

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The patriarchal system of Nepal has historically led to marginalization of women by deeming them lesser citizens of society in comparison to men. The women are excluded from the position of power and the production of knowledge which has enabled the male ideology to be perpetuated as universal knowledge in Nepali society. This type of ideology has treated women as dependent, passive and inferior to men. Also the subordination of women to men had been legitimized by law. Nepalese women did not have any legal claim over parental property until she is thirty-five years old and unmarried. Most of the women do not have citizenship. Though the laws implemented April 2006, have extended citizenship to women, 33 percent reservation for women is oft not realized at the village level. Women continue to face the informal barriers to citizenship despite their family legacy in the country (Unequal Citizen: 2006).

Nepalese women never have a self identity outside the patriarchal relations; she does not have authority over her own life. This has reflected into the oppressive caste and class hierarchical division of society along with women in many folds. The oppression of women by men and their dimmer access to power and knowledge got a violent outlet in the form of People's War led by communist party of Nepal (Maoist) since February 1996 till now. The age long ideology of women's subordination has been challenged (Manchanda: 2001).

From the initiation of the People's War up to recent the increasing numbers of women are being involved in the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Above 40 percent of women are in PLA. PLA has not only transformed women in essence but also in the form. Essentially it has given meaning, value, respect, dignity not only to their lives but to their deaths. PLA has not only helped women to break four walls of her home, it has also stretched her reach to four corners of the country (Yami: 2007). It has transformed her from anonymous domestic slave to very visible professional fighter. There are narratives in the Maoist movement as propagandist, immobilizers, party cadre, district secretaries, and above all guerillas in front rank of the fighters. Pictures of female fighter in typical military outfit covering half of the face with a piece of cloth and guns in the hands were occasionally presented before public. Such images of Nepalese women are really contrasting to the rural women we come across in our daily life (Shneiderman: 2003).

Women's movement in Nepal has been started in Nepal since 1975 but it was so scattered and without proper goals and objectives. The scattered movement could not address the problems of Nepalese women from all strata of the society. The People's War started with its significant goals and keep on revolution until the goal was achieved. The CPN (Maoist) gave equal consideration for the women. The 40 points demands presented by Maoist to then Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuwa, includes the issue of women in point 19. The point 19 says, "Patriarchal exploitation and discrimination against women should be stopped. Daughters should be allowed access to parental property".

The participation of women in the PLA has challenged the old belief system. The motive factor of women to join in the People's Liberation Army was the most curious factor of the study.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The decade long historical armed conflict has received more attention from scholars, NGOs INGOs, and researchers. It has received more attention because women participated actively in the war. The women of different age and caste group fought bravely in the war. This has challenged the old patriarchal belief taking women as dependent and passive. It is estimated that 40% of the total participants in the armed conflict are women. These women come from different caste and ethnic groups speaking different language and dialects. Women participated in the war and fought for the nation without the fear of life and death. Qualitatively women have reached the level of commanders and vice commanders up to company level and as political commissars at a brigadier level.

Though the women of different caste, class and age group have joined the movement, there must be different expectation and experiences behind the participation. It may depend upon age, ethnic identity, education personnel experiences, marital status, duties and responsibilities within the party. However homogenization of the Nepalese women into single category might be erroneous, because there is huge cultural difference and socio economic diversity among Nepalese women. There might be differences in expectation and experiences and personnel motivation of women of different ages to join the armed conflict.

Many researches and studies have been conducted, and many books have been published with various analysis. But still the knowledge seems

inadequate in exploring the motive factor of women to join the movement. In this regard my research is focused to seek the answer for the following questions:

-) What is the economic background of the female participants of the Maoist movement?
-) What is the social background of the female participants of the Maoist movement?
-) Why and how she was convinced to join the movement?
-) What she had expected from the party and what she received?
-) How she perceive herself as the participant of the movement and how other perceives her?
-) What specific life experiences convinced or compelled them to participant in the movement?
-) What kind of changes did she find within themselves in the past and in present?
-) What is their future prospect in the post conflict situation?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objectives of this study are to understand the motive factor of women's participation in the People's War. More precisely the specific objectives will be:

-) To describe the socio-cultural and economic background of women participants which has motivated them to join People's War.
-) To evaluate gender equality in the party, the responsibility and leadership of women.
-) To explore the future prospect of participant female Cadres.

1.4 Significance of the Study

My research will supplement as literatures, by focusing and accessing the motivation of women for joining Maoist movement because very few studies were conducted to bring out the motive factor of women's participation in Maoist movement. It will help to eliminate the old belief system regarding the women's issue. Also if the findings will be taken in consideration, it would help government and Non government organization for the policy recommendation so that the policy maker can properly address the women's issue.

1.5 Conceptual frame work

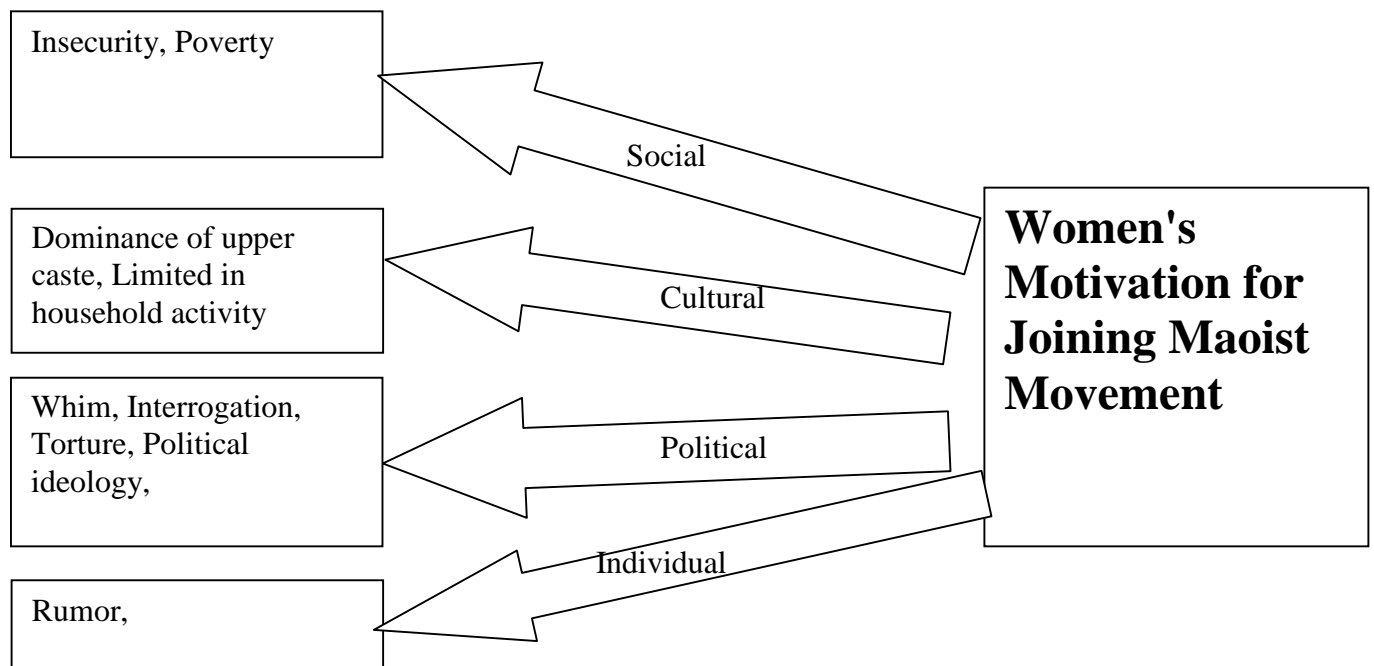


Fig: Analytical frame work for women's motivation for joining Maoist movement

The decade long armed conflict brought change in the life of people in general and women in particular. During the conflict many men and women lost their life. In comparison to women men were mostly killed and disappeared. The women bear all the loss and responsibility in that situation. Armed conflict resulted in turmoil, loss of life, property and people were insecure. In this situation women were compelled adopt a coping strategies in the changed environment. In this situation some women could not bear torture, trauma and loneliness and were not bold to handle the situation. When they lost their husbands, the economic responsibility has come in the hand of women. Women are being more empowered and are practicing male jobs. Women in this particular situation should not be seen as mere victims and powerless, rather as individuals able to play a major role in the achievement of long term and stable peace.

Therefore, they joined the movement/PLA and bear their responsibility. The remaining understood their new responsibility and was really bold and united to face the problems. They brought change in their own roles and responsibilities. Women along with the private sphere domestic work stepped in the public sphere meetings and programs. From the victimization they now are building agencies to cope in the newly environment.

1.6 Organization of the Study

In the present context, the completion of the research process of the topic "Women's Motivation for joining Maoist Movement" is a multidimensional work. The researcher has completed the study by identifying the problem forming a basic hypothesis and initiating a scheme of chapters, formulating the source of study, data collection and analysis. The study has outlined the revision of the initial scheme of chapters. It is divided into eight chapters. Chapter one deals with introduction of the study. Chapter two belongs to literature review. In this chapter, the researcher has collected many literatures and studied them and has presented the literature as the condition of the study. Chapter three deal with methodology of the study. In this chapter, the researcher has presented the study method data collection sources, presentation techniques of the study. Chapter four deal with the selected case studies. In this chapter the researcher has described some case studies of Women PLA who were motivated to join Maoist movement .Chapter five is about the motivation factor of women PLA. It covers the experiences of PLA women. Chapter six is about the socio-culture, educational and economic background of the Women PLA. The researcher has dealt various causes of the origin growth of Maoist conflict in Nepal. Chapter seven is about the position of women in PLA. In this chapter the researcher has explored the actual position of women in PLA as well as future prospectus of women who are involved in PLA. Chapter eight contains summary and conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER -TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Theoretical Literature Review

Edward Azar and John Burton identified that fundamental causes of social conflict is deprivation of the basic need. It is defined by a situation in which individual or groups pursue disharmonious goals, values and interest, Gillian and Gillian, has the opinion of "Conflict is the process is which individual or groups seek their ends by directly challenging the antagonist by violence or threat of violence."

Karl Heinrich Marx (1818-1883) is undoubtedly the leading architect of conflict theory. He put forward an alternative perspective, class struggle, a basic structural phenomenon of human society. Considering conflict as an inherent and integral part of human behaviour and social interaction, Marxian theory states that human survival is based upon contradictions. Through a dialectic process-thesis, antithesis and synthesis, conflict occurs in human mind and then in action, i.e. (i) discussion, (ii) polarization (iii) Segregation and destruction. The central concept of Marx is that "owners exploit workers" to control the means of production. Political power is exercised through the gains of economic power. Economic power controls society and social control is associated with the interests of particular groups or classes. Marx's theory of class struggle analyses conflict as potentiality of assert (property), Notion of surplus value, Economic Determinism, polarization of classes, Alienation, Dictatorship of proletariat and solidarity and Hostility. "The ideological perspective of Marx constitutes the gospel of revolution (Pathak 2005). As a result the Communist manifesto has become

the guide book of world's revolutionaries including the CPN (Maoist). Marxism states that a conflict germinate when the most powerful (elite) members of society promulgate law (like a cat introducing the rights of rats) and ensure opportunities for themselves to monopolize power privilege and authority in society against the will of a great majority of poor and innocent people (Bhattarai 1998).

Max Weber (1864-1920) emphasizes on power, system, authority and social change that substantially contribute to the development of the conflict theory of society. Conflict is endemic in social life and process is stated in his social Action Theory. To Weber power an unequally distributed among classes or groups and individuals in society. In any society, the super ordination of powerful persons manages the social order, issues rules and regulations and enforces them through sanction to subordinate the powerless people. Powerful persons extensively influence the social structure and normative system for their own interests instead of for the benefit of the people in general. Social changes that occur through conflicts are often disruptive to powerful persons than to ordinary citizens. Powerful people in general oppose change. Changes occur in society as a result of collective action in general (Weber). Another theorist George Simmel (1858-1918) focuses on micro sociology, shifting from general sociological theory but he argues over a position very similar to some of Marx's ideas of conflict. Simmels' micro sociology presents a broad dialectical theory based upon cultural and individual perceptions and his work concerns with four basic levels: psychological, interactional, structural, and institutional and the ultimate metaphysics of life. He further says "Conflict can also be functional and it promotes group solidarity (Dahal: 2003). Conflict serves as sources of integration with in a group and that disintegration outside it (Dahal, 2003).

Elaboration the Marxian concept of class struggle and dialectic model, Ralf Dahrendorf argued that social structures and institutions contain two-classes-those who rule and those who are ruled. "The dialectical model initiates with a conflicting dichotomy of individual and society, rich and poor, lord and self, owner and worker, majority and minority, and conservative and liberal. The structural origins of such conflict must be sought in the arrangement of social roles endowed with expectation of domination or subjection (Dahrenderf 1959: 105). He emphasized upon change rather than equilibrium and conflict rather than order and showed how societal parts contribute to change rather than stability and to conflict and coercion rather than normative constraint (Ritzer 1996; 269). His theory focuses on authority, position, imperatively coordinated association, quasi-groups, interest groups and conflict groups (Pathak, 2005: 12).

Talcot Parsons (1902-1979), the American Sociologist, developed influential social theories in the 1950's and analyzed the society from structural-functional perspective (Pathak 2005: 13) conflicts prevents the ossification of the social system by exerting pressure for innovation and creativity (Abraham 2003: 135). He advocates extensively for the positive functions of conflict suggestions a number of propositions on intensity and impact of conflict.

Two schools of thought exist on conflict, such as negative and positive (constructive). M. Warner and P. Jones (1998) state that the negative school of thought considers conflict as pathological, dysfunctional and generally irrational and it is opposite to cooperation and peace. The other school of thought interprets conflict as one of the most powerful positive factors for change in society (Harrins peter and Ben Relley 1998, 32).

Both positive and negative forms of conflict exist in society with differences on attitude, behaviour, values, heads and interests of people.

2.2 Inception of People's War in Nepal

Documented histories over the world show that most revolutions in the world are rooted in injustices, exploitation and deprivation. As the deprived and exploited rise to restore freedom, dignity inherent rights, the order of society is sure to change. Causes of revolution may vary. However, most of them have occurred because serious problems have caused widespread dissatisfaction with an existing system. Poverty and injustice grown and aggravated under cruel, corrupt or incapable rules have contributed to revolutions. Arjun Sengupta (INSEC 2000) mentions "all revolutions in history were in effect the outbursts of that fury of the deprived and the downtrodden in the society of the time and most major changes in social orders had been the result of those revolutions".

Peasantry involvement in revolutions has been significant in the third world politics. In the role of peasantry "It is clear that the peasantry has played an important role in most twentieth century revolutions. Revolutionary leaders, such as Mao Tse- Tung, Vo Nguyen Giap, and Earnest Che Guevara celebrated the peasantry as the main revolutionary force in the third world"(David Gibbs 1986, 33).

Major and well known revolutions in the world teach the similar lesson. "The French Revolution built upon various social, political and economic conditions. It began with a government financial crisis that resulted from financing state treasury in the seven year's war (1756-1763)" (the World Book Encyclopedia, Vol. 7, 1996). The French society was divided into three groups known as estates. Members of the clergy belonged to the first,

nobles to the second and the rest of the people to the third .The first two, although minority in numbers had a privileged position over the next. Tax obligation was loose for the first whereas the third estate that included the working people, middle class merchants, lawyers and government officials, which far outnumbered the privileged two, had a harsh provision to follow. They were obligatory to generate tax needed for the state dispensation. This discrimination brought the French into a conflict between the king and the first two estates verse the third estate. It was this conflict that evolved into the famous French Revolution, which is credited as having far reaching effects to change the face of the rest of Europe. The revolution introduced democratic ideals, ended supreme and arbitrary rule by French Kings and strengthened the middle class. It restored the ideas of liberty and equality.

The Russian Revolution, February and October Revolutions combined, rose as the state failed to respond to a severe shortage of food fuel and housing. The state failure resulted in economic deprivation, famine and civil wars that caused the death of millions. The revolutions deposed the inefficient ruler. Not only did it stripe Czar Nicholas II of an arbitrary rule and establish somewhat transparent and broad-based ruling, it also eliminated private property under the control of a few. What is interesting in the Russian Revolution is the fact that the troops sent to suppress the uprising for freedom from want foiled the movement instead of halting it (The World Book Encyclopedia, Vol. 7, 1996)This demonstrates that the pleas for freedom from any sort of exploitation is a universal phenomenon. In the years that followed, many revolutionary transformations have occurred over the world. The Chinese Revolution, the Cuban Revolution, The Vietnamese Revolution, to name a few often talked about ones, have affected the change in social order. As the record shows "all of them have

been able to achieve a radical reduction in human deprivation and insecurity, in the expansion of basic education and health care (Dreze and Sen 1996)".

In the context of Nepal, Maoist movement has motivated women at large extent. What sort of reasons were in existence in motivating them to join in Maoist movement is questionable. Arjun Karki and David Seddon (2003) support as well as present the positive aspect and consequences of women's participation in the Peoples' War. They say that the Peoples' War has given opportunities for women to work side by side with men on equal terms and to prove their worth. It has given them a dignified alternative life. Li Onesto, a journalist also presents a positive view of the women's participation in the Peoples' War. CPN-Maoist claims to raise their voices for the empowerment of women. They claim to give equal access and opportunities to female cadres within their own party as well as they fake some initiatives to eradicate gender inequality in society itself.

Hisila Yami in her book *People's War & Women's Liberation in Nepal* has said "in specific condition of Nepal, the status of property less of women together with their gross negligence by the state despite being the backbone of self sustaining peasant economy has prepared ground for joining women mass in People's Liberation Army. Mandira Sharma and Dinesh Parsain in their article Gender Dimensions for the People's War states that the active involvement of women has been one of the most discussed aspect of the Maoist insurgency in Nepal. Although this is very difficult to verify, it is reported that women constitute anywhere between thirty to forty percent of the Maoist's military force. which accordingly to conservative estimates, totals at least 10,000 people. Among the women military personnel, it is reported that most come from ethnic and Dalit groups, but there are also women from the bahun and chettri caste. During a

visit in December 2002 to Rolpa, one of the strongest Maoist support base in the Midwestern hills, the Maoist cadres claimed that women's participation in the people's War had been increasing even further more recently. They claimed that women now constituted about fifty percent of the Maoist cadres in Rolpa.

The Question of Women's Leadership in the People's War in Nepal by Parvati, a member of the central committee of the CPN-Maoist and the head of the women's Department, talks about the problems of the party is having in developing women's leadership. She says women have joined the PLA in extraordinary numbers and these women have shown much sacrifice and devotion, but only a few have been able to develop as leaders in the military struggle and women themselves are raising question about the quality of their participation (Onesto,2005).

According to Parvati, when women gets married and have children their participation usually decreases or stops and so, she says the institution of marriage has robbed us promising women leasers. While men continue to participate in the PLA there are hardly women stay in the guerilla ranks after they reach 25 or so. She further says many things work against women getting involved and staying involved in the revolutionary struggle, especially in the PLA, which requires tremendous sacrifice. In the areas controlled by the Maoist there is struggle against institution and ideas that prevent women from equal participation in society. Entrenched feudal tradition and ideology live the view that women should not inherit or own land or that women should be restricted to particular tasks and not allowed to do other jobs still exert a very powerful force, including among the revolutionaries themselves. Parvati says that there is sometimes covert or even overt pressure on women cadres to get married; unmarried women are

treated with suspicion by men as well as women. Marriage they argue is the means of controlling female cadres making them leave the party difficult. Male cadres have difficulty in 'relinquishing the privileged position bestowed on them by the patriarchal structure'.

There is almost no information about what will be the alternatives carriers of these women after the war. There are questions doubts about how they will be treated if they return their own families and communities, how their family and community will perceive them, and how they will recreate and readjust their identities. The tension really becomes expressive when Hisila Yami a top Maoist leader says, "Sons will be welcomed with open arms, but for daughters can there be a return?" (Rita Manchada).

Another book regarding Maoist insurgency in Nepal is "*The People's War in Nepal: The Left Perspectives*", edited by David Seddon and Arjun Karki. This book is a collection of contributions from renounced writers on different perspectives of insurgency. Interestingly, interview with CPN (Maoist) Prachand and Writing from, Dr. Baburam Bhattarai comrade Pravati is available in the book. The collection as a whole can be seen as an attempt to bring the analysis of Maoist insurgency to the mainstream of political discussion and discourse.

Deepak Gyawali' writing *reflecting on contemporary Nepali geo-political situation*, presents a sweeping critique of where the country went wrong to end up in emergency and is the camp of vertical civil war in little more than a decade of democracy. He advocates for need of fresh election to resolve all disputes, state withdrawal of restrictions on right fundamental human rights and

some other inherent rights of people. This book is a holistic approach describes many aspects of civil war and insurgency's.

Another book entitled "*Maobadi Ugra Bampanthi Ra Prajatantric Nikas*" is a sort of political writing by CPN/UML's leader Shanker Pokharel. The book is result of task-force of UML on the topic. It tries to incorporate theatrical discourse, peace campaign, dialogue issues, and situation analysis and so on. The author has given schooling of Maoist thought and brief description of some international civil war including Peru, Sri Lanka and other countries. It also incorporate information on some of the armed struggle carried out in Nepal covering Jhapa Uprising and Nepali Congress' armed struggle after the Royal Coup in 1960.

A detail history and mitigating measures through community approach is presented by Chuda Bahadur Shrestha on his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation entitled "*Managing Insurgency through Community Approach*". He has done detailed study of Maoist movement its starting courses, socio-economic reality of Nepal reasons for choice of Mid-Western region to start people war etc. Some comparative study of countries facing civil war is also presented in the study. Other issues like cause and effects of insurgency mitigation, measures through strengthening community to be in given in the study. The researcher's thinking appears to be based on community policing practiced in Kathmandu valley and some other big-towns. This useful research can be a first step for further study is different perspective of Maoist movement.

A high level committee under the Chairmanship of Sher Bahadur Deuba had presented a report to the then Prime-minister K.P. Bhattarai, contains the chronological description of Maoist movement, causes of the Maoist insurgency, mitigating strategy, present situation regarding the socio-economic cultural aspects of contemporary Nepal is given. Need of decentralization, important of good governance, need for having a farsighted vision against social discriminations unequal distribution of economic opportunity and grass-root level development strategy is suggested as well seeking solution through negotiated political dialogue with the rebels are the main features of the report. Critical Barriers to the Negotiation of Armed Conflict in Nepal, 2004, edited by Ananda prashad Shrestha, Hari Upreti, Seminar paper, NEFAS with the cooperation of friedrich Ebert Sriftung (FBS), Kathmandu.

Deals with the history and genesis of Nepal's Maoist insurgency and tools of negotiating conflicts it clearly suggests the historical background of Insurgency from initial stages and possible tools for negotiating the one going conflict. It recounted described the communist movement in Nepal with the focus on an off shoot, the communist party of Nepal (Maoist). Thereafter it has attempted to review some of the more important factors that have- or ale generally thought to have contributed to the now 10 years plus 'people war" launched by the CPN (M) including the counter-measures that have been put into operation by the state in that context. This publication is the composition of four paper presented in seminar. The second paper reflects about the traditional approaches and the questions of third

party mediation for conflict resolution. The third paper deals with the Nepalese experience in terms of the role and choice facilitators in Negotiating conflict. The last fourth paper deals with the cost of conflict and donor's dilemma in terms of copying with Nepal. It gives the clear practice about the causative factors or determining factors for insurgency. It signifies those geographical and economic perspectives, social, cultural and religious background, political process, Governance and Institutional mechanism and internal relations are responsible for insurgency.

"The Maoist Insurgency and Nepal-India Relations" published by Friend for Peace, is one of the most important literature about the Maoist insurgency and to role of India to transformation of conflict. The publication, edited by Shiva K DhUnghana, has enclosed six chapters written by different scholars on the various aspects of Nepal-India relationship in terms of conflict transformation. The text discusses about the special geopolitical situation of Nepal, the open border between Nepal and India and the compulsion of Nepal to use India territory for accessing the sea port and its impacts on conflict resolution. It concludes that India's positive willingness to contribute for the conflict transformation in Nepal can determine the pale of progress towards it. The first chapter is written by Shiva K. DhUnghana entitled The Maoist insurgency and Nepal India relations. The second chapter has been written by Hari Roka, analyzed about the Nepal-India border regulation in the context of present conflict. Another chapter has been prepared by Hirnaya Lal Shrestha which discussed about the proliferation of small arms and

tight weapons in Nepal. Another chapter has been prepared by Shyam Shrestha which analyzed about the possible role of India in the future peace process.

"Countries in conflict and processing of pace; lessons for Nepal, edited by Ananda Aditya, Bishnu Raj Upreti and Poorna Kanta Adhikari, the three authors made a joint efforts in working on the volume. The study offers fascinating look into how a conflict, if kept longferstering, can escalate into a crisis and the pitfalls that peacemakers may face. The book is plain talk on difficult theme. In addressing the theme, the focus naturally has been kept on the process not just as a possibility and an ethical priority but also as a prerequisite to the higher goal of this nation's political regime- democracy and development, the central nation being that peace can evolve as a structured mechanism and as a logical converse to structural conflict and violence.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I have located my research site in Rolpa, Ungha Cantonment, one of the satellite Cantonment based in mid-western Nepal. The People's War started from the rural district of Nepal where the governmental apparatus were weak so I wanted to locate my study where the Movement was originated. Also, my interest of study and of the rural populace has motivated to conduct the research in Rolpa. I have paid much attention in the qualitative methods such as descriptive research design, field observation, key informant interview, in-depth interviews, informal interviews, and case study methods. The main focus of my study was to collect the motivation factors of PLA women in Ungha satellite Cantonment, Rolpa.

3.1 Selection of the Study Area

This study is conducted in Ungha Cantonment, Rolpa. Rolpa is the epicenter of conflict. There women involved in Maoist Movement can be easily available. The Rolpa district was familiar to me and had frequently visited the area, I had the knowledge about the socio-cultural and geographical setting. This circumstance helped me to get in-depth information on the subject.

In Ungha Cantonment women from different district and from different caste and ethnic group could be found. Because of

confidentially and security issue, I could not get the exact total number of PLA remaining in the Cantonment, but it was said that there are 45 women PLA. Among 45 women PLA I interviewed with 21. Some of women in the Cantonment were not ready to talk and share their experience; therefore I used purposive sampling method to interview with the PLA women.

In the early phase this research was supposed to conduct in Dahaban Cantonment, Rolpa. There large number of PLA could be found. It is one of the largest Cantonmet. Showing the security, confidentiality and sensitive issue I was not permitted to remain and talk with PLA at Dahaban. There I was suggested to visit Ungha Cantonment, the next satellite Contonment so did I for my study. In comparision to Dahaban Ungha consist less number of PLA, but the number was not going to harm my study and then after I conducted my research there.

3.2 Research Design

The study is based on the qualitative research design which has helped to understand the nature of women participation in the people's war led by the communist party of Nepal (Maoist). I was interested to my topic 'Women's Motivation for Joining Maoist Movement'. Collecting the data and finding out the conceal power of women participating in PLA was my specific interest that I had to adopt the qualitative data collection technique to explore the motivation factors, perception, experiences through observation, in-depth interview, informal discussion, group discussion. The data are presented on the descriptive forms.

3.3 Sources of Data

The study is based primarily on the primary data but some secondary sources were also used. The primary data were collected through interview. Researcher himself has collected the primary data and secondary data were from the different published and unpublished sources like books, journals, articles, reports and newspapers.

3.4 Sampling

Purposive sampling method was used to conduct this research. It was very challenging for me to conduct because the environment was very sensitive and confidentially due to security. As the subject was about political issue, It was very difficult and took much more time to make them sure that the researcher was not influenced by political ideology during the study time and did not represent any political party.

In Ungha Cantonment there were 45 women PLA. Among 45 PLA women I interviewed with 21 of them on the basis of Purposive sampling method. To extract their experiences, future prospects, family background and motivation factors for joining the movement. It was very important to talk with them in detail. So I used open ended questionnaire for the interview. To fulfill my objectives detail interview was necessary, and for detail interview, those informants who were willing to share their experience were needed. For this purposive sampling method was the appropriate method.

3.5 Technique and Tools of Data Collection

In order to obtain the necessary primary data I remained in the field more than until 90 days. Each of the technique for the collection of data is included as follows:

3.5.1 Case Study:

Case study technique involves an in-depth examination of a single instance, event. This became helpful to generate unique experiences of particular women's social cultural settings and personal histories that motivated them to join the movement, their responsibility and leadership and expectations. There are eight case studies. The women who have unique experiences in joining the movement are selected as cases.

3.5.2 Key Informant Interview:

PLA women selected from purposive sampling method were interviewed. To know the reason of joining Maoist movement, their family background, educational status and future prospect interview was necessary. I interview them with the help of open ended questionnaire. Interview helped me to know how women were motivated and attracted towards Maoist movement. Along with twenty-one PLA women I also interviewed with journalist, Brigade Commander, VDC secretary, Human right activists, villagers. Interviews with them helped me to get more information about PLA women. These people were taken as key informant. This tool with PLA women were taken in the Ungha Cantonment in different period of time. Each interview was taken personally and separately.

Interview with key informants were conducted in different places and time. I meet them in their house, work places etc. The set of questionnaire being used for PLA women and other key informants were differing. For the sake of my informants' privacy and security I have used their statement by changing their names. The anthropological approach authorized me to remain a long time at field area, to talk over tea, so did I. Taking interviews I had used the recorders to grab the information on the basis of my topic. Sometimes the key informants would be met on the way in hurry up. As soon as fast I would write the voice in writing form.

3.5.3 Group Discussion

Group discussion was conducted to get collective information on various aspects of the research questions. Group discussion had been conducted among the participant women, leaders, neighbors etc. for collecting the information how they treat each other intra-PLA women relationship and facts which could not come with single PLA woman. How were motivated to join at the beginning? What was the socio-economic as well as educational background of them at the time of joining movement? What was the relationship between new joined PLA women and old ones? What sort of behavior among PLA women and PLA men was during the conflict? This tool was focused on the women's participation on the movement and people's perspective towards them. Specifically each group involved 5-10 women participants.

3.5.4 Observation

It was also an important tool for this study, so researcher himself remained in the field for six months and observed the daily activities of PLA women. I observed their roles and responsibility inside the Cantonment. It helped me know the position of women and their roles. Observation helped to know the gender roles and give an opportunity to compare, their saying and doing. After changing the research site from Dahaban to Ungha I was given permission to conduct my study by chief of Ungha Cantonment. My study was running at the same time one commander denied the giving answer and disturbed to formulate the group for discussion. My intimacy with PLA women did not give the belief for him. Much more discussion and request melted his concept upon me and give the positive environment in my study. Though PLA male and female do not clearly say that there is gender discrimination but it could be felt in the daily activities. Inside the Cantonment all PLA women were combatant dress, so sometime it used to be difficult for a researcher to identify what actually the sampled PLA women were doing because they all look alike. Though PLA men were too given the responsibility of handling the kitchen stuff, mostly women were seen in the kitchen. This shows women were not free from house making activity. To extract the experience of female participant observation was done. It was conducted by establishing the rapport in the Cantonment. This technique supported me to gather the information about their unique habits contrasting to their voices came through interview and habits that they had spelt out at the time of interview. It became useful for gathering qualitative data. I took copies notes during my observation session.

3.5.5 Informal Discussion

Along with above stated techniques informal discussion was also conducted. This generated important set of information about the personal experience which was not generally shared by the individual in the group. With most of the key informants, PLA women I took the interview on the second or third attempt. First attempt was used just to build rapport, trust, and faith amongst them. It had been held while walking, eating food, and visiting places, drinking tea, etc. Informal discussion was conducted with participant women, leaders, neighbors, researchers, commanders and journalist. It helped me to get knowledge about the Maoist movement and also the background of female participants. It helped to get information about the motivation factor of women joining the Maoist movement and their perception towards women PLA.

3.6 Data Analysis

Data analyzing process is the complicated in anthropological study. It is not based on quantitative. This study has involved case study, key informants, interviews, group discussion, and observation. It did not include a large type of statistical data that might be analyzed as well as compared with other data. That sort of research has not been conducted even before. However data has been analyzed to some extent on the basis of related literature written on conflict. Qualitative data has been given more emphasis that is comparatively logical statement.

3.7 Limitation of the study

Every research has some limitations. This study also has limitations. It is only employed to know the motive factors of women to join the People's war. So PLA women's experience sufferings and their views/opinions have been only expressed in the study. It may not represent the voices of other women who are not PLA as the study is just limited in Ungha Cantonment. The information experiences and views of PLA women may not be universally applicable. But this study can represent how women were motivated, were forced to join the movement although it has not covered the voices of motivation of all PLA women.

3.8 Ethical Aspect:

To conduct my research in Ungha Cantonment was really a very challenging task for me. I was there to conduct my research with research techniques like interview and observation. But every time before I used these techniques I was interviewed and every time I was observed by the commanders. Because of confidentiality and sensitive issue it was difficult to get in-depth information about the Cantonment and PLA too. For the protection of PLA women the information are released by changing their numbers. They were not obliged to answer my question. Researcher was very careful about the human right issues and respects the informant's privacy. Researcher revealed his own identity, role and reason of presence in the study area.

CHAPTER FOUR

SELECTED CASE STUDIES

All over the country there are seven main Cantonments and twenty one satellites Cantonment. After the peace process Maoist party had been left to choose an appropriate place for temporary settlement of PLA. In this situation Maoist party had selected those areas for settlement on the basis of strategic importance accordance with extended peace agreement. Under the Dahaban Cantonment, fifth division Cantonment of PLA, Ungha is one of the satellite Cantonments of People's Liberation Army. It is also known as Mangalsen Brigade. It lies in Masina VDC-1 of Rolpa district. In this Brigade there are three Battalion, nine companies (one brigade equals three battalions, one battalion equals three companies). There is one Brigadier General, one Vice-Brigadier General, and one Brigadier Secretariat. PLA members have made two big fields for plying parade. The estimated number of PLA is five hundred fifty. Among them forty five are female and the rest are male. Showing the security reason the exact data of PLA inside the Cantonment had not been given. Three women PLA are company commanders. Generally from the Brigade to section in major post and role are male. Among forty five PLA women I selected twenty-one through purposive sampling method and some of the case studies are presented below:

CASE 4.1

Sushama is from Uwa VDC of Rolpa district. She belongs to Magar community, one of the ethnic groups of Nepal. Her sister was engaged in Maoist party. When her sister was killed by police in suspicion of being Maoist propagandists, she was only 13 years old at that time. After her sister's killing she was frequently tortured by police. It was difficult her to come out from home. Meanwhile she came across the Maoist and started to work for them. In the beginning

she joined the Maoist cultural group and dance. Then she became PLA in seven months of joining Maoist cultural group and left the home. She was very much unknown about the Maoist ideology. Her parents also later supported the party. She had not received any formal education in the past. Being PLA women she slowly tried to understand the Maoist and their ideology. She is now ready to die for the party. She is very aggressive towards state because she has to face different psychological and physical torture from state without any reason. She now is completely dedicated towards the party. She does not have any expectation and future plan but is ready to obey the instructions, suggestion and order of the party. She feels proud and secure to be PLA women. Though she is not given any responsibility in the party she feels herself empowered and has understood the meaning of life. She says, “In past I was limited in house and household activity. I passed my day raring cattle and making fodder for them now at least I am able to come out of my home and all those subordinate roles in which only women are engaged”. She added, “We ethnic groups were marginalized, though it still continues. I have understood how we were marginalized and discriminated. I can feel the difference and raise voice against it but in the past we were used to with it and take it as granted”.

– Sushama

CASE 4.2

She is Sumitra BK of unmarried and 21. She is from Chndekarengi VDC of Salyan district. She belongs to dalit community, as a marginalized community. In Nepalese society so called upper cast pronounces dalit as an untouchable (chuna na hune Jat). Most of the dalit family relys on so called upper cast (Pani chalne Jat) like Brahamin, Kshatri, Thakuri. From the very beginning they seemed oppressed. She is also from the poor economic background. Performing cultural program, gathering people side by side coaching them about Maoist ideology, eliminating the gambling activities were the activities of Maoist. First time she seen their cultural program and convinced. She further added "I was much convinced by Maoist ideology. I was really in a belief that Maoist party was formed for the poor people, says Sumitra BK a PLA woman. I hoped it would help in eradicating discrimination according to cast and class. In the starting days of being PLA I felt the party has tried to maintain equality among male and female and also cast and class. But as the time passed ideology and practice can be experienced different. Within the party also some kind of differences and inequalities can be felt. Women are not given the leading position and responsibility. Only few women are responsible. I felt the existing inequality in society has come from the history and it cannot be easily eliminated. Still I feel proud of being a PLA. I feel I have achieve my goal of life. Because in past I used to think a person's life is important but now I feel my sacrifice to the party for the sake of country is important. The level of my thinking has been changed so

feel myself empowered and has been able to break the gender discrimination”.

– Sumtra

BK

CASE 4.3

Sunita lives in Tharu community of Dang district. Dang is fertile area of crops growing. It lies in Tarai region. Tharu is one of the oldest communities of Dang. They are more hardworking group. They do not like to remain without working. Some of them are highly educated like other caste. Most of them are still under poverty. Her family background is poor. She became a kamlahari (a domestic labor) in Bahaun landlord house at the age of 8 in Dang. Her parents used to work for the landlord so she became kamlahari till she was 14 years after her mother demise she worked all the time and beared all the tortures. She did not get an opportunity to study. She could feel the dominance of the landlord but could not raise the voice. She had to work all the time for them but she was not given good food to eat, well dress to wear and no payment. Once she felt it is better to die for the sake of the people like her (for the emancipation/liberation of all) then to remain and work for landlord. Her child psychology had been searching the option that could give the get rid of all kind of discrimination getting by landlord and over workload. The commencement of People's War in Nepal she was 14. Maoist party propagandists used to come frequently to her home and share their views. All kind of circumstances forced her to join in Maoist. She then joined the Maoist movement. After joining the party she started

to raise the voices against the social discrimination and social maladies of society like dowery system, kamlahari pratha etc.

She expressed she is indebted to the party because it has helped to come out of the kamlahari and speak and raise voices against it. In the mid-western Nepal Kamlahari pratha was common among the poor tharu ethnic group. After the Maoist movement it has been reduced though not completely eliminated. She did have any fixed future plan. She is completely dedicated toward party. She does not want to return her home too. She says, “Whatever party will decide, it will be my decision too”.

–Sunita

CASE 4.4

Kalpana is from Bhabang vdc of Rolpa district of Magar community. She has a small family of mother, 2 brothers and herself. Her father was in Golf country for laboring. She did not face any kind of problem at the age of 17. Except her mother all family members were educated. In 1996 People's War melted over the nation. It was an unsatisfied voice of people against the state. Due to whim and rumor of friends her elder brother participated in Maoist movement. She was 17 and unmarried when her brother was killed by police force. She was grade 10th student. She could not carry her education because of frequent torture and interrogation of police force. Frequently police personnel visited her house and take away chickens, grains, goats and fruits. Her family was targeted by police often they would be given duress/threat. She joined the movement at

the same age, leaving her education. She expressed, “I was going to school which was half an hour far from home. On the way state police personnel chased and gang raped me”. After the incident she could not continue her education and felt little secure to be Maoist and joined the movement as PLA. She was really innocent about the Maoist ideology and its vision. She joined the movement in search of making her life secure and to get rid of security personnel's unnecessarily torture and turmoil. She seemed chaos about her future. She wants to pass her life being a party cadre.

– Kalpana

CASE 4.5

Salina has different and unique experience. She belongs to dalit community. She was 15 years when she decided to leave home to be PLA. She was immature when she joined PLA. She join in PLA because of her friends' rumor. She stated, “My friends used to define education very negatively, being immature I felt they were right and then I decided to drop education”. I was interested to be a dancer and in PLA there was cultural group to perform cultural program. It also attracted me to be PLA. At that time Maoist party had made the policy to collect jeweler, ornaments from its cadres for buying weapons. So did I, added Salina. She had participated in different attack on army post. “I was really very excited and at the same time little fear myself a woman at that time because women never experience and participate in such activities in the village where I was grown up. We threw bombs and grenades killed many army personnel. I really do not know from where such zeal and energy

comes within us to kill people. There was no fear of death only excitement. Throwing bombs in the target areas and killing the army personnel used to be the aim". We returned with victory and the moment was very joyful we celebrated. Killing and talking other's life had become a part of life to achieve our goal during that time. She later left PLA and returned her home because of her health problem. In her home there were father, mother, two brothers and sister-in-law. Though parents welcome her after being back to home, she herself felt difficult to adjust in her own family. She was not satisfied with the party because of differentiation on ideology and practice. There was no gender equality in the party as their party's slogan. She past her eight years being a PLA woman.

– Salina BK

CASE 4.6

Menaka is a young girl of 17 from magar community of Rangsi VDC of Rolpa. She has unique experience of joining PLA. When she was 12, she had superb voice for singing. Friends and her teachers would motivate her being singer. She had not get the platform for performing her skill. She was more ambitious so she was more impressed upon combatant dress of Maoist PLA. Their caravan of wearing headband of five star, combat dress on their body, carrying guns on their shoulder attracted her. When she participated in cultural group of Maoist party, she got the platform opportunity Therefore she never left the opportunity come as extra curriculum activities in school. After announcement of People's War officially, propagandists of Maoist used to come schools and community carrying the cultural

program in which she would get the chance to perform her skill and performance. Gradually and unknowingly she falls in their activities although she was immature and innocent about Maoist ideology till that moment. She would see the long caravan of PLA wearing combat dress and carrying out guns on their shoulder that internally enchanted her. She asked her parents to join PLA but did not get permission. Once she decided to run away and participated in PLA. She has played main role on several major operations. Still she keeps eager to participate in battle.

– Menaka

CASE 4.7

Melina is 22 years old woman, having confidence and zeal with full of belief. She had 5 sisters and 1 brother. She had not got any formal education but just involved adult literacy program. At that time most of the girls from tharu community used to work in Brahamin, Kshatri, thakuri's home as a bond labor although she did not work so. Her house was meeting point of party and her father was a carder of party earlier. It may be the whim so she became a member of party. Joining in Maoist party as a village committee member she was 13. Eight months later she joined in PLA due to party's strategy. At the time of joining PLA she did not have any expectation of life. Before joining in PLA she did not have any new experience like remaining long time with male, carrying heavy loads of bag pack, ammunitions, provisions, experience of fight and the like. After involvement, she knew and experienced of all of above things. In looking she was small in height but she had big broad confidence so

that she became able to fulfill her responsibility perfectly. Now she has gained confidence, awareness inside her. Every deed is possible for her. She does not have any plan/objective/prospect of future although whatever party recommend, so does she. If she is not adjusted in national security, it will not be matter. Party will engage in other sector. It may be communal works. She does neither like to use word 'combatant' nor did to be use the word 'combatant' by others instead of PLA.

– Melina

CASE 4.8

I joined the movement to take revenge of my cousin brother who was killed by police in Dang. I left my education and joined the movement. In the beginning I was given responsibility to work against gambling and to destroy liquor in the villages. I actively conducted the responsibility. One day I with my PLA friends encountered with police group in the village, after short interrogation they tried to attack us, we killed a police. I felt very satisfied while killing him because I felt I have taken the revenge.

While in the party I got married with comrade Bikrant. His two brothers were also killed by police and he joined the movement for the sake of revenge. One day I was caught by Nepal army and kept for the custody in the camp. I was kept for two months. Army every time gave me mental as well as physical torture. I was beaten with hot iron rods and was every time forced to say 'I am Maoist and I will surrender'. Even after getting severe physical torture I didn't surrender. Even after getting severe physical torture I did not surrender. One day my father-in-law came to visit in camp. At the

time of departure he told me, "Safalata I can accept your death easily because my two sons were also killed but I cannot accept your surrender". I was in dilemma in one side there is army who every time give torture and ask for surrender on the other side was my family who ask for dedication and was against surrender. At last I decided to dedicate my life for the party and open my mouth I told armies, "I am Maoist, but will not surrender. I was to die, you can kill me". After my expression I was taken to another room may be to shoot. There I felt I meet the god, because there was an army whom I have saved a year ago. He showed some line of hope to save me. In his company and help I escaped from the camp. I was warmly welcomed in the party and given more responsibility.

– Safalata

It is difficult to express after observations interviewed by PLA women they all have joined PLA due to their willingness. They had not interviewed, however, during the People's War Maoist party had operated the strategy of "one home one person". Their participation may be one of the above reasons. Although sweet slogans and whim being seen around the district as well as country had played the vital role of their presence in PLA. Another thing is that some women lost their relatives ones from Maoist; they may engage to take revenge with Maoist. Finally either they may change their views against Maoist or they may quit Maoist party/PLA and choose another job.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 WOMEN'S MOTIVATION FOR JOINING MAOIST MOVEMENT

“The women have more to gain than the men from the People's war. That is why the women, especially the Tibeto-Burman and Non-Aryan women constitute such an important part of the movement”. – Hisila Yami

Women are visible at all levels of the people's war. In the people's war women are involved, directly and indirectly as cultural activists, propagandist, member of village defender groups, couriers, guides, nurses, visitors to jail and to the families of the martyred and those in custody (Manchanda, 2001). Women are also combatants and spies.

It is everyone's subject of concern nationally and internationally, why women joined the movement? In a religious sanctified culture where women are structurally excluded from political, economic and cultural domains. Women's motive towards the movement may be because of the desire and expectation of new libratory space for participation opening up for women. And also it may be for the hope of eliminating gender discrimination and giving up new roles and responsibilities to the oppressed nationalities and disadvantaged regions. The majority of the women in the Maoist movement are from Tibeto-Burman and Non-Aryan ethnic groups, but women from so called upper caste Brahamin-Chettri and Newar-Buddhist communities have also been attracted to the Maoist movement. For upper-caste women joining the People's war holds out

the liberating possibility of escaping an oppressive socio-cultural era sanctified by religion going to the forest is for these women a possibility for empowerment.

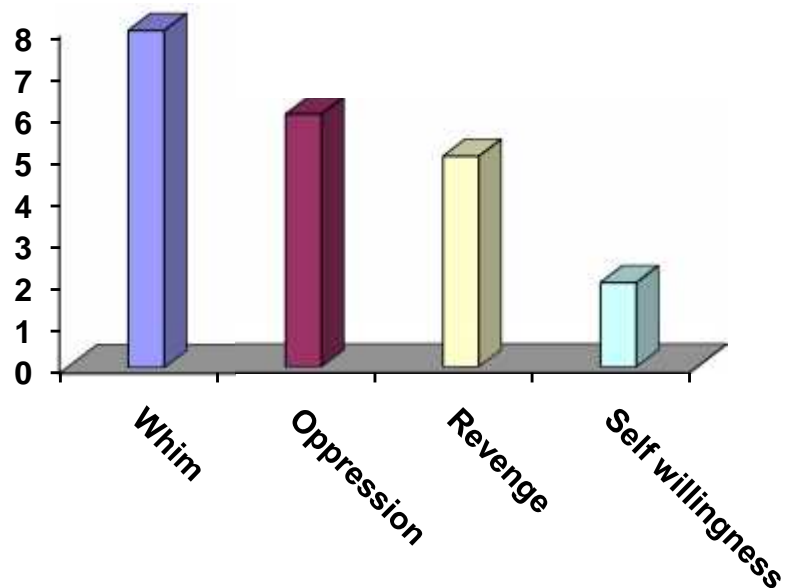
Based on the interviews with twenty one informants, PLA women of Ungha Cantonment and selected case studies the reasons for joining the movement can be traced as following:

-) Historically Nepali society is predominated by male. Women do not have property right, were limited only inside the sub massive role. When a 40 point charter demanded the property right for women led by Maoist deceleration prior to commencement of People's War and they chanted the slogan of empowerment and equal right, gender equity against gender discrimination and the like. So women motivated to join PLA.
-) The long absence of male women faced the double burden to their home. After People's War started and affected the remote and marginalized groups/places, women had to coordinate with both sides Maoist as well as security personnel. Being Rolpa as a base area of Maoist movement mostly women were tortured, interrogated and often raped by police personnel in the search of security and also to take revenge women joined PLA. To oppress the movement the existing government imposed Kiloera-2 operation which resulted in brutality and turmoil. This droved many people towards Maoist, especially being guerilla. In Maoist strongholds, every third guerilla was a woman.

-) The other reason of being PLA was whim and their attraction towards combat dress, modern weapons and Maoist propaganda around the district.
-) Women have been motivated with Maoist slogans 'you have got to die sometimes so why not to die for a new order'.
-) Women also joined the movement to prove that they could be equal to the men if equal access and opportunity is given that can also be proved by the Hisila Yami's statement, "The people's war gives all of them (women) a meaningful life and a meaningful death; it allows them to prove their worth is equal to the men".
-) Women joined the movement to change the society and to get new roles and opportunity in the society.
-) Women joined the movement to be empowered.

The above stated various reasons can be divided into four factors.

- 1) Whim in Maoist stronghold areas,
- 2) Oppression of women,
- 3) Feeling of revenge against their enemies,
- 4) Self willingness,



Among 21 interviewees PLA women 8 of them joined the movement because of whim in Maoist stronghold areas. Women joined movement with friend's rumor, attraction towards combat dress, ideology are kept under the topic whim. Other 6 women joined the movement because of historical oppression and dominance upon women. Under this are reasons like to get new roles, to change society for empowerment etc and rest 5 of them joined the movement to take revenge and fulfill their will. Those who answered that they joined the movement after family killed by police personnel or group rapped by police are kept under the reason feeling of revenge. And two other joined the PLA because of self willingness.

PLA women stated different reasons behind joining the movement. None of them stated that they joined the movement forcefully. But during my research I came across the cases that joined the movement forcefully. They did not share it frankly but their dissatisfaction towards the party, unwillingness to response and

voices against the ideology of the party could prove that they were forcefully taken. Different slogan in Maoist stronghold areas like 'you have got to die sometimes so why not to die for a new order', 'one house one man/women'. 'Empowerment and gender equality', 'new roles for women' are the propaganda of Maoist to attract women. These slogans are only limited on slogans in the party. Maoist leader Hisila Yami maintains that there is no discrimination against women at political level, but there are less number of women at the central committee. Women are not given equal access and opportunity compared to men. It can also be proved with a general example, i.e. when a Maoist woman cadre become pregnant she is obliged to quit the movement. Maoist chairman Prachanda, in a wide ranging interview to revolutionary worker, mentions the practical difficulties of women guerrillas becoming pregnant and the provision of foster care structures for children (Manachada, 2001). So it can be stated that the issue of gender equality caste and class discrimination are only the whim for the attraction towards party or the movement.

Caring their own children given birth inside the Cantonment, sending money or other material needed at home and responding the phone which would come from their home although their husband PLA men were together at same Cantonment were the first priority of women PLA. This above situation also displays that still women PLA has been keep in and they have not given the opportunity to entrance in public sphere.

CHAPTER SIX

SOCIO-CULTURE AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF WOMEN PLA

6.1 Social Background of Women PLA

While processing to build the nation, the ethnic and social factors always play a vital role. As the most of the South Asian nations have multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious communities, it is necessary to be inter-ethnic harmony and support for the national integration and smooth functioning state activities.

Social means, pertaining to society or its organization relating to persons as living in society or to the public as an aggregate body society means a system of community life, in which individuals, ordinarily in a territorial establishment, from a continuous and regulatory association for their natural benefit and protection. Ethnic means, pertaining to group or people, varying ethnologically according to the circumstance fro, which their separation or distinction is supposed to originate. Among primitive people a group or aggregation of person, usually consanguineous and endogamous less than one chief. Characterized by its own culture, and having a name a dialect, a government, and usually a territory of its own Kaffir tribes.

Nepal is a South Asian nation with multi-religious, multi- ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-cultural people. The constitution of the kingdom of Nepal, 2047, in its directive principles, has stated that the state shall, while maintaining the cultural diversity of the country, pursue a policy of Strengthening the national unity by promoting healthy and cordial social relations, castes, tribes, communities and linguistic groups and by helping in

promotion of their languages literatures, scripts, arts and cultures. However they have designated Nepal as a Hindu kingdom.

According to the constitution, the role and responsibility of the democratic government are to be oriented towards the upliftment and development of such groups. In the past decades, during the panchayat period also, some programs and activities for the development of indigenous ethnic communities were planned. Few ethnic communities were represented in various echelons of the then political structure and policy level.

Dominance of Brahmin/Chhetri in society upon so-called untouchables, exploitative labour system, and deprivation/marginalization of low cast were the root causes of insurgency. Both men and women are forced old ties and kinship. With few or no opportunities for continuing their livelihoods and often in the absence of male family members there is often a dramatic increase in the households, and they bear additional responsibilities for either joined the warring group or been captured. Women face new demands in providing for themselves and their children, with increased workloads and limited access to and control over the benefits of goods and services. Furthermore, as a result of conflict and the breakdown in law and order, women and girls face increased risks of sexual violence and abuse. In some situation, they become targets for deliberate attacks by the opposing factions for purpose of revenge. Loss of family members inflicts suffering of women and men alike but women are affected in particular ways because of their family roles as the primary caregivers to children in gender specific ways. Although the relationship of motherhood to women's stance towards war is debatable, women in many different historical and

cultural contexts have argued that a mother's suffering is unique. Losing husbands and sons may, for many women, does not mean only emotional loss but also loss of economic support and social legitimacy. These women may become poor and homeless when they loss their husbands and sons. In our societies, women with no male family members mostly loss all rights to protection, employment, benefit or guarantees to security.

Although the women's condition is previously unequal due to the discrimination on resource distribution, opportunity mobilization and equitable life changes with men. There condition is severally affected after the Maoist movement. Meanwhile almost of the cases male are affected directly by either side in study areas. But its impact has to bear to female. Due to the present conflict their husbands are dead, abducted or disappeared but they can't raise their voices against the inhuman activities of both parties, for the sake of their small children, social prestige and security of themselves. They have to spent widowhood because our religious and social norms do not allow them to remarriage.

In one case after the threat of the Maoist they displace from their village. But the Maoist seized their property and destroyed their houses. In such a condition a woman has to bear double (physical as well as mental) stress to manage the family. Impact of conflict upon women means to affect children as well as impact not to be good citizen for the state. Explicitly, children are affected from the ongoing conflict between the State and Maoist. The Dalits were not allowed to enter in the public place (Public tap, temple and the like), Dalits had

to work without payment, they used to be helper in marriage, funeral ceremony and festivals of upper castes. The social hierarchy was very in human where they could not feel free and equal. The same psychology of people had been adopted by Maoist, they gave the slogan of discrimination less, exploit less and just society by destroying all types of discrimination as cast, gender and the like. "The discrimination, in terms of education, health, economics, starvation, have and have not, illiteracy, poverty were the enemies of people and they dreamed to be free from these by involving in Maoist movement" stated Gokarna Pun Magar, right based worker. In the case of Rolpa district there is a large scale of geography for Magar, one of the ethnic group. Among the PLA, women are in large numbers from dalits and ethnic groups although some Women PLA are from high caste groups (Bharamin, Chhettri,Thakuri) too. Such types of in human socio-cultural system were the root causes for insurgency. According to Comred Mamata, activist of Maoist, The Maoist captured the pathetic situation and given the attractive slogans towards the gender equality and equity and right of female. The Interim constitution of Nepal 2063 "made the provision" No discriminations shall be made against any citizen in the application of law as ground of religion, race, sex, caste or ideological conviction. But in practice the provision did not give any favorable result. Traditionally dominant and high ranking Brahamins/Chhetries cast controlled the political power. The person, Cast, sex who were dominance in Panchayat again held the power. Other castes were excluded from the governance which led to inequality as well as conflict among ethnic minority. In the local election of 2054, only

Brahamin, constitutes 63.82 percent in village council. So, the minority, as Dalit and women did not feel any ownership in the contemporary political system. They attracted towards the political demands of Maoist, as a republic and abolition of the constitutional monarchy, constitutional reform of the political system through constitutional assembly, self-determination of ethnic groups, inclusive democracy, equal participation of dalit and women in politics (based on the interview of Apil and Ranjana, PLA members of Maoist).

Table no. 1

S.N.	Caste	No. of respondents
1.	Brahamin	0
2.	Chhetri	3
3.	Magar	10
4.	Tharu	3
5.	So called lower caste	5
Total		21

Source: Field Survey, 2008.

In Ungha Cantonment among twenty one respondents three of them were from Chhetri community, ten of them were Magar, three were Tharu and five were Dalits (so called lower caste). Rolpa is pre-

dominantly a Magar community. Therefore number of Magar PLA women are also more than other caste and community. There are no Brahmin PLA women but PLA men are available in this Cantonment. In other Cantonment Brahamins, Chhetris, Thakuris can also be found.

While talking about the age of twenty one PLA women, most of them have joined the movement at their teen age (15-19). Almost fifteen women have joined the movement during this age. Remaining six are at the age of adult (20-25). Women's motivation factor has also been affected by the marital status. In my research among twenty one PLA women seven are married and fourteen are unmarried. Those seven were unmarried while joining the movement. They get married with PLA man after the involvement in movement according to their will and also with party's agreement.

6.2 Economic Background of Women PLA

The whole district is itself isolated and marginalized from mainstream of development. The immediate necessary factors for economic development are i.e. road access, irrigation facility, education facility, employment opportunity. Energy is not adequate. Almost all peoples are holding agriculture as main occupation. But, the land distribution patter is very discriminative. Dalits, so called lower caste, don't have enough land for their livelihood. So, they are compelled to leave the house to India for livelihood.

This kinds of pathetic economic condition, gave the fertile land for insurgency. “Marginalized people attracted towards the Maoist

ideology, as land reform, end of discrimination by caste, improvement of services to the poor, and to corruption” said Khimananda Sharma, secretary of Thabang VDC). Low level of economic activities income inequality, land holding pattern, feudalistic mores of production were the causes for the origin of insurgency.

The situation of poverty is vulnerable all over the world, except in for some developed nations "poverty denotes a condition below that of easy, comfortable living, privation denotes a condition of painful lack of what is useful or desirable indigence is means of subsistence, pauperism is such distributions throws one upon public charity for support poor people live without fundamental freedom of action and choice that the better off take for granted. They often lack adequate food and shelter, education and health, deprivations that keep them from leading the kind of life that everyone values. They also face extreme vulnerability to ill, health, economic dislocation and natural disaster. And they are often exposed to ill treatment by institutions the state and society and are powerless to influence key decisions affecting their lives. These are all dimensions of poverty.

After the restoration of democracy, the government and ruling political leaders could not reform poverty reduction or alleviation strategies for the poor people. People have come to realize that successive governments have failed to address the entrenched poverty of Nepal's rural population. A semi-feudal economy, based on subsistence agriculture with low productivity levels, has kept the rural areas in a state of underdevelopment. The urban political elite have neglected political realities, providing the poor with no tangible redress for their frustration. The Maoists have presented themselves

as focusing on the needs of the "people of the hill" and thus hold considerable appeal for these citizens.

6.2 Educational Background of Women PLA

Women comprise more than half of the total population. However women access to and participation in education is lower than that of men due to social, cultural, political and economic disadvantages faced by females. Their disadvantage is compounded due to inadequate access to quality education, hindering the expected social transformation process in the country. The distribution of functions within the house hold or the sexual division of labor at home, allots a number of task to women. A girl and later a women is viewed as a natural care-giver, going to school which in many cause does not have any visible benefits is often regarded as a waste of time. Women have to perform home oriented tasks such as cooking, cleaning, child-minding, care of the aged as well as collection of fire wood and edible thing, in many places take up a substantial percentage of girl children's time. Because of all these circumstances women either did not get chance to go to school or dropped out because of a combination of economic reasons and compulsion of responsibilities at home. Education status of PLA women can be displayed in the following table:

Table no. 2

Education of PLA women

S.N.	Education	No. of respondent
1.	Informal Education	10
2.	1-5 Class	5
3.	6-8 Class	4
4.	9-10 Class	2
5.	+ 2 above	0
Total		21

Source: Field Survey, 2008.

In table no.2 teen PLA women have received informal education from adult literacy class. It shows a large number of women have never been to school. Five of them have been to school and received education up to primary level. Four are at the lower secondary level and two are at the secondary school level. None of them have received higher education.

Nonetheless, poverty certainly has an important role to play in keeping children away from school. Their contribution to the household task force is not always the reason, school expenses such as compulsory dress, books and copies and unattractive courses, which

are not useful in daily life and the opportunity cost, are also the reason making them away from school.

Many women also feel that family socialization into sub massive roles affects how they participate in education. Right from their birth, girls are socialized to play sub massive roles in family and society, certain norms and values, such as women should not pursue education (Arkako Ghar Jane Jat, b e self conscious of oneself, not to talk too much in public, not to travel alone, and take care of siblings and help mother with house hold chores interface with girls mobility. All the above circumstances, thus, affected their access to perform quality education.

Among 20 interviewed women PLA none of them have passed their SLC. Most of them have received education only up to primary level. They joined the movement on the school going age and later they come to disagree with the school education saying 'bourgeoisie' education. During the insurgency school and school children were the main target of both the Maoist and state. It was difficult for the girls/women to get the access to education because some of the school-going girls were raped by police personnel. These different causes and circumstances led the PLA women to remain deprived of education. Kamana (name changed) is 14 years old women. She joined the movement at the same age, leaving her education. She was grade 7th student, she told, "I was going to school which was half an hour far from home. On the way state police personnel chased and gang raped me". After the incident she could not continue her education and felt little secure to be Maoist and joined the movment.

Therefore the other reasons behind the women's less access to education can be traced as household work burden of women/girls, income poverty, physical distance, low perceived relevance of education caste and ethnic discrimination etc.

CHAPTER SEVEN

POSITION OF WOMEN IN PLA

7.1 Woman in Leading Position in PLA

A conflict inevitably creates condition in which people's rights are violated in different ways. A conflict impacts on peoples' capacity to participate and also same time it contributes to enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development. A conflict reduces the development and political spaces available for people who are seeking their advancement. It has negative impacts on already poor and excluded groups, including women. Poverty is a contributing factor in the rise of conflict and also an effect of conflict (Bouchard Therese: 2008)

During the decade long conflict mostly the rural and marginalized areas were affected. Of those, Rolpa is the most affected area and is taken as the epicenter of the Maoist movement. The root causes of the People's war can be divided into different dimensions. The main factors are economic, political, ideological, social and cultural isolation. The other factors are due to inequality in resource distribution and opportunity, inability of the state to deliver services to people. Nepal predominantly rural, agrarian country that has suffered through a decade long armed conflict has long been characterized by discrimination, inequality and other disparities. Nepalese women in particular have been on the receiving end of this treatment due to deeply entrenched patriarchy that has confined them to subordinate roles and positions. Further the gendered division of

labour has reinforced inequality in terms of employment and wages for women. Women's representation in the education sector especially at the higher and technical levels is also very low. There is wide gender gap in terms of access to basic health facilities, while the legal system is also highly biased against women. All of these factors have resulted in Nepalese women facing discrimination in both private and public sphere making them largely voice less and without influence in government, politics and other decision making bodies. Despite, the reality, the participation of Nepal's armed conflict has been well recognized. Women were more empowered and were involved in public sphere which can deliberately taken as the unintended consequences of war/conflict. After the insurgency most of the villages were vacant without men. Either they joined the movement or they left to safe area of urban places or escapade to India due to open boarder. Left behind were women. To cope with the environment women were compelled to take the roles of their male counterpart. The above mentioned is only the situation of women who were left behind in the homes and their changed situation. Now, we would talk about the women who joined the movement. In the beginning (1995) there were only few numbers of women in PLA. For the women's involvement it was decided that at least two women will be made mandatory in each defence squad. This bold decision also leads to the participation of women in large number in PLA. As women were involved in the PLA they were given different responsibilities which led than to lead the group and develop the capacity of leadership. Susma told, "I was 17 when I joined the movement, I have not participated in public programs after I joined

the movement I participated in different programs and trainings. I was given the responsibility of commanding a group.

7.2 Future Prospect of Women PLA

In the beginning of 1995, hilly remote areas of Nepal were transformed into guerilla zone. The state started to capture mostly male in the villages on the basis of communist ideology. To escape being picked up by the police and targeted by the Maoist, men left their home for a long time. All villages became vacant without men. Then after left behind were women who kept alive the family and cared the aged ones. At the absence of male women became leader the household. Women became first target by the police and the Maoist, searched their men by the police and feed at any time either day or night by the Maoist carders respectively. Frequent visiting, interrogation in bad manner, and tortured brutally- sometime raped by security personnel made them insecure. Due to the above reasons they escaped from home to either revenge for the sake of their family members viz brothers or sisters or emancipate/ liberate from all kind of prejudices.

Now they have participated PLA with different kind of role viz company and battalion commander etc. At the time of joining PLA they were innocent about Maoist ideology, emancipation from social discrimination, political absolutism, economic deprivation, and cultural in toleration. They had just motivated seeing Maoist's well deeds like destroying liquor industries/inn (Raksi vatti), the gambling places (Juwa Akhada) in the society. According to Kalika, a woman PLA added,“ I was motivated seeing Maoist activities like destroying

liquor, the gambling places during the People's war. They gave the punishment to Fataha (samanti- person who always gives sufferings the haves not) as well as helped to return the assets losing due to domestic violence (polygamy). Being involved PLA I have felt emancipation. On the queries of adjustment she added“Where to go, what to do, and where to join is not my own decision. Party's decision will be last”. It had given the least satisfaction amongs those women who were suffered by it. Its message spread/ melted out at remote, illiterate, marginalized places around the country. Various program organized by Maoist propagandists displayed and the movement has the strong appeal for women as its 40 points charter supports property rights for women.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

8.1 Summary

The women are excluded from the position of power and the production of knowledge which has enabled the male ideology to be perpetuated as universal knowledge in Nepali society. This type of ideology has treated women as dependent, passive and inferior to men. Also the subordination of women to men had been legitimized by law. Nepalese women never have a self identity outside the patriarchal relations; she does not have authority over her own life. This has reflected into the oppressive caste and class hierarchical division of society along with women in many folds. The oppression of women by men and their dimmer access to power and knowledge got a violent outlet in the form of People's War led by communist party of Nepal (Maoist).

PLA has not only transformed women in essence but also in the form. Essentially it has given meaning, value, respect, dignity not only to their lives but to their deaths. PLA has not only helped women to break four walls of her home, it has also stretched her reach to four corners of the country. It has transformed her from anonymous domestic slave to very visible professional fighter. The participation of women in the PLA has challenged the old belief system and it has given a new meaning to them.

The main objective of the study is to know the socio-cultural and economic background of women participants which has motivated them to join People's war and to know gender equality in the party, the responsibility and leadership of women. Maoist movement has motivated women at large extent. Arjun karki and David Seddon say that the Peoples' War has given

opportunities for women to work side by side with men on equal terms and to prove their worth. It has given them a dignified alternative life. Li Onesto a journalist also presents a positive view of the women's participation in the Peoples' War. Mandira Sharma and Dinesh Parsain in their article Gender Dimensions for the People's War states that the active involvement of women has been one of the most discussed aspect of the Maoist insurgency in Nepal. Although this is very difficult to verify, it is reported that women constitute anywhere between thirty to forty percent of the Maoist's military force which accordingly to conservative estimates, totals at least 10,000 people. Among the women military personnel, it is reported that most come from ethnic and Dalit groups, but there are also women from the bahun and chettri caste.

The research was conducted in Ungha satellite Cantonment of Rolpa District which is also taken as the origin place of Maoist insurgency. The study is based on the qualitative research design. The researcher himself collected the data and information from the field rigorously remaining there for nearly three months. Some of the techniques of data collection are field interview, case study, interview with key informants, group discussions, observation and informal discussions.

Different women have different and unique experience of being a PLA. Susma feels herself empowered after joining the movement. She feels great of being able to come out of the four walls of the house. She added Maoist movement has helped in some stance to eradicate inequality and discrimination based on the caste as well as gender which is also most convincing factor of women joining the movement.

A different reason of joining the movement was shared by Sumitra BK. She joined with a hope that party would eradicate existing

discrimination based on caste and class and also gender. But inside the party too some kind of discrimination exist, women in comparison to man do not get the leading role and responsibility. Some of them joined the movement seeing the combatant dress and guns in women hands. This could also be the result of gender discrimination and women defined and limited as the family caregiver. One of the women joined the movement to take revenge, as she was gang raped by police personnel on her way to school. We can conclude that women's submissive roles from the history are the main reason behind women joining the movement. PLA women are mostly from poor economic background and have not received quality education. Most of them are under SLC. Women have to perform home oriented tasks such as cooking, cleaning, child-minding, care of the aged as well as collection of fire wood and edible thing, in many places take up a substantial percentage of girl children's time. Because of all these circumstances women either did not get chance to go to school or dropped out because of a combination of economic reasons and compulsion of responsibilities at home. Many women also feel that family socialization into sub massive roles affects how they participate in education. Right from their birth, girls are socialized to play sub massive roles in family and society, certain norms and values, such as women should not pursue education (Arkako Ghar Jane Jat, be self conscious of oneself, not to talk too much in public, not to travel alone, and take care of siblings and help mother with house hold chores interface with girls mobility). All the above circumstances, thus, affected their access to perform quality education.

In the beginning (1995) there were only few numbers of women in PLA. For the women's involvement it was decided that at least two

women will be made mandatory in each defense squad. This bold decision also leads to the participation of women in large number in PLA. As women were involved in the PLA they were given different responsibilities which led them to lead the group and develop the capacity of leadership.

In the beginning of 1995, hilly remote areas of Nepal were transformed into guerilla zone. All villages became vacant without men. Women became first target by the police and the Maoist, searched their men by the police and feed at any time either day or night by the Maoist carders respectively. Frequent visiting, interrogation in bad manner, and tortured brutally- sometime raped by security personnel made them insecure. Due to the above reasons they escaped from home to either revenge for the sake of their family members viz brothers or sisters or emancipate/ liberate from all kind of prejudices.

Now they have participated PLA with different kind of role viz company and battalion commander etc. At the time of joining PLA they were innocent about Maoist ideology, emancipation from social discrimination, political absolutism, economic deprivation, and cultural in toleration.

8.2 Conclusion

The study Women's motivation for joining the Maoist movement is conducted in Ungha Cantonment of Rolpa district. It has tried to uncover the factors of women joining the Maoist movement, which has at time grab a lot of attention and curiosity of people nationally and internationally. There was

a big question: Why women joined a movement? This research has tried to answer the question.

This study has aimed to assess the overall impact of political, socio-cultural and economic dimensions upon women participants who were motivated to join the Maoist movement at Military forces of Maoist party. Nepal historically a patriarchal society give less important to women, they are often taken as the second citizen. Women are given less opportunity and are only limited in the sub massive roles in the society. Women joining the movement and carrying guns in their hand is a great challenge to a Nepali society. It in a way proved women can do everything if they are given an opportunity.

The several reasons behind women joining the Maoist movement or being PLA are as follows:

-) Historically Nepali society is predominated by male. Women do not have property right, were limited only inside the sub massive role. When a 40 point charter demanded the property right for women led by Maoist deceleration prior to commencement of People's War and they chanted the slogan of empowerment and equal right, gender equity against gender discrimination and the like. So, women motivated to join PLA.
-) The long absence of male women faced the double burden to their home. After People's War started and affected the remote and marginalized groups/places, women had to coordinate with both sides Maoist as well as security personnel. Being Rolpa as a base area of Maoist movement mostly women were tortured, interrogated and often raped by police personnel in the search

of security and also to take revenge women joined PLA. To oppress the movement the existing government imposed Kilosera-2 operation which resulted in brutality and turmoil. This stretched many people towards Maoist, especially being guerilla. In Maoist strongholds, every third guerilla was a woman.

-) The other reason of being PLA was whim and their attraction towards combat dress, modern weapons and Maoist propaganda around the district.
-) Women have been motivated with Maoist slogans 'you have got to die sometimes so why not to die for a new order'.
-) Women also joined the movement to prove that they could be equal to the men if equal access and opportunity is given that can also be proved by the Hisila Yami's statement, "The people's war gives all of them (women) a meaningful life and a meaningful death; it allows them to prove their worth is equal to the men".

ANNEX

Questionnaire for PLA women

Annex A: Questionnaire

- 1) What is your name?
- 2) Where are you from?
- 3) How old are you?
- 4) How many members are there in your family? Brothers? Sisters?
- 5) What is their main occupation?
- 6) Did your any family members involve in PLA?
- 7) What is your level of education?
- 8) How did you continue you study?
- 9) Why couldn't you continue your study?
- 10) What was your aim of life when you are young? Or when did you join in army (PLA) ?
- 11) Could you achieve / fulfill your aim?
- 12) If not why could not you fulfill your aim?
- 13) When did you join PLA?
- 14) Why did you join?
- 15) Who convinced you to join PLA?
- 16) What was the important thing for you that all you in Maoist Party

(PLA)?

- 17) In which caste and culture group you belong to?
- 18) What is your responsibility in PLA?
- 19) What kind of work you have to do?
- 20) What kind of work and responsibility you bear at the time of decade long conflict?
- 21) What are you doing these days?
- 22) What will you do in the coming days when there will be no any war?
- 23) How do the male PLA behave and perceive you?
- 24) How do you perceive yourself as the participant of movement?
- 25) What kind of changes did you find within yourself in the past and present?
- 26) Do you find equal behavior among male and female participant in the Cantonment?
- 27) What was your expectation while joining the party? Was your expectation fulfilled?
- 28) What specific life experience convinced or compelled you to participate in the movement?
- 29) What is the unique experience during the decade long conflict?
- 30) What kind of new experience you gained in the decade long conflict?
- 31) Will you go back to your home and established there in the past conflict situation?

32) What do you expect from the party in the future, When the Maoist is in the government?

33) What is your personal future plan?

Annex B: Thesis Proposal

1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The patriarchal system of Nepal has historically led to marginalization of women by deeming them lesser citizens of society in comparison to men. The women are excluded from the position of power and the production of knowledge which has enabled the male ideology to be perpetuated as universal knowledge in Nepali society. This type of ideology has treated women as dependent, passive and inferior to men. Also the subordination of women to men had been legitimized by law. Nepalese women did not have any legal claim over parental property until she is thirty-five years old and unmarried. Most of the women do not have citizenship. Though the laws implemented April 2006, have extended citizenship to women, 33% reservation for women is oft not realized at the village level. Women continue to face the informal barriers to citizenship despite their family legacy in the country.

Nepalese women never have a self identity outside the patriarchal relations; she does not have authority over her own life. This has reflected into the oppressive caste and class hierarchical division of society along with women in many folds. The oppression of women by men and their dimmer access to power and knowledge got a violent outlet in the form of People's War led by communist party of Nepal (Maoist). Since, February 1996 till now. The age long ideology of women's subordination has been challenged.

From the initiation of the People's War up to recent the increasing numbers of women are being involved in the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Above 40% of women are in PLA. PLA has not only transformed

women in essence but also in the form. Essentially it has given meaning, value, respect, dignity not only to their lives but to their deaths. PLA has not only helped women to break four walls of her home, it has also stretched her reach to four corners of the country. It has transformed her from anonymous domestic slave to very visible professional fighter. There are narratives in the Maoist movement as propagandist, immobilizers, party cadre, district secretaries, and above all guerillas in front rank of the fighters. Pictures of female fighter in typical military outfit covering half of the face with a piece of cloth and guns in the hands were occasionally presented before public. Such images of Nepalese women are really contrasting to the rural women we come across in our daily life.

Women's movement in Nepal has been started in Nepal since 1975 but it was so scattered and without proper goals and objectives. The scattered movement could not address the problems of Nepalese women from all strata of the society. The People's War started with its significant goals and keep on revolution until the goal was achieved. The CPN (Maoist) gave equal consideration for the women. The 40 points demands presented by Maoist to then Prime minister Sher Bahadur Deuba, includes the issue of women in point 19. The point 19 says, "Patriarchal exploitation and discrimination against women should be stopped. Daughters should be allowed access to parental property".

The participation of women in the PLA has challenged the old belief system. The motive factor of women to join in the People's Liberation Army is still the subject of study.

2. RESEARCH PROBLEM

The decade long historical armed conflict has received more attention from scholars, NGOs INGOs, and researchers. It has received more attention because women participated actively in the war. The women of different age and caste group fought bravely in the war. This has challenged the old patriarchal belief taking women as dependent and passive. It is estimated that 40% of the total participants in the armed conflict are women. These women come from different caste and ethnic groups speaking different language and dialects. Women participated in the war and fought for the nation without the fear of life and death. Qualitatively women have reached the level of commanders and vice commanders up to company level and as political commissars at a brigadier level.

Though the women of different caste, class and age group have joined the movement, there must be different expectation and experiences behind the participation. It may depend upon age, ethnic identity, education personnel experiences, marital status, duties and responsibilities within the party. However homogenization of the Nepalese women into single category might be erroneous, because there is huge cultural difference and socio economic diversity among Nepalese women. There might be differences in expectation and experiences and personnel motivation of women of different ages to join the armed conflict.

Many researches and studies have been conducted, and many books have been published with various analysis. But still the knowledge seems inadequate in exploring the motive factor of women to join the movement. In this regard my research is focused to seek the answer for the following questions:

-) What is the economic background of the female participants of the Maoist movement?
-) What is the social background of the female participants of the Maoist movement?
-) Why and how she was convinced to join the movement?
-) What she had expected from the party and what she received?
-) How she perceive herself as the participant of the movement and how other perceives her?
-) What specific life experiences convinced or compelled them to participant in the movement?
-) What kind of changes did she find within themselves in the past and in present?
-) What is their future prospect in the post conflict situation?

3. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The overall objectives of this study are to understand the motive factor of women's participation in the People's War. More precisely the specific objectives will be:

-) To observe the socio-cultural and economic background of women participants which has motivated them to join People's War,
-) To evaluate gender equality in the party, the responsibility and leadership of women,
-) To explore the future prospect of participant female Cadres,

4. LITERATURE REVIEW

This research will only be employed to bring out the motivation for women to join the movement. As mentioned earlier there is limited resources related with the nature of Nepalese women participation in the People's war. Some resources give us really important insight to understand some dimension on the particular subject.

Arjun karki and David Seddon support as well as present the positive aspect and consequences of women's participation in the Peoples' War. They say that the Peoples' War has given opportunities for women to work side by side with men on equal terms and to prove their worth. It has given them a dignified alternative life. Li Onesto a journalist also presents a positive view of the women's participation in the Peoples' War. CPN (Maoist claims to raise their voices for the empowerment of women. They claim to give equal access and opportunities to female cadres within their own party as well as they fake some initiatives to eradicate gender inequality in society itself.

Hisila Yami in her book *People's War & Women's Liberation In Nepal* has said "in specific condition of Nepal, the status of property less of women together with their gross negligence by the state despite being the backbone of self sustaining peasant economy has prepared ground for joining women mass in People's Liberation Army. Mandira Sharma and Dinesh Parsain in their article *Gender Dimensions for the People's War* states that the active involvement of women has been one of the most discussed aspect of the Maoist insurgency in Nepal Although this is very difficult to verify, it is reported that women constitute anywhere between thirty to forty percent of the Maoist's military force., which accordingly to

conservative estimates, totals at least 10,000 people. Among the women military personnel, it is reported that most come from ethnic and Dalit groups, but there are also women from the bahun and chettri caste. During a visit in December 2002 to Rolpa, one of the strongest Maoist support base in the Midwestern hills, the Maoist cadres claimed that women's participation in the people's War had been increasing even further more recently. They claimed that women now constituted about fifty percent of the Maoist cadres in Rolpa.

The Question of Women's Leadership in the People's War in Nepal by Parvati, a member of the central committee of the CPN(Maoist) and the head of the women's Department, talks about the problems of the party is having in developing women's leadership. She says women have joined the PLA in extraordinary numbers and these women have shown much sacrifice and devotion, but only a few have been able to develop as leaders in the military struggle and women themselves are raising question about the quality of their participation.(Li Onesto: Dispatches from the People's War in Nepal)

According to Parvati, when women gets married and have children their participation usually decreases or stops and so, she says the institution of marriage has robbed us promising women leasers. While men continue to participate in the PLA there are hardly women stay in the guerilla ranks after they reach 25 or so. She further says many things work against women getting involved and staying involved in the revolutionary struggle, especially in the PLA, which requires tremendous sacrifice. In the areas controlled by the Maoist there is struggle against institution and ideas that prevent women from equal participation in society. Entrenched feudal tradition and ideology live the view that women should not inherit or own

land or that women should be restricted to particular tasks and not allowed to do other jobs still exert a very powerful force, including among the revolutionaries themselves. Parvati says that there is sometimes covert or even overt pressure on women cadres to get married; unmarried women are treated with suspicion by men as well as women. Marriage they argue is the means of controlling female cadres making them leave the party difficult. Male cadres have difficulty in 'relinquishing the privileged position bestowed on them by the patriarchal structure'.

There is almost no information about what will be the alternatives carriers of these women after the war. What will be the alternatives carriers of these women after the war? There are questions doubts about how they will be treated if they return their own families and communities, how their family and community will perceive them, and how they will recreate and readjust their identities. The tension really becomes expressive when Hisila Yami a top Maoist leader says, "Sons will be welcomed with open arms, but for daughters can there be a return?" (Rita Manchada)

5. RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

My research will supplement as literatures, by focusing and accessing the motivation of women for joining Maoist movement because very few studies were conducted to bring out the motive factor of women's participation in Maoist movement.

This research will help to eliminate the old belief system regarding the women's issue. Also if the findings will be taken in consideration, it would help government and Non government organization for the policy

recommendation so that the policy maker can properly address the women's issue.

6. METHODOLOGY

6.1 The Rationale for the Selection of the Study Site:

I have located my research site in Rolpa, Ungha Cantonment. The People's War started from the rural district of Nepal. My interest of study and of the rural populace has motivated to conduct the research in Rolpa.

6.2 Research Design:

The research will be conducted ethnographically. The study will be based on the exploratory and descriptive research design, which will be helpful to understand the nature of women's participation in the People's War led by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). The collected data will be qualitative because the research will be a series of interviews and case studies.

6.3 Data Collection Techniques:

In order to obtain the necessary primary data I will remain in the field for 60 days. Some of the techniques for the collection of data include:

-) **Interview with key Informants:** In-depth interviews will be conducted using a predetermined set of questions to frame each interview. Informants will include the female participants involved in the people's war.
-) **Focus Group Discussion:** Focus group discussion will be conducted to get collective information on various aspects of the research

questions. Focus group discussion will be conducted among the participant women, leaders, neighbors etc. Specifically each group will involve 5-10 women participants.

-) **Observation:** To extract the experience of female participant observation will be done. It will be conducted by establishing the rapport in the Cantonment. It is useful for gathering qualitative data.
-) **Informal Discussion:** along with above stated techniques informal discussion will also be conducted. This will generate important set of information about the personal experience which is not generally shared by the individual in the group. It can be held while walking, eating food, and visiting places, drinking tea, etc.
-) **Case Study:** Case study technique involve an in-depth examination of a single instance, event. This will be helpful to generate unique experiences of particular women's social cultural settings and personal histories that motivated them to join the movement, their responsibility and leadership and expectations.

6.4 Data Presentation and Analysis:

Data collected in the field will be analyzed and interpreted in order to fulfill the set of objectives. Qualitative data will be analyzed comparatively to make a logical statement. Secondary and Primary data will also be compare. The generated data will be reviewed, classified, analyzed and conclusion will be drawn.

6.5 Limitations of the Study:

Every research has some limitations. This study also has limitations. Firstly this study will only be employed to know the motive factor of women to join the People's war. Secondly, because of the limited time and resources the generalization drawn from the study of some women war's participants of Ungha Cantonment may not be universally applicable.

Annex C: Pictures of PLA women



PLA women



PLA women are in regular march past.



PLA women are with guns.



Performing the cultural program by women cadres of Maoist party

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