

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

In the contemporary literature conflict denotes the tension, hostility, competitiveness that exists among groups in society as they struggle to obtain social resources and improve their positions in the social system. Conflict occurs naturally and takes places when two or more parties find their interests incompatible, express hostile attitudes, or take action, which damages the other parties' purpose and interests. Armed conflict denotes conflict in which at least two parties resort to the use of armed force against each other. It is difficult to define since a number of different thresholds and rules can be applied for deciding which conflict can be categorized as armed conflict (Kusum 2001:3). The Most of 110-armed conflict 'between' 1989-1999 were internal, with most of the fatalities being civilian- 84 percent according to one count. Among the 110 conflicts, 60 reached the level of war (1,000 battle-related deaths in a year) at a time during the period 1989 to 1999. Only 7 were interstate wars with foreign intervention. Some cases like Afghanistan, Sudan and Sri-lanka remained at war for all or most of the period (Shrestha 2004).

After World War II, nations got largely divided between the two blocks dominated by the USA and the former USSR. With the end of the cold war, the international power equation unilaterally shifted towards the USA, which emerged as the world's only one superpower. Since then, the regional, ethnic, linguistic, resource, geo-political, and religious issues began to have more importance. But, whenever a state fails to properly address these problems, the latent conflicts turned violent. Poor and developing countries have found more vulnerable to violent conflicts due to inequality in distribution of resources and opportunities, inadequate service delivery system, injustice to identities and beliefs, ineffective

governance and administration, inefficient social and political transformation and intolerant leadership. Therefore, while the most violent conflict of the twentieth century was waged between the states, almost all the major conflicts around the world that took place in the 1990s were fought within the state. As a result the frequency and intensity of the volatile internal conflicts are significantly increasing in number around the world (Harris and Ben 1998).

Looking into the conflicts taking all over the world, Nepal has also faced an internal conflict in the name of People's War. The communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) started an armed struggle in February 1996. On the fourth of February 1996, the UPF submitted a 40 point demand to the Prime Minister's Ser Bahadur Deuba of Nepali Congress Government. They declared that they would wage a 'People' War' if the government did not respond to these demands within 15 days. Unfortunately, the Deuba government did not take the demands seriously. Prime Minister Deuba went to India on an official visit, ignoring the deadline. The UPF (Maoist) started a People's War on 13 February 1996, three days before the given deadline, attacking police post at Holeri (Rolpa) and Thibsikot (Rukum), Thapa and Sijapati 2003). Maoist has been waging the armed conflict since 1996, for establishing a communist republican state in Nepal instead of constitutional monarchy and the western model of parliamentary democracy (Adhikari 2006).

The Maoist armed conflict, over the last ten years, has spread all over the country, except two districts-Manag and Mustang-out of the 75 districts of the country (Adhikari 2006). It has not only taken lives of more than 13,000 people (including 1,100 from *Dalit* community) and billions of rupees of property but also challenged a centuries-old authoritarian political regime. The cost of reconstruction of development infrastructure that was destroyed by the Maoist is estimated at NRS 200 billion (Upreti 2006). Talks programmed in different stages were launched during the armed conflict period to resolve the conflict but they became unsuccessful. On 22nd May, 2005, the Seven 'Parties' Alliance' and

Maoist reached the 12-point understanding which has given a good basis to start political process of settling the ongoing armed-conflict. Former Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala and Maoist Supermo Prachand signed the peace agreement by announcing the end of the armed conflict of Nepal. Now, Nepal is declared as a federal democratic republic state. In this study I used the conflict as an instrumental tool to find out the motivating factor of Dalit involvement in the Maoist armed conflict.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Nepal is regarded as a monolithic, feudalistic, autocratic, authoritarian, centralized and closed state for centuries. The state governing system in the entire history of modern Nepal was orchestrated by cajoling, threat of suppression and use of coercive power by the state (Upreti 2006). Such characteristics of the state consequently excluded a vast majority of Nepalese people from the nation-building process (Raj 2004). This became virtually a breeding ground of armed conflict in Nepal.

The Maoist armed conflict was not only the cause of the failure of the multi-party democracy in Nepal rather it was the manifestation of the failure of 238 years of governance system of modern Nepal. The feudal, exclusionary, 'top-down' and elitist ruling system was the fundamental cause of the problem. Rampant poverty, structural inequality, political oppression, social discrimination against certain group like *ethnic* group, *kamaiya*, Women, *Dalit* etc. failure of the public administration, wide spread corruption and continuous failure of successive governments to address these structural problems were the root causes of the Maoist armed conflict. In addition, another plausible explanation for the emergence of the Maoist armed conflict in particular time was the growing awareness of the Nepalese people during the period of multiparty democracy. They were becoming more aware about poverty, inequality, discrimination,

corruption and lack of employment opportunities. Destruction of indigenous social networks in Nepal has also contributed to the conflict (Upreti 2006).

In a context of complex conflict like the Maoist armed conflict in Nepal, it is very hard to identify and separate causes and consequences as causes become consequences and consequences turn into causes. There is a fairly large amount of publications and documents available about the analysis of the armed conflict in Nepal. Some books have been written by Nepalese and foreign scholars covering conflict situation. Many research papers have been prepared by various researchers and several conflict assessment documents are produced by donor agencies and *NGOs/INGOs* (Upreti 2006). Of course, the Maoist armed conflict has its own multi-dynamics, but analysts differ in identification of the major and minor factors that led to successful intensification of Maoist armed conflict. Divergent of views follows mainly in line with disciplinary background of analysts.

The point of view of different people to analyze the Maoist armed conflict is the basis of their disciplinary background. Developmentalists argue that the Maoist armed conflict is basically a social and economic issue and is produced and sustained by failed development. Social and ethnic activists analyze it mainly from the ethnic angle. Analyzing the Maoist armed conflict, a social anthropologist argues, "Maoist armed conflict has blended class based and caste/ethnic based armed conflict in the country." Political scientists' analyses that the fail of governance is the main factor for weakening the state and strengthening the Maoist armed conflict. Economists focus on economic factors such as poverty or lack of economic opportunity is significantly correlated with intensity of conflict. Some sociologists focus on the structural causes and others on ethnic issues are the motivating factors for the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict in Nepal. However, there is a dearth of authentic research of the motivating factors for the involvement of *Dalit in Maoist armed conflict* which was launched from mid-western part of Nepal. The life of the *Dalit* has been turned upside-down during this conflict and many of them have died. It has

been also said that Dalit community was the main targeted group from both side in Maoist armed conflict and the level of involvement had seemed high numbers. So, the above presented causes can play the vital role for the involvement of *Dalit* in the Maoist armed conflict but they need further clarification which is only possible by using sociological analysis. Thus, the present research seeks to answer the following questions:

-) What are the social and cultural conditions of *Dalit* community in the study area?
-) What are the motivating factors to involve into the Maoist armed conflict?
-) Why was this *Dalit* Community chosen as a breeding ground to sustain the ideology by the Maoist?

To get the answer of this research problem, *Dalit* Community is chosen for the study.

1.3. Conceptual Framework

Schematic Diagram of motivating factor of Dalit to the Involvement in Maoist Armed Conflict

I have taken the Social Exclusion, Poverty, Unemployment, Social Justice and Discrimination, Lack of Good Governance, Centralism, Decentralization and Local Autonomy factors as independent variables. The involvement of Dalit in Maoist armed Conflict is taken as dependent variable. My argument is independent variable influence the dependent variables.

1.4. Objectives of the Study:

The general objective of this study is to find out the motivating factors of the involvement of *Dalit* in Maoist armed conflict. The specific objectives are the following:

-) To find out the socio-cultural and economic conditions of *Dalit* in the study area.
-) To explore and identify the motivating factors which help to *Dalit* to involve in the Maoist armed conflict.

1.5. Importance of the Study

It has been said that the revolt of the United Communist party of Nepal, Maoist (UCPN-M), which began in February 1996, is the manifestation of ideology intertwined with old grievances resulting from inequalities embedded in the Nepali social structure. The inequalities stem from poverty, caste/ethnic/gender based discrimination, political/social oppression and corruption in public office that have contributed to the deprivation and marginalization of the people, especially those Dalit who are on the lower rungs of the economic ladder. The political setup after 1990 was unable to include all section of Nepali society and nationalities such as *Dalits*, ethnic minorities, and women. The poor and marginalized people were further more marginalized.

This study contributed to find out the actual motivating factors of *Dalit involvement in* Maoist Armed Conflict. This is very supportive to outsiders or

readers to know more about the conflict and helpful for the rulers, policy makers, bureaucrats, academicians and so on. It is also hoped that this study may also be able to explore the socio-cultural conditions of *Dalit* community which will be pertinent for the further research.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

Every study does have its own constraint, and this study is no exception. The limitations of the study are as follows:

- a) This study wraps only the *Dalit* Community who dwell in the Argal V.D.C. of Baglung district therefore, the findings and recommendations may not true to other parts of the *Dalit* community.
- b) This study is conducted for the completion of the partial fulfillment of master degree in Sociology. So, it is not feasible for a detailed research due to the constraint of time and resources.
- c) This study adopted more Sociological research tools and methods.

CHAPTER - II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical Review

Motivation is the set of reasons that determines one to engage in a particular behavior. The term is generally used for human motivation but, theoretically, it can be used to describe the causes for animal behavior as well. Motivation may be rooted in the basic need to minimize physical pain and maximize pleasure, or it may include specific needs such as eating and resting, or a desired object, hobby, goal, state of being, ideal, or it may be attributed to less-apparent reasons such as altruism, morality, or avoiding mortality (Wikipedia 2010). In this study I am going to deal those factors which had helped to *Dalit* community to involve in Maoist ideology. As a sociological study my main intention will be to find out those factors being based on social and cultural settings and their relation with the involvement of Dalit in Maoist armed conflict.

2.1.1 Understanding conflict

Sociological and anthropological studies have revealed that conflict is deeply rooted in primitive customs and cultures that have investigative functions. The theory of evolution tells us about the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. Political philosophers have considered that conflict occurs due to the competition on power, privilege, and authority. Sociologists have identified conflict into two categories – exogenous (without or between systems) and endogenous (within a society). The exogenous conflict normally develops into war between two systems (emergence of Nazism in Germany and communism in Vietnam, etc.), cultural invasion (Westernization and modernization, influencing cultural frontiers, etc.), and ideological adherence (feudalism, capitalism democracy, fundamentalism, radical, determinism, etc.). The endogenous conflict

tends to a struggle over distribution of desirables values (cumulative effects of technological innovation, environmental crisis, generation gap, etc.), consolidation of authority (supremacy of those giving orders over those who take them) and preponderance of the individual upon society - conflict between interests, needs, and values- (Pathak, 2005).

There is no unified and coherent social conflict theory. It is rather an eclectic conceptual framework and has two distinct traditions of classical work: political philosophy based on power relation and economic based on competitive struggle. It is basically a synthesis of these two traditions which has been built to primarily focus upon unequal distribution of loot and booty (rewards) in human society. During 1950s to 1960s, the theory developed as an alternative to the structural- functional perspective. Karl Marx (1818-1883) is undoubtedly the leading architect of conflict theory. Conflict theory in sociology and anthropology discipline focuses on tension, competition, and division in society. It assumes that no society is devoid of conflicts of interest and that in the process of struggling for scarce and valuable resources groups develop strategies to maximize their rewards and minimize their losses (Magill 2000). The major propositions of conflict theory are as follows:

1. Society is not a system in equilibrium but a nebulous structure of imperfectly coordinated elements which are held together by the coercion of some elements and the subjection of others.
2. Society and its elements are in the process of incessant change although at varying degrees; change and conflict are continuous and normal features of human society.
3. Society is a stage populated with living, struggling and competing actors; the social universe is the setting within which the conflicts of life are acted out.
4. Social conflicts are inherent in the very nature of the social structure; the distinction between exogenous and endogenous conflicts is valid only in the analytical sense.

5. The inherent predilections to change in society vary in scope, nature, intensity and degree of velocity; they may be latent or manifest, gradual or destructive; and
6. Endogenous conflicts arise out of malintegration or differential articulation of structural concomitants, incompatibility of the interests of groups and individuals, differential distribution of rewards, and the imperatives of super-orientation and subordination and the lack of value-consensus (Abharam 1982).

Out of the great diversity of conflict knowledge, it is possible to extract some fundamental insights that seem to hold true for all conflicts. To present them in an easily understandable manner, we will use two guiding principles: focus on general theories, and present these theories in a simplified ways. The work of European scholars - Karl Marx, Dahrendorf, Weber, and others - provided a basis for the development of conflict theory.

Marx developed a complex theory of social system, one that was augmented and changed over the years. Yet there is a continuing theme in his writing that ties social conflict to private ownership: social conflicts exist because there are those who own the means of production and those who work for the owners (Marx and Engels 1846). The goals and interests of these two groups are incompatible, and they are therefore inevitably in conflict with each other.

What constitute the 'means of production' depends on the mode of production. In feudal societies the main mode of production was agriculture; hence the main means of production was land. Land pitted those who owned it, the aristocracy, against those who worked on it, the peasant, serfs, and slaves. In capitalist societies, the main means of production is capital, most notably factories and information. The basic cleavage is between those who own the capital (the capitalists, also known as bourgeoisie) and those who work for them (the proletariat).

Marx's analysis of conflict in capitalist societies led him to conclude that the capitalist's relentless pursuit of profit creates many problems for the workers. He argued that, in the long run, there is only one way a capitalist can make a profit - by exploiting workers. He must pay them less than the goods they produce are worth. In fact, Marx believed that capitalist will always try to reduce the wage to a mere subsistence level, to a point where it is barely sufficient for the survival of the workers and his family. Not surprisingly, the proletariat's goal is the opposite: to raise wages to a fair level.

Marx saw additional reasons for the incompatibility between bourgeoisie and proletariat in goals and interests. In their ruthless pursuit of profit, capitalist dehumanize their workers. They do not hesitate to tear them always from their families and their churches, to turn them into machines doing boring and repetitive work without knowing its purpose. Thus, the ultimate goal of the proletariat is (should be) the destruction of the capitalist system, just as the goal of the capitalist is the preservation of the system.

Subsequent writers found Marx's analysis wanting. Among the most influential is Ralf Dahrendorf (1959). Having criticized Marx's theory of conflict on the grounds that it has yielded predictions that proved false, he proceeded to make his most important point (He noted that, contrary to Marx's predictions, revolutions occur at the beginning rather than at the end of a capitalist era). He argued that Marx failed to make correct predictions because he took into account only a special case of a more general phenomenon. Marx believed that private ownership of the means of production is the cause of social conflicts - that if it were eliminated, harmony would prevail. In point of fact, said Dahrendorf, the true cause is more general: it is an aspect of the vertical differentiation itself - the division between those who protect the interest of the whole, and the interests of the remaining group members.

Dahrendorf has summarized the essential elements of conflict theory as follows:

1. Every society is subjected at every movement to change; social change is ubiquitous.
2. Every society experiences at every movement social conflict; social conflict is ubiquitous.
3. Every elements of society contributes to its changes; and
4. Every society rests on constraint of some of its members by others (Abraham 1982).

Max Weber in his 'social Action theory' suggests that societies vary between conditions of equilibrium and conflict. In his perspective conflict is endemic in social process but tends to operate in favor of powerful people of the society. Weber gives explanations of how power is legitimized and stabilized in society. Weber's social action theory has four major components (Weber, 1948): (a) Role of power; (b) Emphasis on organized system; (c) Legitimacy and (d) Self-interests.

Essential elements of Weber's conflict theory are: (a) Conflicts are endemic in social life, (b) Power is differentially distributed among groups and individuals in society, (c) Social order is achieved in any society through rules and commands issued by more powerful persons to less powerful people and enforced through sanctions, (d) Both the social structure and normative system of a society are more extensively influenced by powerful persons and come to represent the interests of these powerful people, (e) Social changes are often disruptive to powerful people than ordinary people. Hence powerful people oppose or resist change, (f) Changes in a society occur as a result of action by persons who stand to benefit from these changes (Weber 1948 cited in Upreti 2006).

2.1 Empirical Review

2.2.1. Dalit: A Short Description

The term *Dalit* is originally derived from the Sanskrit word and literally means oppressed. This terminology is commonly used in Nepal and India to describe such community group who has been discriminated from the society and was labeled as untouchables since long because of their low caste status. According to the Nepal's National *Dalit* Commission (2002), Proposed Bill, 2003 (Page 2) *Dalit* is defined as:

“Dalit Community refer to communities identified in, who have been left behind in social, economic, educational, political and religious spheres and deprived from the human dignity and social justice due to caste based discrimination and untouchability.”

The word "Dalit" comes from the Sanskrit language, and means "ground", "suppressed", "crushed", or "broken to pieces". It was first used by Jyotirao Phule in the nineteenth century, in the context of the oppression faced by the erstwhile "untouchable" castes of the twice-born Hindus (Oliver and Vicziany 1998). The definition of Dalit is contested at different times, levels and communities. There are many synonymous terms such as "pariganit", "Accchut", or "Pani nachhalne" or "Aprisya" ("untouchables"), "Harijan" ("Peoples of god"), Sudra ("untouchable"), "Utpidit jat" ("depressed caste") and so on. There are suggestions that the term Dalit should not be used because it is not only breeds inferiority but also insulting. Some peoples argue that the use of the term Dalit will never ever help to abolish caste-based untouchability but others argue that as long as the victims of caste-based untouchability are not identified as Dalits they would never ever have a chance for their upliftment (Viswakarma 2001). However the Dalit intellectual and leaders have now accepted that there is nothing wrong in referring them as Dalit and they should be proud of being referred to as Dalit in their campaign against caste-based untouchability and discrimination.

But the first chairman of the National *Dalit* Commission describes the term *Dalit* like this:

“Actually, I would say that Dalit are not caste or caste groups which are being conceptualized everywhere in today’s society, but I would rather say it is the exclusionary situation of poor people that made by the so called upper caste, clever groups or rulers people in the society. Consequently, these people are socially excluded, politically neglected, educationally deprived, economically exploited and religiously oppressed. They are most victimized community in Nepal in every sphere of the development. Previously, they have been named as untouchables or Sudra now finally called as Dalit” (Based on informal talk with ex chairman of the National *Dalit* commission, 12 January 2009 at Kathmandu, Nepal cited in Bishwakarma 2001)

There are no uniformities to the definitions of Dalit. It is also found that Dalit is regarded as caste, nationality and somewhere class also. Most of such uses are from those who are non-Dalit scholars and political activists. But the activists of the Dalit movement do not agree with the above kinds of uses. Instead they use the term Dalit as 'community'. They agree that this is more or less acceptable definition for the Dalit. The activists of Dalit movement say that there are more than two dozen more sub-caste groups with the term Dalit. They are mix in the sense that within them there are dravid, Aryan and Mongol castes. So, Dalit is not caste rather it is a community (Ramtel n.d.)

Given the practices that some Dalits were treated as untouchables in the past but now they moved up in the hierarchy because of economic upliftment, that some were not really untouchables in the past but now they are treated as untouchables, the bottom line of the definition is that those castes or communities who have been treated by the "upper castes" as untouchables are Dalits. In other words, caste-based untouchability embedded with the notion of pollution of water, food and body is the hallmark of the Dalit. Indeed the term

"Dalit" is associated with history, religion, politics, economics and social practices (Bhattachan 2008). Dalit is a self-designation for a group of people traditionally regarded as low caste or untouchables (outcastes). Dalits are a mixed population of numerous caste groups all over South Asia, and speak various languages (Wikipedia 2010).

In the National Dalit Commission's Proposed Bill, 2003, it is stated, "Dalit community' refers to caste-community who have been left far behind in social, economic, educational, political and religious spheres and deprived from human dignity and social justice due to caste based discrimination and untouchability" (2004:239). The National Dalit Commission further states, "Caste-based Untouchability' refers to any discriminatory practices against the community discriminated as water polluting, purification requiring, untouchables by Muluki Ain ("national Civil Code") before implementation of the New Civil Code of 1963."

The National Dalit Commission has tentatively identified 22 Dalit castes. They all are minorities. Like the case of indigenous peoples, different Dalit castes are in different stages of development. Hill Dalits (1.Gandarva –Gaine -, 2. Pariyar – Damai, Darji, Suchikar, Nagarchi, Dholi, Hoodke-,3. Badi, Viswakarma –Kami, Lohar, Sunar, Wod, Chunara, Parki, Tamata -, 4. Sarki – Mijar, Charmakar, Bhool) are little better than the Madhesi Dalits (1. Kalar, 2. Kakaihiya 3. Kori, 4. Khatik, 5. Khatbe – Mandal, Khanka-, 6. Chamar – Ram, Mochee, Harijan, Rabidas-, 7. Chidimar, 8. Dom – Marik-, 9. Tatma – Tanti, Das-, 10. Dusadh – Paswan, Hajara-, 11. Dhobi - Hindu Rajak-, 12. Pattharkatta, 13. Pasi, 14. Bantar, 15. Mushar, 16. Mestar – Halkhor-, 17. Sarvanga – Sarbaraiya-) . Also Dalit practice caste-based discrimination among themselves, Kami or Viswakarma are at the top of the hierarchy, Doom at the bottom and others in between. Among Dalits, kami or Viswakarma is considered as the dominant caste and other Dalit castes as minorities. However, the "upper castes" treat all Dalits, including Kami or Viswakarma as untouchables (Bhattachan 2008).

C. Wright Mills define the concept of the power elite as it is small groups of the people who hold the power, wealth, privilege because they have intelligent and enough wealth. He also argues that the average person are excluded from the participation and control over it especially in the decision making process, which shape the country's social, political path and its priority. Similarly, in the context of *Dalit* in Nepal, they have been excluded from the participation and control over the major decision making process in Nepal, that one's which shape their social and political direction and priority. This is the most important part of the *Dalit* in Nepal to uplift from the current position.

In Nepal, officially the term *Dalit* does not mean any caste but it is the umbrella term which indicates some existing caste groups, falls on the bottom of the Hindu *Varna* hierarchy, who are socially excluded, politically neglected, educationally deprived, economically exploited and religiously oppressed. They are vulnerable and poor group of people who are discriminated on the basis of their caste. The discrimination takes in the form of untouchables, by any physical way, specially handling of the food and drinks. They are treated as animals in the society. *Dalit* have been compelled to live in very poor condition due to lack to educational opportunities and thereby consequently do not have access to economic resources.

In Nepal, 31% of the total population is living below the poverty line, and 70% of which comprises of *Dalit* community. This reflects very clear pictures how poor *Dalit* are. It is estimated that there are 260 million *Dalit* people around the world who are living in the segregation and exclusion under the caste or decent based discrimination. Among many countries in the world, Nepal has been experiencing the deeply rooted Hindu caste system, with hierarchy of various castes within the system. (Baniya, J. 2007)

After the restoration of democracy in the country, the issues of *Dalit* is become popular because most of *Dalit* had started movement against caste based

discrimination and untouchability. But still there are so many problems inside the *Dalit* movement. For example, the identification of the *Dalit* is becoming confusion as who are included in this community? This sort of confusion has been created because of the various governmental organizations in Nepal who has listed different caste groups in *Dalit* category in their own way. In 1996, *Upechhit, Utpidit ra Dalit Barga Utthan Bikash Samiti* (Ignored, Oppressed and *Dalit* Groups' Upliftment Development Committee) has been formed under the chairmanship of Ministry of Local Development. They have listed 23 caste groups as *Dalit* community.

Similarly, National *Dalit* Commission has been formed in 2003, which has listed the caste groups in the *Dalit* category but they are not fully similar to the list categorized by the Ministry of Local Development. (Bhattachan, K., Sunar, T., Gauchan, Y., 2007) That is why, sometimes it makes difficult and confusion while doing some officials work for the *Dalit* in Nepal, like providing scholarship for the *Dalit* community, finding the exact population of the *Dalit* Community and even it is difficult for researcher while conducting research on *Dalit* issues in Nepal. Consequently, final result of the research might give the wrong information in different issues especially for the policy makers and decision making body of the government.

Koirala, et al (1996) believes that *Dalit* are the group of people who are religiously, culturally, educationally, economically oppressed in the society. Similarly, Rijal et al (2004) clarifies that it is politically coined word used to refer to socially backward community in Nepal, who are discriminated on the base of their caste status in the society. It has been practiced the untouchability on the base of caste based discrimination in Nepal. But anyway, *Dalit* definition can be used in two types namely a definition given by National *Dalit* Commission and Ignored, Oppressed and *Dalit* Groups' Upliftment Development Committee (*Dalit Bikash Samiti*), Ministry of Local Development and another definition are Local definition of *Dalit* in terms of Untouchable caste group in Nepal. This is how the

terminology *Dalit* has been practicing in Nepal. Similarly, some *Dalit* activist in Nepal believe that the word *Dalit* itself is the hindrance of equitable society because the meaning of the word *Dalit* is “Oppressed” and generally people takes this word as negative sense in the society. So that now a days, replacing the term for *Dalit* is the major debatable issues that has been discussed by the *Dalit* activist in Nepal. But still it is believed that *Dalit* is the globalized terminology that has been using since long to identify the vulnerable and oppressed caste group of Nepal and its scope is widely covered worldwide with this terminology so that there is no meaning of replacing only the term.

2.2.2. Caste Based Discrimination and Untouchability

In Nepal, Caste system began during the king Jayasthiti Malla (1380-1394)'s regime in Kathmandu Valley. He had formulated a religiously code named *Manav Naya Shastra* in 1380 and classified the people in 64 castes group according to occupation. Similarly; the country code (*Muluki Ain*) 1854 set by King Surendra Bikram Shah restructured the Nepali society into four hierarchy 1) *Tagadhari* (Twice born) which includes Brahmin, Thakuris and Chhetris 2) *Matawali*(Liquor Drinking) 3) *Pani nachalne chhoi chhito halnu naparne* (Untouchable castes group from whom water is not acceptable and does not require purification by the sprinkling of holy water) 4) *Pani nachalne chhoi chhito halnu parne*(Caste groups from whom water is not acceptable and require purification by the sprinkling of holy water). People who fall on both 3 and 4 category are *Dalit* or untouchables. Later on in 1963, the new country code abolished such legal provisions stating that every citizen is legally equal irrespective of caste, creed and sex. But that was not much effective in the society because of deeply rooted practices. After the restoration of the democracy in Nepal in 1990, the new constitution promulgated that all form of discrimination based on caste, ethnicity and religion as punishable in law. But still the law has not been implemented practically in Nepalese society. (DNF, 2006 p 4-5)

Due to such practice in Nepal the *Dalits* are affected in the field of education as well. The people from the *Dalit* community are very poor and even they are not able to afford their children to send in the school and get education but some of *Dalit* even they are not able to find the good education even though they have enough money. The caste based discrimination is global phenomenon, affecting not only *Dalits* of Nepal and India but also so called low caste communities in some other South Asian countries including Malaysia, Japan and some African countries as well. In Nepal, *Dalits* that constitutes almost one fifth of the total population have been suffering from practice of discrimination in society as if they are second class citizens. Consequently, still they are compelled to live with second class citizen in the same country.

In the civil code in 1963, the caste based discrimination has been clearly mentioned as illegal but it was made punishable at that time but in 1990 the constitution, Article 11 (4) has declared that, *“No person shall, on the basis of caste, be discriminated against as untouchable, be denied access to any public places or be deprived of the use of public utilities. Any contravention to this provision shall be punishable by law”*. As a result, despite the availability of free education, many children from the *Dalit* community are out of the opportunity.

The discrimination takes place with the practices of untouchability imposed by dominant caste of Hindu communities, such as denial of access to the public tap, upper caste houses, temples, and hotel/restaurant and so on. Consequently, they face discrimination even in employment, education and other services in the society. Caste based discrimination and Untouchability are related each others. It would be better to define the untouchability to clarify the caste based discrimination in the context of Nepal. National *Dalit* Commission, Nepal (Proposed Bill 2003), Untouchability has been defined as, *“Caste based untouchability refer to those communities, who have been discriminated as water polluting, purification required, if touched ,untouchable or any form of*

discrimination against any community that was identified as untouchable before the promulgation of the New Civil Code, 1963.”

Untouchability is one of the worse practices against the *Dalit* in Nepal. Practically there are two types of untouchability still existing in Nepal. One is temporarily during the period of menstruation and child delivery, both *Dalit* and not *Dalit* women and men are practice the untouchability but it last only for short term but another one, it is year round untouchability practice on the base of lower caste. People can not touch the untouchables or *Dalit* especially Non-*Dalit* can not accept the food and drink touched by untouchables. But there is no any scientific reason behind this practice in the society. Bhattachan et al (2002) listed a total 205 existing practices of caste based discrimination which can be grouped into nine categories. They are:

“(i) denial of entry into houses, restaurants, temples etc. (ii) inability to perform important religious service because wearing sacred thread is not permitted etc. (iii) access to common resources such as using water from the tap or pond used by upper caste is denied (iv) denial of participation in public activities or entry into public places such as religious functions, government functions (v) forced labor or discriminatory practice of labor (vi) dominant behavior towards Dalit such as Jadau system (Practice of Obeisance) (vii) atrocities such as more rape cases among Dalit women than others (viii) social boycott- if a high caste Hindu member marries with a Dalit of either sex, he or she is banned from the society (ix) Attitudinal untouchability such as if one sees a kami(An Untouchable) early in the morning it is considered inauspicious, or if there is a Dalit teacher then children of high caste group will not attend the school.”

Untouchability is one of the practices in caste based discrimination in Nepal. It is believed that the practice of caste based discrimination is originated from the Hinduism and its ritual process. Consequently, Padam Singh Bishwakarma, ex-chairman of National *Dalit* commission, says that it is the practice of Obeisance in the Nepalese society which is common especially in Hill areas. Usually, untouchables use it while talking with high caste people in Hill areas. *“Religion particularly Hinduism is the most responsible factors of hierarchical arrangement of people on the ground of caste and the practice of untouchability. Therefore, without eliminating this practice of untouchability, it is almost impossible to create caste free society.”* (National Dalit Strategy Report, 2002)

Similarly, some *Dalit* activist blaming the state for not taking it as serious problem within the country and not taking more policy and provision to rule out the practice of caste discrimination in the society. Recently, Government of Nepal (House of Representative) has declared the country as secular country from the previously labeled “Only Hindu Kingdom in the World” which is more or less in favor of *Dalit* rights in the country. As it is believed that the practice of Caste based discrimination and untouchability has started from Hinduism and later on it is incorporated by the society for the sake of their benefits.

CHAPTER - III RESEARCH METHODS

3.1. Rationale of the Site Selection

Argal, one of the village Development Committees of Baglung district is lies in the mid western part of the District headquarters. According to the village people, the name 'Argal' is derived from the place called *Argeli*, (Known from pilot survey of the researcher before writing this proposal). Argal village has its own interesting history as fifteenth years ago, the Argal VDC had covered the present Amarbhumi VDC as well, and its boundary was in east Bindu and Damja VDCs, in the west Tara VDC, in the north Baranja and Dapung VDCs of the Myagdi district, and in the south Harichur VDC. But the present boundary of the Argal VDC is bounded by the VDC like Bhuskat, Tara and Hile, Baranja and Dapung of Myagdi district, and Harichur east, west, north and south respectively. The average height of VDC is lies in between 28°15' to 28°20' Nprth altitude and 83°25' to 83°30' East latitude. Argal VDC is heterogeneous in terms of caste and ethnic composition. The magar are predominant but chettrai, Bramin, Kami(Blaksmith), Chanteyal, Damai, Sarki, Thakali, Sunar, Chunaras and Sanayasi are other caste and ethnic groups.

The reason behind the selection of this area is that, Argal is one of the main residential areas of Dalit community. It is the dalit community that has turned out to be the stronghold of the Armed Conflict launched by the Maoist. The life of the dalit has been turned upside-down by this, and many of them have died. There is a dearth of authentic research of the motivating factors of the involvement of dalit in the Maoist launched armed conflict. Studies have been on the dalit, less attention is paid to the factors which motivate these simple people towards armed conflict. Therefore, Dalit community of Argal village in Baglung district is purposively selected as the study area.

3.2 Research Design

Both explanatory and descriptive research designs are employed for the research work. The explanatory research tries to clarify why and how there is a relation between two aspects of a situation or phenomena while the descriptive research attempts to describe systematically a situation, problem, phenomenon, program, information living condition of community or describes attitudes towards an issues. Descriptive also in the sense that, I carefully tried to record all the observed events from the study area and describe as faithfully as possible. Thick description of the culture and ways of life of people; special focus is given to the factors that led them to Maoist armed conflict.

3.3 Sampling Procedure

The Study area is heterogeneous. I have took 30 households of Dalit for the study. Even though the study area was heterogeneous but my intention was to take only the Dalit people and their motivation. Therefore, this study primarily is based on purposive sampling process.

3.4 Nature and Sources of the Data

This study included both primary and secondary sources of information. The primary data have been collected through observation, interview, questionnaire, and Focus Group Discussion. In other side the secondary data is obtained from VDC, District, Region, and Central level as well as Library, published and unpublished articles, documents, books, CD-ROM, Internet, research agencies, and CBS reports. The nature of the data is both qualitative and quantitative as well.

3.5 Techniques of Data Collection

This method involves observation, key informant interview, case study, informal interviews/discussions, and focus group discussion. This study also be used the above techniques of data collection as needed. The techniques like Field Notes, Key Informants Interview, Households Survey, Pre-Test of Questionnaire, Transect Walk, and Rapport Building also used to collect the data.

3.6 Data Analysis

All the collected data is analyzed by using simple statistical tools and techniques. This will be possible at three stages viz: reading the field descriptive notes and identifying the relevant themes/concepts; including relevant materials under relevant themes (by coalescing or separating them as appropriate); and developing generalizations. Quantitative data is analyzed by using computer software package.

3.7. Operational Definitions of Key Concepts

Motivation: Motivation is the set of reasons that determines one to engage in a particular behavior. The term is generally used for human motivation but, theoretically, it can be used to describe the causes for animal behavior as well. In this thesis, motivation refers to human motivation.

Conflict: It denotes the tension, hostility, or competitiveness that exists among groups in society as they struggle to obtain social resources and improve their positions in the social system.

Armed Conflict: It denotes to the conflict in which at least two parties resort to the use of armed force against each other.

Maoist Armed Conflict: It indicates the armed conflict which was launched by the Maoist (Now, United Nepal Communist Party Maoist) party. I chose the topic as 'Maoist armed conflict' to cover only the armed activities that was taken place in between 13th February 1996 to 22nd November, 2005.

CHAPTER – IV

THE SETTING AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CONDITIONS

4.1. Introduction to Argal Village

Argal, one of the villages of Baglung district is lies in the mid western part of the District headquarters. According to the village people, the name 'Argal' is derived from the place called *Argel*. The boundary of the Argal village is bounded by the VDC like Bhuskat, Tara and Hile, Baranja and Dapung of Myagdi district, and Harichur east, west, north and south respectively. The average height of village is lies in between 28°15' to 28°20' North altitude and 83°25' to 83°30' East latitude. Argal village is heterogeneous in terms of caste and ethnic composition. The magar are predominant Kami(Blaksmith) and Damai are other caste and ethnic groups.

4.2. Social Composition in the Study Area

The study area is Argal village one of the villages of Argal VDC in Baglung district. There are 30 households of Dalit in the study area. Among them 25 households are Kami and 5 household are Damai (see table No 1).

Table No 1 Types of Caste in the Study Area

S.N.	Types of Caste in the Study Area	Number of HH	Percentage
01.	Kami	25	83.3
02.	Damai	05	16.6
Total		30	100

Field Survey 2010.

Family

The family structure of these people is quite similar to the other caste groups scattered throughout the country. The main family splits into nuclear ones as the children marry, but there are families where the system of staying joint is existent, where they live in the same house and eat at one kitchen.

Marriage

The marriage structure of these people is quite similar to the other caste groups scattered throughout the country. Arrange and love marriages are popular forms of marriage in the study area. Endogamous marriage practice is popular but in some case there is exogamous marriage practice also prevalent such as in the case of love marriage Dalit people with other ethnic group also found.

4.3. Settlement Patterns

The traditional wall of Dalit house is made of stone and mud with thatched roof (Straw, Rushes, etc.). Very few houses are made of tin roof. According to the villagers, the history of the rushes roofed houses is old.

4.4. Social Services

Sanitation plays very important role for the betterment of human life. The study conducted in Argal village in 2010 revealed the fact that out of the 30 surveyed households most of the households do not have toilet facilities. Among the surveyed households only 10 households have toilet facilities and other remained households use bushes and jungle area for this end.

Table : 2 System of Manage Garbage in the study area

S.N.	System of Manage Garbage	Number of HH	Percentage
01.	Through Haphazardly	25	83.3
02.	Pilling in Manure pit	05	16.6
Total		30	100

Source: Household survey, 2010.

Majority (83%) of the households dispose the household wastages in an open space haphazardly. About 16.6% households dispose is as pilling in manure pit. But, they have no idea to dispose the garbage by burning (Refer Table No ...).

4.5. Drinking Water

I found that about 100% of the surveyed households use the piped water for drinking purpose. They generally fetch water from public taps (Refer Table No 3).

Table 3: Sources of Drinking Water

S.N.	Description	Number of HH	Percentage
01.	Modern Tap	30	100
02.	Others	00	00
Total		30	100

Source: Household survey, 2010.

4.6. Dress and Ornaments

The Dalit of the study area wear the ordinary paint and shirt, a *bhoto* or a shirt of vest and the usual Nepali *topi*. The women wear the *pariya* or *sari* or *lungi*, *chaubandhi cholo* or a closed blouse and the heavy *patuka* or waistband and the *mujetro* or shawl like garment on head. The ornaments are the *mundri* on the ears, *bulaki* on the nose and the *phuli* on the left nostril, the silver coin necklace and the *pote* (green beads) with the *tilhari* gold cyclinder.

4.7. Food and Drinks

The everyday food of Dalit in the study area is Maize bhat (Aanto) and potato. Pork is also popular among them. Rice is used only as a festive food. But, after pregnancy, they give ghee, meat, rice to the mother of newborn baby. Local beer and wine are also their favorites. Barely, Potato, Beans, mushroom, radish, etc., are also popular vegetables for them.

4.8. Religion

But, field survey conducted in 2010 revealed the fact that mostly Dalit people mentioned themselves Hindu. According to them, they don't hesitate to eat beef and also involved in animal scarifying practices.

4.9. Festivals

Dashain

Dalit people celebrate Dashain by offering sacrifices of animals to their deities and Hindu power goddesses *Shakti*. On auspicious occasions, they drink alcohol and make merry. At Dashain, Dalit visit their *mul ghar* (Main house) and receive *tika* on their foreheads, along with blessings from their elder family members and parents. They also go to the elder relatives with gifts and *Kosheli*.

Tihar

Dalit People also celebrates Tihar festival. At the Tihar festivals, Dalit people also perform the *Bhailo*. The celebration of the Tihar among the Dalit is as like other so called high caste group of Nepal.

Manghe Sankranti

Kham Magar People celebrates *Manghe Sankranti* as a festival. They eat mixed food known as Khircho during the festival.

Shrawne Sankranti

They also celebrate the *Shrawne Sankranti* festival where they perform *luto phalne* ritual. In this, they hammer various tins and drums to make a loud noise to drive away luto. Luto is a skin disease that can be transmitted by dogs and buffaloes of the house. Dalit people eat Khir (ricepudding) during the festival.

4.10. Dance

Group dance are popular among the Dalit people. They dance in various festivals and rituals. Public dance among the Dalit people is very popular. They use local musical instrument for music and they have own lyrics.

Sorathi, Maruli and bhailo dance are performed in different festivals, events and happiest movements. While performing every member are requested to take the floor. The dancers feel as if god entering their body while dancing, and later they start shaking and the dance end.

4.11. Deities

They worship khadak deity, kalika, Mai, shiva and Siddha as their main god. They offer he-goat, buffalo, cock etc. during worshipping the deities. There are temples in the village. The main temples in the villages are Shivalaya, Mai and Shiddhathan.

4.12. Life Cycle Rituals

Birth

The birth of a child is an occasion of happiness in any community and it is no exception among in Dalit people. Birth pollution is observed for 9 days.

Next step is the *navran*, which is when the child receives its name and is, made ritually pure along with its mother and the whole household. On this day the calculations are made using the time of birth, date and such data, and then the zodiac is determined. After this the child's name is selected and *navran* is over. It is only after the *navran* that the child is allowed to wear proper stitched clothes.

Marriage

Marriages of arrangements occur when the boy reaches a mature age of 18 and female is also about 16. Usually parents looks around for a suitable bride for the son and once the girl is located the relatives of the prospective groom go to the house of the girl's parents and present them a *theki* of curds, fruits and alcohol like *jaad* and *raksi* and talks take place regarding the agreement of the match. After the girl's parents agreed called *kura chhinne* number of *janti* (friends and relatives) and the musicians, whether *pancha baja* or *naumati baja* to bride's house along with grooms to fetch the bride.

Death

When death occurs, at first they offer oil and a flower garland to the corpse. They sprinkle water touched or dipped in gold on to the corpse. Later the corpse is wrapped in a white cloth and tied in five places to a bamboo bier. Their custom is that the corpse is carried by a son only, but there is another custom where two

people can carry it. The funeral procession is accompanied by a knowable person of village.

After reaching the cremation site by a riverbank, the white cloth is removed and the body placed on the funeral pyre. The deceased's son puts *daag batti* on the mouth of the body and then the pyre is set alight with straw. After the pyre has been burnt, the ashes are thrown into the river and the funeral pyre is washed.

4.13. Political Organization

Dalit people in the study area are politically aware. We are organized into different political organization and especially Maoist party organization says Govinda Pariyar. According to the field survey, 2010, out of the 30 surveyed household 100% respondents found themselves as affiliated to Maoist Party (Refer Table No 4).

Table 4: Political Status of Studied Population

S.N.	Name of Political Parties	Number of Respondents	Percentage
01.	Unified Nepal Communist Party Maoist	30	100
02.	Nepali Congress	00	00
03.	Nepal Communist Party UML	00	00
04.	Others	00	00
Total		30	100

Source: Field survey, 2010.

4.14. Education

Education plays vital role in every aspect of people's life. Without education people's attitude and knowledge can not developed. There is a primary school in the study area. For the secondary education they go to the school which is outside the study area.

4.15. Health Services

The study area has a sub-health post. Common diseases like, fever, cough, abdomen pain, headache, cuts, wounds, etc, are locally treated. For severe and complicated diseases Dalit people go to Butwal and other places.

4.16. Communication

There is a post office outside the study area but telephone services are available and newly established mobile services also functioning well in the village. Due to the modern communication facilities the importance of the post office is decreasing.

4.17. Occupation

Occupation depends on people life styles and their expenditure in their day to day life. Dalit exchange iron objects to the grain with other caste and ethnic groups for the livelihood.

Table 5: Occupation of the informants in the study area

S.N.	Occupation (Primary/Secondary)	Number of informant	Percentage
01.	Agriculture/Wage Labor	20	66.6
02.	Politics/Agriculture	06	20

05.	Agriculture/Foreign Employment	01	3.3
06.	Housewife/Agriculture	03	10
11.	Any Other	00	00
Total		30	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010.

A detailed study on occupation in the study area (Refer in Table 5) revealed the fact that 20 respondents (66.6%), out of the 30 respondents involved in agriculture and wage labor activities as their primary and secondary occupation. The primary and secondary occupation of 06 respondents (20%) is politics and agriculture and 03 respondents (10%) occupation is housewife and agriculture.

4.18. Land Ownership

Nepal is known as agricultural country. Land has been always a vital for the farmers for their living and is considered as an important property in Nepal.

Table 6: Type of Landholding

S.N.	Description	Household	Percentage
01.	Registered	30	100
02.	Unregistered	00	00
03.	Both	---	---
Total		30	100

Source: Field survey, 2010.

The field survey conducted by the researcher in 2010 in Argal village (Refer Table 6) revealed that all of the selected households have registered land.

4.19. Food Sufficiency

Household survey conducted in 2010 has explicitly shown that all households possess the own registered land.

Table 7: Food Sufficiency Situation

S.N.	Food Sufficiency Situation	Numbers of HH	Percentage
1.	Having no own production	00	
2.	0-3 month	15	50
3.	3-6 month	10	33.3
4.	6-9 month	05	16.6
5.	9-12 month	00	00
6.	More then 12 month or surplus to sell	00	00
Total		30	100

Source: Field survey, 2010.

Most of them 15 households (50%) have food sufficiency between 0-3 months followed by 10 households (33.3%) for 3-6months, 05 households (16.6%) for 6-9 months from their own production. Details are shown in Table 7 above.

Table 8: Supplementary Sources for Food Deficit Families

S.N.	Supplementary Sources for Food Deficit Families	Number of HH	Percentage
2.	Wage Labor	15	50
5.	Mechanical Work	14	46.6
10.	Others	01	3.3
Total		30	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010.

The supplementary sources for food deficit families are mainly wage labor, mechanical work, etc. (Refer in Table 8). Fifteen households (50%) out of the 30 households, wage labor are the supplementary sources for food deficit. Mechanical work is the supplementary sources for food deficit to 14 households (46.6%), and so on.

4.20. Livestock and Poultry

In Dalit community Pig, Cow, Sheep, Ox, and Poultry are domesticated. Livestock is useful for meat as a protein supplement, income generation, and manure making for agricultural field.

CHAPTER – V

MOTIVATING FACTORS FOR THE INVOLVEMENT OF DALIT IN THE MAOIST ARMED CONFLICT

5.1. General Introduction

I conducted the research to find out the motivating factors which help to Dalit to involve in the Maoist armed conflict in Argal village. The study revealed the facts that there were many motivating factors which had contributed to the Dalit to involve in the Maoist armed conflict in the study area. Among them were mainly Psychological, economic, social and cultural. Out of the total 30 surveyed households, 25 households (83.3%) were motivated socially and culturally in the Maoist armed conflict. Five households (16.6%) households were motivated economically and others in the Maoist armed conflict respectively (Refer in Table No 9).

Table 9: Major Motivating Factors

S.N.	Motivating Factors	Numbers of respondents			Percentage
		Male	Female	Total	
1.	Socially and culturally (Social exclusion, Social Injustice and Discrimination, Elite decision at the village)	21	04	25	83.3
2.	Economic and Psychologically (Poverty, Unemployment and Frustration)	04	01	05	16.6
Total			30		100

Source: Field survey, 2010.

The motivating factors to the involvement in Maoist armed conflict of studied Dalit people have been described under the different headings given below.

5.2. Poverty

Nepal depends heavily on agriculture and more than 80% people are associated with agriculture for their subsistence. Due to the inappropriate management of land and lack of scientific agricultural system the production is very minimal. It is directly related with the economy of the country. Economic factors play the crucial role in the development of country. Without economic development and poverty reduction, the expectations and livelihood of people can neither be fulfilled nor managed. When people became economically excluded there begins the conflicts with the groups or country. The following are the some economic factor that had helped the people to involve into the Maoist armed conflict.

Poverty denotes a condition below that of easy, comfortable living denotes a condition of painful lack of what is useful or desirable; indigence is lack of ordinary means of subsistence; pauperism is such destitution as throws one upon public charity for supports (Webster Dictionary 1996). 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 disasters. And they are often exposed to ill treatment by institutions of the state and society and are powerless to influence key decisions affecting their lives. This all are dimensions of poverty (World Bank 2000/2001).

Household survey conducted in the Aargal village has explicitly shown that all households possess the own registered land (Refer in Table No.10).

Table 10: Food Sufficiency Situation

S.N.	Food Sufficiency Situation	Numbers of HH	Percentage
1.	0-3 month	15	50
2.	3-6 month	10	33.3
3.	6-9 month	05	16.6
4.	9-12 month	00	00
5.	More then 12 month or surplus to sell	00	00
Total		30	100

Field Survey 2010.

The research conducted in the Argal village revealed the facts that all of the surveyed households do not have sufficient food for livelihood. Most of the households (50%) have sufficient food only for 0 - 3 months. Only 5 households have sufficient food for 6 – 9 months from their own production. Details are shown in Table 10 above. During the study I found that most of the informants were motivated into the Maoist armed conflict due to the poverty. The following case study also revealed the facts that poverty was one of the major motivating factors for the involvement of Dalit in the Maoist armed conflict.

CASE STUDY 1

I Did Not Get The Opportunity To Education Due To The Poverty

Setikala B. K., 23 years old, an inhabitant of Argal village now is in People Liberation Army Cap. She is now working as a PLA and involved in Maoist armed conflict due to the poverty. "I did not get the opportunity to education due to the poverty" Setikala says. Social discrimination, economic disparities, caste based oppression and social norms were the main factors that I have involved into Maoist armed conflict. Astha (Political Name) PLA section commander and also the inhabitant of Argal village also agreed with the argument of Setikala. She had also motivated into the Maoist armed conflict due to the poverty.

5.3. Social Exclusion

There were high hope and expectations that the restoration of democracy would mean the end of discrimination, exploitation, and abolition of semi-feudalism and semi-imperialism. But frustration and alienation developed immediately after the restoration of democracy, as the attention of newly elected democratic government focused on the interest of their own near and dear ones, viz. party,

activists, constituencies, families, and so on. The Maoists, on the other hand, attracted the poor, disadvantaged, marginalized, socially excluded, and vulnerable people who had been cut off from the fruits of democracy, human rights, and rule of law as the select few continued to deprive them from the service delivery system and all the opportunities and resources of the country. This helped to motivate the people to involve into the Maoist armed conflict.

Analysis of spatial patterns does not indicate any correlation between the density of socially excluded population and intensity of Maoist insurgency. However, there is some evidence of correspondence between the area of insurgency and poverty level. By implication, since poverty is also induced by social exclusion. Janajati and Dalit groups have been directly engulfed in the insurgency. The Maoists have a vested interest in mobilizing the socially excluded in their class war as there are many areas of convergence between the Maoist agenda and that of indigenous people. This does not mean a virtual conjunction of these two contenders against the State, which is semi-feudal for the Maoist and communal for the Janajati. Despite this objective difference, the radical struggle of the Maoists is being reinforced by ethnic liberation fronts, while the civil movement of Janajati has benefited from such identity formation that had been long suppressed (Gurung 2004).

Social exclusion has defined as 'the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society within which they live' (European Foundation 1995, p.4, cited in Rawal 2008). The cultural discrimination, economic exploitation, social exclusion, and political oppression have become the national character of Nepali state policies ever since the formation of greater Nepal through territorial conquest by the Gorkha rulers in 1769. Soon after the territorial conquest, Prithivi Narayan Shah declared Nepal as the *ashali Hindusthan* meaning Nepal as the true Hindu Kingdom. He further

declared Nepal as the common garden of four Varna and thirty six castes. In practice, Nepal never became a common garden of all communities. Instead, it remained private vassal of so called high caste Hindu Bahuns and Chhetris (Gurung 2009).

The territorial unification of Nepal through military conquest did not unify the feeling and aspiration of non Hindu Communities. They were excluded from the main stream national political life and deprived off the socio-economic opportunities. The structural of Nepali society into a hierarchical segmentation along the line of Hindu caste system with the ritual claim of superior and inferior as well as pure and impure excluded indigenous peoples, women and Dalits from the national, social, cultural, economic and political life. To become a citizen of Nepal one has to speak Khas language, observe caste system, follow Hindu religion and wear Nepali dress. Even after the restoration of multi-party democracy, the declaration of Nepal as a Hindu kingdom legally prohibited indigenous peoples and other religious minorities from practicing their religions. So, indigenous people, Dalits, Madhesi, women and other minorities group are socially excluded from the main stream of the state (Gurung 2009).

The research conducted in the study area revealed the fact that most of the people were motivated into the armed conflict due to the social exclusion. They were excluded from economical, social, cultural, geographical, educational, developmental, religious, and political spheres. The following one is a case study of cultural exclusion (Refer in Box 1).

Box 1: Blood is Same; Work is Same but They feel 'Others'.

In Argal village most of the Dalit people are small and poor peasants. They mainly practice Hinduism as their religion. The caste system within the Hinduism classifies Dalit as an untouchable caste. The position of the Dalit in social hierarchy is low

with compare to other castes. They are religiously treated as untouchable to others. From the perspective of other so-called high castes Dalit are polluted. The conception of pollution is institutionalized by using religious logics of Hinduism. All human beings are the descendents of homo sapiens and this is the archaeologically proved evident but Dalit people are treated as second human being. Dalit have the same blood, feelings, emotions, and they do the same work but they feel socially excluded as 'others'.

The study conducted in Argal village in 2010 also revealed the facts that out of the 30 surveyed households all of them feel themselves socially excluded people.

Table 11: Feeling of Exclusion

S.N.	Form of Exclusion	Numbers of respondents	Percentage
1.	Socially and Culturally	20	66.6
2.	Economically	20	66.6
3.	Legally	15	50
4.	Othres	06	20
Total		30	----

Source: Field survey, 2010.

Out of the 30 surveyed respondents the feeling of the exclusion is found in different forms. Most of them feel that they are excluded socially and economically. But some feel that economy is the main cause of exclusion. They say that economically sound people does not feel excluded. The identity of Dalit itself is not the sole causes of exclusion but the people' behavior for the Dalit is the cause (Key informants interview 2010). The Maoist party took the policy to mobilize the socially excluded people for the armed conflict in the name of their emancipation. Maoist had presented many issues which were directly related to the socially excluded indigenous people in their 40 points demands (Refer in Annex). As a Dalit people of Argal village involved in the Maoist armed conflict by organizing into Dalit Mukti Morcha (Dalit Liberation Front).

5.3. Social Injustice and Discrimination

The constitution of the kingdom of Nepal 1990 has provisioned the 'right to equality' in article 11 where "all citizens shall be equal before the law. No person shall be denied the equal protection of the laws". Article 11 (3) also emphasizes that the state shall not discriminate citizens from other citizens on grounds of religion, race, sex, caste, tribe, or ideological conviction or any of these. However, Dalit in Nepal are being treated unequally. Mulik Ain 1964 was promulgated during the regime of the late king Mahendra with the provision of eradicating untouchability of those who are regarded as low (Damai, Kami, Poda, Chame, etc.) in the caste hierarchy. Even at the dawn of the 21st century, they have not been allowed to fetch water from public wells and to enter temples. Also there are a few cases where they are not permitted to join local level government services. Lower level state functionaries are not aware of the rights of so-called Dalit groups.

Table 12: Feeling of Social Injustice and Discrimination

S.N.	Types of Feelings	Numbers of respondents	Percentage
1.	Caste Based Discrimination	25	83.3
2.	Caste and Gender based Discrimination	05	16.6
4.	Othres	00	00
Total		30	100

Source: Field survey, 2010.

The research conducted in the study area revealed the facts that out of the 30 respondents most of them (83.3%) feel that they are discriminated on the basis of caste system. Some of them (16.6%) feel that they are they are discriminated on the basis of caste as well as gender. I conducted the focus group discussion (FGD 2010) among the respondents and they say that before the Maoist armed conflict the rate of the discrimination is so high. Almost all respondents feel that they were discriminated on the basis of caste before Maoist armed conflict. During the period of Maoist armed conflict the activists of Maoist party assured that discrimination over the Dalit is inhumane. They also assured that they are trying to destroy such

type of discrimination. They appealed to all the Dalit people to participate in their program as an active member of the party for the emancipation. And, all of us decided to involve the Maoist party for our emancipation. The following case study also gives some hints about the discrimination as one of the motivating factors for the involvement of Dalit in the Maoist armed conflict.

CASE STUDY 2

There is No Sense of Caste Based Discrimination in The Maoist Party

Govinda Darji, 32 years old, an inhabitant of Argal village recalled his past. Before the Maoist armed conflict the position of the Dalit in the village was severe. All of them were discriminated on the basis of caste system. They were treated as the untouchable people. "The centre based political, economic, educational and administrative structures are the main causes for the Dalit to involve in Maoist armed conflict" Govinda says. The slogan of the Maoist party was to allocate the resources to all the corners and the group of the people in the nation. They also treated us as normal people did. There was no sense of discrimination in the Maoist party on the basis of caste. I liked their policies and I motivated to involve in the armed conflict says Govinda.

5.5. Lack of Good Governance

Good governance calls for the democratic planning, and management of development with the people, for the people and by the people, especially the marginalized. It is an exercise of political power at all levels to control and manage the nation's affairs (Nepali 2000:2). In Nepalese context, 104 years of Rana rule and 30 years of Panchayat regime have mentioned a continuity of feudalism in the country's social, economic and political system. Due to the fact that, the concept of Good Governance has not extended to the local level people but remained within the state rulers in Nepal. In large parts of the country people did not feel the presence of Government. Government had lost the credibility, legitimacy and

representative credentials from the view of people who had resided in remote areas. Such situation motivated to the Maoist armed conflict in Nepal.

The focus group discussion conducted in the study area revealed the facts that most of the respondents didn't feel the presence of the government before launching the Maoist armed conflict. They were excluded from all of the things. When police came to investigate about the people who were involved in the Maoist armed conflict they feel the presence of the government. When police had started to suppressed and oppressed the people by arresting them without any fault they felt the presence of government. Such types of activities contributed as motivating factors for the Dalit to involve in the Maoist armed conflict.

5.6. Elite Decision at the Village

Though the Local Self-government Act , 2055 (1999) and Regulation 2056 (1999) have been initiated to provide some political, social, economic, and administrative rights at the districts, municipalities, and VDC levels , these have not addressed with full autonomy at the local level. The essential issues like opening schools, health posts, and recruitment at the local level from ethnic communities have to depend on the central authority. Even to get an appointment in the lowest position, such as a peon, people have to reach the capital. In addition, people have to face partiality, nepotism, corruption, political favoritism, delay, injustice, inequality etc., to get their jobs done. In the absence of the local level democracy and self-governance, people felt excluded from the system. The prevailing characteristic of centralism consequently forces the deprived people of the rural areas to support and promote the Maoist armed conflict.

Another motivation factor of Maoist armed conflict was the demand of various autonomous states, or provinces as well as decentralized administrations. The Webster Dictionary defines the terms 'autonomous' as: Independent; self-

governing or pertaining to an autonomy, and the meaning of autonomy is the condition or quality of being autonomous; especially, the power or right of self-government; a self-governing community or local group in a particular sphere, as in religion, education etc., self-determination, as of the will (1996).

Constitutionally, Nepal has been divided into five regions, (14 zones though not mentioned in the Constitution do exist), 75 districts, and the provisions of local bodies (Municipality and Village Development Committee) and also the Local Self-Governance Act, 2055 (1999) and Local Self-Governance Regulation, 2056 (1996) empower the municipality and local bodies, which does not reflect autonomy and proper decentralization in Nepal. There were poor relations between central government and communities. The government institution did not enjoy autonomy and thus they were ineffective. But, the Maoists had proved their capacity to provide services effectively at the local level and have gotten support from the local people.

The Communist Party of Nepal Maoist had taken a policy about self-determination and autonomy for the oppressed nationalities in Nepal. And, the program of Maoist was to establish a New Democratic State with the joint participation of all nationalities, the ending of all forms of oppression and exploitation based on nationality, language, religion, etc and equal treatment and opportunity for all caste, ethnic groups and languages. The FGD which was conducted in the study area also found that they were motivated in the Maoist armed conflict by organizing in the Dalit Mukti Morcha for autonomy. The study revealed that Elites have the decision power among the Dalit. The following case study shows such situations (Refer in case study 3).

CASE STUDY 3

“Kami-Damai Sanga Kina Sodhne?”

Nirantar (Political Name), 30 years old, an inhabitant of Argal village says that the predominant elite’s activities also contributed to the Dalit to involve in Maoist armed conflict. Before the Maoist armed conflict the position of the Dalit in the village was harsh. All of them were discriminated from decision making process on the basis of caste system. They were treated as the untouchable people. The main body of the decision making comprised from other caste and ethnic groups, particularly Magars. The cliché like “Kami-damai sanga kina sodhne?” (Why concerned to others such as Kami and Damai?) was prevalent there Nirantar says. All of the Dalit had no power within their community as decision makers before the Maoist Armed conflict. At the same time Maoist take an opportunity for that condition by taking the Dalit oriented policies. We accepted and involved into Maoist armed conflict.

5.7. Unemployment and Frustration

Another important but less debated and discussed factor contributing to the escalation of Maoist armed conflict is the frustration of youth, unemployed mass, students failed in SLC and those who were expecting more from the political change of 1990 and getting nothing. Their expectations were unrealized, unheard, and sealed under the unfair political ambition of parties. Likewise, the brutality of the state towards the innocent civilians (kidnapping, torturing, killing, raping, forceful donation, blaming of spy and supporters, etc.) have developed a strong sense of injustice and forced them to engage in revenge and retaliation to those who carried out brutality. It has contributed to escalating the Maoist armed conflict.

FGD findings revealed the facts that there was only one government primary school. Student after primary grade have no way to study further more. Their economical condition was not sound for further study. The SLC passed students hadn’t have job opportunity within the village and in outside they didn’t compete with others. So, they have no choice left only to join Maoist armed conflict. Maoist had launched the policies and programs to address those students and did success to involve into their campaign.

CHAPTER - VI

SUMMARY, MAIN FINDINGS & DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

7.1. Summary

This thesis deals to the motivating factors for the involvement of Dalit in the Maoist armed conflict in Argal village. Motivation is the set of reasons that determines one to engage in a particular behavior. The term is generally used for human motivation but, theoretically, it can be used to describe the causes for animal behavior as well. The study area is Argal village one of the villages of Argal VDC in Baglung district. Argal village is heterogeneous in terms of caste and ethnic composition. The magar are predominant but chetrai, Bramin, Kami(Blaksmith), Chanteyal, Damai, Sarki, Thakali, Sunar, Chunaras and Sanayasi are other caste and ethnic groups.

The point of view of different people to analyze the Maoist armed conflict is the basis of their disciplinary background. Developmentalists argue that the Maoist armed conflict is basically a social and economic issue and is produced and sustained by failed development. Social and ethnic activists analyze it mainly from the ethnic angle. Analyzing the Maoist armed conflict, a social anthropologist argues, "Maoist armed conflict has blended class based and caste/ethnic based armed conflict in the country." Political scientists' analyses that the fail of governance is the main factor for weakening the state and strengthening the Maoist armed conflict. Economists focus on economic factors such as poverty or lack of economic opportunity is significantly correlated with intensity of conflict. Some sociologists focus on the structural causes and others on ethnic issues are the motivating factors for the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict. However, there is a dearth of authentic research of the motivating factors for the involvement of *Dalit in Maoist armed conflict* which was

launched from mid-western part of Nepal. The life of the *Dalit* has been turned upside-down during this conflict and many of them have died. It has been also said that Dalt community was the main targeted group from both side in Maoist armed conflict and the level of involvement had seemed high numbers.

So, the above presented causes can play the vital role for the involvement of *Dalit* in the Maoist armed conflict but they need further clarification which is only possible by using sociological analysis. Thus, the present research seeks to answer the following questions:

-) What are the social and cultural conditions of *Dalit* community in the study area?
-) What are the motivating factors to involve into the Maoist armed conflict?
-) Why was this *Dalit* Community chosen as a breeding ground to sustain the ideology by the Maoist?
-) How is that they have found themselves to be dragged into the Maoist ideology?

The general objective of this study is to find out the motivating factors of the involvement of *Dalit* in Maoist armed conflict. The specific objectives are to find out the social and cultural conditions of *Dalit* in the study area, and to explore and identify the motivating factors which help to *Dalit* to involve in the Maoist armed conflict.

I have used both explanatory and descriptive research designs are employed for the research work. The Study area is heterogeneous. Non-probability sampling is used to collect data and information. Therefore, this study primarily is based on purposive sampling process.

This study included both primary and secondary sources of information. The nature of the data is both qualitative and quantitative as well. This method involves observation, key informant interview, case study, informal

interviews/discussions, and focus group discussion and so on. This study also be used the above techniques of data collection as needed. The techniques like Field Notes, Key Informants Interview, Households Survey, Pre-Test of Questionnaire, and Rapport Building also used to collect the data. All the collected data is analyzed by using simple statistical tools and techniques. This will be possible at three stages viz: reading the field descriptive notes and identifying the relevant themes/concepts; including relevant materials under relevant themes (by coalescing or separating them as appropriate); and developing generalizations. Quantitative data is analyzed by using computer software package.

. 7.2. Main Findings

-) The study conducted in Argal village revealed the facts that there were many motivating factors which had contributed to the involvement of Dalit in Maoist armed conflict. Among them were mainly economic, social, cultural, and psychological factors.
-) Out of the total 30 surveyed respondents, 25 respondents (86.6%) were motivated socially and culturally in the Maoist armed conflict. Five (16.6%) respondents were motivated economically and psychologically in the Maoist armed conflict.
-) The study conducted in Argal village in 2010 also revealed the facts that out of the 30 surveyed households all of them feel themselves socially excluded people.
-) Out of the 30 respondents most of them (83.3%) feel that they are discriminated on the basis of caste system. They were treated as the untouchable people.
-) The centre based political, economic, educational and administrative structures are the main causes for the Dalit to involve in Maoist armed

conflict. There was no sense of discrimination in the Maoist party on the basis of caste.

-) Most of the households (50%) have sufficient food only for 0 - 3 months. Only 5 households have sufficient food for 6 – 9 months from their own production. Most of the informants were motivated into the Maoist armed conflict due to the poverty.
-) The Communist Party of Nepal Maoist had taken a policy about self-determination and autonomy for the oppressed Caste and nationalities.
-) The frustration of youth, unemployed mass; failed to get proper education and those who were expecting more from the political change of 1990 and getting nothing. So, they have no choice left only to join Maoist armed conflict.

7.3. Conclusion

The study conducted in Argal village revealed the facts that there were many motivating factors which had contributed to the involvement of Dalit in Maoist armed conflict. Among them were mainly economic, social, cultural, and psychological factors. Out of the total 30 surveyed respondents, 25 respondents were motivated socially and culturally in the Maoist armed conflict. Five respondents were motivated economically and psychologically in the Maoist armed conflict.

The study conducted in Argal village in 2010 also revealed the facts that out of the 30 surveyed households all of them feel themselves socially excluded people. Out of the 30 respondents most of them feel that they are discriminated on the basis of caste system. They were treated as the untouchable people. The centre based political, economic, educational and administrative structures are the main causes for the Dalit to involve in Maoist armed conflict. There was no sense of discrimination in the Maoist party on the basis of caste.

During the study I found that most of the households have sufficient food only for 0 - 3 months. Only 5 households have sufficient food for 6 – 9 months from their own production. Most of the informants were motivated into the Maoist armed conflict due to the poverty. The Communist Party of Nepal Maoist had taken a policy about self-determination and autonomy for the oppressed Caste and nationalities. The frustration of youth, unemployed mass; failed to get proper education and those who were expecting more from the political change of 1990 and getting nothing. So, they have no choice left only to join Maoist armed conflict.

7.4. Direction for the Future Research

-) The study of Dalit community; its continuity and change by relating with Maoist armed conflict will be pertinent area for research.

-) Armed conflict, roles of women, and health system during the conflict will be important study area for understanding health management system in armed conflict.

-) The impacts of Maoist armed conflict will be also pertinent as a research issue in the study area.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX - A

Annex A. 1. Forty point demands

The 40-point charte of demands and covering letter presented to Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba by Dr. Baburam Bhattarai on the behalf of the United People's Front on 4 February, 1996.

4 February, 1996

Right Honourable Prime Minister
Prime Minister's Office, Singha Durbar, Kathmandu

Subject: Memorandum

Sir,

It has been six years since the autocracy monarchical partyless Panchayat system was ended by the 1990 People's Movement and a constitutional monarchical multiparty parliamentary system established. During this period state control has been exercised by the tripartite interim government, the single-party government of the Nepali Congress, the minority government of UML, and the present Nepali Congress-RPP-Sadbhavana coalition. That, instead of making progress, the situation of the country and the people is going downhill is evident from the facts that Nepal has slid to being the second poorest country in the world; people below the absolute poverty line has gone up to 71 percent; the number of unemployed has reached more than 10 percent with the number of people who are semi-employed or in disguised employment has crossed 60 percent; the country is one of the verge of bankruptcy due to soaring foreign loans and deficit trade; economic and cultural encroachment within the country by foreign, especially Indian, expansionists is increasing by the day; the gap between the rich and the poor and between towns and villages is growing wider. On the other hand, parliamentary parties that have formed the government by various means have shown that they are more interested in remaining in power with the blessing of foreign imperialist and expansionist master than in the welfare of the country and the people. This is clear from their blindly adopting the so-called privatization and liberalization to fulfill the interests of all imperialists

and from the recent 'national consensus' reached in handing over the rights over Nepal's water resources to Indian expansionists. Since 6 April, 1992, the United People's Front has been involved in various struggles to fulfill relevant demands related to nationalism, democracy and livelihood either on its own or with others. But rather than fulfill those demands, the government formed at different times have violently suppressed the agitators and taken the lives of hundreds; the most recent example of this is the armed police operation in Rolpa a few months back. In this context, we would like to once again present to the current coalition government the demands related to nationalism, democracy and livelihood, many of which have been raised in the past and many which have become relevant in the present context.

Our demands:

Concerning nationality

1. All discriminatory treaties, including the 1950 Nepal-India Treaty, should be abrogated.
2. The so-called Integrated Mahakali Treaty concluded on 29 January 1996 should be repealed immediately, as it is designed to conceal the disastrous Tanakpur Treaty and allows Indian imperialist monopoly over Nepal's resources.
3. The open border between Nepal and India should be regulated, controlled and systematized. All vehicles with Indian license plates should be banned from Nepal.
4. The Gurkha/Gorkha Recruitment Centres should be closed. Nepali citizens should be provided dignified employment in the country.
5. Nepali workers should be given priority in different sectors. A 'work permit' system should be strictly implemented if foreign workers are required in the country.
6. The domination of foreign capital in Nepali industries, business and finance should be stopped.
7. An appropriate customs policy should be devised and implemented so that economic development helps the nation become self-reliant.
8. The invasion of imperialist and colonial culture should be banned. Vulgar Hindi films, videos and magazines should be immediately outlawed.

9. The invasion of colonial and imperial elements in the name of NGOs and INGOs should be stopped.

Concerning people's democracy

10. A new constitution should be drafted by representatives elected for the establishment of a people's democratic system.
11. All special privileges of the king and the royal family should be abolished.
12. The army, the police and the bureaucracy should be completely under people's control.
13. All repressive acts, including the Security Act, should be repealed.
14. Everyone arrested extra-judicially for political reasons or revenge in Rukum, Rolpa, Jajarkot, Gorkha, Kavre, Sindhupalchowk, Sindhuli, Dhanusha, Ramechhap, and so on, should be released. All false cases should be immediately withdrawn.
15. The operation of the armed police, repression and State-sponsored terror should be immediately stopped.
16. The whereabouts of the citizens, who disappeared in police custody at different times, namely Dilip Chaudhary, Bhuwan Thapa Magar, prabhakar Subedi and others, should be investigated and those responsible brought to justice. The families of victims should be duly compensated.
17. All those killed during the People's Movement should be declared martyrs. The families of the martyrs and those injured and deformed should be compensated, and the murderers brought to justice.
18. Nepal should be declared a secular nation.
19. Patriarchal exploitation and discrimination against women should be stopped. Daughters should be allowed access to paternal property.
20. All racial exploitation and suppression should be stopped. Where ethnic communities are in the majority, they should be allowed to form their own autonomous governments.
21. Discrimination against downtrodden and backward people should be stopped. The system of untouchability should be eliminated.
22. All languages and dialects should be given equal opportunities to prosper. The right to education in the mother tongue up to higher level should be guaranteed.

23. The right to expression and freedom of press and publication should be guaranteed. The government mass media should be completely autonomous.
24. Academic and professional freedom of scholars, writers, artists, and cultural workers should be guaranteed.
25. Regional discrimination between the hills and the terai should be eliminated. Backward areas should be given regional autonomy. Rural and urban areas should be treated at par.
26. Local bodies should be empowered and appropriately equipped.

Concerning livelihood

27. Land should belong to 'tenants'. Land under the control of the feudal system should be confiscated and distributed to the landless and the homeless.
28. The property of middlemen and comprador capitalists should be confiscated and nationalized. Capital lying unproductive should be invested to promote industrialization.
29. Employment should be guaranteed for all. Until such time as employment can be arranged, an unemployment allowance should be provided.
30. A minimum wage for workers in industries, agriculture and so on should be fixed and strictly implemented.
31. The homeless should be rehabilitated. No one should be relocated until alternative infrastructure is guaranteed.
32. Poor farmers should be exempt from loan repayments. Loans taken by small farmers from the Agricultural Development Bank should be written off. Appropriate provisions should be made to provide loan for small farmers.
33. Fertilizer and seed should be easily available and at a cheap rate. Farmers should be provided with appropriate prices and markets for their produce.
34. People in flood-and drought-affected areas should be provided with appropriate relief materials.

35. Free and scientific health services and education should be available to all. The commercialization of education should be stopped.
36. Inflation should be checked. Wages should be increased proportionate to inflation. Essential goods should be cheaply and easily available to everyone.
37. Drinking water, roads and electricity should be provided to all villagers.
38. Domestic and cottage industries should be protected and promoted.
39. Corruption, smuggling, black marketeering, bribery, and the practices of middlemen and so on should be eliminated.
40. Orphans, the disabled, the elderly and children should be duly honored and protected.

We would like to request the present coalition government to immediately initiate steps to fulfill these demands which are inextricable linked with the Nepali nation and the life of the people. If there are no positive indications towards this from the government by 17 February 1996, we would like to inform you that we will be forced to adopt the path of armed struggle against the existing state power.

Thank you.

Dr. Baburam Bhattarai
Chairman
Central Committee, United People's Front, Nepal

Source: Nepalma Janayuddha, Nepal Rastriya Buddhijibi Sangathan,
Kathmandu, 2058 BS.

Annex A.2. 12- Point understanding between Seven Party Alliance and Maoists, 22 November 2005

Letter of Understanding (Unofficial translation)

The long struggle between absolute monarchy and democracy in Nepal has now reached a very grave and new turn. Establishing peace by resolving the 10-year old armed conflict through a forward-looking political outlet has become the need of today. Therefore, implementing the concept of absolute democracy through a forward-looking restructuring of the state has become an inevitable need to solve the problems related to class, caste, gender, region etc of all sectors including political, economic, social and cultural, bringing autocratic monarchy to an end and establishing absolute democracy. We make public that, against this existing backdrop and reference in the country, the following understanding has been reached between the seven parliamentary parties and the CPN (Maoist) through different methods of talks.

Points of Understanding

1. Today, democracy, peace, prosperity, social advancement and a free and sovereign Nepal is the chief wish of all Nepalese. We completely agree that autocratic monarchy is the main hurdle in (realising) this. It is our clear view that without establishing absolute democracy by ending autocratic monarchy, there is no possibility of peace, progress and prosperity in the country. Therefore, an understanding has been reached to establish absolute democracy by ending autocratic monarchy, with all forces against the autocratic monarchy centralizing their assault against autocratic monarchy from their respective positions, thereby creating a nationwide storm of democratic protests.

2. The seven agitating parties are fully committed to the fact that only by establishing absolute democracy through the restoration of the Parliament with the force of agitation, forming an all-party government with complete authority, holding elections to a constituent assembly through dialogue and understanding

with the Maoists, can the existing conflict in the country be resolved and sovereignty and state power completely transferred to the people. It is the view and commitment of the CPN (Maoist) that the above mentioned goal can be achieved by holding a national political conference of the agitating democratic forces, and through its decision, forming an interim government to hold constituent assembly elections. An understanding has been reached between the agitating seven parties and the CPN (Maoist) to continue dialogue on this procedural work-list and find a common understanding. It has been agreed that the force of people's movement is the only alternative to achieve this.

3. Today, the country has demanded the establishment of permanent peace along with a positive solution to the armed conflict. Therefore, we are committed to ending autocratic monarchy and the existing armed conflict, and establishing permanent peace in the country through constituent assembly elections and forward-looking political outlet. The CPN (Maoist) expresses its commitment to move along the new peaceful political stream through this process. In this very context, an understanding has been reached to keep, during the holding of constituent assembly elections after ending autocratic monarchy, the armed Maoist force and the royal army under the supervision of the United Nations or any other reliable international supervision, to conclude the elections in a free and fair manner and accept the result of the elections. We expect reliable international mediation even during the dialogue process.

4. Expressing clearly and making public institutional commitment to the democratic norms and values like the competitive multiparty system of governance, civil liberties, human rights, the concept of the rule of law, fundamental rights etc, the CPN (Maoist) has expressed commitment to move forward its activities accordingly.

5. The CPN (Maoist) has expressed its commitment to create an environment allowing the political activists of other democratic parties displaced during the course of the armed conflict to return to their former localities and live there with dignity, return their home, land and property seized in an unjust manner and carry out their activities without let or hindrance.

6. Undertaking self criticism and self evaluation of past mistakes, the CPN (Maoist) has expressed commitment not to repeat such mistakes in future.

7. The seven political parties, undertaking self evaluation, have expressed commitment not to repeat the mistakes of the past which were committed while in parliament and in government.

8. In the context of moving the peace process forward, commitment has been expressed to fully respect the norms and values of human rights and press freedom and move ahead accordingly.

9. As the announcement of municipal polls pushed forward with the ill-motive of deluding the people and the international community and giving continuity to the autocratic and illegitimate rule of the King, and the talk of elections to Parliament are a crafty ploy, we announce to actively boycott them and call upon the general public to make such elections a failure.

10. The people and their representative political parties are the real guardians of nationality. Therefore, we are firmly committed to protecting the independence, sovereignty, geographical integrity of the country and national unity. Based on the principle of peaceful co-existence, it is our common obligation to maintain friendly relations with all countries of the world and good-neighbour relationship with neighboring countries, especially India and China. But we request the patriotic masses to be cautious against the false attempt by the King and (his) loyalists to prolong his autocratic and illegitimate rule and delude the patriotic people by projecting the illusory "Mandale" nationalism and questioning the patriotism of the political parties, and appeal to the international powers and the people to support, in every possible way, the democratic movement against autocratic monarchy in Nepal.

11. We call upon the civil society, professional organizations, various wings of parties, people of all communities and regions, press and intellectuals to actively participate in the peaceful movement launched on the basis of these understandings centered on democracy, peace, prosperity, forward-looking social change and the country's independence, sovereignty, and pride.

12. Regarding the inappropriate conducts that took place between the parties in the past, a common commitment has been expressed to investigate any objection raised by any party over such incidents, take action if found guilty, and to make the action public. An understanding has been reached to settle any problem emerging between the parties through peaceful dialogue at the concerned level or at the leadership level.

Source: <http://newsblaze.com/story/20060225153835nnn.nb/newsblaze/NEPAL001/Nepal.htm/>

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ANNEX- B
QUESTIONNAIRE/CHECKLIST

(I) Family information:

Address:.....Ward No.....
 VDC.....District.....Zone.....

S.N.	Name	Relations with Household Head	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Education	Occupation	
							Primary	Secondary

Relation with Household

Relation with HH	Gender	Marital Status	Education Status	Occupation
01 Household Head	01 Male	01 Married	01 Unable to read and write	01 Agriculture
02 Husband	02 Female	02 Unmarried	02 Read Only	02 Government Service
03 Wife		03 Divorced	03 Primary Level	03 Private
04 Father		04 Separated	04 Lower Secondary Level	04 Foreign Employment
05 Mother		05 Widow /Widower	05 Secondary Level	05 Business
06 Son		06 Never Married	06 I.A., 10+2	06 House Wife
07 Daughter		07 Any Other	07 B.A. and above	07 Student
08 Daughter-in-law				08 Politics
09 Grand Son				09 Wage Labor
10 Grand Daughter				10Maoist insurgent
11 Grand Father				11 Any Other
12 Grand Mother				
13 Any Other				

(A) General information:

Name of Respondent:

Gender: Male/female

Date:

Education:

Place:

Religion:

Marital Status:

1. Do you have land?

(a) Yes (b) No

If yes, type of land holding?

(a) Having own registered land only (b) Having unregistered land

2. Size of Land Holding:

Type of land	Area (Ropani)
House area	
Agricultural land	
Pastoral Land	

3. Types of Land:

S.N.	Type of land	In (Ropani)
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		

4. Crop productions:

S.N.	Crops	Quantity	Consumption	Commodity
1.	Maize			
2.	Wheat			
3.	Barley			
4.	Potato			
5.	Buckwheat			
6.	Millet			

7.	Squash, Legumes			
8.	Soyabeans			
9.	Paddy			
10.	Collocasia			
11.	Amaranth			
12.				
13.				
14.				
15.				

5. Livestock:

S.N.	Name of Animals	Number	Name of Birds	Number	Any other	Number
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						

6. Food Habits:

S.N.	Conditions/Situations	Name of the Foods
1.	Ordinary People	
2.	Children	
3.	Pregnant Women	
4.	After Delivary Sick	
5.	Festivals	
6.		

7. Food Sufficiency Situation:

S.N.	Food Sufficiency Situation	Tick One
1.	Having no own production	
2.	0-3 month	
3.	3-6 month	
4.	6-9 month	
5.	9-12 month	
6.	More then 12 month or surplus to sell	

8. Supplementary Sources for Food Deficit Families:

S.N.	Sources	Tick One or More
1.	Agriculture Wage Labor	
2.	Wage Labor	
3.	Teaching Profession	
4.	Government Service	
5.	Mechanical Work	
6.	Other(Specify)	

9. Types of House:

- (a) Pakki (Cemented) (b) Mud (c) Wood (d) Bamboo
 (e) Any Other (.....)

10. Types of Family:

- (a) Nuclear (b) Joint (c) Extended

11. Sources Income:

S.N.	Sources	Annual Income (in NRS)
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		

12. Who is the decision maker of your family?
 (a) Male head (b) Female head (c) Both male and female (d) All members of family
13. What is the source of drinking water?
 (a) Well (b) Modern Tap (c) River/steam (d) Any Other(.....)
14. Do you have toilet facility?
 (a) Yes (b) No
 If yes please specify the type?
 (a) Temporary (Pit latrine) (b) Pucca toilet (c) Any Other (.....)
15. What is the source of fuel for cooking in your family?
 (a) Wood (b) Kerosene (c) Dung Cake (d) Any Other(.....)
16. How do you manage garbage?
 (a) Burning (b) Pilling of manure in open area
 (c) Pilling in manure pit (d) Throw haphazardly
17. Birth Place:
 (a) Home (b) health Center (C) Goth (cow shed)
 (d) Any Other (.....)
18. Place for Women during Menstruation:
 (a) House (b) Goth (c) House yard (b) Any Other (.....)
19. Birth Entourage:
 (a) Family members (b) Sudeni (c) Neighbors
 (d) Nurse/Doctor (e) Nobody (f) Any Other (.....)
20. Heath and Care:

S.N.	Health center	Numbers	Distance from Study Area (In Km.)
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

21. Health Services:

S.N.	Name of Disease	Traditional Services	Modern Services
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			
9.			
10.			

22. Illness/Type of Illness/Treatment

S.N.	Illness	Health Centers	Treatment Indigenous methods and practices		
			Materials	Methods	Remarks
1.	Headache				
2.	Fever				
3.	Skin problem				
4.	Worm				
5.	Diarrhea				
6.	Respiratory problems				
7.	TB				
8.	Abdominal Pain				
9.	Accidents				
10.	Snake bite				
11.	Eye problem				
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					
16.					

23. School/College:

S.N.	School/College	Numbers	Distance	from
------	----------------	---------	----------	------

			Study Area (In Km.)
1.	Pre-primary Level		
2.	Primary Level		
3.	Lower secondary Level		
4.	Secondary Level		
5.	10+2 and Above		

24. Religion and Language:

S.N.	Caste/Ethnic Group	Religion	Language	
			Primary	Secondary
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				

25. Government Services:

S.N.	Name of the Services	Numbers	Distance from Study Area (In Km.)
1.	V.D.C.		
2.	Police Post		
3.	Food Store		
4.	Bank		
5.	Health Post		
6.	Post Office		
7.	Public Telephone		
8.			
9.			
10.			

26. Comments and suggestions for further improving program action:

Comments

Suggestions

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

(A) To explore and identify motivating factors which help to Dalit to involve in Maoist armed Conflict in the study area:

1. Do you know about Maoist?
(a) Yes (b) No
If yes, what do you know?
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.
 - e.

2. What were the motivating factors which dragged you into the fatal combat?
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.
 - e.

3. Who have motivated you first to join Maoist Party?
(a) Family Members (b) Friends (c) Relatives
(d) Party leader (Specify.....) (e) Any Other (.....)

4. After your involvement in Maoist movement could you please specify the responsibilities given to you by the party?
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.
 - e.

5. The Maoist leader you like most?
(a) Prachanda (b) Baburam (c) Badal (d) Any Other (.....)

6. What were the reasons behind your choices the leaders?
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.

- e.
- 7. Would you like to share something about Maoist which motivates you to involve in their campaign?
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.
 - e.
- 8. Were there any differences between Maoist and other political parties?
 - (a) Yes (b) No
 - If yes, what are those?
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.
 - e.
- 9. It is said that Maoist is always in favor of marginalized people, are you agree?
 - (a) Strongly Agree (b) Agree (c) Disagree
 - (d) Strongly Disagree
- 10. What did Maoist do before launching the armed conflict in your area?
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.
 - e.
- 11. Did you feel the presence of Government before 1996 in your area?
 - (a) Yes (b) No
 - If yes, what were the major functions of the Government in your area?
 - a.

- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.

12. Do you agree that Maoist could fulfill your dreams?
(a) Strongly agree (b) Agree (c) Disagree (D) Strongly Disagree

13. If you don't mind, please tell me about your consent sending your relatives into the fatal combat?
(a) With Consent (b) Without Consent (c) Taken by Coercion
(d) Any Other (.....)

14. How optimism did you have that your relatives involved Armed Conflict bring the changes in your livelihood?
(a) Very optimistic (b) Optimistic (c) Pessimistic
(d) Very pessimistic

15. Would you tell me please, what were the major things that encouraged you to carry on the weapons?
(a) Guided by the Maoist Ideology (b) High motivation towards Maoist activities (c) To take revenge against the Police
(d) Personal relationship with Maoist Leaders

16. Could you tell me please were there any events of killing the people by the police before launching the Maoist Armed Conflict in your area?
a.
b.
c.
d.
e.

17. It is also said that Maoist also killed your relatives; do you have any comment on it?
a.
b.
c.
d.
e.

18. Were there any development projects that had launched before Maoist Armed conflict in your community?

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.

19. What has happened with these projects now?

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.

20. What you think about people fighting since 1996?

- (a) For the shake of nation (b) For the shake of Party
- (c) Both of above (d) None of the above

21. Now we are in peace process, are you agree people's expectations for peace will fulfilled with the announcement of such process?

- (a) Strongly Agree (b) Agree (c) Disagree (d) Strongly Disagree

22. Maoist have been fighting to bring change by carrying weapons, is it possible doing this in peaceful condition?

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.

23. Comments and suggestions for further improving program action:

Comments

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

Suggestions

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

(B) To analyze the socio-cultural and economic conditions of Dalit in the study area:

1. Which is the dominant caste/ethnic group in your community?
 (a) Dalit (b) Bramin (c) Chhetri (d) Any Other (.....)
2. What are the main cultural practices in your community?
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.
 - e.

3. What type of songs and dance do you perform? When?

S.N.	Songs/Dance	Occasion	Place
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

4. What are the musical instruments?

S.N.	Musical Instruments	Occasion	Place
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

5. Do you perform birth ceremony?

- (a) Yes (b) No
 If yes how do you perform?
- a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.
 - e.

6. How do you perform the death rites? What sort of cremation do you practice?
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.
7. Do you believe in Caste system?
 - (a) Strongly believe (b) Believe (c) Don't believe
8. Do you believe in purity and pollution based on the notion of caste?
 - (a) Yes (b) No
9. In what condition do you feel a person polluted?
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.
 - e.

10. Comments and suggestions for further improving program action:

Comments

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

Suggestions

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

(A) Checklist for Focus Group Discussion with Villagers:

Name: Gender: Male/female
Date: Education:
Place: Marital Status:

1. History of the Community
2. Cultural practices of the community
3. Cultural Identity
4. Social Practices
5. Decision making process
6. Economic conditions
7. Political awareness
8. Nature of the family
9. Major professions
10. Feeling towards nation
11. Attitude towards Government
12. Income sources
13. Collective action and consensus
14. Land ownership
15. Attitude towards Maoist movement
16. Involvement of people in Maoist movement (Caste/Ethnic, age and sex)
17. Involvement of women in Maoist movement
18. Comments and suggestions for further improving program action:

Comments

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

Suggestions

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

(A) Checklist for Key Informants:

Name: Gender: Male/female
Date: Education:
Place: Marital Status:

1. Growth and development of Maoist movement in the study area
2. Main events occurred during the movement
3. Experience being as a Maoist activist
4. Motivating factors to involve into Maoist armed conflict
5. Attitude about other political parties
6. Relation between Dalit culture and Maoist ideology
7. Motivating leaders
8. Perspective toward Maoism
9. Merits and Demerits of Maoist Armed conflict as experienced by the local people:

Merits:

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.

Demerits

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.

10. Comments and suggestions for further improving program action:

Comments

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

Suggestions

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.