

CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The decade-long Maoist (now known as the United Nepal Communist Party Maoist after the unification with the United People Front Nepal in 2008) People's War significantly impacted Nepal's social structure. Infrastructure throughout the country was destroyed, agricultural and industrial production declined and political instability and violence dramatically increased. Studies show that the Maoist insurgency killed thousands of people in crossfire between the Maoist and security forces and thousands more were injured by explosive devices. Many women became widows and many children became orphans. People in many areas, especially in conflict zones, were given little or no security from the violence. This unstable climate compelled numerous people, predominately men, to leave their hometowns out of fear of their safety. Of those who moved, many relocated internally for a temporary period of time, while others migrated to foreign countries to find work as laborers. Others, especially men, joined either the underground Maoist coalition or the security forces. As a result, a demographic imbalance was created in the villages and traditional male responsibilities were borne by women.

The Maoist insurgency greatly affected the pre-conflict period social system. The insurgency directly impacted the daily routine of the people. Farmers could no longer work freely because the security forces regularly interrupted work to interrogate about Maoist information and location. The Maoists also caused disturbances: they would arrive at villagers' homes in the middle of the night demanding food and shelter. Both the Maoists and the security forces would arrest farmers on suspicion charges. Farmers were punished or killed if the armed group did not deem their answers satisfactory. In regards to how the Peoples War affected education institutions, students were fearful of both armed groups. Both sides used students as informants, and those informants were in a perilous situation because if either the Maoists or the security forces suspected that they

could be spying against them, they were abducted. As a result, only few students attended classes regularly. Many students left for India, fearing for their lives (Bohara, 2004; Hart, 2004 and Sengupta, 2005). Similarly, teachers were forced to participate in various Maoist programs, which were often located far from the school and frequently became encounters between Maoists and the security forces. Being present at such programs was very dangerous for teachers because security forces could directly shoot them. Due to involvement in the Maoist programs, teachers were unable to give their full commitment to their school duties. Security forces arrested teachers on the accusation of being involved in Maoist activities. The Maoists took action against teachers on the charge that they were government spies. In this way, teachers were doubly victimized. In such school environments, political parties and civil society could not speak of their ideology boldly without strong threat of retaliation. Many teachers were forced to relocate from their hometowns, creating an overall tension and frustration that presented itself in the classroom. An estimated 3,000 were displaced from the public schools in outlying districts, and an estimated 100,000 students in Nepal were also displaced (Thapa, and Sijapati. 2007:161).

Similarly, the education of children was significantly impacted through school closures due to Maoist strikes. Schools became fertile grounds for the People's Militia recruitment as well as became a place for them to conduct their cultural programs. Such programs included cultural seminars and workshops, as well as people's education training. Because of these programs, teachers prepared very few lessons and courses of study were not completed on time. The students who did come to class were less likely to pay attention because the cultural programs distracted them. In addition, it was mandatory for teachers and students to stay for the entirety of the Maoists programs if they were conducted on school premises. According to CWIN (2006), the Maoists forcefully relocated 32,550 children and teachers for varying periods of time and state security forces arrested 254 children. Most of the children were captured for the "People's Education Training" and later released. 756 schools were directly affected by the Maoist's activities and 507 schools were shut down. Almost 95% of schools shut down

were private board schools (Dhital, 2007:152). Such programs directly impacted courses of study and much more. Students failed examinations or passed with low percentages.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

According to UNICEF, children are those human beings who are below 18 years of age. The children's Act 1992 defines "child" as human beings below the age of 16 years. Similarly, a person who is below 16 years of age is a minor, as defined by the Nepal Citizenship Act, 1963 and The Labor Act 1992 considers the age limit of a child to be less than 14 years of age. Children were used by the both armed forces as informants, couriers and messengers during the Maoist Peoples War. The Maoists used children as cooks and porters, as well as mine planters and human shields while in direct combat with government security forces (Watch list on the Children and Conflict, Jan. 2005: 5). After the peace agreement between the Maoist and Seven Party alliance, UNMIN verified that there were 30,000 Maoist's child soldiers were under the age of 18 (EBHR, 2009: 171).

According to CWIN (2006), 475 children lost their lives, 562 children physically injured, 8,000 children orphaned and 40,000 children displaced. This is the only official document calculating the statistics of children during the war. Further research is still needed in order to gather primary data on school children at the local level.

A 17 years old student named Mani Kendra joined the Maoist for two reasons. Largely, he was curious about the party and secondly, his uncle pressured him. Tika Gharti Magar joined the underground movement in her late teens for her safety. The police, who harassed and arrested her while she was at school, accused her of writing Maoist slogans on the village walls (Sengupta, 2005:1-6). Such events and their circumstances need to be examined more in order to better understand the different factors that led these events to occur.

Since the male members of households often fled their homes to escape murder by both the Maoists and security forces, female carried extra burden of family responsibilities.

Women also had extra socio-economic responsibilities due to involuntary migration of their husbands and/or son. There are many cases of young girls leaving school to join the Maoist guerrillas due to constant threat and harassment by the security forces (Gurung and Subedi, 2007:142-143). But there might be also some different reasons at the community level for joining the Maoists. An important question is why some students went underground while others with similar socio-economic backgrounds did not. For this, new reasons might be hidden in society.

During the People's War, children were widely used for various purposes such as spies, helpers, porters and cultural activists (Dhital, 2007:152). Those children among the guerilla ranks were likely to have come from households where they were deprived of education, food, clothes, and healthcare. These deprivations contributed to their decision to join the Maoists (Thapa and Sijapati, 2007:162). While this may be so, the question as to why students from middle income to rich backgrounds also joined the Maoists must be asked. Li Onesto (2006) concluded that that the People's War offered a new future to Nepal's youth that included participation in the fight to over-throw an oppressive society. This vision guided the People's Army and the mass organization of students, peasants, women and children. Li Onesto's conclusion has limited support or explanation, so research is still needed to collect new data.

Even before the armed conflict, access to education in Nepal was limited, especially for girls, Dalit and other disadvantaged groups. Attendance was low and dropout and failure rates were high. An important question is how the armed conflict impacted these issues. In order to find new and updated information, research was essential. In order to obtain information about how the Maoist insurgency affected education, I asked the following research questions.

-) Children from which specific caste groups and villages were most affected by the armed conflict and what were the reasons behind it? What kinds of social problems were created by the armed conflict in the society and how did these problems impact the education of children?

-) How did the armed conflict affect schools and the community?
-) What are the demographics (specifically gender and age) of the students who left school and why did they leave school?

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

In Nepal, the long-decade of violent armed conflict formally ended after the CPN (Maoists) and Seven Party Alliance signed the peace accord on 21 November 2006. After that, the Maoists who were involved in Maoist's various organizations began to gain access to colleges and schools. Nepali daily newspapers "The Kantipur" (28th Feb.2009) and Nepal Samacharpatra (7th Sep. 2007) mentioned that the People's Liberation Armies, who were in cantonment, were admitted into college and school for their educational certificate. In my geographic area of study, I found such examples and I was interested in the reasons why people decided to leave school. My research objectives were to study the social problems created by the conflict in regards to education. Firstly, at the local level, I looked into which students joined the Maoist movement and why. Secondly, I assessed the impact of the Maoist movement on school education in Mechchhe. More specifically, my research objectives are as follows:

-) To explore the impact of armed conflict on students from different caste groups in Mechchhe VDC of Kavre district.
-) To identify the social problems that were created by the armed conflict in society and how these social problems affected children's education.
-) To look into the various types of reasons regarding the range of impact of the armed conflict in different caste groups and villages of this VDC.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research explores how the different village's students, teachers and caste groups were impacted by the contemporary armed conflict situation and how they are presently doing. Similarly, I researched the relevant pull and push factors, as well as other supporting social factors concerning why some villages and social caste groups were less

impacted in comparison to other villages. So, my research findings will be useful for government agencies (Policy Makers, Programmers and Government Officials), NGO/INGOs and agencies engaged in the protection of human rights. Additionally, this dissertation can be a good tool for recollecting the history of war in Nepal through children perspectives and building new hope for the next generation. This study is currently relevant because the whole country is preparing to construct a new Nepal. I hope this thesis will be reference for the both children and aid policymakers in moving ahead toward a brighter future.

CHAPTER-II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the beginning of this chapter, I deal with the impact of armed conflict at the national level and connected with some of the conflict theories. In the second part, I review the history of education in Nepal. In conclusion, I discuss the literature of educational policies in Nepal.

2.1 GENERAL BOOK REVIEW

Search and review of literature is an essential part of all research. Literature for most masters' research projects is composed of various published and non-published works including books, statistics and reposts (Hart, 2005:154-155). All three kinds of literature are reviewed in this chapter. I linked my literature review to relevant theories.

Conflict is often interpreted as the opposite of peace. The key root cause of conflict is the failure of economic development. In the absence of economic development, the positive influence of good political institutions, ethnic and religious homogeneity, and high military spending, which normally provide significant defenses against large scale violence, increases. Once a country stumbles into conflict powerful forces, the trap tends to lock it into a syndrome of further conflict (Collier, 2003). Dahrendrof said that once conflict groups emerge, they engage in actions that lead to changes in social structure (Ritzer, 2000:262). Dahal, (2065 VS) has a similar view of the conflict and its impact on society. According to him, "Conflict theory believes that the society is made up of distinct classes of people. It is characterized by conflict between classes, which have different intensity. The social order maintained by the powerful groups through force or ideology. This theory believes that the social change occurs through class conflict and revolutionary".

Below, I connect the above-mentioned theory to the impact of the armed conflict at both the national and local level.

Lawoti, in his book “Towards a Democratic Nepal, 2008”, argues that the People’s War began and grew dramatically because of the injustice and inequality inherent in Nepali society. According to Lawoti, Maoist and security forces went around killing and threatening common people in such a way that they became the targets of the both armed forces at no fault of their own. However, it also brought positive impacts, such as increasing rural people's political awareness. In addition, traditional institutions and their authority have been undermined. The weakening of traditional institutions such as the caste system, and patriarchy has lessened the discrimination toward women, Dalit, and indigenous nationalities, which are the some of the examples of the impact of People’s War.

Lecomte-Tilouine, (2008) emphasized various types of impact in Nepal. People’s War spread to all of Nepal except for the two districts of Manang and Mustang district, which remained unaffected. At least 13,000 people lost their lives during the insurgency. The insurgency had different levels of impacts. Schools, especially in the hills of the western and far-western regions became grounds for promoting the Maoist movement and an arena for student recruitment. Similarly, the Maoists banned “arranged marriage” and promoted “love marriage”. Maoist cadres were not allowed to marry outside the party. If they did, their punishment was forced labor. In addition, non-Maoist men were forbidden to marry ex-Maoist women, because the women were considered to have no moral values. In other words, those Maoist women who left their party for any reason were forbidden from marrying a non-Maoist man. Consequently, female Maoists faced extreme difficulties in creating a new role and way of interacting in the social environment in which she had grown up. Such women tend to stay at home with immediate family members or with their own comrades (48-174).

Vaux, and Subba (2006) describe political violence as violence that is committed to obtain ends within the parameter of political order to outside the political order. In other words, the motivation for political violence is primarily ideological—the belief that the current political system is either ineffective or unable to respond to vital needs of a society or groups or else is intransigent in denying the rightful demand of members of society. Classical theory makes political ideology the main motivation and middle to

upper classes the main actors, while the Marxist theory holds that ideology is secondary to economic and social conditions and that the oppressed classes of any society are the main actors. This theory, however, provides only a partial explanation. It does not explain why similar socio-economic and political conditions, some group resort to violence while others do not. (Vaux, et al., 2006:74-79). Coser reasons something quite different. According to him, the potential for class conflict is inherent in every differentiated society, since such a society systematically generates conflict of interest between persons and groups differentially located within the social structure and more particularly, in relation to the means of production (1996:90). Coser emphasizes the integrative and adaptability functions of conflict of social systems. Thus, he justifies his efforts by criticizing the functions of conflict. According to him, the function of conflict is viewed as a process that, under certain conditions, functions to maintain the body social or of its vital parts. (Turner, 2005:167).

The book *People in the 'People's War'* (2004) published by the Himal Books deals with different aspects of burdens of different sections of society. The war is no longer confined to the fighting forces of both sides as the stories there recount in telling detail: the impact on porters and the local economy they series; the destruction of traditional occupations of the Dalits and their resultant destitution and migrations; the devastation of the education system and flight of educated youth from the country; the relationship between the underground and the movements for ethnic assertion; fandum abductions and rapes; and the structure and financing of the Maoist militia.

Shrestha, (2004) raised economic issues. In his book, he elaborated that Maoist brought unimagined disorder for commoners whose lives depend on daily earnings. In addition, it also impacted trade and commerce, tourism which resulted unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, inflation and hoarding.

Pettigrew, (2003) mentioned 'a culture of terror', meaning that fear has become part of life. In her article "Living Between The Maoists and The Army in Rural Nepal," she illustrates some of the impacts of the People's War. In the war period, people changed

their sleeping pattern due to fear and stress, and established new ways of socialization within the family and in the wider village.

Sengupta, (2005) discusses the two primary reasons why people joined the Maoists. The first is the young Maoist cadres who sang revolutionary songs and danced from one village to another, mostly at schools, psychologically persuaded students to join. The second reason was that people joined the Maoists after being harassed by the security forces. Sengupta, additionally said that schools represent a vital source of both revenue and recruits and students were affected by the conflict resulted into only half the students attended in the final examination. It might be either they left school for the time being or dropped out totally.

Gautam et al. (2003) talk about women issues quite differently. There were women guerrillas in the Maoist's strongholds area. Women guerrillas were likely to be poor, illiterate peasants from an indigenous nationality with the drive to achieve political visibility never before imaginable in Nepal politics. Gautam, raised one important question "What does it mean for Hindu women in Nepal to take up arms?" One argument is that women take up arms out of helplessness and because they feel they have no choice. The men migrated outside their village, many never to return, due to the threat of Maoist and security forces, and the women are left behind to deal with the conflict, to negotiate with the police and the Maoist and to ensure the survival and security of their family members. Another argument is that women joined the people's movement to fulfill their desire for participation in political and social spheres because the Maoists incorporated gender issues proactively in the 'People's War'. Thapaliya, writes, 'Women and children are the most adversely affected victims of conflict as they are considered the weaker and vulnerable section of the society and yet always under or misrepresented'. Sarup, also writes, "One of the most alarming trends in armed conflict is the participation of children as soldiers. Children are dropping out of school. The psychological effects of armed conflict on children can be devastating and may haunt them through life" (quoted from Subba et. al, 2006: 133).

There are two books primarily mentioned in the discourse about the impact of the insurgency on Indigenous nationalities and other deprived groups. Hagen, (2007) explains how the Maoist adopted ethnic issues and established ethnic liberation fronts. Many indigenous nationalities participated in the Maoist's People's War, and the Maoists pressured the political center to take ethnic demands more seriously while Uprety, (2007) states, 'the deep-rooted social cleavages in terms of caste, ethnicity, gender, region, culture, linguistic and religious forms of discrimination provide fertile ground to escalate the conflict. The root causes of the Maoist conflict are; "inter alia, social and political exclusion and exploitation of indigenous nationalities and Dalits, mass poverty, gender discrimination, lack of access to resources, highly centralized system of governance which has failed to respond to local problems and issues, inefficient and corrupt governance, regional disparity and lack of vision, competency and courage in the leadership parties".

Vishwakarma discusses why children chose revolution in armed conflict period in Nepal (2006:43-68). As I mentioned earlier, an estimated 100,000 students and 3,000 teachers were displaced from the public schools in outlying districts due to the armed conflict. Furthermore, Thapa and Sijapati confer about the psychological impact of the armed conflict. They state that children became increasingly more violent as they become more familiar with guns and weapons (Thapa and Sijapati 2007:161-163). Research on the psychological impact of armed conflict was examined in Mainali's M.A. dissertation (2061 VS). Mainali used a study sample of 40 students, of which, 12 students forgot what is taught in the classroom, 11 students left school, 10 students did not pay attention in the classroom and 7 students did not want to go to school.

Karki, and Bhattarai (2004) write that most of the children were captured for the "People's Education Training" and later released. In addition, 8,000 children were orphaned and 40,000 children were displaced, over 150 teachers were killed between 1996 and January, 2004 (Karki et al: 2004). People were also fearful of the security forces because they came to the schools looking for the Maoists. Sometimes security forces abducted students from the street. As a result, many students started going to India fearing for their lives (Bohara, 2004; Hart, 2004; Sengupta: 2005).

During my research period, I found little literature of armed conflict in Kavre district. I found the following data from the Internet and through review of INSEC data.

At Pokhari Chauri VDC-4, security forces raped Reena Rasaili before killing her, despite her pleas saying she was not a Maoist and that she was only a student of grade seven and a social worker of the Rural Energy Development Centre, Kavre. Likewise, at Pokhari Chauri-3, Kavre, Subhadra Chaulagai (17years), a student in grade 9 from Prava Secondary School, was shot dead by the security forces near her house. She sustained injuries on her right cheek, stomach and about an inch below the right eye. Tasi Lama, who lived in the same village as above the mentioned victims, was also shot dead by the security personnel on the same day (13 Feb. 2004). To date, the details of the case are unknown a (INSEC, 2007 and Watch list on Children and Armed Conflict, 2009).

A Maoist named Subash Budhathoki was killed by LMG bomb blast at Janachetana Secondary School, Sarsyunkharka-1, Kavre on 2063(VS) Ashoj 19th. Similarly, Karshang Lama (14years) and Phulkaji Pradhan (14 years) were injured by the bomb left by the Maoist under the Rato Pul in Banepa Municipality-10. Similarly, a group of security personnel arrested a 15 years old school girl as well as the daughter of Ms. Devi Sunuwar (auntie of Reena Rasaili and Witness of the incident) on 17th February,2004 (INSEC:2007).

2.2 HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN NEPAL

The history of modern schooling in Nepal began about 150 years ago with the establishment of the first school in 1853. However, for many years, common children were prohibited from attending school as restricted by ruling from the Rana family. The political shift in 1951 brought fundamental changes to the education system, beginning with the expansion of schooling facilities throughout the country. The progress achieved over since 1951 can be seen in the fact that there is now a widespread network of 28 thousand school including higher secondary school, 473 college and seven universities where more than 7 million students are studying (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2005:3).

The concept of education originated with the idea of imparting knowledge on religion in ancient time (1760) so that certain people could inherit the religion and carry out the rituals successfully in the society. Obviously, the common people who were lower in the caste system were deprived of education, as they were not allowed to perform religious rituals. In the 1760s, King Prithivinarayan Shah spent his life expanding the empire with a whole-hearted dedication to expanding and improving the military force. He shifted the concept of education from one of religion's identity and social status to that of martial values. His education system was designed to inculcate martial values in people. His priority was to educate the children of soldiers who died in battles to be on par with those who were socially and economically privileged.

Junga Bahadur Rana, the first Rana Prime Minister, introduced the British system of education, for the benefit of children of the royal family in 1853. The Rana rulers made some efforts to make education available to common people. For example, they set up Tindhara Pathshala, a Sanskrit School, which was institutionalized under the state control in 1877 by Ranodip Singh to preserve traditional values. Nevertheless, this school curriculum was tailored for the Brahman castes who later were mostly engaged in performing religious rituals.

The Rana government also established a Basic Teachers' Training Centre in 1949. This program was discontinued in 1953 because it failed to line up with the education system of the time. However, Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NNEPC) recognized the crucial role of teacher training and placed prime focus on it. Thus, the College of Education came into existence with substantial financial assistance from the U.S. Government.

In the 1954, Nepal National Education Planning Commission laid the foundation for a national educational system within the framework of national unity, democracy and development. The all-round National Education Commission (1962) added nationalism and the prevailing political ideology to the national education system. In practice, however, during the period of 1956-1970, national education efforts focused more on expanding access than the doctrine. A landmark in the history of education in Nepal was

made by New Education System (NESP) in 1971. NESP was implemented with the objective of giving new direction in promoting equal access to education for all children, with special emphasis on improving quality of education by providing trained teachers, textbooks, and other instructional materials and with stress on vocational education. (Khaniya, 2007:58-60). The adoption of the National Education System Plan (NESP) for 1971- 1976 nationalized education and molded the system in link with the values of the Panchayat Political System. Although the NESP attempted to improve school quality, set national standards, and at the school, the integrated system never got materialized and eventually, the NESP was succeeded by the education initiatives. Obviously, there is no categorical emphasis on encouraging girls and women in education. Education is addressed only in general both for boys and girls. The education plan seemed to ignore the socio-cultural background in Nepal, which practices heavy gender discrimination. Consequently, education is biased towards boys, and girls became progressively further behind. From the fifth periodic development plan on, it started to make some headway education. The fifth plan (1976-80) mentioned that female teachers will be appointed in primary schools to increase the enrolment of girls, while the sixth plan (1981-85) stated that special programs will be designed to provide educational opportunities to the women in educationally backward areas. To increase the female literacy rate via primary and adult education was the emphasis given the seventh plan (1986-9). In the late 1980s and 1990s encouraged by the emergence of private schools and the initiation of project, (Basic and Secondary Education Development Project) was introduced to improve the quality of schooling. During this period, the government appointed two high-level commissions (the National Education Commission, 1992 and the High Level Education Commission, 1999) to address inconsistencies, streamline the system, and place education and path of improvement. After 2000, the government policies shifted towards "fundamental reforms" such as decentralization and community involvement to improve school performance mainly through various projects.

In the last five decades, access to primary education has increased considerably in quantitative terms. From 1952 onwards, foundations were also developed for secondary and tertiary education. The number of schools is 28, 131 of which 27, 901 are Primary: 8,

889 are Lower Secondary, 5, 329 are Secondary and 1, 197 are Higher Secondary Level (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2007: 1-2).

2.3 A CRITICAL REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN NEPAL

The history of education in Nepal reveals that modern education has not only been initiated by polity, but also controlled and directed by the rulers according to their political philosophy. It is a truism about education that it enlightens its recipients, dispels ignorance and makes them conscious about their rights. It is natural for those who are in power to control the availability of education to all; for they fear that the newly educated would tend to aspire for a share in distribution of prestige, power and property. The rulers of Nepal are no exception to this. But once a social process like education is initiated, it cannot be kept canalized within specified limits forever. Its flow causes movements in other sectors of social fabric and paves out its own course. The same has happened in Nepal. Education, ultimately, started filtering down to the common people whether the rulers liked it or not.

During the Rana regime, the primary focus was educating their own children. But, even after the educational institutions were established outside the palace, admission was made strictly to higher Rana children and some others who obtained permission from the rulers. The Rana regime was fearful of the idea of giving education to common people lest they should not be awakened and be conscious of their rights. Consequently, the Rana regime discouraged establishing educational institutions throughout the country. After 1950, with the political take over by Shah Dynasty and the introduction of democracy, educational opportunities were made available to all sections of population through a number of educational institutions. It may be either due to the high percentage of failures or due to the state policy. It is also natural that the results were very strict; the urge for taking admission in institutions of higher learning would be lower.

In the period from 1971 onwards, we witness phases of planned development of the modern system of education in such a way that its expansion is rapid at lower levels, but slow at higher levels, because the expansion at higher level is threatens the political structure of the country. The conduct of graduates is closely watched even today (Vir,

1988:142-145).The National Education Plan (1971-1976) was implemented by the government in the line with the then King Mahendra political idea to control over the educational institutions by the state. The state gave priority only to the Nepalese (Hindu) language but the government suppressed those groups who gave their education on the basis of their mother tongue (Tamang, 2006:27). Nepal's new Constitution (1990) established a more inclusive system. It describes Nepal as "multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and democratic" country and declares that all citizens are "equal irrespective of religion, race, gender, caste, tribe or ideology". However, it also retained some ambiguities- by declaring Nepal a Hindu Kingdom, denying women the right to pass their citizenship to their children and explicitly protecting "traditional practices"(Unequal Citizens, 2006: 7). The concept of inclusiveness in education emerged during 1960 in Europe. This concept was brought to Nepal in the last decade for discussion, and although generally accepted in theory, the implementation of inclusion remains a problem. Scholars argue that unless a country capacitate its people from all ethnic and linguistic groups, disadvantage community, different geographical regime and started to become professions, lawyers, engineers, doctor, bureaucrats, leaders administrators, politicians etc. the country can not develop socially and economically (Khaniya, 2007:65). In regards to the Janajatis, Nepal only began in the Ninth Plan (1997-2002). The Tenth Plan devotes an entire chapter to issues related to the indigenous nationalities. NEFIN is the forefront of Janajatis movement and raised the following demand during June 2005. The state should give a right of every community to run schools in which primary-level classes are taught in the mother tongue of the students. They want the abolition of compulsory Sanskrit study. Instead of this, they proposed a three- language policy in education and administration: mother tongue, a second Nepali language (in most case, Nepali itself) and international language (The World Bank and DFID, 2006:64-65).These voices are raised by the Maoist as it is the one of their political issues.

The education system delivers success to those who study in English and failure to those who study in Nepali. The success rate for children for private schools in the School Leaving Certificate examination is about 80 percent while the success rate for children government schools is only 20 percent (Vax, et al., 2006:3). Vishwakarma, said that in the School Leaving Certificate examinations of 1996, no one child passed in first division

from the rural areas of Nepal, which means that rural school kids are eliminated from the more prestigious college tracks, particularly being engineers and doctors, the aspiration of middle class parents for their children (2006:55). These statistics show that education is not accessible to the poorer groups and deprived from the quality of education. This is one of the Maoists main political issues. On the other hand, scholars and many of above mention reports also clarifies that the various policies, strategies of government seem to be fail to implementation in reality. As we have perceived that conflict has latent and manifest part, those students who are deprived from the good college of education and failed in the examination, they might be support the Maoist for their betterment of their desires because Maoist plans to destroy unequal opportunity in education.

CHAPTER-III

RESEARCH METHODS

I conducted my field-work in two different time periods. My first fieldwork was incomplete because I conducted it during the Dashain vacation of October 2008. I wanted to further interview those students who went underground with the Maoist as well as collect quantitative data of students in different periods, so I conducted a second field research study in April 2009. I collected both qualitative and quantitative data by interacting with key informants and through field observation. Additionally, I consulted different secondary sources including books, dissertation, journals, articles, statistical department offices and organizations. In order to generate information related to conflict, I followed the following research steps:

3.1 SELECTION OF THE STUDY AREA

For my academic interest, I completed my fieldwork in Mechchhe VDC of Kavre district for the following reasons. Firstly, I am originally from Kavre district from the Tamang community. I selected this VDC because since I come from Kavre, I had an advantage in collecting data than from other places in Nepal because I know the area and have already established rapport. Additionally, it is believed that the armed conflict was started in Mechchhe VDC and gained momentum in its periphery to the whole Kavre district. Thapa and Sijapati (2007:50) write that the Maoist raided at local rich man's house at night the same day the People's War started in 1996.

3. 2 RESEARCH DESIGN:

I applied descriptive research design to assess the opinions of the respondents, characteristics of the population and to describe the situation of the armed conflict period.

3. 3 USE OF SAMPLING:

I collect the data by applying purposive sampling. According to the recorded file of CBS 2002, there are 1200 households at Mechchhe VDC. I visited 120 households in order to represent 10% of the population (See; figure 9). Additionally, I visited house of the victimized people of People's War and selected 6 common students, 3 teachers, 5 common people, 2 were from the political parties and 1 from the local shopkeepers to take an interview (See; Chapter V and annex section).

3. 4 PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES:

In order to achieve the stated objectives, the following tools were applied in my field study. These tools are:

3. 4. 1 Case Study

I conducted case studies of people who were killed by the security forces in different places during the People's War. I also conducted case studies of three living students who had to leave their schooling due to the fear from the security forces. Similarly, I studied Mechchhe VDC as a social unit as a whole to find out their different socio-cultural personalities and economic position in the society. I did not find student and common people killed by the Maoist. Instead, the Maoists affected the people by instilling fear and

terror in them for a period of at least four years. Two families were displaced due to the armed conflict. One of the families was displaced because they feared the Maoists. The Maoists kept asking this particular family for donations because they made money from the tourism industry. Their rejections to the Maoist's appeals were just as persistent. The next family migrated due to suppression by the security forces. A man in his mid-thirties is still missing after the security forces abducted him.

3. 4. 2 Key Informants Interview

I used interviews as the main tool to acquire information about the informants' knowledge and attitude. I conducted semi-structured questionnaires individually with the key informants as mentioned above. During that period, I collected information about key-informants' occupational background, educational status and their attitudes regarding the People's War. After I completed the interview, I conducted the focus group discussion to hear their different perspectives and attitudes of the informants. Mainly, I focused on situations in the society that were created by the armed conflict in this VDC and its impacts on education.

3. 4. 3 Field Observations

Observation is one of the major tools in anthropology. During my research in the Mechchhe VDC, I observed the situation of victim's family, which helped me understand their daily activities and their daily struggles, as well as their ways of expression.

3. 5 ANALYSIS OF DATA AND PRESENTATION

The collective qualitative data is presented in narrative form whereas the quantitative data is presented in percentage charts of various socio-economic, educational and educational background profiles.

3. 6 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

This research primarily focuses on situations of the Mechchhe VDC during the Maoist movement period. Therefore, the findings of the study may not be generalized to other regions of country. Similarly, due to limited time and resources, I could not conduct a more in-depth study. Additionally, due to my limited knowledge and skill, I may not have been able to apply the methodological rigor in research design including research methodology, data collection and analysis in my dissertation.

CHAPTER-IV

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SCENARIO OF THE STUDY AREA

4.1 AN OVERVIEW OF KAVRE DISTRICT

Nepal is divided into five development regions for administrative purposes. The development regions are made up of 75 districts. Kavre district is a district situated in the Bagmati zone of the Central Development Region. Kavre district's political boundary to the east are the Ramechhap, Sindhuli and Dolkha districts; Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Latitpur are to the west; Bhaktapur, and Sindhupalchowk to the north direction and Makawanpur and Sindhuli districts are to the south. Kavre district has a population of 413,069 people. The area of this district occupied 1396 Km². It has 642 schools, 16 Higher Secondary School and 8 Campus. The literacy rate is 63.755 and human development index is 0.543 (INSEC 2007:307).

4.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

Mechchhe VDC is the furthest cluster of villages in Kavre district located at the Roshi Khola and Sunkoshi rivers. Local people said that this VDC was part of Ramechhap and Sindhuli districts from 2017 to 2035 VS. This VDC became part of the Kavre district only after 2036 VS.

This VDC is a mixed community of different castes and ethnicities, which include Tamang, Brahmin, Chhetri, Newar, Kami, Damai, Majhi, Gharti and Thakuri. It has a population of 7,207 people and 1,200 households. The Tamang consist of the majority of the households (76.07%) in this VDC (CBS: 2002). Below I describe each ward separately in order to better convey their distinct socio-cultural, personalities, economic positions (See; Figure: 6), political position and geographical territory. I also provide a brief introduction to the school system statistics (See; Figure: 4) as well as the schools

distance from public market areas. By doing so, I can comparatively study each of the schools and wards in concerns to the extent they were affected by the conflict and the reasons behind the impact.

Vorjyang Village: Vorjyang Village resides in Ward 1 and Ward 2 of the VDC, and is 1.5 hours east-south of the Pauwa local market by walking. The village is a mixed community (therefore composed of families from different ethnicities and castes), however, most households have similar economic positions (See; Figure: 6). Most of the villagers are farmers except for a few Brahmin and Chhetri people who hold government positions as teachers and within the Nepalese Army. The village has a lower secondary school named called Shree Janajyoti Lower Secondary School (the secondary level began running from this academic year), which is located between the two wards. I observed that this village has one of the highest literacy rates in comparison to its neighboring villages and many of the youth live in Kathmandu. Politically, in the past, this village was known to be a strong supporter of the Nepali Congress and Nepal Communist Party (UML). Contrary to this knowledge, I found that the villagers seemed only mildly interested in politics. The villagers did seem to easily unite if there was a pressing community concern without unease about their neighbors' affiliations to different parties.

Lhongsal-Paluwaghat Village: This village within Ward 3 and Ward 4, with Lhongsal village to its east-south and Paluwaghat to the west. The walk from Pauwa Bazaar to the Lhongsal-Paluwaghat village takes about thirty minutes. The majority of the villagers are Tamang but there is also a smaller Newar population that has lived in the village for a long time. It has two Lower Secondary Schools; one is located bottom of the Lhongsal and is named Shree Seti Devi Lower Secondary School and second school is located at bottom of the Paluwaghat (Choptaar) village and is named Shree Bijulikanya Lower Secondary School. The Tamang of this village, the Lhongsal and Choptaar people are quite interested in politics and historically have been supporters of the United People's Front Nepal. There is a long main trail of way to Mangaltaar police station and Pauwa local market from the Lhongsal village. The Tamang community seemed to be unemployment and the majority of the families lived under the poverty line. Conversely, the Newar community seemed to be wealthy and owned the village businesses and held

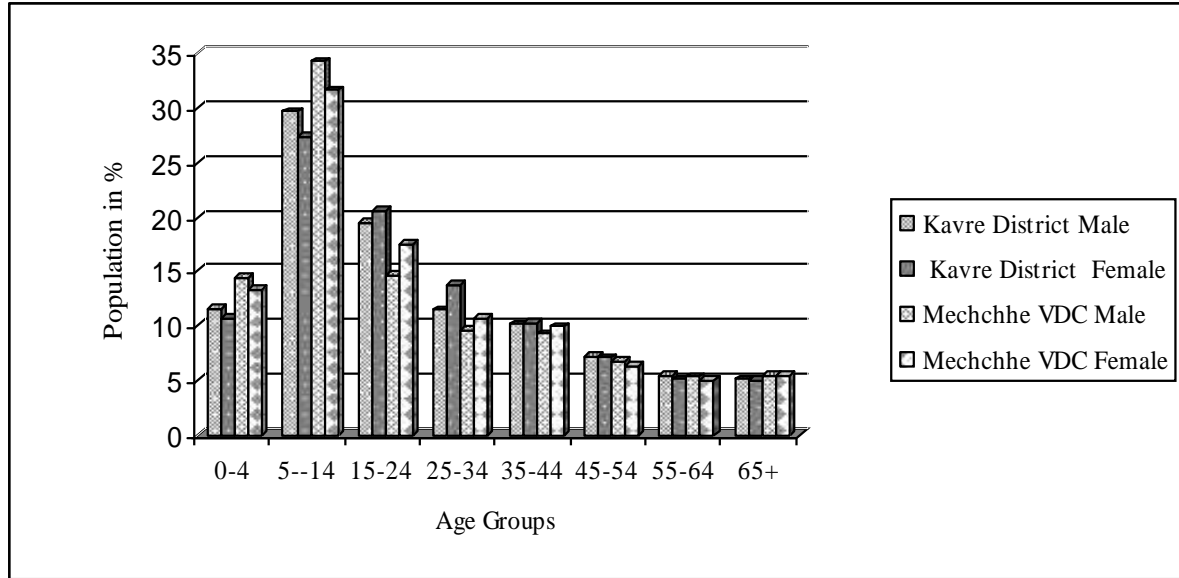
government positions such as the postman. In the patrolling extension of the Maoist organization, most of the people understand that the Maoist was the real Communist Party among the other Communist Parties; so most of villagers started supporting the Maoists.

Mechchhe-Tekanpur Village: This village lies in Ward 5 and Ward 6 and is a mixed community with the Chhetri caste composing the majority of the families. The village is located below the Pauwa local market. In this village, I found that many Chhetri people hold positions in the army, in the police and as teachers. It was also common for the Brahmins to be employed as teachers. The houses of this village are spread in its periphery. Politically, this village known as a strong supporter of the NCP (UML), even though villagers are less interested in politics and fears the war. However, I found that the Tamang community was very interested in politics and felt strongly about the insurgency.

Mukpa-Simarko Village: Mukpa village is situated in Ward 8 and Ward 9. Simarko is located in Ward 7. Half the population of Ward 8 is Brahmin and Chhetri. People from the Brahmin/Chhetri caste most frequently hold positions as teachers, and within the army and police force. The village of Mukpa is divided into two smaller villagers; Sano Mukpa and Thulo Mukpa. Sano Mukpa is more or less a rich community, whereas the people from Thulo Mukpa come from poor economic backgrounds. These two villages were famous for both Maoist leader and cadres, and during the people's war, these villages were more oppressed by the security in comparison to other villages. I found that this village is famous for its political history since the Panchayat era. The first attack on this village by the Maoists was at Mr. Daulat's house. When this happened, the police suppressed many people out of suspicion that they were involved. Before the People's War began, this village was known as a strong supporter of the United People's Front Nepal. People of Mukpa and Tekanpur are heavily interested in politics. Students of these two villages go to the Shree Kusheshwor Secondary School, which is located in the heart of Pauwa bazaar (from where walking paths lead to the different wards in this VDC). This school also began running as a secondary school in 2061 and now processing to teach 10+2 level.

4.2.1 Population Distribution by Gender and Age Group

Figure 1: Population Distribution by Gender and Age Group



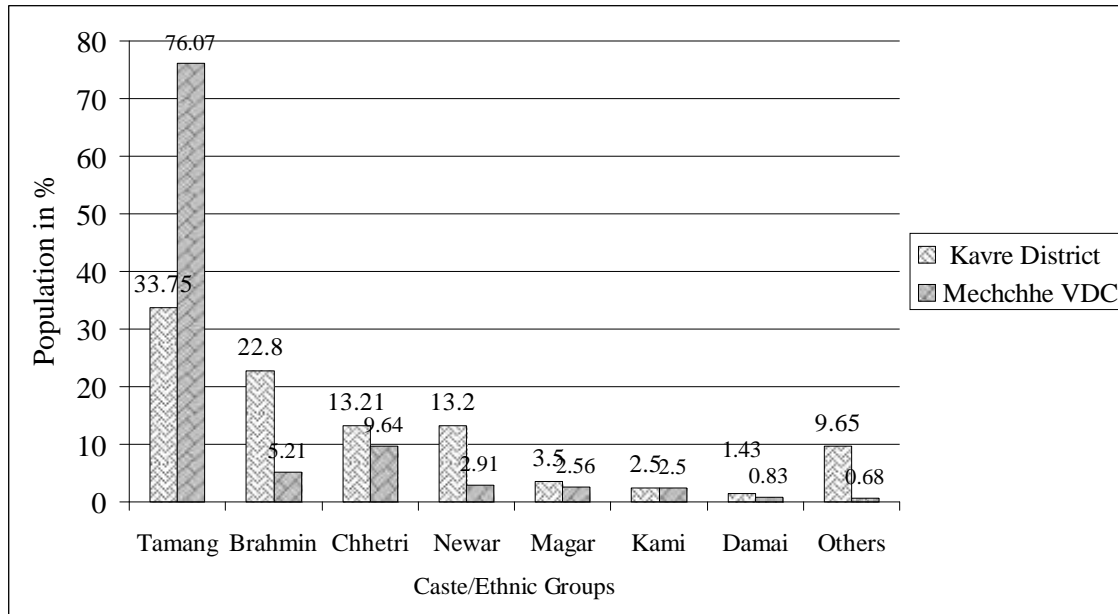
Source: CBS, 2002

Figure 1 shows that the population age group of both Kavre and Mechchhe VDC is 5-14 years old is higher in compared to other ages. In the Kavre district, males 5-14 occupy 29.60% and females 5-14 occupy 27.40% of the total population. The population of both district and local level is decreasing continuously after the age of 25. However, population is slightly higher in the age of 0-4 years in contrast to the age of 25-34 years except the female population in the Mechchhe VDC. This figure also shows that the female population is only higher than the male population in the age of 15-44 years old. In the age groups of 15-24, 25-34 and 35-44, female has occupied 20.60%, 13.76% and 10.31% whereas male has only occupied 19.41%, 11.46% and 10.14% in the same age groups.

4.2.2 Caste/Ethnic Distribution

Nepal is heterogeneous and diversified in terms of caste/ethnic distribution. The following table shows the diversity within the populations in both district and VDC level.

Figure 2: Population Distribution by Caste/Ethnicity at VDC and District Level (in %)



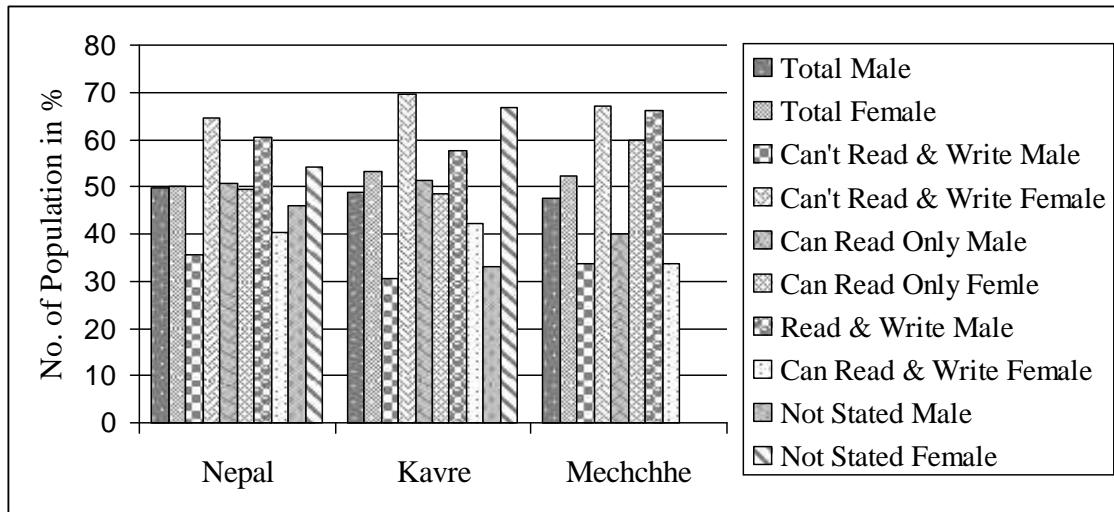
Source: CBS, 2001

The above figure shows that the Tamang held the majority in the district (33.75%) and VDC (76.07%) level in terms of population. The Brahmin occupied the second position (22.80%) on the district level, but on the VDC level it is in the third position (5.21%). The population followed by Chhetri 13.21% on the district level and 9.64% on the VDC level. Similarly, Newar, Magar, Kami, Damai, Gharti, and others caste groups (including Majhi, Gharti/Bhujel and Thakuri) have 13.20%, 3.50%, 2.50%, 1.43%, and 9.65% respectively in district level whereas their percentages are 2.91%, 2.56%, 2.05%, 0.83% and 0.68% in VDC level respectively.

4.2.3 Literacy Context

Most literature mentions that women comprise more of the population than men in Nepal but the percentage of women who are literate is significantly less than men. As shown in the figure below, I found the same data as stated above.

Figure 3: Literacy Statuses by 6 Years of Age, 2001



Source: CBS, 2001

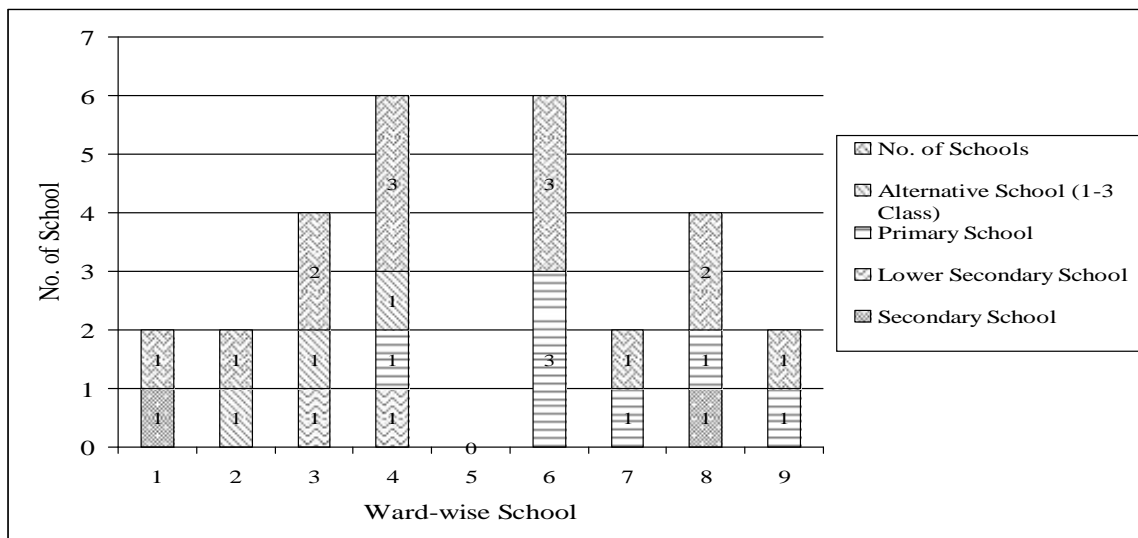
Figure 3 shows that female literacy rate is always lower in comparison with male literacy rate. The above figure clearly shows that 64.46% female cannot read and write, 49.31% can read only and 40.25% can read and write whereas 35.53% male cannot read and write, 50.68% can read only and 60.32% can read and write, which is slightly higher than the female literacy rate in the national level. Similarly, in the Kavre district, male population is 47.81% and female population is 52.18%. Therefore, the female population is higher than the male population but the female literacy rate is lower than the male literacy rate. Of the total population, 30.44% male cannot read and write, 51.37% can read only and 57.37% can read and write whereas 69.57% cannot read and write, only 48.62% can read only and 42.21% can read and write. Likewise, at Mechchhe VDC, males comprise 47.54% of the population and females comprise 52.43%. This figure also shows that the total population of the female is not only in the local level but also higher in contrast to national level and district level. In this VDC, 33.81% of males cannot read and write and 67.02% female cannot read and write. However, male can read only by 40% and 60% by the female. Accordingly, 66.17% of males can read and write whereas only 33.78% of females can read and write. Almost twice as many men than women (in terms of percentages) are literate.

The female literacy rate level of the VDC also very low in comparison to the national and district level literacy rate level.

4.2.4 Number of the Schools in Ward-wise Level

I found that the number of schools is positively correlated with the density of the population. It is also based on the geographical location. For instance, Ward 5 has a slope type of land pattern and most of the households are more spread out and diverse, despite the fact that it is the second largest ward and has 160 households (CBS: 2002) of this VDC. However, their children go to the school at the Kusheshwor Secondary School which located at Ward 8 and Buddhakiran, Shivashakti and Sanman Primary Schools are located at Ward 6.

Figure: 4 Number of the Schools in Ward-wise Level



Source; Field Survey, 2009

Figure 4 shows that Ward 4 and Ward 6 have 3 schools. Likewise, Ward 3 and Ward 8 have two schools. The remaining wards, except for Ward 5, have 1 school in each ward. Among the wards, Ward 1 and 8 have secondary schools, Ward 3 and Ward 4 have lower secondary school and Ward 6, 7, 8 and 9 have primary schools. It is interesting that Ward 6 has 3 primary schools. Another interesting context is that this VDC has alternative

schools Ward 2, 3 and 4 to compensate for its high population density. Alternative schools are run under the supervision of the nearest government schools and funded by various I/NGOs. For example, the alternative school in Ward 4 is controlled by the Kusheshwor Secondary Schools located in Ward 8.

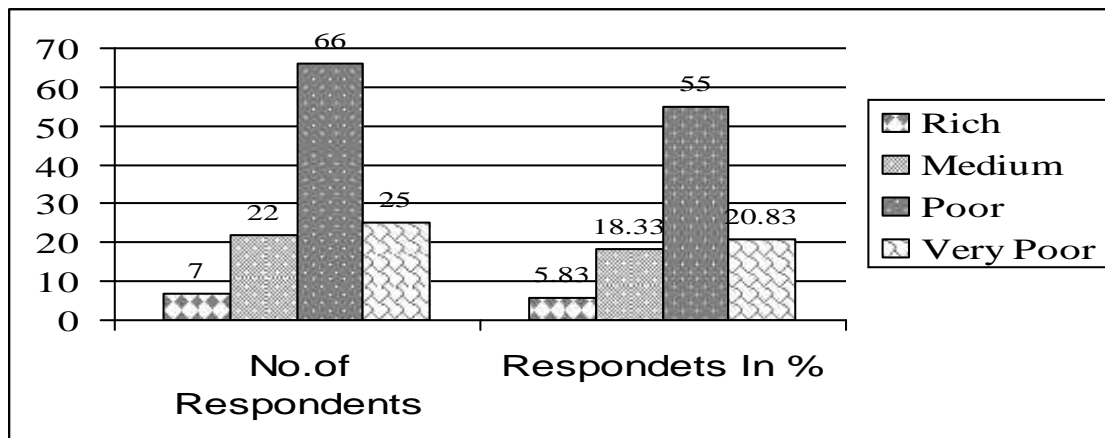
4.2.5 Economic Context

The economy supports the livelihood of the population. This VDC largely depends on agriculture, which is not sufficient in their livelihood, so that they (especially who do not have a sufficient land for planting and harvesting the crops) also do seasonal work as laborers, traders and trekking guides (in tourism). Beside this, they also earn money through seasonal vegetables and animal husbandry.

4.2.5.1 Agricultural Production

The Karuna Foundation, an INGO (2007), reports that agricultural work is the main occupation (83.9%) and 11% of the respondents said their main work is around the house (more women than men responded in the way). Similarly, 3.9% of the respondents work in wage labor, services or run small businesses/trade.

Figure 5: Economic Status of the Respondents

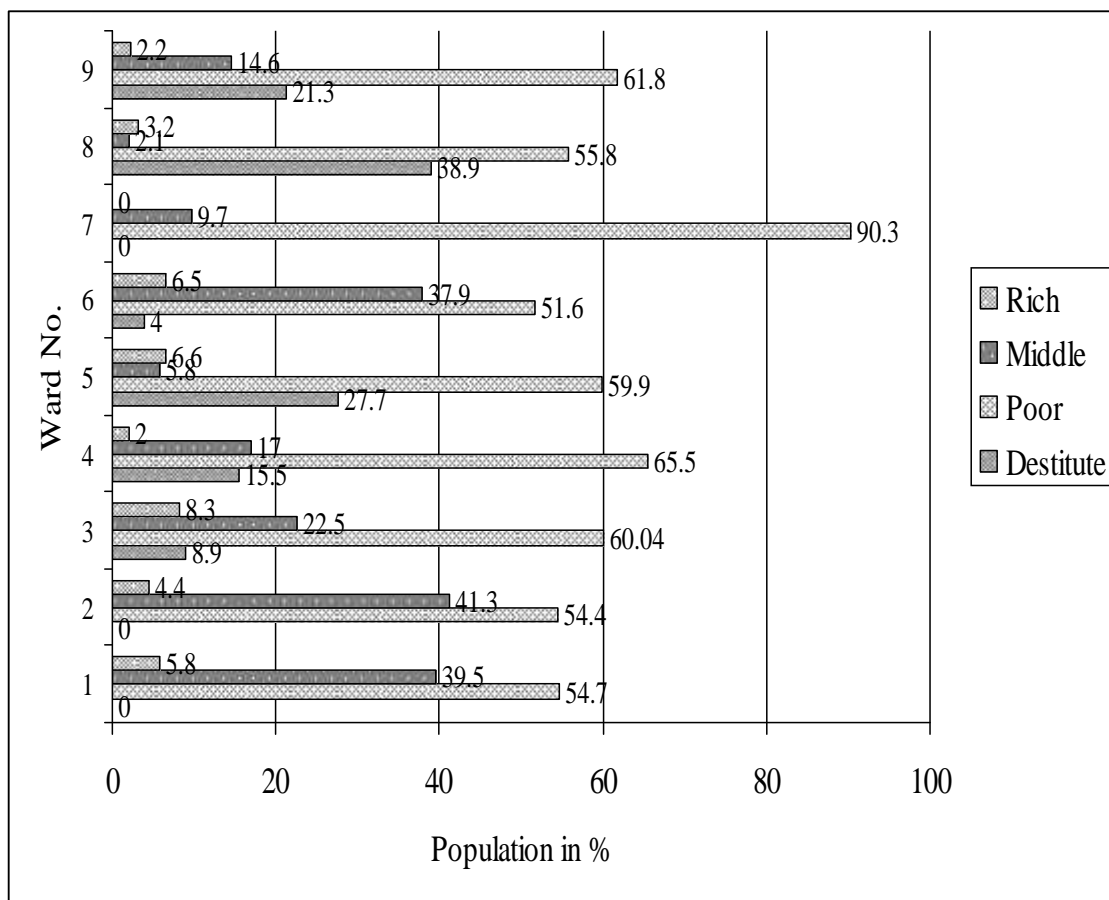


Source: Field Survey, 2008

This figure shows that among the 120 households, most of the respondents (55%) fall under the poor group and very poor group (20.83%). Medium and rich group are only

18.33% and 5.83% of the population, respectively. The Karuna Foundation interpreted these social groups in four different ways. In Karuna Foundation's words, the destitute own no assets and satisfy either none or only one basic need. The poor own no assets but satisfies two basic needs, or owns only cheap assets and satisfies either none or only one basic need. Similarly, middle owns only cheap assets and satisfies two or three basic needs, or owns at least one expensive asset but satisfies either none or one basic need whereas, rich owns at least one expensive asset and satisfies two or three basic needs.

Figure 6: Ward-wise Economic Ranking of the Population (in %)



Source: Karuna Foundation, 2007

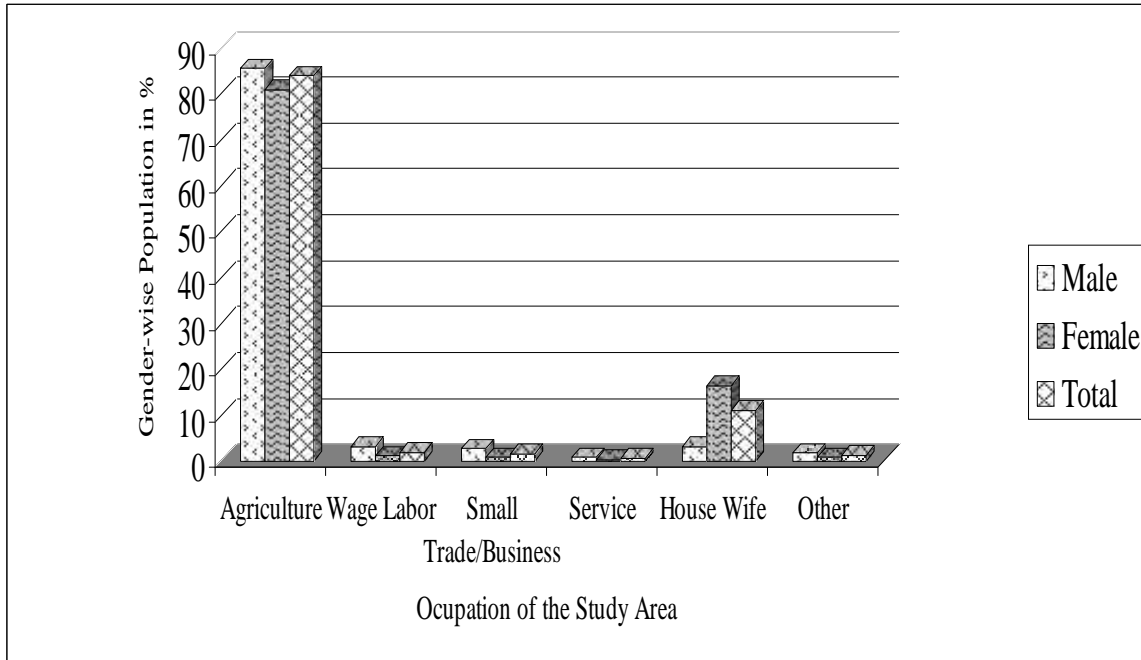
Figure 6 shows the four different social groups of this area. Among all wards, Ward 1, 2 and 7 do not have a destitute group. The highest destitute group (38.9%) is in Ward 8. The people of Ward 7 fall under the 27.7%, Ward 9 fall under 21.3%, Ward 4 falls under

15.5%, Ward 3 falls under 8.9% and Ward 6 falls under 4% of the destitute groups. Likewise, most of the people of this VDC are poor. The above figure clearly presents depending on the ward, the percentage of population that is in a poor economic position ranges from 51.6% to 90.3%. This figure also shows that people of Ward 7 are almost in the poor groups (90.3%). Similarly, 65.5% poor groups are living at Ward 4, 61.8% people are from Ward 9, and 60.04% of poor people are living in Ward 3. Accordingly, 59.9% of people are poor groups in Ward 5, 55.8% of people are poor groups in Ward 8, 54.7% are from Ward 1, 54.4% are from Ward 2 and 51.6% of poor groups are living in Ward 6. In regards to the middle group of this VDC, 41.3% of people are from Ward 2, 39.5% of people are living as a middle group at Ward 1, 37.9% of middle people are living in Ward 6, 22.5% of people are living in Ward 3, 17% of people are living in Ward 4, 14.6% of people are living in Ward 9, 9.7% of people are living in Ward 7, 5.8% people are living in Ward 5 and 2.1% of middle people are living in Ward 8. Only 8.3% of the people in Ward 3 are in the rich group. 6.6% of the population is categorized as rich in Ward 6, 6.5% in Ward 5, 5.8% in Ward 1, 4.4% in Ward 2, 3.2% in Ward 8, 2.2% in Ward 9 and 2% in Ward 4. No households in Ward 7 are categorized as rich. This figure also shows that the inhabitants of Ward 1 and Ward 2 are generally in a good economic position whereas the inhabitants of Ward 7, 8 and 9 are generally in a poor economic position.

4.2.5.2 Sources of Income

According to the reports from the Karuna Foundation, 92% of people's main income source is agriculture and 3.3% people earn their money by animal husbandry. Accordingly, 1.3% people earn the money through small trade/business, 1.2% people earn the money by servicing, 0.9% of people are involved in wage-labor, 0.1% earn money through tourism and 0.3% people earn money through other activities. The following figure shows the occupations of the research area.

Figure 7: Occupation of the Study Area



Source: Karuna Foundation, 2007

This figure shows that agriculture is the main occupation (83.9%) of the research area. Housewife is the second most common occupation (11%) in this village. Similarly, wage labor, small trade/business, service and other occupation represent 1.8%, 1.5%, 0.6% and 1.2 % respectively. This figure also clearly shows that 85.5% of males and 80.8% of females work in agriculture. However, there are a higher percentage of females than males working as housewives.

CHAPTER-V

SELECTED CASE STUDIES FROM THE FIELD

Case study is a method of exploring and analyzing the life of social unit, which can be a person, family, institution, cultural group or an entire community (Young, 1998:229). I conducted three different case studies in which some of the studies surrounded issues of people who died during the People's War. These case studies help to better understand how different caste groups' student among the 9 wards of this VDC were impacted by the armed conflict and in which social factor (push or pull) contributed to students/people going underground. In doing case studies at the community level, I make it simpler and to identify the different attitudes, personalities of whole village, I have selected 6 common students, 3 teachers, 5 common people, 2 were from the political parties and 1 from the local shopkeepers. Similarly, I have divided into 4 groups on the basis of their economic background. The very poor groups are those groups who can survive only for 3 months by their productive crops; poor group lie under 6 month, common people can survive for whole months and rich groups are those groups who have much more land to cultivate and have a house in Kathmandu.

However, I would like to note that many important stories could not be included in the dissertation body. I included these stories in the annex section, for the readers' disposal, because they are important in better understanding the affects of armed conflict in the VDC. The following three different case studies explore the impact of armed conflict on daily teaching schedule, resulted late in their education, complicated to leave their schooling as insecure from the security forces and influenced from the Maoist ideology.

V.I Selected Case Studies:

Case-1: Students

Shiha Bahadur Dong (Comrade Gamvir, a resident of ward no-8) was born into a poor family on 5th Bhadau, 2044 and studied until grade 10. Although he had a test

examination in 2062, he left school earlier that year and went underground in 2061. He hoped that he would receive an education and a good position in the Maoist's party.

He was influenced by the Maoist ideology. The central level of Maoist political leaders of the Kavre district at Shree Kusheshwor Secondary School asked him to get involved with the power. Dumja walked three hours from his village and agreed to go underground. His father, Kalu Tamang, said his son was initially fearful of involving himself in the People's Liberation Army, but he became increasingly more comfortable as he met other youths like him who had also joined.

The security forces, in a clash with the Maoists, killed Sinha Bahadur at Jhurjhure of Makawanpur district on 12 Magh, 2062. On that day, the war began at 9 o'clock in the morning. A bomb dropped by a security force a helicopter in the morning seriously injured Sinha Bahadur and he died four days later while receiving treatment at a hospital.

A resident of ward no-4, **Prem Bahadur Dong** (Comrade Vimdhoj), was a 24 years old boy who was killed in a mine explosion in Vattedanda of Lalitpur district. According to his father, on 28th of Ashoj 2060, he was fitting a bomb while the contemporary Royal Nepalese Armies were coming to Vattedanda to search the Maoists. He died due to the few mistakes he made in connecting the wire. That day, he fit the bomb in the absence of his friend because he already sent his friend outside.

Prem Bahadur studied in grade 10 in Kaanpur Higher Secondary School. He was staying at his uncle's house for his study. Due to the influence of a school colleague, he joined the Maoist movement in Ashar of 2053. He became actively engaged in the party but within a few months, the police at Durlung of Lalitpur district arrested him and his friends. In that incident, police shot one of his friends named comrade Rita of Mechchhe VDC but Prem Bahadur was not hurt because he came outside carrying a baby with the baby's mother. The police thought they were family, so the police let them go. He directly came to his house and he continued with his Maoist's activities. All of his family wanted him to stop his involvement. His father went as far as selling the family buffalo in order to enroll his son in Thanka Writing Training and English Language Class. For his betterment, he provided with a private English teacher in his apartment in Kathmandu.

His father did not know whether he completed the course or not. He only came home on the 28th of Saun, 2054 and left home on 5th of Bhadau of that year. He returned home with his wife in 2058. After that, he went underground and actively engaged in party as a Janakalakar (person who sings the favorite songs of marginalized and poor groups in Nepal and strongly active in the leftist wing). He also worked at general medical care.

Now, Perm's wife remarried a second time and has a child with her second husband named Samana (whose nickname is Yatri in this VDC). Samana is cared for by her mother, who continues to have a good relationship with Prem's family. Prem's family often looks after Miss Samana.

Ram Bahadur Dong, father of Prem Bahadur said that there are so many reasons behind why people join in the Maoist's Movement. Such reasons are low economic status, being uneducated, committing a social crime, being beaten by security forces and influenced by the ideology as well as pressured by friends. He said his son went underground due to cronies' relation.

Subash Chandra Mainali was born into a wealthy family in Ward 3 and studied journalism at Balmiki Campus, Kathamandu. According to his father (He was a local supporter of Nepali Congress and ex-primary teacher), he was a president of the unit committee in that college. One of his friend said that he was involved in the Maoist student organization since his school stage. He was influenced by Maoist ideology through his brother (son of uncle), so he joined the underground movement in 21st Ashar of 2059. He was an active Journalist in the Maoist organization in the position of district level.

The Baneshwor police post arrested Mainali in the middle of the day while he was sticking a Maoist poster on wall at Baneshwor Campus. Police came to his home at Chabahil and searched the place. His mother was so worried after her son was arrested and she wanted him back from the police station. After a few days, the police administration almost sent to him in police custody, but Mainali was released from the police station because he got the help from Mr. Purushttam Dahal, who was giving a

lecture of Balmiki Campus and president of Nepal Journalist Association. Mainali continued in the Maoist activities. Once, he was arrested by the army but later released. 3 months after that event, he went underground. He came home once when he was underground. On the 10th of Magh 2060, while participating in the Phaparbaari Sannelan (conference) of Journalism in Sindhupalchok district, Mainali was killed by the army. The father of Mainali is still sad, shocked and even cried when I asked about his son.

The above-mentioned three stories are examples how the Maoist ideology pushed students into the underground movement and subsequently, lost their lives.

A residence of ward no-6, **Miss Pramila Lama** is a student who studies at grade 9. She said that when the Maoist came to her school for extension their student organization, she denied them because she was afraid of the security forces. She said that when the police post attacked the Maoists, many police came to her village and beat innocent people. She said her mother and Mr. Thaila Ghising was beaten severely. Mr. Thaila Ghising received so much brain damage that he is now “crazy, with a half mind.” Fearing from the security forces, one of his sons went underground. She further said that she did not attend school when she heard the news of both armed group in the village, thinking that both armed group might arrest her. She said that this time in her life was horrible. People were afraid of traveling because their lives were not safe from either armed group.

This story conceptualized the impact of conflict in two ways. Firstly, students did not attend school regularly because they felt insecure and were fearful of the many times indiscriminate violence of both armed groups. Secondly, people went underground because the security forces made them feel unsafe.

Mr. Suraj Dong (Comrade Anil Kumar) **Mr. Kanak Thokar** has quite different stories. Not only the security forces made them feel unsafe, they also got involved in the Maoist insurgency late in their school education.

Mr. Dong is a resident of Ward 7 and was born in Gangthantol in 2045. He is from simple family background and his family's work is largely based on wage labor for survival.

Suraj left school at grade 9 and went underground for 4 years. After the Maoists and the government signed the comprehensive peace treaty in 2006, he wanted study again for the betterment of his life.

While he was studying at Shree Kusheshwor Secondary School at Dumja (located at Sindhuli district), he was accused of helping the Maoists and the security forces rampaged his room; throwing cooking pots and kitchen appliances on the street. He was also threaten by security forces many times and said, "You might be killed one day". He said that this one of the reasons to push him underground.

He was impressed by the Maoist's student organization even though he was previously a supporter of the Nepali Congress. He said that the Nepalese educational system is a feudal system of education that is not productive and not useful for the common people. Such people are not getting an education because most good education is expensive and privatized. Good education is accessible only to the elite and ruling class. Such kind of problems can be solved only through drastic and total change. For these reasons, he supported the people's war and went underground.

In the initial stage of being underground, he worked whatever job necessary in a village quite far from his home village. He did work such as building houses, roof construction and carrying rice. He also prepared meals for when the Maoists conducted their cultural programs. His responsibilities changed when he joined a squad. His main duty was being extension the Maoist's cadres in their organization in each village. His duties were heighten during cultural programs; he had to keep the Maoist's leaders and participants safe with the increased threat of an attack by the security forces. He was declared an Assistant Commander after he joined the People's Militia. He worked as security during the Maoist programs; punishing drunk people whom "wasted their time playing cards and gambling." These people were brought to work in labor camps (the Maoists called it Shram Shiwir, and these camps could be far from the villages) where they worked on

village projects. Wall writing and distributing the leaf tile and posters to public areas were some of his other responsibilities. Likewise, when he was promoted to Front Leader Guard (F.G.L.), he had to keep the security in the front side and if there were any enemies in front them, he had to fire at the beginning. He had to consult with Runner because Runner passed the news to the F.G.L. at first (Runner could be with dress or without in dress and always forefront of the F.G.L.). Section Commander sends to military attack which was especially in the periphery of district level. He said that he participated actively in such a military attacked in Nepal.

When he became as a Platoon Vice-Commander, he had to keep his group safe, control the team, and mobilize the team and exercise in the morning in the absence of Platoon Commander. He later became a Platoon Commander, and he then gave political and ideological training. He made attack plans on police check posts.

Currently, he is in his own village studying and has therefore given all his responsibilities to his Assistant Commander. Before he came home, he went to Chitwan Cantonment in the end of the Manshir, 2063 after restoration of democracy in Nepal.

Similarly, Mr. Thokar is from the simple family background born in Sano-Mukpataar located at Ward 9. He studied in grade 9 in Shree Narayansthan Secondary School and was involved in a Maoist student group. He went underground due to coercion. Some of his fellow students, who were supporter of NCP (UML), threatened that they were going to tell to the army about the involvement of Mr. Thokar in the Maoist party if Mr. Thokar attended his S.L.C. examination at Dulikhel, Kavre district. Mr. Thokar left school without seeing the result of the test examination. This is what exactly problem created by the armed conflict at the local/community level which resulted late in his education. The upcoming story also deals with how relatives and Maoist ideology impacted education.

One day, his kin relatives came to the school to strengthen the Maoist's student organization. They spoke to the students about the right to proletariat. He then felt that he belonged with the Maoists. He decided to go underground and get involved in the Maoist's organization. He said he went underground with 7 other students. He went to many schools to enlarge their student organization, focusing on students in Lower

Secondary School. He explained to the students the Maoists views on the contemporary feudal education system in Nepal, which is unproductive and favor to bourgeoisie (rich class) that only could be replaced by people's education through the drastic change in social and cultural aspect. He was a member of Area Committee, Gaun Jana Sharkar (People's Government) and secretarial member in student organization of Kavre and Sindhuli district. He began to enactive since Magh 2061 VS because the Maoist party did not financial help him while he was in weak health and went to Kathmandu for medical treatment. He talked about some people, who were initially in the police force and oppressed him during the People's War, who ended up joining the Maoist Party. He continues to support the Maoists. Now, he has joined grade 9 because he said that educated people can convince to people very easily and they have different personalities in the community.

Mr. Thokar said that the days were terrible when police came to his village after the Maoist raided in Daulat's house in Mukpataar and million of both cash, loan documents and property were seized. The police stayed at Daulat's house and beat many innocent people while they were searching for the Maoists. The police also captured Mr. Mankaji, who is the brother of Mr. Daulat, because Mr. Daulat blamed Mr. Mankaji for helping the Maoist's cultural program in his house in the day of fraction between NCP (Maoist) and NCP (Unity Centre). This day is thought of as the day the Maoist Party was established. In addition, till two months, there was no chance to speak with common people. They even had to sleep earlier than usual without talking to the family. The situation was very terrible and people of that village could not go to the other neighboring village. The police also pried in each house hold.

Furthermore, there was no police station in this VDC before the People's War, however those police who came to give to security and search as well as oppressed the Maoist activities in this VDC, stayed at Pauwa while the government establish the police station in there. Any new people could arrest in that area in the suspicious of the Maoist. One day, Mr. Tek Bahadur Thokar, brother of Mr. Kanak beat on the suspicious of the Maoist while he went to Pauwa to see the cultural program because he heard that Singer Chandra Kumar Dong was coming to in that program.

Mr. Thokar said that his ward was one of the most affected areas by the People's War because the majority of people were long time communists because communists are dedicated to poor people. On the other hand, the majority of people are Tamang, people who are historically exploited socially and culturally. More than that, Tamangs were more oppressed by the security forces in suspicion of being involved in Maoist activities. Tamang were poor as well as less fearful of death, so they went underground.

Mr. Padam Bahadur Dong is a member of SMC in Shree Kusheshwor Secondary School. He was born into a simple family background in Ward 8. His story primarily concerns the issues of how the armed conflict impacted children's education and local level.

According to him, the People's War affected his life in both negative and positive ways. It also affected his children's education. His family went to Kathmandu to treat Miss Manju Dong, his eldest daughter who is now studying in grade 10. When he was getting ready to return in his home, he came to know that People's War raided Daulat's house and police was searching him in suspicion that he was involved in the Maoist cadre. So, all family went to Makawanpur district (a natal home of his wife). Miss Manju was admitted there for her education. Later, their entire family came to Kathmandu and stayed there. In Kathmandu, Miss Manju had to joint from the beginning due to the different educational background. At that time, Mr. Dong often stayed at Pokara. He was employed as a Thanka painter. One day, he received the message from his relatives that he could return in his house because his police case replaced into Maoist's party. After that, their entire families return home in 2060 VS. Miss Manju was admitted in grade 6 though she studied in grade 4 in Kathmandu but she is still late in her education. So he argued that how innocent children are educated were affected by the armed conflict even though the children and their parent were not involved in the People's War.

Similarly, he further said that Mr. Dalman Thokar son of Mr. Maila Thokar who is resident of ward no. 8 joined Maoist movement because the police beat him when he went to Bhaktapur for getting tuition for S.L.C. examination. He was sent to jail in suspension of the Maoist cadre; as a result he failed the examination. However, he

completed his S.L.C. in chance examination from the police custody. When he released from custody, he went underground and is still involved with the Maoist. This story tells how security forces itself pushed underground as either they were beaten or psychologically impact of the armed conflict.

Likewise, the Maoist cultural programs also impacted both student and non-students. These cultural programs attracted mostly teenagers so that some of the people went underground and some of them were involved in the student's organization. But the problem was that those students who stay in a hometown, they were fearful from the security forces because they could be arrested or killed when they participated in different spots or encountered with security forces on the way. This is pull factors of conflict to join in the Maoist movement.

The long-decade armed conflict created many social problems in society. On the one hand, the person who was suffering from injustice and exploitation in the past was carrying a gun and doing such things as taking revenge against the injustice and also handing out warning. Similarly, the person who went underground, he or she also fear from those person who did not support to the Maoist because he or she arrested by the security forces by spies. On the other hand, the innocent people were made terrified by the security forces. Once the Maoist physical attacked Mr. Dhana Bahadur Dong (He was a Ward president from the Nepali Congress) because the Maoist blamed him that he was helping to police to suppress to the Maoist. Due to the Mr. Dhana Bahadur's case, his father was seriously beaten by the police in the suspension of the Maoist (Mr. Padam's father was a founding member of Nepali Congress in that VDC). The police only stop to him after he agreed in the presence of his son (Mr. Padam).

With the escalation of the People's War, they declared the People's Government which significantly impacted in this VDC, said by Mr. Padam Bahadur. In this way, Maoist did not allow to local people to go to the court in district rather they gave the justice from their court, because peoples were asked about the Maoist activities in district by different administration. Maoist gave the justice very fairly in front of the local people which also made to stop to expense their huge money in the government's court. He said that he saw

more than two cases after his return from the Kathmandu. Such kinds of Maoist's activities impact positively to the villagers, so that they support to the Maoist.

In regards to the impact of armed conflict in different reasons and different village, he said that people generally conceptualized that the People's War started from ward no 8 and 9 by raiding at Daulat's house in Mukapataar located in ward no 9 in the bottom of the village. This was the main reason that this village was heavily impacted by conflict. The other supporting reasons were that the ward had a many more political cadres from general to central committee level in the Maoist and ward was famous in political background since the Rana regime. For instance; he said that his father was Pradhan Pancha (Village Chief Person in the Panchayat era) and his grand father was Taalookdar (The area officer for collecting revenue in the Panchyat era). This ward also much more suppressed by the security forces in the name of controlling the People's War whereas other remaining wards peoples were less interested and lack behind the political ideology. Similarly, the non-Tamang such as Brahmin, Chhetri and Magar were interested in government employment like teacher, police and army. The Newar were interested in their business and the Damai (Tailors) are sewing a cloth in a community who do not have also political awareness about their rights.

Case-2: Teachers

Mr. Bholanath Dhungana is a teacher of Shree Kusheshwor Secondary School. His story is about how teaching periods/schedule and courses were disturbed by the various Maoist cultural programs. Additionally, he has explained about many complexities faced by him which created by the armed conflict. More than that, he told about there was lack of believing (especially in lending the money) in the community in the need of the hours.

According to Mr. Dhungana, People's War started in 2052 VS but it's impacted more effectively on school after 2056 VS which was due to the various types of programs including cultural, seminars, People's Education training and Mass rally. So that schools were not run continuously. As a result, students were not attend to school regularly rather some of them were attracted from the Maoist's programs so that they went t underground and involved in the Maoist various organization such as cultural group, People's

Liberation Army, Young Communist League and Student Organization. Although he did not have a concrete data, he still remembers that more than 25 students were gone to underground.

Similarly, schools were closed during the Maoist's strike. On the other hand, Maoist took away student and teacher in their program which sometime quite far from their schools. So that tiredness student and teacher did not attend in a school in a time. Sometime Maoist's cadre took permission from the teacher and gave the lecture to student saying that the running educational system in Nepal is only favor to the bourgeoisie but not for common people.

Once, a Major who came with 300 armies forced to him to open the school. He opened the school but he was so frighten from the Maoist because the Maoist might kill or gave him some punishment. So, teachers were insecure from the both armed groups. He further said that due to the armed conflict, people could not help each other in the need of the hour. For instance; those person who borrow the money, he or she might went underground. So there was no believing in the community. On the other hand, the Maoist imposed their ideology through their programs where people were made compelled to attend in their program. Consequently, it was appeared weak in non-Maoist organization because there was no chance to tell their political ideology. However, the Maoist did good work in the lower caste by entrancing into temple. By doing so, the feeling of untouched-ability was reducing in some how. They also helped to the school by providing financial help form the various NGOs directly control in school management committee. For more, they gave free labor to the school when new school was built.

Case-3: Local People

Mr. Shanta Bahadur Nepali (name changed) is a resident of ward no-5 who has a few pieces of land; however this does not support to subsistence their daily life so that he earns the money by sewing the clothes in the community.

He said about how innocent student psychologically affected by the security forces and used children by giving chocolate/cookies to get information about the Maoists'

(activities in the community). He also shared about the strategy of the local people to save their life from the security forces and impact of Maoist armed conflict that helped little change in community level in terms of caste.

Mr. Nepali was a supporter of Nepali Congress before he entered into the Maoist. I asked to him, “Why did you leave the Nepali Congress to become a Maoist?”

He replied me in such a way that the Nepali Congress did not look behind the exploitation of Dalits class in the society whereas the Maoist had raised the voice of equal rights to all human being in the society. Similarly the practice of untouchables has continued to exist in every day life even though it is prohibited by the constitution. He gave the example that when their children were sent to water tap to bring water; the so-called high caste did not allow filling the water until they leave the tap. Likewise, when their children were coming from the tap, children were prohibited to walk in the upper side, and incase children walk in that side, their children were thrown under the road side, which was miserable and there were no justice in the society even though they complained to VDC chair person and local political leaders. These all kinds of social problem broke down due to the impact of people’s War, he added. He involved in the Maoist in 2058 because he got a general inspiration from local teacher.

He described the impact of People’s War in such a way that when security forces came to village, they gave sweets, cookies, noodles and chewing gum to the children and asked questions about Maoists. The questions included (1) do you know anyone who is a Maoist in this village; (2) have you seen any Maoists; (3) the Maoists just arrived before us, where are they and which way did they go; (4) time and location of the Maoists. In such a situation, any one of the children might speak about their Maoist affiliations. So that most of the young and elder used to go in the field and working as plowing, digging in the field and cutting grass (even though their interest is not working in the field). The other reason might be that the security arrest to them (villagers) in any time in the suspension of the Maoist. So when security forces entered into village, all the men and women were out from their home. It was full of empty in the village. The local market were also very quite because there were only children. Some of the men took away their

children with them in the jungle and working together because the security might took an away and arrested their parents with the help of their children. He said that the villager delivered the news from one house to another house while the security forces enter into village.

He gave the example to understand the situation of this village during the People's War. One day, named called Mr. Santosh Rayamajhi (He was not a Maoist) who studied at grade 7, went for worship in the temple (On the top of the hill) with a pigeon, flower and rice in the plate but he left all that things and run a way when he saw the Nepalese Army coming down to the village. He entered a local tea-shop and fled from the window of that tea- shop. Latter, Army entered in that tea-shop and asked about him saying like a (Where is the Maoist who entered a few minute ago). The tea-shopkeeper replied, "I did not see anyone. I don't know who came to the shop and who did not". The Armies were angry with him so he was beaten and thrown his tea-pot in the street.

Similarly, he added that when the security came to house, they directly search the house and ask the question like how many Maoists' material have kept in your home? Where are they? How do they come? In which did they go?

Mrs. Devi Moktan's (named changed) story is related with insecurity from the both armed groups which significantly impact on children's education and resulted push underground. According to her story, normal students also shifted their schooling and kept away from the Maoist activities to save their children. In addition, villagers were not allowed to carry any musical instrument as these were used by the Maoist cultural programs.

Mrs. Moktan is a resident of ward 3 and a supporter of the Maoist who was involved in the People's Front Nepal in the past. She said that Maoists came to even in the emergency period, so that she was afraid from the Maoist because the armies came to village and ask about the Maoist. Sometime it could be encounter with the Maoist. The Maoists were her relatives and few of them were new people to her. When the Maoist came to her house, they gave the Maoist's book to her children, but she requested not to do so. The Maoist also said to her children that if she sends her children, her children

would be earned a huge amount of money and became an area commander within a three month, but she denied. In her own words; "I will save my children even giving "Khole" (a Nepali traditional soup). Pointed to the Maoist, she kept continue: I heard that you people are used to run away when you see the armies, but in my home , you can't do like so, rather I will tell them friendly that these are my family members and these are the Maoist.

Once, she was cutting a grass in the field, she saw that the armies were trying to catch Mr. Narayan Rayamajhi (He was Maoist supporter who sold the milk in the market to run his life) because the security forces accused him for giving a food and shelters in his house. She told to Mr. Rayamajhi to turn down. After a few minute, the armies came to near by her and asked about him. She replied that he run away by the main street. So she saved his life.

The Maoists were pushing people into their political organization by conducting cultural program. So that she kept her eldest and second eldest daughter in Kathamandu for two and half months in 2056 VS fearing from the abduction by the Maoist. At that time, they were studying at grade 9. One evening, there was a cultural program at Shree Kusheshwor Secondary School. In that program, her youngest son and daughter were also watching there, but they did not come until late in the evening, so she went there to pick-up her children. She said that the Maoist's such kind of activities directly affected to common people, because they are not allowed to carry anything musical instrument. She further said that there were so many students who left their school and joined the Maoist movement before taking their leaving school examination. Generally, they were students of grade 8 and 9 from the ward no 6, 8 and 9. She said that a large number of students and common youth went underground fearing from the abduction by the security forces especially after the Daulat Singh's case in Mechchhe VDC. Those were mostly from the Mukpa village because their kin and relatives were Maoist and they even gave the lecture from time to time about their ideology.

V.II Key Findings from Case Studies

The decade of Maoist insurgency impacted not only in national level but also at local level. Since Maoist's People War was started, many people including students and teachers of this VDC faced so many problems in regards the education institution. Many several times, school closed in the Maoist's strike and programs which directly impacted on their daily routine of school. As Maoist used to come in house to house for foods and shelter, security forces also came to find those Maoist which also impact on children education because children sometime abducted in the suspension of Maoist. In such a situation, some of the student went underground; some of them not attend in classroom and those students who went underground due to the insecure from the security forces, resulted late in their education. On the other hands, teacher had to participate in Maoist's various programs, which also disturbed the educational institution.

CHAPTER VI

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICT ON DIFFERENT GROUPS

In this chapter, I deal with the different levels of impact of armed conflict upon students, teachers and different caste/ethnic groups of the study area.

One of the Maoist leaders said that their target was not focusing on the children who were under the age of 18. They claimed that they only wanted to make youth aware of the real political situation of the Nepal. The Maoist leader said, in case when they were come to the party, we discouraged to them especially to the young students and gave suggestion to keep continues in their schooling, he replied to me. But I can argue that if it so, then why teenagers' students went underground or even they died in the war? In my opinion, even though the Maoist were discouraged to underground, it is true that they were encouraged to participate in their political wings through the medium of cultural program and political seminars. When the Maoist launched such kind of programs in different places, mostly teenagers might be easily influenced because of the lack of decision making power and joined in the Maoist. When they involved in any political wings of the Maoist, they automatically felt unsafe their life when they saw the security forces. To save their own life, they might be gone to underground because there was only few option to save the life of their. Moreover when they participated in the Maoist program, student themselves wanted to involve in the Maoist because they saw the Maoist army with holding a gun which was curiosity to the student, they saw their teachers and local people with them and they also saw the huge mass of Maoist militia. Such kind of factors might be psychologically affected to their mind, so they might be think that it would good and decided to join in the Maoist army or other Maoist affiliation organization. Furthermore, many of my key informants said that a few people became involved with the Maoist party to enjoy their cultural groups (because Maoist exhibited good performance of their dance program), few of them were due to the unemployment, uneducated and different socialization process. For instance, I found that those parents who do not have an education, she or he much more pay attention on the daily works rather than their education. On the other hand, teenager children do not obey positively when their parents

order to work in the house-work. In such kind of situation, a teenager youth might go to underground. However, most of the Maoists were influenced by the ideology.

6.1 IMPACT ON EDUCATION

During the People's War, all schools were forced to shut down when Maoist called a strike. Students, teachers and common people were obligated to participate in various Maoist programs, many of which were more than a mile from their homes and villages. Maoist attracted to those all participators by showing their different cultural programs which was including singing, dancing. Their main purpose of that program was to make people aware. They also gave political speech which made help to become a general supporter of the Maoist or even became a fully Maoist. Such kinds of trends and programs directly or indirectly impacted on the children education in such a way that when student became a Maoist, police could come to school and threaten to common student, teachers and local people. When students got the message about the both armed groups, the numbers of the student's attendance decreased.

Among the all schools of the study area, Shree Kusheshowr Secondary School was much more affected by the Maoist's armed conflict because it is located at local market area and near by the Maoist affected area. In this school, Maoist launched their program many times and many students joined the Maoists from this school (See; Case Study and Figure: 11). Although other schools received less attention from the Maoists, students from such schools also went underground.

6.1.1 Student

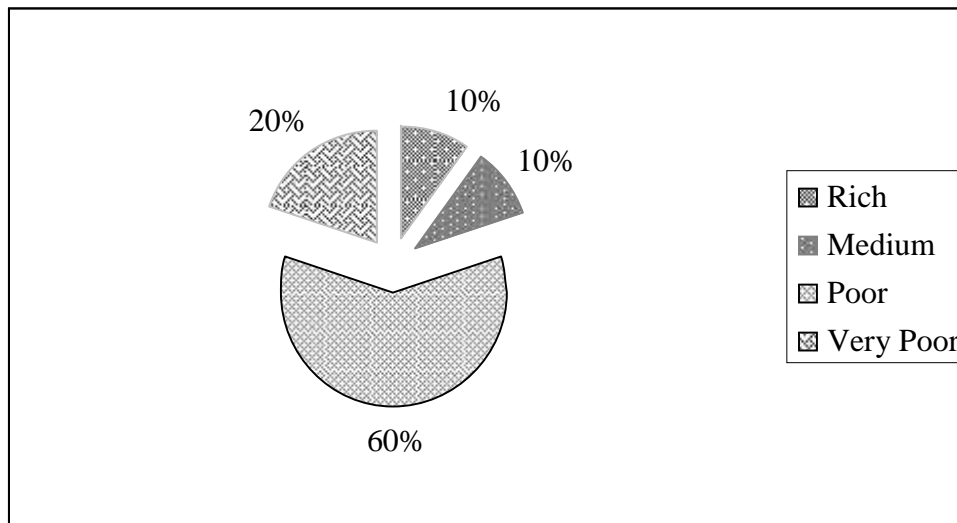
Maoist gave political lecture to students in their program. They also organized different kind of cultural programs to better convey their political ideology. During my fieldwork, I found that most of the students were influenced by the ideology were from poor economic background (See; Figure: 9). A higher percentage of Tamang students went underground in comparison to other caste groups in this VDC, which is also different in the ward-wise level (See; Figure 9 and 10).

6.1.1.1 Number of Maoist Killed by Security Forces

I found that Maoists did not kill any people. However, security forces killed Maoists in different time and places. (See in Case Study for details). Among the 10 people killed and documented in this dissertation, 6 were students who left their schooling and joined the Maoist movement and were subsequently killed during the war. Of these 6, 3 left school before the start of the People's War due to their family's poor economic condition. They joined the Maoist party after interacting with Maoists and being influenced by the Maoist ideology. Only one person, an uneducated girl, was killed in the armed conflict. When I asked the victim's parents why they felt their children joined the Maoists, the majority of the responses centered on how their children were deeply affected by the Maoist ideology.

No any people were gone underground due to the lack of their poverty rather few of them were gone undergone when their relatives were persuaded to them by giving a Maoist lecture (See; Case Study). The pie chart illustrates the economic position of the Maoists killed during the armed conflict.

Figure 8: Economic position of the Maoist who were killed by Security Forces



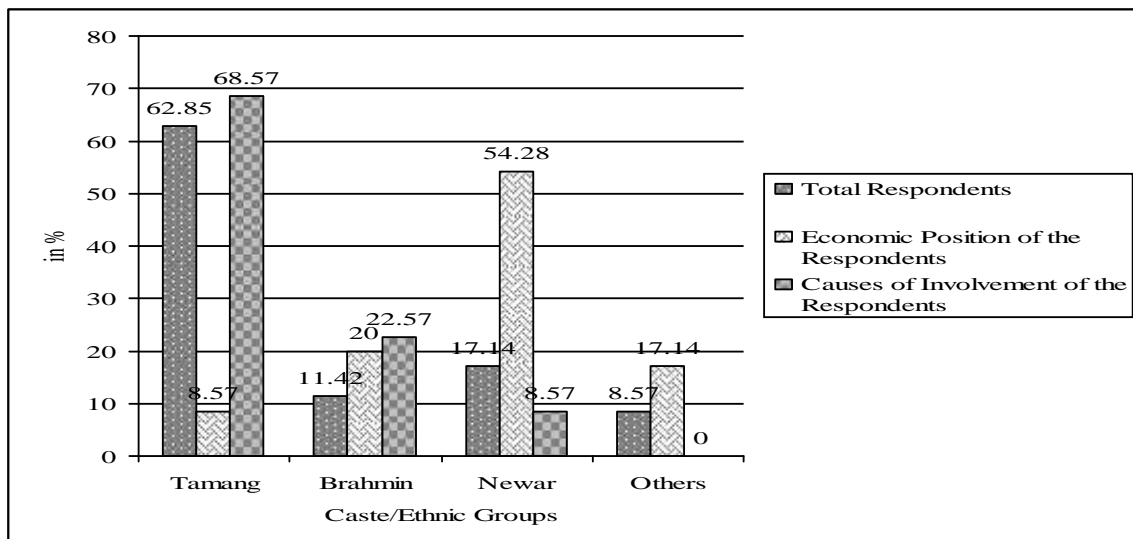
Source: Field Survey, 2008

Figure 8 shows that 60% poor people were killed in the Maoist War. Of total, 20% were laid under the very poor group and rich and medium groups were 10 % in each group.

6.1.1.2 Involvement of Student in the Maoist by Caste, their Economic Position and Causes

My key informants said that many people were gone underground due to the various reasons. These reasons were influenced by the new ideology of the Maoist, the security forces made compelled to underground, the Maoist leaders were give an Maoist lecture to their relatives as well as to the teachers and other common people which significantly impacted on the students' psychology that they themselves felt being a Maoist was good for the new nation building. Moreover, some of the students who were born by the political background, they directly or indirectly involved in the Maoist organization such as student wing, cultural groups and local militia. Some of them were also gone to underground due to the different socialization process. Especially in the Tamang caste, they have no adequate knowledge about the importance of the study and in the teenager stage; they denied working what ordered by their parents. Sometimes, both parents and their children quarrel each other. In such kind of situation, children decided to underground rather than discussing with their parents. During my field work, I couldn't find out exact number of the Maoist students, nevertheless few number of the Maoist student were found.

Figure 9: Involvement of Student in the Maoist by Caste, their Economic Position and Causes



Source: Field Survey, 2008

Figure 9 shows clearly about the economic position and causes of involvement in the Maoist party of different caste/ethnic group's in the study area. Here, I have categorized into four parts of the economic position of the respondents. I found that 8.57% students were in rich group, 20% students were medium group, 54.28% were poor group and 17.14% were the very poor group. In terms of the causes of involvement in the war, I have divided into 4 groups which are includes influenced by the ideology, pushed by the security forces, forced by the relatives and due to the insufficient of foods in their life-being. Among these four groups, 68.57% were influenced by the Maoist ideology, 22.85% were gone to underground due to the security forces, and 8.57% were gone to the underground to whom encouraged by their relatives. No people were gone to the Maoist party due to the lack of foods. This figure also presents that Tamang students had a low economic position but their involvement in the party is higher (68.57%) than the other caste groups. They also much more influenced by the ideology.

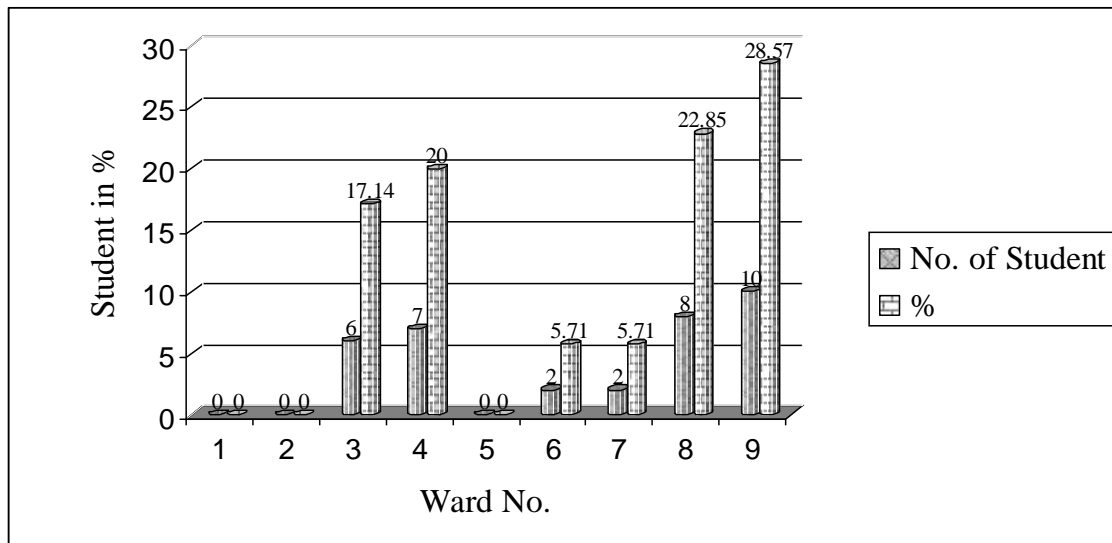
6.1.1.3 Involvement of Student in the Maoist by Ward-wise

Society is not equal in terms of socio-economic positions, and society encompasses many different cultural practices and behaviors. This village also have a different economic position which might be more or less causes to pushed the student into the underground (See; Figure:5). Despite this, their political background, socialization process, keen relation in their relatives also impact to student to involve in the Maoist party. Many literatures show that Maoist abducted the student, teachers and common people to give a Maoist ideology for a certain period and left them latter. Such kind of activities of the Maoist directly impact to student in such a way that they feel normal being a Maoist because they saw their teachers, parents and villagers also participated in the Maoist various programs. In regards to political causes, I found that ward no. 8 and 9 were the most heavily influenced by the political issue since a long time ago. So it is normal to common people to involve in any party; however this people were influenced by the communist ideology since the long time. It is the one reason that the Maoist first attacked at this VDC in Kavre district. People of the ward no 1, 2 and 5 are not interested in the political issue rather they give the priority on the farming and education. Although I could not find out ward-wise literacy rate, many of my respondents said that these ward

have a higher literacy rate in compared to other wards. These facts might be one reason that there was no any Maoist killed by the security forces; however I find that there was also Maoist organization during the war period which was not run effectively. Another reason might be that these wards are majority composed of Brahmin and Chhetri, groups that hold the majority of government positions in the Nepalese army, police force and within the public school system.

During the war period, security forces paid much more attention on the poor economic background rather than holding a government employer. Ward no 8 is the composed of the Chhetri, Tamang and Brahmin; however Chhetri and Brahmin have a government employer. Similarly, in ward no. 6, the majority position of the Tamang in the population where Magar people have a government employer in the Nepalese army. The people of the remaining ward are a lightly interested in the political issue. Most of the Tamang are unemployment and only few Tamang have an employment in the teaching profession. The Dalit groups do not have any access in the government employment.

Figure 10: Involvement of Student in the Maoist by Ward-wise Level



Source: Field Survey, 2008

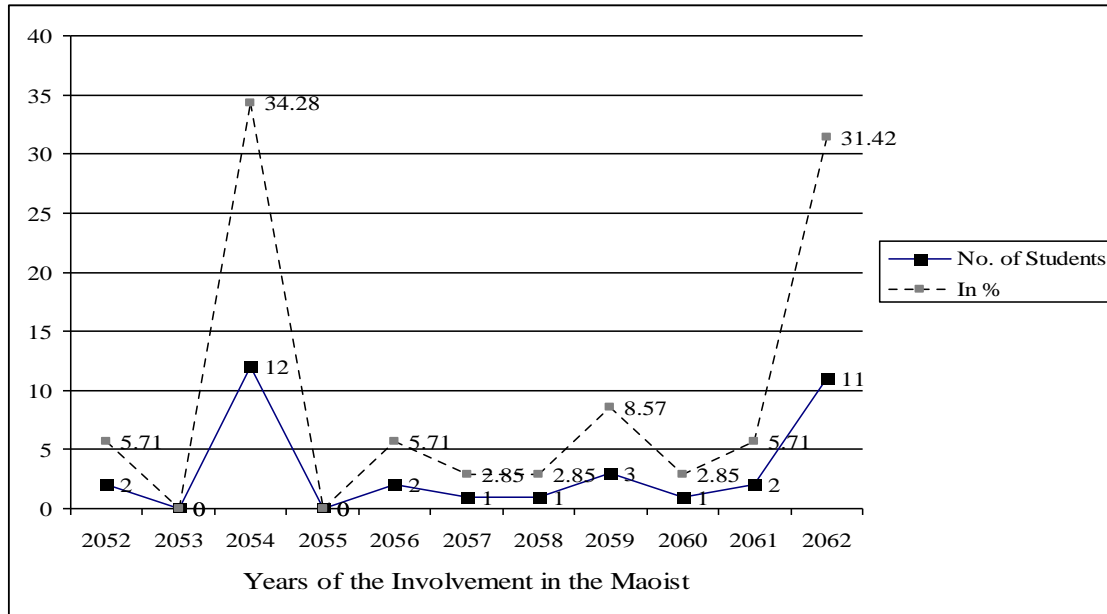
The above figure shows that Ward 9 has the highest percentage (28.57%) of students involved in the Maoist party. Ward 8 has the second highest percentage of students involved (22.85%) and ward no.4 has the third highest percentage (20%). Ward 3 has 17.14%, Ward 6 and 7 have 5.71% respectively. No students from Ward 1, 2 and 5 joined the Maoists.

6.1.1.4 Student involvement in the Maoist by Year-wise

Students were much more anxious about their future career when they saw the armed groups for first time because both groups were used to children as a messenger, biting in the suspension of the negatives activities to them, made compelled to participate in the Maoist various programs. Such kind of examples cannot be represented in figures because this information was qualitatively collected through interviews and interactions with people in the community. So that some of the student left their schooling without going to underground and some of them were gone to foreign country as an employer. There are so many reasons behind leaving the school. These reasons are including over-aged, failed in the examination and holding a poor economic background. However, teenagers student were easily attracted by the Maoist performance like dance in the cultural group, holding a gun and bomb which is new to them, ideology of the equality and equity. On the other hand, some times their own parents were the causes to involve in the Maoist because of the scolded many times in the family and they want freedom.

Many students, teachers and community lived under the police threat till (from 2052 VS) 2056 VS and Nepalese army from the 2059 to 2061. Police were lived in the community and they were fled in the 2056 when the Maoist attacked on the police out-post, but army were came to the village in time to time.

Figure 11: Student Involvement in the Maoist by Year-wise



Source: Field Survey, 2008

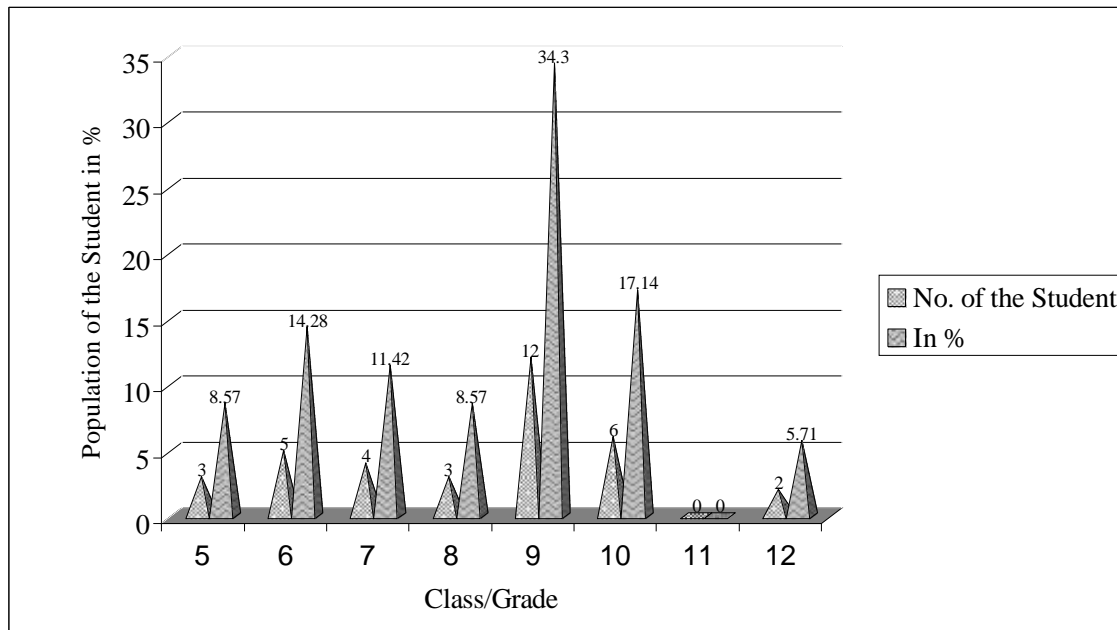
This figure shows that the highest percentage (34.28) of the students involved in the Maoist party was during 2054 VS, in which 12 students went underground. Similarly, in 2062, 31.42% students went underground, 8.57% in 2059, and 5.71% in 2052, 2056 and 2061. Accordingly, 2.85% students went underground in 2057, 2058 and 2060. This data may not be exact. Some students might not be calculated. According to the data obtained in my fieldwork, no students went underground in 2053 and 2055.

6.1.1.5 Student Involvement in the Maoist by Grade/Class-wise

My key-informants, especially the schoolteacher, said that a large number of the students supported the Maoist's various organizations, but I could not find out who they were. In the time after 2058, almost all the students supported the Maoist organization and also participated in local Maoist programs conducted in the many schools. The following data represents only those students who went underground during the People's War. During this period, some of the students went underground after they passed the examination. Many others made the decision to join the Maoists before seeing their examination

results. The Maoist ideology and their cultural program influenced many more students who went underground.

Figure 12: Student Involvement in the Maoist by Grade/Class-wise



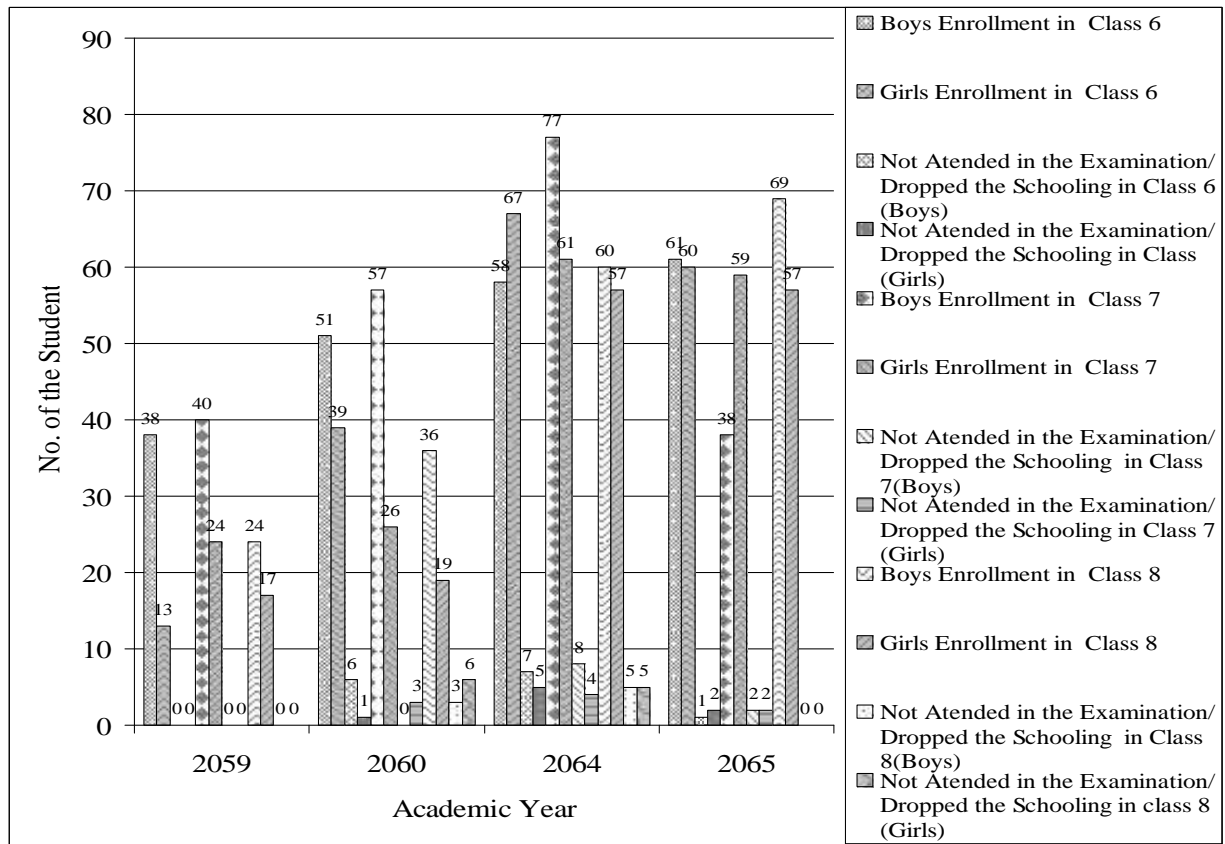
Source: Field Survey, 2008

Figure 12 shows that the highest percentage (34.3%) of the students who went underground were from grade 9. Among the total student population, 17.14% of students went underground from class 10, 14.28% from class 6 and 11.42% from grade 7. Likewise, 8.5% from class 5 (those students who passed class five but had not yet entered class 6) and class 8 and 2.85% from class 12 became actively engaged in the Maoist party. No students from Class 11 joined the Maoist Party.

6.1.1.6 Student Low Attendance in Classroom and Final Examination

In this village, all the schools closed due to a general strike called by the Maoists. The Maoists specifically ordered their student wing to close the schools. Among all the schools in this village, Kusheshwor Secondary School had the lowest student attendance because it was located on a main trail, and therefore, was the easiest to shut down (See; Chapter V: 36).

Figure: 13 Enrollments of Student and Low Attendance in Final Examination



Source: Field Survey, 2009

Figure 13 shows that in the 2064 academic year, female enrollment (67) is higher than the male enrollment (58). In regards to the examination/dropped out the examination, the academic year of 2060 and 2064 have higher number in comparison to other academic years. In the academic year of 2059, no students dropped out of school in grade 6 to grade 8. But in 2060, six boys and one girl dropped out of school in grade six. Of the total student body, three girls dropped out of school in grade seven, while three boys and six girls were dropped out of school in grade eight. Similarly, in 2064, seven boys and five girls dropped out of school in grade six, eight boys and four girls dropped out of school in grade seven and five boys and girls dropped out of school in class eight. In 2065, a boy and two girls dropped out of school in grade six, and two boys and girls dropped out of school in class seven. No students dropped out their schooling from the class eight. From this figure, we can also see that the number of student dropouts was higher during the

conflict periods. The academic year of 2064 was also a turbulent year in which many students left their schooling because the armed conflict had not completely transferred into peace even though the government and the Maoist signed a comprehensive peace treaty in 2063.

Due to the armed conflict, many students were forced to begin their education late because their parents were involved in the underground Maoist organization (See; Case Study: 11). In the study area, I found 5 students who started their education late. Among of 5 students, two students joined late because their parents were engaged in the Maoist party. Three students have re-joined school (they are now studying at Kusheshwor Secondary School), who were actively engaged in the Maoist party in the armed conflict period in Nepal.

6.2 TEACHER

The long-decade of armed conflict impacted teachers in various ways; they lived under the threat of both armed groups. Teachers felt the threat of being killed by both sides if they did not give appeasing answers. Many teachers were forced to participate in Maoist programs. In the program, all the teacher, students and local people kept together and some teachers directly supported the Maoists. As a result, students slowly began getting more involved in the Maoist organization, especially through student and cultural groups.

When student became involved in the Maoist organization, student went underground for their safety because security forces could have killed them at any time. Moreover, in school, due to the Maoist's various programs, classroom teaching was not run regularly and the courses of study were not completed. Therefore, the quality of education deteriorated. Such problems affected how students did on their leaving school examination and the proportion of students passing was low. In addition, teachers had to pay a "donation" tax to the Maoist organization. In this village, teachers had paid money to the Maoist from 2059 to 2061 VS.

6.3 IMPACT ON POOR-ECONOMIC GROUPS & ETHNIC PEOPLE

Many studies state that remote, backward hill districts were transformed into guerrilla zones and 'base areas', provoking massive police repression on predominantly poor, peasant, and minority ethnic groups of Nepal. This VDC also seemed to be a Maoists' base area for conducting their various political and cultural programs. A reason for this might be that the majority of the population is ethnic people (especially Tamang), poor and peasant and those repressed by the police on the suspicion that they helped the Maoists.

According to the INSEC's Human rights Yearbook, 2004, the armed conflict shows patterns of the security forces attacking the lower caste, Indigenous Janajatis, Dalit and other minorities. The Maoists generally focused their attacks on higher caste Chhetris, Brahmins and Thakuris. In regards this issue, Gurung and Subedi said that security forces harassed, arrested, interrogated, tortured, abducted and killed people throughout Nepal on the basis of their ethnic affiliation. People were harassed even when they moved from one place to another (Gurung and Subedi, 2007:142). I found these problems in my field area, especially with the Tamang people. Tamang had no other choice than to take a loan from Mr. Daulat. Those who took out loans were targets of the police investigation because the police felt they were the most likely to attack Mr. Daulat's home.

6.4 IMPACT ON COMMUNITY

As mentioned earlier, this VDC is comprised of various ethnic groups. I found that a greater number of Tamang people supported the Maoists in comparison to other castes. The number of Tamang people killed also very high (See; Case Studies) in comparison to other caste/ethnic groups.

6.4.1 Impact on Household Level:

The decade of Maoist armed conflict impacted the household level. With the influence of Maoist communal ideology, many people became Maoist and general supporters of the

Maoist. In this village, Nepali Army abducted a person named Kanchharam Blown (Tamang) during the insurgency period. He has had no contact with his family for the last five years. As a result, his family members face problems in their daily work. His wife said that if he was alive and with them, she would not have the extra burden she now carries in the family. She further said, “Since my husband was abducted by the security forces, my two children have to go to local market on holiday in order to earn money by carrying loads. Sometime they even go to the market after returning from the school. I spend them money they earn on their education and to purchase daily necessary goods.”

The above story is an example of how children are victims of the armed conflict because they lost their parents. These children represent the thousands of Nepalese children who must tackle their studies, housework and market work. Managing all this work makes life very difficult for the children.

6.4.2 Emergence of Cultural Terror:

During the insurgency, people became quiet instead of engaging in talk about the Maoists because so many people feared the Maoists.

Sluka suggests that “A Culture of Terror establishes collective fear as a brutal means of social control... when fear becomes a way of life... a culture of terror has emerged” (2000:22). Suarez-Orozco states “‘culture of terror’ have their own vocabulary and grammar, cultural facts and artifacts” (1992:240). In Nepal, the culture of terror had developed since the escalation of the conflict at the end of 2001. The Maoist insurgents have coerced them into turn makes the villagers vulnerable to aggression by the security forces who suspect them of collaborating with the enemy (quoted from Pettigrew, J. 2003:9). Miss Pramila Lama and Mr. Sanjeeb Lama told me this real story, which represents the culture of terror:

“During the People’s War, there was nowhere safe. Maoists came and asked for food and shelter from time to time. When they arrived, we were in danger in case the army visits and when they came, we were in danger if the army found out that they had been in our houses. The armies accuse us of being Maoist supporters and

... shout and threaten us. If the army comes while the Maoists are not here then we worry about the return of the Maoists. Since they can accuse of spying... we worry about the return of the Maoists. Since they can accuse us of spying... we also worry about bombs and landmines, which the children might unknowingly pick up and play with”.

6.4.3 Internally Displaced:

During my research period, I found that two households in this VDC were displaced due to the armed conflict. One family was forced into displacement due to Maoist pressure and the other family was displaced as a result of police suppression. Both families were Tamang.

6.4.4 Emergence of Social Crime; Armed conflict created social crime:

At around 11:30 in the evening, Mrs. Maili Tamang, wife of Mr. Chaturman opened the door to her house because goats were shouting. Suddenly, an armed group of eight or nine men forcefully entered their house and attacked her husband with knives, wounding his eyes and nose. They ripped her earrings out of her ears which stole about 250,000 rupees including cash. They screamed, “Long live Nepal Communist Party (Maoist)” when leaving. The villagers reported this attack to the Maoists, but to this day, the Maoists have not offered any explanation or even given a response. As a result of the event, the couple became anxious and sick, and died shortly after. In order to put an end to such events, village people agreed to patrol their village at night with knives and sticks.

Similarly, once, a teacher who supported to the Maoist, made a plan to kill the Maoist leader and their cadres, but the Maoist came to know that plan. So Maoist abducted teacher; however the Maoist did not punish to him due the physical weakness of him. He released from the Maoist court. Latter, he involved in a criminal groups so that he was arrested by the police and sent to him in police custody.

CHAPTER-VII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

7.1 Summary and Conclusion

The decade of Maoist People's War is now a page in Nepal's history. The war started on 13 February 1996 with an attack on police stations in the remote areas of Rolpa, Rukum and Sindhuli districts. The Maoists captured the Agricultural Development Bank in Gorkha, attacked the Multinational Company (Pepsi) in Kathmandu and raided the houses of so-called notorious feudal in the Kavre district.

In the initial period of the war, Maoists had limited cadres, militia and political leaders. As they gained influence and promoted their communist ideology throughout the rural parts of Nepal, Janajati, Dalits, women, Madheshi and some regional-based caste groups started supporting the Maoists on an increasingly larger scale. As a result of their popularity, they successfully elected in the majority for the four tiers of government; central level (United Revolutionary People's Council), regional level (nine autonomous regional governments), district level and village/city level which directly impacted Nepalese society. The war killed over 13,000 Nepalese, of which 475 were innocent children (139 girls/336 boys). CWIN's file reports that 3,735 schools were periodically closed, bunkers were built in at least 56 schools, 32 schools were affected by bomb explosions, 8 schools were destroyed by fires, 8 schools were used by the security forces and 3 schools were affected by the Maoist's program. Similarly, 1,531 teachers were directly affected by the armed conflict and 7 male teachers lost their lives (CWIN, December 2006). Similarly, due to various strikes, shutting down schools and conducting cultural programs in different spots, educational institutions were disturbed that resulted in stopping the academic exercise and children and young people are deprived of the opportunity for the quality of education. Additionally, Maoists protested against the teaching of the Sanskrit language and in the name of teaching this subject, a large number of teachers were Maoist victims in the rural part of Nepal (Shrestha, C.B. 2004:208-209).

The Maoists killed civilians they considered to be ‘enemies of the people’, which include party workers, elected representatives, landlords, businessman, moneylenders, and police informants. Their next targets were banks and I/NGOs. Consequently, the people’s representatives for local elected bodies and parties’ local carders fled to district headquarters for their own safety. To control the Maoist’s violence, the government declared a state of emergency and mobilized the army, which resulted in more violence than had been occurring before (EBHR, 2009:49-50).

In such a situation, questions should be addressed concerning the problems faced by school children, teachers and local people. Questioned should also be targeted at how whole villages were impacted by the armed conflict at the local level. By applying the various socio-anthropological research methods (see; Chapter III), I arrived at the following conclusions to my research objectives (see; Chapter I):

1. The Maoist’s People’s War impact on schools was at its highest after 1999 because the Maoist used various types of programs including cultural seminars, people’s education training and mass rallies to spread their influence. Due to such programs, schools did not run continuously. As a result, students did not attend school regularly; rather, some of them were attracted to the Maoist’s programs. Subsequently, many students joined the underground movement and became involved in the various Maoist organizations such as Militia, Cultural Group, People’s Liberation Army, Young Communist League and Student Organization.

2. Among the various castes groups, I found that the Tamang students were the most impacted by the armed conflict as they are from poor economic backgrounds. Their socialization process is also quite different in comparison to other castes like Brahmin/Chhetri, which latently/indirectly contributed to the People’s War. Tamang parents generally gave less priority to their children’s education, and consequently, their teenaged children were easily lured by the Maoists activities. Children did not always easily obey their parents, and refused to do the daily village work their parents ordered them to do. Youth went underground because it freed them from these responsibilities at

home. The young Tamang community was influenced by the communist ideology because it was many times their relatives who promoted such ideology (See Annex: iv).

3. There are also non-Tamang Maoist leaders but their number is very few. One of the reasons might be that Tamang are more influenced by the communist ideology than other ethnic and caste groups. I found that the security forces did not harass some Maoist supporting teachers because their relatives were employed in the police and army. Therefore, it is quite clear that security forces paid much more attention to the Tamang community as those who were involved in Maoist activities. One of the reasons is that many people of this VDC were under the poverty line, and a few Tamangs were involved in the Maoist raid on Daulat's house and the seizure of private property. Most of Daulat's neighbors were Tamang and most of them believed in the community ideology and were supporters of the United People Front Nepal.

4. Another reason is that the Tamang people have been interested in politics for a long time. Many of the key informants for the Maoists said that it is necessary to destroy all kinds of discrimination of the poor, deprived and other marginalized people of Nepal. However, I found that the range of interest in politics is different from village to village. The main reason is that some people, especially those from rich backgrounds, pay more attention to education, and farming and geologically they are quite far from the local market. In addition, such villages are known as strong-based areas for non-Maoist while other villages are located at the local market and Maoist affected areas in where many of the people are engaged from general to central level and of course, security forces paid attention to control the Maoists' activities (See; Chapter V).

5. In regards to the community level, I found that people could not help each other in the need of the hour. For instance, some people who borrowed money might go underground without paying money back. Consequently, there was not a strong sense of trust and loyalty within communities. On the other hand, the Maoist imposed their ideology through their mandatory programs. Because the Maoists gained so much power and had many outlets to voice their beliefs, non-Maoist organizations appeared weak in comparison because they did not have the same kind of outlets to share their political

ideology. The Maoists did a good job at encouraging lower caste into entering temples. By doing so, the feeling of untouched-ability was reduced substantially.

Another action of the Maoist is that they give people justice from their so-called People's Government in the local level, which saved the times to go to district headquarter and the high cost to the lawyer. On the other hand, during the campaign to control the Maoist activities, people were unable to converse with their neighbors because police thought that they might be making a plan against them. Police spied on all houses and people were unable to travel as well as open their doors to people visiting the village. While people were working in the field or in the jungle, security forces would approach them to ask complex questions about the Maoists. If the security forces did not like the villagers' answers, they would take the villager away. To respond to this threat, villagers set up ways to communicate with each other easily to let each other known if the security forces had entered their village.

6. Lastly, the decade of armed conflict has many impacts. The security forces most negatively impacted the students from poor economic backgrounds, the farmers and Tamang community by targeting them in their efforts to attack the Maoists. The rich and the political cadres, on the other hand, were the targets of the Maoists.

In a brief, the insurgency impacted the student in many ways. Students' education was stopped, which has many negative repercussions on the quality of education. Secondly, those children whose parents were involved in the Maoists got a late start to their schooling and had to carry an extra burden in their family. Thirdly, some parents sent their children to school in Kathmandu in order for them to be away from the Maoists. Lastly, many students left school to join the underground Maoist movement (See; V: Case Study: 45-46 and 36-40).

7.2 Recommendation

Due to lack of knowledge and limited time, my application of research methods may not have been adequate. I was unable to obtain certain information due to time and various

other constraints. At the end of my research, I came up with the following research idea to gather more relevant information for further study.

I was successful in meeting only a few Maoist students because they are now in different wing groups of the UCPM and live in the city area of different districts. I think it would be extremely useful to conduct research in these city areas and establish more contacts by asking informants to make a list of Maoist students and their contact number. This way, the researcher can more easily visit prospective informants in their respective areas to collect both qualitative and quantitative data.

Another concern is that literacy is not balance among each ward. The data is collected by information shared by the local informants, which is likely to include more discrepancies in the measurement of education status. Instead, it would be much better to collect school-wise data. In addition, data should be collected on which caste groups and wards hold higher education on the basis of below SLC, PCL, Bachelor, Master levels or above classification. Furthermore, to better understand how socio-economic background effects education, the same data should be collected with economic position included in the classification. This research will take time, but the findings will be very useful for all respective institutions, organizations, policy makers and others who want to conduct research in this area.

A further possible research topic could concern the reasons why the different wards in this VDC have high disparity in terms of socio-economic background, education and socialization of their community. Research questions can also concern why some communities are highly engaged in politics and why other communities show very little interest in politics.

At the present time, Nepal is debating issues of inclusive society and now gives reservations or quotas to those who are labeled deprived groups. Such deprived groups include Indigenous Nationalities, Dalits, Women and Madheshi. While doing my research, I encountered very few women and indigenous people employed in government institutions. This leads me to belief that a large number of women, Dalits and Indigenous Nationalities are not represented in the government. In order to bring these minorities into the state mainstream, more research needs to be done to construct and launch a thorough affirmative action plan for the respective social groups.

Annex: I

CASE STUDIES: CONTINUE FROM CHAPTER-V

As I have earlier mentioned in chapter V, here, I have kept remaining stories of Maoist's People War shared by my key informants. These stories help to understand the situation of the insurgency period in Nepal in where several schools were disturbed by the Maoist various programs and more significantly, they lost their valuable life, resulted late in their schooling and faced so many troubles by the community.

STUDENTS:

In below, the first seven stories about students (except the Ms. Rita Lama) talk about why they went underground and how they were killed during the insurgency. The remaining four stories talk about living student who also faced so many problems by the both armed groups. Among the students, namely, Mr. Bimal Dong had to leave his schooling as he felt insecure from the security forces. Mr. Sabin Dong's family displaced as security forces tortured many several times.

Mr. Lanam Dong (Comrade Pragati) from the residence of ward no-9 who was born in 2036 VS in a poor family and completed his S.L.C. in 2054. Due to Maoist ideology influence, he went underground in Saun 4th of 2054 and actively engaged in the Maoist's student organization. He was killed in Rumjataar of Okhaldunga district on 9th of Kartik, 2059 said by Mr. Lal Bahadur Dong, a local Maoist political leader who was released from the Nakkhu jail of Kathmandu in 7th of Ashar, 2063.

Mr. Buddhi Bahadur Dong (Comrade Buddhi) was 24 years old when the security forces on 7th Jesth, 2062, killed him. He was studying in P.C.L. at Durga Campus, Bhaktapur. He was born into a simple family background in ward no-8.

When I asked question to Mr. Tej Bahadur, father of Buddhi Bahadur, regarding why his son joined in the Maoist movement. He replied that he did not know any specific reason; however he said that his son went to semi-underground and came to home for six/seven times. Although he did not know about his son's position in the party, his son had up to

30 securities when he came to home. Most likely, Mr. Dong held a high position or was a commander in the party.

He went underground from Kathamndu in Chaitra of 2053. Many friends said that he had a strong commitment in the party, but security forces on 7th Jesth, 2062, killed him. He and his friends encountered with the Nepalese Army at Gharitchhap of Milche VDC in Kavre district. He was killed while he picked up the Nepalese Army's gun because he felt that armies were defeat in that event, said Tej Bahadur.

A residence of ward no-9, **Mr. Chyangba Lama** was born in very poor economic background. He only read up to grade 5 and left his school-hood due to the financial problems. He was supporter of Unite People's Front Nepal.

According to his father, Chyangba learned dance from All Nepal People-cultural Organization (It is one of the political wing of the Maoist). Chyangba and his friends learned the music, dance and song at the house of non-Maoist supporting house. They conducted cultural programs many times in that house. One day, they were practicing the dance for the next cultural program. At that day, a father of that house was going out. Chyangba asked to him, "Father, where are you going?" Father replied "I am going to fill up the water in the field". Chyngba said again "One of our friends is sick, so could you bring him some medicine, and I give the money right now". He replied, "Yes". Chayngba and their friends were busy in dancing but later they came to know that they were in blockade in the police because the father telephoned to police check post. When police officer said "Are you agree if we spray the kerosene and burn your house to kill these Maoist and give you the cost of your house?" Father replied "Yes". When police came to his house; police sprayed the kerosene around the house and threw the match stick. Chyangba Lama and his friends were jumped down from the roof top and trying to escape from the police force, but they could not rather they were killed by shooting and covered them with sack. All of the dead bodies were sent to Dhulikhel police station by calling the ambulance. Later, the police asked "Is there anyone kin of Chyangba Lama, resident of Mechchhe VDC?" Then Mr. Sanjhi, elder brother of Chyangba replied, "Yes, I am brother of Chyangba". Mr. Sanji couldn't recognize the dead body of his brother so

easily, he only identified by seeing the foot. Later, Mr. Sanjhi covered the dead body with the Swamber (the yellow cloth, mostly used by the Buddhist people) and sent to Swambhunath for funeral rites. Chyangba Lama' wife cried so loudly when she came to know that incident.

Chyangba took a way to police custody in several times on the suspension of the Maoist. He was arrested by the Mangaltar Police Station when a large number of the Maoist attacked on Daulat's house. He was beaten and warned him that he would kill if he did not tell about that incident. Later, he was freed from the police check post. On Jesth 25th, 2053, he was going to Hokse (it is walking about 8/9 hours in the west-northern side from Mechchhe VDC) to attend in the meeting of the Maoist, he was arrested by the police on the suspension of the Maoist. The police sent to him Dhulikhel police custody for two years and released from the central jail after a year but he did not come to home, rather he stayed at natal home of his wife. He again actively engaged in the party while he went to Kathmandu.

Chyangba's wife also went underground after a year of death of her husband. However, she is remarried and has two daughters (of Chyangba) and two sons from the second husband in Phaparbaari in Kavre.

Residence of ward no. 9, **Mr. Kanchhaman Tamang** (Comrade Kanchha), a supporter of United People's Front Nepal was influenced by the Maoist ideology so that he was actively involved in the Maoist party. He participated in the Maoist cultural program during Tihar festival, which focused on collecting the money to run the party. This was before the People's War began in this VDC. He was killed by security forces at Kalban of Budhakhani VDC on 25th Jesth, 2055.

He was arrested by the Dolalghat's Police in the jungle of Baunna Kilo of Hokse VDC on the suspension of being a Maoist and was put in Dulikhel Police custody after inquiries. He had to stay for two years in that custody and later he was sent to central jail in Kathamndu. After one year, he was released from custody and came to home on 5th of Baishakh. Nevertheless, he went underground and involved in the party as an active member.

One day, Kahchhaman and his friends were singing and dancing at one of the non-Maoist supporter house name at Budakhani VDC in Kavre Mr. Hari Bahadur (named changed) of that house informed to Pauwa's Police Station regarding the Maoist activities in his house. After that, three different Police Check Post including Pauwa, Luvu and Mangaltaar Police blocked to them in different direction. In that fire, Kanchhaman got fractured one of his leg and was arrested alongside friends and was put placed in the hands of the local Police Check Post. The Budakhani Police officer told Kanchhaman that he would be freed and would receive medical treatment if he surrendered. He did not tell any secret things of the party so, according to the brother of Kanchhaman, Mr. Sonam, the police shot him after two days.

Mr. Kalyan Dong was a resident of ward no-3, born in poor family background and he only studied until grade 4. Mr. Dhana Bahadur Dong, father of Kalyan said that he didn't know when his son went Kathmandu because he also worked as a trader and porter in Narayanghat bazaar (it is located at Chitwan district). Dhana Bahadur Dong knows his son worked as a rickshaw-puller (driver). He was forced for underground by his one to the relatives, a teacher, whom was also forced by his brother-in-law. He cried for 10 days when he was in underground, but then became acclimated. He came to home with 6-7 friends around 4/5 times. He carried a bomb in his bag for his security. He was quite happy at that time. On 15th of Kartik in 2061, he was returning after the attacked on police station of Sarlahi district, unfortunately, he encountered with the army and was shot there. The death news of his son only came to know after a year, because party (Maoist) felt that it would be sad and painful to relay the information of his death to his family.

Mr. Chandralal Tamang (Comrade Shukra), residence of ward no. 4, was born in a simple family background on 9th Push, 2042. He left school at class 2 due to the poor economic condition. He often went with his father to trade and sell seasonal clothes like t-shirts, sweaters, socks, and watches in rural areas of Nepal.

Chandralal mother, Mrs. Mhendo Rani Tamang, said that one day he left the house to go underground while their whole families were busy building a new house (they had been

staying at an uncle's house). Chandralal had many Maoists friends with whom he used to eat, sleep and walk together. He was influenced by their new ideology and he decided to join the Maoist movement. However, his family did not support this decision. Chandralal came to home three times after he joined People's Liberation Army. Later, his mother was notified that he died while preparing a mine blast in Sarlahi district. He was only 20 years old.

Ms. Rita Lama was an uneducated girl and born in poor family background. She went underground on 10th of Fagun, 2054. That day, she was working at a neighbor's house and the Maoist requested that she go underground. She was asked for a gun and the Maoists were agreed with her. The police killed her within four months of joining the Maoists. On 30th of Ashar in 2055, she was killed by the police when she was in the house at Thulo-Durlung of Lalitpur district. The police blocked her in before killing her. Her family came to know of her death when they received the letter from the local Maoist cadre. The photo of her was also attached with that letter.

A young boy age of 23 years old **Mr. Bimal Dong** (Comrade Sergyam), residence of ward no-3, compelled to leave his schooling in 2054 because the police were searching to the communist supporter student in the suspension of the Maoist. Politically, he was closed to United People's Front Nepal, so he went underground to save his life. At that time, the number of students were up to 10 and some of them were senior than me, he said. He is born in poor family background.

At the beginning, he reached at Mahabharat village of Kavre district with the help of his cronies who were the Maoists and appointed as a squad post. He was admitted into the People's Liberation Army in 2059 and promotion to Platoon Commander in 2062. While he was underground, he often went kin and friends house. Usually, he stayed in the second floor in the house. He behaved politely and was well-mannered (Namaste! Father, Mother... we are like your son....) when he was in an unfamiliar place. His father said that he worked as a post-man, messenger, wall-painter, volunteer and security forces in the cultural programs.

Mr. Sabin Dong, inhabitance of ward no-7, studied at grade 8 in Pokhara because his parents compelled to migrate due to the Daula's event. Even though his father was normal supporter of the Maoist, polices were searching to him in the suspicion of involved in that event, so that his father fled from the village on 4th of Fagun in 2052. On the other hand, the police arrested his mother in police station for the investigation. She was freed from the police station but she had to go many times in police station, so that she also went Pokhara in 2056 while he was 6 years old.

He said that his uncle, aunt and even grand father beaten by the police while police were searching in the name of the Maoist. Fearing from the police his uncle named called Mr. Ajaya Tamang went underground and involved in the Maoist's cultural group.

Mr. Dil Bahadur Shrestha is born into a simple family background. He is a resident of ward no-3, who completed his S.L.C. from the Shree Kusheshwor Secondary School. For him, eradication of corruption, poverty and scientific education system was the new ideologies which he received form the Maoist. So that he supported and helped to the Maoist from time to time without going underground.

According to him, the Maoist activities rapidly increased after the death of the late King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev. The Maoists conducted their program in each village. The Maoists requested to participate in their program but sometimes they forced to attend. On the other hand, police beat innocent people, generally, in the period of attacked on police outpost. Police said, "Due to the support of all you people, Maoist raided us in time to time, so you people had to give us security in the night". After that villagers gave security nightly for almost two month at the police post. However, security forces used vulgar words, which affected children psychology. Consequently, 23 students left their schooling and went in many wings of Maoist party such as Cultural Group, People's Liberation Army, and Student's Organization.

In the beginning of the People's War, parents did not send their children to school out of fear of the Maoists, but the Maoist presence became normal after further interaction with common people. Nevertheless, the Maoist created a barrier in education because they declared the strike and organized various programs. In their program, the Maoists gave

speeches about bourgeoisie education, claiming it to be unproductive and without any benefit to the children. They said that the bourgeoisie education system should be replaced with a scientific education system. For instance; a Chinese student made the watch on the way of school.

Mr. Keshav Rayamajhi left his schooling at grade 10; however he said, it was not by the impact of armed conflict. He often stayed at tea-shop because his father started the business in 2057 by opening a small tea-shop in village where they sell tea, cookies and noodles. In the beginning of the year, they had a good business ranging from Rs.1500-2000 in a day by selling sell, roti (Nepalese bread), curry, fried potato, chowmien and the like but due to the hike all the commodities price, they stopped to sell those kinds of varieties. Consequently, their business came down very badly.

According to him, the People's War affected the VDC in various ways. The Maoists were appealed to him for underground in many times, but he denied to them, rather he went Maoist's cultural program in several times and helped them by providing a food for 20 to 30 Maoists. Some time, the Maoists came directly to the class room and taught their policies in politics and People's Education. They conducted their program in 2/3 times in that school (Kusheshwor Secondary School). Such kind of programs conducted only after the displacement of police check post in 2058. That program impacted on both student and non-student so that numbers of students almost 4/5 were went to underground in each year. Those students were mostly the Tamang because their kin relatives were involved in the Maoist who were interested in the politics since their ancestors where as non-Tamang were less interested in politics; rather they went to keep continue in their occupation including teacher, army, police. Once, the Maoist said to parent's of army, police to leave their service in government, but latter they did not say forcefully because the local people told to Maoist that if anyone who were security forces told about the Maoist activities in reality, then unbelievable problem might be came out. Nevertheless, the Maoist took the money from those security forces in several times as a donation to their party.

Similarly, the Maoist banned selling wine and beer. If a person was caught selling or consuming alcohol, s/he would be arrested by the Maoists and punished by charging the

money, carrying the food items and preparing a meal in their program. The escalation of the People's War also made an impact on many public areas. The Maoist wrote their political slogan on walls, temples and even they hung their red flag on the top of the trees. These all had to clear by local people when security forces entry into the village; otherwise they might be beaten by the security forces. Nonetheless, the villagers were in the field, jungle before the security forces arrived in the village because the security forces asked very complex questions and they even took away if they felt any doubt about them. So that villager passed the message from one person to another very quickly regarding the entrance of security forces. However, few children were in the house or street. These children were used by security forces as messengers, spies by providing them cookies, noodles, sweets, and chewing gum.

TEACHERS:

These two stories explain how schools were affected by the Maoist's various programs and entering of the security force at school premises. The Maoist conducted many cultural programs which easily lured school children to be Maoist while security forces came to ask for Maoist, most of the students including non-Maoist students absent from school. Similarly, this story also deals with how school daily schedules were affected by the insurgency as teachers (sometimes including students) were taken away from their schools for Maoist programs.

Mr. Balaram Rayamajhi is an inhabitant of ward no-4 and Head (now he has resigned this post) of the Shree Kusheshwor Secondary School. His father was an ex-Nepalese Army.

According to him, when the Maoist party declared the People's War, it was so difficult to keep safe for students and teachers because the police came directly and aggressively asked about the Maoist and their activities in a community. In the beginning of the People's War, some of the students cried because they saw the police and guns in their first time in their lives and asked several questions while they walked on the way of school and home. Such kinds of questions like "Where is the Maoist?" "Where do they live?" "When and

how often does Maoist come to your home?” “Why did you give the meal to the Maoist last night?”

Many problems increased rapidly after the Maoist attacked on the police check post which was built much closed to school premise. After that Maoist came to school openly and conducted their cultural program, condolence program in the name of Maoist martyr, political speech program, Welcome and Farewell program... Such kind of Maoist programs significantly impact on education in such way that many students involved in the Maoist's student organization, in a cultural team and even left to school to join in the People's Liberation Army. So, their concentration centered on Maoist's activities rather than their education. On the other hands, security forces came to village and threaten to the people. They asked the question like “Why did you allow writing their political slogan in the wall and school and putting the red-flag in on the tree?” Some of the suspended student and non-student were arrested for the investigation. It created two kinds of problem; the first one was that student fear from the security forces so that they were not present in the school while they saw the security forces and those student those student who support to the Maoist and involved in the Maoist's organization, pushed them into the underground for their safety. The second one was decreased in the number of non-Maoist party who were lived in the village because non-Maoist parties such as CPN (UML), Nepali Congress, United People's Front Nepal and Rastriya Prajatantra were unable to give any kind of help when their cadres were arrested by the security forces. As a result, the burden of labor increased in their daily works in their families.

Similarly, Maoist conducted their program in many places where teacher and student grade from 6 to 8 had to participate (at that period, school was only running up to grade 8). These programs also made more problems. They might kill while they traveled to the Maoist's program in the name of terrorist activities because security forces paid much more attention in their travel from one place to another since 2056 and specially in the evening time because the Maoist's program some time a far way from their village, so occasionally, they were late when they return from the program. Security forces often asked in the village like “How much money did you donate to the Maoist?”, “You people provided a meal to the Maoist last night, how many Maoists came to your home?” On the

other hands, the Maoist also asked about the security forces. For instance; in which way did they go? So, villagers were fear from the both armed groups because anyone could kill if they mistakenly leak their privacy. However, one day teacher's salary of the month had to pay as a donation to the Maoist party since 2059.

He further said that the 4, 8, and 9 wards of this VDC were more affected area than other wards because these wards located in the main trail and many numbers of Maoist's cadres were there. Similarly, many people who were mostly supporter of United People Front Nepal were beaten by the police and People's War began from that wards whereas other remaining wards were inactive and less interest in politics and heavily supported by the Nepali Congress and NCP (UML). For more, most of the Chhetries were government employer as a police and army. In regards to People's War, he said that the Maoist first goal was to seize the property of feudal people in Nepal so that the Maoist group raided at Daulat's house in the beginning. Mr. Daulat Singh had known as such a feudal person who earned the money by exploitation the poor people. He took 48 % interest if anybody took the money from him which was unreliable.

Mr. Surat Lama is a headmaster of Shree Setidevi Lower Secondary School and inhabitants of ward no-3. He participated in the Maoist's program in several times. He said that the Maoists were requested to attend their program, so most of the time; he had to participate in the program with each teacher by closing the school. Only a few times, he went alone without closing the school

According to him, the People's War started from the Mechhe VDC by raiding at capitalist Mr. Daulat house from where the Maoist seized the cash money and property. After that, police came to search for Maoist. At the beginning, people thought that Maoist activities were bad but with their interaction with people in many times, common people understand that the Maoist fought not for earning the money rather to create a new Nepal by throwing the feudalistic culture. They came to village to extension their organization, but it was not run well. However, the villagers had to provide food and shelter to the Maoist. With the escalation of the Maoist, the police station of Pauwa fled for their safety. After that, it was easy to the Maoist to handle the all cases including loan, land

transaction and other legal problems. Besides, the Maoist banned any kinds of alcohols, which directly impacted to those people who earn the money by selling the local beer and wine. Similarly, the society was dreadful because the Maoist asked for donation. He said, “We could not tell openly about our affiliation in the any party. We felt that there was no other party running in the village. There was terror from the both armed group because we were not guarantee in our life when we had gone from home for anything. We were not allowed to go to foreign country as an employer because they said that they were fighting for the new nation but you people are trying to leave, you have to work in your own country”.

The villagers were also feared from the government security forces because they came to ask for the Maoist and beat to people. They, generally, came to the village after Maoist destroyed the police station in this VDC. He further said that the Tamangs were most affected by the armed conflict because they have been exploited socially, culturally and economically and they also lack behind in literacy rate and government employment. Mukpa and Tekanpur were the most affected area due to the main trail for walking to the Maoist and Security forces and the People’s War began from that village whereas Vorjyang’s people denies the Maoist’s theory and no one leader went underground from there.

LOCAL POLITICL LEADERS AND PEOPLE

The following stories are concerned more especially with community rather than students. However, it directly impacted on school education when whole community itself living under terrible situations.

Mr. Sanjeeb Lama

Mr. Sanjeeb Lama is a local political leader of Nepali Congress since 2043 VS. He is form the normal family background. He said that, in the beginning, the People’s War

impact on Mukpa village when Maoist raided at Mr. Daulat house. At that time, many police came to there and many suspicious people were arrested for the investigation, but this village was less affected due to the quite far from that village. But in 2058, especially, government declared the emergency and mobilized the army, then we people were terror from the both armed group because Maoist came to common people house for the food and shelter. At the same time, Nepalese army could come and killed to us as well. He added that armies were blocked the house in the beginning and search in each place in a house. They also asked the question like, “who the Maoist is and what is the name of his father?” Furthermore, we could not talk in groups and no chances to work in a group because we could kill by the security in the name of the terrorist activities. We also could not speak to unknown people because he or she might be spies.

Despite this, villagers were compelled to give a seasonal crops and five rupees in a month to the Maoist organization otherwise they might punish to us. So the cadres and supporter of the non-Maoists were also compelled to follow their rules and regulations. However, due to the much more people were educated and strong supporter area of Nepali Congress and Nepal Communist Party (UML) our villagers were not gone underground. Nevertheless, villagers and students as well as teachers had to participate in their various program.

Mulksingh Dong, a local political leader of United People’s Front Nepal changed his party into NCP (UML) because he saw that the police started to more oppressed to that party in the doubtful of being Maoist. He also saw that the VDC chairman of Ramechhap who was belong to United People’s Front Nepal was severely beaten by the police in the suspicious of the Maoist. He was elected as a President of Ward two from the NCP (UML) in local level of election.

He said that the event of Mr. Daulat made more terrible especially in the bottom of the Mukpa and Tekanpur village which are closed to Mr. Daulat’s house. The police searched in each house and some people were beaten. After a few months, the police station was built but the Maoist attacked on there in 2057, so that many innocent people

of this VDC were beaten by the police. Police blamed to them that villagers were not help to them.

The Maoist slogan touched to those poor people who were exploited in the past. So, many people were from the Mukpa and Tekanpur were much more affected, but the Vorjyang village was less impact because people of this village pay attention on education and agriculture rather that in politics. However, Tamangs were impact in large number because they were poor and compelled to take debt in high interest of the loan. So the ideological war was since the Panchayat era in this VDC against the feudal people although the armed conflict stated in 1996.

Mr. Kami Singh Dong and Mrs. Sanchamaya Tamang are neighbors of the Mr. Daulat Singh Dong. Mr. Dong said that groups of people came to this village to find out the Maoist after the Maoist raided at Mr. Daulat house. Police threaten to us for not to speak. Police said that if you speak to us, we will shoot to you. So we compelled to keep quiet, he added. Many suspicion people, who were innocent beaten by the police. Mr. Padam Bahadur Dong's father requested to police for not to do so but he, too, beaten by the police. The police said to us, "What were you doing when the Maoist came to in his home; it is not far just 5 minute by walking?" he further elaborated.

Mr. Daulat kept the police in his house for three months in name of searching the Maoist. At that time, especially in the evening, we have to go with police while they were in patrolling in finding the Maoists or Maoist's activities. On the other side, we had to give some rice and vegetables to Mr. Daulat to provide for food to the police because his all food stuffs were over when he kept the police. In the police campaign, one day, the police found the large pot (Tamang called it Gyong where all the important ornament are kept) in the Chauri stream. Police ordered Mr. Daulat to bring a key if it was belong to him, but the key did not match while he checked. Police said to him that he was lying. After that all the people of this village who were kept into the police custody in the suspicious of Maoist, released form there. Only after that, common people could travel from one place to another.

Similarly, Mrs. Sanchamaya said that police kept us in the line and searched our body. They said to us that we might be thieves and if it is so, our face will be dark. She said to me that brother! It is very easy to tell you like story, but at that time we did not imagine. It was so terrible. We never see the police before. We were not allowing to conversation with our neighbor because police thought that we might be make a plan against them. Police were also come to each house as a spying and there was no chance to do any kind travel and not allow to entry into village for new people. She gave the example that once Mr. Gyan Bahadur Tamang who lived at Bhaktapur, came to village because his father was passed way. He was arrested by the Pauwa police station after his father's (Mr. Himal Tamang) funeral rite was ended. He was took away to the Mangaltaar police station and sent to Dhulikhel police station for further investigation. He only released after Mr. Daulat Singh requested to the police. In her own words she said, "Some one lost the money but in my house there had been no fire to cook the meal".

Mrs. Sarita Tamang (named changed) is an inhabitance of ward no-6 said that it is very easy to tell you now Babu (son), but it was very painful days we passed in the time. The event of 2056 in Ashar (in that year, Maoist attacked on police station) made more terrible to us than other days because the armies came to village around 11:00 'o clock in the Morning. She saw that many innocent male were beaten even thought they were having a meal. When armies came into her house, she was hopeless and thought that many armies came there. She only felt better when she saw the Mr. Dhiraj Ghising, a common people of that area.

The armies raised their gun when they asked several questions. They asked, "Why did you send your daughter to destroy the police station?" I replied to them that my daughters were gone to for graining in the mill, not for destroyed the police post, she said. Armies asked again, focusing on my leg which was swelled since a month due to the spited by the corn stick while I worked at the field, "look! This was the result of that event, isn't it?" I replied to them, look! carefully yourself, whether it was by the event or by the other reason, she further said. Security forces also asked for male in house, so that I replied no body male in the home. My husband went Rasuwa district for working in hydroelectricity power since 2053. Armies asked again "What happened if some one in the houses?" then

armies went inside and brought down her son (he went inside fearing from the armies because he saw that many innocent people were beaten in the village.) and asked again, “Who is he?” then I replied that he is my son. At that time, my 6 years old son was so trembling. Latter he became a sick for 4 days. She further elaborated the situation of her villatge. The armies, pointed at my byre where full of dry grass raised the question again, “How many Maoist hiding there and guns?” I replied them, look yourself. Then armies went to there but they saw a picture of my husband. Suddenly, they asked to Mr. Dhiraj Ghising who is he? He replied that he is a husband of Mrs. Sarita. The armies also recognized her husband so they went next village for searching the Maoist. After a few hours, they return to her house and asked whether she had a curd. Mr. Ghising provided 7 glasses of yoghurt to them. After that they gave 20 rupees for the curd. She said that she would not take that money if they have behaved mannerly. This story shows how a common people irritate from security forces as they gave unnecessary trouble to them during the armed conflict period.

She said although my family is normal, I helped to the Maoist by providing meal, shelter and cash money because they went to underground for making a new Nepal, so that our pain full days will have gone. The Maoists always used to call me as mother. They were like my children.

Annex: II

Semi-structure Questionnaires

A. Student

Date:Name:
Grade:School:
Age:Permanent Address:
Tel:

1. What is the name of your nearest trail/street? How far is it?

.....

2. How many members in your family?

.....

3. How many ropani (20 ropani= 1 hector) of land?

.....

4. What are the main sources of your income?

a] Agriculture b] Business c] Teacher d] Police/Army e] Others

5. What do your relatives do?

a] Agriculture b] Business c] Teacher d] Police/Army e] Others

6. What facilities are available in your community and when it was built?

a] School b] Police Out-post c] Health Post d] Others

7. Did Maoist and government conflict affected to those facilities? If yes, how?

.....

8. What generally done by both armed groups?

.....

9. How often these groups came in your community?

.....

10. Have you ever abducted by these armed groups? If yes, why and how often? What did they say to you?

.....

11. Since when the armed conflict affected to your village?

.....

12. Which was the most dangerous year? Please share me which significantly contributed for my M.A. Dissertation.

.....

13. In which numbers of your relatives went underground and when?

.....

14. What are they doing now and how I meet to them?

.....

15. Did you also attended in Maoist program? If yes, how often and where?

.....

16. Have you ever stopped your schooling? If yes, why?

a] Low Economic b] Security Forces c] Maoist d] Others

17. Please friendly share, are you Maoist? If yes, why?

a] Financial Crisis b] Forced by Relatives c] Felling insecurity from the Security Forces d] Forced by the Maoist e] By Ideology f] By own decision

18. How the armed conflict affected to your study and other students?

.....

B. Respective Parents/Teacher/SMC Member/Local Political Leader

Date:Name:

Grade:School:

Age:Permanent Address:

Tel: No. of Family:

Only for Case Study:

Name of Student:

Grade:School:

1. What is the name of your nearest trail/street? How far is it?

.....

2. How many members in your family?

.....

3. How many ropani (20 ropani= 1 hecter) of land?

.....

4. What are the main sources of your income?

a] Agriculture b] Business c] Teacher d] Police/Army e] Others

5. What do your relatives do?

a] Agriculture b] Business c] Teacher d] Police/Army e] Others

6. What facilities are available in your community and when it was built?

a] School b] Police Out-post c] Health Post d] Others

7. Did Maoist and government conflict affected to those facilities? If yes, how?

.....

8. What generally done by both armed groups?

.....

9. How often these groups came in your community?

.....

10. How that conflict impact on social system?

.....

11. What kind of hindrances/barriers brought by the conflict in the community?

.....

12. How did you used to work in that conflict period?

.....

13. What specific problem appeared by the Maoist's various programs/policies to the non-Maoist political organization?

.....

14. How did you co-operate with the Maoist in such a situation?

.....

15. Have you ever abducted by these armed groups? If yes, why and how often? What did they say to you?

.....

16. Since when the armed conflict affected to your village and which social groups and village were much more affected?

.....

17. Which was the most dangerous year? Please share me which significantly contributed for my M.A. Dissertation.

.....

18. In which numbers of your relatives went to underground and when?

.....

19. What are they doing now and how I meet to them?

.....

20. Did you also attended in Maoist program? If yes, how often and where?

.....

Only for Case Study:

Date:Name:

Grade:School:

Age:Permanent Address:

Tel: No. of Family:

1. When your son/daughter did go underground and why?

.....

a] Low Economic b] Feeling in-security form Security Forces c] Forced by the Maoist d] Others

2. What s/he told about the Maoist People's War in Nepal or any story about People's War.

.....

3. In your opinion, why s/he became a Maoist?

a] Financial Crisis b] Forced by Relatives c] Felling insecurity from the Security Forces d] Forced by the Maoist e] By Ideology f] By own decision

3. How and when s/he was killed by the security forces?

.....

4. What happened in your community after that? How Maoist treated to you?

.....

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