

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Civic organization emerged in developing countries with multiple identities and dimensions. Some of them came as a form of NGOs with foreign help and flow of donor's aid (Tamang 2002). Some other came as an autonomous voluntary organization with the spirit of utilizing collective power and nation building. Civil Society or civic organization is a "western concept" which is mushroomed as a product of democracy all over the Nepal in micro and macro level (Shah, 2008). My thesis is dealing with the emergence history of civic organization in micro or local level with the advocacy of human rights, peace and security.

Before the emergence of civic organization, people had practiced various Community Based Organizations –CBOs(Mishra, 2007). But these traditional organizations under certain conditions and time could not perform their duties. As a result, other organizations came into existence with new identity like Civic Organizations; Human Right Organizations, INSEC, Amnesty International-Nepal, Advocacy groups, Women's Group, Teachers Unions, Professionals Association and so on. Sometime autonomous voluntary civic organizations emerge in natural disaster and political crisis such as Insurgency.*BhukampaSewa Dal* was formed in order to facilitate Earthquake victims (Chand, 1998).

Similarly, in Maoist Insurgency and Royal Coup new civic organization appeared inside Rampur Valley of *Palpa* district which more or less tried to prevent problems in Rampur Valley and attempted to reduce violence physical/psychological from both conflicting Parties (State-Maoist). This thesis is study of Civic Organization of Rampur Valley which they named "*ManavadhikarkalagiNagrikSanjalPurviPalpa*" (Civil Network for Human Rights *PurviPalpa* - CNHRPP).

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Civic organization has been mobilized equally in industrial countries, developing countries and war zone. It is taking place in the last few decades in all South Asian countries (Orjuela, 2005). Like in other conflict zone Nepalese civic organizations were active in various time periods, especially People's Movement 1st and 2nd and During Maoist Insurgency. Most of the research paper are based on macro level so I thought civic activities are necessary to be studied from the below, grass root or micro level.

Some new voluntary organization emerged in this period of Maoist Insurgency with new identity and some indigenous voluntary organization (CBOs) either displaced or paralyzed. These social facts are necessary to be studied anthropologically in order to analyze the collective behaviors that emerge in distinct time and space. There are rare or none research paper dealing on emergence of civil organization inside Rampur Valley so I thought it is necessary to conduct my research.

1.3 Research Questions

My major research question is why and how civic organization emerged in Rampur Valley? My research has tried to answer following questions.

- In what context did civil society emerged in Rampur Valley? In other words, what were social, political, and economic conditions that gave rise to this particular civil society group?
- What were the cultural factors (customs, usages, belief systems, norms and values, and rituals) involved in the formation of the civil society group?
- Who were the people involved in the civil network?
- What kind of resources, if any, these people brought with them?
- What was the public perception about the civil network?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The following are the specific objectives of this study.

- To analyze the social and cultural context that led to emerge a voluntary civic organization and.
- To analyze the activities and influence of voluntary civic organization CNHRPP in Rampur valley during Maoist Insurgency.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Structuration as a latest social theory in the field of social science developed by Anthony Giddens has been employed in my research. According to him people are not entirely free to choose their own actions, and their knowledge is limited, they nonetheless have the agency which reproduces the social structure and leads to social change. Certain time and space helps to emerge active agents and their meaningful action produces agency which help to bring social change. He believes that structure and agency are interwoven and a duality that cannot be conceived of apart from one another and his main argument is contained in his expression "the structuring of social relations across time and space, in virtue of the 'duality of structure'"(Giddens, 1984). Human agency and social structure are not two separate concepts or constructs, but are two ways of analyzing social action.

As Giddens argues Structuration means studying the ways in which social systems are produced and reproduced in social interaction (*ibid*, 1984). Thus, structure and agency are not conceptualized as separate entities but as different sides of the same reality brought together through practice. In this way, by engaging into different social practices and behaviors, agents produce and reproduce social structures in an ever-flowing circle or, better conceptualized, a spiral which repeats over and over again. I have used this theory to analyze the distinct social structure and human agency during Moist Insurgency.

He makes time and space two major aspects of his theoretical perspective. Similarly, balance between agency (action) and structure is so important in definite time and space which refers to duality of structure: social structures make social action possible, and at the

same time social action creates those very structures. Standing on the theoretical ground of structuration I have discussed about emergence of new Human Agency to shape their own society in distinct time and space. The theory of structuration is therefore a very practical thesis. It seeks to integrate rather than segregate sociological theories and seeks to understand the relationship between the individual and society as a means for informing public policies designed to improve society in the future. Both individual creativity and social order are essential elements of the modern world and modern life.

1.6 Rationale/Significance of the Study

As a product of modernism we have been more ‘individualistic’, we give more priority over ‘person’ and low value for group or organization. But in this modern era whether we give priority over collective behavior or not, the emergence trend of organization with new identity has not stopped at all. My thesis can be helpful to understand the trend people engage in collective behavior and form civic organization in micro level. In the same way, my research paper will be helpful to understand the historical background and impact of Maoist Insurgency inside Rampur Valley where rare research had been done.

The psychological impact of war, destruction, loss of property and forced displacement, death appear to be an urgent worry in most parts. In many conflict areas host communities have been equally affected by the wars. My study area too, was not away from such physical/psychological influence of Maoist Insurgency. So, this research paper will give few insights about the ‘technique’ of local people which they applied to protect themselves from the both side violation (State-Maoist). Beside my partial fulfillment of my Master’s Degree, it will provide some information, who wants to conduct anthropological research in role of civic organization as an autonomous voluntary organization in grass root, micro, local level.

1.7 Organization of the Study

This thesis has been divided into six chapters and each one of them contains different aspects inter-related organs of the study. Chapter one provides a brief background, statement of research problems, objectives, Theoretical framework and the rationale of the study.

Chapter two has attempted to review a wide range of literature related to civic organization in global context, Nepalese context, indigenous and voluntary organizations and action-agency-structuration.

Chapter three deals with the methodology of the study which sets different techniques applied to generate the required information and data to meet the study objectives.

Chapters four and five consist of the main body of the study. Chapter four proceeds with the historical background of Rampur valley, autonomous-social organization inside valley, cultural practice of collective behavior, cultural taboos and food habits, valley before insurgency, glimpse of insurgency, psychological impacts, horror of *Chanda*, *Jana Adalat* and cultural clash.

Similarly in chapter five I have mentioned platform to emerge collective behavior, influence of NGOs and dollar cultivation, major activities persuaded by CNHRPP, Connection with National and International Human Right Organization, Controversy among Agencies, Collaboration and Distance with conflicting Parties (Maoist/State Force), Civil Network Inclusive/Exclusive by Nature, Role of CNHRPP during *Jana Aandolan 2nd* and Constituent Assembly Election 1st, People's perception over CNHRPP, Positive Impacts.

The final chapter six comprises the summary and conclusions drawn from the study. Beyond this chapter, follows the references, annexes, request letter and questionnaire-checklists used for the field study and.

CHAPTER – II

LITERATURE REVIEW

When I had chosen the subject matter for my thesis, I was blank. Then, I read various articles and books in order to shape my research. Such materials helped me for writing the research proposal, field work, data collection, data analysis and whole thesis writing process. Before going to field work and after my data collection from the field, I have gone through various published/unpublished materials. I have gone through various writings of various scholars which I have written in this chapter. I have categorized my literature in to four categories; civil society in global context, civic organization in Nepalese context, indigenous and voluntary organizations and action-agency-structuration. I have tried to collect relevant literature of every sub topics and linked up with my research.

2.1 Civil Society in Global Context

Human rights and civil societies are not our indigenous concept rather they are borrowed from western countries. It's very difficult to define how and when civil society emerged at first. Civil Society groups appeared and are working to promote ethnic reconciliation, human rights, and liberal democracy to exert any serious influence (Devotta, 2004 Alagappa edited). In order to run their human rights advocacy programs they collect economic fund, different campaigns and lobbying. They move from one nation to another nation and target nations are conflict victim.

In order to their advocacy work is another area of activity; political leaders have been informed about the costs of the war, the popular support for peace, ideas on solutions to civil wars the conflict and civil society groups have pressured political leaders to stop human rights abuses and to opt for and keep up dialogue. Such advocacy does not bring positive outcomes on all cases but their attempts are more or less meaningful. The main impediment to civil society activity in the war zone has been military control and repression. In such

situation civil society groups have to face problems from both sides: military control and conflicting parties. It is very difficult to these civil societies to be neutral and work independently (Orjuela, 2005). Different international civil society's group human right organizations like ICRC were also active in Nepal during Maoist insurgency. They went to different places of Nepal did collaboration to local NGOs, civic groups, media and CBOs. In these sense local civic groups also got chance to link with international human rights organizations and work together.

It's very interesting to see the leadership in civic or other types of organizations is normally traditional, typically male, relatively well-off, middle-aged or older, and posts are often held for long periods. These facts do not remain in a single nation but it is the reality of most of countries. Any social organizations formed for social welfare are not away from donor money. In South Asia various organizations are funded by donor agency in the name of social welfare. In Sri Lanka, there is a long tradition of external agency encouraging the formation of community-based organizations. Such organizations are mobilized with multiple perspectives such as advocacy, human rights, free market and democratizations. But on the name of social welfare, donor agency try to manipulate to that respective society (ibid, 2005). Nepal also is not away from this flow of donor money. But these fund money does not impress up to local and grass root level, they are mostly limited inside Kathmandu valley and center level.

Despite the key role of civil society organizations in these and other countries in democratic change, there is, however, no necessary connection between civil society and democratic change or between the density of civil society and the vigor of democracy. Not all civil society organizations are supportive of democratic development. Some of them appear to eat donor money or to popularize nominal slogan of social welfare. Some of them appear to facilitate to strong state and tries to reduce rights of public. Not only that, some of them

appear as branch of political parties with hidden political principals. Depending on their collective interests, resort to violence to achieve political ends, civil society organizations have also supported authoritarian governments or contributed to the closing of democratic space (Alagappa, 2004). The civic organizations who are established to get donor money, normally involve in human rights advocacy, lobby and so called people awareness program. It seems as if it is not people awareness but they themselves make aware to have donor money.

Sometime these civil societies appear as a form of NGOs. As I previously discussed southern NGOs responsiveness to donors rather than grassroots groups is the greatest threat to southern NGOs ability to act as effective intermediaries, and to empower grassroots groups as part of civil society development (Hudock, 1999). These types of donor agency expects from civil society good report according to their will which will help them to manipulate that nation. In the name of fund money they keep different conditions with such civil societies and there is no option except to accept. If they reject donor's proposal they lack economic source.

Most of NGOs are depend on donor money in the name of social welfare. The rise of foreign funded NGOs, engaging in social work, paralleled the decline and weakening of the welfare state. They put pressure on government and reduce state's role on public. One of my relatives returned from North America shares his experience that there are no NGOs in western countries. State has such a strong mechanism all social welfare does by state. There is no need of NGOs. But developing nation like our countries has numbers of NGOs who get unlimited fund from donor agency and there is no record with our government. In such condition presence of state in public affair decreases which makes strong presence of NGO elsewhere. Such presence always does not become harmonious to state so some tome the relationship between the state and civil society actors has at times been tense (Orjuela, 2005).

Such donor funded civil societies are more responsible to their donor agency than public and state.

Civil society, especially at the state and local levels, seek to broaden democracy by empowering the poor, ordinary, and marginalized citizens and to deepen it by limiting the Indian state and increasing its transparency and accountability. If the state is not able to provide equitable rights and justice to all citizens people look for alternatives. Previously they used form *PanchaValadmi* and other kinds of CBOs, but now the concept of civic organization has created civil societies/NGOs in order to fulfill these alternatives. Local people with their collective power create human agency to bring change that helps to raise their voice against discrimination. To make the society more just and equitable, some organizations articulate alternative visions as well as a model of development that is people oriented and sustainable. Such visions are necessary to developing countries than developed one (Alagappa, 2004). They are not only limited on sustainable development projects on developing nations, rather they are active to human rights, literacy, women's right, child rights advocacy and public awareness. This awareness program reached up to grass root level Maoist insurgency and became my matter of concern.

As democratic liberalization civil society groups are too not away from political influence. On another word activists who engage in civil society groups are rooted from politics who ultimately try to mobilize their power into respective society with indirect way. Such activists sometime form their separate civil society or sometime make their meaningful presence to a civil society. Here, what I mean is that they form a civil organization but board working committee member represent more than one political party. Civil society also tries to mobilize their power in insurgency and conflict zone.

As I have already explained that all groups labeled as 'civil society' are small in scale and egalitarian in character: traditional actors including political parties, trade unions, and business associations also constitute civil society (Shefner, 2007).

What the civil society advocates have not sufficiently appreciated, they are criticized by various scholars however, is that the nature of civil society's influence is dependent on political context, among other things. They either have political affiliation or mobilization of donor money. Absent strong and healthy political institutions, a rise in civil society activity may be a cause for concern rather than jubilation and may signal and deepen political problems rather than mitigate them.

2.2 Civic organization in Nepalese Context

I heard name of civic organization was during people's movement 2nd 2062/63. I saw on television people gathering with huge mass in BasantapurDarbar Square, delivering speeches, putting demands of restoration of democracy. I was not able enough at that time to know meaning of civic organization (NagarikSamaj). Later I started to read many books in order to know meaning and history of civic organization where I got to know that establishment of *AaryaSamaj*, *Mahabir School*, *Malamiguthi*, *Charkha PracharakSamsthan*, *Nepal NagrikAdhikarSamiti*, *VukampaSewa Dal*, *ParopakarAusadhalaya*, *ParopakarSamsthan* were the product new form of voluntary organization as 'civic organization' in Nepali society (Chand, 1998). These civic organizations were in practice in order to maintain peace and social welfare in our society. These organization later came in to form of NGOs/INGOs, human right organizations and other kinds of organizations. Some civic organization came into existence with foreign assistance some came as root branch of political influence and some came in to new modified version indigenous organizations or CBOs. This literature helped me to find out that emerging history of CNHRPP inside Rampur valley, itsfunction during Maoist insurgency and its existence after insurgency.

“Civil Society in broader level means a multitude of autonomous Human associations, identities, networks and movements forged for the sake of protecting themselves from the Arbitrary as well as unjust decisions of the power holder, wealth and promoting their rational self-interest” (Dahal, 2001). In short, Dahal has defined civil society as autonomous group of common people. But at the national level they do not give the impression of functioning as an autonomous group rather acting on behalf of some external forces such as political parties, donor agency, INGOs/NGOs (Shah, 2008). These literatures helped me to understand common sense of civil society and to shape my research.

If we go through emerging history of civic organization in our nation it was composed of urban and urban-allied interests, educated and skilled persons, professionals, small and medium businesspersons, political party workers, individuals who had worked within the old order, but had become disillusioned by the performance of the post-1990 political parties and governments (Mishra, 2007). It’s quite interesting to know how civic activists differ from member of previous indigenous members. How member gather to join civic organization and how it works in conflict zone. I was curious to find these facts during my research.

Different scholars have discussed differently on the role of civil society in Nepalese context. Among them, Uprety elaborates the role of civil society as “Not the traditional, but emerging modern force contributing to resolve this conflict is 'civil society'. Civil society with new identity to help to negotiate and reduce conflict is using a multi-track approach. considering the past deep engagement and good contribution of the facilitators to peace talks, initiatives taken by the civil society organizations and leaders in exploring options , creating pressure over warring parties, shuttle diplomacy and established dialogue and communications, etc. civil society has demonstrated that it can be one of the best options within the country to mediate this conflict”(Upreti, 2006). Yes I see civil society more or less helped to peace process, if I look in national level civil society I get different comments,

different root may be according to political affiliation, and they themselves look like searching their own identity than contribution. Then I tried to look whether the civic organization itself emerged autonomously or it was outcome to some interest groups. Somehow I see that CNHRPP itself formed to expose their local power and protect themselves than only others.

It's very difficult to define civil society in Nepalese context, civil society groups or civic organizations in the developing world like Nepal are emerging as multifunctional forms that incorporate flexible portfolios of development, welfare services, advocacy, and political activism which make them differ than their western namesake, so it does not have stable meaning. Some of them are serving on development projects with foreign aid, some of them are involve on advocacy of child rights, women rights, human right advocacy etc(Shah, 2008). The civic organization I am dealing in my thesis is based on human right advocacy. It has more or less tried to do advocacy on human rights, and reduce human rights violation from state and Maoist.

Civil society claim them-selves as champions of “service delivery, advocacy, human rights and democracy”. However, not all organizations falling under the rubric of civil society are necessarily working towards the promotion of democratization (Tamang, 2002). If we do in-depth study of their nature it may be different than their claim. So it is necessary to examine the activities of civil society group and assess their effectiveness in promoting welfare of the people.

As I have already discussed civil society has more or less link with political parties or other kinds of organizations. These days however, various group of civil society are linked or associated with political parties or as part of NGO community. In that sense there is interwoven relationship between political parties and civil society (Shah, 2008). If any political parties does not get chance to mobilize their poser directly they look secondary

medium. During Maoist insurgency most of political parties were passive, local political leader either displaced or kept neutral. These leaders were looking for new identity to mobilize their power. So, civil society might have come as the new agency to perform their duties.

Tamang further explains that NGOs as civil society organizations (CSOs) serve as founder of 'civic culture', which form the bastion with which to combat non-democratic powers threatening the state. Such organization mostly appears as opposition to state power. They sometime appear on conflict zone to do advocacy on human rights, to protect life of common people. To conduct such activities by civil society they need strong economic source which, mostly get from donor agency. It seems the intention of donor agency throughout support to civil society as indirect but meaningful presence and indirectly tries to impose their idea on respective societies (Tamang, 2002). I don't totally agree with Tamang as all civil societies do not get donor agency and economic resources to conduct their activities. In my research area I could not get any presence and influence of foreign aid, they were sustained with their own economic sources (personal expenditure of activists). It's sure that they lack economic resources to mobilize their programs but although they sustain.

There is close interconnection between democratization process and civic groups are premised on the fact that internally civic groups inspire habits of cooperation, solidarity, public spiritedness and trust. Civic activists have strong network which helps them to come together and conduct their activities. Without mutual trust and cooperation among networks, the existence of any social organization is not possible. Those social networks with interaction create such powerful mechanism that brings change in their contemporary society. We can say human agency to such mechanism that helps to protect human rights, maintain peace and security. Similarly they also appear to threat state power if state goes against people (ibid, 2002). Civic activists from various sectors engage to create such human agency

and bring change in their respective society. They preliminary protect their own life then they look for social wellbeing.

Collective power is more powerful than individual power. The associational participation of various communities in civil society shapes collective choice, boosts collective efficacy in participation and institutionalization of public life and increases the leverage of citizens in public policy matters. The participation of public in public affair and good governance, collective presence in civil society is easy access. The natures of such civil society groups are voluntary and autonomous. Such groups appear in various name and goal in particular time and space. But their ultimate goal is to provide free service to public and reduce the control over the governing elites (Dahal, 2006). Here Dahal has argued that civic society tries to reduce control of governing elites. But civic activists themselves are not from medium or low class. Normally they are from highly educated, with high social reputation, professionals and with awareness. I have seen civic activists on television who carry slogan of civil rights and do march on rally carrying civil society banners are normally social elite people in national level. This writing helped me to find out the category of activists who were locally engaged on civil society.

Civic organization has become a strong human agency to mobilize their collective powers who are dissatisfied with the party politics after 1990s. Recent demonstrations led by the Citizens' Movement for Peace and Democracy (CMPD) which is the collective network of the civil society of Nepal, has made a powerful statement against Royal autocracy or Maoist (Thapa, 2003). These groups of dissatisfaction against party politics and Maoist insurgency did not limit within Kathmandu valley, rather they spread all over nation up to local and grass root level. Later such organization became matter of curiosity and subject matter of research.

Emergence and mobilization of civic organization in Nepal varies. The active presence of civic organizations seems to preservation of human rights, law and order, voice, visibility, justice, education and health. Social capital helps to create an active agency with participation of human beings who are conscious on social issues and social welfare. Such groups try to maintain peace in their respective society in various means such as opposing pressures of conflict actors (Dahal, 2006). I agree with Dahal as some civic organizations are active in protection and promotion of human rights, maintaining peace and order in their respective societies. I wanted to discover how and why these civic organization want to preserve human rights, how they serve to local people, how local people perceive human rights and civic organizations.

2.3 Indigenous and Voluntary Organizations

When I was a small child, my parents and family members used to go for free of cost service like for constructing drinking water tank, road and other public place. When I grew up, I had to do same work at my school like carrying stone and mud for building construction, cleaning floor with mud every Friday of our classroom. Some time I used to think why am I doing all this? Societies are built with such a strong social network where they engage on digging water well (*Kuwa, Inar*), construction a fountain or waterspout (*PaniDharo*), building and maintaining a shady trailside resting place (*Chautaro*) or a rest house (*Pati, Pauwa, Dharmashala*), and contributing free labor (*Shramadan, Saghau*) to public works, we call it volunteer work (Messerchmidt, Yadama and Silwal, 2007). I have seen various voluntary work and voluntary organizations in my research area and surrounding there. It's quite interesting to see whether such voluntary work and organization remains same in different time and space or it changes.

Voluntary work and organization came in to practice in different place and society in different situation. People consider social wellbeing as the '*Dharma Kamaune*' (merit

making) and evil activities are connected with 'Pap' (sin). Similarly, they try to show their high social reputation through social People are considered as prestigious when they conduct more social activities on free social service in their society. So, people are curious to conduct voluntary work in quest of high prestige, religious earning and social development. I was interested to see how voluntary work and indigenous organization emerged in my research area which later gave shape to CNHRPP.

In Nepalese context various autonomous and indigenous informal mechanism for dispute resolution and promotion of social welfare like *PanchaValadmimi*, *Dharma Panchayat*, *Guthi*, *Mukhiya*, *Parma*, *Dhikur*, *Veja*, *Rodietc*, were in existence. But, with the time span, the form and working strategy of autonomous organization varied. In few societies socially respected people, traditional landlords, teachers, faith healers (*Jhakri*), priests (*Purohit*) and local tax collectors (*Mukhiya*) known as "social elite" are traditionally found to be involved as the principal players in resolving a wide range of local disputes and social welfare (Uprety, 2006) these social elite may have faced challenge to perform their duties during Maoist insurgency in their respective societies. Now I am curious to see whether they modify their work, collapse, keep silent or come in to new identity in order to perform their duties.

Before 10 years in my neighboring village when an unmarried girl gave birth to a baby and her boyfriend rejected to marry her, *VadraValladmi* called '*Kachahari*' in order to negotiate their problems. Same meetings when they used to gather for social work and discussion they used to call Baithak, at that time I got to know the meeting for dispute resolution and negotiation is called *Kachahari*. Normally indigenous organization and CBOs held such Baithak and *Kachahari*. We have long history of community based organizations (CBOs), which evolves, apart from the household and kinship network, which formed the foundation of local dominant social relationship. Such organizations perform multiple roles in

our society. Traditionally, it was CBOs which organized and laid down rules for the use of physical resources of the community, for example, pastures, forests, watershed, irrigation ditches, sources of drinking water etc. CBOs have also been active in the protection, promotion and regeneration of education and culture. CBOs also made provisions for financial and other assistance to kin and neighborhood household in times of dire need. In addition, CBOs engaged in organized interaction with neighboring communities and other external forces as representatives of the local community (Mishra, 2007). I also have got various CBOs in my study area like Mother's Group, Community Forest User Group, Guthi, Veja, and Youth Clubs. They are differently engage in voluntary work and contributed to their distinct societies. My research topic CNHRPP itself formed to perform voluntary work, but challenge is to find out how it varies from other previous voluntary organizations.

2.4 Action, Agency and Structuration

We are all human being and can do work at any time. While we work we have meaning full sense of function. As a social being, we knowingly/unknowingly engage in activities and interaction with each other which make meaningful outcomes. We also can action to such activities. Such set of activities and behavior we call action. Collin's dictionary of sociology defines action as 'any unit or sequence of individual social activity which in intentional or purposive and involves conscious deliberation rather than biological reflex'. This definition clearly indicates action as social activity which is possible through interpersonal relationship, interconnection and interaction.

Not only that, action in the sense of subjectively understandable orientation of behavior exists only as the behavior of one or more individuals' human beings. We have social networks which help us to interact with each other, share our feelings, solve problems, create collective powers and human agency and bring change to their contemporary societies.

I am curious to know why people do different action in different situation. What kinds of action they do during conflict to protect their own life and others.

Action is self-conscious activities people want to bring meaningful change in their societies. All actions will, of course, have some effect, but this may impact mainly on the physical environment or indeed on the actor, while even when it impacts on other actors or larger structure (Campbell, 2009). Whether the impact of action is for larger or small, they try to bring change. People with action try to influence their societies with their own idea and interest.

Meaningful work is action, the actor who does action is called agent and the agent makes mechanism with action is called agency. In another word "agency" stands for "the capacity for willed (voluntary) action" or, as Ahearn puts it, "the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act". Simply expressed, one could say that, in this formulation, agency refers to the power that individuals possess that enables them to realize their chosen goals (Campbell, 2009). They use their collective power to bring positive change in their society and to solve their public problems. When I was looking for my thesis topics, I remembered one incident that one un-arrested criminal was moving freely inside Rampur valley. But an individual did not dare to arrest him, that individual went to CNHRPP then they were able to catch him and call police. Here I realized agency and collective power is more powerful than a single person and individual power.

Giddnes's agents have the ability to make a difference in the social world. He views agents as powerful mechanism which can produce meaningful activities and able to bring change in social structure. Here structure is defined as 'the structuring properties (rules and resources) that help to continue various social practices in different span of time and space' (Ritzer, 2000). Human beings try to create different structure according to their will and goal in different time and space. Now I knew how people create collective power and try to

resolve their common problem. If people want they can create such a strong mechanism that can help to rule over their local rules and resources. Here I am interested to see what kinds of rules and resources did people change inside Rampur valley during Maoist insurgency.

Defining agency is not easy task, although various scholars have defined it differently. Agency: any human action, collective or structural as well as individual, which makes a difference to a social outcome; thus, for Giddens(1984), agency is equivalent to POWER (Collins, 2000). According to this scholar agency is power that can change to their social structure. People use this power according to their need.

Similarly, Agency generally refers to micro-level, individual human actors, it can also refer to (macro) collectivities that act. If we accept such collectiveness as agents, then we cannot equate agency and micro-level phenomena. In addition, while structure usually refers to large-scale social structure, it can also refer to micro structures such as those involved in human interaction” (Ritzer, 200). The fact we should accept here is agency is outcome of human interaction. In my study area people have done different human interaction to protect their life and others during Maoist insurgency. They contacted to media, national level human right organization, organized human rights awareness program then formed CNHRPP. Here I can say there all are outcome of human interaction.

Human action is most important factor to bring change in our social structure. The importance of human agency is it brings change in pre-existing condition of society. Normally it does not mean any disaster and negative change but positive change according to capability of the individual to ‘make a difference’ to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events. Agent always mobilizes local resources and social power which helps to fulfill social need and regularize the society (Giddens, 1984). Agent mobilizes local resources to bring change. Local resources mean the available social and physical capital in their

contemporary societies. It gave me different insights how and why people local resources and social power to bring change in their pre-existing society.

Not only that the mobilization of local power helps to create active human agency, make strong social networks among actors, and make close interconnection among whole types of social structure (ibid, 1984). Local power creates human agency and brings chosen change in their contemporary society. If they again face problems they again do interaction, make interconnection and bring change in social structure. This process repeats again and again. They create strong human agency to solve their contemporary society.

Human agency has meaningful power which is produced by individual and collective action. With mobilization of such power by active agents they produce an active agency. A new conception of agency emerged that affirmed the capacity of human the capacity of human beings to shape the circumstances in which they live (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). I accept this fact that human agency is active to change their own geographical setting mobilizing their local resources and collective power. I am interested to see how and why collective power arouses and serves to their setting. It's my task to answer my curiosity through my research findings.

Agency has different goals and set of actions which differs with various time and space. Human agency is production of human experience so it has close interconnection with human experience. Human beings have experience past and present, they have future for dream, to fulfill their dream they create proper human agency and mobilize their social capital (ibid: 1998). People learn lesson from past, to make better future they make suitable social structure at present. So, human agency and structure has close connection with past-present-future and social structure. I wanted to know social structure of past inside Rampur valley, what happened during Maoist insurgency and what they dreamed for future and they created human agency.

I have previously used the term social structure which may make confusion. Let's discuss on this topics. The social structure exhibits the characteristics of a system. It is made up of several elements none of which can undergo a change without effecting change in all the other elements...there should be a possibility of ordering a series of transformations resulting in a group of models of the some type. Social structure is not a concrete concept; it is combination of material and non-materials things of society. Rampur valley itself is a macro social structure for me where several elements are embedded to each other, they have strong interconnection.

Some scholars use the term social structure to refer only to persistent social groups, such as nations, tribes and clans, which retain their continuity, their identity as individual groups, in spite of changes in their membership. But that conception is not complete to understand social structure, here it means all social relations of person to person, e.g. the kinship structure of any society consists of a number of such dyadic relations, as between a father and son, or a mother's brother and his sister's son. I include under social structure the differentiation of individuals and classes by their social role (ibid, 1988). Social structure means in my research area the interpersonal relationship among whole *Rampure* people, their inhabitants, their rules and regulation, usages, norms and values, culture and religion. I should to find out how people wanted to bring structural change in a different situation. Social structures and human agency are therefore intimately bound together in an ongoing process of structuration or structured action by which human action creates social structure, while social structures, once created sustain and control human behavior until the point when through evolution or revolution those structures are amended or overturned by collective human action.

Similarly, Marxist notions of structural power, instead, Centre on the shared conditions of various collective-ties of humans within the processes of material production

and social reproduction. Most Marxist theory has insisted that individual humans can and do - as members of classes and class fractions - act to both reproduce and change social structures (Glassman, 2003). This notion gives more emphasis to class or member of class but my argument is that whether the member of class or an individual, the person is actor who creates active agency then brings meaning full change on their social structure. This article helped me to look from which class people were active to create human agency and why.

I have already discussed on action, agency and structure. The main theory I employed on my thesis is Structuration. “Structuration theory: the approach to sociological theory adopted by Anthony Giddens, in which social relations are seen as structured in them and space as the outcome of the operation of duality of structure. In this approach the intention is that neither agency nor structure is accorded primacy in sociological explanation. Giddens presents structuration theory as ontology to aid analysis and as an orientation in social research, rather than a finished theory (Collins; 2000). I see close interconnection among social structure inside Rampur valley. There is duality between structure and human agency during insurgency.

The key concept of ‘Structuration’, means intended to communicate the ‘duality of structure’. It avoids the concept of dualisms and believes the close interconnection among social structure and agency. Here, social structure is used by active agents; and is so using properties of structure; they transform or reproduce this structure. That active agency not only uses the human capacity but also helps to reproduce the new social structure. That agency continues their work until they do not create proper social structure to their current environment. Thus, the process of structuration requires a conceptualization of the nature of structure, of the agents who use structure, and of the ways that these are mutually implicated

in each other to produce varying patterns of human organization (Turner, 1995). Active agency using local resources and social capital helps to create new social structure.

‘Structure thus refers , in social analysis, to the structuring properties allowing the ‘binding’ of time-space in social systems, the properties which make it possible for discernibly similar social practices to exist across varying spans of time and space and which lend them ‘systemic’ form’ (Giddens, 1984). Here emphasis is on time and space too. He believes that certain time and space responsible to emerge new kinds of active agents and create new social organization.

Every social organization is changeable by the acts of individuals, so there is no any permanent social organization. Active agents help to produce new law and set of social rules that helps to regularize social organization and new kinds of social transformation if required (Turner, 1995). It’s not that all types of societies can bring social transformation in certain time and space. It requires active agents and strong human agency. When I was looking for my thesis topics, I could not get other proper setting who had active agents like Rampur valley near my hometown. So, here I want to say there needs duality of active agency and social structure in order to bring social transformation.

Giddens has criticized over various social theories and has given focus on structuration. The most useful criticisms mounted is the rejection of dualisms and emphasis over duality in social theory-micro versus macro theory, subject (people) versus object (structure), individual versus society, subjectivism versus objectivism, and similar dichotomies around which great debate rages. He argues that there is no contradiction among set of social structure but he believes that every elements of society are embedded with each other and they always engage in meaningful actions (Turner, 1995). These writings claim that all social elements engage in meaningful work to bring positive change in their societies. Yes I saw people inside Rampur valley during insurgency were afraid with Maoist and Army,

they tried to save their life, to do so they did not involve in any conspiracy. In this sense I can say that social structures are embedded to each other and do meaningful action.

The basic domain of study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time. Human social activities, like some self-reproducing items in nature, are recursive. That is to say, they are not brought into being by social actors but continually recreated by them via the very means whereby they express themselves as actors. In and through their activities agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible' (Giddens, 1984).

Social practices are that much meaningful which always produce positive and active agency which gives positive change in the society. There must be some kinds of motivation to happen any meaningful activities. Here, the motivation refers to potential for action rather than to the mode in which action is chronically carried on by the agent. Motives tend to have a direct purchase on action only in relatively unusual circumstances, situations which in some way break with the routine (ibid, 1984).

In Giddens' view, production of social organizations, social laws and rules, set of social structures are actual practices of people or collective units, not roles that are point of articulation between the individual and society. While these practices may be influenced by an agent's position. These social practices are also responsible to mobilize material and non-materials set of resources and help to reproduce new set of resources (Turner, 1995).

CHAPTER – III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I am going to deal with various approaches of research which I used while conducting my field work and writing whole thesis. It was not easy task for me to select research design. I believe that ‘present’ is the creation of history. Therefore, I decided to use historical research design, conduct field work going to field myself.

3.1 Research Design

I have employed Historical research design to conduct field work, data processing and analysis of data. I have brought some information of indigenous voluntary organization, Indigenous practice of dispute resolution and social welfare, history of Nepalese political Conflict, and emergence of civil society in local level. I have explored variables of domestic conflict, village level conflict and psychological and physical violation by both parties (State-Maoist). I have tried to find out the transformation process of indigenous voluntary organization to civic organization like Civil Network (NagrikSanjal).

3.2 Rationale of the Site Selection

Rampur valley is my hometown so I had some knowledge on it and also easy to conduct my research (to rapport building with respondents, access to information). This valley is one of the junctions of *Palpa*, *Tanahun*, *Shyanja* and *Nawalparsi* districts. It was the valley to which both state and Maoist wanted to keep under their hand. Maoist, being able to influence inhabitants of Rampur valley, they declared neighboring village as capital of *Gandak* Region. As a consequence of such the declaration, all *Rampure* people who visited to *Tansen* to their personal purpose were considered as either Maoist or *MaobadiPalneby* state force. So, *Rampure* people, being participants and witness of various parts of Maoist Insurgency and active agents to find their solution I got Rampur valley as good place to conduct my research fieldwork. *Rampure* people created an active agency not only to prevent

their problems dangers and protect themselves but also to mobilize local resources through local knowledge and power.

So, Rampur valley, I got as right destination of my research as it has various experience of Maoist Insurgency, local conflict resolution procedure, resource mobilization and peace building process.

3.3 Sampling Procedure

It is not easy to take sample from total universe. My study area is heterogeneous, so I got random sampling as good technique to take information. I used purposive random sampling which I tried to find my respondent on the basis of my network which is more or less connected with CNHRPP. I have used random sampling. But my respondents are from various cast and age groups. Priority has been given to those people who directly involved in conflict resolution process and victimized by armed conflict as well as their domestic conflict. Some life history has been taken with old-aged people to have account of indigenous System of Conflict Resolution social wellbeing. I have taken interview with 35 people from various back ground. First of all I made different types of questions on my copy, then I practiced read and read again and remember. I did not want to ask questions to my respondent in order to show me confident and to make comfortable to my respondent. While entering on field, I made question set on my mind and made tape recordings (on their permission), I have talked to them minimum 30 minutes to 2 hour.

3.4 Nature and Sources of Data

I have used qualitative data in this anthropological research. Qualitative data in the sense I have used words than numbers and open-ended interview questions (Creswell, 2009). I have given equal priority over their ethnic/caste group and their cultural practice which have direct connection with my research. I have used data from both primary as well as secondary source.

As my primary resources I have done field work of Rampur Valley of *Palpa* District. I have spent two months field visit in my research. I have met local people as my respondents and kept detail field note and tape record. I have gathered their perspectives about conflict and its resolution process and on the role of the Civil Network.

As secondary resources, I have used some books, research report (published/unpublished), journals and National newspapers, related with Maoist Insurgency, civil society, conflict resolution and peace process. I have also used local newspapers (like *LumbiniDainik*, *GauleDeurali*) to get information about the situation of Rampur Valley in the period of Insurgency.

3.5 Techniques of Data Collection

I have done field work to collect my data. I have used three techniques of data collection; interview, case study, archival research and key informants. I have taken more than 20 in-depth interviews and rest few short interviews. I have made two case studies. I have also collected data from archives. I have met many people who helped me as key informants to get access to my required data, information, documents, records and interviewer.

3.5.1 Interview

Before going to take interview, I made one page request letter (Nepali type) explaining who I am, what I do, what I want to know, where I am from. I provided the request letter to my interviewer before 2, 3 days if possible or before conducting field work and taking interview. I categorized to my respondents according to my research objectives, I took their cell phone number from various sources called before going to meet them, asked their time then I went for interview. Before conducting my interview, I made them clear about my research, tried to make them comfortable then asked questions; wrote note and did type recording on my mobile with their permission. I took more than 20 in-depth interviews

with my respondents. In- depth interview was necessary for me to get detailed description and to categorize how surface appearances of facts are and what are depths realities (Wengraf, 2004). I had to find detailed description about CNHRPP other social facts during Maoists insurgency.

- Activists of Civil Network Rampur, *Palpa*.

I met all working committee members of CNHRPP. I asked multiple questions with them on how CNHRPP emerged, how working environment was, how it worked, what risk factors were.

- People who were directly facilitated/ benefited by Civil Network (Maoist, common people, agency, and other key informants).

I asked CNHRPP activists about facilitated people and contacted them. I asked what kinds of problems they were facing during insurgency, how they tried to reduce/solve their problems, how they came to contact with CNHRPP.

- People who were victimized by both conflicting party (Maoist-State).

I asked their problems faced during insurgency.

- Old people who were engaged in *Pancha Valadmi* system of dispute resolution and peace management.

I thought it's better to know dispute resolution and peace management inside and surrounding Rampur Valley before Maoist insurgency. So, I contacted to those who were previously engaged in dispute resolution and social welfare. I asked their experiences on dispute resolution and public issues and the condition of surroundings and inside *Rampur* valley before few decades.

3.5.2 Case study

I prepared 2 case studies of the persons who were victimized (may be by anyone) in Maoist insurgency and facilitated by CNHRPP. I have tried to bring details of respective case and put on my case studies.

3.5.3 Archival Research

I have gathered some archival documents from various sources (e.g. Civil Society, NGOs, *Aama Samuha*/Mother's group etc.) in my field. Such documents depend upon the need of my research objectives. I travelled many places in order to collect archival document. Firstly, I visited INSEC office and library to search written documents, where I got few, then contacted to INSEC officials. After reaching on field, I went to *Butwal* to visit libraries and the head office of daily newspapers (*Lumbini Mechikali*, *NayaSatta*), got related news and made digital photo. I also visited to BES library of Rampur, asked written documents /newspaper cutting with CNHRPP activists. After coming back to Kathmandu, I visited to the central library of *Kirtipur* and national library of *Hariharbhawan* where I got some related news.

3.5.4 Key Informants

I have met several people as my key informants. They helped me to contact my interviewer, access with my data, to collect documents, archives of newspapers, written records. I have met official person of INSEC inside Kathmandu and Pokhara. Their help was great for me which reduced my fieldwork stress.

3.5.5 Coding and Analysis of Data

Field information/data has analyzed and interpreted in order to fulfill the set objectives. Being an anthropological research, qualitative data analysis technique has undertaken.

Talking about the coding and the analysis of data I have used different color to code my data then categorized them according to their nature. I have analyzed my data according to my field research findings, making connection with conceptual framework of broader level.

3.6 Limitation of the Study

- I have covered only Rampur Valley of *Palpa* District, and research findings cannot be generalized all over Nepal.
- I, being a student of anthropology have followed anthropological tools and methods, qualitative data and less focus has been given to statistical as well as quantitative data.
- I, being a researcher inside my own community, I felt a bit comfortable and easy access. But during interview people used their political lens on me. They regarded me with my father's political ideology (although I am neutral) and behaved me like that. If I would be outsider my political ideology would be secret.

3.7 Ethical Aspects

Being an ethnographic researcher, I was more careful about privacy of my respondents as well as other documents. I have not exposed name of my respondents. I did not force anyone (respondents) to answer my questions, instead of it; I followed rapport building process among them exposing my own identity, role and the reason of presence in the study area. I had to make rapport building in order to bring details and personal information. Firstly, they felt uncomfortable to tell their personal information but after convincing them about my thesis purpose and their privacy they got comfortable. Therefore, I have used fake name on my thesis of all the respondents. Some of the respondents especially Maoists asked whether I am doing research only for my thesis purpose or I have taken grants from outside. Then, I made them clear. As a student of Anthropology, I was sensitive to the cultural practice of local people while gathering information from my field work.

CHAPTER-IV

STUDY AREA, PEOPLE AND CULTURE

4.1 Historical Background of Rampur Valley

Rampur is a small valley which is inhabited by people from various castes, ethnic, indigenous and disadvantaged groups. Before thirty year, it was full of bush but slowly people started migrating from surrounding hillside and started to farming. Talking about the migration process, there are multiple ethnic and marginalized groups like *Kumal* and *Darai*, *Mushlims* (*Chureta* in local term), *Majhi* who does not have exact history from where, when and how they were migrated to Rampur Valley. Besides them *Brahim*, *Chhetri*, *Thakuri*, *Magar*, *Newar*, Low Caste *Dalit* people, *Bhujel*, *Gharti*, etc are the main inhabitants of Rampur Valley.

With modernization process people started to migrating Rampur in search of better life. *Bikase Mall* (Chemical Fertilizer) brought drastic change in cultivation and farming of Rampur valley which became pull factor of migration. People shifted to Rampur in order to *Dhanko Vat Khana* (Eating rice food), *Ukalo Oralo Nagarna* (Not to do Up and Down of hillside) and *Sukha Pauna* (To spend luxurious life). Some of the people had applied two home systems, one in hill side and one in Rampur valley which they considered as *Gauko Ghar* and *Besiko Ghar*.

The people coming from various cultural backgrounds they had experience of multiple mechanism of collective behavior. Being the dweller in new setting, they created new form of collective behavior which was acceptable to all people who were of different cultural practice. They performed various collective behaviors in order to make them 'social being'. The family who does not come in collective behavior was not treated as good by other family member of respective societies; such family was considered as outsider or '*Samaj Bata Bahek Vayeko*'. They did not have any written rules and regulations but practiced

various social bonds, norms and values and social restriction. Such practice was traditional and domination was of high caste people (*Brahim, Chhetri*). Low caste people were obliged to follow rules and regulations made by upper caste people.

4.2 Autonomous Social Organization inside Rampur Valley

With immigration of people from neighboring villages/districts inside Rampur Valley, it became like the 'zoo' of multiple Caste, Ethnic, Indigenous, Religious groups and multiple identity. Such heterogeneous setting was quite differing than their origin place, where they started to immerse with 'pluralistic identity' and different social behavior than they were practicing. Here pluralistic in the sense people had more than one identity, such as a person was a teacher, priest, social worker, political leader etc. Similarly, people were from different cast-ethnic group, religion and political ideology. As a product of 'immersion' and 'collective behavior', new form of social organization appeared which we generally call Indigenous Organization or Community Based Organizations (CBOs) (Mishra, 2007).

As the autonomous social organization there appeared '*Vadra Valadmi System*' where working committee member were from high caste, with high social reputation, and political affiliation. Such organization used to mobilize human resource in order to voluntary work, social welfare, provide social justice in micro level, and so on. Such *Vadra Valadmi* used to cover definite structure where people used to engage in any Institution in order to be a part of respective community. Similarly, *Guthi* was as the strong indigenous institution inside which was given for religious purpose. *Guthi* in Rampur Valley is the type of institution land is kept on religious purpose. *Regmi (Brahim)* people are responsible over *Guthi*, who can provide land to other people to work and take certain amount of production which they on religious purpose like *Pooja, Kritan* (holy dance), temple repairing and other philanthropic work.

In the last decade other new form of organizations appeared as Community Forest User Group, Child and Youth club, Mother's Group, Market Management Committee, micro

credit organizations like *Dhukuti and Samuha*. Here, Community Forest User Groups are mobilized as organization where every household of certain ward form user group, elect working committee, keep rotating to guard forest. They open forest in certain fixed time collect firewood, grass, woods and other useful products within their members equally.

Youth clubs are active in sports and entertainment program. They run programs like volley ball, football, cricket, *Lokdohori* program. They also form their working committee members; collect money playing *Deusi Vailo, Falgu, Ghardailo* program and spend money on their need. Mother's Group is a group where women from single household involve as member. They also have their working committee members are active in entertaining program, reducing domestic violence, health and sanitation program. They collect money from member's fee, playing *Deusi Vailo-Falgu* program, cultural rituals like marriage, birth ceremony, *Nwaran* (name keeping), *Chhathi* (sixth day of child birth), *Paasni* (rice eating ceremony). In such rituals Mothers Group perform dance, song and collect money. They make fond of their collected money and give it on interest within their members, every month they call meetings collect interest and reinvest it within members. Market Management Committee is active in to run system in Bejhad Bazar. They collect little amount of tax from every shop and spend money on public issues like drinking water, sanitation, road construction, health-awareness program and cultural program.

Micro-credit organization like *Dhukuti and Samuha* is active in Rampur Valley. Every shopkeeper engages in more than one *Dhukuti*. Suman Banshi (name changed) says 'it's our good idea to save money and investment; *Dhukuti* starts from two thousand to twenty thousand. The person who runs *Dhukuti* form members, form net amount, collect close cheat (leaving commission amount), declare winner and collect money from all members and gives to winner. This process repeats every month a member gets chance once in a single rotation.

4.3 Parma (Labor Exchange) and Saghau (Free cost of Help) as Collective Behavior.

In the early phase of inhabitants grown up inside Rampur Valley, people looked up it from agricultural perspective. Plain setting and development of irrigation, it was the best destination of production of rice, wheat and maize. Similarly, construction of canal '*Rampur Nahar*', helped to irrigate more plain land as well as agricultural production. From the agricultural perspective people were automatically engaged to collective behavior as they, within their own house hold, were not sufficient for plantation and harvesting. Basically, they involve in labor exchange during plantation and harvesting. They use rotation system to complete each other's agricultural work. The labor exchange system is quite interesting where they not only perform their physical work but also exchange cultural practice, engage in enculturation and socialize more strongly. The labor exchange is normally is called 'Parma' which they count the day worked for each other and try to balance them. Every day labor/work is called '*Khetala*' or *Khetra*, balance system is quite amazing if the '*Khetala*' did not balance in plantation season they keep on pending and pay back the *Khetala* next season (plantation, harvesting or any work).

Another example of collective behavior and voluntary service is '*Saghau*' (free cost of help). In any especial condition people autonomously gather and contribute free service '*Saghau*'. In *Saghau* one person from a single household gather and help to necessary condition of any family. Such conditions are mostly if 13 days death ceremony happened in any house hold during plantation and harvesting season, the neighbor automatically gather and contribute. Similarly, in some marriage ceremony, for those house hold that does not have manpower to work, House Construction (Gathering furniture from forest, physical work with brick- stone and mud etc.) other people give '*Saghau*'. People don't get any reward of *Saghau* immediately but they help to each other in need time.

Similarly, in the period of '*Baje Ropai*' or rice plantation with music, other neighbors offer free service. Mostly feudal lords organize *Baje Ropai* in order to show their high social status and huge production in their sense (they believe '*Baje Ropai*' helps to produce more). This is one of the examples of voluntary service where people go and contribute without inform and invitation. In such *Baje Ropai* land lord does not invite formally to all villagers but only informs the *Ropai* (plantation). Villagers autonomously gather and go to help; they consider it as their duty. Land lord does not pay to anyone on the very day, but feeds them nice food, meat and alcohol.

4.4 Cultural Practice of Voluntary Behavior

There was practice of multi-cultural behavior as the setting itself was heterogeneous. Multi-cultural in the sense people were from various cast-ethnic group and religion. So they practice same behavior like non-*Newaar* people enjoyed *Lakhe Naach*, non-Hindu people practice god/goddess worship, holy bath, fasting. They had respect over the culture of each other where they use to celebrate cultural functions together. In such functions-ceremonies or in any special occasions, they autonomously come into voluntary work. Ceremonies like marriage, *Chhaiti*, *Nwaran* (Naming), *Pashni*, Funeral, Religious occasions like *Satyanarayan Puja*, *Ekaha*, *Saptaha* (week worship), *Balan Naach*, *Vajan-Kritan*, Festivals such as *Teej*, *Dashain*, *Tihar*, *Maghesakranti*, *Chaite Dashain*, people automatically gather and start collective behavior. Especially in the occasion of ceremonies like marriage and *Pashni* people organize feast where needs more manpower to help out. In such situation people come to contribute their free service as voluntary behavior. Society has such a strong social knot all family come to such voluntary service.

Similarly, male members (with cap or *Topi* except son) go to funeral ceremony charring firewood, which generally performed in *Kaligandagi* River, they name it *Malami Jane* or *Ghat Jane*. People do not invite to participate in funeral ceremony but as soon as they

know about demise of their neighbor, they are ready to engage in funeral with firewood. The engagement in funeral is normally at least one male from each house, which they call it *Marda Parada Sath Dinu Parchha* (Help in time of need). Death ceremony does not over only in funeral, which runs up to 11 to 13 days. People perform voluntary work all over the 13 days in various aspects such as helping plantation and harvesting in respective seasons, household works, every day duties of death ceremony, sleeping in night time near the place of *Kiriya Putri*, management of last day feast of death ceremony. The feast is organized which they name as *Ghot* or *Mareko Chokhine Din*, where people engage in voluntary service including searching firewood, preparing rice, preparing alcohol '*Jandraksi*' (not in all caste), Collecting leaf and preparing leaf plate '*DunaTapari*'(leaf plate), carrying water, cooking and so on.

Like this people come to perform voluntary service in other religious ceremonies which is organized by a single family or community. There is a popular idiom *Jiudo Manchhera Chokho Vat Kam Lagchha* (Fresh food or alive people are useful) so people automatically come to perform voluntary service.

4.5 Cultural Taboo and Food Habit among Group Behavior

Even with pluralistic identities among *Rampure* people, there was domination of Hindu religion. People used to practice Hindu cultural taboos and restrictions inside Rampur valley. The discrimination of high and low caste was in all communities. Hindu High caste considering them as pure had to follow strict Hindu cultural norms and values such as not eating food from the hand of low cast, get marry within their own caste ranking, religious activities like taking bath without touching by other caste, worshipping together only within same caste, offering *Tika* on the hand of non-touchable caste.

They had unique food habit as taboo as they involve in group behavior but do not accept food from low caste. Even in the *Parma* system high caste people accept little pure

food from other caste (from ethnic groups too). They consider *Daal and Vaat* as impure and don't accept; instead they accept other food like *Khaja Vaat, Roti, Puwa, Chiura* and so on. But they did not accept any food from low caste so they had to manage their food themselves in such conditions. The high caste Hindu especially *Brahim* and *Thakuri* were the follower of food restrictions.

The environment from was quite romantic in feast where there used to be own kitchen for most of high caste like *ChokhoVansa* (Vegetarian kitchen), *Bahun Vansa, Thakuri Vansa, Chhetri Vansa, Magar Vansa, Newar Vansa, Common Vansa* and so on. They used to give priority over caste wise food habits in their respective kitchen such as Mutton for high caste, pork for *Magar*, Buff for *Newar* and so on.

But such cultural taboos and food habit have been drastically changed in last few decade, but old generation, still today, follow such strict rules and regulation. Recent generation does not follow food restrictions; they eat pork-buff-chicken and touched by other and non-touchable caste. They do not follow strict rules like taking bath and changing dress on the time of meal and dinner. They do not take one year *Barkhi* (strict food-cloth behavior) after death of their parents. New generation also practice marriage out of similar ranking caste (*Upadhya- Jaishi Brahim*)and inter-caste marriage.

4.6 Rampur Valley before Maoist Insurgency

Rampur is a small valley located in eastern part of *Palpa* district which is one of the junctions of *Palpa, Tanahun, Shyanja and Nawalparasi* districts. Rampur is a developing town where so many people are migrated from neighboring districts. The rate of migration has drastically grown up in last few decades, especially after 2046(1990 AD). Rampur, being a developing town with lots of infrastructures for development, It had facilities of drinking water, police camp, schools and campus, health post, road facilities, electricity, telephone and so on. That's the reason why it became one of the destinations for migration. With the rate of

migration the educational opportunities and literacy rate was growing up, which had helped to force the town towards development.

After the restoration of democracy *Rampure* people were strongly engaged in political activities. Most of the political programs on the occasions of election or rest of the time were held inside Rampur Valley. The environment was extremely politicized where even *Teej Geet* (Song) competition was organized by different political parties Nepali Congress, UML and participant in such competition were belong to respective party. The frequent organization of political programs and visit of national level political leader had made the valley more political. *Rampure* people were actively engaged in political activities such as influencing local people to join their party, to make political influence in any development projects, academic institutions and so on. Such political leader started to get threats by Maoists either on the form of written letter or verbal message. In few cases Maoist demanded huge amount of *Chanda* for example fifty thousand/one lakh with a single person which was not easy to give. But as soon as the glimpse of Maoist insurgency appeared inside Rampur Valley such political leader and their activists could no longer exist inside Rampur; they either displaced or kept silent.

4.7 Glimpse of Insurgency

Rampur, being the central market of eastern *Palpa*, was great mobilization of people. The influence of Maoist appeared only after 2056 after the four year of beginning the war. In the beginning they used to come at night and tried to form their political organization like providing party membership. They could not come in day time because there was police camp and frequent visit of police stopped them to come openly. There was only the matter of rumor about Maoist activities so people were obliged to live in horror. Letter from anonymous writer to either to leave police camp or be ready to face destruction (bomb barding) created fearful environment among people.

Finally the police camp displaced and it went to *Tansen*. After the displacement of police camp from Rampur Valley it became like ‘football ground’ to Maoist where they can come any play the ‘game’ at any time.

4.7.1 Psychological/Physical Impact

As police camp displaced from Rampur Valley Maoists started to come any home demand food and night stay. People had no choice to say no. people were obliged to do what they are ordered to do like leaving their kitchen to Maoist, let them(Maoist) to sleep on their own bedroom, use their own dresses. The psychological influence of Maoist Insurgency was extreme in side Rampur Valley where people used to suspect any unknown people and open their mouth in front of them. People used to recognize them (Maoist) with physical appearance, normally wearing Gold Star Shoes, carrying black or brown bag, girls wearing cotton paints as well as from their walking/marching style. People could identify to Maoist with their speaking tone, languages gestures, subject matter they talk.

Similarly the Maoist pressured to stop English medium schools considered as ‘bourgeoisie education’ and gave frequent warning to either to decrease fee or close. Finally such school did not get permission to continue and it closed up to two years.

After the displacement of police camp from Rampur Valley Nepalese Army used to visit occasionally. As army appeared inside valley Maoist used to runaway. Army used to come and ask with people had they seen Maoist, did they give food and shelter to them. They were threatened not to provide shelter Maoist and to do *Suraki*. As soon as Army left the valley Maoist again used to come threat to people why did they talk to Army. In this way people had psychological torture from both sides, one of the party (sometime Army sometime Maoist) came to ask for shelter and food and another party came to complain and threat the house owner. In such condition the fear among people were so huge that the parents were

ready to send their young children either capital town or Indian cities in order to protect their life.

Political activists became the target point or *Taro Bannu* in their local term they were threatened to stop their any political activities even Village council, V.DC. Work committee.

The frequent mobilization of Maoist and occasional searching of Army created more horror among local people. The valley is made up with such location where one of the groups enters from one corner and another group escapes from another way. So the people were surviving with the condition of uncertainty and confusion or '*KahilekeHune ho koAbasthaThiyo*'.

Similarly Rampur Valley was not away from the influence of physical damage. But the respondents shared that the physical impact inside Rampur Valley was low in comparison with psychological impact as well as in comparison with the event that happened in neighboring districts. But few events happened like bombarding in empty police camp (*Keladi, Rampur*), house of political activists (Ex. *Pradhanpancha*), kidnapping, demise of a child in bomb blasting, arresting Moist, Murder of local people by Army.

4.7.2 Horror of Chanda and Karbahi

As the beginning influence of Maoist activities inside Rampur Valley, they asked money as help for their party in their local term named as *ChandaAatanka* or *Bigbigi*. The target people of such *ChandaAatanka* were political leaders, local feudal, Professionals/job holders like teachers- officials etc, and Ex. Armies (Nepalese, Indian, and British), business person (shopkeeper). The *Chanda* was asked with them annually in huge amount on the basis of their income source and frequently in small amount (like Rs 50 to Rs 500) according to the demand of party. People who paid *Chanda* were allowed to stay in Rampur Valley and who did not want to pay they had to displace from there with fear of '*Krbahi*' or punishment.

The *Chanda Aatanka* started inside Rampur Valley from ‘before the displacement of police camp’ and after the establishment of Rampur Base Camp. The interesting part of *Chanda* is that even there was Army Camp; people used to pay *Chanda* going to unknown place might be distance of 2 to 4 hour. They were not sure that Army will totally protect them as they could displace at any time from Rampur Valley, So, they paid *Chanda* in order to protect themselves from probable punishment or *Vautik Karbahi*. In this case people were not sure the presence of army inside Rampur Valley will be forever. On the other hand army themselves were feeling unsafe and did not use to mobilize at night as they used to do at day, how local people could feel fully safe from army. So, people were fearful if army gets displaced from Rampur, they, again had to face threats. Therefore, people felt better to pay *Chanda*.

Some people especially feudal lords were punished as ‘*VateKarbahi*’ in which punishment were deterrent either contribution of rice to Maoist or feeding them food at home. On the other term the word *Vate Karbahi* means physical punishment given to people who does not follow order given by Maoist.

4.7.3 Influence of Maoist’s Municipality and *Jana Aadalat* (Kangaroo Court)

After the displacement of Semi-Judiciary mechanism from Rampur valley, there was no authorized agency to handle local disputes. Maoist people always wanted to handle all types of social issues, make decision according to their will and pretended as they provided justice. The influence of Maoist was increasing day by day. Finally they declared Rampur as Rampur municipality and formed mayor and other working committee members. The work of mayor was to govern Rampur valley especially tax collection, tax mobilization, make influence (persuading to join party)over common people, punish to those who were against them and look for other kinds of legal issues.

They used to name *Jana Adalat* to the mechanism which used to deal on legal issues. The influence of '*Jana Aadalat*' was not so strong like other parts of war zone of Nepal inside Rampur Valley. But in few cases if the suppressed people complain to Maoist, as the action of '*Jana Aadalat*' they used to work as decision makers on the respective disputes. Maoist called for both suppressed and suppresser, public, local social activists, human right activists, then they used to investigate the case and declare the justice. Such complain, basically used to from the husband-wife quarrel, dispute between (among) neighbor, land disputes. Similarly, they punished some duplicate Maoist who collected money in the name of Maoist leader. Mani Dhakal (name changed), a journalist says "the rate of evil activities like drinking and fighting, playing cards, murder, theft declined inside Rampur Valley because they had fear they will be punished by Maoist if they engage in such behavior".

4.7.4 Cultural Clash during Insurgency

With fear and influence of Maoist people were unable to continue their cultural practice as they were practicing in previous time. There was beef eating culture among Maoist which was not acceptable to normal people. NaranyanKarki (name changed) tells "I used to teach in Balhit school of *Sahalkot* at that time Maoist used to cut cow and have in *Tham* village which is nearby that school. Sanskrit education and priest were considered as symbol of feudalistic system. A priest shares his experience "it was not easy to work as priest at that time; I had to face lots of questions while travelling to attend marriage, death ceremony, worships and other rituals. I used to get order not to discriminate as non-touchable caste and perform my duties equally to all people". Priests either had to stop their work or to perform their duties according to wish of Maoist such as without discrimination of pure/impure, high/low caste and so on.

Sanskrit education was banned at that time so either we had to replace it with other subject or stop it recalls a teacher who teaches in *Ram Tulsi Ma. Vi*. The most notable cultural

clash appeared in the sector of caste discrimination. High class *Brahims* were obliged to let touch kitchen for non -touchable caste, they had to accept inter-caste marriage. I have already explained the cultural taboos among Rampur valley. But as the influence of Maoist increased inside valley, there was pressure to stop caste wise discrimination which all people had to strictly follow. As a consequence people stopped strict food habit and *Brahim* people were obliged to let enter so called low caste people (Maoist) in their house. Similarly high caste *Brahim (Upadhaya)* neither dared to make caste wise discrimination in private affair even with normal people nor they dared to dominate low caste people specially in water filling case in well/tap, taking bath in river, worshipping in temple, having tea in tea shop.

CHAPTER - V

IMMERSION WITH INSURGENCY AND AWAKENING

5.1 Platform to Emerge Collective Behavior

“In the absence of formal mechanism and state security, Rampur valley was converted into a silent warzone in where any party could come in any time and perform their action” Shuva Devkota (name change), campus chiefshares his experience. There absence of an active agency to work for public. Before beginning of Maoist insurgency and influence of Maoist there were various autonomous voluntary organization, formal mechanism, state organization which used to work in public affair. Besides them there was influence of political parties as most of the local people were engaged in active politics. The people who considered them as local political leader used to deal with public affair and always tried to make decision on their own favor.

But during the insurgency people where worried about their situation but did not dare to open their mouth in front of Maoist and Army. Private School was closed, Sanskrit Education was banned, normal people had to face so many inquires while moving from one place to another. People formed a resistance group in the neighboring village *Chapakot V. D. C. of Syanjia* districts. On that place people had formed anti-Maoist committee which could go against behavior of Maoist and get ready to challenge them. But this committee was taken negatively by Maoist which led to clash between Maoist and normal people. One political leader and one Maoist lost their life in this case. So, atmosphere of the neighboring districts made *Rampure* people more upset and unrest.

Such condition was not bearable for all citizens, specially the people who were previously engaged in political parties, organizations and any professions. We realized our life is endangered and if we keep silent anymore anything could happen at any time says a CNHRPP member. So such environment made them more anxious and tried to find any

alternatives to survive. They gathered and discussed to form an active mechanism which can help to raise their voice and make decision on their own favor. So, they counseled district level organization and media person to protect Rampur Valley as well as their own life. They got guideline and advice from district level media person, representative of INSEC. They held several short term workshops on Human Right issues. The participants in such workshop were from educated persons, local politician, professionals, representative of CBOs and so on.

5.2 Influence of NGO and Dollar Cultivation (*Kheti*)

The mobilization of donor money does not appear in local levels while forming and mobilizing Civic Organization as explained by Shah and Tamang. Rampur Valley, being little bit developed zone of *Palpa* district and socio-politically not being a space of ‘national interest’ was not able to catch the attention of donor agency. That’s why there was rare chance to get assist from NGO/INGO to run wide activities of civic organization. *Rampur* people got few help to run human right awareness creation program and work shop which I have already explained in previous topics.

There was one of the local NGO named Backwardness Eradication Society (*BES*) *Palpa* which was established in eastern *Palpa* and was working in the sector of child education. Besides them some of local clubs were active in public sphere but they did not get foreign assistance and they were depended on their own economic resource. But *BES* helped to organize few Human Rights awareness programs and itself independently worked in the sector of human right violation.

Such organization did not have strong economic source to run their awareness campaign and other programs.

5.3 Formation of Civic Organization or CNHRPP

Previous voluntary organizations were passive as some their members were victimized and displaced by Maoist. Rest of the members who were living inside Rampur valley could not dare to come and deal in public space. Local governance was displaced to *Tansen*, there was vacuum to work in public affair. People realized need of active agency to solve their current problems and reproduce new dynamics in society. They were in search of such an agency which could help to solve their problems and continue in their changeable social context.

With the hope to produce active agency and throughout such agency reducing human right violation, continue daily normal life, protect from fake accuse to normal people and exposure of events they formed nine members working committee which was named *Civil Network for Human Right Purvi Palpa* (CNHRPP). The nine members were representative from various sectors such as media, business, politics, teacher, professional, Community Based Organizations (CBOs). Such members were selected who were politically more neutral than other, educated, familiar with Maoist Insurgency, with high social reputation and quite interested in social work. The selection process was held in a workshop which was addressed by INSEC representative, where participants were from various organizations, professions. One of the activists recalls selection process was random but they were sincere about the representation from various sector, it was verbal selection which he names as *Taukuri lagayera* (pointed on head).

The purpose to form such civic organization was to create an active agency which could deal with Maoist as well as State force, put their grievance and try to find solutions with mediation throughout eastern part of *Palpa*. Their purpose was to mobilization of conscious people, creation of active agent and formation of human agency. Throughout the help of that human agency they could mobilize local resources and reproduce resource in

order to sustain that war period of time and space. They hoped to face changeable context of insurgency and survive them in that space.

Human agency in the name CNHRPP, was not registered anywhere it was like informal and autonomous voluntary organization. Being an autonomous voluntary organization, its nature and purpose was quite different than previous indigenous organization. Its working committee members were from educated academic group and younger in age than in indigenous organization. There was trend of indigenous organization such as *Vadra Valadmi* which did not have any fixed working committee members, members were aged people with long experience on public sphere, members of previous and current local governance, priority was given to cleverness and experience than formal education. But newly formed civic organization was different as it was group of academic intellectual person.

5.4 Major Activities Pursuedby CNHRPP

There was such a rapid information flow system active in *Purvi Palpa*, emergence of civic organization CNHRPP spread over the surrounding zone. Maoist group immediately came to know about such agency. They came to contact with human right activists and tried to make them in their favor. It was not easy to work as neutral mechanism in such war zone. Activists share their feelings they could not work as they hoped but they more or less tried to work and reduce human right violation. They succeed to work as mediator in few cases to solve disputes of public affair. There were lots of obstacles to face being unbiased and politically neutral agency. The major cases facilitated by CNHRPP have been described below in brief.

- It facilitated to unlock *Valayatar* School and Backwardness Eradication Society/BES (NGO), which was locked by Maoist party.

Valayatar School was locked by Maoist even they did not say any reason. School committee was unable to solve such problems. School principal Dharmendra Thapa (name changed) says 'we informed to CNHRPP activists who had access to Maoist, Maoist and activists did negotiation and school was unlocked after 35 days. He further says at that time only CNHRPP activists were the person whom Maoist could trust and activists were considered as neutral agency who could contact to Maoist and Army without biasness.

Similarly Maoist locked to BAS. Former chairman of BES Raj Adhikari (name changed) recalls that Maoist blamed us as foreigner's servant and we do misuse of dollar. Then we went to CNHRPP, activists met to Maoist, we held meeting, made clear about our work then Maoist got ready to unlock our office.

- It facilitated as a mediator to conduct negotiation of *OK Baje* (Japanese project) and PABSON (Private Boarding) with Maoist. It played the role of mediator to save life of the people who were arrested by Nepalese Army as Maoist.
- It helped to expose events (human right violation) by state and Maoist in few cases such as arrest of normal people in the name of Maoist, killing normal people and trying to accuse Maoist, bomb blasting in normal people's house and death of children.
- It facilitated to contact district level HR activists and to protect life of two Maoist leaders, who was arrested by Nepalese Army.
- It helped to arrest a criminal who had killed a person in *Tanahun* District and was wandering in Rampur valley. This case was handled by Maoist in related districts and no one could dare to make arrest him.
- It did peaceful demonstration in 19 days people's movement demanding human right, life security, political rights, liberty and freedom.

In order to analyze the role of CNHRPP's advocacy on human right and attempt to help conflict victims I have taken few people who were facilitated by activists in various way. Most of them explained me that activists themselves came and helped them in their particular case and some of respondents explained them they themselves went to ask help. The respondents who had idea of CNHRPP and asked helped were from the family background were politically conscious-educated-familiar with public affair-with strong economic background and part of local elite. Rest of the respondents who got help from CNHRPP were, uneducated unaware of politics and civic organizations.

To support my idea about emergence and mobilization of CNHRPP inside Rampur valley during Maoist insurgency, I have presented here two case studies. In both cases, I have taken interview with more than two people to verify my questions and make clear analysis.

Case 1

In this case CNHRPP facilitated to continue private boarding of Rampur Valley and whole *Palpa* districts that were getting threats and warning to stop feudalistic- bourgeoisie education. Here, activists helped to contact Maoist people and make meetings. In that situation Maoist could trust and contact only to human right activists. In this process activists used to have frequent visits with Maoist people and try to convince them. They used to claim them why private boarding institutions are necessary in their present social structure and how government schools are unable hold the pressure of students. According to the previous two year boarding school closure experience of Rampur valley was intolerable for government school they were obliged to keep up to 100 students in single class rooms and open to new section and new class in previous boarding's building with name of government school.

Such cultural environment gave pressure to Maoist to understand the academic problems of Rampur Valley and have discussions with related persons. CNHRPP activists themselves were from high academic background and with strong economic condition. So,

their children were the first target to be the victims of boarding closing. It might be the reason they were firstly curious to work in academic sector in the name of HR activists. With multiple meetings, more discussions and collaboration, they came to conclusion to continue boarding school in minimum cost. The meetings were held in anonymous place and setting which used to be secret from state force. In this negotiation process, PABSON representatives, HR activists, media persons and Maoist leaders were present.

In this sense, we can conclude that CNHRPP a civic organization itself being a group of academia, was worried about academic rights of children of *Rampure* people and attempted to solve their problems working as mediator with PABSON an Maoist which became successful too.

5.5 Connection with National and International Human Right Organization

Civic Organization, itself being the western concept has network with multiple national and international Human Right Based Civic Organization. Those organizations have multiple wings and collaboration with various local organization/NGOs. In the case of my research findings the civic organization has collaboration with INSEC and other types of civic organization. Those organizations basically provide trainings and other information to local level's civic organizations.

Local civic organization CNHRPP also had connection with international human right organization like ICRC. They used to report to such organization in order to expose any events throughout international level. Those activists also facilitated to those organization providing information to have field visits of any special case. National level's human right organization did not provide any economic support to organize any program. Instead they helped to organize such programs providing instructor, information, idea and guidelines. Throughout this example we can say that the concept of civic organization and mobilization of agency was not original concept of *Rampure* people but there was outsider's assistance to

form and mobilize CNHRPP. Whether it was outsider's imposed conception it did few assistance to do human right advocacy to expose the events as Nepalese Army killed a normal people accusing as Maoist which I have explained in case study below.

Case 2

It was burning day of hot *Jestha*, all villagers of *Devasthan* gathered and went fishing to *Nistikhola* (stream) which was about 10 kilometer away from their village. They spent whole day and evening swimming and fishing. It was the time they could catch more fish in night time so they did late to back home. They were more in numbers including women so they felt secure to travel in night time from *Khola* to village. If they had realized little bit sense of danger they would spend whole night in to *Khola* then get back to home in the morning so there would nothing happen. But in such burning season of Maoist Insurgency and Royal takeover all of the villagers travelling with hand light and *Lalteen* may matter of suspicion.

They travelled around 5 kilometer from the stream bank and arrived close to *Rajghara* School. It was mid night and there was darkness everywhere. Accidentally they heard voice of firing and most of them slept on ground in order to save them. But one of them could not get chance to hide him and got shoot and fell down immediately on the spot. Rest of the villagers saw the event but they were voiceless and motionless as they were dreaming. State force (Army) had there from *Tanahun* and *Syangia* district and going to spend the night in *Rajghara* School. As villagers were getting back from fishing came to close to them they thought Maoist came to attack them. Without pre notice they started firing and one of them got shoot and passed away. Then other people of *Rajghara* woke up with voice of firing and found normal people was shoot. Army immediately tried to bind read handkerchief in the head and mouth of dead body, keep weapons/gun with him to prove him as Maoist not normal people. In the next morning villagers gathered and claimed that *Durga* was normal

people not a *Gurilla*, local social workers, reporters and HR activists arrived and talked with army. All of them claimed him as normal people and refused to declare him as Maoist. They made paper with army and signed as a normal person was killed.

Then media person activists reported to *Palpa* media and HR organization. Activists helped to *Durga's* family to demand money from government, to expose the event throughout national and international HR organizations. They frequently visited to *Durga's* home and gave required suggestion to withdraw fund money, to demand other kind helps from government which was provided to conflict victim's family.

In this case we can see CNHRPP played more or less role to make declaration that *Durga* was a normal people and made fail to attempt that army were trying to prove him Maoist using so many tricks.

5.6 Controversy among Agencies

There are controversial relationships among few agencies. Controversy between civilized versus innocent local people, civic organizations versus indigenous organizations we can clearly which has described below.

5.6.1 Civilized VS Innocent local people

There was controversial identity among civilized versus illiterate or common people inside Rampur valley. Educated people were aware about Maoist insurgency and sometime dared to raise their voice against Maoist and participate in debate. They considered themselves as highly academic group and always were in search of better way to protect them. They were also easy target of both parties (State-Maoist) and had to face lots of inquiries. Especially those business persons who had to continue their frequent visits to cities (*Tansen, Butwal, Pokhara and Kathmandu*) had to face lots of checking and inquire. They had to face double checking for example while leaving Rampur valley checking from Maoist and on the way and in destination checking by Army and while returning to Rampur again checking by Maoist. S.

B. Sen, a business person, shared his feelings that there was perception in district level all *Rampure* people are Maoist, and they were scolded by army in checking process blaming that they feed and keep Maoist to their home.

5.6.2 Civic Organization VS Indigenous Organizations

Like the controversial nature in of individuals in the Rampur valley, there were controversies in their organizational form. In their previous setting as indigenous and voluntary autonomous organization, there were various organizations in practice like *Pancha Valadmi, Vadra Valadmi, Baithak, Sava, Samaroha, Parma, Veja, guthi, Kachahari* and etc. Such organizations paralyzed during Maoist insurgency. The members of such organizations were from high caste, with strong economic background, lineage of same practice in previous time and with high social reputation. Some of the member of those organizations displaced with fear and rest of them kept silent without performing duties.

While civic organization emerged with the name of CNHRPP inside Rampur valley neither people gave priority to member of previous organization nor did they come in search of any active organization. The activists of civic organizations were different than previous intuition's members in so many aspects. Civic activists were highly educated, from political roots, engaged in professions. Previous organizations used to give high priority over their local law and own experience while civic network activists give priority over written rules and regulations. Civic organization activists were educated and their influence seemed over either educated one or needy people, where indigenous organization was familiar to all common people and they could put their problems and grievances to working committee members. In this way I can say the controversial nature between civil network and previous indigenous organization.

5.7 Media and CNHRPP

Media has important role in any movement and war (Shah, 2008). Like in rest part of the world there was important role of media in *Purvi Palpa*. Being the eastern part of *Palpa* and far from the capital city *Tansen*, the area was not easy accessible to media. With lack of telephones and away from district headquarter the only medium to get information was Radio, Television and personal interaction.

Mani Dhakal (name changed), one of media reporters of that time shares his feelings, “limited reporters were active in this zone and we had to work under pressure as well as had problem of fair reporting. Some of the reporter stopped discontinued reporting and limited reporter could perform our duties but we had to face lots of problems, threatens, warning, psychological torture from both parties (state-Maoist). Reporting from war zone itself was most risky task, so we were looking for new identity or safeguard”. People being conscious with their situation seek an alternative as Human Right organization which helped them to expose events as well as to collaborate with national and international human right organization as well as media.

Most probably it is the one of the reason to establish CNHRPP they hoped to be easier and safer to expose events HR activists rather than only media person. This dual identity gave them more protection and courage to continue reporting. There were similarities between the works of CNHRPP and media in the sense both of them emphasized on exposure of events. HR activists used to report for high level Human Right Organization, while media person or reporter used to report district level and national level media. The main agenda of CNHRPP was exposure of events (violent/nonviolent) as they were authorized person to face the accident zone (*Ghatanasthal*) identifying them as activist.

The identity as activist made them easier to deal with Maoist and to some extent to deal with state force too. It was a safeguard to them which firstly protected to themselves and

secondly gave few opportunities to mobilize their voice in the name of social/volunteer work/service.

5.8 Collaboration and Distance with conflicting Parties (Maoist/State Force)

Working in warzone was not easy task. Neither Maoist nor state force easily took the presence of human right activists. Both of the parties suspect that activists might be detector and harmful to them. Activists share their feelings it was very difficult to convince them that CNHRPP activists are neutral mechanism and not involved in any detective work or *Surakiin* their local term.

After displacement of police force from Rampur valley, it was safe habitat for Maoist but some time the state force used to visit in searching or *Gasti*. Here normal people were easy target for inquiries by both parties. They used to have more inquires with the people who were dwellers of local market, business person and social worker. Mohan Shrestha (name changed), the activists explain that they tried to face and request with state force to give respect and care for human right but army used to suspect them as Maoist. But, they could not take any action as activists had human right activist's identity card as their safeguard. Slowly this term made them more detached with state force and difficult to face and convince them. This trend remained until the establishment of army base camp in Rampur Valley. After permanent residence of army in Rampur, they had frequent visit and interaction with normal people and CN activists. Slowly and gradually activists got comfortable and favorable to deal with army. Later one of the army officers called for CNHRPP activists and requested to teach armies about human right, HR violation, how to give respect for human right in war period, punishment and result of HR violation.

On the other hand, once police camp was displaced and base camp was not established in that period Rampur valley became like playground to Maoist. They openly started to come, move around, take shelter and spend nights too. This gave normal people

psychologically torture to them but could not open their mouth against them. They always feared to have firing and convert their village into battlefield. Activists of CNHRPP could not stop Maoist visiting their village but they only requested to protect life of normal people, not to impose their pressure and let them to continue their normal daily life.

Similarly, frequent interaction with Maoist, dealing in public affair and mediating in few issues activists became close to them. They became success to convince them they are not only working for protection for normal people's life but also they are to work for Maoist who are arrested and wounded. These kinds of environment convinced to each other and presence of activists became well acceptable to Maoist too. Then, Maoist and activists worked together in several cases of public affair which I have already explained. Activists shared their feelings that they had to work neutrally in such cases but Maoist always tried to make them in their favor. This shows that in war zone no civic organization can exist having no attachment with rebellion. It's their obligation to have connection and collaboration with them.

5.9 Civil Network Inclusive/Exclusive by Nature

The members of CNHRPP were from various fields but it was the representation from academic group. The concept of human right, advocacy, civilization, education seems familiar with academic group. Illiterate group are unknown in these matter and it might take long time to make clear them about it. It may be the reason; the participation of only academic group as human right activists. There was participation of only one female member and rests of the other member were from high caste (*Brahim/Newar*). They not only identified them as activists but also played important role to organize awareness creating and information sharing program which were targeted for elite or academic group like teacher, politicians, business holder, media person, professionals, local governance's representatives, representatives of local club and etc. Ravi Shrestha (name changed), CNHRPP

activists, shared his feelings that they themselves were unknown about the concept of human right, how it was applied and its role in war period.

Throughout the fieldwork I can say that civic organization really did not approach up to grass root level. Neither it was able to inform them about their human right nor was it able to create a mass who autonomously would participate and support to action of civic organization. It seemed that CNHRPP was familiar only with academic group, politicians, business person, professionals and high level's people of society. Besides them, this organization was familiar with conflict victims and their family.

Similarly, if we go through gender perspectives there was only female candidate as work committee member (who were already dead so could not have interview) and there were no female member who could share their experience as human right activists. But other male shared their feelings me they were not in work committee member of CNHRPP but worked together with them. Likewise there was mobilization of high caste Hindu and *Newar* people as activists. In comparison to them we can find rare participation of other ethnic group. In this sense we can say it was not inclusive in nature.

5.10 Role of CNHRPP during *Jana Aandolan 2nd* and Constitute Assembly Election 1st

CNHRPP was an agency which local people had formed to use their idea and spread their voice to the public. It was one of the safeguard which could protect them, let them authority to raise their voice against violation and suppression by state and Maoist. This organization seemed more protective to work committee member rather than normal people in the sense members (HR Activist) were taken as more authorized person in every social affair. They were highly recognized by state force (Army) as well as Maoist so they were provided space to perform their duties such as providing human right education, organizing any meeting in local level. So, being one of the active agents of Maoist insurgency it played more or less role during day's peaceful movement. As I have already discussed CNHRPP's most of members

were from various political backgrounds. Now during the time of peaceful movement all of the members did not limit them as HR activists but they came to open politics and worked as party workers. So participation of work committee members during such movement depended upon their wish. Some of the members participated in active politics as they took part as political leader. Some of the activists identified them as human right activists and took part on message sharing program on human right violation and gave their support to peaceful movement.

After the restoration of democracy people came in to open context where they could express their feeling and put their opposite idea. They did not have to carry dual identity as safeguard to their protection. Maoist came in to peace process and open politics. Similarly, Nepalese Army also stopped its action. So people felt free to come in to public sphere, participate in public debates, and engage in political events. So, human right activists who were previously engaged in CNHRPP, no more was necessary to identify them as activists. They were open to choose whether to continue their political behavior or remain in CNHRPP. So some of them were diverted to political parties and some of them continued the work of human right activists. The person who still identified themselves as human right activists were engaged in information sharing program related on election. They organized community visit program and did advocacy of human right to vote, neutral election, selection for right candidate and etc. they did advocacy for unbiased election system, people's right to vote in peaceful environment and without pressure and so on.

5.11 No Dollar No Human Right Advocacy?

Tamang (2002) says that civic organizations are output of foreign assistance and their name. Just opposite to their claim in the case of CNHRPP neither there seems stream of Dollar money influence of NGO culture. They in the beginning got little assistance from BES NGO to run advocacy program but that could not continue to long time period. CNHRPP did

not have any economic source to survive. It brought help coupon program to ask economic support with people but it could not be effective. They only got non-economic support from INSEC Nepal which had gave birth to it. During my field I met few previous indigenous organization's members and few illiterate people, who, still are, unfamiliar about CNHRPP.

When I asked about unknowingness of CNHRPP by the local people still now, one of the activist Mani Dhakal shares his feelings to me that because of the lack of economic source they were unable to lunch human right advocacy programs and other kinds of awareness creation programs that's why they could not reach up to grass root level and all kinds of citizens. Likewise, they did not have any fund to provide economic support to conflict victims. So, they only did non-economic support to conflict victims. He further shared that even they spent their personal money while doing advocacy work of CNHRPP such going to *Bahadurpur V D C* to have observation, *Tansen* to attend meetings and workshops and other place to conduct secret meetings with Maoist. This opinion seems that we need either outsider's assistance or their money to run human right advocacy programs up to grass root level. In the lack of such money advocacy programs are not effective and familiar with normal people so they become only nominal.

5.12 People's perception over CNHRPP

Like in national level's civic organization or civil society CNHRPP was also group of academic people. Working committee members and other people who supported on the work of CNHRPP were highly educated. The access of CNHRPP was only over elite group and academic group. Only the politically conscious people, educated member of previous social organization and the people facilitated by CNHRPP were familiar with this organization. Most of the common people were still unaware that there was formed CNHRPP and even meaning of human right. We can conclude that it neither could reach up to grass root level nor provide information to the illiterate and normal people.

In general, the people who were familiar with emergence and activities of CNHRPP shared their experience they did not find notable influence among normal people. They explain that activists tried to work in public affair but they faced difficulties and much risky so they could not continue their work. According to public experience in the initial phase of establishment that agency really did great work but slowly either due to external pressure or with sense unsafe to their life, they reduced their work. One of activists shared his feelings that they wanted to give public information about human rights, peace and security among normal people but there was no condition to gather people and discuss. Then activists were only limited to facilitate conflict victims. People got only work committee members as authorized person of civic organization who holds more rights to deal interact and debate while necessary. Rest of the other people who were involved in social work found themselves less protective than CNHRPP activists.

5.13 Positive Impacts

Conscious people seeking way to prevent their problems with various time periods are more or less successful to find out their solutions. Same case happened inside Rampur Valley. People were worried to protect themselves, they directly could not come against state and Maoist but silently they applied method to protect their life and make decisions in their favor. For example Maoist made *Shaheed Gate* near *Bejhad Bazar* then NA came in search and destroyed, as soon as NA left Rampur Maoist again came and made same gate. This process of building gate and destroying by NA repeated several times. Money collected inside and surrounding Rampur valley was spent in such gate building process. Few local people who were close to Maoist leader met them and instead of building *Shaheed Smarak* (gate) proposed to build bridge in *Turindi Khola*. If they do that positive message can flow to normal people as '*Maoist does not only destroy bridge like in other parts of Nepal but also wish development*'. Maoist local leaders being convinced with this idea spend around five

lakhs and they made permanent bridge in *Turundi Khola* which is in existence still today. We can't conclude that this example as assist of CNHRPP but the way people did interact and collaboration with Maoist and the culture they followed to build up mechanism to solve their current problems is more or less influenced by CNHRPP.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I have included summary of my research findings and conclusion of my understanding. CNHRPP which appeared during Maoist insurgency then became inactive after peace talk and first constitution assembly. Emergence and mobilization of active agency like CNHRPP can more or less contribute to local people. Time and space motivates people to create active agency, use local resources and social capital and bring meaningful change on their social structure.

6.1 Summary

To sum up, when Maoist impact increased and due to threatening state power disappeared from Rampur valley. Some people displaced from their home town to safe zone. Common people felt insecure and looked for alternatives. People seek options to protect themselves as well as raise their voice against suppression. More or less appearance and activities of CNHRPP inside Rampur valley was the same. Throughout formation of civic organization they created such human agency that provided them authority to raise their voice and put their opinion to state force and Maoist. CNHRPP became the right place to gather and make discussions for the people from various backgrounds. The activists of CNHRPP were previously engaged in various professions and were from various political backgrounds but their working style inside the organization was politically neutral and unbiased. It does not seem that CNHRPP was able to provide remarkable contribution to public but it was able to make conscious to people about human right, advocacy, liberty and freedom. Mostly it was able to influence academia group but at the same time normal or so called illiterate people were still now, unaware about existence of civic group (CNHRPP) during Maoist insurgency inside Rampur Valley.

Similarly research findings shows that involvement in CNHRPP was no one, but they were local elite such as previously engaged people in public affair. It seems the tactful technique of them which firstly gave opportunity to raise their voice in the name of human right, secondly provided power to mobilize local resources (material-non material) and thirdly continue their social reputation and hegemony in the name of voluntary social work on public sphere. Similarly the work of CNHRPP activists was quite similar with media the difference was only it reporter could report to only their respective media but activists had access to state force, Maoist, national human right organization and international human right organizations too. It was easier and more protectable to activists to identify themselves as human right activists than identifying themselves as reporter or media person. Tackily with insecurity and handling risk activists more or less played role to expose events where ever it happened and tried to do advocacy of such events.

6.2 Conclusions

Though the term ‘Civic organization’ itself is the western concept; these days, it has even become popular in South Asian and other developing countries. In Nepalese and other countries’ case various civic groups emerged in different time period with multiple names (Chand, 1998). Giddens has claimed that various different social structures help to create different human agency in order to bring meaning full structural change in their society (Giddens, 1984). The civic groups for Nepal were not a new one as it had experience various groups before and after establishment of democracy. Whenever Nepal faced in Maoist Insurgency, various civic groups appeared in national level demanding human rights, life security and freedom. Various grouped were formed to conduct humanitarian assistance (Shah, 2008). Appearance of civic groups was not limited in national level but it spread up to grass root level. It could not leave remarkable impression to public in either national level or

local level; it could not address voice of all citizens as its namesake. But it was able to advocate more or less issues of human rights, security, liberty and freedom.

The need of civic organization itself seemed that it was not idea and demand of whole population but desire of local elites, which firstly works and protects for themselves and later does social service to normal people. Similarly, if we look at national level it is good medium to receive fund money and have. Different social structure inspires to agents to produce strong human agency which can help them to create adjustable environment for survival.

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Annex

सहभागीउत्तरदातामा अनुरोध

नमस्कार !

मेरो नामशीला सेन हो हाल म त्रिभुवनविश्वविद्यालयअन्तरगतमानवशास्त्रविषयमा स्नातकोत्तर गर्दैछु । मैले आफ्नो पढाइको पुरक कार्यको रूपमागर्नुपर्ने शोधपत्रअथवा‘थेसिस’को कार्य क्षेत्रको रूपमा रामपुरलाई छानेको छु । मेरो अध्ययनको शीर्षक रहेको छ “ग्रामीण क्षेत्रमाजनताको संगठनको उत्पत्तिको रूपमानागरिक सञ्जाल रामपुर पाल्पाको अध्ययनEmergence of a People’s Organization in a Rural Setting: The Case Study of Civil Network Rampur Palpa during Maoist Insurgency” । मेरो शोधपत्रविशेष गरी माओवादी जनयुद्धको समयमातपाईंहरूको भोगाईसंग केन्द्रित छ । माओवादी जनयुद्धको समयमाभएकामानवअधिकार उल्लङ्घन, हिंसा, हत्या, आदिलाई न्युनगर्नकालागि स्थानीय तहबाट व्यक्तिगतवा सांगठनिक रूपमातपाईंबाट भएकाप्रयासलाई खोतल्नु नै मेरो अध्ययनको उद्देश्यहो ।

तपाईंहरू यस क्षेत्रका स्थानीयवासिन्दा, सामाजिक क्षेत्रमाकार्यरत व्यक्तित्व, दलका नेता, राज्यको अधिकार प्राप्तव्यक्ति (सेनावाप्रहरी) भएको नाताले तपाईंहरूसंग केहि कुराहरू सोध्न चाहन्छु आशा छ तपाईंहरूले मलाई यस कार्यमा सहयोग गर्नुहुनेछ । विशेष गरी तपाईंले द्वन्दको समयमा राज्य, माओवादीवाअन्यकुनै व्यक्तिकातर्फबाट भोग्नु परेकाअसहज परिस्थिति, कुनै प्रकारका हिंसा वा समस्याको बारेमातपाईंको व्यक्तिगतअनुभवलाई साट्न सक्नुहुनेछ । मेरो शोधपत्रमातपाईंको परिचयगोप्य रहनेछ साथै कुराकानीको समयमातपाईं असहजहुने खालकाकुनै पनिप्रश्नगर्ने छैन यदिउत्तर दिने क्रममातपाईं लाई समस्याभएमाजुनसुकै बेलाहाम्रो कुराकानीलाई रोक्न सक्नुहुनेछ ।

तपाईंले द्वन्दको समयमा स्थानीयशासनएवं प्रहरी चौकीको अभावमापाल्पा रामपुरमाभोग्नुपरेका समस्याहरू जस्तै शान्ति सुब्यवस्थाकायम राख्न, घरेलु वा सामुदायिक भैँभगडा मिलाउन, विकास निर्माणका कार्यहरू सञ्चालनगर्न र त्यो समस्या समाधानकालागितपाईंले के कस्ता प्रयासहरू गर्नुभयो त्यो अनुभवलाई बताउन सक्नुहुन्छ । त्यस्तै गरि द्वन्द न्युनगर्नकालागिनागरिक सञ्जाल रामपुर पाल्पा ले खेलेको भुमिका, यस संस्थाको सफलतथानिर्वल पक्षकाविषयमापनितपाईंले आफ्नो विचार राख्न सक्नुहुन्छ । तपाईंले आफ्नो अनुभवबताउने क्रममा सरल र सहजतरिकाले प्रस्तुतहुन सक्नुहुनेछ कुनै औपचारिकतानिभाइराख्नुपर्ने जरुरी पर्ने छैन ।

कुराकानी शुरु गर्नुभन्दा अगाडि तपाईंको मनमाकुनै जिज्ञासा वाप्रश्न छन् भने म संग सोध्न सक्नुहुन्छ । आशा छ तपाईंलाई हामीबीचको कुराकानीको रमाइलो तथा सहजलाग्ने छ । कुराकानीको लागि सहमतभएर मेरो शोधपत्रको लागि सहयोग गरिदिनुभएकोमातपाईंप्रति धेरै-धेरै आभारी छु र सहयोगको लागिधन्यवाददिन चाहन्छु ।

शीला सेन

Question schedule

Questions for civil society group worker.

1. How and why did they involve in civil society group?
2. What kinds of situation there was before formation of civil society?
3. Was that civil society group autonomous or influenced by outsider (institutions)?
4. How did they help to local people after formation of civil society?
5. How did they get to know about the case which they helped to negotiate?
6. What was a difference working in civil society group and individually?
7. Could not they work as peace builder without involving in any institution like civil society?
8. What kinds of challenges, threats, and problems they faced while working as civil society activists? And how did they deal with such situations?
9. What was the condition of local government at that time and how did they collaborate with them?
10. What is the current status of civil society in Rampur Valley?

Questions for old people

1. What kinds of conflict resolutions and social welfare mechanism there was in their young age period?
2. Do they have any experience of any indigenous social welfare organization or have they witnessed in their neighboring village?
3. Did they participate in any conflict parties, mediator for negotiation, and as witness on conflict resolution process?
4. What kinds of caste group people actively involved in those institutions?
5. What was the status of state as conflict resolution and peace building mechanism at that time periods?
6. What kinds of caste group, age group, mostly involved as conflicting parties?
7. Mostly what kinds of issues took place as conflict?

Questions for state holders (army-police)

1. How did they get the role of civil society group in Rampur Valley during Maoist Insurgency?
2. Did they (civil society) facilitate to state as conflict negotiation mechanism?

3. How did they try to recognize as innocent local people and Maoist? Did civil society worker helped to them in such work?
4. Did they get any unnecessary pressure/problems from civil society group?
5. Do they think the need of civil society as mediator to establish peace in local level?

Questions for conflict victim people

1. What kinds of problems, threats, risk and challenges they faced in the period of Maoist Insurgency from (Stat-Maoist)?
2. How did they try to solve their problems in the absence of state mechanism?
3. Did they have to resolve their domestic, social, and political disputes themselves? Did they go to any formal and non-formal mechanism of conflict resolution like civil society, *AamaSamuha*?
4. Do they have any idea about the activities of civil society group of Rampur Valley?
5. What kinds of problem they faced in the absence of state mechanism in the process of conflict negotiation and peace building in their village?

Question for case study (facilitated by civil society)

1. What was the history of their conflicting issues?
2. What was the condition of state mechanism like local government at that time?
3. Why did they felt need of mediator to resolve their conflict? Were they not able to handle their problems themselves?
4. How did they get in touch with civil society group?
5. How did that group helped to negotiate their problems?
6. Are they really satisfied with the work of civil society in their case?