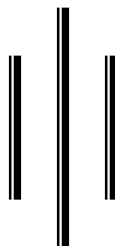


# **CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE RECENT MADHESH MOVEMENT**

**(A Study from Central Terai)**



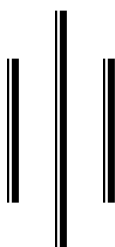
**A Dissertation**

**Submitted to**

**The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences  
Central Department of Sociology/ Anthropology,**

**Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur**

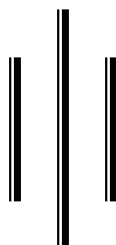
**For Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of  
Master's Degree in Anthropology**



**Submitted by**

**Dharmendra Kumar Jha**

**Roll No.: 24/062**



**Central Department of Sociology/ Anthropology  
Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal**

**2009**

**TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY**  
**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY /ANTHROPOLOGY**  
**KIRTIPUR, KATHMANDU, NEPAL**

**LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION**

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "**Causes and Consequences of the Recent Madhesh Movement: A Study from Central Terai,**" submitted by Mr. Dharmendra Kumar Jha, for the partial fulfillment of the requirement for Master's Degree in Anthropology, has been written under my supervision. He did his field work in the central *Terai* of Nepal. I, therefore, recommend this dissertation for final approval and acceptance.

---

Dr. Laya Prasad Uprety

Reader

Central Department of Sociology/Anthropology

T.U. Kirtipur, Kathmandu

Date: 26<sup>th</sup> July 2009

**TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY**  
**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY/ ANTHROPOLOGY**  
**KIRTIPUR, KATHMANDU, NEPAL**

**APPROVAL LETTER**

This dissertation, submitted by Mr. Dharmendra Kumar Jha, entitled "**Causes and Consequences of the Recent *Madhesh* Movement: A Study from Central *Terai***", has been accepted and approved as partial fulfillment of the requirement for Master's Degree in Anthropology by the evaluation committee comprising of:

Prof. Om Gurung, Ph.D.

(Head of the Department)

---

Mr. Surendra Mishra

(External Examiner)

---

Dr. Laya Prasad Uprety

(Thesis supervisor)

---

Date: 30<sup>th</sup> July 2009

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my best sincere gratitude to my mother Indu Jha and father late Indra Kant Jha, whose inspiration was important for me to achievement this M.A. degree. Then, I would like to mention my regard and gratitude to Dr. Laya Prasad Uprety who helped me to navigate through such challenging field involving sensuous issue of *Madhesh* movement towards an academic horizon. In spite of his tight schedule, Dr. Uprety has been available to me whenever I needed his guidance and support.

I am grateful to Mr. Surendra Mishra for providing an inspiration and necessary comments on my dissertation. I have benefited greatly from the suggestions and criticisms made by him as an external supervisor of my thesis. It will be profited for my further study and improvement. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Shaubhagya Jung Shah for his forthright guidance and suggestion to complete my study.

I cannot forget to mention my other respected teachers, who made me capable for undertaking this work. I must recall that I have gained some significant insights from Prof. Dr. Dilli Ram Dahal, Prof. Dr. Kailash Nath Pyakurel, Prof. Dr. R.R. Regmi, Prof. Dr. Om Gurung, Prof. Dr. Ram Bahadur Chhetri, Prof. Dr. Samiara Luintel, Prof. P.L. Das, Prof. Dr. Lyn Bennet, Dr. L.P. Uprety, Dr. Tulsi Ram Pandey, Dr. Sandhya Basnet, Dr. P.L. Devkota, Mr. P. Paudel, Mr. Suresh Dhakal, Mr. Shambhu Kattel, Mr. Dhambar Chemjong, Mr. Sanjeev Pokhrel, Mr. Udhav Rai, Mr. Binod Pokhrel, Mr. Madhusudan Subedi, Mr. Keshav Shrestha, Mrs. Shyamu Thapa Magar, Mr. Bhanu Timsina, Mr. Kiran Upadhyaya, Mr. Navin Rawal, Mr. Kapil Babu Dahal, Mr. Jeevan Mani Paudel, Mr. Jailabh Rai, Mr. Prem Chalaune and Mr. Tika Ram Gautam. Those academic insights helped me to broden my academic horizon. And I would like to thank Cornell-Nepal Study Programe (CNSP), Kathmandu, which provided me partial financial support for this study.

I would also like to thank all my respondents who provided valuable time by sharing their idea/information for this research. Likewise, my sincere thanks are also to my family members, class friends and well-wishers. Lastly, I thank my nephew Mr. Shravan Kumar Jha who assisted me during the field work and preparation of this thesis.

Dharmendra Kumar Jha  
Roll No.: 24/062  
Exam Roll No.: 280051  
Reg. No.: 1-6-14-357-2000

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page No.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

## LIST OF TABLES

## LIST OF FIGURES

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	4
1.3 Objectives of the Study	8
1.4 Conceptual Framework of the Study	8
1.5 Rationale of the Study	9
1.6 Organization of the Study	10

## CHAPTER TWO

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Theoretical Review	11
2.1.1 Ralf Dahrendorf: Dialectical Conflict	14
2.1.2 Lewis A. Coser: Conflict Functionalism	11
2.1.3 Randall Collins: Analytical Conflict	14
2.1.4 Polibious Theory	17
2.1.5 Karl Marx: Class Conflict	18
2.1.6 Grievance and Greed Approaches	20
2.2 Empirical Review	21

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Rational of the Study Sites and Sites Selection	29
3.2 Research Design	30
3.3 Nature and Sources of Data	30

3.4 Sampling Procedure	31
3.5 Research Instruments	32
3.5.1 Key Informant Interview	32
3.5.2 General Interview	33
3.5.3 Group Interview	34
3.5.4 Focus Group Discussion	34
3.5.5 Case Studies	35
3.5.6 Participant Observation	35
3.6 Data Analysis and Interpretation	36
3.7 Time Framework	37
3.8 Limitations of the Study	38
3.9 Operational Definition of Key Terms	38

#### CHAPTER FOUR

##### DOCUMENTATION OF THE PROCESS OF MADHESH MOVEMENT IN NEPAL

4.1 History of the <i>Madhesh</i> Movement	43
4.2 First Phase Process of the Recent <i>Madhesh</i> Movement	46
4.3 Second Phase Process of the Recent <i>Madhesh</i> Movement	52

#### CHAPTER FIVE

##### CAUSES OF THE RECENT MADHESH MOVEMENT

5.1 Internal Colonialism	56
5.1.1 Colonial Government	59
5.1.2 Colonial Education	59
5.1.3 Legislative and Executive Control	60
5.1.4 Administrative Organization	60
5.1.5 Regional and Local Government	60
5.1.6 Law and Justice	61
5.2 Racial Discrimination	61
5.3 Socio-Cultural Discrimination	64
5.4 Language Domination	67
5.4.1 The Madhesh/Terai Languages	67

5.4.2 Politics on Language	73
5.5 Socio-Economic Condition of Madhesh	77
5.6 Representation of Madheshi in State Mechanism	81
5.6.1 Civil Services	82
5.6.2 Security Forces	
5.6.3 Political Parties and Parliament	89
5.7 The Weakness of Human Rights Organizations	96
5.7.1 The Civil Society and Human Rights Organizations	
5.7.2 The Role of Media and Police Force	98
5.8 Crisis of Identity	101
5.9 Nationality of Nepal vs Identity of Madheshi	103
5.10 Migration into the Madhesh/Terai	104
5.11 The Policy of Citizenship in Nepal	106
5.12 Psychological Discrimination	108

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONSEQUENCES OF THE RECENT MADHESH MOVEMENT

6.1 Socio-Cultural Change	110
6.1.1 Socio-Cultural Relation; Mess in Madhesh	112
6.2 Political Change	114
6.2.1 Political Weakness	119
6.3 Administrative Change	123
6.4 Economical Change	125
6.6 Psychological Change for National Integration	126

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Summary of Main Findings	131
7.2 Conclusions	137

## REFERENCES

## APPENDICES

## LIST OF TABLES

### Page No.

Table:1: Division of Informants' Number on the Basis of Research Tools	31
Table:2: Classification of Informants' Numbers on the Basis of Occupation	31
Table:3: Time Schedule of the Study	38
Table:4: The Terai/Madhesh Languages	68
Table:5: The Language of Madhesh and their Speakers	72
Table:6: Educational Percentage in Madhesh	76
Table:7: Poverty of Ecological Regions	79
Table:8: Unemployment Rate	79
Table:9: Income Per People in Nepal	80
Table:10: Caste/Ethnic Composition of Senior Officials	83
Table:11: Caste/Ethnic Composition of Senior Officials Including those of Under-Secretary (Administrative Service) Level	85
Table:12: Representation of <i>Madheshi</i> in Nepalese Judiciary	86
Table:13: Geographical Representation of Senior Officials	86
Table:14: Position of <i>Madheshi</i> in Security Forces	87
Table:15: Caste and Ethnic Breakdown of the Senior Officers (Generals) in the Nepal Army (NA)	88
Table:16: <i>Madheshi</i> MPs in Parliament	90
Table:17: Representation in the HOR by Caste and Ethnicity	91
Table:18: Representation in the NA by Caste and Ethnicity	92
Table:19: Representation of <i>Madheshi</i> Community in the Council of Ministers	93
Table:20: Representation of <i>Madheshi</i> Community in the Central Committee of Political Parties	94
Table:21: Regional and Communal Group within the 1959 Parliament and the 1967 NP System	95
Table:22: Ratio of Population and Service	108
Table:23: Representation in Constituent Assembly	115
Table:24: Direct Elected CAM of Different Parties	116
Table:25: Integrated National Index	124



## LIST OF FIGURES

	Page No.
Figure:1: Conceptual Framework	9
Figure:2: Overall Causes of Conflict Theory	16
Figure:3: Indo-European Languages	69
Figure:4: Austro-Asiatic Languages	70
Figure:5: Dravidian Language	70
Figure:6: Contribution of <i>Madheshi</i> in the Population of Nepal	82
Figure:7: Representation of <i>Madheshi</i> in Civil Services	82

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AD	-	After the Death of Christ
APF	-	Armed Police Force
APRF	-	Madheshi People Rights Forum
ASEAN	-	Association of South East Asian Nations
BAN	-	Broadcasting Association of Nepal
BC	-	Before Christ
BS	-	Bikram Sambat
CA	-	Constituent Assembly
CAM	-	Constituent Assembly Member
CBES	-	Chure-Bhabar Ekta Samaj
CBO	-	Community Based Organizations
CBS	-	Central Bureau Statistics
CDO	-	Chief District Officer
CHURDES	-	Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Studies
CMPD	-	The Civil Movement for Democracy and Peace
CPN(UML)	-	Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist)
CPN (M)	-	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)
CSO	-	Civil Society Organization
DAG	-	Disadvantaged Group
DAO	-	District Administration Office
DDC	-	District Development Committee
EC	-	Election Commission
FESC	-	Foundation for Economic and Social Change
GDP	-	Domestic Growth Production

HDI	-	Human Development Index
HOR	-	House of Representatives
HRO	-	Human Rights Organizations
HUDEP	-	Human Development Program
ICRC	-	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDP	-	Internally Displaced Persons
INGOs	-	International Non-Governmental Organizations
LDO	-	Local Development Officer
LTTE	-	Liberation Tigers for Tamil Ealam
MEA	-	Ministry of External Affairs
MJF	-	Madheshi Janadhikar Forum
MLA	-	Member of Legislative Assembly
MPs	-	Member of Parliament
NA	-	National Assembly
NA	-	Nepalese Army
NC	-	Nepali Congress
NGOs	-	Non-Governmental Organizations
No	-	Number
NP	-	National Panchayat
NRC	-	Nepal Resettlement Company
NSP	-	Nepal Sadabhavana Party
OHCHR	-	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PA	-	Proportional Allocation
PADI	-	Poverty and Deprivation Index
PLA	-	Peoples Liberation Army

PM	-	Prime Minister
PR	-	Proportional Representation
PWG	-	Peoples War Group
RDI	-	Regional Development Index
RJP	-	Rastriya Janashakti Party
RPP	-	Rastriya Prajatantra Party
RRMC	-	Ramshorup Ramsagar Multiple Campus
RVDP	-	Rapid Valley Development Plan
SAARC	-	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SP (R)	-	Sadabhavana Party (Rajendra Mahato)
SP(A)	-	Sadabhavana Party (Anandi Devi)
SPA	-	Seven Party Alliance
TMDP	-	<i>Terai/Madhesh</i> Democratic Party
UDMF	-	United Democratic <i>Madheshi</i> Front
UNDP	-	United Nation Development Program
UNMIN	-	United Nation Mission in Nepal
UP	-	Uttar Pradesh
US/AID	-	United States Agency for International Development
VDC	-	Village Development Committee