

# **TERAI MOVEMENT FOR FEDERAL RESTRUCTURING**

**A DISSERTATION**

**Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities and Social Science of  
Tribhuvan University in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the**

**Degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**in**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

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**April 2023**

## LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled **TERAI MOVEMENT FOR FEDERAL RESTRUCTURING** was prepared by Hem Bahadur K.C. under our guidance. We hereby recommend this dissertation for final examination by the research committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science**.

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Co- Supervisor

Date: 22 April, 2023

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**TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY**  
**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES**

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**APPROVAL LETTER**

This dissertation entitled "**Terai Movement for Federal Restructuring**" was submitted by **Mr. Hem Bahadur K.C.** for final examination to the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the **Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science**. I hereby, certify that the Research Committee of the Faculty has found this dissertation satisfactory in scope and quality and has therefore been accepted it for the degree.

Prof. Kushum Shakya, PhD  
Dean and Chairperson  
Research Committee

Date:

## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare this dissertation is my own work that it contains no material previously published. I have not used its material for the award of any kind and any other degree. Where other author's source of information has been used, they have been acknowledged. It has not been submitted for candidature for any other research.

**Hem Bahadur K.C.**

Date: 22 April, 2023

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The dissertation has been produced from the collective effort, guidance and enthusiasm of political leaders, and different stakeholders of the Nepalese society. All the participating community members, social leaders, youths, politicians and concerned people have contributed equally for the accomplishment of this research work. I would like to thank my dissertation supervisor Prof. Dr Khadga K.C. for his constant support with expertise in subject matter of the study. I would like to thank my dissertation co-supervisor Prof. Dr Pancha Narayan Maharjan for the support with expertise in subject matter of the study. I would also like to thank the leaders of different regions of the country who actively participated on the research process. Without their contributions, the dissertation would not have come into this stage.

The contribution of local political organizations of Siraha, Kapilvastu and Kailali were highly appreciable. The credits also goes to my family members for their strong cooperations and supports to complete this dissertation. I would like to give a special thanks to my father Padam Pani Poudel, mother Patali Chhetri, brothers Wakil Bahadur K.C., Netra Bahadur K.C., Udaya Bahadur K.C., Sister Bishnu K.C., wife Bijaya Laxmi Buddhacharya, son Bipin K.C. and Bikal K.C. who inspired me to get Ph.D.

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**Hem Bahadur K.C.**

## **ABSTRACT**

In this study, the Terai's perspective on the movement was examined. For the benefit of Terai people, this investigation focused on how to resolve the Terai movement. The different dimensions like political, social, economic, cultural, religious, identity and international influence have been connected with the study. These dimensions either directly or indirectly contributed to the Terai movement. The study's foundation was the issues which asked how much Terai people and movements had to do with federal restructuring, identity, political and economic condition and capability-based framework. The conceptual framework was created to determine the causes of movement in the Terai served as the foundation for the qualitative methodology. The study's primary contribution was generation of new knowledge. Terai movement modified into political reform, economic development, identity of Terai people, inclusion of people in different organs of state and good governance. Many new political parties emerged during the movement in Terai. The agreement to ensure the rights of Terai people through the amendment of constitution was made between Seven Party Alliance and Terai political parties during movement. The gaps such as lack of awareness, economic crisis, political instability, specific identity, inclusion policies and service delivery system through federal restructuring have been identified by the researcher. The research about the Terai movement has been connected depending upon the gaps by using different dimensions like international influence, economic, political, identity, social and cultural along with federal restructuring. The research has been piloted depending upon qualitative approach with triangulation. The data from the study's areas participants were used to conduct additional research. The primary and secondary data were collected by using different tools and techniques. The reliability and validity have been tested by the researcher. The qualitative research approach of descriptive and exploratory research design has been set through triangulation of data. The purposive sampling has been chosen depending on the conflict prone and economic crisis zone.

The causes and implication of Terai movement, strategies of mitigation of Terai movement and triangulation of data have been chosen depending upon three objectives of research. The study has found out that Terai movement caused due to

poverty, different types of discriminations, poor service delivery, social evils, and lack of awareness. The political instability, underdevelopment, illiteracy, poor living standard, impunity and invisible slavery were still found out in Terai. Terai people wanted the specific identity and inclusion in different organs of the state. The discriminations and impunity situation have been still existing. Many people were unemployed and uneducated in Terai. It has also explored that the corruption, unaccountable leadership, international influence, traditional political system has been found out by the researcher. Throughout the entire study, the researcher has claimed that the political re-engineering, economic transformation and good governance with the identity of Terai and Terai people lead to settle the movement of Terai.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

ACHR	Asian Centre for Human Rights
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Co-operation
CA	Constituent Assembly
CBES	Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CERID	Centre of Educational Research Innovation and Development
CNC	Central national committee
CPN	Communist Party of Nepal
CPN-UML	Communist Party of Nepal – Unified Marxist Leninist
CSP	Community Support Project
DCC	District Coordination Committee
EU	European Union
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
GDP	Gross Domestic Products
INC	Indian National Congress
IPCSER	Integrated Political Change for Socio-economic Reform
JTMM	Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha
KIIs	Key Informants Interviews
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam
LPC	Least Preferred Co-worker Scale
MC	Municipality
MJF	Madhesi Janadhikar Forum
MoLD	Ministry of Local Development
MRA	Multiple Response Analysis
NATO	North-Atlantic Treaty Organization
NC	Nepali Congress
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
INGOs	International Non-Government Organizations

NJP	Nepal Janatantrik Party
NSP	Nepal Sadbhawana Party
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OHCHR	Office of High Commission for Human Rights
PAF	Poverty Alleviation Fund
RM	Rural Municipality
SAARC	South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation
TC	Terai Cobra
TMLP	Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party
UDMF	United Democratic Madhesi Front
UN	United Nations
UNMIN	United Nations Mission in Nepal
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	World Trade Organization



# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background of the study**

Nepal had been practicing unitary government system from the very beginning since its unification. The government system did not achieve the development result as demanded by Terai people. The second people's movement in 2006 abolished the 240 years reign of Shah dynasty. It was addressed fifth amendment of interim constitution of Nepal. By the first amendment in April 2007 reflected the governance system as federal system which was symbolized by naming the country as a federal democratic republic of Nepal. The issues and agenda of federalism, inclusion and secularism were pushed forward by the Maoist party in Nepal, Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist), the Nepali Congress and including other parties also. The inclusion and federalism have been seen new practice in Nepal.

In future, the reform agenda and funding will be in accordance of geography and population that may yield approach of equity to get equality afterward. The constitution of Nepal at present has given to restructure the state in federal system making seven provinces. Federal laws would be the guiding laws to provinces for exercising their rights with autonomy of governance. The first constitutional assembly could not deliver the constitution and the second constitution assembly released the constitution in Nepal. The constitution of Nepal has designated three tiers of government namely federal, provincial and local (Municipality, Rural Municipality). The constitution has declared the power of three tiers of government and some rights on their common functions.

The territory of Nepal, which had long been administered as a unitary state, was divided into several autonomous provinces. For this purpose, we need to define the principles and bases for the creation of new provinces and reach a consensus on them. Despite some threats and concerns, there is a general consensus on federalism at the political level. Draft manifestos or commitments made by political parties in Constituent Assembly Election.

The Constituent Assembly elections confirmed the completeness of the state's national mandate. In order to transform a state into a federal nation, the constitution would

have to establish, at least generally, the names of the geographic regions and the identities of the populations that make up the federal entity. The names of the provinces should be included in the constitution itself.

Likewise, the administrative structure of the provinces, the functions and powers of the executive, legislative and judiciary are clearly defined in the constitution, with provisions for the distribution of powers and responsibilities between the center and the provinces. A country's constitutional framework has been prepared to handle a variety of constitutional and technical issues, such as resources, allocation and distribution of resource revenue, tax administration and dispute settlement mechanism in case of disputes between the center and the province or between the provinces. In this way, seven different provinces have been declared.

The growing problem of poverty, discrimination and socio-economic inequalities in Terai, Nepal has long been observed. Nepal is a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-religious country. Terai derives from the Sanskrit language Madhya Desh and encompasses the physique, culture, customs and language of the people living from Jhapa in the East to Kanchanpur in the West and the foothills of the Mahabharat in the north to the border with central India to the south (NDHS, 2006).

In connection with Nepal, the Terai has suffered from many problems. The Terai have been deprived of many opportunities, rights and dignity. In the Terai there were many instances of discrimination. The Terai struggles with the problem of political and economic exclusion. Raghunath Thakur, Vedanand Jha, Durganand Jha, Ramji Mishra, Ragnath Raya Yadav and Satyadev Mani Tripathi were the Terai rulers who initially fought against Terai discrimination and exploitation to defend their rights and identity. The suppression and oppression of the Terai continued. Gajendra Narayan Singh founded the Sadbhavan Council in 1985 to fight for Terai issues such as citizenship, language and dress etc. After the establishment of a multi-party system, the Sadbhavan Council was transformed into the Nepal Sadbhavan Party in 1990. The Maoist CPN initiated the people's war and successfully changed the relationship between society and politics at rural areas in Terai. Meanwhile, Terai leaders Jaya Krishna Goit and Jwala Singh severed ties with the Maoists and formed a separate political organization Tarai Jantantrik Mukti Morcha (Singh, 2011, p. 78).

Circumstances led to an agreement between the major political parties and the Maoist in November 2005. In the Interim Constitution, the Terai did not meet their demands in the same way as the Dalits and indigenous peoples did. The Maoist People's War advocated a federal state in the Terai, self-determination rights however, the government could not be mentioned in the Interim Constitution. Terai activist Upendra Yadav led the introduction of Terai people's rights in the Interim Constitution (Jaiswal 2016, p. 112).

Terai organizations and scholars held several workshops and seminars to exchange ideas and viewpoints in rural and urban areas of Terai. Local community radios broadcast messages and opinions in support of the Terai People's Liberation Movement. The Terai people from Mechi to Mahakali united Terai nationalism and felt proud to be Terai as Nepalese. The Terai people, through protests and mass demonstrations, launched a mass movement to defend their endangered identity, a separate Terai province stretching from Mechi in the East to Mahakali in the West. They also called for proportional representation in the Legislative Assembly and all state bodies. Many Terai people were injured and about 53 were killed in the movement. The Madhesi Janadhikar Forum Nepal, a socio-political organization, has successfully spearheaded an identity movement. Later, other Terai political parties also joined the riots. The movement has internationalized United Nations affiliated organizations, human rights organizations and political parties, were campaigned to end the violence (Dhakal, 2017, p. 56).

An agreement reached on February 7, 2007 between Terai protesters and the coalition between government and seven political parties outlined the increase the number of constituencies in the Terai relative to population and the incorporation of number of constituencies of the Terai people into different sectors of government through immediate changes to the Interim Constitution. They also said that the government had failed to implement the agreement into Nepal's new constitution. The Terai People's Liberation Movement emerged after failing to engage with the Accord (Singh, 2015, p. 113).

Nepal has gone a revolutionary change in political movement after the restoration of democracy in 1990 despite of having geographical and ethnic diversity and historical independence of the nation. The deterioration of the democratic norms and values

have created frustration in people and influenced to search for alternative to address economic exploitation and social disparities (Hachhethu, 2008, p. 76).

The issues of identity-based rights have been raised at local level in the beginning. The movement issues have been connected in good governance and development. Indigenous movement and ethnic identity have been rigorously attached with leadership and followers for their welfare. The social relations and power structure of the society have given the shape of the changes.

Nepal is moving towards contractual federalism at present context. The holding together federalism on the other hand may be moving from unitary to federal system. The best example of holding together model of federalism is seen in Belgium where the sovereign states only seen to consider the unity for national building. India in 1948 and Spain in 1975 set examples of devolution of power in the federalism is holding together (Stepan, 1999, p. 28).

The amendments of the constitution which were not accepted by the political parties of the Madhes provinces in Terai. The major political parties including Nepali Congress and Communist party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) accepted the demarcations of the provinces but the Madhesi as well as Tharuhat did not accept it. The major parties celebrated the constitution release day but the same day was considered as a black day by Terai parties and Rastriya Janamorcha. The people of different regions and communities divided for and against the constitution.

India cool responded the constitution but China and Pakistan congratulated the government and major political parties for releasing constitution. The movement established the Terai party as one of the major regional parties in Nepal. These Terai based parties have also utilized the election process and formed the government in Madhes province. They have insisted the federal government for inclusive representation in the federal as well as provincial and local government.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

The people of the Terai recognized that they suffered from a sense of discrimination and the resulting deprivation. They also feel exploited and discriminated against by upper caste and migrant Pahadi communities. Some Madhesi-Hindus of Indian origin feel particularly discriminated against by the Nepalese (Lawoti, 2005a, p. 45).

First, under the Citizenship Act 1964 and the 1990 Constitution, Indian-born Madhesis were stripped of their citizenship certificates, preventing them from buying land or receiving government benefits. The Citizenship Law was amended in November 2006 to allow people born in Nepal before 1990. It is understood that many Terai people are still disenfranchised. Despite the fact that the Terai people make up nearly a third of Nepal's population, their engagement at gazetted staff level in government was only 9.9 percent (Nayak, 2010, p. 197).

Nepal's new constitution was promulgated on 20th September 2015. It hardly satisfied Terai population. The Madhesis and Tharus are non-Nepali speaking people residing in Terai of Nepal who are culturally distinct as compare to hilly people. Those people thought the demarcation of seven federal provinces in the constitution is unfair. The inhabitants of the Terai people did not agree that in the Terai a piece of eight districts received statehood. As a result, the main parties in the Terai have not signed the constitution. Due to a lack of sensitivity to the demands of the Terai party shortly after the constitution was promulgated, the Madhesi Democratic United Front and the Tharuhat Joint Combat Committee called for an indefinite strike in the Terai beginning August 8, 2015. The riots were strong and ongoing violent since, when nearly a dozen security guards were killed by protesters in the Terai. The life of the people of the Terai was completely paralyzed for five months. All educational institutions, hospitals, authorities, industries, banks, shops, farms and transport companies were paralyzed. Most basic commodities were in short supply, including grain, petrol and gas. Those who lived on their daily wages suffered the most. Due to the deterioration of the public order situation in the Terai, people traffic has been restricted in several places due to the ongoing curfew.

Terai people blamed that government and the main political parties in Nepal were less sensitive towards their people. On the other side Madhesi and Tharus people converted the peaceful moment into violent situation at Tikapur in Kailali. The long line of trucks for months created huge disturbances. Even the army was mobilized to deteriorate the situation. During last five months of the protest, over 53 people including the protesters and ten security personnel were killed. Besides these, thousands of protesters severely injured. Almost all the Terai districts were turned into a battle zone.

Nepal introduced the federal model of governance that was new to the government. It was the academia and state restructuring through Constitution Assembly by providing the provisions in constitution. The issue of federalism was mostly raised by Terai communities and other ethnic groups in the country. Within this framework, a series of studies, reflections and proposals were presented. However, these studies offered fewer substantive discussions of state theories, concepts, values, practices and experiences than sentimental statements on these issues. Undoubtedly, these studies have their importance, but the formation of the state structure and the functioning of the administration cannot be carried out the Terai people's interest (Neupane, 2000, p. 13; Khanal 2004; Shrestha, 2003, p. 124).

The problem of irresponsible government functions, unethical political activities and corrupted development policies were uplifted during movement in Terai. Many issues like identity of Terai people, selfish leadership, unemployment and lack of basic facilities were pushed up during movement. The lack of quality education, policy of exclusion, unequal resources mobilization issues were raised in movement. The Terai people raised the voices about discriminations and impunity. The citizenship and restructuring issues were also connected in movement. The Terai people were expecting to overcome the above mention problems through the movement of federal restructuring because the previous movements did not address the problems of Terai people. The problems were directly or indirectly depended on political activities, government functions, economic development and identity of Terai people for prosperous Terai. Based on these circumstances a single statement of the problem of the research was designed as: what have been affected so that movement for federalism became the case of Terai into national scenario of Nepal.

### **1.3 Research questions**

Based on the above situation, the following research questions have been designed:

- a) What are the key issues of Terai movement for federal restructuring?
- b) Why has not been resolved the situation even after Terai movement?
- c) How Terai movement issues could be resolved?

#### **1.4 Objectives of the study**

In order to find out the answers of above statement of the problem the following objectives are drawn.

- a) To identify the causes and effects of Terai movement for federal restructuring,
- b) To analyze the existing situation of Terai movement for federal restructuring,
- c) To explore the solutions in addressing the issues of Terai movement for federal restructuring.

#### **1.5 Rationale of the study**

Terai consists of twenty-one districts bordering with India. Many people have strong socio-cultural ethnic ties across the borders. The Terai accounts for 70 percent of Nepal's agricultural output, 65 percent of GDP and 76 percent of the country's total income (CBS, 2011).

However, the infrastructure in this area is considered to be significantly worse than in the mountainous areas. The charges were also made in the name of land reform, the land of the Terai was distributed to the Pahadis. Feelings of deprivation and exploitation made the Terai a center of the pro-democracy movement in the 1950s and 1960s, leading to the emergence of an identity movement in the Terai, most notably with the formation of two groups: the Nepal Terai Congress led by Vedanand Jha in 1951 for non-sedentary people (Khanal, 2004, p. 113).

Nepal's recent history has been marked with effect of Maoist insurgency. The peace agreement was signed in November 2006 to end a 10-year long Maoist insurgency and the conflict between the government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). The local and international observers were very much surprised to see new fighting erupted in Terai. The groups fighting professed a Terai ethnicity. These groups targeted both the state and the Maoist, polarizing Terai citizens along ethnic issues that were largely unaddressed during the conflict. In order to achieve their goal, the three largest groups named Madhesi Janadhikar Forum (MJF), Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party (TMLP) and Sadbhawana Party (SP) were joined to create a coalition called the United Democratic Madhesi Front (UDMF) in the year 2008. There also exist a number of radical armed groups, such as the Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (JTMM), Terai Cobra (TC), Nepal Defence Army (NDA), Nepal Janatantrik Party

(NJP), and Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj (CBES). All these forces were involved in armed movement in Nepal. JTMM demanded the establishment of Terai region as a separate country. Terai Cobra aspired to launch an armed separatist struggle for a sovereign Terai state. The NDA's goal was to create a Hindu army of suicide bombers to combat religious extremism and religious conversions.

Similarly, the NJP, an organization established to restore the monarchy, has attempted to preserve constitutional monarchy and multi-party democracy in Nepal. The CBES essentially called for the creation of a federal region of Chure Bhawar in the Terai, opposing the "Ek Madhes, Ek Prades" demand previously put forward by the Terai parties. There were reports of "internal tensions and a lack of clarity about the immediate demands and long-term strategy" of the Terai groups. While the Terai-based parties have taken a soft stance on the issue, the armed groups have only called for a sovereign state. In the Terai, there has also been debate about whether people make certain decisions about their future. Political parties in the Terai were in constant flux, which had a tremendous impact on the implementation of the newly enacted constitution and federalism in Nepal (Guneratne & Lawoti, 2013, p. 23).

The present research-based study is an important subject matter in the movement of Terai in context of implementing federalism in Nepal. This research is theoretically and methodologically significant from the point of view of political science study also. This study has therefore intended to new knowledge by identifying the Terai movement in course of implementing federalism in Nepal. The knowledge and insights which was gained through this study has been crucial to help bridge the gap between the knowledge and decision-making. It is hoped that this study may draw attention to the need for restructuring the provinces and implementing the federal systems in Terai. Similarly, this study may also open the debate and pave the way for future researchers and readers. The people who are interested in this field could serve as an important area to future researchers for willing to develop deeper insight into such issues. The new and recent pressing issues analysis Terai movement for federal restructuring are least investigated in Nepal. Recent studies in Terai claims that more information needs to be sought on the nature of Terai movement in course of implementing federalism in Nepal. It proffers the ground and context for the proposed



study. Likewise, there are some studies previously carried out by some researchers in Terai regarding the issues which has not taken justified demands of Terai people.

### **1.6 Delimitation of the study**

The title of the research, “**Terai Movement for Federal Restructuring**” was limited to Terai people's movement (2007) revolutions. The study was delimited to the Terai people's socio-political movement after 2006. The method was delimited to collect data from conflict prone areas of Terai. The rural and urban areas were divided for the research delimitation. The level of awareness was another area of delimitation. The research had been taken in and around Terai. The research was limited mainly in Terai belt where the movements were existed in Siraha, Kapilvastu and Kailali. These places were severely affected during the Madhesi and Tharu movement.

### **1.7 Organization of the study**

Chapter one has associated with the background of the study, statement of the problem and research questions. It has also linked with objectives and rationale of the study. The delimitation of the study, organization of the study and operational definition of the key terms has been mentioned in this chapter.

Chapter two has covered literature review. This chapter has consisted literature review, theoretical literature and empirical literature. This chapter has also associated the research gaps, theoretical and conceptual framework.

Chapter three has covered research methodology. This chapter has linked with research design, nature and source of data. This chapter also correlated with population and sampling procedure and selection of the study area. The research philosophy, method and specific tool, data collection and analysis and ethical issue for the research have been described in this chapter.

Chapter four has covered the causes and implications of Terai movement. This chapter has attached status of Terai people and its impacts on movement, political exclusion, social discrimination and ethnicity-based discrimination. The religious discrimination, cultural dominance and Inclusion policy have been included in his chapter. This chapter has consisted linguistic discrimination, legal deprivation and economic disparity. The problem of regionalism and multilateral utility have been included in this chapter. The demographic characteristics of respondents, the response of people

on Terai based movements and international influence have been included in this chapter. The Terai nationalism and restructuring, Nepal Sadbhawana Party, Terai Madhes Loktantric Party, Madhesi Janadhikar Forum, objective of participation in Terai movement, Madhesi Youth Forums, United Democratic Madhesi Front and citizen campaign against ill practices have been submitted in this chapter.

Chapter five has covered strategies and mitigation of Terai movement. This chapter has included the basic facilities, movement impact on facilities, movement controlling strategies, political leadership and Terai movement, decision making capacity of people, financial and human resource management, management excellence, existing social norms, political culture and development practices in Terai have been submitted in this chapter. This chapter has included institutional survey and technical education about the Terai movement for federal restructuring.

Chapter six has covered the triangulation of data. This chapter has comprised identity-based policies, external engagements, people friendly democratic structure, collaborative and coherence with institutional mechanism. The rule of law, development strategies, role of organizations and trade unions, citizen's participation in movement, empowering youths, good governance and inclusion of policies, posture discrimination and fulfillment of basic facilities have been submitted in this chapter. This chapter has consisted accountable political leadership, technical education, federal restructuring of the state, abolishing fallacious, mitigation of corruption, augmenting awareness and major findings.

Chapter seven consisted the summary and conclusion.

### **1.8 Operational definition of the key terms**

A number of the key terms have been used for the purpose of the study. Among them the operational definition has been designed as:

**Political and economic reform:** It is the factor to meet the people's political and economic needs and it is a process of continuous improvement. It is a people's 'perception of the value of the suppliers' work or output.

**People's movement:** This is the political peaceful non-violent movement of people led by democratic parties of the country. It is the disobeying of rules and regulations against the government showing frustration and dislike.

**Social harmony:** This is a situation where different groups feel together where individual identities are liquified within a greater social reality and where there is greater attachment to the idea of greater unity.

**Ethnic minority:** A group of people with same culture and traditions from the minority of population.

**Socio-economic status:** An individuals or groups' position within a hierarchical social structure which depends upon variables like education, occupation, income, wealth and place of residence.

**Globalization:** It has been considered in this dissertation as a process of integration among governments, societies and people in general which was driven by the mobility and exchange of goods, technology and people.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Theoretical literature**

Miklian research paper explained the role of politicians of Terai to play with the division of ethnic communities to increase their followers so that they could build the pressure in capital through the ethnic movement in southern belt. He further mentioned that successful sell of a compromise that is not 'one location' to ethnic supporters but inclusion in Nepalese army and civil service as well as security issues in Terai and remote areas. He suggested that they should demonstrate and assure the protection of more than 100 ethnic groups along with the ethnic groups of southern Terai region when the tension raised in federal restructuring (Miklian, 2008, p. 55).

Upreti, Paudel and Ghimire (2013) claimed that the recent ethnic movements in Terai and remote areas have been raised the genuine issues to be addressed by Nepalese politics and academic arena. The issue has been upraised in the case of political empowerment. The other debate has been lifted up to ensure the recognition and representation of Terai people. The issue has been put up to tackle security problems created by the rise of 109 armed groups and for reallocation of power to the ethnic minorities to address their needs. Let the remaining other issues, there was also a contest for the name of the region itself. Among the people, some preferred to be known as indigenous, some others preferred to be called as Tharus. The people of this region were ignored and suppressed without the allocation of resources because of the establishment of regional elites in terms of esteem, identity, recognition and redistribution. The marginalized and ethnic minority groups were feeling suppression by the central government and they wanted identity in different sectors. So, they were participating in the movement of federal restructuring to fulfill their wants and desires.

Paudel declared that some elites in Nepalese society were engaged to motivate western donors for investing for their welfare and fund collected in the name of socially excluded poor families. He further added the existence of monolithic and stereotypic behaviours for provoking ethnic issues in the society. The facilities have been distributed according to the power access. The people who have not political

power access in the society were always lacking behind. The marginalized ethnic and minority groups have been involved in movement to raise their voice (Paudel, 2013, p. 76).

Asian Centre for Human Rights (2009) published that there was silence in interim constitution of Nepal about the federalism and this created the situation to evolve the Terai movement in 2007. The movement was spread through southern Terai of Nepal from East to West. ACHR further mentioned that the state was forced to declare the country to rule as a federal democratic system. The major concern was for the restructure of the nation building that was previously built on one language as Nepali and one dress as Daura and Suruwal. The human rights situation was very measurable condition in Terai. The given constitutional rights have not been properly implemented. The federal democratic political system has been declared their provincial rights but the provincial government has not been practicing their rights freely due to the control of central government.

Jha mentioned that people from different origin were demanded the preservation of their identity and justice over different language as well as customs in her working paper. She further added that the plain region of southern side of the country extend from East to West. Although the southern belt of plain covers 23 percent out of total land of the country, the population covers 51 percent including people from hills and indigenous people from Terai including 21 out of 77 districts. She has also mentioned that the indigenous rights holders speak about the announcement of the area as Madhes. The conflict has been raised the issues on identity preservation. The implementation of the preservation policy has not completely applied in every field. The minority and marginalized groups wanted their identity through the inclusion policy. The identity-based politics was the way forward to address the wants and desires of Terai people (Jha, 2009, p. 66).

Upreti pointed out about the wider issues raised by the pressure groups of the civil societies, political parties and different ethnic, political and social movement as well as development actors of the country. The unilateral central governance of the country had a vital role to address the issues of Terai people in Nepal. The different pressure groups had different interests. They have been exploited by individual interests rather than common interests of Terai people. So, the common Terai people centric pressure

groups and civil activists were more effective to implement the federal restructuring (Upreti, 2015, p. 87).

Sapkota described that the Marxist community sought a basis of identity in terms of economic similarities and differences. Marx saw a universalized collective identity based on economic structure and relations of production leading to identity formation through the process of political mobilization and class struggle. With this assumption, Marxists and neo-Marxists have not treated identity politics as a mechanism to challenge and effect fundamental shifts in power relations. The way in which the problems of the youth movement and class struggles were resolved also depending on economic development and the availability of basic needs with the identity and dignity of the growing population (Sapkota, 2014, p. 23).

The ethnic dimension of identity dominated the thinking of upper-class leaders. The local population wants to reveal their multiple problems and identities in terms of class, ethnicity, gender and region. Related issues have been addressed as follows:

- a) Identity dynamics move from local (rural) politics to regional (Terai) and national (state restructuring) politics.
- b) There was a dialectical relationship between ethnic identity and the indigenous movement between leaders and followers and the agenda of the Terai people's welfare movement.
- c) Identity was a process which shaped by social relations and power structure of the society. Terai people wanted the identity of ethnic and minority Terai people through autonomous Terai province.

Nepal was moving towards contractual federalism. The holding together federalism on the other hand might be moving from unitary to federal system. The good example of holding together model of federalism was seen in Belgium where the sovereign states only seen to consider the unity for national building. He further mentioned that India in 1948 and Spain in 1975 set examples of devolution of power in the federalism acting as holding together. It might be the interest of Nepal as well. The holding together model of federalism did not address the ethnic issues and it failed to provide the quality service to the people of Terai. The political parties were not in

favor of decentralization of full power at provincial and local level (Stepan, 1999, p. 113).

Gellner had identified the five principles of studying ethnicity and nationalism.

According to him the following are the basic rules:

- a) Nationalism is not natural.
- b) Nationality and ethnic identity to be preserved from bottom up approach and ethnicity need to be studied from bottom up.
- c) The leaders need to take part in ethnic movement and other ordinary people may not have same need and priorities.
- d) Researchers should focus on the flexibility of the continuum.
- e) Nationality and ethnicity should be studied based on the historical events (Gellner, 2001, p. 73).

Chhetri described in a research asserts that an advent of democracy and sense of economic globalization and local development organizations were established dramatically in both local and national level. The development of Terai was the way forward to address issues of Terai movement. The identity and dignity of lower-class people in Terai had been neglected by central government (Chhetri, 2014, p. 25).

National Election Commission (2010) in the report asserts that government had taken initiation for the awareness by adopting several local development plans and policies. National Development Plans focused more on access rather than doctrine. Shortly after the restoration of democracy, the National Development Commission (1992) was formed in Nepal. It was amended later on and prepared the report and brought into introduction by the name of the report of National Development Commission. But this commission has been failed to address the development of Terai.

Sharma indicated in the development planning asserts that it was a milestone for development of Terai. The local organizations may come to the practice if the government cannot provide development activities for Terai people as per the rising demands of them. The central government has failed to address the development of Terai and quality services (Sharma, 2006, p. 23).

Political and economic development may bind together the past and the future to the societies. It may support and sustain the cultural values, beliefs and inculcate desired

ideas in our youths. It may also equip youths with necessary skills and abilities by giving them enough exposures. The local federal restructuring development strategies may offer youths' talents and capabilities too. OECD (2012) in the research study indicated that the family would like to send their youths in production sector rather than disadvantaged family to impart the employment for family welfare. The adjustment of skills and abilities of Terai youth is very necessary through the federal industrialization and autonomous Terai.

Bertola and Checchi (2013) in the discussion paper were opinioned that youths from better political and economical background attract high paying jobs and private houses could deliver better service as they had the well resources. The youths could exploit more resources and give impact on peers to privately funded production houses which result talents shape the distribution of investments. The investment policies did not equally distribute in all area of Terai. This resource distribution phase has depended on the political power and access rather than priority bases. The scientific restructuring helped equally distribute the resources to address the issues of Terai people.

The presenters viewed that in a same way community people may choose the organizations as per the financial status that they possessed. If they do not meet the standard of people, they may choose the less demanding ones as well. Local political related organizations differ from in terms of philosophy and methods. The organization has a great role to develop the Terai (Bertola & Checchi, 2013).

Generally, the government may be supposed to offer political and development reform activities and it may be the duty of federal government to guarantee the quality of life for the entire population. Whenever the government has sufficient funds, it may be possible to impart facilities to its people which means the service is entirely depends upon the size of the government fund. The government may face the problem of funds; it may see the alternate to mobilize the resources from other possible sectors. In this context, the participation of parties would be seen always for providing quality services. Khaniya asserts that the private sectors were invited as matching partner of the public sectors for enriching political and economic development and the leaders in locality happened in the society not in isolation. He further opines that the different taste of reform arises in the societies of people. The economic reform



activities are possible through optimum mobilization of resources in local and provincial level. All stakeholders of development sectors are equally responsible for the economic growth in Terai. The common agenda of politicians should be focused on economic development to address the issues of Terai movement (Khaniya, 2007, p. 45).

Lewis and Demyanchuk (2003) mention that, different forms of development institutions continuously move and fall into the practice of their own traditional methods of governance, resisting of changes and do not move into new innovative practices that addresses the issues and changing demand of people according to their political development and growth. This literature has been suggested the modern development plannings but does not describe the modern strategic development plans about minorities and ethnic group of Terai people through federal restructuring. The scientific development strategies are very essential to uplift the Terai people.

Darwin and Darwell (2005) further emphasized that the social institutions along with the political parties in democratic movements should always move along with the people's demand. When they try to resist the new demand of people and continuous economic progress, they support for the new movement against the ruling parties. The good governance priority in proportional development opportunities and reforms in state functions might be the major values of needs to be addressed at present. The innovative practices on politics and economic strategies are the main factors to address changing demands of the people. The movement of federal restructuring depended on new desires, interests and changing demands of people.

Contemporary studies were those studies which have the information close to the study that the researcher has carried out directly related with a highly described events. These contemporary informations are found in journal, research articles, magazines, newspaper articles and even in internet. The movement impact status of Nepal can be assessed under varied diversity. The inconsistency of political activities of hills, mountains and Terai are determining factors for hardship of life in communities of Nepalese society. The people living in hilly areas are engaging in animal husbandry, tourism and agriculture. Similarly, in plain region people involve in agriculture and industries. The fraction of rural and urban is also another factor that has demonstrated wider gap of rural poor and urban rich people. It is the context of

the country that in every kilometers there exist the diversity in language, customs, dresses, food styles and life systems. From East to West and from mountain to hills, Nepalese culture has been existed from historic time as a combination of full of ethnic, cultural and natural diversity.

The movement from different historic time has demanded for the recognition of identity, fair distribution of resources and inclusive participation in state restructuration of the local to central level governing bodies. The engagement of the people in different level of government has been demanded from the very beginning. Different movements like movement against Rana regime in 1950, movement for multiparty system in 1981, the restoration of democracy movement in 1990 and finally democratic movement in 2006 were remarkable movements demanded for the proportionate availability of the resources. The achievements of different movements have raised the aspiration of people's expectations and started demanding more from the leading parties and government. The political and economic transformation of the country could fulfill the demand. The scarcity of resources, exclusion policy and corruption has made feeling injustice to the Terai people.

The problems of social backwardness, religious false beliefs and bad image of party leaders have made the people to be against the agenda and national development in the country. The non-governmental organizations and social organizations are seemed to play the pivotal role for the agenda of political reform and economic development under the principles of rights-based development in the country. They have involved in advocacy for the specific issues of discrimination like gender, Dalits and poverty. People in the Terai suffer from the poverty and economic disparity. The society of Nepalese culture is multi-religious and multi-ethnic and hence more complicated in structuring and functioning.

Social scientists have demonstrated sufficient evidence on when, how and why individuals and groups participate in movement they follow in the sense of the rigorous assessment. The revolutionary political reform activities have produced reactions on social change and diversification to perceived or real exploitation so that the disorders would be based on the moral ground. Many conflict researchers have claimed in their research reports that if a government engages to include participatory inclusive democratic movement, there would be so many options to be considered for

alternative existence. When people are in favor of movement in political scenario, the party politics flourish and unconventional movement may lead to revolutionary changes to demand social justice including human rights (Berhe, 2004, p.122).

According to Bhattachan the collective movement has been a vital play maker in the world for reshaping the nations even in the third world countries including Nepal. He further stressed that the joint movement of parties having different ideologies may create revolutionary changes even counter fighting in the form of violent and armed revolutions which is the best described by Marxist theories as well. According to him, as mentioned by Charles Tilly, the collective movement has been a vital tool for motivating and preparing the people to change in future. The group's management revolts in the territory leading to unconventional warfare to overthrow feudal government of locality that has created discrimination in the village to suppressed people especially poor and Dalits. The war strategies were under guerrilla strategy hiding and pretending as normal citizen in the village and remote areas. They organize in a group and form the ammunition to fight with national army as tit for tat. The reshaping of the Terai is possible through the identity and federal restructuring (Bhattachan, 2003, p. 38).

After the first people's movement of 1990, parliamentary election was held in 1992. In this election the majority government was formed by Nepali Congress Party and other left oriented parties began to form a collective movement against the ruling party. The movement had created the favourable situation to unite as a front to create tense situation against the majority government to express the dissatisfaction with the government. The situation of the political scenario of the country has been felt into the prolonged instability due to unstable government. The royal massacre added more pressure to the government to rule from the country in 2001. The royal massacre also forced the prime minister to resign third time from the government as the situation was severely unstable.

The trend and nature of conflicts looking like in every interval of the ten years around, the political change movement has been intensely upraised to establish the recognition of the society based on identity, class based and need based social harmony. The justifiable distribution of resources was always the major issue in the conflict. The historical movement as Makai Parva of 1920, Prachanda Gorkha of 1932, the

movement led by Praja Parishad in 1940, the Anti Rana Movement led by Nepali Congress in 1950 and banning of multiparty system in 1961 was remarkable. The suppression of Jhapa movement in 1970, confrontation of people's movement in 1991, people's war of 1996 and onwards as well as second people's movement along with Terai people's movement were the major movements of Nepal.

The past historic scenarios of Nepalese rulers had misruled the country ignoring the needs and aspirations of the people. However, the restoration of democracy and party ruling did not overthrow the unitary system in 1991 and onwards and they in turn fell into massive state corruption and selfish practices of personal benefits. The poverty and decreasing the quality life of majority people were remain unchanged whether, movements had upraised after the NC armed struggle (Thapa and Sijapati, 2005).

The Anti Rana Movement was accelerated by the establishment of underground political organizations: Prachanda Gorkha in 1931 and Praja Parisad in 1935 by a small group of aware people in Kathmandu. The goal of these secret societies was to root out the Rana regime through clandestine terrorist activities and thereby establish a democratic political system (Hachhethu, 2008, p. 67).

Gorkha soldiers whose contact with the outside world proved beneficial to the country during WWI and WWII. They played a key role in the success of the Anti Rana revolution of 1950-51 (Hachhethu, 2007, p. 23). The founding leaders of the INC and CNC were motivated by the liberation of their own people from British colonial rule, while political parties emerged in Nepal as a logical development of the ongoing struggle for democracy against the indigenous Rana regime. He added that some Indian and Burmese civilian leaders have been supporting Nepalese political parties with arms and ammunition in an attempt to ignite an armed conflict in the country. Before the social and religious movements gained momentum and the secret organization intervened, as Praja Parisad (Upreti, 1992, p. 56).

The political excluded groups continuously raised their voice even after the restoration of democracy in 1991. This pressure creased to include some of the indigenous groups like Adibasi Janajati and Dalits to participate in cabinet as well as in administration and in judiciary after 1991 as compared to Panchayat system of 1962 to 1990 (Lawoti, 2007, p. 65).

The politics was maintained by the upper classes such as Brahmins and Chhetris. Over 70 percent of marginalized groups have been excluded from the political mainstream and denied the opportunity to be represented in the legislature and executive at local, national and other state levels. Big landowners and other ruling elites held positions of responsibility in the army, police, bureaucracy and judiciary. Big landowners and other ruling elites controlled the national economy, trade and commerce, 65 percent of agricultural land belonged to 10 percent landowners and wealthy farmers. The richest 10 percent of society was limited to 46 years. Sapkota did not describe the mechanism for bridging the gap between rich and poor and upper and lower class in the Terai. A scientific federal restructuring with an ideal integration policy could solve the gaping problems (Sapkota, 2010, p. 44).

Several questions have been raised as to why and how major political movements in Nepal have emerged within a decade? This is a serious question for all policy researchers and activists. Disputes over unilateral, centralized, feudal, monarchical state power, discriminatory laws were the cause of armed conflicts. Just as all the sensitive organs of the state machine, such as the bureaucracy, the army, the court, the police, were not inclusive, all these elements reacted to the feudal empire and its chosen supporters accomplices the armed conflict. The Terai people have lost opportunities to participate in decision-making and various important sectors of the country (Passang, 2012, p. 67).

In practice there were two types of government, de facto and de jure. NGOs/INGOs have ceased their activities and small police stations have been closed. According to a report by the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction (2014), 17,886 people died during the war, 1,530 were missing, 8,191 were injured, 79,571 people were displaced and 17,484 (in numbers) property was lost.

## **2.2 Empirical literature**

Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) had changed its strategy from defensive to offensive by making strategic balance in the meantime and halted the warfare for winning the support of the people and to make more offensive attack in urban areas. The strategy was Prachanda Path as a mixed model of People's Liberation Army fighting by mixing Chinese model of guerrilla warfare of country side and Russian model of armed insurrection in the urban areas were targeted against the feudal

kingship within and outside of the country. In some cases in Terai the underground parties used the Madhesi by emotionally blackmailing (Kathmandu Post, 2001).

Different scenario of armed conflict from national and international perspective were reviewed that all the national and international situation, some lesson learned from international experience of armed struggles; for example, Sri Lanka's- LTTE, which armed group was suppressed by military and peace process was resolved by military means. The armed civil war could be long lasting if the war was attached with some fixed territory. The CPN Maoist had undergone different problems both internal and external to expand the movement throughout the country. The comprehensive peace deal of twelve-point agreement of Seven Party Alliance and CPN Maoist in 2005 was a historic departure which was organized by Indian mediation. The subsequent joint movement of both the groups was the pivotal center for the new revolutionary movement that changed Nepal into a secular and federal democratic nation. The decade long armed struggle and the peaceful movement formally ended after the comprehensive peace agreement in 2006 that led Maoists and its militant cadres (PLA) in the ground reality of national political mainstreaming. The comprehensive peace agreement had promised to end the conflict and made announcement to bring the political, economic and social transformation in the country (Bhatta, 2012, p. 51).

The multi-party system of Nepal established by 1991 movement was further replaced by joint movement of Maoists and ruling parties like Nepali Congress, CPN (UML) and other coalition parties under peace agreement. The facilitation of UN and other countries including India, China and European Union played pivotal role to settle political issues and for the peaceful transformation of political system in Nepal.

However, the issues of dignity, socio-cultural identity and poverty reduction as well as proportional distribution of state opportunities and resources are yet to be settled. The issues of minorities, Madhesi, Dalits, and other suppressed castes and their assurance in state representations have yet to be settled. Although the constitution has been released through Constitution Assembly, it has been very crucial to implement the provision of Constitution into implementation. Different fundamental rights, state obligations of different sectoral commissions have been provisioned to establish for managing sectoral issues and protection of minorities and to wipe out discriminations.

The debate has been raised breaching agreements to implement in new Constitution as Constitution of Nepal. Indigenous People's Liberation Movement came in surface. However, comprehensive studies have not yet to be conducted why do people participate and raise voice against ruling parties even if their demands are fulfilled. The research scholars have not yet focused on the root causes of the people's movement whether armed conflict or peaceful movement backed and fueled by socio-economic deprivation, socio-cultural discrimination and discrimination by government entities. The people of Terai are feeling discriminations in most of the fields.

The major sources of conflict have been raised due to the fraction in different interests and positions of people while exercising power in governance as well as access the distribution and redistribution of resources, inclusion and exclusion in state structure. The conflict of two or more people even in two or more communities has been in existence due to needs, wants and values that are different in each. People demonstrate the conflict in feelings of anger, hurt in their dignity, frustration in life, anxiety or fear as mentioned by Lawoti. The scarcity of resources is the main issue of Terai movement. The mechanism development and quality government services with proper distribution of resources should be ensured throughout the federal restructuring in Terai (Lawoti, 2005b, p. 23).

It has been a guide to learn and recognize the diversities of nation, the fire of the community differences, the mistakes occurred in the history and it demands the time and cost for the regulation in present situation. It creates the situation of chaos in the society and settles after the careful management processes. Each and every people are the part of conflict more or less in demand and self-awareness may help to solve the situation. The source of conflict has been also volatized by the contradictory goals set by different political parties. The centrally controlled government should be scientific and innovative holding together policy is effective to address the issues of movement in Terai. The exclusive activities and discriminatory policies taken up by the government have fueled the conflict in Terai (Khanal, 2004, p. 213).

The Maoist insurgency of past ten years and Terai movement has raised the identity and assure of development of the nation. The war and development are two factors to check each other that may cause vicious circles of poverty. The failing in developing

and providing justice to the people may lead to conflict and finally the war among them. So that the economy fails and risk of war increases and becomes violent. The conflict indicates the reaction of one activity to others. It has seemed to suppress the activities of one community by other and raised the opposing behaviour and fraction among the group of people. The conflict in different part of the country has raised the competition in profession, practice of culture and even the chance of survival. It has also searched the reward for one and punishment to others. Terai people raised their voices through movement for federal restructuring. The movement depended on awareness of rights and responsibility of Terai people. The strongly implementation of development policy made sustainable peace through federal restructuring in Terai (Muni, 2007, p. 43).

The cause of armed conflict is also depending on the governance system whether unitary or federal. The autocratic government may lead to violent conflict rather than democratic government. The other factors of conflict in the society or in community may include discrimination in economic distribution, corruption in political authorities and failure of good governance. There may advise the disturbance in equality, grievances and disparity may increase due to collapse in government entities that lead to personalization of power, autocracy in leadership as well as limitation in ethnic and religious minorities. These incidents lead the country into conflict which has been seen in Terai (Lawoti, 2005c, p. 234).

The society itself demands the internal or external or both types of violence regarding the intensity of conflict. The characteristics of a society is determined by its political, economic and cultural composition and the variation in these activities may lead to discriminations, manipulation of resources, injustice and lead to internal conflict (Yadav, 2003, p. 56).

The conflict is visible in wide spread areas of civil unrest including the confrontation between government and rebels, opposition groups and leaders trying to grab their supremacy. The historic evidences have proved that the conflict was focused on the holding of natural resources and utilization of resources. The conflicts were never ending and elongated to decades long from generation to generation with existence for survival. The war was led by political groups and governance system as they get authority for manipulation of resources. Some of the conflicts in the past were due to



social justice and rights to identity in their territory. Other debates were related to political borders, two or more countries using same resources, foreign attack on the territory, religious intolerance, disparity and dominance of one group to other. They all led to large or small war and conflict in the past. The causes of the similar reasons existing in different countries including Nepal have determined the intensity of conflict. Nepal is not in exception that happened based on the structural and social discourse theories in particular. Ten years armed conflict in the country and Terai movement were due to long transition of the governance system, failure in good governance, injustice in economic development and not being able to get basic human rights and widening of gaps between rich and poor. The time has come to safe land the conflict to resolve with a long-lasting solution and logical end. The continuation of armed conflict may affect on economic, cultural and political development and people's access over the resources. There are hardly few studies have been conducted related to conflict in Terai from the historic time and its consequences at present (Yonjan, 2004, p. 18).

The term federal system has been coined under political and philosophical background under which different tiers of governments are assigned with powers and leadership structure. The sharing and autonomy of powers are exercised within the jurisdiction of each layer of governments. The major motto of the federalism has been considered as the government to the door steps of people. There seem the different practices of the federal system however; there is common practice of central government ruling the whole territory of the country. The power has been divided to central government as well as the provincial or local governments in the country. Mostly there are countries having two layers of governments in federal system of governance. The central government is for the entire country for common national interest and the other provincial or local government is for the particular geographical region. The peripheral state or local governments mainly focus on day to day problems. Both the governments enjoy under their jurisdictions independently (Rapu, 2006, p. 132).

The devolution of power has fully exercised in federal system in which the responsibilities are segregated to different governments including the expenditure and revenue collection. They have their own priority of using resources and independence

in decision making. The institution of the government and practice of power devolution are visibly seen in federalism (Weil, 2008, p. 34).

All the governments need to agree at some point to share power of the government and they need to trust each other due to resource inter dependence. There would be competition among the governments so that people may get more resources and facilities with quality services. Mostly, there is concern of division of public sector functions and distribution of fund with financing autonomy and sharing resources. Nepalese practice was unique as the country practiced unitary form of government before and constitutionally restructured to implement the federalism. The need of practice of fiscal federalism should be studied and reviewed in Nepal. It has to be reviewed timely to discuss about the resources and revenues to share in various levels of governments (Ozo-Eson, 2005, p. 211).

In addition to the fiscal relationship between the federal government and the states, fiscal federalism also includes financial aspects. It consists of two interconnected areas. The first concerns the distribution of responsibilities in the decision-making process on public spending and revenue between the different levels of government (national, regional and local). The second is the degree of autonomy that regional and local governments have in determining their local tax base and spending. The concept of tax federalism should not be confused with that of tax decentralization. Tax federalism is a set of guiding principles, a guiding concept that helps to shape tax relationships between national and sub-national governments. Fiscal decentralization, on the other hand, is the process of applying these rules. The economic revolution is the most important way to solve the people's problems in the Terai. Therefore, scientific fiscal decentralization is very important to solve the Terai problems (Kesner-Skreb, 2009, p. 236).

Salami has identified two types of federalism, namely dualistic federalism and cooperative federalism. In dual federalism, the constitution created two separate and independent levels of government, each with clearly defined responsibilities. In such a system, a degree of tension and competition is inevitable. Cooperative federalism simply refers to a federalism that works through cooperation between different levels of government. It highlights the partnership between different levels of government that provides effective public services to the nation. The distribution of the benefits of

the executive bodies is running very smoothly after scientific restructuring (Salami, 2011, p. 36).

In the modern world, federalism is gaining importance as a political idea to peacefully reconcile unity and diversity within the political system. The reasons for this lie in the changing nature of the world, which leads to simultaneous pressures on large and small countries. Modern developments in transport, social communication, technology, industrial organization, knowledge-based globalization and thus learning societies have all contributed to this trend. Thus, two strong, interdependent but distinct and often opposing motivations have emerged: the desire to build modern, dynamic and efficient nation-states, even supranational, and the search for separate identities. The former is generated by goals and values shared by most Western and non-Western societies today: a desire for progress, higher living standards, social justice, influence on the world stage, participation in the global economic network, and a growing awareness of global interdependence in an age that allows for both mass destruction and mass construction.

The latter emerges from a desire for smaller, directly accountable and autonomous political entities that are more sensitive to individual citizens, and from a desire to express ties to indigenous groups, language skills, cultural ties, religious affiliations, traditions, history, and social relationships. Practices that form the characteristic basis of a community's sense of identity and desire for self-determination. Faced with this double pressure in the world, on the one hand, larger political entities capable of supporting economic development and increased security, and on the other hand, smaller political entities, more sensitive to their constituents and capable of expressing local specificities. Federal solutions are becoming increasingly popular around the world. Federalism provides a technique of constitutional organization that allows a joint government to act for a common purpose within a larger political entity, coupled with the autonomous actions of smaller constituent government units that are directly and democratically accountable to their constituents. Federal political systems are institutionally closer to the complex, multicultural, and multidimensional economic, social, and political reality of the modern world (Khanal, 2004, p. 35)

A key factor was the recognition that an increasingly globalized economy had unleashed centrifugal economic and political forces that had weakened the traditional

nation-state and increased supranational and local pressures. As a result, governments have been increasingly challenged by their societies' desire to be both global consumers and empowered local citizens. The transition from an industrial, knowledge-based and learning society has also contributed to this development.

Therefore, the development of knowledge and its application have become the basis of society. This trend has two important policy implications. First, it has become the fundamental task of the political system to facilitate the process of knowledge development in society. Second, given the autonomy and interdependence in the creation and dissemination of different specialized forms of knowledge, there is a growing need for forms of political organization that allow both the targeted development of knowledge and its general integration into a broader social network. As knowledge changes, innovates, expands and becomes more complex, policy frameworks need to be flexible and able to evolve through learning from experience. The demand for a flexible and evolving balance between independence and interdependence has largely contributed to the need for ever-changing federal forms of political organization, a trend that is increasing rather than decreasing (Courchene, 2001, p. 37).

These developments have contributed to current interest in federalism, not as an ideology but in terms of the practical issues of how the division and distribution of political power can be organized to meet the common needs of people, taking into account the diversity of their situations and preferences. Furthermore, in the context of an increasingly knowledge-based world, there is much to learn from the different ways in which other federal systems have attempted to combine independence and interdependence to meet similar challenges and adapt to ever-changing global conditions. As a result, 28 countries in the world are federal in nature and also claim to be federal or have federal characteristics. In fact, today around 40 percent of the world's population lives in so-called federations, many of which are multicultural and even multinational. In the last decade in particular, international interest in federalism has regained strength. Politicians, prominent intellectuals, and even some journalists are increasingly speaking of federalism as a healthy, liberating, and positive form of political organization. In addition, Belgium, Spain, South Africa, Ethiopia, Italy and the United Kingdom appear to be moving towards new innovative federal forms.

Many other countries are considering the effectiveness of including at least some federal elements, but not necessarily all elements of a full federation. Furthermore, the European Union (EU), with the addition of new member states is in the process of evolving its own unique hybrid of confederal and federal institutions.

Out of 193 UN member countries, twenty-eight have been found to exercise the federal system of governance in the world. Nepal is the latest one to practice federalism. The governments in the countries like Iraq, Italy, Philippines and Sudan are transforming towards the federalism. The countries like UK, Japan and France with other two dozen countries have structured themselves in the form of federal territories. The federal system has been emerged in the world as one of the most popular system of governance in 21<sup>st</sup> century. The federal system, however, the federal structures develop their own practices and varies from unit to unit. There may be conflict in sharing resources and generating revenues. Each country has its own history, different levels of resources, different geographical locations and socio-cultural backgrounds. There is variation in life styles of people, economic level and political structures. The fine practice of federalism is not achieved in one day. There are various issues to be addressed while practicing federalism. Dialogues and conflict management system need to be strengthened in course of federalism. More works to be performed for the comprehensive consensus and there is need of co-ordination and understanding among the different governments to continue and refine the practice of government and development. The study has been examined the different aspects of the federalism and restructure of the state while implementing the new constitution and federalism in Nepal (Watts, 2008, p. 67).

According to the article Nepal's Fiscal Federalism Model: Case Study Shows the Country's Political, Fiscal and Social Restructuring, it was assumed that the political restructuring should divide the country into operational entities, appoint them and distribute political power among different levels of government. This also includes the restructuring of the electoral system, not only of the common institutions such as federal, heads of government and state houses, but also of the legislature and executive of the other levels of government. The restructuring of the electoral system is important to ensure identity, representation and access for different groups. In a country as diverse as Nepal, a simple mixed voting system is not enough. The

electoral system needs to be restructured in more innovative and imaginative ways to ensure identity, representation and access to the state structure for all sectors of society. Provinces must have the fiscal capacity to fulfill their constitutional obligations and maintain their autonomy. A key goal of state restructuring is to address the inequalities created by discrimination based on caste/ethnicity, class and region (Shah, 2016, p. 21).

However, the inequalities created by caste/ethnicity discrimination cannot be remedied simply by recognizing the identity of the various caste/ethnic groups and making it the sole basis for federalisation. Identity can empower communities and give them political autonomy. But without financial resources and opportunities, identity doesn't eliminate difference. Therefore, fiscal restructuring is essential to the success of the federal system of government. The main resource of Nepal is natural resources. Some of these resources, such as forests, natural grasses, rivers, and fertile soils, are easy to mine, while minerals are more difficult to extract. Nepal's natural resources are unevenly distributed across the country. People's lives and livelihoods are directly linked to natural resources that are inaccessible to them. The policy and the role of the state are very important to increase the benefits of natural resources for people. The state must ensure that the people who live near natural resources get the maximum benefit from them. But at the same time, the preservation and protection of these resources is very important. The state must also ensure that the benefits of these resources access those who are far from it. One of the weaknesses of Nepal's centralized and unified system is its inability to do this. Therefore, maximizing the use of natural resources and distributing them evenly across the country is one of the main goals of state restructuring in Nepal.

Political restructuring was the most important aspect of the reorganization of the Terai. The process of restructuring the Terai is not complete until each dimension of state restructuring reflects society in all its diversity. When a country's diversity is adequately reflected in the state structure and people can live with equality and dignity, then the dividends of state restructuring can be said to have reached their main beneficiaries. One of the main weaknesses of the centralized and unified structure is its exclusive character. In the central state of Nepal, the state structure was monopolized only by the elites of a few groups. One of the main elements of state

restructuring is therefore social integration. Social inclusion can bring the benefits of state restructuring deep down to the grassroots level. The livelihood of Terai people are heavily dependents on its southern neighbour country India. The country is the primary source of import and export and through only access to a sea route. India is a major donor country of Nepal. Nepal's proximity with India is not limited to geography and economy. But the populations of the two countries, particularly those in the Terai Belt, share religious and cultural traditions (Article 138 (1) of the 2007 Interim Constitution).

Nepal is in the sphere of influence and involvement in Nepalese domestic politics, guided by their own national interests, often complicates the situation. India has always thought that the growing number of Maoists in Nepal means more Chinese influence. This is due to the ultra-nationalist and anti-Indian sentiment of Maoist leaders and cadres. India is concerned about a strong Maoist role in Nepalese politics as it would impact provinces already paralyzed by the Maoist movement. India certainly wants stability abroad for its own security and stability. The sudden visits of several senior Terai political leaders in March 2011 to consult Indian leaders in Delhi during the heated political debate on federalism in Kathmandu can probably be seen as an Indian influence on Nepalese politics (Shrestha, 2018, p. 16).

The current security vacuum caused by the unstable political environment and Indian interest in Nepal because: The lack of a national centre has created a security vacuum. Given this situation, it appears that India will continue to cultivate pro-Indian leadership in major parties that support the Terai people and collaborate with armed non-state actors lurking in India. Political analysts see this as an attempt to shift Nepal's political center from the hills to the Terai-Madhes. Because China is a rising world power and has a problem with the Chinese Autonomous State bordering Tibet and Nepal, it has key interests in Nepal. China is expanding its influence in the SAARC region, having obtained SAARC observer status since 2005 (Dahal, 2018, p. 11).

In 2011, China announced that it would seek strong economic and political ties with South Asia. In the recent past, China has worked very well with some South Asian countries, perhaps for economic reasons, but it could strategically encircle India. Some people see India's geopolitical problem in this Chinese approach. President

Mohan Baidya of the CPN-Maoist, a new splinter faction of the UCPN (Maoist), revealed on July 26, 2012 that China was seriously concerned about growing international influence on federalism. China has sent a strong signal that such illegal activities under the guise of federalism will not be tolerated. According to him, Chinese leaders doubted that federalism could threaten the unity and integrity of Nepal. At the same time, China has repeated its policy of non-interference in Nepal's internal affairs in the media. China has supported strong alliances between communist parties and political stability in Nepal. China also has serious security problems due to the frequent activities of the Free Tibetan Movement of the Tibetan communities in Nepal with the support of several political leaders from different parties and NGOs and human rights organizations. In the recent past, China has increased its involvement in Nepal (Dahal, 2018, p. 23).

It had not only increased investment in infrastructure development and high-level political visits, but also expressed his willingness to strengthen the capacity of security organizations such as the Nepal Army, the Nepal Police and the Armed Police Force. China's main interest in Nepal, with all these endorsements, appears to be counteracting the growing interest of India, the EU and the US in the Tibet issue. While federalism is a matter of state restructuring and domestic political debate, given Nepal's geopolitical scenario, it will be very difficult to completely undermine neighbours' interest and views on the issue. EU help and support for development and transformation is very important. It is one of the most important donors in Nepal. The role of EU, however, has often been criticized for instigating roles to ethnic and regional groups. Its involvement in Nepal is mostly through donor agencies and INGOs implementing numbers of projects with the promotion of constitutional democracy, social justice, human rights, peace and several development projects mainly in remote places. US foreign policy in Nepal basically is guided by democracy, human rights and other international norms, and it differs from policy practiced by India and China. The US, however, continuously advised Nepal about constructive engagements with both its giant neighbours. The US policy of continuing engagement and assistance for institutional development is being supportive in the democratic transition in Nepal. US interest in Nepal has increased dramatically after the peak of the Maoist insurgency and they are constantly monitoring the ongoing



political debates, mainly the logical conclusion of the peace process and the democratization of the country (Adhikari, 2017, p. 30).

More than 1000 kilometers open border with India, Nepal has a close relation of people to people and government to government. The complex relationship is existing mainly in Terai. The relation has been so close due to historic events and social cultural harmony among people. The India and Nepal cooperation treaty of 1950 has established the relationship into new height (Khanal, 2004, p. 89).

The major revolutionary parties including the communist led major groups have raised the disagreement over the unequal treaty of 1950 and demanded for the revision in equal foots. Among the articles of the treaties, article five has limited the sovereignty of Nepal to import weapons, arms and ammunitions that needs to be compulsory consultation with India (Lawoti, 2005a, p. 87).

The misuse of border openness and violent insurgency by different groups with exchange of illegal activities, there has been unnecessary influence in Terai. These territories have been safe places to exploit the people and resources to disturb the central government in the country (Dahiya & Behuria, 2012, p. 38).

There is widespread concern that most unarmed and armed groups have fled to India and are being supported by Indians. People ask a lot of questions and claim double standards but it is obvious that all political parties like NC, UML and other communist factions in the history of Nepal. When the Maoists launched a people's war against many of India's critics in their 40-point nationality claims, they again chose India as a haven for their leadership (Nayak, 2010, p. 204).

Also signed in New Delhi the 12-Point India Witness Agreement between the Seven Party Alliances (SPA) and the Maoists (SPAM) to overthrow the royal authoritarian regime in late 2005. Similarly, India also provides shelter and shelter to many armed groups, sometimes by the populace and sometimes at the government level. Also, they like them because they belong to similar socio-cultural patterns and behaviours (Rapu, 2006, p. 45).

It has been observed that all political roads in Nepal end in Delhi. However, the politicians are forcing the bosses to blame the Indian government and politics on the people for hiding the fact of their closeness to India. What is certain is that sometimes

they take refuge in the government level and sometimes in the regional governments and society in general. Before the Delhi Accords, Maoists fled to India in cooperation with national and regional authorities. Raghunath Thakur of the Madhesi Janakrantikari Dal travelled to India in the 1960s to seek support and popularization of their Terai movement from the Indian government (Shrestha, 2003, p. 39).

During the Terai movement, Indian political and social groups opened border shelters for displaced people. It turned out that wounded fighters were also treated there. MPs and members of legislative assemblies took part in protest rallies against the suppression of the movement. Indians have supported the Terai movement with money and muscle (Salami, 2011, p. 46).

The Nepalese model and the South Asian models of democracies were influenced by the democracies of western countries. They have ignored their own models preserving indigenous people's rights of democratic values and norms. They have not been successful and it has been challenged to sustain democracy at present. The dependability is the main region of international influence. So, the Terai should be economically independent to resist the international influence (Yadav, 2003, p. 376).

People in the society are divided on believing the different models of democracies and as a result the diversities in practice have been always challenged. The legacy of the past and present demand has always demanded for the continuous improvement in western model of democracy and thus creating the new avenues in 21<sup>st</sup> century. The liberal democracy and its globalization have demanded the more violent change and conflict among the state parties to overcome the rulers one after another. So, the sustainable political stability and economical development to address the issues of Terai (Yonjan, 2004, p. 165).

The WTO and it's strengthening of financial and diplomatic alliances, trade wars, civil conflicts and polarizations have been more increasing among like minded rulers of global arena and regional groupism. It has included SAARC, BIMSTEC and other unions in case of Nepal. As a result, none of the countries are out of the growing trends of ethnic conflicts, global trade disputes and diplomatic exposures including the violent civil wars. The trade liberalization, polarization under different roofs, and open market systems dominated poor countries like Nepal and the political parties are

affected to receive power for ruling. It has increased the disparities, gap in rich and poor as well as increase in poverty (Gurung, 2004, p. 48).

Different groups of people have violent and peaceful protests against the central government in Nepal following strikes, political activities, moving towards radical form to abide the government rules and regulations. The radicalization is another problem in Terai. The political system was changed but the standard of Terai people never change (Bhattachan, 2003, p. 112).

More than half of the total people are found age under twenty and they are demanding new leaders with change in the society and they are not following old leaders in Terai. The politics of Terai is limited by the old traditional leaders with outdated visions. The traditional leaders hardly accept the new changes. New generations want new, energetic and visionary politicians. The leadership management is one of the problems in Terai (Baral, 2004, p. 54).

The Terai youths are attracted towards the rebel groups that produce insurgency in Terai and fight against independence. They have been killed and wounded while demanding more rights including independent state. Border blockade has been a vital influence in people to people dispute between two countries and it has created a set back to the close relation of India and Nepal (Acharya & Khanal, 2002, p. 34).

The common people in Terai think that the central government is always against the rights of Terai people and they always demand for their equal opportunity in army and bureaucracy structure of the government. Terai youths are thus attracted toward armed conflicts to get their rights from the central government. They also feel that their voice is supported by Indian government. The centralization of government power is the reason of conflict in Terai. So, the functional decentralization policy and inclusion policy are fruitful to respond the issues of Terai movement for federal restructuring (Gurung, 2004, p. 123).

The violent activities repeatedly occurring may increase confrontation and it may be wide spread in the community and they may try to involve in armed conflict. The belief in first constitutional assembly has been failed and re-election has not assured the favourable situation. Major parties seem not willing to solve the problems and conflicting issues of the constitutional assembly to release constitution. However, the

constitution was released after prolonged confrontation with Terai based parties. Terai people still feeling the discriminations and insufficient provisions to them in the constitution as they demanded all Terai as one province. They have less confrontation towards the Pahadi people living in Terai for years and would not like to displace them (Khanal, 2004, p. 56).

The armed conflict has been considered as the last alternative of the conflict demonstration and armed confrontation for do or die when all the alternatives of nonviolent and peaceful demonstration does not address the demand of the group or the people who feel suppressed and discriminated. Most of the Terai People considers that there are many armed groups who are involved in political groups and some are still involved in criminal activities. The groups have not been in effective action after the release of constitution and successful election of federal and provincial assembly. These groups have considered the success of Maoist group and took lesson for the fulfillment of their interests in Terai. After constant contact with the government teams, most of the armed groups of Terai surrendered their arms and committed to work for peaceful movement and promotion of the present democracy under the constitution of 2015. The radicalization has not been flourished after the release of the constitution and most of the leaders have taken the election of province granted for the opportunity of self-governance and empower the Terai people (Lawoti, 2005b, p. 45).

The major agenda of the Terai movement has begun from the point of view of identity and exclusion in state structure and resources. The people in Terai mainly Madhesi community still feel excluded in army and major powers of the central government. There were a series of movement in Terai and it was increased with the demand of inclusion, demanding their own autonomous Terai, recognizing Hindi as national language and involvement of Terai people in civil service and army (Acharya & Khanal, 2002, p. 39).

The national parties' loss their confidence as they lost constitutional assembly seats from Terai even in first and second round of constitutional assembly elections. The Maoist insurgency pivoted and catalysed the Terai movement and they became encouraged through the lesson from the Maoist movement from 2000. The ethnic movement of the Terai people was over shadowed due to agenda put forward by

Maoist movement and they became encouraged to get the demand of autonomous self-ruling province of their own. The issue was diverted and they demanded for self-ruling however the people of Terai are still out of inclusion and elite captured the seats of Terai and still ruling to the poors. The Terai activism encouraged for the growth of Terai nationalism and separation in the communities to demand their separate geographical territories. In the historic time, the leadership in Terai was dominated by elite caste within Terai community including Madhesi Brahmin, Kayastha, Rajput and others. They constitute only three percents of the total population of Terai (Baral, 2004, p. 143).

Assessing nationalism and politicization in Nepal, Upreti, in a study on Nationalism and Militarization in Nepal, argues that ethnic accumulation of politics has become dominant since Nepal's political transition in 1990. The control of political and social processes by some groups, such as close allies and supporters of centers of power, including the royal palace and political parties, regardless of caste and ethnicity in the social and political spheres, has greatly fostered a sense of injustice and an attitude of revenge among the exploited people (Upreti, 2014, p. 56).

Hachhethu describes the major influence of democracy, despite of situation and relevance of constitutional monarchism in the past or during the political transition of present condition following constitutional assembly as remarkable position. He further pointed out that the second great people's political movement has contributed to grow the social capital formation through capacity building, education and welfare activities. This has been resulted the sustainability of the federal democratic practices following the election and power exercises of the people in ballot. The way forward is to build the environment and situation that streamline the popularity and practice of inclusive democratic governance in local and national levels under the state institutions making them accountable to fulfill the people's needs and aspirations. Political atmosphere and activities may play the important role for the achievement of political and economic reform and vice versa. In this regards, people say that there has been long term impact of politics on economic reform (Hachhethu, 2008, p. 78).

Lamsal has argued that Nepalese governance system as modern system can be analyzed from various perspectives. He has analyzed from the perspective of political change, implementation of plans and programs as according to people's perception.

He has further categorized the time of political changes as before the introduction of democracy, after the introduction of democracy till the end of the democracy, era of Panchayat System, after the restoration of democracy to second movement of democracy, after the declaration of democratic republic of Nepal. There were various commissions and working committees formed for the development of the country. As he states that there were various periodic plans adopted in Nepal, each and every plan had focused economic development including first five-year plan to 10th five-year plan, 3rd year interim plan 2007- 2010 and three-year plan 2010- 2013 respectively (Lamsal, 2020, p. 63).

From the implementation of the plans and programs Lamsal has described that plans and programs were formulated and brought into implementation such as development project for rural development, community support project (CSP), and skilled development projects. He has not fully analyzed the growth, promotion or declination of the economic status of the people with the change in political system and policies brought by the government time and again. The researchers' focus is to explore the status of economic development with the change in political system and the policies (Lamsal, 2010, p. 22).

Pokhrel, in his book entitled, 'Social Transformational Issue' asserts that people had such perception that reform projects was an opportunity for limited people before the introduction of democracy to Nepal. He further asserts that after the introduction of democracy to Nepal, there were huge aspiration and wishes raised from people for economic growth. He again opines that later on there have been some perceptions appeared like development for all, reform as fundamental right of people, and community participation came out. This perception may have come up due to the political changes (Pokhrel, 2012, p. 34).

The aim of the article is to analyze the ongoing violent conflict between the Terai group and the state of Nepal after the promulgation of the new Nepalese constitution in 2015. This conflict involves many actors and a long period of time. It also features a long sense of historical pretension and the greed of the actors. This conflict was significantly influenced by the geopolitical situation of Nepal, a buffer state between two powerful states like China and India. By incorporating intangible issues such as identity, sovereignty, values, or beliefs into the conflict dynamics, this conflict may

have resulted in polarized perceptions of hostility and enmity, often associated with aggression that is violent and destructive in its manifestations. Due to the existence of many actors with many interests and positions inspired by abstract motives and goals, this conflict can be characterized as a chronic conflict (Bercovitch, 2008, p. 118).

As a starting point, this article uses the sustainable conflict analysis framework advocated by Christopher Mitchell, particularly for its recognition of the diversity of conflicts across physical or cultural boundaries. Persistent conflicts create new causes that prolong their lives. Therefore, an innovative analytical approach is needed not only to capture conflict dynamics in different contexts, but also to offer more “effective” approach to conflict resolution. Therefore, after an in-depth analysis, we will try to identify the evolving model and the possible risks arising from the conflict for the interested parties. The seriousness of the threat must be addressed by taking appropriate political action that can resolve the conflict and facilitate peace-building. Therefore, the conflict analysis is not the final product. This is the starting point of the conflict resolution and peace building process. The following paragraphs embark on a peace-building path, preserving the specificity and objectivity of the conflict between the Terai group and the state in Nepal (Mitchell, 2014, p. 86).

Protracted conflict like the Terai movement in Nepal needs a dynamic approach to resolve. It evolves with time involving multiple actors, motives and causes. Therefore, a prescriptive approach to conflict resolution does not capture this type of complex conflict. Understanding the rationalities of the conflict from the actor’s point of view enables professionals to predict conflict dynamics. It helps to formulate an effective intervention policy to solve conflicts from within. Therefore, an intervention aimed at building a conflict-resistant community through institution building and social justice can make a positive difference. Therefore, enabling professional peacemakers to engage creatively in a conflict zone to perform peacekeeping functions helps to create the conditions for conflict resolution or transformation. However, these types of conflicts inherit historical memories, stereotypes, taboos, and many other ritual and cultural components. Therefore, a culture-sensitive peace-building tool is essential to resolve such a long-running conflict in Nepal. The conflict in the Terai is a unique conflict, like any other conflict. It has its own unique pull and push factors. Understanding and analysing the context helps to make an informed decision about

the nature of the conflict components and their dynamics, and to intervene effectively. Therefore, analysing a long-running conflict, such as that of the Terai, out of the context we have attempted to explain in the previous sections, can be the starting point for its mitigation, mediation, resolution, and effective elaboration. Policy review is a very important step in generating ideas and a conceptual framework for research. Providing the knowledge and concepts needed to systematically solve problems from accurate perspectives.

Nepal has experienced various economic practices even within a short span of time. The legacy of Nepalese political system has been passed on from the political practice of popular movements, business houses and landlords before the modern politics came into practice. In the *Journal of Himalayans Research Bulletin*, Sharma opined that modern political system may be the product of traditional system where land lords, business houses and royal leaders were considered as spiritual directors and community people used to learn in well discipline in which elites and government used to donate funds to look after the property management. Sharma opines that the political parties were in common that contained domestic cadres, and workplaces where youths, religious people and hermits lived. It has been said that those buildings used to include places for community empowerment which might be social and economic development centres. He further holds the opinion that such buildings are different in size as small dwelling for only one to vast complex for hundreds or thousands of youths and adults which contain numbers of libraries, infirmaries, resting places and tea shops (Sharma, 2009, p. 35).

Chen in his independent study project asserts that Nepalese government had nationalized the central as well as local government. Thereafter the political system came under the control of the government in Nepal. Due to huge aspiration of people for socio-economic development, government alone could not manage the economic and political uplifting for people and the political movement was also being deteriorated due to politicization. It is again said that the government plan could not sustain due to financial problem so that the circumstances forced to take part in political movement giving the way to local leaders to be established. Somehow some people may behind the services available and left behind people will look for ways to fetch their desire for economic reform which is taken as excess that demand for higher



development. The development sectors may have suitable environment for economic and political development due to differentiate tastes and excess demand. For this condition, government may not have sufficient fund (Chen 2012, p. 23).

Khaniya, in his book “The New Horizen” again holds the opinion that the local communities came with parties and have emerged in Nepal is not for access only. Most of the parties are established in urban area rather than rural area. If it were established as demand for access it could be done by the public because there are number of parties in places where there are no needs of politics. But most of the youths of the locality are from the places where there are number of local organizations. In this connection, local parties may have emerged due to differentiate tastes of development (Khaniya, 2007a, p. 78).

The present study has been driven by the philosophy that reform needs to be qualitative to cultivate youths with knowledge for their multiple developments. In this context, development management, youths, founders and all stakeholders of the political parties may play the greater role in socio-economic development. Private sector’s involvement in development may not be denied in this context of Nepal. This view has been further supported by the Arcaro who has coined five key components of the local development. These components contain customer focus, total involvement, measurement, and standardization of the actions, commitment and continuous improvement (Arcaro, 1997 p. 19).

The real meaning of this philosophy is that the local administrators may be prepared to take the respective quality actions in line with each of these components to transform an ordinary community for quality management. This concept would be experienced in the present context. Glasser in the book named socio-economic development asserts that the commencing of the traditional operation with the total quality management process within the operational systems in the long run is the gracious work for the organizational prosperity. The author further asserts that every organization must put focus on its operations keeping in view the betterment of its operational system the customer and society as a whole. The author puts emphasis that the quality has been expected in which an institution can compete in a never-ending basis because the task of maintenance of quality status is an endless one. On the whole, quality has no ending destiny or the point of accomplishment which is

equally applicable in all sectors that include business as well as non-businessman. As the quality of the services to the people has increased these days, the political parties and administrators have been facing their most of the time to execute plan and maintain the quality status for the sustainable management and administrative ruling in the contesting world (Glasser, 1990, p. 95).

This consideration might be applicable in the context of local political institutions if there is the support of national development system. For this, in the book named an International Hand Book asserts that every quality agenda includes four essential elements like commitment to change, clear understanding of position of the organization, clear vision for future in which every member is ready to pay money for it and an effective plan for quality implementation. Many researchers have derived the conclusion that leadership in socio-economic development may play the vital role to disseminate the political movement. Leaders may demonstrate the commitment to change the entire gamut of management. Many people feel panic because there is no significant change in the organization at any level (Bennis, 2007, p. 5).

Leaders in the management may demonstrate the favourable leadership approach supplemented by the vision for the implementation of political inclusion that may play the pivotal role in the movement management and fulfill their demands. Therefore, political leaders may deliver the service gradually and convincingly with honest commitment. They may bring creative changes in the operational systems of the society. People may raise the voice against the political leaders if they do not deliver the services well. Quality service is an important prerequisite to achieve settlement of new political movements. The first action is to know the problem of institution so that there may have been appraisal of quality assessment. It is essential to identify the problem before the quality program is started. The outcome may not be revealed at expected level if it is failed to recognize the problem. Regarding this, it has been said that problem has to be sorted out and addressed timely and willingly not to be in the crisis (Bush, 2007, p. 89).

As the second action the author has laid emphasis on the economic and political development of a vision. The author has claimed that vision is an inspiration that guides the whole development team on its quality journey. The vision will help the people remain unchanged in the time of complication. The author has highlighted on

political leadership assurances as the third requisite which keeps them focused and committed for the attainment of traditional goals mirrored by its vision. In the end, local organizations' quality implementation plan may provide the team with the distinct guidelines which govern the quality implementation process which is the journey for the future and they always reflect the political environment very closely (Northhouse, 2010, p. 116).

In the context of this study, it has been guided by the theory of political system. The visionary strategic management is long term management policy rather than the short term. It is the overall socio-economic development providing service delivery to people. In the same line, Hansson in his doctoral dissertation highlights that the strategic plan of development and its implementation, and the performance has become a frequently used in the discussion of quality as the international and national competitive environment has been a process of constant change by the globalization of democracy in the increased interdependence of political and economic agents. Hansson further asserts that this process of change has brought increased demands on the politics' excellence and the people have gained a central role in the organization's focus. The reform may be a political philosophy which may support organization in their efforts to obtain satisfied customers (Hansson, 2003, p. 98).

Deming again argues that there are various crisis and difficulties also for achieving the economic gains and such crisis on development which has not been created suddenly and is not easy to think for a spectacular solution. This thought is equally applicable in the Nepalese context too. Since, the political environment is very much complex, any solution implemented earlier could not bring suitable and rapid results. It indicates that in such a complication, the reform programs should be implemented as the part of systematic process contributing long term stability with common obligation for the administrative system as well as the political activities. It may require a visionary approach to be mandatory right from the lower level to the top of the political and development management system (Deming, 1993, p. 86).

To discuss the economic gain, social harmony and diversity may be the ornament of the politics to bind the people in integration. For this, UN (2003) in the conference paper has stated that globalization and subsequent huge scale of migration has brought the wider gap between rich and poor by making the poverty issue as the main agenda

in policy options. The influence of cultural penetration by pluralism in political debate has been increased with the feel of multi-cultural society to be promoted in national level. This may indicate that when the globalization, privatization and liberalization give us space to be globalized in terms of economic and political reform, we may not forget to address our local conditions and realities. For the same OECD (2012), the research study states that social harmony may bind together the past and future of the societies. It again states that economic and political reform may support and sustain the cultural values and belief that inculcate desired ideas in our youths with necessary skills and abilities by giving enough exposures to them.

To maintain the quality of services, the role of government plan and programs may not be denied. In this regard, Khaniya again on the opinion that quality development reform depends upon the government to distribute the resources. He further suggests that the government has not enough resources for development. There must see the other ways to mobilize the resources from other possible private sectors. In this regard, government may have distributed resources to private institutions too. But how much resource has been distributed to them may have not been calculated so far (Khaniya, 2007b, p. 146).

For this justification, Shrestha stated that mainly the government aided public institutions have been facing the problem of low-quality services according to gross domestic product rate. They say that people consider the GDP as the major indicator of the quality of development for which the public services are not encouraging because these institutions are losing their credibility compared to private services. They further argue that the GDP may not be the indicator of quality development as there are various factors that may indicate the quality of product and services. So, the quality as a whole has been viewed from broader system perspective to create the supportive environment so as to produce these numbers as the product of the process (Shrestha, 2000, p. 131).

Michigan and Ohio State of US, the political leadership studies took this approach. The impact of this work was in part of the notion that leadership was not necessary an inborn trait but instead effective leadership could be taught to employees (Knight, 2019). It is known as two factors as concern for people and as concern for output or task or people. Third category leadership theory dealt with interaction leaders' traits,

behaviour and situation which are known as contingency theory. In this concept leadership could be different in every situation. Leadership can be emerged through complexity of situation. This theory considered two variables like leadership style and situation (Fiedler, 1967). Fiedler came up with eight classification of situation favorability. He dealt LPC theory (Least preferred co-worker scale). It dealt that certain leadership style is more effective in political situation. Another category of leadership theory dealt with an analysis of the people who are led by leaders. This is known as path goal theory. In this, leaders are responsible to followers' behaviours that will enable them to reach their goals or desired outcomes.

The concept of system is no full comprehensive phenomenon in existence that can execute a result from the results executed by its parts in individual cases. It demands the global visions to reframe in innovative way to calculate the aggregate result of the parts to equate with the result obtained from the integrated system. The main notion of the system theory in general is its emphasis on interaction that obtained in cross cultural interactions of the parts in a system. The centre of the idea that the individual performance is different than the performance given by the same unit in a system integrated with the other parts. The social integration in politics as well as other sectors is very essential for social harmony.

When there is occurrence of the two forces to meet in contact, the counter force either co-operates or creates conflict result many factors depending on the way it meets and interacts. Bartos and Wehr (2002) have stated that conflict and change go side by side in case of socio-cultural world. The law propounded by Sir Issac Newton as each action produces a reaction which is always equal and opposite may counterpart in social phenomenon. The theories propounded by Immanuel Kant and Hegel demonstrate that individual or group, institution or unit in socio-cultural world represents a force that act to produce many counter forces. The cost of interaction and destructiveness will be more if the synthesis comes from the conflict. If there is co-operation along with the conflict, it results with less cost of management in the organization. The chance of exploring human potential will be more if there is a greater number of individuals, groups or organizations. The different views of the individuals also create different outcomes with diversified results. However, some conflicts may be beneficial to work with the organization and individuals. The

practice of conflict theory and empirical result demonstrates that there are more benefits who do not like status quo and for those who like to keep things to happen as usual. The management of conflict reduction and resolution determine the existence or postponing of changes in power relations.

In 1970, Santos wrote an article in “American Economic Review”. The structure of dependency where he explained three forms of dependency. They are colonial dependency, economic dependency and technical industrial dependency. The dependency theory has come in existence through criticism of modernization theory which was formulated in the 1950s. The Neo-Marxists like Paul Baran, A.G. Frank, Samir Amin, and Alighiri Emmanuel gave birth to the dependency theory who described about the situation of dependency worldwide due to modernization. Neo-Marxists have explained this theory analysing the increasing dependency rate due to modernization process of the negative impact brought by modernization in Latin American countries. After 1950s, when the third world countries started to follow the modern technologies to keep their own identity and existence to start the developmental process came up and this birth of dependency theory. Modernization process could not provide the positive effect in every society because it did not take care of the social structure and cultural condition of neo-independent countries and started the new thoughts and technologies which result the negative consequences.

After 1950s, the development process that moved forward by the developed countries to the underdeveloped countries was wrong. Dependency shows that every country for its development could not follow the technology. Neo-Marxists have explained that to understand the dependency theory, the economic relation of core, semi-periphery and periphery should be known. Neo-Marxists admit that those countries which are in the situation of dependency cannot go to the stage of development. Neo-Marxists have kept this theory forward with the assumption that the tendency of blindly following the model of the development countries without caring the local culture, available local skill, means, technology and knowledge by the leaders of developing countries should be changed. The exponents and Neo-Marxists had presented only the negative aspects of capitalistic economy but have forgotten to explain by following the modernization process, many underdeveloped countries have reached the developed stage.

The dependency theory can also be criticized in the following ways: Critique on Paul Baran's View. Paul Baran has said that the first world is responsible of poverty and dependency in the third world countries. But he has not given the attention towards third world countries progress. But Baran's opinion has no truth because the countries of semi-periphery can transfer into core. So, the statement of Baran is wrong. Though Frank has important role to expand the concept of dependency worldwide but the following arguments can be mentioned show that his views were wrong. While describing the dependency theory, he says that the metropolis keeps the third world (satellite) countries in the situation of dependency. But the countries of Metropolis also have to depend upon the third world. Frank has said that the limited surplus of the satellite countries is centered in the metropolis in the capitalistic economy (modernization process) but the real truth cannot be found in it because the countries of satellite in the list of the powerful countries of the world today as they had adopted this system. If we see the political history of the world, after 1950s, world was divided into three groups. The countries following the capitalistic economy in the leadership of America, the countries following the socialism economy in the leadership of USSR and the group of non-aligned countries are first world, second world and third world respectively.

Method of ethnic movement varies from place to place. What method would be applied in the movement is mostly determined by the given context; what kind of political system is there; how the issues of ethnic communities have been treated; how is the socio-economic status of ethnic communities' linkage of ethnic communities at national and international level. Like other social movements, an enacted, in part outside the institutional channels and may threaten status quo (Upadhyay, 2013, p. 45).

Ethnic movements are defined as groups or organized groups whose distinctive features are based on national origin, culture, language, religion, territory and movements are implemented to promote or resist social change (Okamoto 2013, p.16).

An ethnic movement's targets may vary depending on its objective which may include improving minority group status, influencing polices or demanding

independent. Many ethnic movements are peaceful but some are converted into violence (Okamoto, 2013, p. 19).

Baral in the book “Nepal: Problem of Governance” has pointed out the various problems of Nepalese governance. Among them centralized the power structure is significant one. In his opinion, without equitable inclusion of all social groups in state governance, any nation cannot go ahead. The domination of high class and caste groups even under the democratic system has been continued. The suspicion of ethnic and triable elites towards dominant class has been continued to have a hold on state power. For reducing the existing disparities in social, economic, political and regional sphere, the state should take require step on time (Baral, 1994, p. 25).

Jha has made a mini research to understand the feelings of discriminations about Terai communities on the basis of gathering data related to government services and other opportunities of Terai communities. Almost all Terai respondents express the feeling of discriminations in the governmental services and opportunities. In this work, he has shown the position of Terai people in civil service, military service, political parties, parliament and council of ministers. He has discussed the role of Terai people for the national building process also. This shows the drawback on re-engineering of politics and implementation of non-discrimination policies. Terai people are behind in every sector of government and policy level. Terai people are economically lacking behind. They are not only discriminated by government but also discriminated by Terai landlord and upper-class people within the communities as well (Jha, 1993, p. 62).

Ole and his colleagues have done a study on Nepalese political behaviour in respect to parliament election of 1991. Using the method of interviews with thousand Nepalese voters, the data related to election situation, result of election, incidents during the election, voter's perception towards the party system, social factors underlined the voters' choice among the parties, communication process during the election campaign, domestic and foreign policy issues, comparison of interim government with previous government, Nepalese political culture at a time of election etc. were collected and analyzed. The conclusions drawn from the analysis of data are very important to understand the political system in Terai. Terai people were easily diverted by their leaders' guidance due to the lack of political and economical



understanding. The political leaders were using Terai people according to their individual interests rather than national interests (Borre, Pande & Tiwari, 1994).

Bhattachan in his literature 'Minority and Indigenous People of Nepal' analysis the Nepali social composition on the basis of dominant and dominated groups, their behavioural attitudes to each other, the position of ethnic groups and others minorities in the society and state mechanism. He analyzed the ethnicity and other minority groups' efforts made for equal rights and state policies towards them. He discussed different international provisions and instruments for the protection of human rights, minority rights and rights of indigenous nationalities. He advised to implement those international provisions and instruments that have been acceded or ratified by Nepal. He has also suggested some requirements which are necessary to submit in a new constitution for resolving ethnic and others minority group related issues in time. Otherwise, he warns the government would have to face a high explosion of century long excluded and discriminated people's dissatisfaction (Bhattachan, 2008, p. 45).

Another ethnicity and minority related literature 'National Statics UK' (2004) has pointed out the different provisions made by the government to uplift the ethnic group in Great Britain. It has explained the brief about ethnicity and identity, equal opportunities, racial inequality and racial related policy and legislation, commission for racial equality, gender recognition bill, the sex discrimination act, social exclusion unit etc. According to the provisions, the home office has overall responsibility for policy and legislation of racial equality in Great Britain. The Race Relation Act (RRA) 1976 makes it unlawful for anybody to discriminate on the grounds of race, colour, nationality and ethnic or national origins. Therefore, this literature is relevant to conceptualize the Terai movement (National Statics of UK, 2004).

In the book "Fatalism and Development: Nepal Struggle for Modernization" one of the popular book written about Nepalese society, Bista argues that the fatalistic attitude of high caste Hindu is main cause of underdevelopment in Nepal. In his opinion, fatalism is a kind of slow poison that teaches common people to talk all their miseries as predetermined things through the divine power and everyone should accept it without any reactions. It develops the culture of Chakari which is a life-long processed learnt from childhood to adulthood. The culture of fatalism discourages the low caste Nepalese people even to open mouth against the exploitation from the high

caste over the centuries. It is playing a critical role in shaping Nepalese politics (Bista, 1995, p. 39).

Sedan has made a study on political and economy of deprivation in Nepal. He has well analyzed the relationship between social inequality or deprivation and the role of state. He has also examined the structure of social classes and their relation with each other in contemporary Nepal and the social discriminations on the basis of caste, ethnic, gender, region, religion etc. He argued that social discrimination are the main source of inequality and marginalization in Nepal. He also discussed the struggle made by common Nepalese people for their basic needs. In his opinion, attitudes of common people towards states are negative because of its repression and controlling policy to minority's demands. This discrimination and suppression social activities created the movement which is directly or indirectly related with politics and policy makers (Sedan, 1987, p. 67).

“Ethnic Movement in Nepal: Towards the Reservation, Autonomy and Federal State” by Adhikari is an intensive research work that includes the different ethnic problem in Nepalese society. In this book, he analyzed the development process of Nepalese society, caste/ethnic movement, causes of movement, the contribution of constitutional provisions and government efforts to reduce the movements, various problems faced by ethnic people, different ethnic organizations and their role in the ethnic issues as well as discussed (Adhikari, 2000, p. 83).

“The Nationalities of Nepal” by Ukyab and Adhikari consists different provisions made by the government to remove the economic and social inequalities existing among the nationalities through generating and sustaining a healthy social co-existence based on laws and ethics. They argued that their language, dialects, literatures, arts, scripts, religions, cultural diversities and identities should be developed and preserved for strong national unity. Individual would be empowered with good education, healthcare and employment opportunities. They further stated that without political right, no any benefiting plans, programs, projects and other efforts made for them can be effective and meaningful. They stated that the indigenous ethnic people have not got chance to develop their talents because of the lack of political inclusiveness. Without perfect knowledge towards the rights and

political consciousness, their equitable and fruitful future cannot be imagined (Ukyab & Adhikari, 2000).

The literature related to ethnicity of Nepal by Tamang has been analyzed with Marxist view. He analyzed the past and present situation of ethnic structure, the problem faced by the Nepalese ethnic groups in Hindu polity, the representation of higher post of executive, legislative and judiciary as well as other private sectors. Linguistic, religions and cultural status of these groups were also discussed in scientific manners. The relation between Nepalese monarchy and ethnicity, communist movement and ethnic problems, the question of citizenship and Terai ethnicity were also analyzed in it. In conclusion, Hindu philosophy, political structure and rulers' perception towards ethnicity are the causes of social disorder and movement (Tamang, 2002, p. 127).

One of the important literatures in respect to ethnicity is "Towards a Democratic Nepal" by Lawoti. He has extensively analyzed the problem of exclusion, its impact on society, economic development and political system, various factors of exclusion, different ways of inclusion etc. All the analyzed matters were related to the Nepalese context. He has pointed out different methods to ensure the rights of excluded groups in multi-cultural society in Nepal. He has shown a clear picture of the problem facing by various ethnic groups of Nepal from the past to the present. He has also given some possibilities to high scale movement if the process of inclusion is not adapted in time (Lawoti, 2005c, p. 131).

Kisan has made an informative research on the social and caste based discriminations. He focused on various aspects like emergence of caste system in Indian-sub-continent and its entry into Nepal, historical movement, background of movement against caste discrimination and others relevant aspects. The literature especially gives the very useful information about Dalit movement in Nepal. But the main idea given by literature is revolutionary social transformation and other ideas are equity/equality comes out intensified, sustained and continuous against oppression and discrimination (Kisan, 2005, p. 56).

In regard to ethnic politics, Kandel has discussed on the ethnicity on the ground of nation, nationality, nationalism, nation-state, national building process in multi-cultural society and some principles of it. He has discussed the politics of ethnic identity and rights of self-determination and analyses the causes of ethnic conflict for

separate lands and its cost. He has presented some nation-building process on the basis of ethnicity and non-ethnicity with their consequences. He has made an attempt to analyze the national building process in Nepal. He suggested not to disintegrate the united Nepal by ethnicity, region as well as ethnic autonomy on the ground of federalism. He argued that the national building process in Nepal can be made strong through the process of power sharing on the basis of proportional representation, local self-governance and proper distribution of economic resources of the nation (Kandel, 2006, p. 23).

A report on “Ethnic and Caste Diversity in Nepal: Implication for Development” by Rajendra Pradhan and Ava Shrestha is an outcome of the study on ethnic and caste diversity in Nepal. In this report, the cultural diversity of Nepal has been analyzed on historical perspective conducting interviews and group discussions of data collection. They analyzed Nepali society dividing into three different historical phases, hierarchical plural society of 1768-1950 and non-hierarchical monocultural society of 1961-1990. For ethnic diversity, structural hierarchy and inequality in Nepal, the study has identified three main reasons: migration of different groups into Terai, political unification of Khas ruler and state laws/policies. To improve deprivation and marginalization of social groups, they suggested the need of equitable development, new economic policies, provision of basic services, broad representation of ethnic groups in policy making bodies and understanding of social complexities (Pradhan & Shrestha, 2005).

In respect to the Rana polity, Satish Kumar argued that the scheme of social hierarchy that came to existence after the establishment of Gorkha state by Drabya Shah was mainly responsible to sustain the autocratic Rana polity in Nepal for a century. Throughout the Rana period, the value of equality and dignity of human beings were not in existence. There was a vast disparity between the rulers and ruled in every aspect of life. Satish Kumar has stated that the form of government remained extremely centralized and totalitarian till the end of Rana period. But Satish Kumar did not describe the way to minimize the gap between rulers and ruled (Rana, 1967, p. 73).

Gaige made two studies: one was related to the Terai and other was national integration process in Nepal. In his first study, he has tried to provide the description

of economic and cultural characteristics of Terai population using the collected data from the household survey.

On the basis of participation in village and district level Panchayat bodies by caste, tribal and regional affiliation of Jhapa, Dhanusha, Bara, Kapilvastu and Kailali districts. He analyzed the process of national integration. He has also shown a list of representatives of village and district Panchayat bodies as well as national level administrators and army officers by caste and ethnic groups in the year of 1975 (Gaige, 1975, p. 80).

In evolution of the Terai movement in Nepal, the impact of external ethnic related movement was one of the factor. Along with this, furthermore responsible factor was its own internal one. Particularly socio- economic discrimination and political marginalization from the state is one of the major factor of Terai movement. In the past, there was no political atmosphere of organized mobilization and easy to record the incident happen in the society of Terai. The state did not want to save the record of the ethnic activities against itself and then common people were also not capable to document the movements. There were no other independent agencies to record them. Only after the end of Rana rule, more or less ethnic issues have been raised in organized manner but they could not directly or widely come out during the first two decades of the party-less Panchayat period. Though, in the time of referendum ethnic issues were re-emerged in the surface (Hangen, 2007, p. 15).

The dominant issue for operational parties in the pre-1990 was multi-party democracy not the ethnic questions. The party politics and ethnic activities with political intension were also banned and the voices of ethnic groups were suppressed. Although, the establishment of Manka Khala (Newar Organization), the publications of some cultural magazines like Kong-pi (Kirat), Tamu (Gurung), Khanglo (Thakali), Tharu Sanskriti (Tharu) and establishment of Nepal Mother Tongue Council etc. were the major achievement of ethnic movement in the period around referendum (Sharma, 2006, p. 15).

Ethnic scholars, leaders and activists claim that after the unification of the country, several ethnic rebellions in different parts were raised time to time against the central government to fulfill their demands. As stated by Gurung 'only that victors construct history, while the vanquished are left with only memories' unsuccessful ethnic

attempts to revolt against the state were not written as history, they were left only as memories. So, the ethnic rebellions that took place in different ethnic areas of the country in different time have not mentioned extensively. Unwritten memories could not exist for long time. They were slowly forgotten generation by generation (Gurung, 1991, p. 10).

Newars of Kathmandu valley always sensitive and conscious for their ethnic rights and were protesting against the despotic Rana regime. Therefore, three out of four martyrs from the Newar community who were given capital punishment in 1941 by the Rana rulers. Likewise, in initiation of ethnic leaders such as Arya Samaj of Madhav Raj Joshi, Charkha Prachar Samiti of Tulsimehar, Nagarik Adhikar Samiti of Sukra Raj Sastri, Gangalal Shrestha and Kedarman Vyatith, Prajatantra Sangh of Sambhuram Shrestha and Prem Bahadur Kansakar were other institutions emerged due to the dissatisfactions of the Rana rulers. According to the martyrs' list of movement in 1950 against Rana despotic role given by the Adhikari and Parajuli, 23 out of 41 martyrs were from different ethnic groups (Adhikari, 1998, p. 445 & Parajuli, 2010, p. 128).

But ethnic movements were not totally stopped. In 1956 an armed rebellion led by Bhubikram Nembang took place in Eastern region for the autonomous Limbuwan state. The Land Reform Act 1964 completely ended by Kipat system of eastern part that made the people of limbuwan to be rised once again against the Land Reform policy of the government and the policy of mass immigration of non-Limbu or non-Kirat people in Limbuwan to exploit the Kipat. In 1968, Limbu delegation went to the King to express their dissatisfaction over the single-handed treaty violation through the Land Reform Act 1964.

Likewise, in 1972, some member of Limbuwan liberation campaign took another delegation to the king Birendra and tried to revive the Limbuwan autonomy but these delegations were also meaningless. Despite repression policy of the state to ethnic movements, in the decade of 80s, Kirat Dharma Tatha Sahitya Utthan Pratisthan, Nepal Matri Bhasa Parishad, Nepal Bhasa Mankakhala and Sarbajatiya Adhikar Munch were established (History of Limbuwan 4/27/2011).

Many positive achievements were declared by the promulgation of the new Constitution of Nepal 2015 A.D. The new constitution adopted the issues of

inclusiveness, equal participation of women, dalit, disable and backward people in mainstream. The Terai people demanded to review the Constitution of Nepal 2015 A.D. The Terai people have reached the position of being able to work in local and provincial governments.

However, despite the achievement, there is a great dissatisfaction among the citizens discontent among Madhesi and other minority or vulnerable groups being a major one. According to the dreams and aspirations of people, the federal provincial and local levels have not been able to work as expected.

### **2.3 Research gaps**

Based on the functional modality, the researcher has identified that the gaps on the present movement in Nepalese context comprises as:

- a) The lack of awareness about rights and responsibilities.
- b) Lack of economic independency and political instability.
- c) Lack of identity and dignity of Terai people.
- d) Lack of mechanism to address discrimination, impunity, corruption and unemployment issues in Terai.
- e) Lack of mechanism to address the problems of basic needs and desires of Terai people.
- f) Lack of implementation of policies in favor of Terai people.
- g) Lack of functional and transparency system in Terai.
- h) Lack of scientific and proportional federal restructuring in Terai.

The present situation demands the study of “Terai movement for federal restructuring”. Many movements had happed time to time but the issues were not resolved yet.

### **2.4 Theoretical framework**

Conflict was a universal process. It occurs always and everywhere. We cannot imagine a time or society in which certain individuals or groups cannot come into conflict. The main causes of conflict are individual differences, cultural differences and conflicts of interest, social and political changes. The conflict that arises between the failure of specific union demands and the assessment of participants’ benefits stems directly from the alleged lack of intention towards a particular outcome.

Conflict theories tend to equate movement with change. But in reality, conflict-based revolutions are not always necessary for social change, since in many countries quiet revolutions legitimized by enlightened political elites must change. Human and fundamental rights such as the right to life, security and dignity are being violated due to the ongoing conflict between the two warring parties and their tendencies to retaliate. The poor, marginalized group, indigenous group were raised their voice through the movement for federal restructuring. There has been remaining huge gap between rich and poor people which is the main reason of conflict (Shrestha, 2003, p. 24).

From the ancient time, the common people have always been suppressed from the elite groups through the feudalistic mode of governance and as a result, the conflict has occurred all the times. The web of the conflict is sometimes transverse, sometimes spiral or interwoven that made the social movement complex. There are various reasons of armed conflict including disparity of access in resources, inequality in opportunities, lack of proper service delivery system, injustice in identity, disparity in ideological ruling, non-transparent, unaccountable and autocracy in leadership, incompetent bureaucracy, technocracy, miserable economic situation and weak diplomacy (Shrestha, 2003, p. 134).

Conflict has played a vital role in social life and it can be considered as a functional unit for development. If we consider as a major concern, different theorist has claimed their theories regarding the conflict. One of the important theories as conflict theory has been proliferated as an alternative theory to structural functionalism that was dominant before. In contrast, functionalism cares about unity in society for the welfare of the whole society but conflict theory deals with a system composed of groups and individuals that care about the interest of an individual. Exploitation and oppression are the two aspects of theory of conflict that addresses the primary cause of the social problems. As Gurung mentions there are people living in Terai who have no proportional resources and good governances (Gurung, 2004, p. 33).

From the historic time, all the societies have suffered a series of conflict among the individuals or groups. Thomas Robert Malthus propounded a theory that illustrated about the limited supply of substances which cause the source of conflict. On the other hand, Charles Darwin states a principle that explains about the struggle of



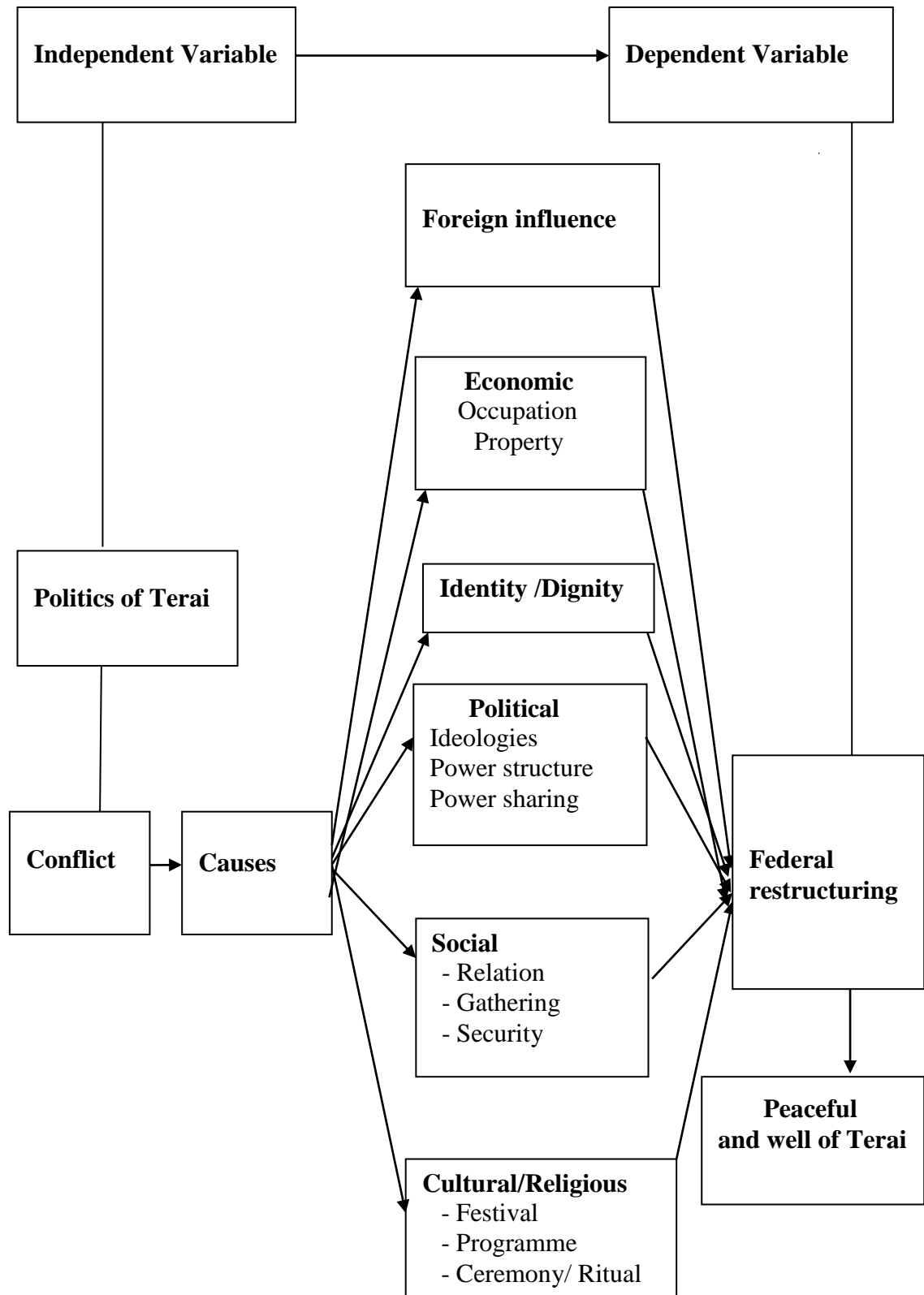
people for the existence and survival of animal that are best fitted to nature due to continuous conflict with changing nature and environment. Sigmund Freud and other psychologists have indicated the innate aggression of the people as the source of conflict (Habermas, 1988, p. 134).

## **2.5 Conceptual framework**

Based on the few research studies carried out in relation to the inclusion and exclusion of Terai people, major source of Terai movement for federal restructuring has been identified as intentions of accessing and controlling power and resources; establishing and maintaining identity; promoting, strengthening and expanding certain ideology and ideological difference; mal-governance or operational failure of governance system. The conflict in the Terai entered into the federal restructuring conflict once the causes of social relationship of the political and economic development. Level of rural development in Terai is low in comparison to urban indicators. People of rural areas have low access on education, health, communication, electricity, road etc. Similarly, Dalit, women, marginal ethnic groups, Terai people of remote areas and disable people have very low access on basic human requirements. National indicators of development are unable to represent the distribution pattern of development of different social groups and regions.

Similarly, marginal section and disadvantaged groups have very low access on social and political development. Without committed development efforts through high level political consensus on the basis of concentration of poverty with diverse nature in the different communities, it will be very difficult to escape people from vicious circle of poverty. Development and underdevelopment are still being Terai issues and discourse due to the low access on education, opportunities, social security, health, identity, dignity, infrastructural development and productivity of the different communities with momentous disparities. There is direct relation between the conflict and movement in course of federalism in Nepal. The framework included the characteristics of impacts of the conflict in course of federalism. Here exists a relationship between the conflict and movement and its impacts on implementing federalism. The conceptual framework was treated as an abstract to describe the conflicts and its impacts on federalism (Khanal, 2004, p. 76).

**Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework**



**Source: Framed by researcher**

## CHAPTER 3

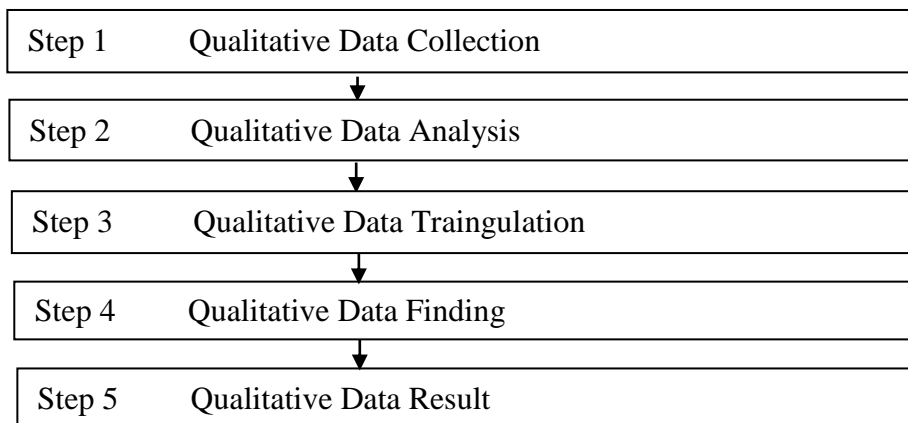
### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Research design

The design is overall plan and strategy of the research. The study is based on the constructive approach of research which assumed that realities in the world are constructed into local context by the people themselves. To follow with qualitative research approach of descriptive and explanatory research design has been set. This is because of the qualitative nature of the study which states that the main objective of the study is to explain the causes and effect and way out to address the demand of Terai movement. The data involves careful assimilation and analysis of responses in terms of numbers and manual classification of data which describe qualitatively. The movement activities happened in the different parts of the country. But for the research purpose, the researcher has considered three types of respondents: one from movement field, second from political field and third from impact of movement in economic field in Terai.

The research study was aimed to find the status of the movement of Terai in course of implementing federalism for economic development in Nepal and the trend of the existing politics of Terai movement in the context of federal restructuring. The study was based on the qualitative methodology design with the growing stage to a framework focusing on the field of information, communication and technology.

**Figure 3. 1: Graphic representation of qualitative research design**



In this research study, the researcher collected the qualitative data first and then analyzed it through descriptive approach. The information produced from qualitative

data was studied to generate findings regarding federal restructuring and the status of democratic movement due to change in political and economic system. In this part, the researcher focused on justifying the choice of field research method and tools used in the data collection procedures, as well as the validity and reliability of the tools used. The researcher used a qualitative research methodology to employ both a survey and an observation method.

The current development of the Terai movement existing within the framework of federal restructuring was examined using survey methods with structured questionnaires. Similarly, the situation of the political parties, including the main problems faced by the political leaders and their corrective actions, was examined through an in-depth interview using a checklist. The design of this study was therefore both descriptive and exploratory.

### **3.2 Nature and source of data**

The research was conducted exploring and analysing the Terai movement for federal restructuring in Nepal and the trend of the existing situation of Terai movement in the context of federal restructuring. Thus, this study was in the level of exploratory extending to descriptive in nature based on qualitative research approaches. The single research approach which is the hybrid of different tools, techniques, approaches and concepts including qualitative approaches can be considered as exploratory method approach. The qualitative approach has been taken as the existence of methodological pluralism in present context. In social science research, the qualitative methods approach has created its own space. It considers texts, figures and narratives to dig out the meaning making process and the data has been the triangulated. Even the qualitative methods not only test the theory in present context but also generate the new theory by adopting grounded theory approaches.

The qualitative method has definite type of strengths and weaknesses and can be considered based on the context of the research themes proposed. The qualitative method can provide the stronger evidences to draw the conclusion and findings of congruent situations applying insights and deep understandings of the scholars. There is more advantage to select the qualitative method to get more benefits in conducting the research in general. The researcher further said that qualitative method may help to overcome the lacks, weaknesses and risks. This method offers the empirical

benefits to the researcher and also for the valuation of the procedure correctness. The qualitative data have great relevance for the movement and in fact can be supportive to understand the main factors that impact on political and socio-economic development.

### **3.3 Population and sampling procedure**

The research milieu was selected purposively. The population included community, leaders, government officials from local level to the central level and academia. Based on the approaches of qualitative method, the sampling strategies was undertaken accordingly as:

The following points are considerable to point out about sampling strategies of this proposed research that may ensure the reliability and validity:

- a) There would be one workshop with feasible environment of interactional situation. Each leader would be disseminated with the interaction and assessment design and they would discuss about field and finalize the tools.
- b) Among the participants, leaders would be selected who shows the higher level of learning practice in their community.
- c) Among the three, one would be selected based on the variation of the people with respect to gender, ethnicity, level of understanding, structural composition of society and resources used.
- d) The selected leaders, his/her party followers, administrators, researchers, own observations, desk review and institutional survey would ensure the validity and reliability of the data through the triangulation.
- e) There would be use of field tested and commonly used tools of assessment in community-based institutes to evaluate the development of the people.
- f) Appropriate evaluation of working for students identified and suitable assessment tools has implemented to ensure the reliability or transferability of the research findings.

The sample is a fraction of population being studied. Sample was selected from Rural Municipalities and Municipalities representing rural, peri-urban and urban perspectives. The participants are members who are directly affiliated with the politics who meet the eligibility criteria. Inclusion criteria for the participants are as follows:

Inclusion Criteria:

- a) Citizen currently affiliated with the community based political institution and offices.
- b) Working in the group for at least six months.
- c) Resident of the respective ward of Municipality and Rural Municipalities.
- d) Willing to participate in the study.

The researcher applied multi-stage sampling technique to identify survey respondents using following steps:

**Step 1:** Used purposive sampling technique to determine the area (MC/RMC) and population

**Step 2:** Identified population, in this case as stated above researcher listed community-based institutions and political offices under study area and determined required sample size out of 5 different categories of CBIs from 4 sites.

**Step 3:** To identify sample size for each stratum, the researcher applied formula of Cochran (1977) for proportion allocation method for each stratum. The number of CBIs and affiliated members in each site is mentioned below:

The formula of Cochran for proportion allocation in stratified sampling is:

$$N_h = \frac{N h * n}{N}$$

Where  $N_h$  = required sample size from each stratum (Sample citizens from each CBIs)

$N_h$  = Population of each stratum (Members of CBIs)

$N$  = Total Population (Total numbers of member citizens ( $N$ ) = 58608)

$n$  = Sample size of population under study ( $n$  = 384)

The sampling strategy in social science research can be judged on the basis of the validity and reliability of the research outputs to ensure the true representation of the population. It is commonly known as trustworthiness of the research in case of qualitative approach. The following criteria can be used to judge the sampling strategies:

- a) The criteria include truth value, consistency and generalizability.
- b) The qualitative approach has different dimensions.

- c) The truth value in qualitative approach is credibility and in observation is external validity.
- d) The consistency is judged in qualitative approach by transferability and validity.
- e) The generalizability is checked by acceptability in qualitative approach and by reliability in quantitative approach.

Interviews and interactions with the respondents were used as the main tools of collecting information that can present the complexity of the research questions. Once the researcher collects the information, the detail analysis would be carried out which may be followed by interpretation. The quantitative data would be gathered through review of secondary data available within the social sector. This allows looking at the research questions has been selected for the research at a national and overarching level. Having identified these specific areas within the research, detail analysis would be carried out to gain an in-depth understanding of these issues.

### **3.4 Selection of the study area**

The research site was Southern Terai in Nepal. Research mainly focused on Terai including Siraha, Kapilvastu and Kailali of Madhes province, Lumbini Province and Sudurpashchim Province respectively where the major Terai movement and economic crisis were occurred. The study was empirically based on Lahan Municipality and Bhagwanpur Rural Municipality of Siraha district; Kapilvastu Municipality and Suddhodhan Rural Municipality of Kapilvastu district and Tikapur Municipality and Mohanyal Rural Municipality of Kailali district including one ward of every Municipality and Rural Municipality. These places were highly affected during the Terai movement for federal restructuring. The research was carried out under different categories of people from different professions, movement related persons, economic planners, victims of movement, students, professors and businessmen. The sample size was 384 respondents out of 58,608 household population from different categories. FGD, KIIs, questionnaires, observation, desk review and institutional survey were the tools for data collection. The data analysis was carried out through statistical tools, tests and graphical presentation. The qualitative data was transcribed through coding and decoding. The reliability and validity were controlled through multiple sources of data, pre-test and post-test of tools, representative methodological validity was applied. The processing of descriptive, qualitative data involves careful

assimilation and analysis of responses in terms of numbers and manual classification of data. The small group size of sample from the population would be manageable for the researcher.

The population of the area segregated covered the Terai including Siraha, Kapilvastu and Kailali districts from which people strongly raised their voice of identity and autonomous Terai province. The population covers the localities with higher percent in gender balance with all the categories of local organizations existed and availability of categories of people involved in politics. The number of parties as well as number of youths of the selected areas correspond to be higher in comparison to other areas. The diverse community was selected in data collection procedure. Among many other communities, the Terai communities were selected including different castes, minority group, indigenous group, economic deprived group, ethnic group and marginalized group because they are still in primitive stage. The communities below poverty line were selected because the majority of poor people was higher than rich people. The sampling was done purposively which eliminate any kind of mis-information or under-information.

Since, the research has adopted a phenomenological approach, the unit of analysis is “living experience or lived experience” of an individual as positioned by society of Terai. This is with due consideration of the research question how the Terai movement had done in previous time in Terai. It was connected with the observation and experienced value that had been stayed with the people over a generation.

**Table 3.1: Population distribution of the study area**

<b>District</b>	<b>Municipality/Rural Municipality</b>	<b>Household Numbers</b>	<b>Total Population (N)</b>	<b>Sample (n)</b>
Siraha	Lahan Municipality	17,182	91,766	106
	Bhagwanpur Rural Municipality	3,661	20,957	24
Kapilvastu	Kapilvastu Municipality	12,094	76,394	88
	Suddhodhan Rural Municipality	6346	45201	52
Kailali	Tikapur Municipality	15,356	76,084	88
	Mohanyal Rural Municipality	3,969	22,053	26
<b>Total</b>		<b>58,608</b>	<b>3, 32,455</b>	<b>384</b>

**Source: Census Survey, CBS-2021/ Researcher- 2021**



In order to select the party members and leaders, the researcher used a criteria on the basis of selection process which is a common form of cluster sampling. In this type of sampling the investigator wanted to understand the problem and benefits by selecting a sample from which the most can be learned. In criterion-based sampling, the researcher selected attributes desired for the study and found subjects that matched. The description of study sampling place are given below:

#### **3.4.1 Lahan Municipality**

Lahan is a town and Municipality in Siraha district, Madhes Province of Southern-eastern Nepal. It is connected with East-West highway close to the Indian border, neighbouring the Indian state of Bihar. The occupations of the people are agriculture and small business. Lahan has total 24 wards, which are scattered across 167 square kilometers of geographical area. According to census 2011, Lahan Municipality has 91,766 total populations and 17,182 households. It has 45,515 (49.59%) males and 46,251(50.41%) females. Mostly spoken language of Lahan is Maithali. Mostly, the people are Tharu caste in Lahan. People of other castes who live in Lahan are Yadav, Koiri, Muslim, Musahar, Chamar, Brahamin, Chhetri, Rai and so on. There are only 47,835 people fully literate in Lahan Municipality according to census 2011. The society of Lahan Municipality is heterogeneous. People are engaging in agriculture, business and employment.

#### **3.4.2 Bhagwanpur Rural Municipality**

Bhagwanpur Rural Municipality is located at Siraha district in Madhes Province of Nepal. It has 5 wards including 33 square kilometers of geographical area. It has total populations 20,957 with 10,291 (49.11%) males and 10,666 (50.89%) females. It is bordering with India. It has 3,661 households. There are only 9,365 people fully literate in Bhagwanpur Rural Municipality according to the census 2011. Mostly spoken language in Bhagwanpur is Maithali (20,108) and other languages are Tharu, Urdu, Nepali, Gurung, and so on. The people are engaging in agriculture, business and employment sectors. The highest caste is Yadav (7,265) where as other castes are Teli, Dhanuk, Haluwai, Musahar, Tharu and so on. It has heterogeneous society.

### **3.4.3 Kapilvastu Municipality**

Kapilvastu Municipality is located in Kapilvastu district, Lumbini Province of Nepal. Kapilvastu has total 12 wards which are scattered across 137 square kilometers of geographical area. It has 76,394 populations with 38,085 (49.85%) male and 38,309 (50.15%) females according to the census 2011. There are only 39,200 people fully literate in Kapilvastu Municipality according to the census 2011. It has 12,094 households in Kapilvastu Municipality. Mostly spoken language is Avadhi and the rest of the other languages spoken are Urdu, Nepali, Tharu, Maithali, Hindi, Bhojpuri etc. The Muslim is the main caste where as other castes are Yadav, Tharu, Brahmin, Kurmi, Kahar, Chhetri, kawat and so on. Most of the people in Kapilvastu Municipality are engaging in business, agriculture and employment.

### **3.4.4 Suddhodhan Rural Municipality**

Suddodhan Rural Municipality is located at Kapilvastu district in Lumbini Province of Nepal. It is bordering with India. Suddhodhan has 6 wards with 92 square kilometers of geographical area. It has 45,201 of total population with 22,733 (50.29%) males and 22468 (49.71%) female. It has 6,346 households according to census 2011. There are only 19,044 people fully literate in Suddhodhan Rural Municipality. Mostly spoken language in Suddhodhan is Abhadi (31,546) where as other languages are Urdu, Tharu, Magar, Nepali, Maithali and so on. The largest caste is Muslim (8,527) where as other castes are Yadav, Dusadh, Kami, Tharu, Chamar, Lohar, Brahmin and Chhetri. The people are engaging in agriculture, business and employments.

### **3.4.5 Tikapur Municipality**

Tikapur Municipality is located at Kailali district in Sudurpashchim Province of Nepal. It has 9 wards with 76,084 total populations according to census 2011. It has 118 square kilometers of geographical area. It has 15,356 households. It has 36,245 (47.64%) male and 39,839 (52.36%) female populations. It has largest population between 10 to 14 years old. There are only 46,783 people fully literate in Tikapur Municipality. Mainly spoken language in Tikapur is Tharu (31,344) and other languages are Nepali, Achami, Doteli, Magar, Hindi and Bhojpuri. Tikapur Municipality is inhabited by mostly the population of Tharu caste with total

population of 31,821. The other castes are Chhetri, Brahmin, Kami, Thakuri and Dalit. The main occupations of the people in Tikapur Municipality are agriculture, businesses and employments.

### **3.4.6 Mohanyal Rural Municipality**

Mohanyal Rural Municipality is located at Kailali district in Sudharpashchim Province of Nepal. It has total 7 wards which are scattered across 627 square kilometers of geographical area. It has 22,053 populations with 10,914 (49.49%) males and 11,139 (50.51%) females. It has 3,969 household according to the census 2011. It has only 11,165 literate populations. Mostly spoken language is Nepali (16,439) and others are Magar, Achami, Doteli, Maithali, Tharu etc. The main caste is Magar where as other castes are Chhetri, Kami, Brahmin and Thakuri. The people are engaging in agriculture, businesses and employments.

### **3.5 Research philosophy**

The source of knowledge has been considered as platform of philosophical science of the Terai movement for federal restructuring. The selected paradigm may help the researcher to stick on certain philosophical assumption and identify the proper tools for the research, selection of respondents as well as proper method for the research. The paradigms of different perspectives are in place for guiding the researcher in social science research and this is not an exception. The paradigm provides the researcher's context and the researcher also combine different paradigms in general. Post positivism was arisen due to dissatisfaction of different scientists working in different fields of political science research. The positivist view is that which stresses the theory verification and post positivist stresses the theory falsification.

The constructivist paradigm is another interpretative paradigm where there is multiple reality accepted. The subjectivity is expected in political and movement context. The qualitative method of inquiry is adopted to dig out the hidden truth in the specific manner. The researcher paradigm is relate in which all positivism and post positivism and interpretivism involvement. In this methodology, the researcher has linked the very first questionnaire with positivist paradigms and then later on questionnaires have been linked with post positivist paradigms like constructivist, phenomenology

and interpretative which combine the literature and number as qualitative method to contribute the research paradigm.

As methodology, researcher used survey, case study and phenomenology in the research study. In this study, researcher has used questionnaire, non-participant (using checklist) observation, case study, statistical analysis, interview, focus group discussion, data reduction, theme identification and document analysis. Researchers believe that every person has different world view about knowledge and reality which effects on the study. They do not want to put the view of participants in brackets and does not indicate one way only. The paradigm of post positivism recovers the inclusion biasness of researchers as well as the incorporation of qualitative approaches of searching truths. The qualitative methodological approaches include possibility of accepting multiple realities and these may break the expectations of the participants. Based on the above philosophical assumptions, the researcher has positioned in the context of the above perspective in the study.

First of all, any scientific methods are backed up by observation and description of a phenomenon in the context of a situation based on a model or a theory. In light of this, researcher himself within the positive discourse for the trend of the existing politics of Terai movement in the context of federal restructuring can be verified through experiences and observations. In addition to this, the researcher holds the interpretative view that youths, leaders, and other political workers, teachers, professors, administrators, political representatives, executive bodies, students, movement wounded people, institution and their stakeholders construct the knowledge and meaning within the Terai movement context influenced by the prior knowledge and understandings for the federal restructuration. Similarly, the emergence of political change appeared could be expressed by them as per globalization and liberalization with the change of political system.

The conceptual framework described earlier and the use of constructivist framework design as theoretical lens is best suited to qualitative strategy. Qualitative strategy is based on constructivist philosophy that assumes reality as multiple layered and interpretative social constructions.

### **3.6 Method and specific tool**

To gather the data and information, different approaches were adopted. Primarily, data were gathered through the collection of history of Terai movement and movement related narratives through primary and secondary data sources. It is also important to mention that narrative of the stories or any others narration were in written form rather than in oral form. The nature of the study was mostly qualitative in nature and the method of analysis was also qualitative. Institutional survey was conducted as qualitative tool. First of all, the collected data were checked on the very day of data collection and researcher prepared field report of the day. The similar responses were gotten from the respondents identified and then coded. Finally, there were endorsed into the conceptual framework for comprehensive and in-depth analysis.

The study was generated the required data from both primary and secondary sources. As the primary source, informations were collected from household heads and individuals in selected areas. In order to generate adequate data and examine the Terai movement for federal restructuring, the qualitative data were triangulated. The study included three levels of study units: households, individuals and concerned governmental and non-governmental offices having link with movement which was selected using the appropriate selection procedures. The study used various secondary sources to augment the findings from the primary data; such as review of reports, literatures and available information on politics, restructuring planning and Terai movement related profile. In order to produce a complete set of data for analysis and meet the stated objectives, the data collection instruments were prepared and administered.

#### **3.6.1 Desk review**

Various relevant studies and reports were reviewed as a part of designing research and getting in-depth knowledge about the subject of the study. The official record about Terai movement, conflict, ethnic movement, profile of political activists, political related bulletins, political minutes, memos, political agenda, economic planning and programs, data of operation action by security forces, record of the political related institution, monitoring and evaluation reports of movements and databases were also used as a source of information. The literature on livelihood, movements and adaptation strategies e.g. Journal of political transformation, livelihood and political

adaptation strategies published by society and federations, annual report published by Department of Statistics and Survey, various adaptation related strategies, Poverty Alleviation Act 2011, Poverty Alleviation Regulation 2012, Adaptation Guidelines 2013 and Policy Act 2014 were reviewed for the study.

### **3.6.2 Key informant interview**

For getting in-depth knowledge and to draw their experience in livelihood sector, numbers of development experts, political leaders were consulted. The key informants were head of institutions, policy makers, students of college and school, professors, doctors, government officers, political representatives, local executive bodies, social activists, social workers, human rights activist, victim of movement and conflict and head of NGOs/INGOs. The people were asked to rate the needs of Terai movement and adaptations in changing scenarios of the political context in federal restructuring setting. The informants in-depth interview declared the importance of Terai movement for scientific federal restructuring, economic development, political instability and identity of Terai people.

### **3.6.3 Observation checklist**

Getting first-hand information was vital for getting in-depth knowledge. Many real informations were taken by the observation which were hidden and intangible. For this, the researcher visited the selected study area of previous Terai movement and verified reports to get ground reality of the study. This method helps to shape up and pre-planning for the researcher.

### **3.6.4 Institutional survey**

An institutional questionnaire survey was conducted during the study to access the information related to institutional capacity in term of legislation and execution power and function, physical resources and human resources including public officials and political representatives.

### **3.6.5 Focus group discussion**

It is further stratified into gender, culture, geography, language and wealth. The target population of this study was local political leaders, and they were also composed of the caste and ethnicity, man and women. Therefore, to get into the depth of reality, different groups such as women group, Dalit group, Pahadi and Madhesi, migrated

and non-migrated Terai people and poor and rich people of the study sites were discussed separately in their views of Terai movement for federal restructuring. Discussions were undertaken with all strata and dimensions of movements, and its impact of economic upliftment, political settlement and identity of Terai people. Field diary was used to note the information obtained from observation and focus group discussion.

### **3.7 Data collection and analysis**

Like other research, this study was also based on both primary and secondary data. However, this research was primarily based on first hand data collected from the primary sources through the field work applying participatory tools and techniques. Household interviews questionnaires (HHIQ), desk review (DR), site observation (SO), focused group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (KIIs) including institutional survey (IS) were conducted as the major techniques for the Terai movement during federal restructuring and economic development.

Questionnaires were physical handed over to different organizations, individuals and political stakeholders.

Upon the completion of data collection works/ field works, the qualitative data were coded, entered, cleaned and verified. The entire analyses were done having adopted descriptive and exploratory interpretative approaches. The information matching study purposes was also collected from secondary sources. For secondary source of data/information, the literatures were collected from a variety of sources including published literatures, annual reports from political and economical related organizations and government agencies, offices and several newspapers. They were duly reviewed and supplemented into the study research. The data thus collected for the study purposes were presented, analyzed and interpreted.

In addition to the phenomenological nature of outcome perception and management, data analysis was another challenge. The collection of the many registered accounts then had to be transcribed and analyzed. Audio recordings and written notes were analyzed in two different ways. The recorded data were classified by novices and then categorical groups were formed. While the audio recordings were transcribed in raw form and then rearranged. This aggregated data was continuously evaluated alongside other focal points of the movement and policy areas. The collected data was used in

the research analysis. In the first case, the characters' stories and testimonies were synthesized and combined with other appropriate stories. The stories were eventually reduced to core statements and then expanded. In the second way, the collected data and narrative were collected as shown, then explained and elaborated. The third way, collected self-told statements, stories etc. were introduced with context.

The transcription of written notes, audio recordings and field notes were carried out with the help of a professional suitably qualified for the task. The transcribed documents were then checked again and carefully analyzed for word choice, sentences and sentence weight in particular. To avoid repetition of narratives, selected narratives in the documents have been rewritten. The transcription was done directly from Nepali into English. The audio transcription was verbatim, not in synoptic form. Similarly, the field notes were matched and transcribed from Nepali into English. The researcher performed the translation task from Nepali to English.

The bracketing and phenomenological reduction step was performed to clean up the data by segregation. The key question for this step was regarded as the phenomenon of the key question for this step. The brackets helped emphasize the importance of all data on a particular phenomenon. Listening to the interview for a sense of completeness was a retelling of things that had been thrown together and bracketed. In order to understand what was documented and what was bracketed and reduced, the interview had to be listened to again. It indicates whether the reduction has lost importance from a local point of view and has prevailed over the researcher's point of view. At this stage, it was carefully analyzed whether the researcher's perception made sense or not. The step of determining the unit of general meaning was to identify and determine what the true meaning of the ensemble of transcribed data was. This point attempted to eliminate any vague meaning that applied to certain meaningful things and was rigidly ill. At this point, researcher tried to avoid less relevant information or information with differences in meaning.

In determining the relevant units of meaning at the research question stage, the researcher attempted to reposition information based on the questions asked prior to beginning the research. It also marked the limit to which the intelligence package could be used for further analysis. The Eliminate Redundancy step was used to remove redundancy in data, logs, etc. This step-by-step procedure served as a



checklist, telling the researcher what to do next. The hardest part was removing the redundant information that appears between the different stories. It usually happened that a person gave information and the same information appeared, but in a completely different way. But it was difficult at a time when certain meanings were different. It got embarrassing when more than two callers presented the same thing in different ways. These exceptions were difficult to get rid of and were double checked by the researcher to see if they meant the same thing or not.

### **3.8 Ethical issue for the research**

Throughout the study, every precaution was taken so as to safeguard the right, dignities and welfare of all respondents in the study site. Prior to data collection, each subject was duly explained about the purpose of the study. Emphasis was given to the deprived groups of people such as women, Dalits, Madhesis, Indigenous group and marginal group. Participatory techniques were applied in data collection process.

Validity of qualitative data: The same tools (questionnaires), people (managers, people and political leaders) and procedures were used to collect data in all groups. This measure would provide the efficient model for which it was designed. Initial tests and pilot tests were carried out on questionnaires that were handed over to the supervisor or submitted for review and correction. To obtain valid data, the designed tools were tested and feedback was obtained from experts who presented test proposals. The researcher revised the tools to further modify the research design.

## CHAPTER 4

### CAUSES AND IMPLICATIONS OF TERAI MOVEMENT

#### 4.1 Status of Terai people and its impact on movement

The people living in Terai determined the condition of their livelihood through accessibility of public resources and they have been surviving under the rural life styles. The Terai people's movements have been influenced under the politics over the identity movement. The major effort has been under the sustainable livelihood in general and inclusion in particular. The respondents involved in research and rated over the details of all members in the family have been including income, expenditure and status of food production, profession and causes of the economic problems.

The participants have been under the categories of economic level as business communities, professional people, below poverty line, women led family, dalits and landless people to rate the status as specified. The households under the social and political access and economic level have been explained in table 4.1.

**Table 4.1: Level of people participate in movement**

S. N.	Participate member	No. of person in one Household	Person in Households (%)
1.	Business Community	27	7
2.	Professional People	73	19
3.	Below Poverty Line	176	46
4.	Woman led family	38	10
5.	Dalit People	54	14
6.	Landless People	16	4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2019**

The household of the categories of business community, professional people, below poverty line, women led family, dalit people and landless people category among the 384 respondents were rated 7 percent, 19 percent, 46 percent, 10 percent, 14 percent and 4 percent respectively.

Most of the people were from middle as well as poor classes in the Terai. The poor and Dalit people were more participate in movement indicate the economic problem and lack of identity is still existing in Terai. The table showed that Dalit, women and

economically deprived groups should be uplifted by government with positive discrimination (national mainstreaming) to the state organs for equality.

The family size was ranged from members of two to seven and above. The household family composition based on the family members comprised as shown in table 4.2.

**Table 4.2: Status of family and its impact on movement**

S.N.	No. of family members	No. of Surveyed People in Households	Surveyed People (%)
1.	2	26	6
2.	3	172	44
3.	4	86	17
4.	5	64	23
5.	6	25	7
6.	7	7	2
7.	More than 7	4	1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Among 384 households, 6 percent families consist of only two members, 44 percent by three members and 17 percent by four family members. Likewise, 23 percent of families have five members and the majority of households, around 7 percent have six members. Only 2 percent of households had seven family members and about 1 percent had more than seven family members. Most families were larger, and the Terai spoke of the advantages of a common family. Large size families need more difficult to fulfill basic facilities. So, those people were involved in movement for employment and fulfill basic needs. The employment situation should create by the government to address the issues of basic needs for largely growing population in Terai.

**Table 4.3: Literacy rate of households**

S.N.	Category	Literate Population of the Households	Percent of Literacy
1.	Female	234	32
2.	Male	211	28
3.	School going girls	147	21
4.	School going boys	134	19
	<b>Total</b>	<b>726</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

The total population of 384 households were 1068 people. Out of 1068 people, 726 people were found literate in total. The literacy rate was 68 percent in average from all the sample areas. The female comprised 32 percent, and male 28 percent in literate category. The school going girls were 21 percent and school going boys were 19 percent were in the sample households listed. The literacy rate of Terai people was very low. Low education indicated low awareness level. So, the quality and technical education is very fruitful to attract the people towards the education. The technical and quality education is very necessary for the opportunity of employment.

#### **4.2 Political exclusion**

The political parties and their organizational structures are still in the old and traditional style. Whatever the constitution assured, but in practice, the current state and political structure is unitary and structured in the fulfillment of the ruler's interests. We should follow the principle of equalization to make the state ideal one for all caste and ethnicity. The federal arrangements are particularly appropriate which can accommodate diverse population to counter balance cultural and religious cleavages. The Terai people are not equally treated in different sectors by the central government. The landlord people are getting opportunities to participate in different political layers. The marginal, poor, ethnic minority, lower caste and indigenous people are still far behind the opportunities and political inclusion (Czamecka, 1999, p. 16).

#### **4.3 Social discrimination**

The Nepalese society is completely dominated from the Hindu culture and social system. The total environment is made as the melting pot. The past rulers' policies of assimilation have created it. The racial discrimination, itself describes the discrimination concerning to race but it is only not limited in one domain, it spreads into other spheres. The racial discrimination interrelated with class, religion, language including caste. "The policy of racial discrimination survived even after the restoration of democracy in 1990. Thus, despite high social diversity, the state imposes a single Hindu religion and Nepali language upon all the country's distinct populations, opening the way to pervasive inclusion and discrimination. The social dominant practices and racial discriminations are existing even those evil practices are

prohibited by law. The social discriminations are adopted as a culture by upper class and majority of people in Terai (NHDR, 2009, p. 18).

#### **4.4 Ethnicity based discrimination**

Although the constitution has assured the provisions to prevent the discrimination, the implementation situation is very poor in Terai. The imposition of caste system upon the ethnic fabric of Nepal has created negative effects for indigenous people or Janajati created the foundation of their exclusion. While Janajati were placed on the middle rank of merchants, peasants and labours in caste hierarchy, they were subsequently sub- classified according to their consumption of alcohol and as being enslaveable or unenslaveable. Brahmin and Chhetri neither drank alcohol nor were subject to slavery, they were considered to be superior to Janajati. The designation of Nepali as the national language has been identified as yet other characteristics of high caste Hindu domination. It marginalized indigenous and minority languages thereby enabled the Nepali state to favour Hindu politics. So, the ethnic based discriminations are socially deep rooted in Terai. The ethnic minority people are discriminated by other majorities and upper-class people in Terai (NHDR, 2009, p. 20).

#### **4.5 Religious discrimination**

Due to the ruling caste's domination, the state was Hindu and other religious groups had no right to get holiday equally from the state in the past. But one of the religious group of Terai pressured the government and state was compelled the holiday. Now other social groups are also getting holidays but they are not equal in the comparison of Hindu holidays. There are several incidents of discrimination and suppression related to the religion. Among them, Junga Bahadur Rana killed two Aathpariya Rai named Ramlihang and Ridama in Dhankuta when they had refused to accept Hindu festival Dashain. The state suppression has made the non-Hindus to celebrate Dashain festivals till today. Although the religious discrimination is totally prohibited by the constitution 2015, the lower caste people are not allowed to pray inside the Temple. The caste system was started by Jayasthiti Malla depending upon people's professions. According to constitution, all people should be treated equally in religion as a humanity. The people are facing the religious discrimination problem in Terai (Rai, 1996, p. 266).

#### **4.6 Cultural dominance**

The rulers always applied the Hindu culture assimilation process in non-Hindu people. This process was brutally applied in Janajati. It was cultural hegemony of Hindu unitary rule which was applied from Prithvi Narayan's rule to Panchayat System. The homogenizing nationalism of the Panchayat consolidated hegemony in the Nepalese society of one caste, one language, one culture and one religion while excluding and marginalizing a large part of population. Although the secularism is implemented; the thoughts and beliefs are still in traditional condition. The Nepalese state was never reticent about using in its everyday affairs over Hindu religious symbols. Not only did the government construct temples for Hindu Gods and Goddess in school, college, university, government offices, hospital, police station, army barracks and in the parliamentary premises, but along with the practice of prime minister and ministers entering their official quarters following elaborate Hindu ceremonies, affairs of the state like oath-taking have been carried out delayed according to Hindu astrological calculations (Thamsuhang, 1972, p. 224).

#### **4.7 Inclusion policy**

Recently made inclusion policy but besides the proportional representation system, there is no obligation to represent the excluded groups. In the past, especially before the April Movement 2006, the representation of indigenous people participation in the parties or elected bodies was excessively low. Who were representing that also was like aide-de-camp or even lesser nominal in power holding decision making position? It means marginal groups, Dalit, Indigenous people and women were hardly connected in different government sectors and policy making sectors. Many Terai people have not been in key post of government sectors. The government endorsed the policy of inclusion Madhesi, Dalit, woman and Indigenous people but has not been fully implemented in Terai. Some policies are mentioned in black and white but not fully applied in reality. It has been violated by policy makers too (Gurung, 2004, p. 39).

#### **4.8 Linguistic discrimination**

The Gorkhali kingdom in the 1920s onward it as 'Nepal' and Khas Parbate or Gorkhali language began as 'Nepali', i.e. the language of all Nepal. In 1905, the Rana

government declared the government written in languages other than Khas-Nepali is illegal. All this coincided with the spread in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century of education in the country (Serchan, 2007, p. 16).

The study of local languages in Nepal other than the Nepali language will hinder the effective on development of the latter, given the use by the student of languages other than Nepali in the house and society will cause Nepali to become an alien language. If the students are taught Nepali from the primary level, other languages will gradually become unimportant and this will not helpful in national integration (Serchan, 2007 p. 108).

#### **4.9 Legal deprivation**

The constitution and laws discriminate the indigenous people in various ways. The treatment of Khas-Nepali language as the language of nation while calling other native language as national languages, restriction of instructions in native language upto primary level only, and prohibition of political parties based on religion, caste and community are some of the example of legal discrimination. The legal accessibility of Terai people in legal practice is very poor condition. The very few people are involving in different sectors of law enforcement agencies and its stakeholders in Terai. The legal awareness of Terai people is very miserable. The legal practices have been depended in power, position and money. Due to this reason, the legal discrimination is remain unchanged in Terai. The unethical and revenge based legal practices are still existing in Terai (Gurung, 2000, p. 86).

#### **4.10 Economic disparity**

The Panchayat system was not based upon the concept of equality. It provided virtual monopoly over economic and political benefits to the dominant caste groups as well as marginal groups especially Brahmin and Chhetri succeeded in acquiring power and position. The Mongolian community is influenced in army and police while the Newar community dominates economic activities in Nepal. The economic discrimination is the main problem of Terai. There is huge gap between rich and poor people in Terai. The issue between have and have not is the main problem of movement in Terai. There is also biasness in resources mobilization and distribution. The government facilities are distributed depending on power accessibility of

individuals' interests rather than common people's interests. The people below the poverty lines are always far behind from the government services and facilities. The landlord people and elite group always hold the economy in Terai (Phukon, 2002, p. 145).

#### **4.11 Problem of regionalism**

The Gerring identifies five criteria to judge the utility of the new concept: familiarity, resonance, parsimony, coherence and external differentiation about the regionalism (Gerring, 1999, p. 357).

The politics of Terai region is seen as inter societal rather than inter-governmental regionalism. According to Acharya, "regionalization is understood as different from regionalism in the sense that the former can be market driven and less political thought not entirely political". The conventional understanding of regional interaction based on neo functionalism; hitherto often used describe the diverse political activities in Terai. Rather than representing the process of political unification the various regionalism could be understood more productively as a reaction to the crisis in legitimacy that social order in the region have experienced under the condition of globalized modernity. An understanding of regionalism derived from sociological differentiation theory in order to advance the arguments (Acharya, 2012, p. 15).

#### **4.12 Multilateral utility and Terai regionalism**

The different institutions, organizations played selfish role in Terai. The people of Terai were used by hidden agencies. Erosion of ideology, exclusion of people's interest and internal factionalism remain the dominant trend of the party politics in Terai. The politicians have lack of vision about good governance, political stability and economic development through federalism. The Terai people have raised the voice of regionalism. Terai people wanting the autonomous Terai province through scientific restructuring for the development and well-being of Terai people (Roger, 2008, p. 23).

#### **4.13 Demographic characteristics of the respondents**

The socio-economic demographic characteristics were assessed based on the age, caste, ethnicity, educational level, occupation, gender, marital status, and location. The location was indicated based on the residence on Terai in terms of Rural



Municipality and Municipality. Table 4.4 illustrates the data related to socio-economic and demographic characteristics of respondents.

**Table 4.4: Demographic status of respondents**

SN	Variables	Frequency	Percent (%)	
1	Age	10-19 years	22	6.5
		20-24 years	43	12.8
		25-40 Years	228	67.7
		41-60 years	42	12.5
		60+years	2	0.6
2	Caste/Ethnicity	Madhesi Brahmin upper caste	54	16.0
		Lower caste	156	46.3
		Madhesi Dalit	123	36.5
		Migrated Madhesi from other regions	4	1.2
3	Education level	Illiterate	3	0.9
		Primary (1-5 Class)	93	27.6
		Secondary (6-10 class)	140	41.5
		Higher Sec. (+2 and above)	101	30.0
4	Occupation	Agriculture	182	54.0
		Service	30	8.9
		Business	58	17.2
		Students	66	19.6
		Other	1	0.3
5	Marital Status	Unmarried	58	17.2
		Married	278	82.5
		Single	1	0.3
6	Food sufficiency	1-3 months	71	21.1
		4-6 months	85	25.2
		7-9 months	78	23.1
		More than 9 months	103	30.6
7	Municipality	Lahan	55	16.3
		Kapilvastu	67	19.8
		Tikapur	64	18.9
	Rural Municipality	Bhagwanpur	49	14.5
		Suddhodhan	52	15.4
		Mohanyal	50	14.8

Source: Field survey, 2019

Table 4.4 states that out of 384 respondents, 46.3 percent respondents are Lower castes (Madhesi and Pahadi lower caste) followed by Madhesi Dalit 36.5 percent, Madhesi Brahmin 16 percent and Migrated Madhesi from other regions 1.2 percent. Almost all respondents are literate with 41.5 percent secondary level educations, majority of the respondents with 54 percent is belonging to agriculture occupation and 82.5 percent are married and majority of respondents with 67.7 percent are aged between 25 - 40 years. The institutional affiliation of the respondents was assessed based on their involvement in terms of gender. The development aspect of Terai people have been under the state of the rights established for all the groups of people with rich and poor using resources, opportunities in state structure and responsibilities of social categories.

In field survey, many people demonstrated about the situation of the excluded poor Terai people from different marginalized ethnic groups including Dalits. The categories were rated based on the food having more than 50 percent, common having 20 to 50 percent, as 10 to 20 percent and rare from 5 to 10 percent. Around 30 percents of respondents have rated for the participation of Dalits and other excluded communities from the poor categories realized that they were included from the mainstream of the state structure and resource use. They were out of 384 participants involved in survey. The next groups of 29 percents have rated the involvement of poor categories in the range of 20 to 50 percent and only 13 percents have pointed out for the distribution of the resources that have been excluded in ultra-poor. The 27 percent have been nominated as female and other some excluded in key posts as rare from the range of 5 to 10 percent.

The result has demonstrated that there are much more people participated in Terai movement who are excluded in community activities. There has been a common tradition about the misuse of poor people in favor of landlords by giving privilege to serve them, working in the field, caring and rearing the household activities as well as earning for the lords. They also worked along with their family from generation to generation and thus, the culture of Kamaiya started that made the people without having land and their own property. The food production status of the households was rated based on range of 20 to 80 percent, the least was from one to three months' sufficiency, next covered from three to six months in increasing order, the

third with 6 to 9 months as well as next from nine to twelve months having highest in rank. The data has been assessed through the field-based orientation and understanding as well as by verification from the secondary sources. The rural areas of the Terai have no sufficient food for the whole year and may be used up within few months. The group of people rated from the sufficiency beginning from three months' interval. The maximum ranges up to a year. The yearly food production status of household of Terai people has been presented in data.

The families of 54 in number have rated their food sufficiency for more than a year and most of them with the number of 98 families out of 384 families have demonstrated the food sufficiency for 9 to 12 months. The 34 families, 64 families and 67 families having agricultural profession have food sufficiency upto 1 to 3 months, 3 to 6 months and 6 to 9 months respectively. The participants under survey have committed that they have not prepared any food security plan and they have to import the food from India in emergency.

It has been demonstrated that more of the people engaged were in the range of sufficiency of food from nine to twelve months in a year. The least was measured below three months and in some extent, there were some people having sufficient food for more than a year. The trend of food sufficiency was affected by disasters occurring in increasing order and that has damaged the land and also by the use of pesticides and chemicals in the land. The way of traditional farming also led to have less food production. The people moving to foreign countries for employment also reduced the farming mechanism and lack of labour on agriculture proved the decreasing trend in producing food. The lower caste families were severely affected by poverty and food insecurity in Terai. The lower caste people were excluded in different sectors of government. The educational scenario was poor in higher secondary level as compare to the secondary level. They engaged in employment to fulfill the basic needs after secondary level education. The technical education is the way forward to attract Terai people in education.

#### **4.14 Response of people on Terai based movements**

The column-wise relation with rows show that sex has significant association with factors related to ideas and desires of Terai people for autonomous Terai, political problem is more serious than household problems, nonviolent identity-based

movement, separation of Terai, problem of basic facilities, government traditional practices and system. This column also shows that economic development, political correction and good governance. The majority of Terai people were accepted except the separation of Terai. Significant association has been presented in Table 4.5.

**Table 4.5: Awareness and response of people in Terai movement**

Awareness Factors		Sex	
		Male (%)	Female (%)
Autonomous Terai province is the main aim of movement.	Yes	85.2	72.0
	No	3.9	4.9
	Do not Know	11.0	23.1
Political problem is more serious than household problem	Yes	85.2	86.8
	No	11.6	6.0
	Do not Know	3.2	7.1
Do you want nonviolent identity-based movement?	Yes	87.7	79.7
	No	12.3	20.3
Do you have the problem of basic facilities related to Terai movement?	Yes	59.4	36.3
	No	40.6	63.7
Do you want to separate Terai from Nepal?	Yes	35.5	17.6
	No	64.5	82.4
Do you want economic development, political correction and good governance in Terai?	Yes	78.7	80.8
	No	18.7	12.1
	Do not Know	2.6	7.1
Are Terai people affected by hidden discriminations?	Yes	78.1	80.8
	No	16.1	8.2
	Do not Know	5.8	11.0
Are people affected by government's traditional practices and system in Terai community?	Yes	59.4	41.2
	No	20.0	18.7
	Don't Know	20.6	40.1

Total sample size (N) = 384

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

While assessing table 4.5, it shows that the awareness level of both male and female

of Terai people on awareness on political and economical reform through movement, it is found to be significantly different across each of above 8 factors at ten percent level of significance. However, the level of awareness about them is different at three significant levels.

Naturally, the association between two attributes at one percent level is stronger than that at ten percent level. In addition, male and female citizens may have different capacities in their awareness level about the eight factors. The above table gives more illustrations in distinguishing respondent's awareness knowledge and their understanding level on eight awareness factors. It has seen that male are slightly stronger than female citizens having more awareness on the politics, incident in stopping of conflict, awareness of legal provision of party ruling and people affected by identity-based political violence in Terai.

However, it is found that females are slightly stronger than male Terai citizens in having more awareness on household economic problems, the resource management, and political practices. It is also clear that both sex levels are not equally aware on all the factors regarding politics, change movement and economic development. Therefore, gender is one of the most determining factors about citizen awareness on movement.

The data has been divided into two broad categories including Dalits or Non-Dalits as the society has been discriminating with caste. The indicators showing the awareness level adolescent Terai people under the Dalit and Non-Dalit category have demonstrated the trend of present generation. Education of Terai people shows significant association with awareness attributes. Dalit citizens were lacking behind as compared to the Non-Dalit citizens. So, the Dalit people economically deprived due to the reason of education and awareness.

Table 4.6 has shown the rows with seven attributes having significant association towards the ethnicity at ten percent level of significance. The following are the remarkable attributes under this category.

**Table 4.6: Awareness factors about Terai movement.**

Awareness Factors		Caste/ Ethnicity	
		Dalit	Non-Dalit
Is the movement being more than enough for the fulfillment of people's desires?	Yes	67.5	84.1
	No	7.3	2.8
	Do not Know	25.2	13.1
People undergo involvement in identity based political changes	Yes	87.8	92.5
	No	1.6	3.7
	Do not Know	10.6	3.7
Do you know there is law about party politics in Nepal?	Yes	69.1	81.3
	No	30.9	18.2
	Do not Know	0.0	0.5
Is any incident on stopping political violence?	Yes	40.7	50.5
	No	59.3	49.5
Is any report registered about legal provision of policy corruption in Terai?	Yes	18.7	29.9
	No	81.3	70.1
Are poor people affected by identity based political violence in Terai community?	Yes	39.8	55.1
	No	18.7	19.6
	Do not Know	41.5	25.2

Total sample size (N) = 384

Source: Field survey, 2019

Table 4.6 shows that the “YES” response rate appears to be weighted more heavily for all of the above characteristics than for Non-Dalit citizens in the study area.

Conversely, the proportion of “NO” answers is more likely to be attributed to Dalit citizens. However, the proportions of the individual characteristics between Dalits and Non-Dalits are not far apart. However, this difference is significant as shown in third column of Table 4.6. Thus, the level of awareness among Non-Dalits is higher than among Dalits studying in Terai.

#### **4.15 International influence**

The Terai issues have also been a matter of interest for both political and scholarship beyond the country. The problem of national integration of Terai people into the national framework by force is not a viable option for the Nepalese government. The inclusion of the Terai people into the national structure through participating of national political life by the encouragement of the voluntary acceptance of national political and cultural values is the main way of equality for controlling mechanism of movement. The Terai people are isolated by the people of hilly area and Indian migrated people for the accessibility of the natural resources and other governmental facilities. The main problem of integration is the understanding gap between Terai and hilly people due to the multi-cultural, multi-religion, multi-language and international influence (Gaige, 1975, p. 186).

#### **4.16 Terai nationalism and restructuring**

In January- February 2007, Terai uprising 21 days long mass movement participated in large masses of the Terai population was unprecedented even parallel to Janandolan second of April 2006. It is a land mark even in bringing prominent issues in national discourse on restructuring the state. The Terai identity has been historically asserted by political activism and it gets a solid recognition as an impact of the recent movement in Terai. After the Lahan Massacre, the Terai people appeared violently in movement (Hachhethu, 2007, p. 44).

#### **4.17 Nepal Sadbhawana Party and Terai politics**

Nepal Sadbhawana Party was formed by Anandadevi Singh in March 2003. In June 2007, NSP merged into NSP (A) with the chairmanship of Anandadevi. After three months of formation of Nepal Sadbhawana Party, Rajendra Mahato and Laxmanlal Karna formed Sadbhawana Party. In August 2008, Mahato was removed as chairperson of the party and Jaya Prakash Gupta became acting chairman of the party instead. In 2015, Nepal Sadbhawana Party led by Sarita Giri and Anil Kumar Jha led Shanghiya Sadbhawana Party have merged to form a single party called Nepal Sadbhawana Party. This party worked together with Seven Party Alliances (SPA) for the establishment of federal republic.

#### **4.18 Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party**

The Terai-Madhes Loktantrik Party is a political party in Nepal led by former Minister for Science and Technology and the former Nepali Congress leader Mahanta Thakur. The establishment of party was announced on December 27, 2007. On December 31, 2007, Centre Working Committee was formed, chaired by Thakur and having other members were Hridayesh Tripathi, Brikesh Chandra Lal, Mahendra Prasad Yadav. The party obtained 3.49 percent of votes in 2008 and took 21 seats in Constitution Assembly. On December 31, 2010, the party suffered vertical split when nine lawmakers led by Mahendra Raya Yadav separated and created new party named Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party-Nepal. The nine lawmakers were Ramani Raya, Govinda Chaudhari, Dan Bahadur Chaudhari, Chandan Shah, Salauddin Musalman, Sabitri Devi Yadav, Arbida Shah and Urmila Mahato (Heinz, 1998, p. 112).

#### **4.19 Madhesi Janadhikar Forum Nepal**

The Madhesi People Right Forum Nepal (MRFN) was a political party in Nepal. Originally, it was not a political party as such, but a political advocacy movement that demanded Madhesis rights to self-determination with the creation of an autonomous Terai for the Terai people, a proportional electoral system, and the creation of a federal republic in Nepal. The MJF included former leaders of other political parties such as the Nepali Congress and the CPN (UML). The party was registered with Electoral Commission of Nepal as head of Constituent Assembly elections.

The MJF declared “Madhes Banda” on January 16, 2007, calling for an amendment to the provisional constitution in favor of a federal system and new delineation of constituencies. Fourteen MJF members, including Upendra Yadav and MP Amresh Kumar Singh, were arrested in Kathmandu after burning copies of the 2007 Interim Constitution (Heinz, 1998, p. 66).

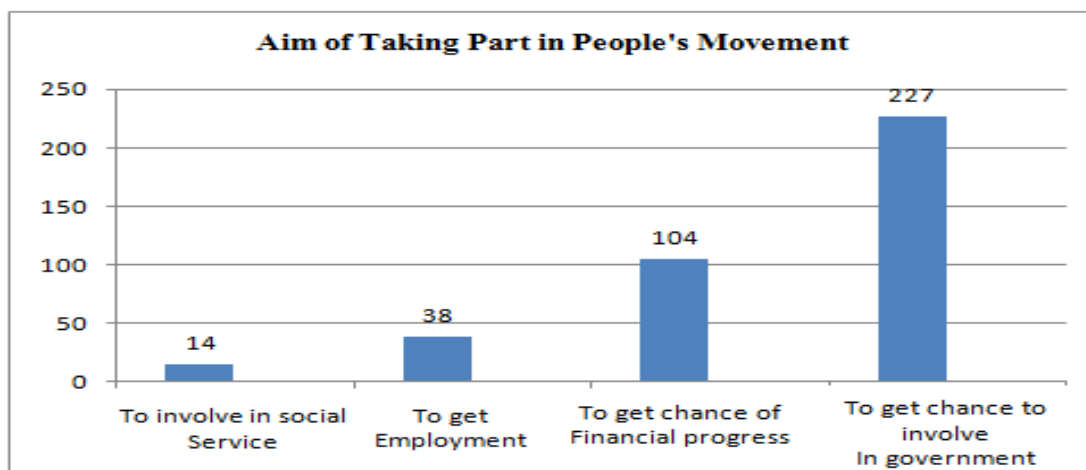
#### **4.20 Objective of participation in Terai movement**

The survey carried out from among the sample population has shown the contribution of their response within the range of agree and disagree level within their expectation related to movement with respect to social values. The positive response demonstrates the satisfaction level in present situation and negative response shows the dimension



of conflict and its intensity. The positive norms and its practice stand for disagreement for movement and negative values stand for agreeing with movement in Terai.

**Figure 4.1: Aim of taking part in people’s movement**



**Source: Field survey, 2019**

The expectations of the political groups for supporting the people’s movement were rated under their willingness for employment, involvement on social service, getting chance on financial progres and even getting chance to involve in government. Most of the people involved in movement to join in government services which indicates the economic condition and employment problem is very poor.

**Table 4.7: Status of people involvement in movement**

S.N.	Expectations for supporting	Number of Households	Number of Households (%)
1	Getting employment	96	25
2	Getting chance on financial progress	56	14
3	Getting chance on government services	43	11
4	Involvement on social service	43	11
5	All above	134	40
	<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

As presented on table 4.7, out of 384 participants, 134 participants i.e. 40 percent rated that they are expecting employment, chance on government, involving in social service and financial progress. Similarly, 25 percent were found with willingness of

getting employment, 14 percent are expecting the chance on financial progress and 11 percent are expecting on chance to take part in government and social service respectively. The people were involved in movement for the personal benefits rather than national interests. So, the unemployment situation and economic condition is critical in Terai. The economic upliftment of individual people in Terai is the way out to address issues of movement.

#### **4.21 Madhesi Youth Forums**

Madhesi Youth Forums was the youth wing of Madhesi Janadhikar Forum in Nepal. As of April 2007, Jitendra Sen was the President of MYF. In the summer of 2007, MJF established the youth wing of the Madhesi Youth Forum. According to an article in the Nepal Samacharpatra newspaper, the MJF intended to offer combat training to MYF cadres. Nepal Samacharpatra explained that the reason for establishing MYF was to counteract the influence of YCL Nepal (Heinz, 1998, p. 78).

#### **4.22 United Democratic Madhesi Front**

The MJF and Rajendra Mahato, led by Nepal's Sadbhawana Party, formed the Madhesi Democratic United Front with a nine-point platform. The front demanded the creation of an autonomous Terai state. On January 19, Madhesi United Front announced the start of the protest movement on January 23. On January 20, 2008, the Terai-Madhes Loktantrik party sided with the call for mass protests. The strike, which began on January 23, 2008, had the greatest impact in Janakpur. On February 3, 2008, the UDMF intensified the demonstrations, which called for a strike in several districts. On the second day of restrictions on MJF activities, there were clashes with police in Nawalparasi. MJF, SP, TMLP and UDMF made six demands, including the establishment of an autonomous Madhesi state, the right to self-determination, proportional representation of Madhesi Janajatis and the recruitment of Madhesi into the Nepalese army. The UDMF announced a demonstration on February 11 and 12, and an indefinite strike began on February 13 (Heinz, 1998, p. 234).

#### **4.23 Citizen campaign against ill practices**

Generally, it was expected that community of Terai people wanted to address the issues regarding political exclusion, corruption, fraudulence, discriminations and

human rights violence. The following table 4.8 shows a real situation. The results of each questions are listed as follows:

**Table 4.8: Movement campaign against ill practices**

Campaign against	Responses	
	Number	Percent
Campaign against political exclusion	66	17.1
Campaign against corruption	115	29.9
Campaign against fraudulence	60	15.6
Campaign against discrimination	72	18.7
Campaign against human rights violence	68	17.7
Response – No	3	0.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2019**

In Table 4.8, there are 384 responses for above listed issues were recorded. In the past one year, the community Terai people effort to tackle issues by conducting movement campaigns to advocate against the anti-corruption was 29.9 percent. This awareness campaign affects the citizens to learn how to manage the peaceful movement environment to achieve the rights. The second most interesting issues against which campaigns are conducted is discrimination was 18.7 percent. Some parts of nation, a social violence is considered traditional culture with religious values in the society. This traditional belief has seen as social influence that causing the citizens involved in conflict without reaching the goal. Similarly, there are other ill practices widely prevalence in area like human rights violation was 17.7 percent, political exclusion was 17.1 percent, fraudulence was 15.6 percent and no response was 0.7 percent. To end such manifested problems deeply rooted in the social norms in the social fabric, the politicians and government are seemed to play a significant role in the survey.

## CHAPTER 5

### STRATEGIES AND MITIGATION OF TERAI MOVEMENT

#### 5.1 Basic facilities available in Terai

The basic facilities supply for the poor people was found available in some areas managed by NGOs and in some places by government agencies. However, most of the Terai people in interaction agreed that they themselves managed the basic need for the family and some members from the poor family do not get the facilities. Terai political parties were found unaware about the poor people's need to be fulfilled and also the places were not found hygienic for living. There were no proper facilities of water, food, clothes and home in most of the places in Terai during the observation by the researcher. The status of the basic facilities as rated by the participants has been illustrated in table 5.1.

**Table 5.1: Basic facilities available in Terai**

<b>Basic Facilities</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>	<b>Number of Respondent (%)</b>
Water from Tap	45	11
Food	76	20
Clothing	115	30
House	96	25
Employment	39	10
Others	13	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

As described on table 5.1, out of 384 participants, 115 participants i.e. 30 percent rated that the clothing available for basic purposes was from the local resources. Similarly, 20 percent rated that they have food and another 10 percent rated that they get employment available in the market. However, 25 percent agreed that they have house to live in and 11 percent rated the drinking water source as water from the tap. Beside the basic facilities, only 4 percent expressed that they wanted other facilities as well. The people in Terai are suffering from the basic facilities. Due to the scarcity of basic facilities, the people involved in movement to fulfill their basic need through federal restructuring. The rapidly increasing population needed more basic facilities

which also created the problem in Terai. So, the government should make strategic management to address the issue of basic need in Terai.

During the interaction, Terai people were asked about the responsibility of people for supporting the activities in the party central office premises. The categories of people recognized were leader/ supporter, helper or non-helper themselves. The people were not found more aware about the political participation in most of the areas. The status of the people involvement rated by the respondents has been illustrated in table 5.2.

**Table 5.2: Participation in political activities**

S.N.	Participation in Party Activities	Number of Respondents	Number of Respondents (%)
1	Party followers	134	35
2	Leaders	154	42
3	People themselves	96	22
	<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

As described on table 5.2, out of 384 participants, 154 participants i.e. 42 percent rated that the facilitators/leaders themselves involved in participating in party activities and care about the rights of the people. The behaviour parts of the politics were also taught by them. Similarly, 35 percent rated that community helper was assigned the support in party premises, and 22 percent rated cadres themselves maintained the party activities in the areas. The provisions of the party activities were more sophisticated in party premises that the party cadres were sent with food. The volunteers get meal from the party headquarter provided in some of the cases and in most of the cases they used junk food, or local home-made food. Some leaders also got cash from the party as lunch allowance and private houses prepared the meal for them from that fund. The status of the everyday meal practice as rated by the respondents has been illustrated. The major practice of party cadres in available food practice were under the consideration of junk food like noodles, dry foods, biscuits and other readymade processed foods some with outdated and some without dates mentioned. The homemade food was made in local level and were seasonal. Some were available in summer season and some in winter. Some of the food was managed by party and some with the available with menu for the weeks. Some were not getting

the meal at all. Out of the groups discussed some were mentioned that the money was available in cash for purchasing the food for their cadres. Most of the people are participated in respected parties and mobilized according to their interest. People were blindly connected in party without understanding the principles of political party. So, such type of political system should be reformed. The people were taking part in movement only for food. So, it was clear that the economic condition of people in Terai.

## 5.2 Movement impact on facilities

The creation of favourable political and economic environment was identified as one of the major essential elements in community development interventions. The state supported facilities, transportation and follow of discipline were rated under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of the basic facilities available in the locality as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in table 5.3.

**Table 5.3: Movement impacts on facilities in Terai**

Categories	Number	Percent (%)
Fully disagree	29	7.6
Partially disagree	53	13.7
Partially agree	167	43.5
Fully agree	135	35.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

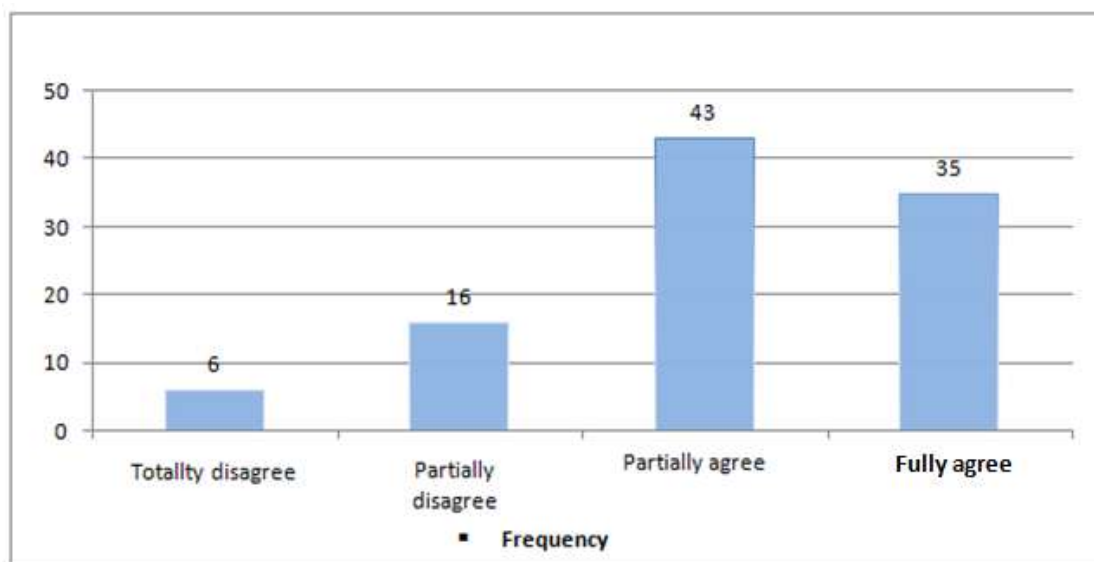
**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 5.3 explains that 167 people partially and 135 people fully agreed for the basic facilities distributed in the locality after movement. Similarly, 29 people totally and 53 people partially disagreed for the facilities distributed in the community. By this, what it is understood that the larger percent of people responded for the facilities available in the locality whereas few percent of people responded against the security in the community. The availability of facilities is the sign of well practicing of political leaders for the people of Terai. The participants rated about the condition of delivering the facilities under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of the facilities available in the community as rated by the respondents can be rated based on the categories of four-point scale. The creation

of healthy environment not only reflects ecosystem of adjusting the local and indigenous practices of the farming and businesses but also to reflect the healthy situation of the Terai to escape of epidemic diseases and other health hazards that spray abruptly and kill large number of people at a time. The situation of health services and priorities of getting such system is highly demanded in the community of Terai areas. All the government services were crippled. The public properties were destroyed. But the people expected facilities are not available after Terai movement. So, the scientific mechanism should be developed to provide the needed facilities of Terai people.

The community social leaders were found habituated on collective group for economic development in the community. It was a good indicator of creating economic development environment. The participants rated about the condition of collective group work approach under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of the collective group work activities available in the community as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in figure 5.1.

**Figure 5.1: Cumulative efforts in economic development**



**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Figure 5.1 shows that regarding collective work of leader and community, 43 percent people partially and 35 percent people fully agree with the preference of leaders to collectively team work in the community. But 16 percent people partially and 6 percent people fully disagree with the team work preferred by the leaders in the

community. In this issue the large number of people agreed with the team work of political leaders and community for the economic development. The economic development is possible through the meaningful integrated function between community, political parties and government. The unsystematic and interest-based functions are still existing in Terai. The industrialization and scientific agriculture should be prioritized by government. The strategic plans are necessary for the revolution in industry and agriculture.

The participants claimed that the major factors of ensuring environment of good governance and formation of corruptionless mechanism should be developed for economic reform. The participants rated about the good governance and formation of corruptionless mechanism under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of good governance and formation of corruptionless mechanism as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in table 5.4.

**Table 5.4: Formation of corruptionless mechanism and good governance**

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent (%)</b>
Totally disagree	31	8
Partially disagree	57	15
Partially agree	132	34
Fully agree	164	43
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 5.4 shows that 132 people as respondents partially and 164 fully agree with the issues of good governance and anti-corruption mechanism for economic development and conflict settlement and 57 of them partially and 31 people fully disagree with the good governance and corruptionless mechanism. So, most of the respondents indicated the existence of corruption and bad governance in Terai. The good governance and corruptionless mechanism can address the issues of Terai movement.



### 5.3 Movement controlling strategies in Terai

For the proper controlling violence of the community, different strategies were practiced in the area including regular awareness programmes, taking feedback from stakeholders, all facilities available at the community, optimum use of resources mobilization, taking feedback from society, adopt perfect monitoring and evaluation mechanism, avoiding traditional political and economic practices and not prioritizing conflict and violence creating activities. There is need of ensuring the plans and programmes to uplift the economic growth in Terai through the development of infrastructure and enterprises. The political development may be the first and major area where the reform activities are focused to deliver the system.

The participants rated about the monitoring and evaluation mechanism should be perfect to run the nation in system under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of the regular monitoring created the right way of national function as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in table 5.5.

**Table 5.5: Adoption of perfect monitoring and evaluation mechanism**

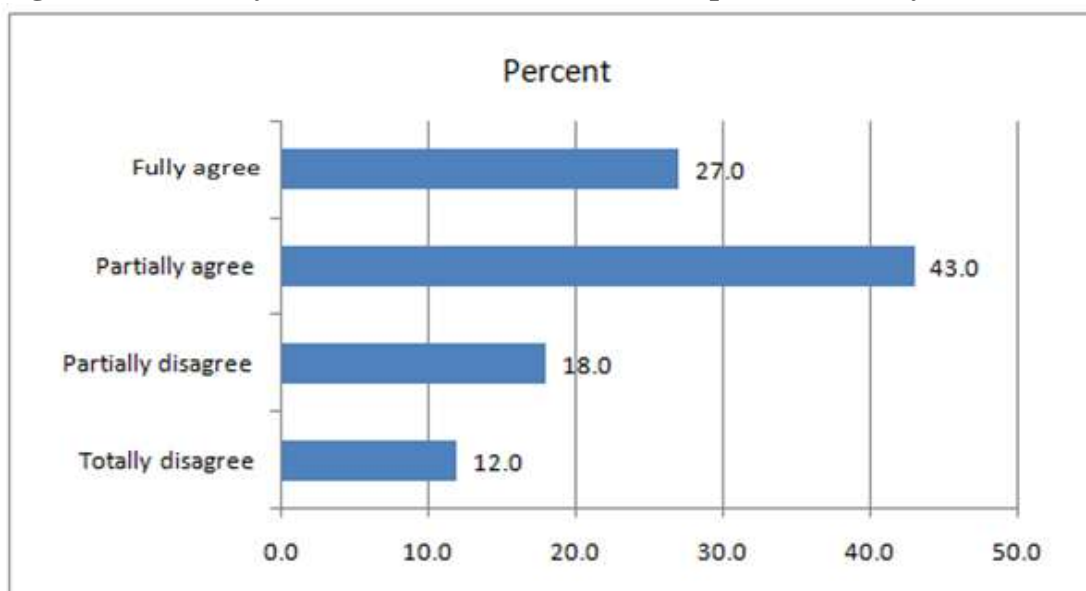
Categories	Number	Percent (%)
Totally disagreed	23	6
Partially disagree	33	9
Partially agreed	107	28
Fully agreed	221	57
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 5.5 shows that 107 people partially and 221 people fully agree with the adoption of perfect evaluation and monitoring mechanism in Terai and 33 of them partially and 23 people fully disagree with the monitoring and evaluation of all the national related functions. The monitoring and evaluation mechanism were very poor in Terai. It has ensured that there is proper monitoring of development interventions in terms of results. The scientific federal restructuring with well monitoring and evaluation mechanism assist to address the issues of movement in Terai.

The participants rated that the directly elected executive head through cheapest electoral system to response the issues of movement in Terai. The participants rated about the direct elected executive head through cheapest electoral system under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of the directly elected executive head through cheapest electoral system as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in figure 5.2.

**Figure 5.2: Directly elected executive head and cheapest electoral system**

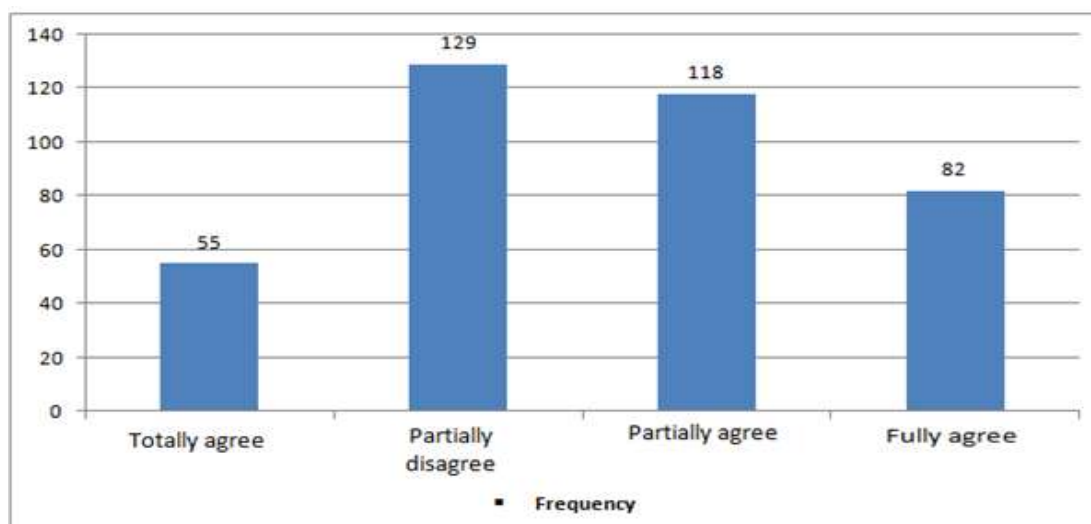


**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Figure 5.2 indicates that 18 percent people partially and 12 percent fully disagree with the directly elected executive head through cheapest electoral system to response the issues of movement in Terai. Contrary to it, 43 percent partially and 27 percent fully agree with directly elected executive head through the cheapest electoral system to response the issues of movement in Terai. The good practice of resource management can be seen on the institutions where the leaders focus on optimum utilizations of infrastructures and resources in the development reform.

The organizations were also assessed based on their utilization of the resources and infrastructures for ensuring quality of life of the people. The participants rated about the implementation of proportional resources mobilization policy under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of the implementation of proportional resources mobilization policy by the respondents has been illustrated in figure 5.3.

**Figure 5.3: Implementation of proportional resource mobilization policy**



**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Figure 5.3 explains that 118 and 82 people out of 384 people rated that they partially and fully agree that there is implementation of proportional resources mobilization policies respectively. On the other hand, 55 and 129 people rated fully and partially disagree on the opinion that there is implementation of proportional resources mobilization policy respectively. It shows that the resources distribution policy is not scientific in Terai. The scientific federal restructuring with proportional resources distribution can address the issues of movement in Terai.

The participants rated about the creation of non-discrimination environment under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The Status of the creation of non-discrimination environment has been illustrated in table 5.6.

**Table 5.6: Creation of non-discrimination environment**

Categories	Number	Percent (%)
Totally disagree	40	10
Partially disagree	71	19
Partially agree	114	30
Fully agree	159	41
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2019**

Table 5.6 shows that 114 people partially and 159 fully agree with creation of non-discrimination environment. Contrary to this, 71 people partially and 40 fully disagree with the creation of non-discrimination environment. The racial discrimination, cultural discrimination, economic discrimination, language discrimination, gender discrimination and ethnic discrimination are still existing in Terai.

The participants rated about the proper implementation of inclusion policy under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of the proper implementation of inclusion policy as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in table 5.7.

**Table 5.7: Proper implementation of inclusion policy**

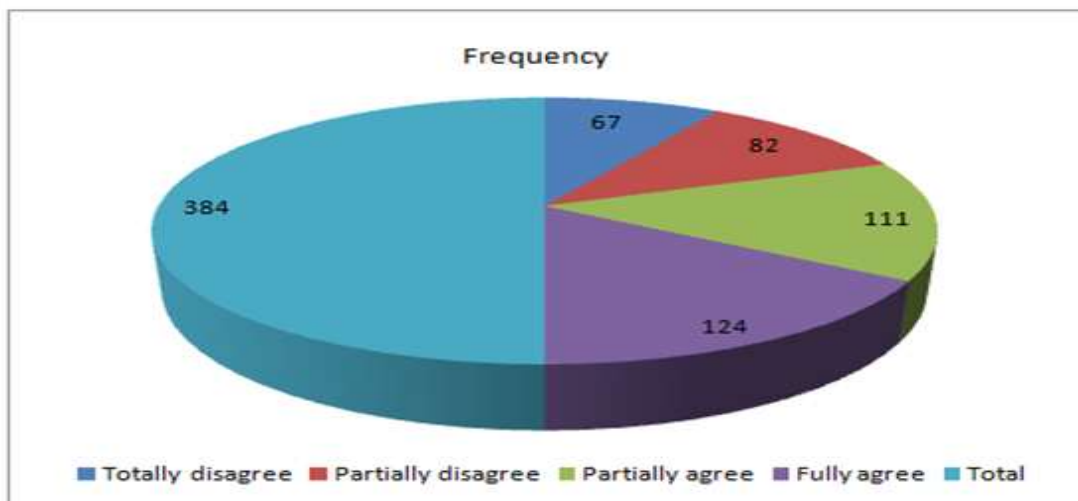
<b>Categories</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent (%)</b>
Totally disagree	93	24
Partially disagree	77	20
Partially agree	96	25
Fully agree	118	31
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 5.7 indicates that out of 384 respondents, 77 people as respondents partially and 93 fully disagree with the proper implementation of inclusion policy in Terai. On the other hand, 96 people partially and 118 fully agree that proper implementation of inclusion policy. The economic deprived, indigenous, lower caste and marginalized people should be uplifted in mainstreaming to address the issues of movement in Terai. The woman and differently abled people should be uplifted in mainstreaming.

The political conflict was another hurdle to run modern community smoothly in the society. The participants stated that people wanted autonomous province through federal restructuring in Terai. The participants rated about autonomous province through federal restructuring under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of the number of autonomous province through federal restructuring has been illustrated in figure 5.4.

**Figure 5.4: Autonomous Terai Province through federal restructuring**

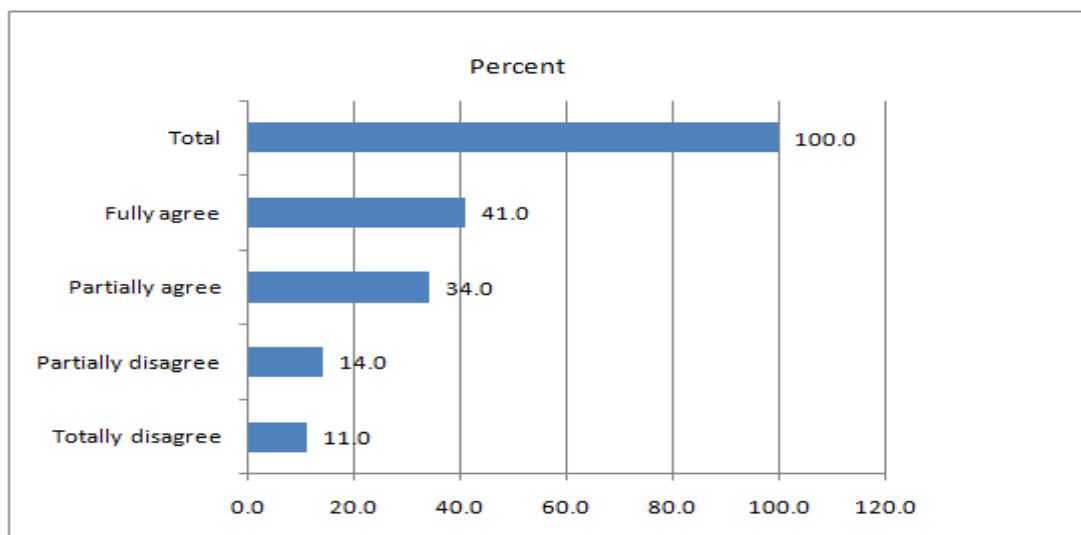


**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Figure 5.4 indicates that out of 384 people, 67 people totally disagree, and 82 people partially disagree about autonomous province through federal restructuring in Terai. On the other hand, 111 people partially agree and 124 fully agree about autonomous province through federal restructuring in Terai. So, the majority of Terai people wanted the autonomous Terai province through federal restructuring.

Trade unions have a vital role to settle the movement issues in Terai. The participants rated about the politically associated trade unions under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of politically associated trade unions as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in figure 5.5.

**Figure 5.5: Politically associated trade unions**



**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Figure 5.5 indicates that 34 percent people partially agree and 41 percent people fully agree with the politically associated trade unions. On the other hand, 14 percent people partially and 11 percent fully disagree with the politically associated trade unions. The people demanded politically associated trade unions to address the issues of movement in Terai. Political related trade union created the problem of movement in Terai.

People rated that accountable political leadership should be necessary for the settlement of movement. The frequencies of accountable political leadership under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of the number as rated about accountable political leadership by the respondents has been illustrated in table 5.8.

**Table 5.8: Accountable political leadership**

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent (%)</b>
Totally disagree	42	11
Partially disagree	54	14
Partially agree	129	34
Fully agree	159	41
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 5.8 indicates that 129 people partially and 159 people fully agree with the issue of accountable political leadership. On the other hand, 54 people partially and 42 people fully disagree with the accountable political leadership in Terai. The termination and irresponsible leadership made the confusion to the people and effects the sustainable development in Terai. So, the traditional political parties and their leaders almost failed to address the issues of movement in Terai. The irresponsibilities of political leadership destroyed the trust between political leader and people in Terai. The participants rated about ensuring the identity of Terai and Terai people under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of

ensuring the identity of Terai and Terai people as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in table 5.9.

**Table 5.9: Ensuring the identity of Terai and Terai people**

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent (%)</b>
Totally disagree	34	9
Partially disagree	60	16
Partially agree	125	32
Fully agree	165	43
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 5.9 points out that 43 percent people fully and 32 percent people partially agree with ensuring the identity of Terai and Terai people and 16 percent people partially and 9 percent people fully disagree with ensuring the identity of Terai and Terai people. People were struggling to their identity and the identity of Terai. So, people wanted the autonomous Terai province and specific identity of Terai people.

The participants rated about ensuring the rights of Terai people in Constitution under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of ensuring rights of Terai people in Constitution as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in table 5.10.

**Table 5.10: Ensuring rights of Terai people in Constitution.**

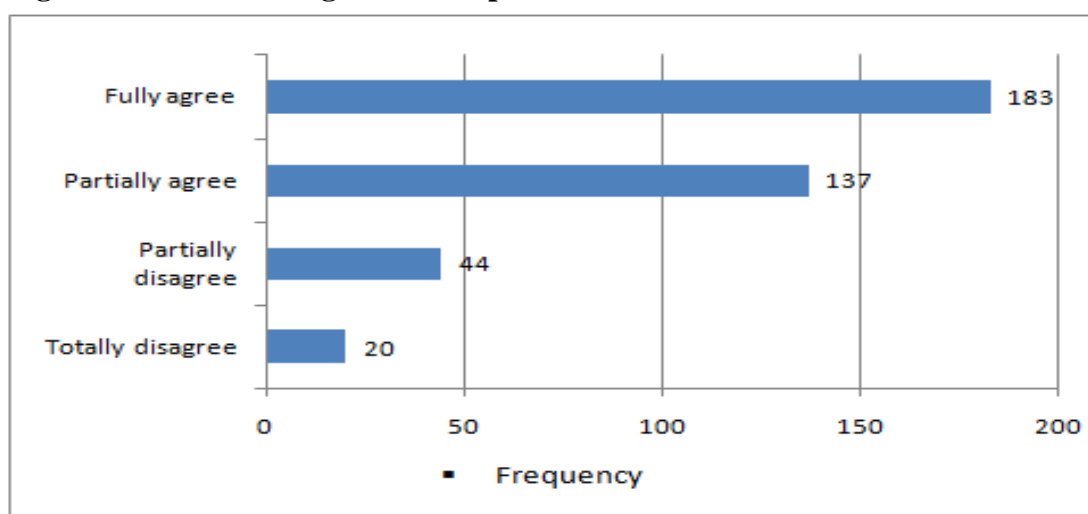
<b>Categories</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent (%)</b>
Totally disagree	37	10
Partially disagree	64	17
Partially agree	136	35
Fully agree	147	38
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 5.10 shows that out of 384 people 38 percent people fully and 35 percent people partially agree with ensuring the rights of Terai people in Constitution. Contrary to this, 17 percent partially and 10 percent fully disagree ensuring the rights of Terai people in Constitution. People participated in movement to ensure the citizenship right, right to self-determination, inclusion and proportional based constituencies in Terai.

The participants rated about micro change on development after movement under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of micro change influences on development after movement as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in figure 5.6.

**Figure 5.6: Micro change on development after movement**



**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Figure 5.6 indicates that 137 people partially agree and 183 fully agree with micro change on development after movement and 44 people partially and 20 people fully disagree with micro change on development after movement. The people expected drastic change in development after movement but the development is beyond the expectation of people in Terai. So, the economic development is one of the main factor to address the movement in Terai.

The economic condition of Terai is very poor. The participants rated about employment opportunities under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of the community about employment opportunities has been illustrated in table 5.11.



**Table 5.11: Employment opportunities**

Categories	Number	Percent (%)
Totally disagree	16	4
Partially disagree	44	11
Partially agree	153	40
Fully agree	171	45
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 5.11 indicates that 11 percent people partially and 4 percent people fully disagree with employment opportunities in Terai. Opposing it, 40 percent people partially and 45 percent people fully agree with employment opportunities. Most of the people were unemployment in Terai. The educational unemployment is very serious problem in Terai. Employment environment should be created by the government to address the issue of movement in Terai.

The modern politicians should focus on compensation management for victim of Terai movement. The participants rated about the compensation management for victim of Terai movement under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The compensation management for victim of Terai movement as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in table 5.12.

**Table 5.12: Compensation management for victim of Terai movement**

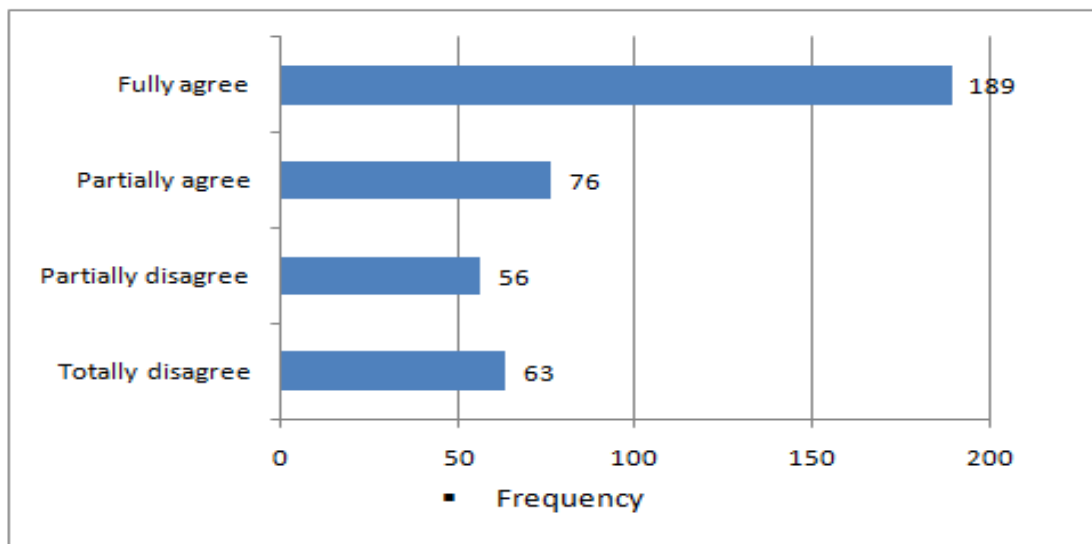
Categories	Number	Percent (%)	Cumulative Percent
Totally disagree	47	12	12
Partially disagree	47	12	24
Partially agree	134	35	59
Fully agree	156	41	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>	

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 5.12 shows that 47 people partially and 47 people fully disagree with the compensation management for victim of Terai. Contrary to it, 134 people partially and 156 people fully agreed with the compensation management for victim of Terai movement. Fifty-three people were dead and thousands of people were wounded in movement during federal restructuring in Terai. Some people lost the private property in course movement in Terai. So, the mechanism should be developed to address the compensation in Terai.

The participants rated about the policy formation to abolish social evils under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of policy formation to abolish social evils as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in figure 5.7.

**Figure 5.7: Policy formation to abolish social evils**



**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Figure 5.7 shows that 56 people partially disagree and 63 people fully disagree with policy formation to abolish social evils. Contrary to this, 76 people partially and 189 people fully agree with the policy formation to abolish social evils. Many superstitious and deep-rooted blind culture were still existing in Terai. The dowry system and kamaiya system created unstable economic problem in Terai. Some of the social evils were hiddenly existing in Terai.

The participants rated about ensuring the regionalism policy under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of ensuring the regionalism policy as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in table 5.13.

**Table 5.13: Ensuring the regionalism policy**

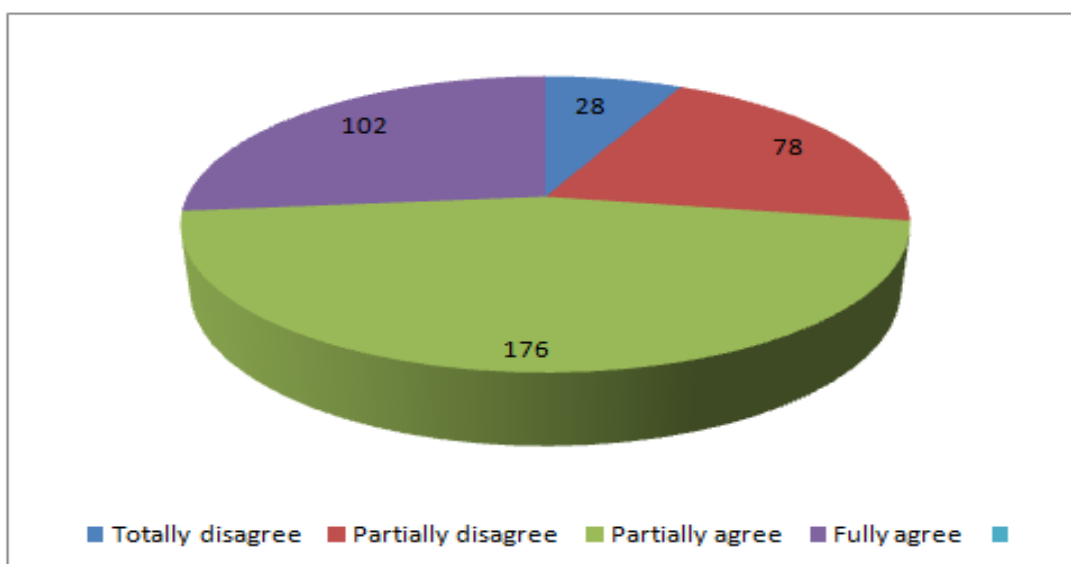
Categories	Number	Percent (%)
Totally disagree	41	11
Partially disagree	81	21
Partially agree	116	30
Fully agree	146	38
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 5.13 shows that out of 384 respondents, 38 percent people fully and 30 percent people partially agree with ensuring the regionalism policy. Contrary to it, 21 percent people partially and 11 percent people fully disagree with ensuring the regionalism policy in Terai. The people were expecting the regionalism through movement for federal restructuring in Terai.

The participants rated about the mechanism to abolish the hidden slavery in Terai under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of mechanism to abolish the hidden slavery in Terai as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in Figure 5.8.

**Figure 5.8: Mechanism to abolish the hidden slavery in Terai**



**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Figure 5.8 indicates that out of 384 participants, 176 partially and 102 fully agree that the mechanism to abolish the hidden slavery in Terai. On the other hand, only 28 fully and 78 partially disagree that mechanism to abolish the hidden slavery in Terai. The majority of the people agreed with the mechanism to abolish the hidden slavery in Terai. Only few numbers of people disagreed with lack of mechanism to abolish the hidden slavery in Terai. The hidden slavery cases are still existing although it is prohibited by law. The set of mind should be changed to root out the hidden slavery in Terai.

The participants rated about quality and technical education under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of quality and technical education has been illustrated in table 5.14.

**Table 5.14: Quality and technical education**

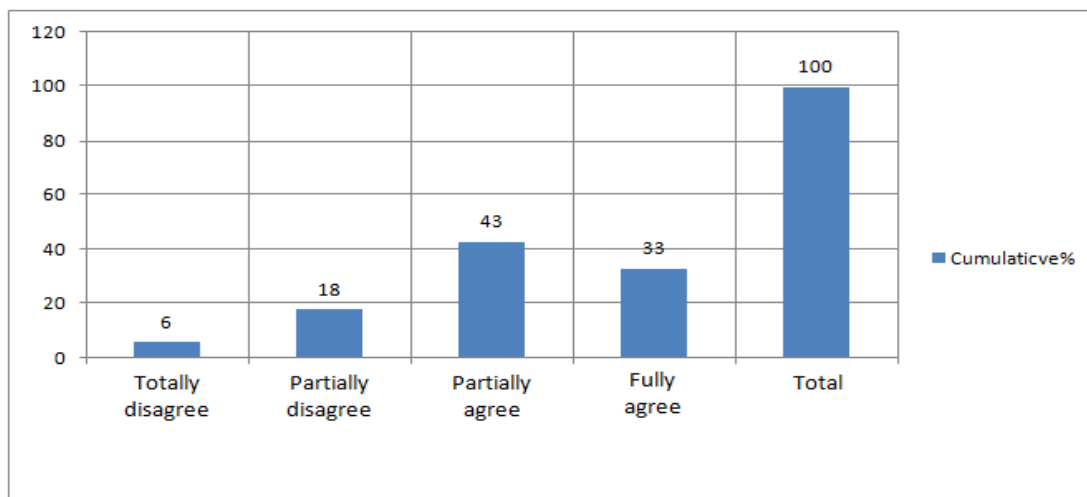
<b>Categories</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent (%)</b>
Totally disagree	23	6
Partially disagree	68	18
Partially agree	128	33
Fully agree	165	43
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 5.14 explains that 68 people partially and 23 people fully disagree with quality and technical education. Contrary to this, 165 people fully and 128 people partially agree with quality and technical education. The technical education is necessary for the creation of employment opportunities in Terai. The quality and technical education can address the issue movement in Terai. The educational unemployment was created due to lack of quality and technical education in Terai.

The participants rated about the adaptation of scientific government functional system under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of the adaptation of good governance system has been illustrated in figure 5.9.

**Figure 5.9: Adaptation of good governance system**

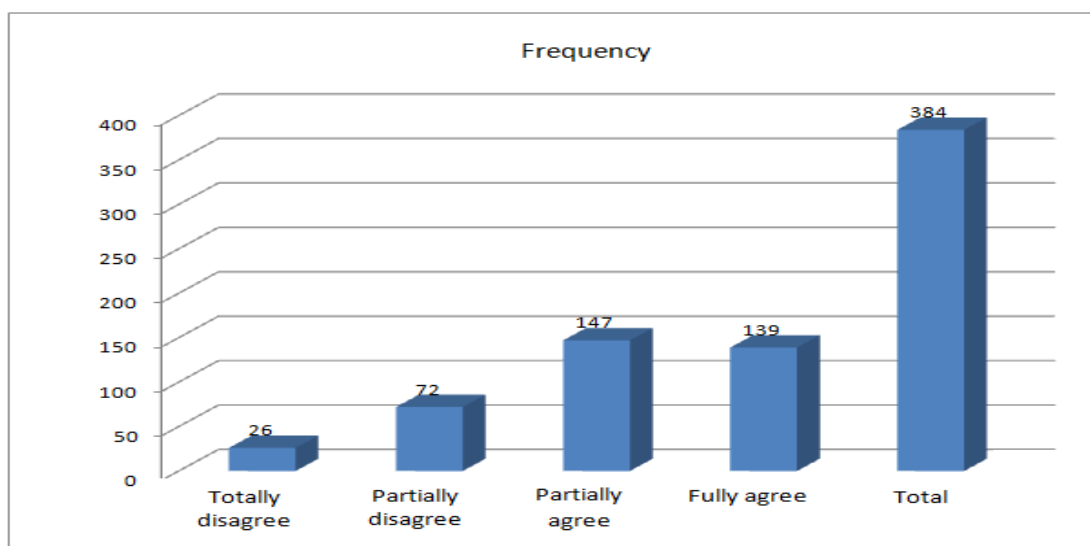


**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Figure 5.9 shows that 43 percent partially and 33 percent fully agree with the adaptation of good governance system and 18 percent partially and 6 percent fully disagree with the adaptation of good governance system in Terai. The traditional government system is still existing in Terai. The system readable function can address the issue of movement in Terai.

The participants rated about the problem of politicizing under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The problem of politicizing has been illustrated in figure 5.10.

**Figure 5.10: Problem of politicizing**



**Source: Field survey, 2019**

These people were in agreement with the problem of politicizing. Figure 5.10 specifies that 147 people partially and 139 fully agree with the problem of politicizing and 72 people partially and 26 people fully disagree with the problem of politicizing in Terai. The politicizing situation is still existing in Terai. Every events are connected to the politics. The revenged based political activities are existing in Terai. So, the fights among the parties are very minor in Terai. The development issues are also connected to the politics in Terai.

The participants rated about mechanism to remove impunity under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of the mechanism to remove impunity has been illustrated in table 5.15.

**Table 5.15: Mechanism to remove impunity**

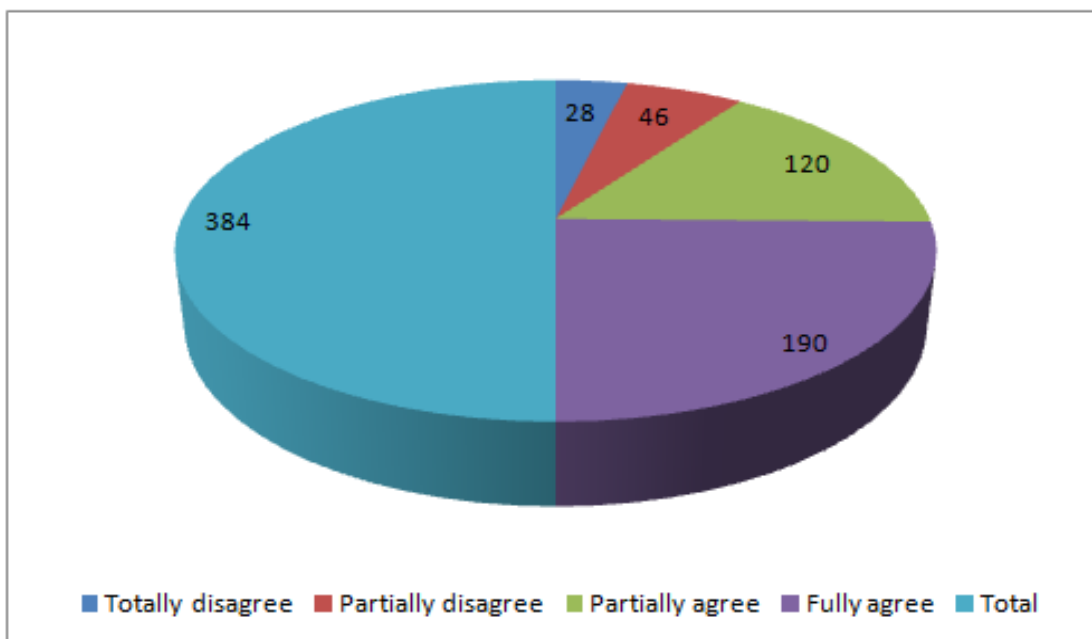
<b>Categories</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent (%)</b>
Totally disagree	13	3
Partially disagree	41	11
Partially agree	107	28
Fully agree	223	58
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 5.15 shows that 11 percent people partially disagree and 3 percent fully disagree with mechanism to remove impunity. Contrary to this, 28 percent people partially agree and 58 percent people fully agree with the mechanism to remove impunity. The impunity is remaining in Terai. Participant stated that the rule of law is the foundation for prosperous Terai. Peace and justice come from rule of law.

The participants rated about the practice of lack of result-based assessment in community under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of lack of the result-based assessment as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in figure 5.11.

**Figure 5.11: Lack of result-based assessment**



**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Figure 5.11 indicates that 46 people partially disagree and 28 fully disagree with lack of result-based assessment adopted by the politicians and policy makers and 120 people partially and 190 people fully agree with lack of result-based assessment adopted by the politicians and community. The targetless functions were done by political leaders and policy makers. The cheating functions were done by politicians in Terai. The strong determination should be very urgent for the result-based functions in Terai

The movement has different motives and different guidelines. Among them, one of the strong reason is international influence according to their views. Some factors created the negative propaganda for foreign hidden interest in Terai. Some factors diverted the Terai movement into violent form. Some of the factors were secretly pushing the Terai into separate state. Many international factors were involving the movement according to their interests rather than actual interests of people in Terai.

The participants rated about the international influence on Terai movement under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of the international influence on Terai movement as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in table 5.16.

**Table 5.16: International influence on Terai movement**

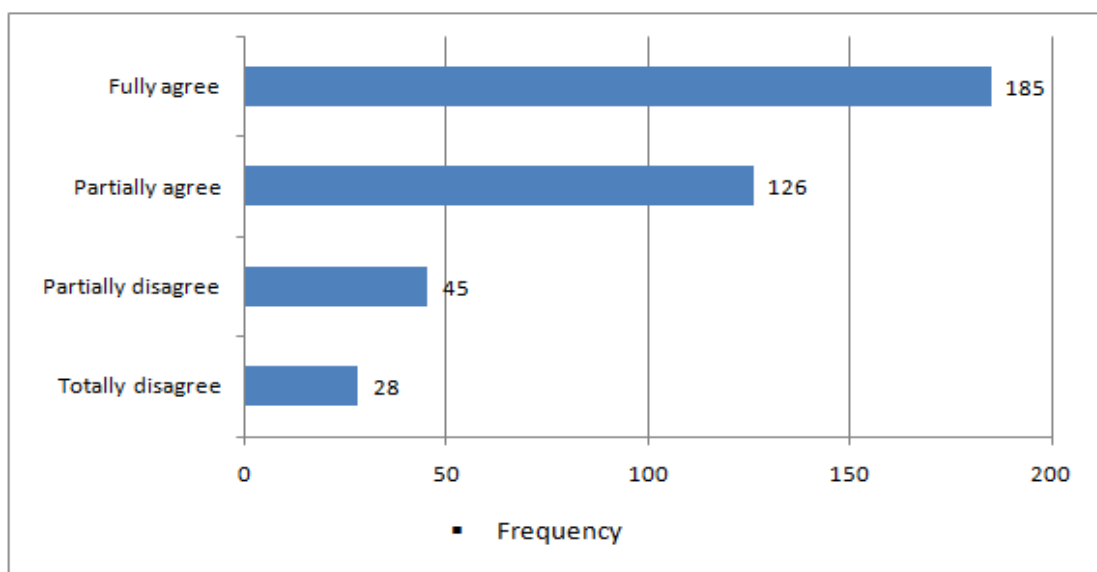
Categories	Number	Percent (%)
Totally disagree	26	7
Partially disagree	33	8
Partially agree	130	34
Fully agree	195	51
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 5.16 shows that 8 percent people partially and 7 percent totally disagree with the international influence on Terai movement and 34 percent partially and 51 percent fully agree with the international influence on Terai movement. Some of the hidden factors were involving to push the movement of Terai.

The participants rated about the problem of intra and inter-parties conflict in Terai under fully disagree, partially disagree, partially agree and fully agree criteria. The status of the problem of intra and inter-parties conflict as rated by the respondents has been illustrated in figure 5.12.

**Figure 5.12: Problem of intra and inter-parties conflict**



**Source: Field survey, 2019**



Figure 5.12 indicates that 45 people partially and 28 people totally disagree with the problem of intra and inter-parties conflict in Terai. Opposing it, 126 people partially and 185 people fully agree with the problem of intra and inter-parties conflict in Terai. The political parties and their leader were always spending the time to quarrel each other. They have no time to think about the people of Terai and the development of Terai except in election time. The party change and formation is a normal process in Terai.

#### **5.4 Political leadership and Terai movement**

The empowerment of Terai citizens on political leadership and economic development, knowledge, attitude and practices were assessed under the categories of capacity to talk on development issues, Terai citizen's decision-making capacity, citizen's autonomy in health seeking, individual agency in use of resources, capacity to speak up against existing harmful social norms, and capacity to claim human rights. An informed and awaked Terai citizen on political issues is very important indicators for citizen voices and collective actions. Furthermore, perceived capacities of Terai citizen as member of citizen group refer to assessment of own capability for functions they perform in the group. Terai citizens were asked whether they feel confident or not to speaking on human rights related issues in the meeting. In a traditional Terai society, particularly in local areas, citizen may not open up to talk about culturally sensitive human rights issues. Therefore, citizen confidence depends on cultural context.

#### **5.5 Decision making capacity of people in Terai**

The perceived capability of group member refers to perceive confidence in problem solving about political rights at the community level by working together. This may be possible only when members are capable in putting their concerns ideas in the meeting freely. The citizen does not feel confident while speaking in meeting on human rights issues. The decision-making capacity enables them to take decisions in the movement in peaceful and resist deviating into violence. It can be seen that Terai people were not in active participation while making decision in community welfare. They had no independence of deciding over an issue for themselves. The land lords and political leaders dominate the common people in deciding some agendas for community welfare. The attitudes of politicians are against the fact that they do not

decide freely. They show indistinguishable characters of the Terai citizens in the decisions making process. The people in Terai are far behind to take part in social gathering for leadership handling and driving the movement in right direction. People in Terai are far behind from the literacy camp and they do not know the human rights issues. The right based approach of development has not been practiced in Terai.

## **5.6 Financial and human resource management**

Financial resources are long-debated issue for managing reform efforts in the Terai community. The government adopted it as a program and its sustainability has always been questioned. Local government bodies such as municipalities and rural communities have not taken sole responsibility for allocating the budget for managing development activities. Respondents were asked to rate the sources and contributions of funding sources in terms of community leaders, political parties, government grants, civil society members, donors or NGOs/CBOs. The status of the financial contribution was evaluated by the participants.

Most of the community organizations were found run with the financial support of followers and supporters and some were found run with the support of parties. The government grants were found insufficient and only few people identified civil society member or donor to support in long run. The non-governmental and civil society community-based organizations were found to be very few to support them. The supporters, parties, government grants, support collected from civil society members, donors and also the non-governmental organizations or community-based organizations were community. While Terai assessing the human resource management in political parties during interaction with the leaders and supporters, it was concluded that there has not been any clear rule of recruitment, training and management of human resources required for Terai parties.

One of the supporters without hesitation told, “I cannot describe how we hired one cadre and one leader for the party. They have to do a lot of works including basic works, schedule management, orientation and caring all before, during and even after the function until to cadre reach in confidence level. Do you know how much support they draw?”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, February 16, 2019**

Even another supporter added that the benefit of Terai leaders and cadres provided do not meet the minimum wage set by law of the country. A leader working in Terai community in an interview expressed his view. The political parties have managed the different strategies for peaceful movement managing infrastructures, communication devices, practice of announcement, publicity, drill and simulation exercises to their cadres. The safety measures applied by the community were cultural oriented and they also thought about the traditional practice of the healing in chronic diseases. The major cause of the following the unethical healing practices is due to the religious and false belief caused by the illiteracy and lack of information. The furniture uses, use of first aids were only found in hospitals, schools and in social clubs. However, they were not sufficient and even people did not know how to use. The imported equipments were not friendly to the users. The participants demanded that there is need of practice of health services including drill and simulation as well as preparation of safety plan in emergency use. The regular maintenance of the equipment was not also carried out due to the lack of the resources and continuity of health workers.

One of the college student said, “The economic development of Terai should be with transparency, visionary and without corruption through the optimum utilization of the resources of the Terai. The focus should be given to energy and infrastructure development and political behavioural change.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, February 20, 2019**

The focus of most of the respondents were just towards Terai political leaders to adjust their workings and demand of Terai people in contradiction.

### **5.7 Management excellence in Terai**

The management excellence of the developed community was rated based on the principles of quality management in development sectors and responsible political leaders. They included proper community management, available of community government services, ensuring of people right, people friendly approach adopted, proper care of people, community resource mobilized, priority of political perfection, community measuring quality life, adoption of people’s code of conduct and inclusive democracy at community. The proper community management was a vital factor for quality political management in developed community.

All the ritual functions and community actions have been found from the historic time to have an excellence in the management of functions in proper way. While discussing among the group of senior citizens, they emphasized that they need to have authority to conduct the activities in local level. They seemed happy as the country now moved to federal province and Terai has been identified as one of the separated province with the identity of Terai people. Even the local government getting power created a little hope to them. The inclusive democracy has not yet to be realized as there is need of education and awareness to them.

Focusing on the issue, one of the senior citizens said, “I have not yet seen the leader in our community to lead according to the new democracy by making inclusive government in local level. The people are misled by religious leaders and some other ideological beliefs and people are still divided. I think we need more education of practicing the local governance with full autonomy.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, March 04, 2019**

### **5.8 Existing social norms in Terai**

In such scenario of citizen’s perception reveals that citizens do not agree with the prevailing social norms like discussion and talking between parents and their youths about politics. It means that there is still some barriers or difficulties in expressing views about the politics across own family that could be prevented by existing social norms in the society. This proves that the social norms and values have been a strong force to people not to involve in politics to discuss together with the parents and siblings.

Likewise, there is also restriction about the statement that women are allowed to stay inside the same house and to have food as usual during community function without any discrimination. Similarly, according to the average rating scale, the social norms seem very strong in regards not allow to go to school, not allow youths to make volunteer decision to choose political party, not allow women to share resource without restrictions after delivery, not allow person to use of resources and also not allow youths to take social and cultural services. The social norms that help to influence the perception of the Terai people were assessed including provision of leadership education to Terai youths in schools, talking and discussing about politics, allowing the people to participate in group social activities without discrimination,

allowing to go to party functions in democratic practices as well as the voluntary choice of party involvement by youths in creating the party functions. Some of the groups were also assessed allowing eating and sleeping in without discrimination in mass gathering and some in voluntary choice of party involvement using youths as well as the use of government service opportunities to youths and adults. Some also behaved as voluntary services by the youths and adults. Hence, the statements are positive social norms and behaviours that require for promoting for protecting Terai youths from adverse effect on their political affiliation. These are social problems created by traditional cultural beliefs in the study area as mentioned earlier in literature review and problem statement. But the analysis shows just opposite reaction on this part.

### **5.9 Political culture in Terai**

The people from different profession demonstrated different understanding about the politics in Terai community. Some of the people working in local level expressed their views towards the leaders of political parties, “In 50 years, they became more matured. Most of the leaders are educated, grown up in college politics and believes in election. However, they showed that they engaged in the activities related to undemocratic principle. They are carrying unethical movements in order to collect fund and abusing the rules and regulations and engaged in corruption. The old generation and new generation have been in divide with gaps in different aspects.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, March 09, 2019**

During the focus group discussion, some of the participants pointed out that changing nature of Terai culture and political beliefs of people is that all the party cadres belief and support whatever the senior leaders tells and orders. There is no hearing mechanism from the ground reality. The national political discussion is only on transition for more than ten years.

The women group of focus group discussion agreed that there is feminist perspective of party politics from the very beginning of the democratic history of Nepal. However, the active participation has been after the second people’s democratic movement of 2007 AD. The constitutional provision of the 2015 has ensured at least 33 percent seats for female in all the structures of the state organizations.

One of the household female mentioned her feeling about the situation of the human rights in democratic exercise as: “The government changed many times but any one was not liked by the people to ensure human rights. People have not been satisfied after democracy of 1950, 1991 and even from the 2007. We have not felt about the economic development of the country. There is still no harmony and peace. The politicians are less responsible to the people. The politicians have their own individual’s interests rather than people’s interests.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, March 12, 2019**

The ritual practice and cultural transformation along with the employment of the people in the society for their economic upliftment is necessary that has been felt required during the discussion with the people. They also suggested that the development should be according to our geographical location. They came in conclusion that instead of moving forward, we are moving backward. Another woman from a respected family claimed, “The politics of the country has been captured by corrupt people, those who abolished the system; they are just giving false slogan and not committed to work for the nation. They are engaged on fraudulence and personal benefit by manipulating the rules, regulations and powers. Political leaders are not accountable to the people and nation as well.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, March 16, 2019**

### **5.10 Development practices in Terai**

After presenting the brief scenario of research milieu, the researcher explains how Terai people centric perspectives in development practices function in the study area hereafter. As explained earlier in introduction, the existing situations of the incorporation of people friendly movement theory and the development management principles in venue instruction of Nepalese community were the major concerns of the study. Information was generated and analyzed using technology to upgrade the leaders and participating people; survey responses from the leaders; and achievements of development including results and portfolio assessment. Interviews were taken once at the beginning of the program and before and after the observation of the development programmes. The result assessment tool was used to triangulate the data observed from the observations and interviews on the basis of respondent friendly instruments used for the purpose of data collection. The analysis attempted to identify

how quality teaching was being used in the venues of the sample community, and how the teaching helped the people understand the awareness.

Among these four categories, observation, interview and the development practice assessment guided for the people who are more interested in the phase of political and economic reform. The instrument was the first category described with its five components: leader as a first initiator for engaging people in different activities managing, experience and novelty as well as dependency in works. The second category describing the nature of actions was content-specific tasks related to people understanding which was further described under people conceptual understanding, people relevance of the life with respect to people experiences outside the room, differentiating methods of teaching and learning, mixing knowledge and skills about the entrepreneurial activities as well as combination of context and contents. The third category was based on teaching including removing misconceptions of people and building confidence on the new tricks and technologies. The fourth category was content-knowledge which was described within the indicators such as using experiences, explaining own stories and comprehensive information with detail of the contents. The researcher also examined observational data through the assessment using the sheltered instructional observational protocol and the venue. Finally, the assessment outcomes were assessed through the records of result-based assessment reports as well as concept mapping tool. The following theme describes the design practices from the people friendly perspective as illustrated from the study.

During the observation and interview, the different levels of people friendly governmental, political and economical practices were apparent in connection with the organization facilitation process of quality service perspective. The researcher attempted to examine the extent of facilitation by the political leader whether leader-people sharing experience is a partnership or leader centered or people centered. Similarly, level of people engagement was found high even in the sense of capacity to raise questions, putting their views on issues and demanding their needs in front of the leaders. The third component was about the physical and mental involvement of people in sharing. The fourth measure was about newness, divergence or curiosity used to motivate participation and fifth indicator was measured to what extents the leader depends on the documents. While concerning about leader as a facilitator, the

researcher observed the leader as good facilitator and converter for organizing the meetings in the modern community. People also demanded to have leader's demonstration. Comparing traditional community, the company based modern communities were found weak in people engagement in experience and in material dependency. The researcher mentioned different scenarios of observation protocol that demonstrate the visualization of the class in highest ranked people friendly venue in the modern community among the three categories of sample community. The facilitation practice demonstrated in the modern community was also supported by evidence from the interviews of people, leaders, and seniors.

When the people were asked to tell researcher about the leader, one of the people interviewed from the modern community said, "Wonderful! I have no idea how the leader demonstrates the ways he or she will convince us. The audio and visual record as well as documentary evidences are still there to support his or her ways of confidence building in leadership."

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, March 25, 2019**

While instructing on the group of people discussing on the matter of socio-cultural influence on political awareness, the issue was raised on the group about position of leader in the community and socio-cultural arena. The people told that there were two categories of leaders in the community, one from the cultural background leading about following traditional norms and values and the other one who come from political background and try to lead for reform and change. The community people wish to respect both and wish to have collaboration between them. The confrontation happens between the works they follow. According to the participants involved in discussion, one of the participants said that the people working as political party leaders do not live in ethical norms and soon lose their respect from the community.

One of the politically interested participants emphasized his view repeatedly and said, "When we demand about the opinion of the leader in straight way and ask them to say this and that, they come with indirect answer and always make us confusion. They have no direct answers and are always remain silence to support our opinion and follow their senior leaders' directions. They are not our persons but they are their leaders' followers. We need our leaders in position to represent our voice."

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, April 05, 2019**



In this connection, a response from a senior social leader was the researcher conscious about the role a leader demonstrates and it is the platform where new leaders come and learn more in their endeavour. This is not only the base but also the confidence they build upon themselves. The leader of the tradition-based community activated people's prior knowledge through a questioning routine may be working in a resource they perform more with new concepts. During observation, the people were requested to gather in common activities. Two female people developed comparative charts and constructed their own ideas. The leader encouraged people in contrast; some of the modern communities have different practices. This study shows that involvement of people in different venue activities enhanced the quality learning practice in the class. One of the youths claimed, "He is not the type of leader who just directs on the board. We enjoy with what we do. We rarely come with the contact of political parties. Our effort is under group effort."

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, April 12, 2019**

One of the professor claimed, "I can contribute for the community welfare and for new generation issues. My interest is that political parties should bring a new agenda for youth mobilization."

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, April 18, 2019**

A lady participating in the discussion expressed, "The leaders who involve in development in our society are more ritualistic and do not want to carry new visionary programs. We expect new initiatives to uplift our poor socio-economic status. Our father's leader who makes everyone does as tradition. Following tradition is boring."

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, April 20, 2019**

In observation and in interview, so far, the local materials dependency is concerned; the leader did not show a dependency on local material for people's reform in the traditional community. The political leaders tried to build the confidence to collaborate with each other and live in harmony.

Another people described this view as, "The political leaders do not make our work in routine. It is difficult to address and follow the traditional rules. I do not like to be rude one."

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, April 25, 2019**

One of the respondents expressed, “Last year we focused on our tradition only. It does not help me. It is different than experiments in the locality. Religions are our main motto to build our culture upon there.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, April 27, 2019**

The result from the observation of the leader’s speech in the modern community showed that the leader had not delivered his or her speech from a single source but from the varied sources and contradict with the sources of information of community people. The people from traditional community were solely depending on religious sources of information and ritual practices. The materials were available in the venue. The leader felt that it was not sufficient to convince the people in the community without giving the references from the ground.

The theoretically prescribed frame of understanding indicated that leader’s role should be as facilitator and less material dependent whereas there should be more people engagement in activities and in experience as well as novelty. All the sample community was having leader dominance and more resource dependence. However, among the sample community, there was less engagement in activities and more in experience and less novelty in traditional community, and more in modern community. After the analysis of the results, it can be stated that the traditional community leaders are more material dependable which is against the quality life practice. It can be claimed that the leader in the modern community is best described on facilitating the learning process from the people friendly perspective in comparison to the traditional community.

While considering the content specific pedagogy related to people understanding, the different levels of constructivist practices were recognized in the three categories of the community. The people conceptual understanding was judged by the time interval of focusing on people activities understanding the concept. People relevance was measured the level of lesson related to people experiences outside the venue.

Variation of development process methods, the combination of curricular contents and processes regarding skills demonstration are in front of the people from the sample of Terai community. All groups emphasized on the handful skills they gained after the careful observation of the demonstration. The leaders tried to address according as the socio-economic background of the people and in line with the ethnic

background. The people used their ideas and experiences to address the issues raised in discussion. The leader demonstrated his slogan and asked the participants to express their views on the expectations of the people on the matter of movement they carried out in the recent past.

One of the participants who as the son of the martyr said, “My father sacrificed his life in the name of the dream you set in his mind. He was killed by the government. We got nothing neither monetary nor other support from government. Why should we support the parties now? Parties only make us to dream; it does not come in reality. We need to prepare for another movement.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, May 02, 2019**

Supporting the similar version, another participant added, “If we do not get employment, guarantee of quality education, health service and opportunity of employment, why should we support the multiparty leaders? The one who comes to request for vote cast, we will reject them as they have done nothing.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, May 06, 2019**

These expressions have reflected the dissatisfaction of people despite of having different development activities in the areas. People along with the progress of socio-economic level, like to move ahead and willing to change and take part in new movement.

When people were inquired about what they were interested to work with party leaders, many people were able to explain about the role and responsibilities of the leaders in their welfare. All of the information provided by the researchers was interrelated to movement and its link to socio-economic development of the community. If a leader has been raised with his or her experience to work in the community, this may help him or her to tie up with community desires and it would be more sustainable for future prosperity. The result showed that people conceptual understanding of people draws the attention of learner towards the learning activities and make the learner attentive.

In an interview, one of the social leaders who played role of elder one in the village expressed his views toward the political parties as, “In our time we worked for communities to protect them in our houses during Panchayat regime. The police

tortured us and tried to find out the so-called illegal movements. After the overthrowing of the Panchayat, they forgot us. In the same way my grandson involved in people war led by Maoists and contributed a lot in different events. He is now just differently abled and can't do nothing for himself. He has got neither support from the parties, government nor anyone come to meet him now a day. It is just like use and throw of people by the leaders.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, May 09, 2019**

Another youth sitting nearby supported him that, “I had also taken part in war and people's movement and went to settle in the camp. I was rejected as un-qualified rebel. In what sector, was I incapable? I got nothing and my contribution was not valued by the nation.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, May 13, 2019**

These expressions have reflected the level of dissatisfaction of people who strongly supported and involved in the popular movements of different times. People believed leaders of the different parties, heard their sayings, and trusted them hoping that they will get better life and more comfortable living. It was not demonstrated by the leaders and transition of the nation was prolonged and agenda for the development has been in shadow.

While asked to demonstrate for the implement, the leader said, “It is our guideline that we can implement in systematic way in the days to come. The political agenda to settle are now in almost in conclusion.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, May 16, 2019**

Supporting the same view, the cadre of the party reiterated his leader's voice as “No one in this category has demanded about the release of compensation. We are planning to announce the national development plan for overall development of the economic uplift of people.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, May 18, 2019**

These versions of the leaders and party cadres were not believed by the people participating on the discussion. Stressing on their rejection, one of the community people said as, “When the election comes they come with sweet slogans, after the election they vanish. We are now conscious; we will not

trust again in their sweet slogans.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, May 20, 2019**

These views of people reflect that there is need of strong attention of party leaders to work for the people, to the people and by the people. The problems of the communities are still in unsolved state. They are feeling unhappy with the role of party leaders. They are demanding socio-economic reform activities that ensure the employment and increase productivities of the village.

The other leaders were found appreciative the way he organizes the party activities and the way he delivers the activities. In this connection, one of the leaders said, “I come in the group feeling something that I may express my experience and may deliver the view of others towards me. I am different from the other youths regarding the role of parties and social institutions. If people like to talk with the political supporter, they expect formal authority from the leader. Contrary to a traditional system, he does not stand in front of the people.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, May 23, 2019**

The leaders, in the modern community, have challenged the traditional ways of social and ritual practices and advocated for transformation according to new trends of globalization. During the observation and organization of lectures, researcher often observed people asking the leader how to construct a model lecture. The leader from the modern community realized that people had to challenge against their false belief. He further added, “People should be convinced to wipe out misconception from their mind.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, May 25, 2019**

In case of low ranked traditional community, the leader did not lecture long time but directly involved in group work and brainstorming. Information generated from these observations revealed that consistently challenging people to have quality practice.

This section presented the overall picture of the research milieu and the report on the data collected to determine whether the participation of people in non-violent movement was in quality standard. Data analysis through a framework established three main categories:

people friendly perspectives on development; quality design principles, and individual attributes. The leader and the people understanding of speech was described under four types of information including survey of development activities, resources, plans and policies as well as human resources related to strategic plans; inventories of activities and achievements of program executions. The information was used to derive the conclusion about how the community friendly activities can be used in the venue, and how quality development helped people to understand change. Findings from both the observation and field notes indicated that to some extent, the people friendly approach was implemented successfully.

### **5.11 Institutional survey**

The study sample population of the study areas was selected representing from three districts of Terai region including Siraha, Kapilvastu and Kailali on the basis of population and development and movement status. To represent the different castes, people from Rural Municipalities and Municipalities were selected. People from Siraha, Kapilvastu and Kailali districts were selected to represent rural and urban settlements with densely populated areas. Local people from all the three sample districts were selected to represent the southern plain Terai with the highly urbanized and larger number of institutions. The next section deals with the scenario of the selected institutions and their status.

One of the selected areas was with the public institutions located in Kapilvastu. The organizations of the location had featured with political as well as religious programs for the all-round development of the people and promote the socio-political practice in the locality. Youths could study the political guidelines with lots of facilities of instruments, places and foods available. There was well understanding of political environment for Terai youths and veterans as the institution maintained high degree of discipline. The organization in Kapilvastu could conduct intra and inter political activities for achieving gains and transfer of political knowledge in youths. The organization holders were fully sincere for the political leaders, followers and youths. The community premises were well maintained with attractive decorations and painted pictures at places. The display boards were put on the wall near by the venue to display the creations of historical political unification and Terai movement.

The slogan of Mithila civilization is 'Identity based democracy is our asset'. When the researcher entered the institution, it was evening prayer time where all the youth elders were assembled which help to unite all the parties. The eldest one commanded over the gathering and music was played and religious anthem was chanted beautifully. Youths performed their presentation in their team and leaders instructed all for that day. As the researcher was led by the coordinator to make visit different places for different purposes, the researcher eyes ran quickly to see the instruments where different sports like football, volleyball, cricket and badminton could be played. The rooms were well ventilated with plenty of lights. The researcher felt very warm and greets from all people. The researcher often observed the people washing and cleaning drinking water stations. The researcher was quickly responded by social and political leaders for some queries made by his regarding to the social institution. He shared twelve thousand youths have already been graduated from the cultural community within thirty-one years and many of them have been able to set outstanding records in different places in national and international arena. Their modesty in dealing but in practice, efficiency in action and professional integrity are highly acclaimed in cultural organization, religious institutions, hotel management, tourism promotion, medical and traditional healing as well. The institution always selected the youths from the locality with fixed number in every new session. The institution held the religious, political as well as extracurricular activities for the overall development of the youths.

Religious and political leaders used to produce yearly, weekly and daily activities. There were experienced political and religious leaders for each and every area. Among them, one of the leaders was an old and experienced head who used to guide others and youths in local language. Similarly, a musician also worked there as a music leader. He visited throughout the country with awaking people through progressive political related songs and music. People used to come from different nook and corner for the learning of federal democratic system and musical practices. They learned the role of identity-based politics as there were youths from diverse culture. The people who have been serving national and international level even after being graduated from the institution, the people are always proud with it.

Leaders, the researcher found, were highly dedicated and hardworking from their inner heart for the output. They used to say that they spent their whole life for Terai community which was attached to them. They were sincere and motivated for the Terai people's development. They conducted remedial reform interventions for the youths who could not engage on employment quickly and clearly. They used the reform system for the youths up to their awareness level. There was high degree of relationship between political leaders and youths as they respect their leaders. They respected their leaders for the all-round development of youths with employment opportunities. There was an alumnus of the youths who used to visit the organizations for different matter to support the community. The institution was found to maintain the record of each leader and their photograph with marks they obtained was available at the community. When the researcher asked a leader about the party's brother and sisters' association, there was not leader's separate association rather there was a leaders' council. They thought that leaders' association was highly politicized. They did not like politics in community as they wanted to make community free from politics. However, they needed a council to share their professional values and cooperation with their problems and necessities. They wanted to set good academic environment with culture of learning in the community.

This organization was also a sample organization which was selected from the category of multi-purpose organizations at Kapilvastu. The institution introduced innovative and youth friendly activities to empower and building better youth communities equipped with the knowledge and handful skills. The cultural and social trusts recruit the youths for training in their own system and teach them about the institutional roles for the correction of political activities and responsibilities for performing cultural processions equipped by their ancestral skills. The cultural trusts teach the youths about moral and value education, skills of ritual practices so that they may be useful citizen in future for preserving the cultures and identities of the ethnic communities. The strategies of the trusts reflect their motto in the slogan "love and peace." The trusts prepare future leaders from the selected youths who determine the keen interest on preserving and promoting their culture and rituals. Each and every youth may have opportunity to actively participate on the cultural and neutral political procession organized by the ritual trusts. The trusts keep in mind that there should be representation of the variable thoughts and interests of the different Terai



communities so that they may not hurt each other. The youths are expected to contribute on finding of new and innovative ways to achieve the common goals of the society.

The community cultural organization has physical facilities for the youths' multiple development. Among them, the researcher observed the library which has the stocks of books with e-library system. Besides that, there is a language library for the people with audio-visual materials to promote the verbal and communicative language of youths. There are separate labs of music, dance, awareness program and cultural processions. People do experiments of music in the evening and morning with availability of materials. There is a computer lab with the IT based for the betterment of youths for modern demand. They can download and study thousands of materials they need sitting in the computer lab. People from scattered areas stay in the libraries as learners who get high opportunities to get information even they are from far and remote distance. When researcher asked a leader for overall management of the library, she responded that the library was so strict that not a single person could be out of disciplined and neither a leader nor staff could be so. They followed the system which always guided them for the smoothly running the community to achieve the excellence. They learned the discipline by the violent movement of Terai. They wanted to disseminate the moral lesson to the politician and policy makers.

There was a system of giving and taking feedbacks from each and every concern for the betterment of library functioning. There was a counselling room for youths where social and political leaders having degree in psychology lived and dealt with youths who had problems. The library produced the calendar so that they could commence the programs throughout the year. The researcher found youths engaging in creating arts to display on the boards. There was a group of leaders and youths working collectively for the new program activity to display in the ground so that they could use them as display material as well as to aware community. Library management committee was found to be alert for the readers' demand. Leader used to take mandate to conduct the program for the betterment of library. The cultural organization and its premise were always clean and neat with proper care of cleaners. Besides that, here were nature's clubs and environment clubs that were directly related to neat and clean of the surroundings and premises of the community. The environment of physical and

health workers used to take initiation for this activity with the involvement and participation of the people. This organization represented a community brand organization among other registered ones.

### **5.12 Technical education and movement**

While having in-depth interview with the social leader in the village, one of the experienced politicians who devoted more than a decade to the village development and social welfare and now retired expressed his feelings as, “The indigenous ancestral practice of mobilizing people is mainly in political procession. The role of the female, youth, adults and the senior citizens have been divided according as the political aspects. The unique feature of the innovativeness is that it is not found in the hill people and even the tribal people. The Terai people are more determined in technical works and the image of people is counted on the way how he or she gets the job in respected position.”

During the discussion with people having different profession in technical sector in focus group discussion, one of the senior engineers with his experience explained his feeling as, “I was born in a poor family in remote village and I had to struggle whole life to get this position. When I was a child, I always dream that I would be an engineer like a person of landlord’s son and tried to imitate his way of living by competition in school. However, after having struggle, I got scholarship and became in this position. I have been a role model in the area and many parents count me as a model for their son and daughters. I emphasize that liberation in Terai people is possible only through education and even I give priority to technical education.”

**Source: Personal communication with researcher, May 27, 2019**

Another participant in the group having health profession supported the view of the engineer and recalled his struggle as well. He also emphasized that the technical education has been an attraction among Terai youths and even for the marriage, the choice of the boy or girl depends on the status of his or her education in technical sector. The developed Terai communities were blamed by backwarded community for not adopting government system and there is over burden of the excessive development activities in developed community.

The federal model of self-governance has raised the issue of empowerment and distribution of the resources to local level. The discrimination created by the geographical difficulties and natural resource availability has felt the people to be dominated by another group. The question of capacity of the people in the local level governance was raised by the people in focus group discussion. Although, the Terai movement has given the people a chance of selecting the representatives for self-governance, people were worry about the difficulty on the matter of resource mobilization. One of the young engineers raised the question of technical capacity on the locality to mobilize the fund. He said with his worries as researcher see very few people are educated and they have problem of hand-to-mouth. Most of the land has been captured by elites and they are migrating to the cities. How can we develop our locality if central government does not support us in technical and financial sectors?

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **TRIANGULATION OF DATA**

This chapter has triangulated data analysis of primary and secondary data sources with qualitative approach by using observations, questionnaires, FGDs, KIIs, desk review, institutional survey to find out the root causes and way forward the movement during federal restructuring in Terai. Many invisible cases were finding out through evidential based scientific interpretative analysis which were directly and indirectly related to the movement in Terai. People have not been satisfied by the political system, government services and economic development in Terai. This chapter has concluded the issues of identity of Terai and Terai people, international political influence, lack of people friendly democratic system, economic disparity, social and religious evils. The solution of impunity, socially deep-rooted discriminations, unequal distribution of basic facilities and resources, weak and selfish political leadership and corruption issues should be addressed by triangulation of the research analysis.

#### **6.1 Identity based policies**

The people from the different ethnic background have been found with different attitude to represent their identity. Most of the people from different age group including the youths, adults and senior citizens have different opinions for the occurrence of community activities. Some prefer the religious activities, some prefer the sports and some emphasize the political activities supported to the development activities. The larger chunk of societies has been widely dominated by feudal system and hence, the poor people from the different suppressed castes obey the order of rich people. The discrimination in resource use in the territory has been discriminated by the culture from long historic past. People have not been well educated and they were not found aware about their rights and responsibilities in Terai.

Primary and secondary data analysis concluded that people wanted the autonomous one Madhes one province. Terai people wanted equity for equality for the mainstreaming to the different sectors of government. Terai people wanted to fight the domination of other countries. Participants opined that some of the lower castes, minorities, marginalized groups and economic deprived groups wanted the identity

through the inclusive policy in every sector of government. The government should be taken the minorities, indigenous people, marginalized group, lower caste, poor class and women into national mainstreaming. The researcher convinced that the identity of Terai and Terai people was possible through the inclusive policy through federal restructuring.

## **6.2 External engagements**

The influence of foreign political activities has affected people in terms of closing, pen down, strike and other disturbances throughout the country. Despite of political hurdles, there is also policy and regulation support from the system. Most of the respondents verified that they agreed about the negative and positive influence by foreign country, organization and unions. The political debate in right demand affected the life and prosperity of people as responded by the participants.

The political influence has been seen in instability of political holding of power in Terai . It was politically affected that there is no justice for fair judgement in reward and punishment system. The participants stated that the foreign nations, organizations and unions have influenced for their individuals, national and organizational interests.

The primary and secondary data analysis indicated that the movements were somehow directly or indirectly influence by external pioneers, international unions, INGOs and international organizations. The respondents stated that some Indian migrated people were mobilized by invisible power in Terai. The participants indicated that the Terai landlord and politicians were co-operating with neighbouring politicians and executive personnels for the support to their power exercise in Terai.

The respondents mentioned that the political leaders forget the national interest, nationality and national sovereignty to take the personal benefits. Participant mentioned that some people created unnecessary violent movement in Terai. Terai people were not aware about the movement and its impacts. Some people created the propagandas for personal and foreign benefits in Terai. The respondents stated that the mutual co-operation among all country and organizations were very fruitful for underdeveloped country like Nepal.

### **6.3 People friendly democratic structure**

While assessing the practice of democracy in the country, most of the respondents respectively agreed that there were some evidences of good democratic practices in political parties and local governance. Traditionally, the social leaders have used different techniques like power exercises, picking up their relatives, corruption, nepotism, impunity and so on. However, the awareness and changing policy in political and economic sectors have contributed to create the sustainable democratic environment in the country.

So far, the innovativeness in democratic practice, the political leaders have assessed that they have been used some reference from the other countries that has not prescribed by the constitution. As the good governance principle was mandatory to have political and economic correction activities, some were found to have traditional norms and social values from other cultural background than modern democratic principles. New constitution has been based on Terai people's protest that has been adopted. Similarly, the democratic system and local governance principles have suggested strictly in line with local autonomy as majority of people have been rated that option of existence in local institutions. This demonstrated that the system should be followed the inclusive and equitable access to all. Participants stated that the innovativeness of the democratic practice and socio-political transformation should be necessary. The participants stated that leadership mechanism and adoption of creative method of economic handling mechanism should be implemented for political and economic reform to settle the movement in Terai.

### **6.4 Collaborative and coherence with institutional mechanism**

The institution needs skills plan to combat against harmful traditional political practices prevailing in the society. The resource mobilization is another capacity of the institutions for which they can approach to local government, participate in local planning, budgeting process and influence resource allocation for economic development. Besides these, in order to launch social campaign effectively, a group leader should also provide support of their group members and other actors for wider collaboration, networking and political alliance. For increase the engagement and create sense of ownership, leader need to provide equal opportunity to express the views openly for Terai citizens. This indicates the leadership effectiveness in Terai.

This view cleared that if the group encourage the youth to attend in the group meeting. If this exists, it means that there are access and equity of participation for youth. The young people also expected that social and political change is possible through the group that they have been affiliated with. This is an indication of social and political cohesion or social connectness across them. All these are addressed by use of multiple response analysis. This analysis may provide the comparative study of the group or institutional capacities.

While assessing the institutional capacity, handlers of the institutions and the existing barriers were analyzed by digging out the truths from the situation of Terai communities. The assessment was made considering the areas of inquiry including the action plans made by the community for fighting against harmful practices through movement. Similar practice was carried out by asking the questions about the group's involvement on having adequate skills and resources to conduct the campaign. The assessment was made to consider the youths in group to participate in meeting and show their opinions for discussion.

The community was found to have belief that political change is possible by participation of youths in the group and some also identified about the problem to work on socio-economic development as a culture sensitive issue. The perception was also considered in the case of political mobilizer of the community for discussion on economic development and sometimes use of evidences and data gathering processes for advocacy and interface. The areas of institutional capacity, drivers and barriers were mentioned as the preparation of action plans to fight against harmful practices, resource mobilization, conduction of campaign of adequate skills and resources, participation in political meeting, and affiliation in group. Similar indicator was to affiliate the network in issues, assess the problems to work in economic development and involvement of political mobilizer in the community assessment.

### **6.5 Rule of law**

Some respondents agreed that they were feeling impunity in Terai. The facilities were not distributed equally and justifiable. The resources distribution was carried out by the accessibility of individual power and position in Terai communities. The analytical observation of researcher as well as collection of data showed that the marginalized group, women, poor people, lower caste and minority groups were far

behind from the real justice in Terai. The respondents stated that the most of the women and children had been suffering from the domestic violence and labour exploitations. The in-depth interview of some law enforcement agency people indicated that the politicians influenced on justice according to their individual interests rather than due process of law in Terai. The law enforcement functions were manipulated by power, position and money in Terai. The unlawful practices misguiding by power and position was the sign of impunity which indicates the failure of jurisdiction in long run. Participants stated that people were feeling injustice because laws were practiced in favor of rich and powerful people and sometimes general people got justice but very late. Actually, delay justice is the sign of injustice. This regarded data indicated that people of lower castes, marginalized groups and ethnic groups were feeling insecure due to justice delay in Terai. The respondents stated that human rights violations and injustice were the issues of movement in Terai. They also stated that the benefits of justice were depending on higher class people, policy makers and politicians but not for the general people in Terai.

## **6.6 Development strategies**

The respondents indicated that some concerned authorities and political representative were misusing the development budget in their individual interests rather than Terai and Terai people's interests. The local government did not have well strategic plan, vision and mission for the development in Terai. The respondents stated that the representatives were handling the development projects depending on their individual and party wise interests. The respondents stated that the development strategies were not fair and transparent and some projects were intangibly maneuvered by the politicians and their followers for their interest of benefits. People stated that some of the plannings and projects had been completed only in black and white rather than in reality. So, the settlement of issues of movement was impossible without transparency in governmental functions, administrative system and scientific federal restructuring in Terai. Through observation, the researcher found out that the monitoring and evaluation mechanism was totally crippled by the politicians, policy makers and elite groups. The respondents stated that nobody complained about the corruption in development sectors because all the government offices, stakeholders and other concern authorities were directly and indirectly involving and taking benefits from the



projects and others development activities. The respondents shared that most of the people were unaware about the corruption in Terai. They indicated that the underdevelopment, lack of basic facilities, unequal distribution of resources and corruption were the cause of Terai movement. The transparent and neutral scientific development strategies could address the issue of movement in Terai.

### **6.7 Role of organizations and trade unions**

The qualitative data analysis showed that the trade unions, civil societies and human rights activators were directly and indirectly affiliating in different political parties and their sister organizations in Terai. The participants stated that the most of the organizations, clubs and NGOs/INGOs were guided by the local political leaders and their individual interests rather than common interests of Terai people. Every organization was directly and indirectly related to the political parties. The trade unions and others organizations rarely raised their voices for class struggle, identity-based struggle, anti-corruption campaign, anti-political campaign to correct politicians and wrong social and unethical practices in Terai. Terai people were not more aware about the trade unions and other organizations and their functions. The people were disappointed about the function handled by the trade unions and other organizations. The participants recommended that the trade unions, civil societies, human rights activators, NGOs/INGOs and other organizations should be neutral, fight against wrong doers and voice of voiceless people to address the issue of movement in Terai.

### **6.8 Citizen's participation in movement**

The overall data analysis indicated that people participated in movement to fulfill the basic need, inclusion of different sectors, protection of human rights, autonomous Terai province, identity and dignity of people. The analysis indicated that Terai people participated to raise their voice on quality education, improvement of economic condition, employment opportunities, root out the discriminations and superstitious beliefs, social evils, rule of law and mainstreaming of marginalized groups, lower caste and minorities into state organs. The respondents vehemently opposed about the aim to take part in movement for the separation of Terai into other country. Most of the people participated in movement for the political position, economic upliftment, employment and other short-term benefits in Terai. The political leaders and followers were taking benefits by using general people to their vested

interests in Terai. The researcher found out that many people were wounded and death during movement but their family did not get any compensation. So, they were ready to fight against the government through the next movement.

### **6.9 Empowering youths**

The respondents agreed that the youths were misused by the politicians for election and unethical activities in Terai. Participants stated that Terai youth followed the political parties and leaders without understanding the principles of concern parties and background of the political leaders. Educational unemployment was the greatest issue but the policy makers did not rethink about educational unemployment. The larger numbers of youths were affiliated in political activities and ruined their fertile time of their life. Participants stated that many Terai youth engaged in foreign employment to solve their basic needs. According to them, youth collected some amount of money through illegal activities and unethical functions to run their livelihood under protection of political leaders. The youth were mobilized by the politicians in election for their vested interests and they did not care after election. So, the youths were spending their fertile life to involve in political activities. The government did not have strategic plan for national building to address the issue of movement in Terai. The participants admitted that the youth are the pillars of nation so the conducive environment should be created for the youth in Terai. The participants advised that empowering youth was the sign of development of Terai and way forward to settle the issue of movement in Terai.

### **6.10 Good governance and inclusion of policies**

The data analysis revealed that Terai people were not fully satisfied by the political leaders and government services in Terai. The respondents opined that people received poor qualityless government services in Terai. Participants indicated that government should be accountable, transparent, responsive, participatory, effective, client oriented, efficient, facilitative, innovative, collaborative, coordinative and co-operative for service delivery. The good governance, quality service delivery and inclusiveness were the sign of real democracy. The Participants told that democracy and republic slogans were only remain in slogans rather than practically implementation in Terai. The researcher found out that Terai people wanted drastic change in government functions and service delivery without corruption. Terai people

wanted the right man in right place and zero tolerance policy on corruption and government services. The participants indicated that the inclusiveness was very essential for upliftment of Terai people. The participants further observed that the deprived people should be uplifted through mainstreaming into state organs. So, the scientific system readable service delivery system should be implemented. The participants made their comments that the responsible leadership, good governance and implementation of inclusion policy could address the issue of movement in Terai.

### **6.11 Posture discrimination**

The respondents stated that Terai people underwent structural discrimination for long period on different sectors. The respondents indicated that people were discriminated depending upon the caste, race, ethnicity, rich, poor and gender in Terai. They also stated that people were discriminated on identity, dignity, religion, language and cultural values, legal, social and economic sectors in Terai. The researcher viewed that the discriminations and dominant culture should be rooted out practically for the well-being of Terai people. The narrow and conservative minded people created the discriminative environment in Terai. The primary and secondary data analysis concluded that the government monitoring and evaluation mechanism was very poor and ineffective which result the hidden discriminations and slavery environment were still existing in Terai. The participants depicted that the non-discrimination mechanism should be developed to root out the discrimination and hidden slavery in Terai. The participants also observed that the positive discrimination should be necessary to implement the principle of equity for equality into national mainstreaming. The positive discrimination uplifts the marginal group, lower caste, ethnic people, women and economically deprived people which was beneficial to settle the issue of movement in Terai.

### **6.12 Fulfillment of basic facilities**

The research data analysis indicated that the basic facilities like food, house, cloth, education and health facilities were not sufficient at rural area in Terai. The participants told that the basic facilities were hardly available in different part of Terai. The respondents declared that the large number of family members were suffering from the lack of basic needs in Terai. The huge gap between have and have not was the biggest problem in Terai. The data analysis indicated that the strictly

implementation of family planning program and scientific economic plans were necessary to fulfill the basic facilities because the population growth rate was high and economic development was very poor in Terai. The researcher concluded that the politicians were not fully responsible to address the issues of basic facilities of Terai people. Participants indicated that children were suffering malnutrition in Terai. The scientific agriculture and modern industrialization were very essential for the fulfillment of basic facilities in Terai. The employment opportunities situation should be created in Terai. There was no perfect mechanism to address the voice of voiceless people. The death of Terai people was increasing due to the lack of proper health facilities in Terai. The participants observed that poor people had no access to put forward their issues of basic needs to the responsible higher authorities. The solution of movement was the solution of the problem of basic facilities and control of family member in Terai.

### **6.13 Accountable political leadership**

This study indicated that the politicians adopted the principle of use and throw policy to the people in Terai. The politicians had forgotten the principle of democracy: by the people, for the people and of the people. The participants stated that the politicians were using the political field as earning spots and charming position to them and their relatives. The respondents indicated that the politicians were always emphasizing their personal vested interest rather than the people and national interests in Terai. Participants pointed out that there was no control mechanism to punish the political leaders because they had power and position. No one could question about the faults and weaknesses of political leader in Terai. Participants stated that the weak leadership of politicians and irresponsible political activities created the problem in Terai. The respondents indicated that the political transformation and directly elected executive head of state was the solution of movement in Terai. Participants stipulated that conflict of inter parties and intra party was the great problem in Terai. The selfishness of political leaders created the serious problem in Terai. Some Terai people were misusing natural resources and government facilities by using the power and access of higher politicians. Respondents indicated that political leaders and policy makers were violating the laws, rules and regulations according to their interests. They also stated that the political leaders wanted to dominate the people by

creating the confusion environment in Terai. So, the Terai landlord and higher political leaders did not want to emphasis to increase standard and awareness of general people in Terai. The general people did not know what their leaders were going to do for their vested interests in Terai. The data analysis revealed that the frequent termination of political leaders made the confusion and lost the trust towards political leaders in Terai. The fraction of political parties was the serious problem in Terai. The traditional political practices had been existed by the politician in Terai. Participants indicated that the politicians and their sister organization did not handle the result based assessment in Terai. Respondents declared that political leaders had not vision and mission in Terai. The study revealed that the political parties never raised the voice against the corruption and weaknesses in service delivery system in Terai. They stated that political leaders have not perfect decision power and they have no time to think about the development and people in Terai. So, the perfect and accountable leadership was one of the important factors to resolve the issue of movement in Terai.

#### **6.14 Technical education**

The researcher explored that people interested in technical education rather than theoretical education in Terai. The government never created the environment of quality education in Terai. The educational monitoring and evaluation mechanism were very poor that degraded the quality education in Terai. Respondents conformed that people wanted technical education in Terai. The data analysis showed that the rich people were sending their children to the boarding school while the poor people were sending their children to government schools. Some poor people could not send their children even to government school due to poverty in Terai. Only the rich people could afford the technical education to their children in Terai. The poor people became poorer than poorer due to the lack of quality and technical education in Terai. One of the respondents said that the quality education was only for rich people in Terai. The lower-class people were unable to send their children to school and colleges because they were engaging in labour work to solve their hand-to-mouth problem. The politicians and landlord people had sent their children for abroad study in Terai. Researcher claimed that the huge educational gap was created in Terai. The technical education was one of the important factors to resolve the movement in

Terai. People stated that the technical education created the employment environment and it would improve the economic condition in Terai.

### **6.15 Federal restructuring of the state**

The respondents indicated that people wanted Terai as an autonomous province. The centralization of government power created problem in Terai. The People were not satisfying with the present federal restructuring because they wanted the whole Terai as one province. The respondents disenchanted to word federalism which was almost failed because of large number of executive bodies and their expenditure as well as irresponsibilities of executive bodies. The respondents indicated that the government services reached door to door with corruption which was fatal for people in Terai. The respondents complained that the local government and provincial government did not address the problem of Terai people. The respondents stated that provincial and local government had spent huge budget in their official use and personal expenses. The large executive body created the economic burden in Terai and nation as well. The people were completely disappointing the function of local government and provincial government in Terai. Terai representatives were spending their time in meeting, seminar and inauguration without any creative tasks and vision for the development. There were not special innovative plannings and strategies for development in provincial and local level in Terai. The provincial government policies were copied by the central government. Terai people frustrated about the democratic system because policy makers did not have concrete vision and mission about the development and political management in Terai. The functional decentralization was better than formation of government bodies in local and provincial sectors. This study indicated that the federal restructuring is burden without political and economic transformation. The corruptionless functional decentralization was more than enough to address the issue of movement in Terai.

### **6.16 Abolishing fallacious**

The data analysis indicated that many unethical and wrong practices were still existing in Terai. The local representatives and government authorities did not response the wrong practices like cultural and religious beliefs, superstitious traditions, dowry system, domination of women, untouchability, negative concept of family planning, witch practices, vulnerable group, discrimination, race, ethnicity,

corruption, domestic violence and so on. The political leaders, policy makers and concern authorities have not proper plannings and strategies to root out the wrong practices in Terai. The people were always suffering such type of unethical activities in community in Terai. The people were fighting against the wrong practices but it was very difficult to change their mindset in Terai. The respondents indicated that the lower-class people were always discriminated by the upper-class people in Terai. The superstitious activities were still existing in Terai. The conservative religious and cultural beliefs were deep rooted in Terai. The dowry and kamaiya system were the fatal for Terai people. As per the respondents, the evil practices should be abolished to address the issue of movement in Terai.

### **6.17 Mitigation of corruption**

The respondents indicated that the policy corruption was the main issue in Terai. The corruption was the cancer of development in Terai community. Terai people raised the voice about the policy corruption on time to time but the concern authorities did not care about it because all policy makers were directly and indirectly connected in policy corruption in community. The respondents viewed that the politician and policy makers were connected with policy corruption and other types of corruption in Terai. They also stated that the local and provincial government was handled by the brokers and middle men in Terai. The respondents concluded that the politicians were involved in corruption to collect the money for the expenditure of next election and party handling expenses. They also stated that the Terai political representatives and their followers were involving to collect the fund through illegal activities for the next election. The participants shared that the political representatives were creating earning environment to their followers to involve in illegal activities. The respondents depicted most of the political followers were involving in mediator and broker of illegal activities in Terai. So, the innocent people were always dominated by the elite group in Terai. Participants stated that people should warn the political parties and concern authorities to stop the corruption otherwise next movement would be commenced in Terai. Participants dissatisfied that service delivery given by government offices were depending on unethical give and take principles in every sectors. The corruption was deep rooted in every field in Terai. So, the root out of

policy and general corruption was the main factor to resolve the issue of movement in Terai.

### **6.18 Augmenting awareness**

The researcher concluded that the people were not fully aware about the rights, responsibilities and duties in Terai. The respondents stated that the general people were used and thrown by the politicians in Terai. The people were guided according to the politicians' vested interests in Terai. Participants remarked that most of the people were unaware about the political and development activities in Terai. The people did not know how to practice the rights through law enforcement agencies in Terai. The awareness campaign was very essential to literate the people in Terai. The people were blindly support to their leaders because they had poor awareness level in Terai.

### **6.19 Major findings**

The general objective of this study was to address the movement issues of Terai through Federal restructuring. The major themes arouse from the results discussed so far concerned about traditional political practices, unscientific economic strategies, unsystematic service delivery, problem of identity and poor awareness level in Terai. Similarly, the findings were also discussed under the themes including best alternatives to practice of rights and duties, improvement on accountability and transparency, restructuring governance system and socio-economic reform. An autonomous Terai province was also discussed during research study. The social evils, discriminations, impunity, gender discrimination, economic discrimination and untouchability issues were seriously discussed during research study. The unaccountable, irresponsible, corrupted, non-visionary, selfish, biasness, unethical political leadership problem were connected to the movement during federal restructuring in Terai. The corruption and unsystematic government function were cancer in Terai. The politicizing in every field was devastating. The grounded settings and new knowledge claims were made based on the evidences and generated themes of the present study.

The researcher has considered "Terai Movement for Federal Restructuring" as the theme of the present study focusing on movement connecting with political, system of



national functions, economic reform, restructuring and changing pattern of belief of people in Terai. The study was guided by a problem statement related to extent of Terai People's Liberation Movement. The main aim of the study was to explore the status of movement analyze the impact and overcome the problem with non-violent movement from the perspective of political, economical, social, identity and international influence. Based on the result obtained, the following themes were identified as outcomes of the research in line with the objectives set for the study:

1. The first objective was to assess the causes and effects of Terai movement for federal restructuring in Nepal. This study revealed that the causes were lack of identity of people, corrupted political and government system. The data also declared that the reasons of movement were discriminations, social evils, international influence, impunity, syndicate system in resources mobilization and exclusion of people in Terai. The lack of basic facilities, technical education, employment opportunities, visionary leadership and awareness were the causes of movement in Terai. The role of institution and people's campaign were guided by the political leaders. The people centric functions were negligible. The regionalism were the cause of movement. The termination of political leaders and conflict between the parties lost the trust towards the politics in Terai. The superstitious activities, invisible slavery and lack of promotion and protection of human rights were the causes of movement in Terai. Even the rights were violated by the policy makers and executive bodies in Terai. The dissatisfaction of youths with the government was another serious cause of movement in Terai. Due to above mentioned causes, people were ready to fight against government through movement for federal restructuring in Terai. The changing pattern of beliefs of Terai people on democracy, controversial economic policy towards the development, supportive environment for different movement for the personal interest of leaders, poor understanding of political knowledge, poor economic standard, violent ethnic movement, traditional political system, unscientific government service delivery system, poor implementation of policy of mainstreaming and constitutional rights in Terai.

2. The second objective of the study was to analyze the existing situation of Terai movement for federal restructuring in Nepal. The study demonstrated that the government service delivery system was very miserable condition. People were

politically exploited in Terai. The economic condition was below poverty line in Terai. The discrimination and dominance culture were still existing. The resource mobilization policy was depending upon power access. The quality education and medical facilities were very poor in Terai. There was huge gap between have and have not in Terai. People were used by the political leaders and policy makers according to their vested interests. The political termination, intra and inter political conflict and unethical political activities have been existing since long time. The victim of previous movement did not get compensation. The marginalized group, indigenous group, women, differently able people, lower caste, economic deprived people were still in critical situation in Terai. The international influence distracted the people from their actual path. Nobody cared about the voice of voiceless people in Terai. The invisible slavery situation was existing in Terai. Some social evils and superstitious beliefs like dowry and kamaiya were still existing in Terai. The illiteracy and awareness level of people was very poor in Terai. The lack of industrialization created the unemployment situation in Terai. Due to the dedication and determination of Terai people from different profession in democratic movement, efficient versus effective management of violent democratic movement, innovations on caring/rearing Terai people and transforming democratic beliefs, beyond the ceiling of different political ideologies, the moment has not been resolved in Terai. The people were in do or die situation in Terai.

3. The third objective of the study was to explore the solutions in addressing the issues of Terai movement for federal restructuring in Nepal. The evidences had been found in line with the fact that scientific development strategies, system readable government functions, corruptionless service delivery and political re-engineering were the main solutions of movement. The autonomous Terai province, rule of law and identity of Terai and Terai people were the factor to solve the movement. The abolition of discrimination, social evils and invisible slavery is needed to solve the movement problem. The Terai people should be aware about their rights, duties and responsibilities. The technical education and employment opportunities should be created to settle the movement in Terai. The effective and transparent monitoring and evaluation system should be necessary at every field in Terai. The directly elected executive body through the cheapest electoral system also help to resolve the movement in Terai. The industrial development, scientific agriculture and proper

resources mobilization were the solutions of movement in Terai. The compliance functions, regulatory responses for designing right based development and innovative service with new approaches were effective on enhancing regulatory framework to address issues of Terai movement. It has been claimed that economic development has not only for changing belief of people on political ideology but has also been taken as social prosperity through socio-economic development via promotion in democratic practice in Terai. The sustainability of economic development activities, stable political situation, environment friendly global and local interventions, without, within, and beyond Terai political leadership in economic transformation, political transformation and transformation of service delivery were the factor to resolve the movement of Terai. Fulfillment of basic needs and availability of health facilities supports to address the issues of Terai movement.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

#### **7.1 Summary**

The dissertation named Terai Movement for Federal Restructuring is categorized into seven chapters. The movement of Terai was converted into violent form. Many people including security personnel were killed during movement. In that period, new political parties were emerged in Terai. People demanded the rights and inclusion policy on constitution in Terai. The agreement has been made between Seven Party Alliance and Terai political parties. The main issue of movement was the identity of Terai and Terai people including rights in constitution through federal restructuring.

The gaps such as lack of awareness, identity, constitutional rights and political economic and government functions have been identified by the researcher. The study about the movement had been conducted by using different dimension like international influence, economic, political, identity, social and cultural to accomplish the research gap. The research had been piloted depending on qualitative approach. The primary and secondary data had been collected by using different tools and techniques like KIIs, FGDs, questionnaires, site observations, institutional survey and desk review. The reliability and validity had been tested by the researcher. The qualitative research approach of descriptive and exploratory research design with purposive sampling method had been set through triangulation of data. The sampling area had been chosen depending on the conflict prone and economic crisis zone in Terai. The sample areas were Siraha, Kapilvastu and Kailali with one Municipality and one Rural Municipality of respective district.

The causes and implications of movement strategies, mitigation of movement and triangulation of data had been chosen depending upon three objectives of research. The researcher found many causes of Terai movement. Many people were below poverty line in Terai. The main problem of basic facilities had been seen in Terai. The awareness level of people was very poor in Terai. The people wanted identity of Terai and Terai people. The discrimination, invisible slavery, impunity situation were remained in Terai. The people are unemployment and uneducated in Terai. The corruption, unaccountable leadership, international influence, traditional political

system had been detected by the researcher. The unscientific and corrupted service delivery system had created more problems. From the entire research process, the researcher summarized that the economic reform, political reform, good governance and autonomy to the provincial government should be given to address the Terai movement demands.

## **7.2 Conclusion**

An exploratory case study was employed to achieve the research's goal of evaluating and improving managerial problems, solutions and methods. However, the goal of the research was to improve both theory and practice, not only practice. The conclusions were derived based on the discussion, analysis and findings through the triangulation of data in research. Additionally, via their involvement with the tools, they were able to co-operate and work together on the Terai change management difficulties. The relationship had been based on the identity of the people in Terai as well as political, economic, and functional changes in the government. The researcher has researched the topics of inclusion, corruption, discrimination and impunity. The research conclusions were reached based on the discussion, analysis and findings. The researcher had conducted extensive research on the issues surrounding education, constitutional rights, resources mobilization, unemployment, political leadership, superstitious beliefs, social ills and the function of trade unions. Political leaders and people of the community both acknowledged that the questions on the tools were thought-provoking so that they had to be motivated to select a particular response.

They documented the hand-to-mouth issue in the Terai population as a result of excessive politicization, little growth and ad hoc government operations. People involved in answering the questions were aware of mobility. The research confirmed that participants valued the tools and contributed to discovering solutions to real-world issues in a pleasant working environment. Combining theory and practice may help to address people's needs and find solutions to movement issues for a sustainable future.

Based on the study's conclusion, the findings and results serve as a scaffold for the research claims. Illustrations were provided of the conclusions from the discussion of the pertinent research questions. To resolve the problem of movement in Terai, several issues should be addressed. Following a study of the stakeholder responses, a

number of categories emerged in the qualitative data analysis. The categories that the study produced intersected in various domains and levels, either directly or indirectly, and had an impact on one or more other categories.

The research's discussions were provided so that readers may assess their potential applicability in various circumstances. The issues brought up in the grounded settings, the viewpoints of the Terai people, the records from the numerous documents, as well as the researcher's observations, all helped to shape the material. The creation of the new themes, as previously noted, was also consistent with the grounded settings. The discussion of the new emerging themes covered a range of sectoral topics, allowing the new knowledge claim to be realized during the course of the research and documentation.

Following the completion of this study, the researcher looked into the continued existence of structural and objective discrimination against the Terai people. They chose socio-economic transformation as a result. The Terai movement may therefore erupt, but despite this, the population is not separatist, as the study concluded. Prior to the modern era, a nation's monarchy governed each state. Thus, the general public was referred to as subjectives. Thus, the citizen calls for equal rights in governmental matters. In this regard, the purpose of this study was to answer the following questions. The Terai movement presented a challenge in terms of adding new dimensions to the discourse's justification and utility functions. The researcher had claimed that the issue of movement in Terai might be resolved as a result of political re-engineering, economic revolution, and scientific system readable functions with the identity of Terai and Terai people.

**ANNEX I**  
**RESEARCH TOOL: OBSERVATIONS**

1. Political Atmosphere and Community Approach.
2. Lifestyle and Ground Reality.
3. Level of Political Awareness.
4. Concept of Movement in Terai.
5. Organizational Working Modality.
6. Decision Making Power of Politicians.
7. Federal Restructuration and Probability of Development.
8. Economic Reform and Development Strategies.
9. Political Mechanism and Inclusion of Madhesi People.
10. Causes of Movement in Terai.
11. Way out to overcome the Movement.
12. Resource Mobilization and Practices in Terai.
13. Institutional role in Political and Economic Development.
14. Discrimination Situation in Terai.
15. Political Activities in Terai.
16. Impact of Violent Movement in Terai.
17. Role of People for Restructuration in Terai.
18. Role of Political Leaders in Terai.
19. Citizen Campaign against Wrong Practices.
20. Role of Organizational Capacity in Movement.
21. Responsibility of Youth in Movement.
22. Expectation of People Involvement in Movement.
23. Awareness Level of People in Terai.
24. Level of People Participates in Movement.
25. Punctuality of Politician in Community Development.
26. Role of Politicians for the Distribution of Basic Facilities.
27. Role of Politicians in Political and Economic Reform.
28. Compensation Management for victim in Movement.
29. Adoption of People Centric Activities by Terai Politicians.
30. Social Standard and Terai Movement.

31. Adoption of Modern Political Practices by Terai Politicians.
32. Ensuring the Right in Terai.
33. Participation of Political Leaders in Social Work.
34. Situation of Impunity in Terai.
35. Termination of Leadership in Terai.
36. Availability of Quality Government Service in Terai.
37. Situation of Knowledge Sharing and Caring in Terai.
38. Inter-parties and Intra-party Conflict in Terai.
39. Situation of Human Rights Protection and Promotion in Terai.
40. Role of political Related Organization in Movement.
41. Quality and Technical Education in Terai.
42. Identity and dignity of Terai and Terai People.
43. Regionalism and Movement.
44. Corruption and Movement.
45. Resource Mobilization and Movement.
46. Impunity and Movement.



## ANNEX II

### RESEARCH TOOL: QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEW

#### Questions for Social Workers, Political Leaders, Government Officers and Specialists

1. What is the present demographic situation in Terai?
2. What is the political, social and economical situation in Terai?
3. What are the aim to take part in movements?
4. What are the roles of political leaders for the settlement of movement?
5. What are the causes and effects of movement?
6. Why the political re-engineering and economic reform are essential in Terai?
7. Why the people are diverted into violent movement in Terai?
8. What is the identity of Terai and Terai people?
9. What is the situation of result-based assessment in Terai?
10. What are the ways to overcome the Terai movement?
11. What is the role of international influence in Terai?
12. What are the reasons of violent ethnic movement in Terai?
13. Do you want Terai as an autonomous province or separate state?
14. Why do people trust on movement for change management?
15. What are the improvements on political and economic sectors?
16. What are the merits and demerits of Terai movement?
17. What are the roles of politicians in federal restructuring in Terai?
18. What is the political mechanism in Terai?
19. What are the discriminations situations in Terai?
20. What are the impacts of violent movement in Terai?
21. What are the roles of Terai people for restructuring?
22. What is the condition of citizen campaign against wrong practices in Terai?
23. What are the roles of institution in movement?
24. What are the expectations of people involve in movement?
25. What is the awareness level of people in Terai?
26. Which level of people were participating in movement?
27. Are the politicians punctual in community development in Terai?
28. What are the roles of politicians for the distribution of basic facilities?

29. Do the politician adopted people centric activities in Terai?
30. Did the victim of movement achieve the compensation in Terai?
31. Do you agree that the political practices adapted modern practices in Terai?
32. What are the effects of termination of political leadership in Terai?
33. Do the Madhesi people achieve quality service in Terai?
34. What are the roles of politicians in movement?
35. What are the situation of inter-parties and intra-party conflict in Terai?
36. Do you agree about the people ensure the rights in Terai?
37. What is the situation of human rights protection and promotion in Terai?
38. What are the roles of political related organizations in movement?
39. What is the condition of decision-making capacity of politician in Terai?
40. Do you observe about the international influence in movement?
41. What is the role of regionalism in movement?
42. What is the connection between corruption and movement?
43. What is the connection between impunity and movement?

**ANNEX III**  
**RESEARCH TOOL: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION**

**A. FGD: Adult Male / Female and Youths**

**Subject of Discussion**

1. The Concept of Identity Based Ethnic Movement.
2. The Trust of Terai Movement and Democratic Practice for People.
3. The Situation of Democratic, Political and Social Change.
4. Identity Based Terai Movement and Political Agenda.
5. The Aspect of Political and Economical Transformation.
6. The Discrimination Situation in Terai.
7. The Traditional Political Mechanism in Terai.
8. The Impacts of Violent Movement in Terai.
9. The Role of People for the Restructuration in Terai.
10. The Role of Political Leaders in Terai.
11. Citizens Campaign against Wrong Practices.
12. Institutional Capacity for the betterment of People in Terai.
13. Responsibility of Youth in Terai Movement.
14. Expectations of People Involvement in Terai Movement.
15. Awareness Level of People in Terai.
16. Level of Participates in Movement.
17. Punctuality of Politicians in Community Development.
18. Role of Politicians for the Distribution of Basic Facilities in Terai.
19. Role of Politicians in Political and Economic Reforms.
20. Compensation Management for victims in Movement.
21. Adoption of People Centric Political Activities in Terai.
22. Social Standard and Movement.
23. Adoption of Modern Political Practices by Terai Politicians.
24. Ensure of People Rights in Terai.
25. Participation of Political Leaders in Social Work.
26. Influence on Administrative Functions by Politicians.
27. Termination of Leadership in Terai.
28. Availability of Quality Service in Terai.

29. Situation of Knowledge Sharing and Caring by the Politicians.
30. Situation of Field Visit after Movement.
31. Situation of Inter-parties Conflict.
32. Quality and Technical Education in Terai.
33. Identity and dignity of Terai and Terai People.
34. Regionalism and Movement.
35. Corruption and Movement.
36. Impunity and Movement.
37. Resource Mobilization and Movement.
38. Invisible Slavery in Community.

**ANNEX IV**  
**RESEARCH TOOL: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION**

**B. FGD: Political Leaders / Workers**

**Subjects of Discussion**

1. The Concept of Democracy and Identity Situation of Terai People.
2. The Trust of Terai Movement and Democracy.
3. The Situations of Political and Economical Transformation.
4. The Aspect of Political, Social and Economical Transformation.
5. The Economic Change after the Federal Restructuring.
6. The Merits and Demerits of Violent Ethnic Movement.
7. The Concept of Restructuring and Role of Political Leaders.
8. The Discrimination Situation in Terai.
9. The Existing Political Mechanism in Terai.
10. The Impact of Violent Movement in Terai.
11. The Role of People in Federal Restructuring.
12. The Role of Political Leaders in Terai.
13. The Citizen Campaign against Wrong Practices.
14. Institution Capacity for the Development of Terai.
15. Responsibility of Youth in Movement.
16. Expectation of People Involvement in Movement.
17. Awareness Level of People in Terai.
18. Level of People Participate in Movement.
19. Punctuality of Politician in Community Development.
20. Role of Politicians for the Distribution of Basic Facilities.
21. Role of Politicians in Political and Economic Reform.
22. Distribution of Compensation to the previous Movement Suffered People.
23. Adoption of People Centric Political Activities in Terai.
24. Social Standard and Movement.
25. Adoption of Modern Political Practices by Politicians in Terai.
26. Ensured the Political Right in Terai.
27. Participation of Political Leaders in Social Work.
28. Influence by Politician in Movement.

29. Termination of Leadership.
30. Availability of Quality Services in Terai.
31. Situation of Knowledge Sharing and Caring between Leaders and People.
32. Situation of field visit by Politicians after Terai Movement.
33. Inter-parties and Intra-parties Conflict Situation in Terai.
34. Quality and Technical Education.
35. Identity and Dignity of Terai and Terai People.
36. Corruption and Movement.
37. Regionalism and Movement.
38. Impunity and Movement.
39. Resource Mobilization and Movement.
40. Constitutional rights and Movement.

**ANNEX V**  
**SURVEY ON DISSERTATION NAMED TERAI MOVEMENT**  
**FOR FEDERAL RESTRUCTURING**

**Questionnaires for adult men and women**

**Please give the answer and put the ✓ sign on correct answer**

Name:

Age:

Gender:

Address: District.....MC/MR.....

Ward:

Telephone:

How do you want to identify yourself?

Political participation in Terai movement:

- a) Leaders                      b) Party followers                      c) Other civilians

Marital status:

- a) Married                      b) Unmarried                      c) Single

Basic facilities available:

- a) Tap water    b) Food    c) Clothing    d) House    e) Employment    f) Others

Literacy rate:

- a) Literate      b) Illiterate      c) School going boys      d) School going girls

Caste / Ethnicity:

- a) Upper caste      b) Lower caste      c) Terai Dalit      d) Migrated Dalit

Economic Status of People Involvement in Movement:

- a) Business community      b) Professional      c) Below poverty line  
d) Women-led      e) Dalit      f) Landless

Occupations:

- a) Agriculture      b) Service      c) Business      d) Student      e) Others

Campaign against Wrong Practices:

- a) Corruption      b) Fraudulence      c) Human rights violence  
d) Discrimination      e) Exclusion      f) No response

Aim of taking part in Terai movement:

- a) To involve in social service      b) To get employment  
c) To get chance of Financial progress      d) To get chance on government  
e) Above all

Educational qualification:

- a) Illiterate      b) Primary      c) Secondary      d) Higher and above



Responsibility of Youth Political Leadership:

- a) Male only
- b) Female only
- c) Adult themselves
- d) All citizen of the society

Head of Family:

- a) Male
- b) Female

Food Sufficiency:

- a) 1-3 months
- b) 4-6 months
- c) 7-9months
- d) More than 9 months

1. How many members in your family?

Male.....+ Female..... =

2. Do you feel any change after Jana Andolan 2062/2063?

3. Is there any future of next Terai movement?

4. Reason for the sustainability of democracy:

- a) Lack of economic and social development
- b) International influence
- c) Lack of political awareness
- d) Lack of trust on government
- e) Political diversion
- f) Above all

5. Who made the important role for Jana Andolan 2062/63?

- a) Rebellion Army
- b) Seven Parties Alliance
- c) Civil Society
- d) Others.....

6. Is it possible the peaceful movement for the political change?

a) Possible

b) Impossible

c) I don't know

7. Merits and demerits of movement in Terai

Merits	Demerits
a.	a.
b.	b.
c.	c.
d.	d.
e.	e.
f.	f.
g.	g.

8. Awareness

Awareness Factors	Sex	
	Male	Female
Autonomous Terai province is the main aim of movement.	Yes	
	No	
	Do not Know	
Political problem is more serious than household problem.	Yes	
	No	
	Do not Know	
Do you want nonviolent identity-based movement?	Yes	
	No	
Do you have the problem of basic facilities related to Terai movement?	Yes	
	No	
Do you want to separate Terai from Nepal?	Yes	
	No	
Do you want economic development, political correction and good governance in Terai?	Yes	
	No	
	Do not Know	
Are Terai people affected by hidden discriminations?	Yes	
	No	
	Do not Know	
Are people affected by government's traditional practices and system in Terai community?	Yes	
	No	
	Do not Know	

9. Institutional capacity in movement.

<b>Institutional Capacity in Movement</b>	<b>No of Responses</b>	
	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>
Does your groups have any action plans to fight violent ethnic movement?		
Does your group have adequate skill and resources to conduct campaign?		
Does your group have mobilized against discriminations of government?		
Does your group leader provide opportunity to express views openly?		
Does your group get involve to participate for social welfare?		
Do you believe that political change is possible by your affiliation in group?		
Does your group affiliated with any network for working in public issues?		
Is there any problem to work on development by the movement?		
Do the politician of your community conduct discussion on political violence?		
Do you use evidences / data during advocacy and interface?		

10. Awareness factors with caste / ethnicity movement.

<b>Awareness Factors</b>		<b>Caste/ Ethnicity</b>	
		<b>Dalit</b>	<b>Non-Dalit</b>
Is the movement being more than enough for the fulfillment of people's desires?	Yes		
	No		
	Do not Know		
People undergo involvement in identity-based political changes.	Yes		
	No		
	Do not Know		
Do you know there is law about party politics in Nepal?	Yes		
	No		
	Do not Know		
Is any incident on stopping political violence?	Yes		
	No		
Is any report registered about legal provision of political corruption in Terai?	Yes		
	No		
Are poor people affected by identity based political violence in Terai community?	Yes		
	No		
	Do not Know		

11. Do you have anythings about the movement for political and economical reform?

.....

.....

.....

.....

12. Do you agree or disagree on the following statement?

**Give (o) sign for your answer**

SN	Statement	Fully Agree	Partially Agree	Fully Disagree	Partially Disagree
1	Basic facilities are available in the communities after the Terai movement.				
2	Political leaders conduct collective social work in community.				
3	Punctuality of political leaders to address the public issues.				
4	Adoption of perfect monitoring and evaluation mechanism in Terai.				
5	Political leaders are taking feedback after the violent Terai movement.				
6	Maximum utilization of infrastructure and resources after the movement in Terai.				
7	Avoidance of traditional political and economical practices.				
8	Influence on movement by the politician in Terai.				
9	Necessity of trade union in the communities of Terai.				
10	Impact on movement in frequent changing of leadership in Terai.				
11	Political influence of Terai people.				
12	Availability of government services after movement.				
13	Ethnic movement and its impacts on movement.				
14	People movement and it's code of conduct.				
15	Impacts of social standard after Terai movement.				
16	Role of youth in Terai politics and				

	other movements.				
17	Proper care of movement wounded people in Terai.				
18	People centric activities adopted by politics in Terai.				
19	Ensure of political right after Terai movement.				
20	Field visit by the politicians after election.				
21	Knowledge sharing between community and politicians in Terai.				
22	Adopting proper government and political system in Terai.				
24	Poverty creates the movement in Terai.				
25	Modern political method is adopted for the sustainability for the development.				
26	Adaptation of result based political assessment in movement.				
27	International influence in movement in Terai.				
28	Inter-parties and Intra-parties conflict situation in Terai.				
29	Increase of impunity after Terai movement.				

13. What is your main objective to participate in Terai movement?

- a) For the social service.
- b) For the achievement of employment.
- c) For the economic development of Terai
- d) Participation to the government.
- e) Removal for the economic crisis of family.
- f) Frustration towards the government.

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