 'New Nepal' (Gorkhapatra, April 14:2008). Pun's interpretation focuses on change and new Nepal but his illustration also does not concretize what is change, new Nepal and why does it need?

In the words of Kulchandra Gautam, former deputy executive director of UNICEF, the people of Nepal have voted for sidelining old established parties and opting for the Maoist (Himal South Asia, May 8: 2008). He has conceived of that people voted to experience effective delivers government, infrastructure and basic services, as well as greater social justice, then either the other political parties or the previous royal regimes, which squandered their chances to do so (Ibid). Gautam underlines change for effective government, infrastructural development and social justice. His concise explication is relatively more close to reality than others. Siddhartha vardarjan, in an article under the heading of 'Triumph of the mainstream in Nepal', highlights the Maoist's election victory following way, by voting the Maoist, the people of Nepal have chosen the party most likely to for an equalitarian society and inclusive

republican system in the constituent assembly (The Hindu, April 16: 2008). His perspective has attributed the victory of Maoist for more egalitarian society and inclusive governing system however he is silence to mention 'how can it be established'? Janades, a Maoist-leaning newspaper, opines it as the triumph of revolutionary or progressive force as well as exploited, oppressed and ignored people for 'radical change'. The paper, further, has explained, 'Victory came as an adequate synthesis form of barrel and ballot (Janadesh, April 15:2008)' It is certainly, the victory of progressive force but not barrel; rather ballot.

Journalists Douglas and Randeep Ramesh attribute it to Maoist social reform programs as many Nepalese want so much and its nomination more candidates from traditionally ignorance group women, Dalit, minorities and the Madhesis of southern Nepal (The Guardian Weekly, April 18-24:2008). Unraveling the causes of the CA outcome, they present the two bases: Program of social reform or social change; and nomination of candidates from diverse groups and communities. Between two bases, one focuses on structural reason whereas another emphasizes on roles of agency. So, for them, it is the outcome of structural–agency integration. Mahendra M. Shakya publishes his view in the column of 'letter to editor' explaining this outcome and its direction in following way. He outlines three reasons: a) people have provided an excellent opportunity for Maoist to start building a new Nepal or change of existing system, b) it is the time for the Maoist to depart from the thought of Mao and begin the Deng era, C) Deng Xiao Ping and his economic agenda should be the role model for the Maoist to construct the 'New Nepal' (Post, April, 15:2008). His reasons have shown that formation of New Nepal through the process of competitive capitalism. Uttambabu Shrestha, researcher in Harvard University, deems the CA outcome as

mandate for 'New Nepal' by experimenting new ideology and new way of performance (Kantipur, April 14:2008). His standpoint about mandate for 'New Nepal' (NN) can be widely concurred, notwithstanding he has not precisely elucidated the form, system and nature of NN. Does NN mean capitalist economy with social progress—or other else?

### **B. Votes for peace and stability**

Kanak Mani Dixit, editor of Himal South Asia Magazine (HSAM), has attributed it simply to 'vote for peace' (HSAM, May: 2008). His interpretation has further explicated that the Maoist leadership frequently provided ominous warning carried by Nepal's efficient Media that they would return to the jungle and restart people's war if the party lost the CA election (Ibid). So, he is of opinion that people voted Maoist for peace. Dixit emphasis on vote for peace, however does not clarify the sources of peace and how it can be established in society? Monica Regmi perceives it (victory) is by two reasons: People do not want to country to slide back into the days of bloodshed; and people have endorsed its (Maoist) transition from rebel to ruler (post, April 15: 2008). Indeed, her moderate logic have pinpointed mainly two aspects — peace & stability. J.B. Lama, a freelance Journalist, deems that failure to address the people's grievance is largely responsible for the Maoist uprising as well as its victory. According to him, all that people want now is an orderly Nepal so that the country can concentrate on rebuilding its shattered economy (The Statesman, April 19: 2008). Lama's interpretation, relating this outcome, has stressed primarily two facets — stability and economic rebuilding. But, he has not made clear the relationship between Maoist victory and stability & economic rebuilding.

Manjushre Thapa, an established woman writer, considers that peoples' fear of war helped Maoist to win; fear that they might return to war if they defeated hung (The Asian Age, April 16: 2008). She has postulated akin to the idea who thinks vote for peace. In the view of Matthew Rosenberg — The election was intended to cement a 2006 peace deal with the Maoist , who gave up their fight for a democratic state ( The Japan Time, April 19: 2008). According to him, people cast votes to strengthen peace. Thus, his explanation also underlines 'vote for peace'. The Economist (April 29: 2008) spells out it saying—Nepali were sick of the alternatives. NC and UML were tarnished by spell of corrupt and ineffective rule during the 1990. It attributes election result as Maoists presentation themselves as better alternative force. Columnist CK Lal gives attribution to Maoist popular 'political cards' such as—change, peace, ethnic autonomy, nationalism, and economy revolution through which Maoist succeed to impress voters (Nepali Times, April 18:2008). Lal reaction underscores the role of agency, undermining structural foundation of society.

A U.K. based weekly magazine The Economist (April 19-25:2008) writes under the heading of 'The Maoist Triumph' about the issue on CA election outcome. It attributes, the former rebel surprised everyone with a stunning electoral success defying the every prediction. According to it— 'the party's candidates hinted that if lost, they might resume the war— contributed to garner votes of people. It also presents the same idea— 'vote for peace'. Apart from that it also explains interestingly on the issue—some voters wanted the Maoists in far away Kathmandu, not their forests, stealing their food and press—ganging their children (Ibid). A UML inclined weekly paper, interprets it (victory) as mandate for peace. It explains, people do not want terror so they cast 'vote for peace' as well as to prevent them returning to Jungle and to make more responsible for peace process (Budhabar, April 16:2008).

### **C. Votes by Terror and Intimidation**

Sher Bahadur Deuba, erstwhile prime-minister and senior Nepali congress (NC) leader, remarks saying, 'vote for Maoist is due to its fear and threat activities (Kantipur, April 18:2008) He, moreover, opines that the cause of NC's lost is lack of fair and impartial election (Ibid) . Deuba's contention sees problems are rooted in other. In the period of election, NC was confident that it would become the largest party. But, when the result seemed exactly opposite from such kind of views appeared speedily mainly from congress side. So, it can be said that this is an undercurrent of election defeat. Mohan Bikram Shingh, a left leader and stern critic of Maoist as well, conceives of the election result as negative perspective of people towards Maoist. He, further, argues scathingly there is still prevailing fear, terror, threat and intimidation in society, people cast vote to Maoist being afraid from that (Kantipur, April 15:2008). But, questions may rise--can a political party become single largest party acquiring votes only from terrorizing people? Or, does it need mass support of people? The Japan Times (April 19:2008) notes, among others, one factor in the Maoists showing may have been fear--they were accused of trying to intimidate voters and rival--although international observers said the election was largely fair.

UML's senior leader K.P. Oli, a scathing critic of Maoist, vehemently reacts--complete lack of peace and security yielded the Maoist favor election outcome. Oli, a candidate defeated by Maoist in the electoral contest, expresses no actually happened voting happened only looting in polling centres. So, he argues, it is not the voted votes, it is looted votes by Maoist terrorizing people (Dristi weekly, April 22:2008) Nepali Congress spokesman Arjun Narshingh K.C. attributes it simply to Young

Communist League (YCL), a sister organization of Maoist, and its terror and intimidation (Kantipur, May 10:2008). K.C, himself is trounced by Maoist candidate, sees problems created by other but he is unaware his party's increasing contradictory relationship with people as a status quo party. Likewise, explains—several commentator have argued that one of the reasons the Maoist victory is its well-oiled campaign machinery in a subtle ‘countrywide deployment of threat and intimidation during the run-up to the elections’ which demoralized its opponent ([www.proquest.umi.com](http://www.proquest.umi.com), available on September 15:2008).

Dr. Prakash Chandra Lohani, former finance minister and leader of National Manpower Party (NMP), puts the similar idea who opines ‘votes by terror and intimidation. He interprets, ‘Maoist’s sister organizations running on the basis of military style and discipline succeed to maintain physical and psychology domination over the cadres and activists of other political parties appreciably contributed to receive votes of people (Kantipur, April 22:2008). Senior leader of UML and a scathing detractor of Maoist, Pradip Nepal attributes it simply to fear, threats, terror and intimidation created by Maoist, during election campaign (Samaya, April 25:2008). Even being a senior communist leader, Nepal has overlooked to analyze issue on the basis of social structure merely focusing on Maoist ‘excessive’. His article has denoted that Nepal also is not aware about faltering relationship of his party and society, especially mass youths, poor and underclass people.

In this way, scholars, analysts, commentators and leaders of political parties have explained and interpreted the CA election outcome as per their own perspectives and views. Those, who have put their view on the behalf of change, have drawn up this conclusion by referring to ‘social structure’ and needs of its change, expect a few , almost all walks of life

of people including scholars, analysts and commentators and me as well, subscribe people fundamentally cast ballots for change. Interestingly, their wholesale explanations on the issue of change have not answered concretely following questions: what is change?, How does it come?, What is source of change?, Why does such change require for society?, What will be the forms and its nature if change occurred or brought in society?, Does a political party merely bring change or certain social, economic and political bases demand change in order to reduce historically rooted conflict and contradiction by introducing new system or order?

Likewise, analysis focusing on ‘peace and stability’ as well as terror and intimidation are also not clear on the key questions regarding the interpreted issues such as—is there certainly peace, stability and economic rebuilding to be happened in society with the wining of Maoist?, what is the source of peace and how does it come, and make peace and stable in society/nation?, What is the relationship of Maoist and peace?, Why other parties can’t bring and establish peace and stability in society whereas Maoist can do?, Could Maoist return Jungle and resume the armed struggle again, if they were defeated?, Was and is here circumstance or situation of social, economic and political base as well as national and international power balance to be continued and launched again people's war? Similarly, is it sufficient for any political party to be winner acquiring votes only from creating terror and fear atmosphere or does it require wide range mass support of people?, why state mechanism could not maintain peace and security by controlling and abolishing Maoists "excessive"?, Can an election be quite peace and fair in this situation where a former rebel party taking part in election process formally terminating decade long armed struggle?

More importantly, these explanations which argue votes for peace and stability have mainly focused on the role of agency undermining the role of society/social structure. Does an agency lead society or social structure that lead the agency? Just opposite that the earlier interpretations which highlight votes for change have stressed on role of structural factor. Amidst this two analysis trends, the study assumes and recognizes roles of both (structure and agency) but not equally. It perceives structure is major and agency is also important but not dominant. Agency, according to this study, may play role within the conflicts and contradictions of society/social structure and can lead within definite parameter of society as well, although the 'role and lead' widely determine the social structure. The study asserts the intense need of change of society and effective role and lead of Maoist is the outcome of CA. In short, structural condition and agency action is the outcome of CA result'.

## **CHAPTER – FOUR**

### **THEORETICAL ORIENTATION**

Sociology firmly perceives the political process and struggle as fundamental unit/component of a social structure therefore, it believes, politics must be analyzed within a framework of broader social base/structure. So, I too strongly conceive of that the political event of CA outcome is the product of society. Its outcome therefore should be interpreted with reference to specific features of a society. In addition, the study also slightly tends to highlight agency action within specific features of a society. As a medium of this linkage, efforts have been made to employ/apply some definite sociological theories. To start with, the analysis is based on the Political Sociology approach—an important branch of Sociology. Political Sociology deals with the social causes and consequences of given power distribution within or between societies. It furthermore opines that social and political conflicts that lead to change in the allocation of power. According to Oxford Sociological Dictionary—Sociological analysis of political phenomena is concerned with the interrelationship between politics, social structure, ideologies and culture.

#### **4.1 Analysis of Structural Conditions and Agency Actions**

In order to unravel structural facets of Nepal Nepali society, the study has used certain theories. Theory of Marx has exposed the internal social structure, the other theory world-system has uncovered about global system and its impact on Nepali society. On the other hand, Hegemony approach presents the agency action. The last approach Structuration theory tends to merge both—structure and agency.

## 4.2 Marxism

Firstly, I have made endeavor to interlink Marxism — a dominant theory in sociology — devised by Karl Marx and others. Marx's one of the greatest and most influential idea is 'Historical Dialectical Materialism' (HDM) within the social science as well as world history. Historical specificity is the hallmark of Marx's approach. He asserted that all previous historical periods were marked by class struggles; he immediately adds that these struggles differed according to historical stage (Coser, 2004: 44) Marx opines that class struggle is the heart of historical materialism and that is also forces of social change. Marx class theory rests on the premise that 'the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle'. According to this view, society emerges with class which generates inherent conflict in society in pursuing of class interest (Ibid). Marx proclaims- 'Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered from the past (Marx,1852/1963:15 cited by Ritzer, 1996: 46).'

Just contrast to Hegelian analysis of dialectic of ideas, Marx embodied his dialectal approach in the material world (Ritzer, 1996:42). Marx puts material condition is the source of ideas. He declares, "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being but, on the contrary, their social being determines their consciousness (Coser, 2004:46)." According to Engels, "historical materialism designate(s) that view of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, in the changes modes of production and exchange, in the

consequent division of society into distinct classes and in the struggle of these classes against one another (Slattery, 2003:44).”

Mode of Production (MOP) refers to the economic system prevailing at any particular point in historical time. It is basic foundation of society that determines not only the production of goods and services but all other major social institutions in the superstructure. MOP is a combination of the forces of production (method, tools, techniques, land, labour etc) and relation of production (relation that exist between the owners of the means of production and workers). As like other MOPs, capitalism is also a specific MOP of historical period of human society that emerged approximately 500 years ago in Europe wrecking feudalism.

According to Marx, Society comprises a moving balance of antithetical forces that generate social changes by their tension and struggle. For him, struggle and strife is the root of all things, and social conflict the core of historical process. Marx holistic approach regards society as a structurally interrelated whole. Consequently, for Marx, any aspect of that whole, be it legal codes, system of education religion or art could not be understood by itself. Societies, moreover, are not only structured whole but developing totalities (Coser, 2004: 43).

After brief elaboration of Marxism, I here have elaborately attempted to appraise and elucidate CA outcome within the framework of this doctrine relating the internal social structure. I argue that various preceding as well as recent political struggles and transitions—including the CA election—have distinctly led Nepali society towards the direction of capitalist transition mostly uprooting the pre-capitalism. It should be noted that after long momentous internal and external conflicts and contradictions within of pre-capitalism the 'society' and 'people' of Nepal able to

consolidate capitalism. Pre-capitalism and capitalism, in this context, substantially denote the largely equivalent meaning of autocracy (King) and democracy (political parties) respectively. Political movements rights from Praja Parishad years in the 1930 to the movement of 1950, 1980 and 1990, were directly specifically against autocratic regime (Mishra, 2007:14). These many movements diminished more or less foundation of pre-capitalism or autocratic power, however, could not outright ruin. Nevertheless, these movements significantly used to be curtailed contradiction between opposite systems.

After king's usurpation of power in 2005 flouting the 1990 political compact on the stance of Royal Nepal Army (RNA now changed in NA), consequently the confrontation arose overtly between autocracy and democracy. In this background, the confrontation raised from both rural and urban areas. In rural area, Maoist launched PW was spearheading a resistance movement against absentee and rent based oppressive landlordism, exploitative labour relations in the agricultural and other, sectors, gender caste, ethnicity, religion, and language based oppressions (Mishra,2007:134). The resistance movement successfully weakened the bases of feudalism on which autocracy had been standing historically. In urban areas, autocracy which reflects broadly higher and aristocrat class and democracy represent middle and lower classes (peasants and farmers) became extensively hostile or antagonist classes especially king's take over in 2005. During this fight, Parliamentary Parties (PP) and Maoist politically challenged, on the one hand, and, one the other hand autocracy's military was challenged by Maoist military force People's Liberation Army (PLA). As s result of this momentous contradiction and people movement ultimately compelled the king to hand over the power to democratic/capitalist forces. The monarchy then, was suspended which

rendered it politically and militarily powerless. However, it was not immediately eliminated. But, later state was proclaimed 'republican' ousting the Shah dynasty.

After over ground of Maoist, it explicitly made significant effort to present itself progressive, change oriented force and staunch Republican Party then other parties which more or less impressed people. It also conducted many anti-monarchy campaigns with the intension to convince people as an unflinching republican party. Maoist armed struggle during 1996 to 2003 was directly heading against the parliamentary system although since in 2003 led the struggle specifically against monarchy. Notably, during PW Maoist was not always stiff to king, however the Royal take over in 2005 made the Maoist as a steadfast republican party. It argued, republican must be needed because the task of progressive restructure of state only is possible when feudal based monarchy could be wiped out. Maoist, thus, tired to create and lead the society under the circumstance of king vs. Maoist struggle. Other parties also made efforts to present and interpret themselves as republican and progressive party. Nonetheless, they could not convince and lead people as Maoist could. In this way, the contradiction/struggle between autocracy (regressive) forces and democracy (progressive force) rapidly rose. In the background of long series of soaring implicit and explicit struggle, Maoist intensified and escalated the confrontation against the king collaborating other parties and finally come into the power through electoral process by overthrowing regressive force (king) and widely defeating other political parties.

Here, the thrust of my argument is that the CA outcome can be explicated on the basis of class struggle happening in society for long period of time that appeared intensely on the specific periods of time. The CA outcome,

hence, seems to be victory of progressive and change oriented forces or class in order to change the existing political-economy structure by toppling autocratic and regressive system.

### **4.3 World-System Theory**

Apart from this Marxist ideology, I have, too, tried to interlink and interrelate the CA outcome with the World-System theory – propounded by Immanuel Wallerstein around in mid 1970s. The approach sees and analyses the society or nation within the framework of world–system or regarding the global system. It looks the system of a broad economic entity with a division of labour that is not circumscribed by political or cultural boundaries. The approach perceives the system is a largely self–maintained social system with as set of boundaries and a definable life–span. Wallerstein puts the system as hold together by a variety of forces that are inherent tension. These forces always have the potential for tearing the system apart (Ritzer, 1996:298-299). According to Oxford Sociology Dictionary, world system theory is a historical description of the growth of the capitalist economic system, from center to periphery and of the effects of this growth of capitalist and pre-capitalist society alike. This theory is developed mixing of idea taken from ‘geographical central place theory,’ ‘classical political-economy’, ‘Marxism’ and ‘theory of regional development’. The dictionary assumes, its central propositions are that capitalism is organized globally rather than nationally.

The world-system perspective is a strategy for explaining social change that focuses on whole intersociety system. It perceives that societies have always interacted in consequential ways with neighboring societies, so

inter-societal interaction must be studied to understand social change (Ritzer, 2005:887).

This approach has categorized all nations in three strata within of world-system. The core geographical area dominates the capitalist world economy and exploits the rest of the system. The periphery consists of those areas that provide raw materials to the core and are heavily exploited by it. The semi-periphery is a residual category that encompasses a set of regions somewhere between the exploiting and the exploited. The key point is that to wallerstein the international division of exploitation is defined not by state borders but by the economic division of labour in the world (Ritzer, 1996:299).

In the context of Nepal, different scholars and analysts have different arguments regarding the issues and dates of Nepal's incorporation in global- capitalism or world-system. Chiefly, there are two trends of analysis. One trend, led by Sociologist Prof. Chaitanya Mishra, postulates the Nepali society/nation has been becoming part of global system since the middle of 1880s onwards (Mishra, 2004: 246). It, further, argues that society of contemporary Nepal has fundamentally adopted the nature of capitalism. The other trend, led by almost all the left leaders, posits the society entered in global capitalism only when it became open in 1950 (Mishra, 2004:16-17).It too advocates that Nepali society is still in the stage of semi-feudalism. Despite between these debates there is a consensus, that is, both above outlined opinions have acknowledged the contemporary Nepal as a component/part of the world-system to which all scholars and students concur including me.

Without commenting any of one historical explanation, I am, herein, just seeking to examine the relationship of my study and this theory. When

world system encompassed Nepal as a periphery state, capitalism gradually penetrated within of Nepal from macro (economic, political, education) level to micro (social, cultural, norms and values) level. Capitalism penetrated in society through different channels such as aid, trade diplomat, media, education, labor migration and so on. These process considerably influenced society and social structure. As a result of this long process relations, contradiction between existing pre-capitalist or traditional system gradually emerged and remained perpetually in society.

Historically rooted/penetrated conflict and contradiction between them slowly but continuously entered and expanded in social relations, organizations and including social structure. Since recent decades, both process of penetration and level of contradiction rapidly soared, subsequently it immensely demanded the reformation and restructuring of existing social, economic and political system. In course of interacting with neighboring societies in consequential way, Nepali society widely received global commodities as well as value system which were totally against the existing production and cultural practice. As a result of this process, modern value significantly contributed not only to lead society towards the capitalist system but helped also to prepare platform for social movements against prevailing pre-capitalist system, especially for radical young generation to restructure society for capitalism. The previous political struggle, armed struggles of Maoist, April movement of 2006, in this context, can be taken and spelled out as pressure and process of progressive reformation and change of fabric of Nepali society for capitalist transition. As an exigency of social structure, the CA election was held to perform the task of changing overall state structure or

existing political economy system. Votes of people in this way, was for the change—change for capitalism.

#### **4.4 Hegemony Approach**

Beside the above presented theoretical approaches I have made another effort to illustrate the issue of the study by interrelating and intertwining to the concept of 'Hegemony' formulated by Antonio Gramsci--an Italian critical as well as creative Marxist theorist--in mid 20th century or thereabouts. Gramsci, as a Marxist thinker and a left political activist, played a key role in the transition from economic determination to more modern Marxian position. Gramsci is critical of Marxist who is deterministic, fatalistic and mechanistic. He recognizes that there are historical regularities, although he rejects the idea of automatic or inevitable historical development. His explanation recognizes the importance of structural factors, especially the economy, however, he does not conceive of these structural factors by themselves lead the masses to revolt. For that, he argues, the masses need to develop a revolutionary ideology ( Ritzer, 1996: 275). To develop a revolutionary ideology and lead struggle and revolution, it needs popular participation and in particular it needs moral and ideological leadership to enlighten and inspire the masses and to create a national popular and collective will (Slattery, 2003:121).

Gramsci's central approach, among others, is 'Hegemony'. According to Oxford Sociological dictionary, 'Hegemony refers to the ideal representation of the interests of the ruling class as universal interests.' The essential ingredient of the most modern philosophy of praxis (the linking of thought and action,) for him, is the historical philosophical concept of 'hegemony'. 'Hegemony' is defined by Gramsci as cultural

leadership exercised by the ruling class (Ritzer, 1996: 275). He explains hegemony as ideological rule as well as military rule, as the control of dominant ideas as well as control of the means of production (Slattery, 2003:121). His emphasis 'hegemony' as 'cultural leadership' contrasts hegemony to coercive that is exercised by legislative or executive power.

Gramsci argues that no ruling class can dominate by economic control, even by political force alone. It, he opines, needs ideological control, the consent of the governed, and this is achieved through such important socializing agencies as the family, religion, law, media, schools, and even trade unions. They all promote and legitimize the ideas of the ruling class to the point where such values are created uncritically and unconsciously as normal (Slattery, 2003: 122). Complete ideological domination is rare and never complete. It (ruling class) always faces new challenges from the alternative groups, new ideas new crisis. It rests on gaining the support of the mass of the population through establishing and historic block of shifting alliance between the dominant class and other sectors of society; alliances which are always open to dispute and collapse. This opens the way for subordinate classes like the working and peasant class to seize the moral, intellectual and political high ground, establish leadership, win widespread support and overthrow the ruling class intellectually and morally as well as physically (Ibid).

According to Gramsci, true hegemony is never possible until reality and ideologies are as one. Any ruling class or existing system can't achieve full hegemony because of its underlying contradictions and exploitation. Inherent rooted contradiction and its exploited and oppressive nature provide the basis for new liberate social order and revolution to establish and legitimize workers' and peasants' power there-after (Slattery, 2003:123). Gramsci elucidation emphasizes on that before winning power

the working class would have to undermine the hegemony and the ruling class/existing system by developing its own alternative hegemony/counter hegemony' or 'world view'. It is here that Gramsci sees a key role for communist intellectual and the communist party to create counter-hegemony or to gain cultural leadership over the rest of society (Ritzer, 1996: 276).

After short interpretation of 'Hegemony' approach, I have attempted to appraise and examine CA result by this standpoint to unravel and unearth the conceivable reasons. In my logic, counter hegemony created, propagated, established and led by Maoist during the almost last decade, and especially for three years, against existing hegemony associated with Shah dynasty monarchy and its coterie which ruled nearly 2.4 century overtly and covertly, not only remarkably contributed to garner mass votes of people through recently passed off epoch-making, at least in the context of Nepal, democratic practice CA election, but also provided to govern the state by defeating the existing hegemony. After the inception of multiparty democracy in 1990s, different political parties especially lefties tried subtly to create and promote alternative hegemony but they did not do except few; rather gradually continued the some hegemony or cultural leadership. Notwithstanding, the democratic practice raised questions about this hegemony as well as diminished and dwindle the bases of that which appreciably contributed to prepare sufficient background for counter-hegemony.

The specific 'cultural leadership' under which the monarchy ruled its regime was fundamentally religion based myths. Such mythical norms and values used to provide legitimization for that regime. Chiefly, the mythical based hegemony was: king is the incarnation of god '*Bishnu*'. It is its innate right to rule the people. It is not rational job or business of

any '*praza*' to raise the questions against the king, as he is regarded superior man than ordinary people. To obey meekly orders of king is the duty of people. King is the symbol of national integration and nationalism. Standing on this cultural and ideological platform monarchy ruled over the people. In addition, formal bourgeois democracy and its ideological hegemony widely practiced after 1990 also could not lead the overall society no more longer time because it could not bring social transformation, equality as well as social justice and progress. Large number of people, especially poor, peasants, farmers and marginalized groups remained out of access of state mechanism along with, benefits and facilities provided by state.

Undoubtedly, complete ideological domination is rare and it never completes as well as does not go ahead it continuously because of its innate strife. Religion based mythical ideological domination practiced by monarchy was never complete; consequently it faced new challenges, new ideas, new crisis from the alternative groups/forces. The process of facing new challenges intensively ascended since the half century, in general and especially since last decade, in particular. Consumer practices the role of commercial meditation and mass media widely contribute for the project of cultural production through which Katmandu's middle class works to curve out and contract a new socio-cultural domain and modernity (Liechty, 2008: Preface). Since 1990s people of Nepal, especially urban based middle class and youth significantly influenced as well as dramatically adopted and construct modern democratic socio-cultural ideology. The ideology directly contradicted the king's ideological hegemony which intensified animosity and strife between hostiles world views. People's War (PW) launched and spearheaded by Maoist in 1995 not only challenged strongly the existing hegemony, but

also created and fostered counter-hegemony by making and elevating modern democratic consciousness to peasants, farmers, labors and marginalized groups basically living in rural areas . However, the insurgency and repressive state counter insurgency left the thousands of people' lives but it empowered people and led the society in progressive direction.

The 1990s people's movement, called and led by agitating Political Parties (PP), restored the democracy under the doctrine of two pillars: Constitutional monarchy and multi-parties democracy; cutting the power of absolute power holder king. King's regressive take over in 2005 standing on the outdated mythical ideology directly violated previous king and PP compact that led once again the society into the circumstance of polarization: traditional ideology/hegemony versus modern hegemony. Between this polarizations initially parliamentary parties adopted the middle way trend but later gradually followed the Maoist led cultural ideology/hegemony 'republican and state restructure.' In this long series of this contradiction, existing hegemony was eventually dominated and defeated by counter-hegemony.

Obviously, during the PW Maoist's ideological hegemony was prevailing only in rural areas but after the latest ceasefire and Comprehensive Peace Accord happened in 2006, Maoists canvassed and propagated intensely its counter-hegemony in urban area people that swayed widely to youths and women. They gave this process continuously till the CA election. Media, civil society persons, intellectuals, professors, lawyers and teachers, on the other hand, also subscribed and actively disseminated the Maoists world view/hegemony – CA election and change– as a view of the whole society that widely helped for Maoist to legitimize their agendas. In this way, Maoist ideological hegemony and performance

considerably contributed to garner votes of people. Maoists ideological domination were, among others, change, CA election, new Nepal, inclusive, restructure of society, economic revolution, social progress, justice and equality.

#### **4.5 Structuration Theory**

Along with 'Marxism', 'World-System Theory' and 'Hegemony Approach' I have tried to elucidate the election outcome or this political event from the perspective of 'Structuration theory as well – proposed, among others, by British Sociologist Anthony Giddens in 1985 or thereabouts. Structuration theory is a broad-ranging sociological ontology in which social practices are postulated as the basic constituents of the social world (Ritzer, 2005:811). The approach perceives that neither society/structure nor the individual/agency is all powerful. Rather, they are two side of same coin. Furthermore, social structure and human actions do not exist independently of each other; rather they are interdependent and intertwine (Slattery, 2003: 271). As explained by Giddens, social life is the product of 'active subjects;' society is not a thing out there, outside of us controlling our every move; rather it is the product of skilled, knowledge and reflexive agents' operating within specific contexts or structures (Ibid).

According to Bernstein, 'the very heart of the theory of Structuration is intended to illuminate the duality and dialectical interplay of structure and agency (1989: 23, cited by Ritzer, 1996: 523). The integration of social fabric with the collective dimensions of social life is structuration theory is sometimes referred to as a solution to the problem of structure and agency (Ritzer, 2005: 811). The theory of Structuration is an attempt to overcome the dualism—a dualism that gives priority either to actor or to social structure..... Structures are created by humans, but they, in turn, constrain and enable human action(Adams and Sydie, 2002:384)

In my opinions, the outcome of election is the product of structure-agency integration. Structure – interrelated form of different elements –denotes, in this context, the overall parts such as, social, cultural, economy and political components of current Nepal’s social structure. Agency – individual as well as organized groups, organizations and nations – represents herein the different political parties i.e. – Maoist, NC, UML and others too. Social structure and political parties cannot exist independently; rather they are interdependent and intertwined. The integration of social structure and agency can, I would opine, yield new things, change and transformation. The combination of structural change/transformation of society and role of agency as a force of change is the outcome of election, I argue. In brief, election outcome, thus, can be explained as the product of active subjects, skilled, knowledgeable and reflexive agents running within specific context or structure.

By explicating of Nepali society and its facets with linking to essential sociological theories, I, in shortly, attempted to concretize the possible reasons of CA outcome by theoretical perspectives. Here, my explanations explicitly and implicitly have signaled the 'structural bases and agency roles/actions' resulted the CA outcome. By the theory of Marxism and World System Theory, I have highlighted the structural condition of Nepali society. The former theory focuses on internal class relation, its contradiction and change whereas the next stress on inter-societal relationships and its effects. The 'Hegemony' approach points up agency roles/actions within of social structure. Last but not the least, 'Structuration Theory' tends to merge the both – structure and agency. It emphasizes on the dialectical interplay of structure and agency; rather independent or isolation existence of any one.

## CHAPTER – FIVE

### EXPLANITION OF ANALYSIS TREND BY PLACING TO THEORETICAL APPROACHES

In course of analyzing notions of different political leaders and commentators regarding my issue of study, I found broadly three categories of interpretations. Some have focused on some points whereas some have emphasized another factor. But, there, I opine, are interrelation of each others. In this chapter, I have presented the three categories and have explained them one by one briefly.

- Votes for change and transformation
- Votes for peace and stability
- Votes by terror and intimidation

Many argue ballots were for **change and transformation** which must be acknowledged but question is that they have not precisely elaborated about change. Their explanations definitely focus on ‘change and transformation’ however, the explanations do not talk succinctly on the issue of ‘change’ in detail: i.e. what is change?, why does it need?, Does change occur spontaneously or it demands certain reasons or factors?, Does change appear overnight or it requires historical process?, Does change come from unknown place or it yields society?, Does change seem purposelessly or to bring down historically rooted and burgeoning conflict and contradiction by introducing new order or system? These question can become imperatives and pertinent while elucidating to this category.

Functionalism views change is possible, ‘status quo’ is not necessarily restored. It opines, it comes spontaneously and gradually, and new

balance simply maintains the new order and the new equilibrium again (Abraham, 1982: 79). Functionalism acknowledges the possibility of change, for it, change occurs spontaneously or gradually for a new equilibrium. It does not concede necessary to underline why society needs change and in what condition it occurs. Apart from, it also overlooks historical process of change. I think, mostly change is introduced generally not for equilibrium; rather for new order and system which maintain relatively equilibrium. I conceive of the CA outcome and its potential reasons can't be illustrated from this standpoint because CA elections and its results widely for change not for only new equilibrium.

The evolutionary model treats society as if there were imminence inherent in man's social development which requires that each stage appear in turn to play its role according to 'natural law' (Inkeles, 2004: 30). Evolutionism interprets change interrelating to natural law. Inherent interest of man to do social development, according to evolutionism, requires going to natural law or stage by stage. Evolutionism perceived social change as 'natural law' or 'stage by stage'; rather than caused by society, its base and agency that is really difficult to admit.

Marxism conceives of society consists of moving balance of antithetical forces that generate social change by their tension and struggle. For it, strife is root of all things and social conflict the core of historical process (Coser, 2004:43). Marxism cogently explains society comprises antagonist forces. Because of inherent tension and struggle between them within specific system generate social change. Marxism perceives, contradiction is a principal matter of all things. When strife and contradiction reach in optimum level in the specific period of time, according to Marxism, that intensely demands drastic change of 'society' in order to curtail contradiction by establishing new system or order. The

same thing, in my view, has happened in the context of Nepali society. The long momentous conflict and contradiction between pre-capitalist system and capitalist, 'society' and 'people of Nepal' ultimately introduced full-fledged capitalist system by wrecking pre-capitalism through the process of different movements and CA election. In this way, it can be said, in this context, that people cast 'votes for change' change for capitalist transition

## **5.2 Votes for Peace and Stability**

Interpretations, which argue 'votes for peace and stability', have tried to illuminated CA outcome interrelating and interlinking Maoists roles & performances. These explanations have depicted Maoist as a 'source of peace'. So, these explications thoroughly attribute CA outcome as produced by Maoist roles or agency roles/actions.

Max Weber conceives of sociology as a comprehensive science of social actions. He focuses on subjective meanings that human actors attach to their actions in their mutual orientations within specific social–historical context (Coser, 2004:217). Contrasting to the Marx vision society contains seeds of conflict between social classes yield the changing social structure and production system, Weber notes human actor and their actions attaching to the 'subjective meaning within social-historical context generate 'change in society. Marx attributes change by conflict of structure whereas Weber recognizes change by agency actions. From the weberian perspective, the CA outcome can be interpreted as the roles of Maoist or agency actions. It can be concurred that action/role of Maoists more or less contributed to be elected them. But question may rise can an agency do action without specific social bases?, Does an agency lead society as per its interests, even if bereft of social and historical bases? I am of opinion that agency undoubtedly can play role but, for that, there

must be adequate specific social conditions. I, further, argue roles of agency largely determine social structure. If there were not certain social, economic and political bases, most probably Maoists could not do actions in society which mostly contributed to win them. It hence is difficult solely to attribute Maoists action for their victory, nevertheless agency action can't be underestimated and undermined in this regard.

The key concept of structuration theory devised chiefly by Anthony Giddens is 'duality of structure'. That is, social structure is used by active agents; and in so using the properties of structure, they transform or reproduce this structure (Turner, 2005:461). The theory recognizes that active agent can use social structure as well as can grip and lead attribution of change by transforming or reproducing this structure. Maoist as an active agent, in my opinion, used the existing pre-capitalist social structure and grasped historic opportunity to transform the social structure towards the capitalist social structure. Intense exigency of change of social structure and action of agency emanated the outcome of CA. Thus, in one sentence, it can be said that structural conditions and agency actions resulted the CA outcome.

### **5.3 Votes by Terror and Intimidation**

Several commentators, mostly leaders of political parties who and whose party trounced by Maoist with large margin votes in many election constituencies have argued that Maoists won election merely because of its terror and intimidation. The accusation rises many questions--was actually election unfair and impartial?, Was there no peace and security in polling centers?, Did actually people cast votes under the threats of Maoist and its wing organizations? Or was election only relatively peace and fair but not outright? I want to answer of these questions with

reference to the reports of national and international election observation missions.

The European Union Election Observation Mission (EU EOM) has said it 'largely successful election day despite tense campaign'. It, further, spells out 'the people of Nepal turned out in large numbers to select their representatives'. A retrieved information from online comments 'more than 2000 election observers were in place and UN secretary general Ban ki Moon described the poll as 'orderly and peaceful' ([www.socialistworld.net](http://www.socialistworld.net), available on 17 September, 2008). National Election Observation Committee (NEOC) puts its observation report saying-'the CA election has taken place peacefully and in a conducive environment all over the country, except for a few sporadic incidents of violence and misconduct.'

'It is hard to argue that the build up to the polling was marked by threat or intimidation' said Kamal Mitra chenoy, a Jawaharlal Nehru University professor from Delhi, who served as an election observer ([www.progust.umi.com](http://www.progust.umi.com) access on 15 september 2008). According to preliminary statement presented by the Carter Center (CC), the majority of Nepali voters participated in a remarkable and relatively peaceful election. South Asia Partnership (SAP), an observer mission, concludes its report saying – 'there was an air of peace and clam in most of the polling stations.'

By analyzing the above sketched conclusion of various observer missions, it can be concluded that the election was, in considerable extent, peace and fair. It was neither wholly peace and impartial nor entirely unfair, threat and intimidations; rather largely successful, peace and fair.

## **CHAPTER – SIX**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

#### **6.1 Summary**

Analyzing and interpreting the above discussion on developed political event and Maoist win, I come to the conclusion that society is a changeable phenomenon and within change agency, if it desires, can, at least to some extent, do actions as an active agent to consolidate change. Change, in significant extent, is based on historical regularities, structural foundation and level of inter-societal relationship, along with innate contradiction within of them of a particular society. As a status of important component of society, politics receives change with the change of society as well. Because of soaring contradiction within of structural foundation, growth of inter-societal relationship, longstanding political struggle against autocracy for democracy, CA election, and its result eventually geared the society towards the capitalist transition uprooting pre-capitalist or traditional order. In this historical contradiction of society, Maoist acted roles as an active agent within social structure that provided to Maoists by society and people, in relatively large extent, to lead the society/nation through electoral process. Here, my main analytical, thus, focus of this study is on the structural conditions and agency actions that resulted CA outcome.

To describe change, to which the study greatly emphasizes, I have used certain sociological theories which illustrate the meanings and significances of change into current society. Marxism attributes the internal class contradiction between pre-capitalist and capitalist forces of society for change. Broadly, the two forces represent the autocratic and democratic forces, specifically king and political parties respectively.

Between the contradictions Maoist, as a political party, directly contradicted relatively more than other parties, consequently, the study argues, appeared front of political arena through electoral process. Longstanding political struggles, PW, CA election itself and its result, according to Marxist standpoint, explicitly demonstrate that Nepali society is undergoing change for capitalism. World-system deals with inter-societal interaction and its effect on society. Furthermore, its perspective stands on that Nepali society has widely discarded pre-capitalism replacing capitalism in course of interacting Nepali society to global society. Likewise, Hegemony Approach points up the changing ideological domination of society. It attributes Maoist roles/actions for creating and elevating counter-hegemony against prevailing hegemony contributed Maoist to be largest party. Finally, Structuration Theory stresses on the structure—agency integration for social change. Structural transformation of society from pre-capitalist to capitalist due to its historically rooted internal and external strife and agency action to lead society ideologically yielded the CA outcome, according to this theory. Theoretical position of this study sands on the same approach or structure-agency integration.

Among three categories of explanations, which I have drawn up analyzing different views, the first trend opines ‘votes were for change’. I have argued that the change signifies structural transformation of society for capitalism and this argument has been substantiated by linking Marxist approach. This second category views ballots were for peace and regards Maoists actions as source of ‘peace’. I have interconnected this agency action to the weberian concept to present how agency acted active roles within specific social-historical context which played key roles to produce the CA outcome. I firmly believe as well as have tended to

integrate both structure-agency roles to elucidate this change by referring Structuration Theory. The historical context of social change and agency action within change, thus, yielded the CA outcome. The last category claims Maoist ‘terror’ produced such result. I have scrapped this accusation giving reference of national and international election observers. According to them, the pool was largely fair.

## **6.2 Conclusion**

The study concludes that the structural conditions and agency actions resulted the CA election outcome. The specific conditions of society and roles of Maoist as an active agency contributed to yield such type of election outcome. So, this is the result of structure agency integration.

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