

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

"Conflict can be either constructive or destructive, depending on the way it is dealt with"

-Fisher 2000: 151

Nepal is known for multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-geographical diversity. Administratively, it is divided into 14 zones and 75 districts and geographically culturally divided into three different regions as *Himal, Pahad* and *Terai* or, *Bhot, Parbat* and *Madhesh* or, *Pahardesh, Hyundesn* and *Madhyades/Madhesh* (Burghart, 1984: 107) Nepal's history has undergone several political transformations: direct rule of monarchy under the Shah kings (1769-1846), an oligarchy under Rana rule (1846-1951), followed by temporary regimes of democracy (1951-1959) temporary parliamentary system (1959-1960) revival of partyless Panchayat system (1960-1990), restoration of multi-party system or parliamentary Democracy (1990-2002), again direct rule of ex-king Gyanendra after royal coup till 2006, and declaration of republic Nepal in 28th may 2008 (Sapkota, 2005;Yadav, 2005). In this chronology, the *Madhesh* was ruled by a number of leader or chieftains, some of whom owed merely nominal allegiance to the pre-shah and Rana rulers (Yadav, 2005). The ruling elites of Nepal either shah or Rana or others believed that the development of *Madhesh/Terai* was not in their long term interest (ibid).

Modern Nepal was founded in 1767 by Prithvi Narayan shah a ruler of Gorkha and it got completeness in 1814 systematically (Singh, 2005; Yadav, 2005). His slogan was Nepal *"Char Varna Chhattis Jatko Sanjha Phoolbari Ho."* But contradictory, he introduced a simple aristocratic system of administration inherited from his predecessors. The system was known as *'Thar-ghar'* in which members of six elite families belonging to Aryal, Pandey, Khanal, Panta, Thapa and Basnet clans

supported the Shah kings as military generals, advisors and administrators (Shah, 2007; Yadav, 2005). Madheshee communities were highly discriminated and marginalized along with Dalits, Janjaties, women and minority groups (ibid).

In 1846 *Jang Bahadur Rana* captured the power, after the successful '*Kot Massacre*' and became prime minister and army general. The Rana family ruled the country with absolute power by forcing the king *Surendra B.B. Shah* in 1856. The system by Ranarchy in which members of the Rana family occupied all the higher echelons of administration and military (ibid). The system was extensively misused, especially that of Madheshi and indigenous people by imposing different rule regulation and tax. More specially, the loss of land, history culture and national identity which was back warded the *Madheshi*, *Dalit*, indigenous and ethnic people in *Nepal*. So they still have identity crisis. Although, establishing of Democracy in 1951 the back warded groups and communities were neglected by the ruler until the *Madhesh* movement (2007).

Currently, very disputable topics are '*Terai*' and '*Madhesh*' because these terms are vary to each other. '*Terai*' is a geographical name where as '*Madhesh*' is a cultural name. Encyclopedia Britannica also implies the meaning of '*Terai*' as 'moist-land'. Some authors put forward their view '*Terai*' is derived from '*Tar*', it means low land (Vivaswan 2007, Kana 2007, Jha 2008 Rakesh 2007). The word '*Madhesh*' is derived from *Sanskrit* word '*Madhyadesh*' which extends from the foothill of the Himalayan region in the North to the *Vindhyachal* mountain in the south in central *India* (Shah, 2007; Vivaswan, 2007; Jha, 2007). *Madhesh* approximately 25 to 35 km. wide broad belt of alluvial and fertile land stretching from *Mahakali* to *Mechi* river between *India* boarder in the south and *Siwalik/Chure* range in the north. *Madhuadesh* or *Matsyadesh* whose capital is said to be in *Biratnagar* With its gistoric values and the word '*Madhesh*' has acquired cultural aspect onto it that today represents different aspects of life style of people living specifically in the region whether it is *Madheshi Haat* or color or

cuisines or *Madheshi 'Boli Byabhar'* the work has integrated different cultural aspects in to it, and this stands with a cultural connotation (ibid).

C.K. Lal a political analyst asserted the term '*Madhesh*' refers to the cultural space where *Madheshi* is reside. The preferred the term '*Madheshi*' to '*Terai basi*' because the word '*Terai*' carried the connotation of 'Internal colonization' (Social Science Baha, 2005). *Madheshi* are residents of *Madhesh* sharing the correlated regional, cultural and lingual space of *Madhesh*. There were many kingdoms before unification of *Nepal Mithila, Kaushal* or *Tirhut. Awadha* and so on (Rakesh, 2007). Dahal (1961) divides *Madheshi* community in to four groups. Indigenous, *Janjati* ethnic people living in *Madhesh* for generation, people belonging to traditional Hindu caste hierarchy, businessman of Indian origin (*Marwari, Shikh* etc.) and *Muslims*. The *Anglo-Nepalese* was between 1814 and 1816 and the resulting treaty of Sugauli reduced the *Madhesh* region around the 12th century (ibid). There was eastward migration of people speaking a Sanskrit-based language which later on developed as Nepali language (Clerk, 1963). Due to similar culture, tradition, practices and languages of *Madhesh* to India. They are abandoned from resources and powers (ibid).

Gaige (1975) defined; *Terai* is the one important region of Nepal that is geographically and culturally distinct from the hills, for this reason there is problems of national integration Despite the *Madhesh* or *Terai* contributes nearly two thirds in national GDP and support nearly half of the total population, it has no any space for national identity (Dahal, 1999) . This condition makes them to search the identity in their own country (Nepal). For instance many observers have noted that the politics and hidden attitudes of ruler towards *Terai/Madhesh* were segregative in nature than encouraging of national unity (Stiller, 1976; Regmi, 1971; Whelpton, 1997; Dahal, 1983 ; Gaige, 1975; Hoftun, 1999; Thakur, 1958 and Jha, 1994). *Terai* or *Madhesh* contains 21 districts. Among them 19 are outer *Terai/ Madhesh'* and 3 are 'Inner *Terai/Madhesh*' "*Bhitri Madhesh* or Inner *Terai*"

Sindhuli, Makwanpur and Dang districts. The Bahiri *Madhesh/Terai* is the plain region touching Indo-Nepal boarder: *Jhapa, Morang, Sunasri, Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi, Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Chitawan, Nawalparasi, Rupandehi, Kapilbastu, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali* and *Kanchanpur* (ibid).

The Mithila or Videha or Tirhut kingdom existed in ancient times with its capital at Janakpur claiming to be the birth place of Sita. Similarly, there existed Lumbini, birth place of the Buddha with kingship at Kapilbastu under the Shakyas and Debdaha under the 'Koliyas' Janakpur would emerge to prove its greatness as religious and cultural center, and its Maithil people would find a role in the governing of Nepal (Burghart, 1978; Karna, 1989; Jha, 1993; Yadav, 2005). Kathmandu was twice under the rule of kings from Mithila and during this time both the Newari language and Newar culture came under Maithil influence (Jha, 1993; Gellner et.al. 1997). In 1097 *Nanyadeva*, whose capital was *Simraungarh*, dethroned the two princes who ruled *Kathmandu, Lalitpur* and *Bhaktapur* (ibid). The last king of *nanyadevi's* dynasty, *Harisimhadeva*, fled to the hill after *Mithila* was attacked by a Muslim conqueror in 1326. Sthiti Malla married to *Harisimhadeva's* grand daughter and later Malla kings in the Kathmandu valley claimed direct descent from a dynasty founded by *Harisimhadeva* (Slusseer, 1982: 57,66) *Madhesh* has own its history proved the existence of *Madhesh/Terai* and its culture.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

"To Rebel is People's Right"

-Thapa and Sijapati (2003)

In the context of Nepal, some remarkable evidences and movements have occurred and they brought changes in system. Such as 'Kotparva' (1903), fight against Rana regime (1998-1993) and (2003), declaration of democracy (2007), Satyagrah movement (2011), Bhadra Abagya movement (2014), armed movement by Nepali

Congress (2018) and (2029), first Jana Andolan (2046), Maoist insurgency/Maoist people war (2052) and second people movement/Dosro Jana Andolan (Dhakal, 2049; Antarrastriya Mancha, 2064: Chaitra). Though, all of the above movements and evidences could not address the backward communities/groups and Madheshi as their expectation. They were discriminated by the state since 240 years (Shah, 2007; Yadav, 2005; Yadav, 2006; Rakesh, 2007). This became virtually a breeding ground of *Madhesh* movement. That's why *Madheshi* raised their voice through this movement (ibid).

Nepal was a monolithic, autocratic, authoritarian, centralized and closed state for centuries (Thapa, 2003; Karki and Seddon, 2003; Mishra, 2004; Kumar, 2004; Uprety, 2006). 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 (Hutt, 2004; Kumar, 2004; Uprety, 2006). Such characteristics of the state consequently excluded a vast majority of Nepalese people from the nation building process (Thapa, 2003; Raj, 2004). Madhesh movement was not only the cause of the failure of the 12 years of democracy in Nepal. Rather it was the manifestation of the failure of 240 years of different governance system of modern Nepal. Plains People (Madheshi) were producing about 59-65% of the nation's gross domestic product (GDP) agricultural product 60% and about 76% of the government's revenue (Gaige, 1975; Yadav, 2005; Rakesh, 2007; Shah, 2007; Paudel, 2008). Though, they were treated as a slave or second rate citizen or non-Nepali, behalf of *Madheshi* (ibid). They had to use passport to go Kathmandu until 1956 (Gaige, 1975; Thakur, 1958).

Madheshi were culturally, socially, politically, economically, racially and geographically discriminated and dominated by the state (Gaige, 1975; Yadav, 2005; Yadav, 2000; Rakesh, 2007; Gupta, 2006; Shah, 2007; Paudel, 2008). Many Nepalese government officials intensely migrate the *Hill* people into the *Terai/Madhesh*; as their grow numbers and gradually change the cultural equation,

bringing about a Nepalization of the region. This assumption result, hill settlers were more prominent than *Madheshi* by the help of government officers (ibid). Citizenship legislation framed by representatives of the nationally dominant hill culture during the 1960s (ibid). Hill people were given preference over plains people settled in the *Terai*, so that the plains people were relegated to a second class status (ibid). *Terai* was understandable as a colony that an integrated part before 1951 (ibid). They are culturally different from Kathmandu so that they considered as quasi-foreigner (ibid:88). The nationality determined on the basis of linguistic, dress up and facial appearance, which are also way of discrimination.

During 1951 'The Nepal Terai' Congress" was established under the leadership of Kulananda Jha later Vedananda Jha with the objectives; establishment of an autonomous Terai state, recognition of Hindi as a state language and adequate employment of Terai people in the Nepal civil service (Thakur, 1958; Guige, 1975). 'The Tarai Liberation' Front was established to press the demand of the plain people living in Nepal by Ramgi Mishra, Raghunath Rai, Raghunath Thakur, Satyadev Mani Tripathi, Raghunath Gupta, Baldev Das Yadev and so on, in the period of 1960s (ibid). They were more revolutionary *Madheshi* leaders, but their organization could not sustain. Later, 'Nepal Sadabhawana Parishad' formed under Gajendra Narayan Singh to raise Madheshi issues in 1983 and registered as Parti to contest elections but demands constetuent assembly in 1994 (Crisis Group; Asia Report, 2007). This party also could not get success as they wanted due to party function and weak action. After that, Madheshi Jana Adhikar Forum (MPRF) established as cross party intellectual platform in 1997 (ibid). And protesting against the interim constitution in January 2007 flared up *Madhesh* movement (et.al. Hachhethu, 2007)

Recent *Madhesh* movement (2007) further established two regional political parties Madheshi people Rights Forum (MJF) and Terai/Madhesh Democratic Party (TMDP) under the leader ship of Upendra Yadav and Mahantha Thakur

respectively in 2007 (Crisis group 2007). In the second phase MPRF (MJF), Sadbhawana Party (Rajendra Mahato) and Terai-*Madhesh* Democratic Party made combine Madheshi Forum' and declared second Madhesh movement in February 2008 with six point demand (Paudel, 2008; Crisis Group, 2007; Gautam, 2008). Antararastriya Manch; 24;7:39). Joshi (2009) summarizes the pressing demands of combine *Madheshi* forum in the following categories: restructuring of state on the basis of language and culture. Federal and republican type of government, right of self determination and proportional representation in every sector, proportional voting system, constituent Assembly, Madhesh as an autonomous region and determine new election constituencies based on population and proportionate participation of all groups/community (ibid; Rakesh, 2007).

After 22 points and 8 points agreement (treaty), *Madhesh* movement were halted in February 2007 and March 2008 respectively (Yadav 2007; Paudel, 2008; Radesh, 2007; Antrarastrriya Manch, 24:7. But some armed groups (about 8 dozens) of Madhesh/Terai claimed themselves as a *Madhesh* well-wisher and have been conducting many violent activities against government, officers and businessman (Daily papers 2060s; Rakesh 2007; Paudel, 2008; Gautam, 2008; Mainali and Thapa, 2006). Except '*Independent Terai/Madhesh*' the most of demands of armed groups and *Madheshi* political parties have common (Ibid). Numerous sources; newspapers, magazine, book, interview, speeches etc. have attempted to explain why this movement occurred but perception of people is not included in any sources (publication). So my interest on this issue to study people's perception by using Anthropological methodology, and I try to ascertain the dynamic of *Madhesh* movement to answer the following research questions:

- i. Why did recent *Madhesh* movement occur ?
- ii. Why did it occur in 2007 ?
- iii. What are the general people's perception about this movement ?

- iv. What are the recent changes in the socio- cultural structure or relations after this movement ?
- v. Who are benefited the most from this movement ?
- vi. What are the general perceptions of the people of this movemet for national integration/disintegration ?

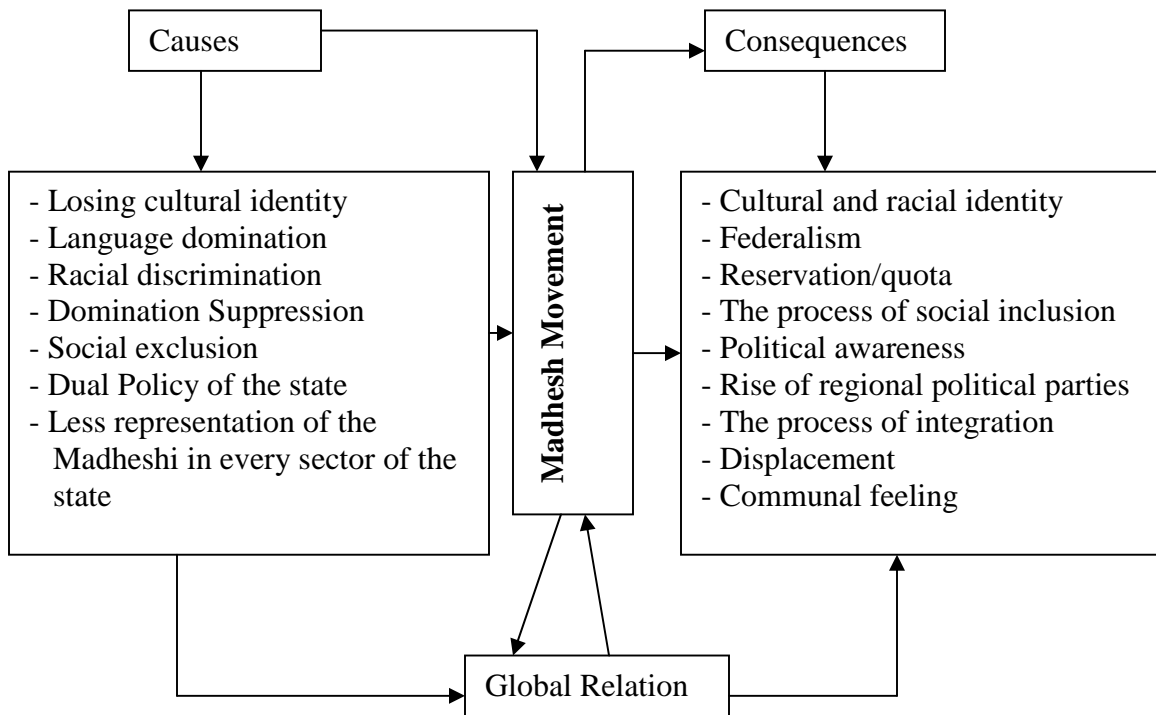
1.3. Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study was to document the recent *Madhesh* movement's causes/factors and consequences/changes. However, the specific objectives were as follows:

- i. To ascertain and analyze the causes/factors of recent Madhesh movement
- ii. To find out and analyze the consequences/changes in the socio cultural, polity, and administrative relation among the people after this movement.
- iii. To ascertain and analyze the people's perception on the benefits of this movement and the process of integration/disintegration in the country.

1.4. Conceptual Framework of the Study

Recent *Madhesh* movement is a historical event because it has moved country in a new direction (Giri 2007). The below conceptual frame work has been derived from the understanding of different published materials books, newspapers, magazines, reports, telecasts and broad casts. From the below framework I had taken different independent variables. The *Madhesh* movement and consequences are regarded as dependent variable where as causes are independent variable. Because independent variables influence the dependent variable.



1.5. Rationale of the Study

This study is related to the recent Madhesh movement 2007/08 which is one of the burning issues for the country. It is the manifestation of ideology intertwined with old griecances resulting from inequalities embedded in the Nepali socio-political structure. The inequalities stem from poverty, caste; ethnic; gender; social; regional based discrimination, political; social oppression-suppression and corruption in pubic office or state that have contributed to the deprivation and marginalization of the people, especially those on the *Madheshi*. It is said that *Madhesh* movement for socio-political; cultural identification, proportional representation and political rights. The available literature shows that hitherto no any socio-anthropological study on this issue. So I am very curious to know the causes and consequences of this movement.

My study is related to political anthropology which is very supportive to outsiders or readers, and will be also provides guide-line or help to the new researchers,

rulers, policy makers, bureaucrat, academicians and so on. It help to understand the perception of people for this movement. Hence, my study is very relevant or rationale on this issue.

1.6. Organization of the Study

This study contains seven chapters to give complete form of the study. The classification of the study in to different chapters and sub-chapters make easy to understand the study report. First chapter introduced the concept of study within five sub-titles

Review of the literature is the second chapter. It contains three sub titles general overview, theoretical discussion and empirical discussion. They have supported the study theoretically and systematically.

Chapter three is the backbone of the study. It is research methodology which have proceeded the process of the study. And it provided way for the study too. This chapter including nine sub-chapters to direct/guide and make scientific study.

Chapter four is the documentation of the process of *Madhesh* movement in to three sub-titles. This chapter has described the process of *Madhesh* movement, how it has bee going on.

Chapter five; causes/factors of *Madhesh* movement is analysis part of the study. This chapter has analyzed the causes or factors of *Madhesh* movement by the help of field study and secondary data. It's also attained sub- chapters to make easier the study. In the same, chapter six, consequences of *Madhesh* movement divided in to 5 sub titles to make effective analysis.

Chapter seven is the very important part of the study. Because it is the section of summary and conclusion of the study. So, it is the core of whole chapters and sub-chapters of the study. It has produced/developed the new concept or theory of conflict, resolution.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In general, very little literature is available in the theoretical framework or academic literature of present conflict like '*Madhesh Movement*', but could be found many literature about conflict. Available literature on conflict functionalism in Nepal is relatively limited. Generally, it is argued that social injustice, underdevelopment, unemployment, problem of exclusion, lack of good governance, corruption, poverty, suppression, domination, crisis of identity, etc are influenced to escalation the conflict (Upreti, 2004). Relevant documents and literatures are primarily; reports, books, thesis and web-sites information prepared for particular purposes and a few international/national agencies and human rights organizations. This helps to guide specification of model for explaining onset and intensity of conflict in Nepal and especially in *Madhesh*. This chapter mainly builds on review of some relevant literatures, which clarify the *Madhesh* movement. That's why theoretical review and empirical review of literature is given hereunder.

2.1 Theoretical Review

2.1.1 Conflict Theory

Conflict theory in sociology/Anthropology discipline focuses on struggle, competition, tension, anger, aggression, deviance, dispute, division in society or family and so on. And conflict theorists over norms and values, and the ways in which the pursuit of interests generated various types of conflict as normal aspects of social life, rather than abnormal or dysfunctional occurrence (et.al. John and Gordon, 1994). They assume 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 in some points:

- i. 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.
- ii. 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.
- iii. Society is a stage populated with living, struggling and competing actors; the social universe in the setting within which the conflicts of life are acted out.
- iv. 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.
- v. 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
- vi. 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 (Abraham, 1982).

Even though, there are positive as well as negative out comes of the conflict. Some efforts are made for resolving it. To be more clear.

"Conflict can lead to anger, avoidance, skipping, shouting, frustration, fear of failure, sense of personal inadequacy; withhold critical information, lower productivity from wasteful conflict; sidetrack careers; relationships ruined; disrupted patterns of work; consume money and time which loss

productivity; escalate to violence and disintegrate social harmony" (Uprety, 2004).

Conflict itself has various dimensions in terms of its definitions and explanations. According Marx, Collins, Dahrendorf, Coser, Mills and so on, conflict is regarded as built into the social system and is seen as productive or positive in different ways. One of the factor of conflict is; each seeking to gain access to a limited supply of the necessities of life, such as living space.

"Power differentials assure that some groups would exploit others and constitute a built in source of tension and conflict in social systems. Additionally, the existences of scarcities generate fights over the disruption resources in societies will inevitable of these resources. And finally, the fact that different interest groups pursue different goals and hence vie with one another assures that conflict will erupt: (Turner 2005: 129-130).

There are three very different conflict theories: the dialectical approach, the conflict functionalism approach and the critical conflict approach (ibid:150).

Conflict impacts situations and changes things in many different ways. We can analyses these changes in four broad categories: the personal, the relational, the structural and the cultural (Lederach, 2003:23). Issues of identity are fundamental in protecting a sense of self and group survival, and they become particularly important during conflict (ibid:35). "Conflict or movement may be with weapon or without weapon; conflict helps to gradual development of society but with weapon conflict calls disagreement, violence, irruption and grievance in the society. It also helps to change politics and revolution. With weapon conflict or movement are needed for revolution"(Felstiner et.al;1981).

Anthropologists insist, that conflict is in great part of a cultural product, they are also cognizant of the biological and social aspects of conflict among nonhuman primates an evolutionary view of social and cultural conflict that will help the

anthropologist to determine the universal aspect of human conflict (Macmillan, 1968; Encyclopedia, Vol: 3 and 4: 237).

"The term 'social movement' or its equivalent in other western languages is being used to denote a wide variety of collective attempts to bring about a change in certain social institutions to create an entirely new order. This term came in to use, early in the 19th century. There are 'classical' and 'protest movement' but this term may also be used to designate 'mass movements' which seek to redress grievances of certain groups" (ibid:439).

2.1.2 Ralf Dahrendorf: Dialectical Conflict

In Dahrendorf's view society has two faces: one of consensus, the other of conflict. And it is time to begin analysis of society's ugly face and abandon the utopian image created by functionalism (Turner, 2005:151). He shows some causal relations conflict is assumed to be an inexorable process arising out of opposing forces within social structural arrangements, such conflict is accelerated or retarded by a series of situation that under specifiable conditions, inevitably leads to further conflict among opposed forces (ibid:153). He argues explicitly that power differentials cause both integration (through legitimate authority relations) and disintegration (through the persistence of opposed interests). However, to state that conflict emerges out of legitimated authority is nothing more than to state, a priori, that opposed interests exist and cause conflict (ibid:163)

Dahrendorf assumed that his critique of functional analysis and persona theory in particular stemmed from a radical Marxist position (Coser, 2004). Power and authority are conceived as scarce resources and the component actors of every society are engaged in struggles over the distribution of these resources. Societies are always in a state of conflict so, it can never be eradicated since every particular situation to a conflict of power creates a new constellation of interest that must give rise to new conflicts (ibid, 581). He tents of conflict and functional theories are juxtaposed (Ritzer, 2000). He adds consensus theorists should examine value

of interaction in society and conflict theorists should examine conflicts of interest and the coercion that holds society together in the face of these stresses (ibid). Conversely conflict can lead to condenses and integration. An example is the alliance between the US and Japan that developed after "Workd-war- II (ibid; 259). He was interested not only in the structure of positions but also in the conflict among them. " The structural origin of such conflicts must be sought in the arrangement of social roles endowed with expectations of domination or subjection (1959: 165; ibid: 260). He distinguished three broad types of groups: quasi groups, the interest groups and conflict groups (ibid).

The concepts of latent and manifest interests, of quasi groups, interest groups and conflict groups were basic to an explanation of social conflict (Ritzer, 2000). The final aspects Dahrendrof's conflict theory is the relationship of conflict to change. He felt that, conservative function of conflict is only one part of social reality; conflict also leads to change in social structure development (ibid:262). His beliefs, that conflict brings change however, he ignores the combination of functionalism. He has summarized the essential elements of conflict theory as below:

- i. Every society is subjected at every movement to change; social change is ubiquitous.
- ii. Every society experiences at every movement social conflict; social conflict is ubiquitous.
- iii. Every elements of society contributes to its changes; and
- iv. Every society rests on constraint of some of its members by others (Abraham 1882).

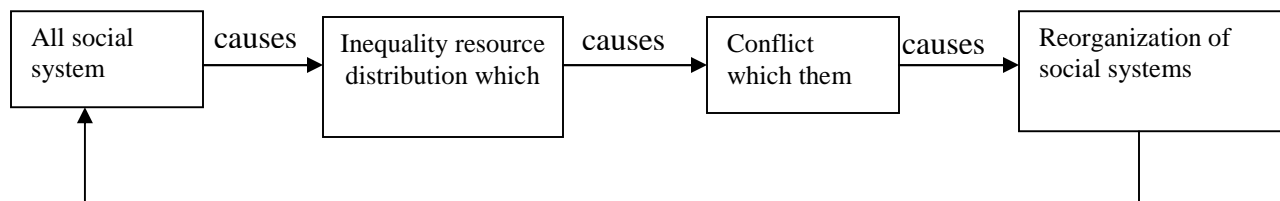
He argued that Marx failed to make correct predictions because he took in to account only a special case of a more general phenomenon. Marx believed that private ownership of the means of production is the cause of social conflicts-that if it were eliminated harmony would prevail.

2.1.2 Lewis A. Coser: Conflict Functionalism

In the 1960s Coser consistently Critiized Parsonian functionalism and Dahrendorf's dialectical concept (Turner, 2005). He embraces George Simmel's organicism. Conflict is viewed as a process that, under certain conditions, functions to maintain the body social or social systems (ibid). Coser's analysis and emphasizing on; imbalances in the integration of system parts lead to, the out break of varying types of conflict among these parts, which in turn, causes; temporary reintegration of the system which causes; and increased flexibility in the system's structure, increased capability to resolve future imbalances through conflict, and increased capacity to adapt changing conditions" (ibid: 167). Coser is careful to point out that he is simply correcting for analytical inattention to the positive consequences of conflict, the strategy is nonetheless one sided (ibid).

Coser's functional conclusion that when conflicts are frequent and when violence and intensity are reduced, conflict will promote flexible coordination within the system and increased capacity to adjust and adapt to environment circumstances (ibid:175). The different aspects of conflict: hostilities war, competition, antagonisms, tension, contradiction, quarrels, disagreement, inconsistencies, controversy, dispute and many other terms (ibid: 177/78). Functional theories focus on less severe and violent conflicts and on their circumstances for promoting integration within and between conflict parties and for increasing overall system adaptability and flexibility (ibid). He emphasized conflict is not destructive where as functional for society (ibid).

F:2: Overall Causal Imagery of Conflict Theory



Source: Turner, 2005:182

2.1.3 Randall Collins: Analytic Conflict

Collins' Conflict Sociology (1975) moved in a much more micro oriented direction than the macro conflict theory of Dahrendorf and others (Ritzer, 2000). He criticized Marxian theory as a monocausal explanation for a multicausal world works" (Collins, 1975;49). First, he believed that conflict theory must focus on real life rather than on abstract formulations. Second, he viewed that a conflict theory of stratification must examine the material arrangements that affect interaction. Third, he argued that in a situation of inequality, these groups that control resources are likely to try and exploit those that lack resources. Fourth, he wanted the conflict theorist to look at such cultural phenomena as beliefs and ideals from the point of view of interests, resources and power. Finally he made a firm commitment to the scientific study of stratification and cultural rights". In conclusion Collins' effort to develop a more integrative conflict theory, especially one that integrative micro and macro concerns.

2.1.4 Polibious Theory

Polibious has the credit of explaining the conflict first time. According to him human society destroyed in the past due to conflict. Really, it destroyed in past but brought many changes too (Sapkota, 2005). Darwin (1809-1882) made an empirical research of conflict on the basis of biological concept and mentioned by regarding conflict are based upon the fact of struggle for existence (ibid: 13). According to Ratzenhofer the main factor or cause of conflict in human society is personal interest. But his weakness is forgetting about common interest or group interest (ibid: 14). All of the above intellectuals Theoretical concept support to my research questions. Conflict destroys a little as much brings positive change in the society.

2.1.5 Karl Marx: Class Conflict

Marx's class theory rests on the premise that "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles". According to this view, ever since human society emerged from its primitive and relatively undifferentiated state it has remained fundamentally divided between classes who clash in the pursuit of class interests. For example the prime locus of antagonism between classes-between exploiters and exploited, between buyers and sellers of labour power-rather than of functional collaboration (Coser, 2004: 48). He notes that unequal access need not all times and under all conditions lead to active class struggle (ibid). In his view "The state is the form in which the individuals of a ruling class assert their common interests." Marx emphasis on the "reality of ideas" as nothing more than a conservative ideology that supports people's oppression by the material forces of their existence. His alternative was "To stand Hegel on his head" but in this early work there is still an emphasis on the relation between consciousness and self-reflection, on the one hand, and social reality on the other (Turner, 2005). In elaborating his model of revolutionary class conflict and social change Marx delineated an image of social organization that still influences a major portion of sociological theory. The class structure and institutional arrangements, as well as cultural values, beliefs, religious dogmas, and other ideas systems are ultimately a reflection of the economic base of society (ibid). Summarization of Marx's concept as follows:

- i. While social relationships display systemic features, these relationships are rife with conflicting interests.
- ii. This fact reveals that social systems systematically generate conflict.
- iii. Conflict is therefore an inevitable and pervasive feature of social systems.
- iv. Such conflict tends to be manifested in the opposition of interests.
- v. Conflict most frequently occurs over the distribution of scarce resources, most notably power and material wealth.

- vi. Conflict is the major source of change in social systems.
- vii. Unequal distribution of resource is the interest of conflict between dominant and subordinate segments.
- viii. The more subordinate segments become aware of their true collective interests,
- ix. They are aware of their collective interests and the greater is their questioning of the legitimacy of the distribution of scarce resources, the more likely are they to join overt conflict against dominant segments of a systems.
- x. The greater is the ideological unification of members of subordinate segments of a system and the more developed is their political leadership structure, the more likely are dominant and subjugated segments of a system to become polarized.
- xi. The more polarized are the dominant and subjugated, the more violent is their conflict, and
- xii. The more violent is the conflict, the greater is the structural change of the system and the greater is the redistribution of scarce resources (ibid).

I see the criticisms that can be leveled against those assumptions: societies are more than mere reflections of economic organization and patterns of property ownership; social conflict is rarely bipolarized across an entire society; interests in a society do not always cohere around social class; power relations in a society are not always direct reflections of ownership of property; and conflict does not always cause social change. There may be only power shift. Marx saw additional reasons for the incompatibility between bourgeoisies and proletariats in goals and interests. Thus, the ultimate goal of the proletariats is the destruction of the capitalist is the preservation of the system. His weakness is only focus on class conflict.

2.1.6 Grievance Greed Approaches

Two approaches advanced for conflict in the current literature are justice seeking and loot seeking behaviour of people, which build on people's introspection. Also known as grievance and greed approaches, these two concepts offer a framework that embraces a multitude of factors, giving rise to conflict. For example people can be dissatisfied and express their grievances because of a number of reasons ranging from political structure to social factors and discrimination. Initially, grievance approach has found much space in conflict literature; however, in recent years economic reasons have been gaining much popularity in explaining conflict (Tiwari, 2007).

Sustaining peace would require a correct understanding of the motivating factors of conflict and identity. Each supported two schools of thought through empirical work on the factors/causes of civil wars. William Easterly (2004; cited in Tiwari, 2007) and Levin (1997) have concluded that ethnic fractionalization is one of the major causes of civil wars, while Collier and Hoeffler (1998) have arrived at a different finding, which states that the underlying factors of movement is economy not an ethnicity. However, their successive studies give recognition to social factors as well (ibid).

Collier and Hoeffler (2004), and Fearon and Latin (2003 cited in Tiwari 2007) found that poorer countries face greater risk of conflict however, their interpretation is different. For example Collier and Hoeffler have advanced two reasons for conflict under the grievance and greed approaches:

- i. low opportunity cost of rebels; and
- ii. large stock easily expropriated natural resources or primary commodities in an area.

Security is poor in rural and remote areas compared to city and accessible areas of developing poor countries. This hints that, the factors or root cause of conflict is

not economic stimuli but weak governance owing to lack of resources among others in poor developing countries (ibid).

Eqbal Ahamad (1982) further elaborates the conflict theory as: when a ruling class resists a fundamental refer (which means reduction, if not liquidation, of its power and privileges), its confrontation with the new political forces becomes increasingly violent. By setting examples of defying and challenging established authority, they break the inhibitions of habitual or reflexive obedience and help transform private doubts in to public actions; examples of overt resistance establish new standards of defiance and produce new alternatives and skills (Ahmad, 1982; cited in Thapa and Sijapati, 2003).

2.2. Empirical Review

In the context of Nepal some studies have already conducted on the basis of conflict theory. Among them maximum studies on the armed conflict, especially Maoist armed conflict. The study of armless movements or conflicts are in very few numbers. Whenever, on the issue of *Madhesh* movement, no any academic study has conducted. Only general literatures and reports are founded till.

Gaige (1975) has described discriminatory condition of plain people (Madheshi). By coding the contribution in GDP, language condition, *Madhesh/Terai* political scenario, citizenship problem, use of passport to enter Kathmandu, representation in every sector of state: executive, legislative, Judiciary and Bureaucracy. He has raised the regional issue of Nepal very sincerely in his study. And this study is very useful to understand and explain the *Madhesh* movement. It is also helpful for integration in Nepal.

Shreshtha (2004) has written a book, which gives various types of internal conflicts; especially Maoist insurgency. The problem of insurgency can be identified as historical; political, social legal; social ethnic; cultural; religious;

economic; gender discrimination, injustice, inequality, poverty, unemployment, nepotism, corruption, and failure of the rule of law and governance.

"Dwandwa Byabasthapan Ka Siddhanta Ra Bidhiharu : EK Parichay" which describes, there may not be wanted peace in the wars group always forward to make violence, peace abstraction. Deprivation of human rights civil conflict is both cause and consequences of poor no performance (World Development Report, 2000/2001: 127).

"Rotberg (2003) notes that, strong states are in full control of their territories and provide high quality political goods to their citizens; weak states contain ethnic, religious, linguistic, or other tensions that limit or decrease its ability to deliver political goods. These conflicts are on the edge of exploding in to open conflict. GDP per capita has fallen or falling and corruption is common. The rule of law is weakly applied. Despots rule; failed state provide very little political goods. The forfeit the distribution of political goods to warlords or non-state actor. Security is non-existent in all but the major cities (if that).The economic infrastructure has failed, the health care system is in decline, and the education system is in shambles. GDP per capita is in a precipitous decline, inflationsoars, corruption flourishes and food shortages are frequent. Failed states often have very rich minority that take advantage of the failed system; collapsed sates are rare and extreme version of a of a failed state. They exhibit a vacuum of authority."

Failed states can no longer perform basic functions such as security, governance, education etc. Usually due to fractious violences or extremes poverties. Similarly, escalation of conflict and deterioration of public livelihoods are resulted in a greater degree. Insecurity, destruction, economic hardships, health problems are common, only a very small proportion of its population gets benefit from the state. In this scenario conflict turned out to be more vibrant.

According to Marxists, conflict is the foundation for social change. But considering conflict induced internal displacement, that notion does not necessarily imply to this issue. Methodology of the conflict determines the intensity of causalities and violations. There are various factors leading people to the armed conflict including deep-rooted poverty, government's neglect and suppression corruption, failed development, exclusion of people from state systems, curtailed participation etc. That have entire connections to the internal conflict in Nepal (Dahal, 2006).

Good governance and contemporary of the state the key factors to cope with these problems. But, Nepal lacked the norms of good governance and competency that entirely stimulated conflict and devastation, state governance should be consensus oriented, participatory, accountable, transparent, responsible, effective and efficient, inclusive and directed by rule of law but Nepal stumbled between the weak and failed state in terms of these indicators. Similarly, the government and political parties failed to link up and apply the democracy with good governance and competent state. Ineffective judiciary and electoral system, non-functional legislative bodies, exclusive governance, biased delivery systems and absent security mechanism are the major foundations that led many internal conflict and *Madhesh* movement through out the country. The present data of Nepal shows the discrimination to the *Madheshi*, *Janiuti*, *Dalit* and so on. Being a *Madheshi*, They are back warded by by state intentionally (Gupta, 2004; Yadav, 2005; 2006; 2007; Shah, 2007; Rakesh, 2007; Jha, 2000; Gautam, 2008; Shah, 2008; Mainali Thapa, 2006).

Giri (2007), the February 2007 mass protest known as *Madhesh Andolan*. According to her *Madhesh* movement has forced the politics of the country towards a new direction. It is very much in efence of democracy and *Madheshi* nationalism. The seed of the *Madhesh* movement had been sown in the year 1951

B.S, when '*Terai Congress*' was formed. This movement for political acknowledgment of Madheshi's identity and cultural and political equality.

'Kistabandi Ghunda Tekai', Sangraula (2007) in the favour of *Madhesh* movement has written in 'Solidarity' (a monthly magazine; 6/11) that there was no difference between temporary king Gyanendra and republic or democratic government. Because they were as cruel as Gyanendra for *Madheshi* community. In addition, he has written in Kantipur Daily (dated 2063Magh 10, 22,27,...) *Madheshi* people did not beg whole Nepal or something special. They have been struggling only for equal right in the state. They want their identity and equal access in every sector of the nation. Movement was uprising against nearly 240 years suppression, domination and disrespect of the *Pahadi* (Khas) ruler. It was common screaming of *Madheshi* Nepali. It was more powerful than second people movement of 19 days. *Madhesh* movement is quite different to the explanation of Mahendriya narrow minded intellectuals who were unknown to the field.

Rajendra Upcharak (Saptahik Bimarsha; 2007: Chaitra) 'Terai Hatyakandka Dui Khalnayak, Thakur Singh Tharu (Dantipur) 'Nayan Nepalma Tharu', Phurpa Tamang (Kantipur) 'Bhoo Mathi Swamitya', Modnath Proshrit (Kantipur) 'Vishal Natha Pahad-Madheshko', Dr Jugal Bhurtel (kantipur) 'Ma Pahade-Madheshi-Khas-Nepali', Ghimarjun Achrya (Kantipur) Kassto Hunchha Samanupatik Pratinidhitwa,' Ghaskar Gautam (Kantipur) Janbidroh-Loiktantra Ra Madhesh, Baldip Prabhashwar (Kathmandu Today) 'Madheshi Akrosh Ra Shasakko Niti', Bishnubahadur Manandhar (Kantipur) 'Madheshle Khojeko Sajajata', Shreeman Narayan (Vishwodip: weakly) 'Tharulai Kamjor Banaune Shoolyantra, Bishnupukar Shreshtha (Solidarity; monthly) "Kina Uthyo Madheshma Andolan Sitaram Agrahari (Gorkhapatra) "Kasle Bhandhana Madhesh Chhaina," Narhari Achrya (kantipur) "Madhesh Andolanle Sikaeka Path." Manoj Kumar Karna (Madhesh-Vani) "Madheshi Andolanka Lagi Chahine Ekta," Chitra Br. K.C. (Sanghu) 'Madhesh ka Prithak Tabakiharu Ko Hun? ," Jayprakash Gupta

(Kantipur) "Madhesh Bidrohka Adhar," Jhamak Ghimire (Kantipur) 'Madheshko Prasphutan Umakant Chqudhary (Gorkhapatra) "Madhesh Andolanko Uplabahi," Dipendra Jha (kantipur) " Madheshko Agroha," Manchala Jha (Kantipur) "Madheshi Ekata", Ratna Jha (Kantipur) 'Madheshi Bidroh Chunauti Ra Absar," Hridhesh Tripathi (Kantipur) 'Madhesh Bidroh Ra Mero Rajinama' Gagen Thapa (Kantipur) " Tarai Ko Tanawlai Absarma Badalnu Parchha", Suresh Dhakal (Mulyandan Monthly) "Teraiko Rajnitik Bhavishya Saita Giri (Kathmandupost) " Democracy and Madheshi nationalism", Hari Bansha Jha (Himalayan Times) "Madheshi Uprising consensus vital for shaping federal structure Prashant Jha (Himal South Asia) Madhesh Rises" and (Nepali Times)" Tarai Churning" C.K. Lal (Nepali Times) " Muharram in Madhesh" Pratik Pathak (kathmandu post) " Do not Discount Madhesh", Aditya Man shreshtha (Himalayan Times) "Madheshi uprising" and some mere writers have written about Madhesh movement and its aspect, demand event etc. All of they are focused on Madhesh issues very honestly. And explain analyse the event during the *Madhesh* movement. Whether, some others writer was biased to analyse the event of *Madhesh* movement.

Prof. Jha, in his book "Terai Community and National Integration in Nepal" has included six chapters. In the first chapter, he has described the introduction of Terai or Madhesh with it's history; land; Jungle and population. Second chapter contains social structure of *Terai/Madhesh* with caste system; division of population; arts and paintings; condition of residence; culture; child labour, education level and marriage system. Language issue is one of the prominent issues in chapter three. Language debut; language movements; condition of local language in Terai; language policy of government; position of Hindi language etc are the major topics in this unit. Chapter four explain the immigration and its impact on Terai region. Chapter five is contending economic management of Terai. And last chapter is surrounding of national integration in Nepal. Especially, Madheshi people are excluded from nation's policy and strategy.

Paudel, (2008) 'Madheshi Andolan' this book published from HUDEP Nepal. It notes that 'Madheshi Andolan's' short description and suggestions for the government and political parties. He has stressed on the *Madhesh* movement's issue and support it by cited many articles and duties.

Yadav (2005) 'Conspiracy Against Madhesh', to conclude this book that, the Madheshi population is subjected to extreme national oppression, poverty and exploitation and lack of all democratic rights, *Madhesh* is treated as the internal colony of hill people's ruling class. It is the combination of the worst features both of racial discrimination and internal colonialism within a single national frontier which determines the special nature of the Nepalese polity. The *Madheshi* people of Nepal have been politically, economically, socially and culturally depressed and are under the threat of extinction.

Aditya, Upreti and Adhikari (2006) have focused to draw out the key trends and patterns of conflict; a sample of 50 countries was selected. The information for this purpose was called from a fairly broad range of sources, but the base for the analysis here is Monty G. Marshall's article "Measuring the Societal Impact of War" from the volume by Hampson and Malone. Apart from Afghanistan, Switzerland, Nepal and the USA, a few Latin American states, and Liberia in West Africa, most of the countries included in this analysis assumed statehood in the 20th century. Conflict has afflicted them frequently and often with long term impacts irrespective of a state's size; per capita GDP etc. They have stressed on conflict and processing of peace lesson for Nepal to focus on Maoist insurgency. But, there is not any sentence of *Madhesh* conflict. It is seen, there is weakness to neglect *Madhesh* issue before *Madhesh* movement.

Edited by Gautam (2008) "Madhesh Bidrohko Nalibel" is collection of journalistic articles. It is not academic or researchable book. Though, it has tried to describe the whole event of Madhesh movement since the Nepalgunjriot to recent *Madhesh*

movement 2007/08. In a concluding line it is description of *Madhesh* movement's event and summary of interaction program from *Madhesh*.

Gupta, Yadav, Jha and Jha (2004) "Nepali Madheshi Ka Samasya," note that *Madheshi's* problems and solution by regarding available political; economic; administration and some more state. They compare the data with *Pahadi* and *Madheshi* to find out intentional discrimination. It is also description of data not more than that.

Edited by Thapa Basanet and Mohan Mainali (2006) '*Madhesh* Samasyara Sambhavana', is academic book of *Madheshi* issues. It's included history of *Terai/Madhesh* economy; ethnic issue; forest management; language; politics of citizenship; discrimination of *Madheshi* and *Madhesh* in Nepali Media. This book is also included the days workshop report by the help of Social Science Baha Kathmandu.

Rakesh (2007) 'Murder of Madhesh' has explained the events and some opinions of different leader, Human Rights activists, media persons and his own views also. He concerns, properly on Lahan incident, Gaur Massacre, security situation, role of civil society and Human Rights organizations, international interest on Nepal and short introduction of *Madehsh*. His book is also journal based and his experiences. He further tries to convince *Madheshi* have been hunt of racial discrimination." Nepal-India Boarder Relations" edited by Prof. Dr. Haribansh Jha (1995). His main concerns on the different relations among Nepalese and Indian. It is also included the history before *Sugauli* Treaty 1816.

The more intense and widespread the use of force, the less likely are those who use it, rebels or regimes, to achieve their objectives except through total victory. In view of the resources available to modern governments and modern revolutionary movements, total victory is highly likely to be pyrrhic victory. Ignorance is almost always among its (of political violence) causes; sometimes ignorance of its consequences by those who

resort to it, more often ignorance by those who create and maintain the social conditions that inspire it. But political violence is comprehensible, which should make it neither necessary nor inevitable, by capable of resolution" (Gurr, 1970:358-359).

Negligence or ignorance is the one of the factor for conflict or movement. The government should pay attention towards the voice or demand of people, which could make it neither necessary nor inevitable, but capable for resolution.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology is backbone of any research. Anthropology is a field based observational science. It emphasizes on field work and participation methods, focusing on grassroots human condition, social relation, and local institutions, social changes, transformation, conflicts or holistic aspects of human beings. Field research is very much an individual experience. What one asks, sees or observes and experience in a related field.

An anthropological study of *Madhesh* movement on the basis of conflict functionalism theory during the data collection conflict been using many anthropological tools: participant observation, interview, focus group discussion, group interview, case study and key information interview. In the initial visit I talked informally, listened and observed to develop rapport-building. I had spent 107 days in the field to understand and take-out meaningful data of *Madhesh* movement. I participated in different socio-cultural and political programs and events to know the changes. The data information are based on concrete realities of human situation obtained by observing and listening from real people and real life. As Fricke (1986) reports, "I relied on people with whom I had a special relationship....". I have kept the names of people places and events in the text but used some pseudonyms to cover the identity as respondents will. I kept field notes, visiting people while staying in field.

3.1 Rationale of the Study Sites Selection

I had selected surrounding villages of *Dhanusha* and *Mahottary* districts from central *Terai/Madhesh*. Especially, the headquarters of these two districts were focused for interview and overview observation of saptari, Siraha, and Sarlahi districts, to be more clear Dahanusha and Mahottary are the districts of Janakpur zone. They are 60.98 to 609.76 meters high from sea level. Both districts are very

similar in most of the case to each other. The total population of Dhanusha and Mahottary districts are 6,73,517 and 5,53,481 respectively. They fall into hot region climatic range topographically. They are the southern and central region of the Nepal (District Profile, 2007/08).

The reason behind I had selected these sites that, Dhanusha and Mahotari are the center of *Madhesh* and mixed residential districts of many castes. They are *Madhesh* dominated districts and familiar to me. I hope these sites represent the area of whole *Madhesh*. Because, these district contain various, social economic, political, geographical religious, ethnic etc. characteristics of Madhesh. Therefore, Madheshi community from central Terai are appropriate for this study, and that's why Dhanusha and Mahottary districts had been selected purposively had been selected purposively as the study sites.

3.2 Research Design

In order to depict the picture of *Madhesh* movement's condition and context by focusing on causes and consequences of this movement. This research was followed on the basis of 'exploratory' research design. What ever, facts had collected that described elaborately with a view of providing an indepth understanding of the causes and consequences of the recent Madhesh movement. I carefully, tried to note all the observed events from the study area and describe as faithfully as possible. My effort to explore the hidden causes and consequences of Madhesh movement from grassroots people through anthropological discipline.

3.3 Nature and Sources of Data

This study included both primary and secondary sources where ever they met. Generally, primary data has used to make it anthropological study. The primary data had been collected through observation, interview, key-informant interview and case study from the study area. On the other hand, the secondary data. Obtained from the authentic and standard sources as well as library, published and unpublished articles, documents; reports; books; websites; research agencies and so on. And the nature of the data is predominately qualitative where as quantitative too.

3.4 Sampling Procedure

Purposive sampling procedure of non-probability sampling framework had been applied in this study. Total population of the Dhanusha and Mahottary district is the universe of the study. Among them only 113 people were formally interviewed or directly involved as informants and nearly 100 people visited during the study period as informal informants. Inclusive informants had been selected from both of the districts. The classifications of informants' number in following table.

Table:2: Division of Informants' Number on the Basis of Research Tools

S.N.	Tools/ Instruments	No. of Informants	Total	Percent
1	Case Studies	4	4	3.54
2	Focus Group Discussion	9	18	15.92
3	Group Interview	10	20	70.70
4	Formal Interview	24	48	42.49
5	Key Interview	23	23	20.35
Total			113	100

There were: 3 case studies, 2 focus groups discussion, 2 group interview, and 48 formal interviews and 23 key informant interviews with the political leaders, journalists, intellectuals, officers including grassroot people from the central *Terai* and center of Nepal. The distributions of informants are per districts on the basis of caste, religious, gender, race (*Pahadi-Madheshi*), occupation, age, education, polity regard, and so on. It is given in below table.

Table:3: Classification of Informants' Types

S.N.	Types of informants	No. of Informants	Percent (%)
1	General people	60	53.09
2	Leader and activists	23	20.35
3	Govt. & non govt. officers	17	15.05
4	Journalist	10	8.85
5	Senior Injured persons	3	2.66
	Total	113	100

3.5 Research Instruments

In order to obtain necessary data from the natural field settings for this study. I applied unobtrusive observation (as Bernard told 'all participant observation is field work, but not all the fieldworks is participant observation), interview, key informant interview focus group discussion, group interview case studies and informal interview and discussion. As anthropological ethic, rapport-building is very important for the field research so, I followed it very sincerely. Therefore, these techniques were applied for the data collection and rapport building helped to use these instruments.

3.5.1 Key Informants Interview

Choosing good informants and asking them things they know about. In other words, we must select informants for thier competence rather than just for their representativeness (Bernard, 1994). Key informants interviewing is an integrate part of ethnographic research. It is very important for anthropological or deep studies. Good informants are people who you can talk to easily, who understand the information you need, and who are flad to give it to you or get it for you. Pelto & Pelto (1978;72) advocate training informants "to conceptualize cultural data in the frame of reference employed by the anthropologists" (ibid). This tool was employed to identify or generate historical background of Madhesh movement, and causes and consequences of recent Madhesh movement. I took 23 informants from political leaders, activists, journalists, intellectuals or scholars and officers.

Don't choose key ethnographic informants too quickly. Allow yourself go awash in data for a while, and play the field when you have several prospects, check on their roles and statuses in the community (ibid). Be sure that the informants you select don't prevent you from gaining access to other important, i.e. people won't talk to you when they find out you're so and so's friend. Find trustworthy informants who are observant, reflective and articulate who know to tell good stories and stay with them (idid:168) Jeffery Johnson notes that don't be surprised

of informants like to you. In using key informants Tremblay said, "one chooses them strategically, considering the structure of the society and the content of the inquiry...when you use key informants, we are not randomly sampling from the universe of characteristics under study. Rather we are selectively sampling specialized knowledge of the characteristics (1957:689).

3.5.2 General Interview

An interview is face to face verbal interchange in which one person, i.e. the interviewer, attempts to elicit some information or experiences from another person or persons regarding a particular issue (Gautam, 2058). P.V. young has told "The interview may be regarded as a systematic method by which a person enters more or less imaginatively into the inner life of a comparative strange." In the same way, F.N. Kerlinger, "The interview is face to face interpersonal situation in which one person, the interviewer asks a person being interviewed the respondent's questions designed to obtain answers pertinent to the purpose of the research problems."

Unstructured interviewing is the most widely used method of data collection in cultural and political anthropology. We interview people informally during the course of an ordinary day of participant observation; we interview people on their boats and in their fields and we interview people in our offices or theirs (Bernard 1994). By the help of checklist I had conducted this technique to collect data from general people, student, farmer, businessman, teacher, lecturer, officer, labour, doctor, driver, conductor, police, political leader, activist, whoever met me during the period of research in the field in proper situation. I employed this proper situation. I employed this tool for formal and informal interview to get holistic information of *Madhesh* movement. Especially, I focused who is benefited most from this movement and why it occurred. I interviewed more than 100 respondent directly and indirectly.

3.5.3 Group Interview

I had conducted group interview including 20 different people from the research sites. In the same way of interview technique. But this tool used for different purpose to get general changes on administration, polity and society. It is also unstructured interview by the help of check-list. Male and female and different occupation's people were involved in this interview.

3.5.4 Focus Group Discussion

Focus groups are recruited to discuss a particular topic-like people's perception towards integration or disintegration among the *Madhesh* and non-*Madheshi*, *Madhesh* and state etc. from *Madhesh* movement. Like wise, people's reaction to a television commercial or their attitude towards a social service program. The method derives from work by Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton in 1941 at Columbia University's office of radio research (Bernard, 1994).

Focus groups are less expensive to conduct than questionnaire surveys and they yield insight on why people feel as they do about a particular issue or behaviors (ibid). I had ran 2 focus groups discussion the groups had from 4 to 9 participants with a total 19 informants. The focus groups, conducted in the local language of each community lasted from an hour to two hours as Bernard denotes. This helped ensure that the discussions would produced useful information to examine the specific condition of integration/ disintegration from this movement. The groups were stratified by age, sex, occupation and race (*Pahadi-Madheshi*). It turned out that the information from the focus groups duplicated much of the information gathered by the other methods used in the study (ibid). It does not replace surveys, but rather complement them. Kreuger (1988:35) recommends testing survey instruments on focus group to find out if people understand the question (ibid). This method is now widely in basic and in applied research. Morgan (1989) ran focus groups with widows to find out the factors that made it

easier for some to cope with bereavement than others; Morgan and Spanish (1985).

3.5.5 Case Studies

Case study is the one of the remarkable tools of anthropology study. It helps to develop findings or study by knowing the experience of special respondents. P.V. Young "Case study is a method of exploring and analyzing the life of a social unit, be that unit a person, a family an institution a cultural group or even entire community." And another social scientist has told, "Surely the typical survey is no more a case study of community than purely behaviouristic study of a personality is a case study of the individual on the other hand I should say that the case study methods is applicable to any size of group: that it is applicable from the study of the personality to the study of civilization itself. Any adequate sociological study shows fusion of case method and historical method." (Gautam, 2058). I employed this tool to focus the holistic perception and experience of activists or participants martyr family or injured person. I have prepared only four case studies from research sites.

3.5.6 Participant Observation

Participant observation or ethnographic fieldwork, is the foundation of cultural anthropology. It involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives (Bernard, 1994). As it said I have participated in various village or municipality or district level meetings, dialogue, sessions, offices and programme organized either by government or non-government organization and agencies to gain concrete realities and changes relations among the socio-cultural structure, polity and administration.

Some participant observers advocate "going native" and "becoming the phenomenon" (Jongensen, 1989) but most anthropologists advocate maintaining so distance and objectively (ibid:137). I had observed directly 5 districts of Madhesh

to know the relation among general people and officers. Because, all participant observation is fieldwork, but not all fieldwork is participant observation (ibid). So, I went door to door, office to office, village to village and did a series of face to face interviews that was field study or participant observer. Fieldwork can involve two quite different roles that of participating and that of participating observer and that of observing participant. By far, most anthropological research is based on the first role, (ibid).

In some extent, I had occupied unobtrusive observation in field. Unobtrusive observation includes all methods for studying behavior where informants don't know that they're being studied. The methods of unobtrusive observation include behavior trace studies, archival research content analysis disguised observation, and naturalistic field experiments. It is the ultimate in participant observation: where the informants do not know that the researcher is watching them. There is certainly a question on research ethic. So, atleast I revealed myself to them as an anthropology student, It further, helped to cross-check the information gathered from the respondents too. I always too eager to listen and perceive peoples' activities that were being around me. My concerned was to make sense from these activities because the information remains lively and reliable at root-level. Likewise, I observed ordinary special and everyday events which helped me to stesize my understanding.

3.7 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis is a continuous process of reviewing the information as it is collected. Data was analyzed on the basis of thematic classification and drawing the conclusions. Analysis is the process of making sense of the collected information (Thesis and Grady, 1991;Uprety, 2002). In so doing, the qualitative data was analyzed by perusing all the original texts of the field notes and then identifying and listing all conceptual categories/patterns in data (ibid). A few quantitative data was also generated from the secondary data and field work too.

Qualitative analysis in fact, all analysis is the search for patterns in data and for ideas that help explain the existence of those patterns (Bernard, 1994). Bernard stressed, "Don't worry about getting ideas, either; if you have prepared for research by reading the relevant literature and if you collect data of your own, your hardest job will be to sort through all the ideas and decide which ones to test. And don't worry about seeing patterns in your data, or about not being able to come up with causal explanations for things you see in fieldwork." That's why, I analyzed information very freely by staying in research ethnic. As field research progress, I try consciously to switch back and forth between these two perspectives, the emic and the etic.

Qualitative data analysis depends heavily on the presentation of selected anecdotes and comments from informant's-quotes that lead the reader to understand quickly what it took you months or years to figure out (ibid:363). Data do not speak for themselves. So, I have developed informants' ideas as possible about what's going on, state those ideas clearly and illustrate them with selected quotes and boxes from field study (informants). Other hand, an important part of qualitative analysis is the production of visual displays (Miles & Huberman, 1994;ibid). Causal maps represent theories about how things work. They are visual representations of ideas that emerge from studying data, seeing patterns and coming to conclusions about causes-what.

3.7 Time Framework

This study was started in June 2008 and completed in July 2009. The detail time framework has been given below:

Table:3: Time Schedule of Study

S.N.	Details	Time period (B.S.)	Total Time
1	Proposal Preparation	2065/02/05 – 05/31	116 days
2	Field visit or fieldwork	2065/06/12 – 09/29	(107 days)
3	Data analysis and thesis preparation	065/11/13 – 066/03/25	148 days
Total time			371 days

3.8 Limitation of the study

I have tried to find out the causes and consequences of the recent Madhesh movement from the central Terai. Basically, the study focused on general people's perception of Dhanusha and Mohattary including Sapdari, Siraha, Sarlahi. The research topic is broad but resources, time, area, manpower and literatures were not enough for this study. Due to lack of time and resources whole area of *Terai/Madhesh* could not be studies deeply or indepth. The study would not have accomplished all its orginal objectives in their, entirely by these factors. So, the findings of this study may not be generalized completely. Likewise, the study was conducted for the partial fulfillment of master's degree in Anthropology. And other hands, the purpose of this movement are not completed due to transitional period of country. So, agreement is not implemented completly till. Therefore, generalizations yielded from the study may not be completely authentic.

3.9 Operational Definition of Key Terms

Absolutism - The principle of absolute government, the governed having no representation, vote, or other share in the administration.

Activits- Those in a political group who went to take active steps towards the objectives of the group rather than merely to proclaim a programme.

Administrative agency- A unit of government, created by legislation act either as part of a department or as independent sector.

Aggression – Acts of hostility, injury, violence or extreme self assertion.

Alienation – This concept describes the estrangement of individuals from one another.

Alliance- It refers to a contractual relationship between two or more states by which undertakings get exchanged for mutual.

Amendment - An addition to or alteration of a statute or constitution. Like the related device of repeal, it is an instrument of law reform.

Anarchy- The non-existence of law and government is the result of anarchism.

Change - The societies progressive through a series of predictable stages based on the development of human knowledge. Marx contended that the most significant social changes were revolutionary in nature, and were brought about by struggle for supremacy between dominated classes.

Cold War - A state of tension between countries in which each side adopt policies designed to strengthen itself and weaken the other, but failing short of actual or hot war.

Colonialism- It refers to a system of political and economic oppression by states of other territories and countries and the local population there of.

Colony - An area of land which, with its inhabitants, is entirely subject to the rule of an independent state, of which it does not form an integral part. It is not itself an independent state.

Communism- May mean either the type of society in which property is vested in the community, every individual receiving what he needs and working accordingly to his capacity or the revolutionary movement which seeks to achieve the goal.

Community - The concept of community concerns a particularly constituted set of social relationship based on something which the participants have in common usually a common sense of identity.

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

Criminology – It adopted a conflict perspective and placed emphasis upon the oppressive power of the state, its control over the definition and persecution of crime, and the exploitation of the powerless by capital.

Democracy - From the Greek words: demos; people, and Kratein; to rule meaning government by the people. Democracy may be either direct and exerted by popular assemblies, or by plebiscites on all legislation, or indirect and exerted by representative institutions.

Grievance - It is an initial stage of conflict in which individuals or a group are prevented to be unjust and provides grounds for resettlement or complaints.

Hegemony – It refers to the ideal representation of the interests of the ruling-class as universal interest.

Identity Crisis – It refers to the people who lost a sense of personal sameness and historical continuity and subsequently generalized it to a whole stage of life.

Integration – It describes, a mode of relation of the units of system by virtue of which they act so as collectively to avoid disrupting the system and making it possible to co-operate, to promote its functioning as a unity. It is used as a synonym for social consensus.

Internal-colonialism - A term used widely to characterize exploitative relationship between a 'centre' and 'periphery' within a single nation-state or society.

Madhesh - It is used as a synonymously instead of *Terai* (plain). It contains twenty districts of Nepal. It is a cultural name of plain region.

Madheshi- *Madheshi* is culturally distinguishing to the *Hill* origin people (*Pahadi*). The indigenous inhabitant people of *Madhesh* are called *Madheshi* it symbolized the non *Pahadi* people of Nepal.

Minority group – Since the 1930s this term has been applied to social groups that are oppressed or stigmatized on the basis of racial, ethnic, biological, or other characteristics.

Policy making - The process of formulating both ends and means to the ends, including the selection of problems for attention, devising alternatives to meet the problems, and preserving one alternative over other.

Politician - A person active in public affairs and skilled in the formation of public policies.

Polity - Broadly, it is a politically organized community or a state also the constitution or the organization of government.

Power politics - When a person or group indulges in certain political activity blatantly for the sake of power, the term power politics is used.

Pragmatism - This term used by W. James & John Dewey to refer to their theories about truth that which has good experimental consequences. In politics it refers to an empirical and experimental outlook.

Proletariat - The class of wage laborers deprived of ownership of the means of production and exploited by the bourgeoisie.

Protest - A strong objection to and emphatic disapproval of actions committed by one state or a group of states and deemed improper or erroneous.

Race – Racial categorization is frequently (though not always) based on phenotypical differences; that is differences of facial characteristics, skin colour and so forth.

Secular State - It refers to one which has no official ties to any religious movement or position at all.

Segregation - It refers to forcible separation from one another of racial groups within a country.

Social conflict - It attempts to incorporate the analysis of social conflict in to structural functionalism, seeing it as a process of tension management, or as a part of a process of reintegration in response to social change.

Social movement - It's equivalent in other western languages is being used to denote a wide variety of collective attempts to bring about a change in certain social institutions or to create an entirely new order. In other words, an organized effort by a significant number of people to change (or resist change in) some major aspect of society.

State - It is a community of persons occupying a definite territory with independence and having an organized government. The four essential elements of a state are fixed territory, population, government and sovereignty.

Strike - It is a form of protest against the government or any other authority in which productive activities in a particular territorial area are stopped or made to stop by the workers or other interest groups including political parties.

Treaty - An agreement between subjects of international law primarily between states, regarding the establishment, change or termination of their mutual rights and obligations in any sphere economic, political, scientific, cultural and other cooperation (ibid:437).

CHAPTER FOUR

DOCUMENTATION OF THE PROCESS OF MADHESH MOVEMENT

4.1 History of Madhesh Movement

Historically *Madhesh* movement has been uprising since 1816 at the time of 'Sugauli Treaty' between Nepal and India (Thakur, 2015). Present, *Madheshi* are generally people of *Videh* in previous time. They were divided into two different country: Nepal and India. Their culture, language, relatives brothers were divided by temporary rulers. "We are else where told in the Jataka (180) of two merchants traveling on the road from *Ukkala* to the *Majhim desa*; of hermits fearing to descend from the Hialaya to go into Majhima Desa because the people there are too learned (3.115.116); of a mountation Aranjaragiri in the *Majhim Desa* (3.463;5.134), and of *Videh* being situated within it (3.364) J.R.A.S, London, 1904, page 86." (Griersion, 1904:86).

"Maithili" or "Tirhutiys" is properly speaking the language of Mithila or Tirabhukti (the ancient name of Tirhut). According to Mithila Mahatma a Sanskrit word of considerable repute in the territory which it describes Maithili is the country bounded on the north by the Himalaya mountain, on the south by the Ganges, on the west by the river Gandak and on the east by the river Koshi. It thus includes the British districts of Champaran, asaffarpur and Darbhanga, as well as the strip of the Nepal Tarai which runs between these districts and the ower ranges of the Himalys. It has also extereded east of the river koshi, and occupies the greater part of the district of Purenea and had moreover crossed the Ganges and is now spoken over the whole of the south-gangetic portion of the Monghyr district and in the north and west of the south Paragnas" (L.S.I, Vol-5, Part-2. Page.13)."

In the context of language *Maithali* appears than even about the year 1650 (i.e., a century before the Gorkhas conquered Nepal) the court language of Patan, near

Kathmandu was not *Khasa*, but was loosely allied to the *Maithalli* dialect of *Behari* spoken immediately to its south (Thakur 2015, Grierson 1904). *Maithili* seems to have been current in south-eastern of Nepal before the advent of '*Khas-Kura*' in any case, *Awadhi*, *Maithili* and *Bengali* were used as language of culture in the court of the (Tibet Burman speaking) Newar kings, who ruled before the *Gurkhas*, as is evidenced by a number of dramas written in the above language in Nepal right down to middle of the 18th century (e.g.) A. Conrady, '*Harishchandra Nritya*,' Leipzig, 1981; *ibid*).

Migration into the Terai is primarily from the hills and that these migrants as their numbers grow, will gradually change the hill plains cultural equation bringing about a Nepalization of the region (Gaige, 1975). The majority of the migrants are in fact, of plains origin: 59% of plains origin, 35% hill origin and the remaining 6% tribal indigenous to the Tarai (*ibid*). A minority of high-caste hill migrants can achieve leadership dominance wherever they settle. Citizenship legislation framed by representatives of the nationally dominant hill culture during the 1960s reflects this suspicion, for it makes the equations of citizenship more difficult for *Teraian/Madheshi* people (*ibid*, Shah, 2005). Such a several themes or causes ran thorough the protest of Madhesh, During 1951 to 1956 there were some Madheshi organizations emerged for Madhesh rights (Gaige, 1975). "The Terai Congress was organized in 1951 (2008 B.S.) under the leadership of Vedananda Jha. It is very prominent and systematic political organization. At first, his elder brother Kulananda Jha was a founder president of 'Terai Congress' but it was led politically by Vedananda Jha including Baldev Das Yadav, Rahunath Gupta, Sanishchar Chaudhari and some more. Towards 1960 (B.S. 2017) at the time that the Nepali Congress rebels were operating along the India-Nepal border, the '*Terai Liberation Front*' was established to press the demands of the plains people live in Nepal (Madheshi) (*ibid*:183, Thakur, 2052). One of the front leaders Ramji Mishra, was killed by Nepalese police in June 1963. And army had also killed the

head of the front, Raghunath Rai and Satyaolner Mani Tripathi about the same time. One of the another cadets and later supporter of *Terai Liberation Front* Sanishchar Chaudhary, Morang inhabitant had suicide along with his wife because he preferred to die themselves than an enemy police force (Thakur 2015;2052). August, 1967; Raghunath Thakur, claimed himself a leader of '*Terai Liberation Front*' (Gaife, 1975). Nepalese government reported that the 'Self-styled President' of the front, Satyadev Mani Tripathi, had been killed and two companies injured in a clash between Tripathi group and 'rival group in Nautanwa (ibid). Denying the Nepalese government Thakur said,' it is a conspiracy against *Madheshi*.

'One of the armed gang was also active against Panchyat System in the leadership of Vishwanath Tiwari (ibid;183). Conspiracy against *Madheshi* organization the Panchyati ruler organization two more parallel *Madheshi* organization: '*Madhesh Liberation Council*' and '*Madhesh Liberation Army*' by ill-intention to counter the *Madhesh* well-wisher (Thakur, 2052). Likewise, Dr. Laxmi Narayan Jha, had the concept of *Mithila State* and *Maithili* language raised the voices in B.S. 2020. Unfortunately, in a short time he was kidnapped by temporary government till his authentic condition is not flashed by state. In the changes context of Nepal in B.S. 2040. (1983 A.D.) 'Nepal Sadbhawana Council' formed in the leadership of Gajendra Narayan Singh and Ram Janam Tiwari for a *Madheshi* issues (ibid; International Crisis Group: Report; 2005). After establishing of Democracy in the Nepal, 'Nepal Sadbhavana Parishad' registered as a party in B.S. 2047 (1991) to contest elections but demand constituent assembly with some more *Madheshi* issues (ibid). Due to rift of central political leaders of Sadabhavana Party has broken into many groups time to time. Though, the demands of Sadbhavana parties are same whether the party is divided into five groups yet Vishleshan, weekly: Baishakh, 2000). Hritik Roshan Kand (incident) was also one of the hunting incident for *Madheshi* or Nepalese in the history of Nepal. It had taken form of Madheshi-Pahadi riot for a few days. Maosit setup '*Madheshi Rashtriya*

Mukti Morcha' (MRMM) under jai Krishna goit in Silguri in 2000 (Crissi Group Asia Report, N.136: 9 July 2007). Only four years later Matrika Yadav appointed as a head of MRMM; Goit splits and forms the Jantatrik Terai Mukti Morcha (JTMM) in 2004 (ibid).

4.2 First Phase Process of the Recent *Madhesh* Movement

Second People Movement or mass movement of nineteen-day compelled king to announce reinstatement of parliament on 24 April 2006 and it brought open environment (freedom) for all Nepalese. Parliamentary proclamation curtails royal powers and declares Nepal a secular state on 18 May 2006. The leader of Madheshi Mukti Morcha, Matrika Yadav announced war against JTMM on 17 July 2006. (Collection of Daily & Weekly Papers, 2006). Nepal Sadabhavana Party (A) protest interim constitution provisions on electoral system and its silence on federalism on 16 December 2006. Issuing a press statement, NSP(A) announced the organization of 7 days protests, starting to exert pressure on the government (Kathmandu post, 18th Dec. 2006). NSP(A) an ally of seven party Alliance (SPA) had announced *Madhesh* Banda on December 25, alleging the newly promulgated interim constitution still retain an anti-*Madheshi* policy (ibid). December 26 NSP (A) protest turns civilist in Nepalgunj; communal aspects with *Pahadi-Madheshi* clashes, while police accuse of Anit-*Madheshi* activities. Kamal Giri, 33 years old of Bhawaniyapur was killed in Nepalgunj, Mahendrapark and 23 people were injured during a clash between irate groups (ibid: 27 Dec.) A join meeting of all parties appealed to all to exercise patience so as to maintain social harmony, peace and order in the town (ibid). This irate badly affect on social harmony and Nepal police force or government. Because *Madheshi* were cruelly tortured and behaved by *Pahadi* protestors, and police-administration (Paudel, 2008). That's why, the sister organization of NSP(A), state that some unruly and anti-*Madheshi* forces sparked the *Nepalgaunj* incident and demanded a judicial commission to probe it. The regressive forces deliberately spread violence, with an

ill intention to doom the country into an unmanageable spate of communal violence (ibid). At last, it was halted by regarding government their mistake and providing compensations to all suffered people of *Nepalgunj* incident. But this incident made, *Madheshi* a little aggressive and unite against racial discrimination of state (Yadav, 2007; Paudel, 2008; Rakesh, 2007).

By the name of *Madhesh* movement, it was called systematically by *Madheshi* People Rights Forum (MPRF), which was established in Biratnagar as 'Cross Party Intellectual Platform' in 1997 (Crisis Group Asia Report, 9 July, 2007). *Madhesh* movement began on 16th Janaury, 2007, the MJF/MPRF announced strike in *Terai* to protest interim constitutions promulgation. Its leaders were arrested while burning copies of the statute in Maitighar Mandala, Kathmandu, and in several districts like Siraha, Saptari, Mahottary, Dhanusha, Jhapa, Morang, Rautahat, Kapilbastu, Rupandehi, Banke, etc. The police arrested 28 people from Mandala, Kathmandu and kept them in a dingy and dark room without providing minimum Human Rights facility. Even it crossed the norms of humanity while putting male and female leaders in a room at midnight of *Magh* 1st when they were detained without bed and baggage (ibid). MPRF called the *banda* protesting the newly promulgated interim constitution saying it failed to address the issue of the *Madheshis*. Demanding annulment of the provision of 205 constituencies in the upcoming CA polls, the forum has been pressurizing for proportionate representation based on total population votes. Meanwhile, the forum says that the statute failed to guarantee autonomous *Madhesh* region and proportionate representation of all groups of people in constituent assembly election. It has also expressed reservation and issuing citizenship certificates to *Madheshi* people (Kathmandu Post, 17th January: 2007).

Second day on 17th January, *the Madhesi* intellectuals, students some non-political organizations opposed the arrest of these leaders and protestors and appealed to release them immediately. Demonstration took place in several districts of

Madhesh and Kathmandu too. JTMM also enforced a three day '*Terai Banda*'. The Banda rippled rife in Birgunj, Mawalparasi, Bara, Sapltar, Siraga, Nahottari, Dhanusha, Sarlahi including few more districts (ibid 18th January). The office of the High commissioner Human Rights in Nepal has expressed concern over the arrest of 28 *Madheshi* activists and political pastries members (ibid). Third day, on 18th January, several *Madheshi* association challenged the prime minister if they are not released then they would start agitation in whole *Madhesh* (Rakesh 2007;ibid). Fourth Day they staged '*Dharna*' and '*Jamm*' the transport in against of arrest of Upendra Yadav including all activity who were detained. Maoist slosh with Forum's (MPRF) activists in Lahan, in which Ramesh Kumar Mahato, 16 of Majhauras VDC-1, was killed after was shot by Maoist cadre Siyaram Thakur Mahato, a tenth grader in local 'Mankamana Boarding School, dead on the spot as the bullet pierced his abdomen, according to eye wittiness (ibid, 20th Jan; 2007; 2008). Then enraged protestors set ableze at least 14 vehicles burnt tires and obstructed roads till late evening. Following the incidents, the local administration had clamped a 10 hour curfew, beginning 6pm. (ibid). Many Human Rights organizations, INSEC and intellectuals condemned the killing. Authorities, on Friday 19th January released all remain 14 leaders and activists of *Madheshi Janadhikar Forum* detained for the lost three days (ibid).

On fifth day, there was big demonstration by the Civil Society and *Madheshi* activists, demanding that the prime Minister should apologize for the incident in public. Maoist eiders size and cremate Mahato's dead body; when put under curfew (ibid:39). Sixth day, the police personnel used excessive force to quell the agitating situation but the protestors burnt several Government's offices and vehicles. Movement picks up across eastern *Terai* against the government and Maoists, with growing public support, mass defiance of curfew, clashes between police and protestors, attacks on government offices and almost dozens people injured in clash (ibid). Seventh day, the Home Ministry ordered to fire on the

agitating groups because, four protestors were killed in police firing. Eighth day, Home Minister Sitaula issued press appeal for dialogue but not a single agitating group paid attention to his appeal. Ninth day, in Janakpur there was a clash between protestors and Maoist in which police opened fire, 21 people were injured in the clash. The local administration clamped curfew from 7pm to 4am. The prime minister himself requested the agitating groups to come for dialogue (Rakesh, 2007). In this way 10th day to 15th day, (January 25 to Jan 30), people of Lahan, Janakpur, Biratnagar, Birgunj and so more were reeling under curfew. Every thing had been badly hit due to the protest demonstration continuing. Central members and cadres of Sadabhvana Party demanded to Join the movement after leaving the government and a party alliance. The protestors burnt the effigies of the Prime Minister, home minister and Maoist supreme Prachanda at different place of *Madhesh*. The police entering the Janakpur zonal hospital openly fired and *lathi* charged in the hospital, dozens of patients and waiters of patients were injured (ibid). The Medical superintendent Bahan Kumar Thakur and the Janakpur Doctors Association condemned the incident. The federation of indigenous people supported the movement (ibid). The protestors broke the statues of late kings and some poets in *Madhesh*. In Kathmandu members of Civil Society, Human Rights activists, Students' Organizations and many more *Madheshi* organizations arranged a big rally in the protest (ibid). Hridayesh Tripathi resigned from his post of minister. The government arrested former Home Minister Kamal Thapa and Minister Badri Pd. Mandal on the charge of instigating the agitation in *Madhesh*. During these weeks dozens of protestors were killed and hundreds of activists were injured in the clash of *Madhesh* movement (ibid). So American ambassador James Moriarty requested the government of solve this problem soon (ibid; Daily Paper, 2007).

Sixteenth day, Prime Minister Koirala makes national television address appealing for dialogue; but protestors reject the offer by saying government was not honest

for Madhesh issues (Crisis Report, 2007; Rakesh 2007; Kathmandu Post; February, 2007). PM Koirala, announced to increase the number of parliamentary constituencies from 205 to address the *Terai* centric political outfits. He also made a commitment to switch over to the federal system once the new constitution is drafted following constituent assembly polls. Fourteen houses of *Madheshi* community located in Chandranigahpur in *Rauthat* district and 10 houses situated in *Basantpur* new colony were set on fire by the *Pahadi* community people (Rakesh, 2007). Seventeenth day, there was a disastrous and dangerous clash in which three persons were shot dead and more than 50 people were wounded. The protestors burnt the effigy of different responsible persons. Maoist realized their mistakes and supported the on going movement (ibid). Eighteenth day, government formed committee led by Mahanth Thakur (NC, leader) to talk to all agitating groups. Nineteenth day, in the continued agitation 3 people were killed, Dipendra Sah in Birgunj, Rajesh Thakur in Janakpur and Ram Ekwel Yadav brutally murdered by stone pelting of the unruly *Pahadi* community in Hariwan (ibid). Twentieth to twenty Second day, movement upraised extremely protestors were killed and injured as usual. *Madheshi* Proffessor Association, *Madheshi* employee, and Ranger Association (supported the movement. JTMM (G) attacked 'Kagadi Goth' police post and looted six weapons and 600 bullets. In 6th February, the government wrote letter to the forum to come negotiable table (ibid). Saving account was opened with 'Everest Bank' for donation for on going movement. The account no was 002-127:590 A. Maha Duo (Madan Krishna Shrestha & Haribansh Acharya) started Shrestha & Victim Relief fund by giving 25 lakhs of rupees from former 2nd people movement (ibid).

On the 23rd day, PM Koirala makes second address the nation; government agrees to introduce federalism and electoral constituencies would delimited based on similar population distribution and the countries geographical 'feature' and 'expediency'. He also expressed commitment to make amendments to the interim

constitution declared on January, 15. Forum's president Yadav said, "First political victory of the *Madhesh* people in the history of Nepal yet only a partial success, the MPRF has lifted its strikes and blockades for 10 days." He further said, "It is positive direction while the address mentions a federal state structure, it is silent in regional autonomy and major demands of Janadolan-II including a republic state." (ibid). During this movement 48 protestors were killed, dozens were handicapped hundreds were displaced, carores of property destroyer and hundreds of activist were injured (ibid). At last, MJF cautiously welcomes Koirala's address, suspends agitation for ten days ad sets preconditions for talks: home minister's resignations, declaration of all those killed protestors as martyrs and a *Madheshi*, led, independent panel to investigate atrocities (ibid).

The eight political parties have finally signed an agreement guaranteeing the *Terai* region representation in the constituent assembly in proportion to its population (Kathmandu Post, 2007; feb 8). The Home Minister Situla aplogiesed for mistakes during Terai unrest but refuses to quit (ibid, 15, February) (ibdi). The MJF, however, said the government failed to meet the precondition for talks and resumed the strikes to fulfill it's demand (ibid). JTMMG) called three days *Terai*-shutdown (ibid, 21 feb). JTMM (JS) resumed armed revolt on 6th march accusing government of not wanting negotiation (ibid). NSP (A) threatened to leave SPA if interim constitution is not amended 6th March. Legislature amends interim constitution creating electoral constituency delimitation commission (ECDC) to revise constituencies and guaranteeing federalism on 9th march (ibid). MPRF and Maoist clash in Gaur, killing 27 Maoist and leaving dozens injured. Curfew imposed on 21st march. Peace and reconstruction minister Ram Chandra Paudel calls MPRF and JTMM for talks on 11 April (ibid).

Government and MPRF talked in Janakpur; MJF had presented 26 demands at first time formally on 1st June (ibid). The talks again postponed for next time. Government announces 22 November date for constituent assembly election. The

government and the agitating MPRF, finally clinched a 22 point deals on 30 august 2007 (Bhadra, 13) in Singh Darbar Kathmandu (ibid: 31th August). MPRF and government argument reached to agreement after a series of negotiations over the post three months and different five places (ibid). MPRF has withdrawn all its scheduled protest process programs and cowed to concentrate on making the upcoming consitutent assembly poll a success (ibid).

4.3 Second Phase Process of the Recent Madhesh Movement

After 22 point agreement between MPRF and government, some MPRF's leaders and *Madheshi* people were dissatisfied to that agreement. And they accused Yadav 'He is deceiver of *Madhesh* movement' (Madhesh Vani, Visbleshan; Nepali Khabar Patriks: Bhadra). Formation of MPRF into political party and TMDP under the leadership of Upendra Yadav and Mahantha Thakur respectively. MPRF and Sadhnavana Party (Mahato group), alliance United *Madheshi* Front (UMF) had jointly lunched '*Madhesh* movement' on 5th Magh 2004 in order to exert pressure on the government to fulfill its 22 point demands Antrarasatriya March 2065. Yadav said, "The government has turned deaf ears so far". 'However, if the government resorts to repressive measures in our peaceful agitation, the situation in the *Terai* will be more complex.' He warned (Kathmandu Post feb.6.) and newly formed *Terai/Madhesh* Democratic party also decided to protest against government. That's why, the three major agitating *Madheshi* parties have agreed to form a joint front to lunch and effective movement in the *Terai*, (ibid; Kantipur, Magh; 26).

Sadbhawana Party, *Terai Madhesh* Democratic Party and *Madheshi* people rights forum have agreed in principle or form an alliance. The front will be called 'United *Madheshi* democratic front'. The alliance have agreed to reagree their demands into six points and exert collective pressure on the govenemnt to fulfill the demand (ibid). They claimed the front will be stronger once Mahanth Thakur a senior leader of Madhesh led joints alliance (ibid). The alliance lunched on Saturday 9th

February and announced that they would take to the streets from Monday to press their six point that their fresh their six point demand (ibid; feb-10). The groups stated that their fresh protests which begin with a publicity campaign on February 11 and rallied on feb 13 and they would lunch a blockades and non-cooperation movement (ibid). "From February 16, we will close all government offices, feb 17 we impose blockades and lunch campaign for no-tax and other forms of non-cooperation to the government", said Thakur, (ibid). The indefinite general strike called by 'United Madheshi Democratic Front'. Putting forth various use joint demands including adoption of cully proportional electoral seat, self determination and guarantees for marginalized ethnic groups and communities. The government talks team on Thursday (Falgun, 2) sent a formal letter if incitation to the agitating UDMF to sit for dialogue on 15th February (ibid). MPTF's president Upendra Yadav and Sadbhavan Party's President Rajendra Mahato addressed a protest rally in Janakpur on 3rd February (ibid).

In an effort to break the deadlock, PM Koirala initiated a dialogue with leaders of UDMF on feb 16 /Friday. The two sides have agreed to meet again tomorrow after detailed homework (ibid). In Parasi, a huge rally led by *Madheshi* leaders and people hailing from the hilly regions was organized to show solidarity with the demand raise by the agitating Terai groups (Kathmandu Post, feb 16). Kalaiya, Janakpur, Birgunj.....all the terrain city, totally hammered due to *banda*. Meanwhile trick has seriously affected the revenue collection at Birgunj custom office. The daily revenue collection decrease to about Rs. 1 to 9 million from around Rs 50 million (ibid). UDMF forms three main talks team on February, 16 Ratneshwar Lal Kayastha (MPFG), Mahendra Yadav (IMDp) and Anil Jha (SP). Though, one protestor was killed and over 50 others were injured in a violent clashes between police and UDMF supporters in Nepalgunj on Sunday (Feb.17). The dead has been identified as Guljar Khan-35 of Belasjpur-14 of the

municipality (ibid: feb-18). Police fired dozens of tear gas shells and 61 rounds of bullets in the clashes (ibid).

UDMF, an alliance of three *Madhesh* based parties had refused to sit for talks with government immediately, accusing the latter of a severe crackdown on the ongoing *Madhesh* movement (ibid:feb-19). "Talks are not possible as long as the government continues to suppress the agitation said Mahanth Thakur (ibid). The team demanded that the police 'atrocities' must stop immediately and the government must provide free treatment to those injured during the ongoing movement in the *Terai/Madhesh* to foster an environment for talks (ibid:20). In a meeting, held with the 'mediating' of Indian Embassy on February 20, the leaders discussed the issues and decided to sit for another meeting tomorrow to reach consensus. They reached close to consensus on the latter six point demands (Kathmandu Post, feb 21). The final and informal meetings forged a consensus over time of the UDMF demand (ibid). However, the seven political parties have not yet agreed to the demands for an autonomous '*One Madhesh Pradesh*' so, talks again break-down for next time (Rising Nepal, feb-22). The government and the protesting UDMF struck a crucial deal on Thursday ending the 16 day second *Madhesh* movement and clearing the deck for constituent assembly (CA) elections stated for April-10 (ibid:feb 29). In an eight point agreement inked at Prime Minister Koirala's official residence at Baluwatar, afternoon in the presence of top most leaders of the seven party alliance including Maoist, Human Rights defenders, Civil Society Members, Madheshi leaders and Media. The UDMF has agreed to immediately withdraw the indefinite strike in the *Terai/Madhesh* (ibid). Thakur stressed, " Our movement was not to weaken Nepal but to make it stronger..." (Gorkhapatra; Falgun,17). Second phase *Madhesh* movement took 9 protestors' lives and during this movement hundreds of protestors were injured and a lot of property destroyed. The incident of recent *Madhesh* movement during first phase *Madhesh* movement and second phase *Madhesh* movement vary to each

other. First phase movement was not systematic and proper guidance. It was spontaneous and guided by general *Madheshi* youth. Even, it was called by MPRF, Nepal which was non-political organization at that time. Due to organization at that time. Due to lack of proper guidance or leadership and suppression of government movement lost a lot of property and human life. And it took long time of movement period. All people of Madhesh and well-wider of Nepal were morally physically and economically supported this movement. The huge mass of Madhesh involved in this protest even they belong any political parties; organizations institutions, offices and so on. The second phase Madhesh movement was systematic with proper guidance and leadership of 'Combined Madheshi Front' (MJG, TMDP and SP/R). Comparatively, it took short time of protest period and less destruction. During this period movement is more benefited than former movement because of proper vision and prepared movement plan but the involvement of other political cadres were less than former protest.

CHAPTER FIVE

CAUSES OF RECENT MADHESH MOVEMENT

"No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent"

-Abraham Lincoln

5.1 Internal Colonialism

Internal colonialism used widely to characterize exploitive relationships between a 'centre' and 'periphery' within a single nation-state or society. It has been applied to white-black relations in the United States, Indian-white and Indian-Mestizo relations in Latin America, and has also been used to describe the exploitative relationship between the Soviet State and Soviet Society. The term is now largely discredited, mainly because of the obvious difficulties in drawing parallels with colonialism strictly defined (edited, John Scott and Gordon Marshall;1994). For example the latter involves the control and exploitation of the majority of a nation by a minority of outsiders, where as in America the Black population is a numerical minority and was, originally the 'out side' group. However, advocates of the theory argue that these sorts of differences are less significant than the core stock of common experiences that have been shared by oppressed (often racialized) minorities throughout the world, and have defended the use of the term vigorously (ibid). One of the Maoist leader Matrika Yadav Stressed on internal colonialism which support this title very well (See the box:1).

Box:1: Voice of Matrika Yadav: A Terai Leader

"The *Madhesh* movement mainly raised due to internal colonialism of *Madhesh*. It is colonized by *Khas* ruler of Nepal till it is continued. It needs more revolutionary movement. *Pharization* and exploitation tendency of some *Khas* rulers and Slavery (flattery) or surrendering tendency of some *Madheshi* leaders strengthen to the internal colonialism. *Madheshi* people are hunt of internal and external colonialism. 'Maoist people war' made conscious and aware to all Nepalese likewise *Madheshi*. So, oppressed Nepalese are aware to breakdown the internal colonization or centralization system and establishing the 'Autonomous Federal *Madhesh*'. But Maoist party had done a mistake at that time leaving the demand of federal system in the interim constitution. That's why the recent *Madhesh*, I support the *Madheshi* feeling and demand of autonomous federal *Madhesh* but I opposed the wrong and opportunistic leadership some of them are broker (Dalal) and betrayer of *Madhesh*."

Colonialism established by more developed countries of formal political authority over areas of Asia, Africa, Australia and Latin America. It is distinct from spheres of influence, indirect forms of control semi-colonialism and neo-colonialism (John & Marshall, 1994).

"Colonialism was practiced by Spain Portugal, Britain, France and the Netherland in the America from the 15th century onwards, and extended to virtually of Asia and Africa during the 19th century. It was usually accompanied by the settling of white populations in these territories, the exploitation of local economic resources for metropolitan use, and sometimes both together. The term is often used as a synonym for imperialism although the latter covers other informal mechanisms of control. It has covered a wide range of issues including: the different mechanisms of colonial control and the contrast between the assimilations policies of France and Portugal and the more segregated policies of Britain; the social and economic impact on colonized countries, resulting from the destruction of old social, economic and political systems and the development of new ones; the 19th

centuries discourse of domination around the idea of the 'civilizing mission' and the related rise of racism; the issue of why colonialism ended in the post 19th period, involving a consideration of the relative weights of international pressure from both the United States and USSR, the rise of nationalist movements demanding independence in colonies, and the exhaustion of the European colonial powers after the second world war (John and Masrshall; 1994)."

"*Madhesh* was systematically colonized since 1816 AD 'Sugauli Treaty', said one of the informants (Local political leader). *Madhesh* has been ruled by different communities likewise *Mughal*, British East India and now *Khas (Pahadi)* ruler he added. Furthermore, Dr. Vimal said that during 3000 B.C to 600 B.C there was *Mithila* state and it's ruler were: Nimi, Mithi, Udabasu, Mandibardhan, Suketu, Devrat, Brihadratha, Mahabir, Sudhriti, Dhristaketu, Hrayarsva, Maru, Pratindhsk, Kirtirath, Devimith, Vimudha, Mahidhrak, Kirtirat, Maharame, Swarnarom, Hraswarom, Sirdhwaj (Janak) respectively and so on. It's ancient name was '*Tirbhukti*' the combination of two words: Tir =Tat, bhukti = Sima (The land of riverside), After few years '*Tirbhudti*' was called 'Ti9rhut' or '*Mithila*' or '*Videh*'. During those days it had own culture, language, policy, bureaucracy and rules-regulation It's length was 192 miles (Chaubis Yojan) south to north and width 128 miles (Sorha Yojan) east to west. It was surrounded by Gandaki river, Kosi river, Ganga river and Himalaya mountain. But latter it fractioned in to different colonial part and ruled by other communities (Vimal, 2005).

Colonialism is a political- economy phenomenon beginning about the years 1500 whereby various European nations discovered, conquered, settled, and exploited large areas of the world (Britannica, Encyclopedia, vol:3). Colonialism commenced with the emerging European nation states: England, France, Portugal, Spain, and the Low Countries. After the opening of a sea route around southern Africa in 1488 and the discovery of America in 1492, voyages of colonization and conquest were sent-out by most nations of Allantic Europe. Early in the 16th

century the Dutch became the leading European naval and commercial power, with an oriental empire that developed rapidly after the chartering of the Dutch East India company in 1602 and the company's findings of Batavia (now Jakarta), Java, as the centre of trade with China, Japan, Persia (ibid). Between World War First and World War second most colonial systems, while in geographical extent at their Zenith, were politically strained or on the verge of revolt. Form 1945 decolonization became a rapidly accelerating movement. India and Pakistan were granted independence in 1947, Britain's black African colonies in 1956; Cyprus and Malta in 1960s; Persian Gulf in 1971 (ibid).

5.1.1 Colonial Government

A colony, in the sense in which the term is currently used is a dependent territory. It differs, in its political organization both from a province of district and from a sovereign state (Chamber's Encyclopadia, Vol:3). It posses a government exercising all normal governmental functions, not a, more subordinate governing body with limited jurisdiction. In practice there is considerable diversity in the relations between colonial power and their dependencies but there is celdom room for doubt as to whether a territory is a colony or not (ibdi).

Madhesh is periphery where as Kathmandu is center for the government of Nepal. Centre or metropolitan always exploit the periphery. "Nepalese government is colonial government for Madhesh. They are excluded from the state's mechanism", a sociologist Maharudra Jha said.

5.1.2 Colonial Education

The term colonial education covers the theory and practice of education in the colonial dependencies. The territories whose education systems can be described as colonial is the existence of exceedingly high illiteracy rates. In all areas the general pattern of the existing systems of education is similar; education is

voluntary, though in limited areas of special characters. The educational matters languages and systems are not related to target group.

5.1.3 Legislative and Executive Control

The methods by which powers legislate for their colonies differ considerably. Great Britain, France, United states, Holland, Belgium and Portugal, the legislatures have continued to exercise their power more frequently (ibid). In the colonies executive authority is in nearly all cases vested in a governor appointed by the controlling power. Colonial governments control the legislative and executive power strictly.

5.1.4 Administrative Organization

In most colonial governments a high proportion of senior officials are recruited outside the territory. Administrative and political work makes demands, in term of education and experience, which often can not be met by colonial peoples. The employment of outsiders has some advantages where the population is racially and culturally mixed. For example in Kenya, a large proportion of the European residents hold views of the political and administrative ineptitude of Africans. On the other hand the employment of non-residents create a number of difficulties. Newly arrived officials don't understand the intricacies of local problems, points of view and language (ibid).

5.1.5 Regional and local government

The governmental structure of many territories provides for a large measure of decentralization. In areas like Nigeria, the Belgian Congo, and French West Africa geographical extent, diversity of condition and difficulties of communication make this unavailable (ibid). A more pressing reason for decentralizing control in most territories is that of the cultural differences between the rulers and the ruled.

5.1.6 Law and Justice

The provision of a system of law for a colony normally raises a multitude of issues. Conceptions of the basis of law and of its scope and factions as well as of the most suitable forms of judicial procedure commonly differ widely. Duality in the legal system has almost everywhere necessitated a dual system of courts. European courts to deal with cases that are tried by European law and native courts for those which are to be tried by native law (ibid). Native law must be recorded in some cases be codified, native judges must have an increased amount of legal knowledge; and native courts must be transformed from units in separate system into subordinate courts in a unified colonial judiciary.

5.2 Racial Discrimination

Nepal is combined the union of Aryan, Mangal and Austro-Dravid races. Various castes and sub-castes of the Aryan people live across Nepal, particularly in the hills and Terai. The Aryan group who came from the Indian plains is socially portioned along the line of four principle castes, viz. Bramhan/ Bhanu, Chhetri/Chhatriya, Baisya and Soodra. It is believed that the Mongoloid group came from the northern Tibetan plateau. They mostly live in the mountain and hill regions and they have their own mother tongue, social customs and structures, cultural identity and history.

Aryans are physically tall, slim pointed nose, wide eyes, white and black in color and so forth. Two types of Aryan are in Nepal: *Madheshi* and *Pahadi*. Though casteism has legally been abolished, the conservation society and Hindu religious has not accepted it nearly, so, casteism persists as a deep-rooted social stigma in Nepal. The state is the body, politic as organized for supreme civil rule and government; the political organization, which is the basis of civil government hence the supreme civil power and government vested in a country of nation. One scholar Lord Acton has said "The danger is not that a particular class is unfit to govern every class is unfit to govern."

Racial discrimination is the root cause of conflict in Nepal. The rulers have been doing racial discrimination against *Madheshi* people. For a long time. This is an age-old and long-standing problem. All the rulers have the same mindset against *Madheshi* people. They have had biased attitude towards *Madhesh* and *Madheshi* people. They have been ruling Nepal keeping in mind that *Madhesh* is their colony, though it is the most revenue generating land. This disparity to unequal behaviour of the state so quite clear in every field of life not only in civil service but in police service, foreign service and also in army service. Every *Madheshi* is experiencing. This disparity in which ever office he or she is posted. A non-government officer Karna said, **"In recent past twenty years government has changed several times, but no rule has addressed their problems. *Madheshi* want true unification in the spirit of equity and justice, with dignity and identity and with no attitude and act of superiority and discrimination. United nation supports a quick end of colonized people. *Madheshi* are distinguished racially and discriminated by state. So, the ruler are not only unfit to govern but they are unpopular undemocratic and anti *Madheshi*."**

It is said the best government is that which governs according to people's desire and comply. But it is a matter of great regret that Nepal government has been ruling *Madhesh* having prejudiced principle and discriminated *Madheshi* from the very beginning. The real rulers of the country are three castes who mainly hold the political power in their hands. The first caste Chhetri caste including the shah, Thakuri, Rana control the politics, the court and military. The Bahun caste; as royal priest preceptors, religious power, politics & bureaucracy. And third one Newars the ethnic group generally in administration. Every where in power are the Chhetri, Bahun and Newar are power holding castes few rare member of the remaining 90 odd caste and ethnic nationalities were almost invisible in the government. More than 90% of the country's population, therefore found no representation at all (Rakesh, 2007).

A lectures of R.R.M.C Janalpur, Kishori Nayak expressed his view on discrimination below in box:2.

Box:2: Expression of Kishori Nayak: A Terai Academician

"Madheshi stand no where properly. They have neither their say nor stand in machinery of the ruling government. Discrimination on the basis of race, colour, ethnic background, national or social origin exists in many nations under diverse social, economic and political systems. Nepal is not an exception. There discrimination is deeply rooted in this very fabric. There comes the question of social exclusion automatically. If people are not included at equal footing in every field of life then there is clear cut discrimination which is considered as a curse. In Nepal *Madheshi* and indigenous people are treated as black people were treated in USA in past. They are not socially, politically, culturally and economically included in the state. So, this *Madhesh* movement has cropped up spontaneously and the solution is not in sight right now."

On the basis of race (Madheshi vs Pahadi), social discrimination exclusion has been the long tradition of the government of Nepal. Some handful people have been handling the country for a longtime having no clear-cut vision. They are selfish, self-centered, and having no sense of social inclusion in their approach and attitude. Due to the lack of recognition of Madheshi in state, they are socially excluded. Broadly speaking social exclusion has been defined as the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or particularly excluded from full participation in the society with in which they live. In addition Vijay Datt: a Human Rights activist said: **"Madheshi people are not enjoying complete citizen rights. They are denied of civil rights freedom of expression, rule of law right to justice political rights and socio-economic rights (economic security and equality of opportunity) are key impoverishing elements. Discrimination in Nepal is of different kind. There has been clash between Pahadibad (Pahadism) and Madheshabad (Madeheshism). Madheshi are deprived of their fundamental rights from the very beginning. They face every type of discrimination whether racial, social, political, economical and cultural.**

Even United Nations Secretary General Ban-Kimoon has also accepted that there is racial discrimination rampant in Nepal to unresolved issues of discrimination regarding representation and inclusion in the political process (Rakesh, 2007).

5.2.1 Socio-Cultural Discrimination

There were high hope and expectations that the restoration of democracy would mean the end of discrimination, exploitation, and abolition of semi-feudalism, semi-colonialism 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. Whereas practicing of democracy, people are not satisfied from the Nepal government. The Maoists, on the other hand, attracted the poor, disadvantaged, marginalized, socially-culturally, regionally, excluded and vulnerable people who had been cut off from the fruits of democracy, human rights, citizenship, communal identity, 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. Unfortunately, Maoists also failed to establish those hot necessary demands in the interim constitution. So, this helped to motivate the *Madheshi*, *Janjati*, *Dalit*, women and so forth to raise their voice themselves.

One of the National Journalist Chandrakishore Jha explained his view "**Following the April 2006 peoples movement and its subsequent success, there were high expectations in Nepal. The nation went euphoric when this made the effort climb down. But more than the humbling of the king the very thought of the Maoist giving up arms, and the expectations for lasting peace in Nepal brought the biggest cheers. There were hopes all over Nepal that once Maoists give up arms, the conflicts will come to an automatic end and every one irrespective of their caste, region, race and community would be able to contribute in the nation building process. But unfortunately, this did not happen. Certain marginalized groups, like the Madheshi felt that holding the constituent assembly election alone it still not going to solve**

their problem As a result, the Madhesh movement started. At present there are two kind of Madheshi agitation taking place. One: the peaceful movement, and the other so called armed struggle.

The Madheshi society indeed is a very complex groups of people to understand. For years together, they have been suppressed and subjugated. They suffer from an identity crisis where until recently; they don't know where they actually belong. This situation in Madhesh was not the creation of the collective Pahadi community as wrongly perceived by many. It was a situation created by successive rulers of Nepal, who always doubted the loyalists of these people for the simple reason that they live close to the India border, different socio-culture to the Pahadi, and speak the same language that people of neigh outing Indian states speak. Even the Nepali media did not understand the problems of the Madheshi people correctly”.

Analysis of spatial patterns all the informants focused on the socio-cultural discrimination by expressing in own way. They felt "we are socially-culturally dominated by the state and Pahadi community." 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 rules in 1969 A.D. Soon after the territorial conquest, Prithivi Narayan Shah declared Nepal as the 'Asli Hindustan' meaning Nepal as the true Hindu Kingdom. He further declared "*Nepal Cahr Varna Chhatris Jatko Sajha Phoolbari ho*" it means 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 hill Hindu Bahun, Chhetri and some Newar. The leader if MJF, Upendra Yadav described. "In all principalities unified to form modern Nepal the falling elites come from hill upper castes. According to a study conducted by the center for economic development and administration (CEDA) 50% of the position of powered and profit are held by the hill Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars although they represent a small minority of Nepal. A subsequent survey has revealed that

more than half of the government civil servants are drawn from the Kathmandu valley only which contains about 3% of the population of Nepal. The social inequalities and symbolic representation of Madhesi people in civil services and security forces, disproportionate representation in legislative and executive bodies, and opportunities to certain caste people in political appointments are some examples of injustice and exploitation of Madhesi people of Nepal. In fact the seeds of disunity and fanaticism were sown by *Prithivi Narayan Shah*. The inhabitants of the *Madhesh* were not given important assignment during his rule. High posts were reserved for certain hill caste groups. First preference was given to the hill people and second to rich man or landlord in *Terai*. Till 1950, the *Madhesi* people were treated like slave. Until 1958, it was essential for them to acquire way review (passport) before entering into Kathmandu."

Above description of *Yadav* proved properly *Madheshee* were excluded from main stream of state. It suppressed them socially-culturally in society or country. They seem foreigner in own country because there was no representation of *Madheshee* and *Madheshee* culture in the map of country. The territorial unification of Nepal through military unification of Nepal through military conquest did not unify the feeling and aspiration of non-*Pahadi* 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 hierarchal segmentation along the line of Hindu caste system with the ritual claim of superior and interior as well as pure and impure excluded indigenous people; *Madheshee*, *Dalit*, *Janjati* & woman from the national social, cultural, economic ad political life. To become a citizen of Nepal open ahs to speak *Khas* language, wear *Khas* dress and follow the *Khas* culture. Even after the restoration of multiparty democracy and declaration of republic Nepal the background community group, castes etc. were neglected by state & so called leaders. So, *Madheshee* and other minorities group upraise their demand by different way.

5.2.2 Language discrimination/Domination

"People need to love their country, but they also need to use it to structure their lives the way they want them to be"
- Eastman (1983:174)

Language is the path of human development and achievement of goal. It is the key to open the door for good and success life. It established communication patterns that help people gain access to social and economic goals (Gupta et.al. 1995; Yadav, 2005). There are some one hundred languages spoken in Nepal, We have seen that there is great diversity, language vitality and languages used in education with its linguistic plurality. This multilingual setting congers on Nepal a distinctive position on the linguistic map of the world and renders it as one of the most fascinating areas of linguistic research and social resources. There have been made a number of attempts to enumerate Nepal's languages. These attempts include (Grimes, 2000) van Driem (2003) and a few enumeration of languages made in the census 2001 despite of its weakness such as 'unknown language' since it is based on the most recent field data so far available (Yadav, 2005).

5.2.2.1 The Terai/ Madhesh Languages

In Nepal population census was first lunched in 1911 to carryout a survey of population and its related aspects including its growth, migration and social structure. It has however, been only since the first modern census in 1952/54 that languets have been regularly reported. There is variation in the enumeration of Nepal's languages in the various censuses (Yadav, 2005). Identification of the *Terai/Madhesh* languages of the 92 and some unidentified languages, 19 core languages (i.e. more than one fourth of Nepal's total languages) are spoken in the *Terai* (CBS, 2002) They are alphabetically enumerated as follows:

Table: 4: The Terai/ Madhesh Languages

S.N.	Languages	S.N.	Languages
1	Angika	11	Koche
2	Awadhi	12	Maithili
3	Bajika	13	Marwai/Rajsthani
4	Bangla	14	Meche
5	Bhojpuri	15	Nepali sign language
6	Dhimal	16	Raj banshi
7	Hindi	17	Santhali
8	Jhangar/Dhangar	18	Tharu
9	Khariya	19	Urdu
10	Kisan	20	

(Source: CBS:2002)

Of these Terai languages, Awadhi, Bangla, Bhojpuri, Danuwar, Dhimal, Hindi, Jhangar, Maithiki, Marwari, Rajbanshi, Santhali, Tharu and Urdu have been consistently reported in the various censuses since 1952/54 (Yadav, 2005). Some of the languages such as Meche have been reported irregularly. Five of the Terai languages (viz. Angika, Bajika, Jhariya, Jisan and Koche) have been reported in the census 2001 for the first time. Similarly, Tharu have been enumerated in various censuses but it also needs to be analyzed to ascertain whether it is a single language with several regional dialects or comprises more than one language (ibid).

The *Terai* languages enumerated in the 2001 census belong to the four language families, viz. Indo-European, *Sino-Tibetan*, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian. Most of the languages spoken in the *Terai* belong to the Indo-Aryan group of Indo-European family of languages. They are two languages genetically affiliated to the Austic branch of the Austro-Asiatic language family. The Austic languages comprise Santhali and Khariya of northern Munda and Southern Munda group respectively. They are presented in below figures:

Above figures show the similarity of *Terai* language. Because maximums languages of the *Terai* comes from Indo-Aryan languages. They have their own language history but there was no proper recognition of these languages. The common voice of all respondents on the language discrimination is summarized below in the box:

Box:3: People's voice on language discrimination

"The language is main barrier for *Madheshi* to access in state mechanism. We face language problem even, illiterate, literate, educated non-*Pahadi* people. We hesitate to express our feeling in Nepali because our Nepali language is not good and language tone is quite different to them. We have to learn 4 or 5 languages to communicate and any literatures or books or paper or magazines. The maximum *Madheshi* people of rural area don't understand the Nepali language. They only know the local language of proper area. So, they feel very-difficult to communicate with the government officials. The children are facing crucial problem in primary level school. Because educational materials and teaching language is Nepali. Therefore, they drop-out school or have to do more labour than *Pahadi* child. So, implementation of local language in offices and primary education system is very essential.

To support these respondents I want to present one of my field experienced. Once, I had in District Administration Office Dhanusha during participant observation period. I had seen the three Muslim people from near by village Lohana. They had come there for citizenship card. They had not complete documents as required. The CDO tried to convince them but they did not understand what he said. They has also, said something but officer did not understand. Really, there was problem of communication to people and officer. Then I mediated them to communicate and solve the problem. This event shows the illiterate local people need mediator to communicate or express their feeling or problems.

The *Madhesh* has been thrust aside from integrating into the national mainstream and thereby deprived from accessing social, economic and political benefits of the national systems. One of the major factors that has given rise to the present situation is the existing language policy creating linguistic barriers against accessing the national system. If a country is multiethnic and mult-lingual there obviously arises the question of how all the existing communities can be incorporated into the national system to accomplish political cohesion. It can be possible if people feel sentimentally or instrumentally attached to a nation or state (Kelman, 1971:21). The sentimental attachment (primordial attachment) can be derived from language which provide an easy affinity with other people from the same background. In order words, language can be regarded as a strong symbol of sentimental attachment. All the Terai languages and the numbers of speakers with percentage in 2001 census are below:

Table:5: The Terai Languages and their Speakers

S.N.	Language	Numbers of S	%	S.N.	Language	No. of S	%
1	Maithili	2797582	12.30	12	Marwari	22637	0.10
2	Bhojpuri	712536	7.53	13	Meche	3301	0.01
3	Tharu	560744	2.47	14	Khariya	1575	0.01
4	Awadhi	1331546	5.86	15	Kisan	489	0.00
5	Bajjika	237947	1.05	16	Dhimal	17308	0.08
6	Urdu	174840	0.77	17	Koche	54	0.00
7	Rajbanshi	129829	0.57	18	Angika	15892	0.07
8	Hindi	105765	0.47	19	Nepali		
9	Santhali	103765	0.18				
10	Bengali	40260	0.13				
11	Jhangar	28615	0.13				

Source: CBS, 2001; Yadav, 2003

5.2.2.2 Politics on Language

The Nepali language has been developing for at least 700 years, perhaps longer, and now it is major component of Nepalese nationalism. As nationalism became a force in the 1950 and national leaders began to encourage the teaching of Nepali in the schools, representatives of other language groups resisted, and the language question became a hotly debated political issues. As in many other developing nations, language became a stumbling block along the road to national unification (Gaige, 1975). The first effort to organize a national educational system began in 1954. In 1956, the National Education Planning Commission published its report, 'Education in Nepali'. Much of the report was subsequently ignored, but the following recommendations, formed the basis for the government's language policy.

"Nepali should be the medium of instruction, exclusively from the third grade on, and as much as possible in the first two grades. No other languages should be taught even optionally, in the primary school because: few children will have need for them, they would hinder the teaching of Nepali....."

Source: (Nepal, national Education planning commission, education in Nepal, Kathmandu; 1956: 104; ibdi)

Although the first jarring notes of the language controversy were not heard until 1956, sentiment against imposition of Nepali on the plains people (*Madheshi*) began to be voiced as early as 1951. The Nepal Terai Congress was organized in the leadership of Vedanada Jha for recognition of Hindi as a state language and further more demands. Pro-Hindi meeting to protest the language recommendations were held in a number of *Terai* towns during the 1956, but it was not until of 1957 that the language controversy took on serious proportions. In the area around Biratnagar, an ultranationalistic group of hill people called the '*Nepali Pracharini Sabha*' (Nepal Publicity Organization) began activities against

pro-Hindi committee (ibid). The king had appointed K.I Singh Prime Minister and his ministry ordered all schools to use Nepali as the medium of instruction, unless they received to use another language. The directive was fuel for the fire. An immediate outcry was heard from political leaders in the Terai and public meetings were organized in town throughout the region (ibdi). At these meetings they concluded protest speeches as follows:

"First, the directive was seen as a government effort to force the hill culture upon the plains people. Second, the rights of the plains people were being undermined because they were being prevented from using the language most familiar to them. Third, the decision was undemocratic, since representatives of the Terai population had no voice on the policy making process. And forth the directive would destroy the unity of the nation by creating dissension between the plains people and the hill people. The Terai congress announced its decision to organize a "Save Hindi" campaign and save Hindi committees were formed in a number of Terai towards (Gaige; 1975:111)."

Meetings, protest, marches and strikes in Biratnagar, Gaur, Rajbiraj and Janakpur continued during the days immediately following the dismissal of the short-lived K.I. Singh government. The most serious incident occurred in Biratnagar on November 19. The local 'Save Hindi Committee' organized a procession of several thousands people, and the Nepali 'Prachanni Sabha' staged a counter-demonstration. Two hostile crowds 800 faced each other. At least twenty-five were injured, a few seriously (ibid). Like, Hritik Kanda.

Nepalgunj riot, Gaur Massacre were the incident of narrow thinking and Pahadization (Rakesh, 2008). We can safely assume that Hindi is a close language to the plains people (Madheshi). Almost to the plains people who have contact with the world beyond their villages speak Hindi as a second language. The communist party also supported that the use of Hindi as the medium of instruction in Terai schools (Nepal Communist Party, 'Chunaw Ghoshanapatra; 1958). Kashi Pd. Shrivstav embarrassed his party by advocating Hindi as a second official

language for Nepal. Nevertheless, the Madheshi people oppose Hindi as a second language or mediator language though, they prefer to use local language in government officials. They understand Hindi very well but the general people feel difficulty to speak correctly. Possibly Hindi films, serials, songs etc. influenced people to know Hindi than others except their mother tongue. The hilly people are unknown to plain's (Madheshi's) language: *Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Tharu, Jhangar* etc and some plains people are also unknown to each other languages. Though, Hilly people (*Pahadi*) and all *Madheshi* (Plain's people) are known to Hindi language so, government should pay attention to this problem.

The Madheshi communities have ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity. First, there is one tribe one language.' Formula, besides, Urdu is the mother tongue of Muslim community belonging to a particular religion. Secondly, there is 'one tribe with several languages' in this region, various castes and tribes group such as *Brahmin, Rajput, Yadav, Teli, Mahato, Chamar, Dom, Dushadh* etc. Thirdly, we find the "Several tribes with a common language" formula. This formula has been exemplified by Hindi, which is spoken as a mother tongue by various ethnic groups. Being lingua franca' (Yadav, 2002). Hindi which has been used as medium of communication of many people in the Terai. Always, Madhesh oriented political parties raise the voice for Hindi language but they give less priority to the local language. Whereas, Hindi is second language for Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Tharu, Urdu and so on. The political parties support Hindi for their political benefit. It's not need to legal priority; informally it is used all over the Nepal. The progress of Hindi in Nepal is dangerous for plain's local language. Because it may cope all the local languages. It harms Madheshi not a Pahadi community. But there is contradiction, the Pahadi community speak Hindi after seeing any non-Pahadi and they oppose one forcefully. Such character proves that they are not opposing Hindi they opposed non-Khas (non-Nepali) language. Once Janakpur Municipality and Rajbiraj municipality tried to use Maithili as a official

language then supreme court rejected that proposal. This event support the upper statement. Now it is in order to look at Nepal's language policy. The existing "one nation-one language" policy authorizes Nepali, the language of the dominant ruling elites to be the language of the nation (Rashtra Bhasha), the only official language and the main medium of education and media. It gives very little or no recognition to the non-Nepali language in the national system. As a result, the Madheshi people are disconnected and out of main stream in Nepalese context. The Madheshi people, like the Spanish people in the United State, feel handicapped in gaining access to socio-economic mobility. They were marginalized in politics due to one of the major reasons language too. According to the census 2001, Nepali is the mother tongue or the first language of less than half of Nepal's total population. Obviously then, there are a large number of students who learn Nepali as a second language. It means the large number of student face problem to understand. This situation is manifested in the Terai/Madheshi presented in Table.

Table:6 Educational Percentage in Terai

S.N.	Education Level	Passed No.	Percent
1	S.L.C/Equivalent	458062	9.6
2	I.A/ Equivalent	276155	5.8
3	B.A/ "	131909	2.8
4	M.A / "	305098	0.6

Source: Gupta, 2003

One of the old lady Mantoriya Devi, 48 said *"Bhasha Ke Karan Bachcha Me Padha Nai Sakali. Akhri Kono office Me Jaime Dikat Hoi Hai. Hakim ke Bat Nai Bujhai Chhiyai Aa Hamra Hakime Bhasha Bole Nai Abai Hai Ta Ham. Kono Bujhnauk Bauwasabke Lajai Chhiyai Hakim Se Bat Karaila..."* She told that she left school

due to language barrier at child age and did not understand the Nepali. So, she needed help of any local literate person to communicate with any govt. officers.

5.2.3 Socio-Economic Condition of Madhesh

Madhesh is a grain garden of Nepal. It is also called backbone or economic heart land of Nepal. It is the main industrial and agricultural best of the country. It contributes 65% of total GDP and approximately 70% of the total agricultural production, 72% of industrial production, 87% of timber revenue comes from this region (Gaigo, 1975; Yadav, 2005; Jha, 2003). But state invested 12-15 percent revenue on *Madhesh*.

"Nepal's location on the southern side of the Himalayas place it on the periphery of the greater Indian economic sphere. More than 90% of Nepal's trade is with India. The country's major line of transportation and communication are with India, and its depends upon India for the supply of many essential commodities such as cloth, sugar, kerosene, medicine and most metallic articles. Because it borders directly on India, the Terai is even more closely linked with the greater Indian economic sphere than the hill region. Blessed with rich agricultural resources and stimulated by the economic activity of northern India, the *Terai* has become the most productive agricultural and industrial region of Nepal. For this reason, it generates much of Nepal's national wealth and most of the governments' revenue. The Hill region's economic depend upon the Terai and the various economic links" (ibid).

The hill kings and rulers have cast covetous eyes on the *Madhesh* for centuries. In the 16th century, the Sen kings of Makwanpur in the central hill region of Nepal conquered the eastern Terai from kings of plains origin. When hill kings were not strong enough to control Madhesh, they bought the Madhesh as zamindaris. In the name of zamindari the rulers established many Pahadi people and few high-profile Madheshi in Madhesh as a zamindar of proper place. Their aim was control the Madhesh, Madheshi and its resources. Particularly after the beginning of World War I, when Indian's industrial economy was expanding rapidly it was possible for these people to exploit their forest reserves with great profit. Prime Minister

Chandra Shamsher in Morang and Bara during the 1920s, and Prime Minister Juddha Shamsher in Mahottari in the 1930s, had their forests logged by Indian timber contractors and hill-Tribal labors in order to supply the demand of the Indian railroads for ties (sleepers) and that of Indian industry for construction materials. To increase land revenue, the settling of Terai lands. Till 90-95 percent of Nepal's economically active population is dependent on agriculture for a living, (ibid; Jha, 1993,1995,1985,1985).

Agriculture is the oxygen of Nepal's economy. Nepalese are dependent on agriculture to maintain their livelihood. There is 1,12,12,453 population in Terai among 2,31,51,423 (CBS: 2001). And 70 percent of agricultural land situated in the Madhesh among total agricultural land (Jha;1993) Gupta 2060). The 81 percent of population of Madhesh are engaged in agriculture but they are forced to follow traditional agricultural system and depended on rain-fall. The state since unification of Nepal only, pay attention on the Madhesh's resources, revenue, task and so on. The state, neither pay attention on the development of Madhesh nor improvement of agricultural system of Madhesh. So, Madhesh economy is gradually in decreasing condition. Because, there is not an irrigation system, scientific or modern agricultural system, proper guidance from agriculture specialists and proper market of agricultural productions.

"The economic importance of the Terai is further underscored by the volume of the agricultural surplus it produces. Most important is the Terai's surplus rice production. Not only does the food-deficit hill region of Nepal depend upon sustainable yearly imports of rice from the Terai, but the Terai also sends large amounts of rice to India. In 1965 an estimated 348000 metric tons of rice were exported from the Terai to India, making Nepal the fifth largest rice exporter in the world that year. It is estimated that Nepal earned 237,772,685 India rupees from its rice exports in 1965" (Gaige,1975;1968)

Due to deforestation and lack of proper policy in agriculture the farmer obliged villagers usually sell their rice, wheat, maize etc. to village shopkeepers for their

necessities. The few more wealthy farmers can afford to have their rice until after the end of the harvest season, when prices rise. Consequently, the economic ties between India and the Terai are stronger than the ties between India and the hill-region. Nepal is a market for India goods because India has large production. Although hill people represent a small percentage of the Madhesh population, a relatively large number of them, because of their contacts with the various Kathmandu governments over the past several generations, It tends to be easier for hill people than plains (Madheshi) people to obtain the necessary government licenses for such an enterprise. The road cuts across the traditional east-west routes and made by leaving Madhesh through jungle. It is doubtful that the highway will make Madhesh developed by supporting economically.

The biased resettlement policy of the state, a large portion of the Madheshi land was distributed to the hill people free of cost. Hill people control most of agricultural land, which land reform program was introduced in Nepal early in 1964. (Yadav, 2005).

Table No.:7: Poverty of Ecological Regions

S.N.	Ecological Regions	Population below poverty line(%)
1	Hills	21.3
2	Madhesh	28.7
3	Nepal	24.9

Source: NPC, 1998

Table No.:8: Unemployment Rate

S.N.	Regions	Unemployment Rate
1	Mountain	2.1
2	Hills	3.7
3	Terai	6.5

Source: Nepal Living Standard Survey Report, 1996

Some decades ago, *Madheshi* were economically and educationally better in comparison to the people of other part of the country. Unjust policy and discriminatory act of the government did not provide opportunity for growth and development of *Madheshi*. Further, state exploited and suppressed them. Consequently, today economically and educationally that have been pushed behind. Haribansha Jha an economist said "Once there was a policy of Nepalese government that there was not any business or development activities or industrial work near the 5 km of Indian border." The dual government policy made Madhesh as a semi-colonial region. The source of government revenue and the principal objectives of expenditure are a primary indication of the maturity of a colonial administration system.

In Niegeria, for example, income tax not imposed at all before 1940, provided 19% of the revenue by 1946, while in Northern Rhodesia in 1950 only 14% of the revenue was derived from custom and exercise.

"Governments have been concerned with colonial economic affairs from the foundation of the colonies themselves. Many colonies were founded for reasons that were primary economic, and in the age when mercantilism was a universally accepted doctrine, the colonial policies of all European power were conceived terms. Production was encouraged or prohibited trade was regulated and shipping was controlled so the wealth and power of the mother country might be raised to its maximum" (Chamber's Encyclopedia;Vol:3:751).

Table No.:9: Income Per People

S.N.	Regions	Per people income(Rs)
1	Himal	5938
2	Pahad	8433
3	Terai	7322

(Source: Nepal Living Standard Survey Report, 1996;Gupta, 2005)

The Nepal Living Standards Survey Report also shows the remittance of hills Rs, 20,439, Himal Rs 7,862 and Terai Rs11,178 average people.

5.3 Representation of *Madhesh* in State Mechanism

The *Madhesh* is important to Nepal, because it generates more than half of the nation's gross national product and the government 76 percent of revenue from agricultural and industrial productivity in the region. There is 48.43 percent people are inhabited in *Madheshi* according to census 2001. Unfortunately, there is less representation of *Madheshi* in state mechanism (every sector of government) such as parliament, Bureaucrate, Judiciary. Media and NGOs/INGOs. In the 20 Madhesh districts the Madheshi cohort constitutes about 64.22 percent of the Madhesh population while the hill mountain cohort is about 35.78 percent (action Aid report:2008). The Madheshi cohort comparison Madhesh upper cast 28.36% and Madhesh dalits 9.53% making a total of 37.89% (ibdi). Tharu constitute about 13.30 percent and Musalim 8.38 percent. The rest is about 4.65 percent. The hill, mountain cohort consists of hill upper caste 19.26 percent, hill ethnic 11.51% hill Dalits 3.76%, mountains ethnic 0.19% and inner Madheshi/Terai ethnic 1.06 percent (ibid). The *Madheshi* Dalit's population 1,074,354 from 4.73 percent of Nepal's population. Comprised of eleven different categories, they live in central and eastern Madhesh/Terai. They form the largest group in nine districts: Saptari (26.77%), Siraha (21.32%), Dhanusha (13.50%), Mahottari (19.58%), Sarlahi(12.41%), Rautahat (11.82%), Bara (13.04%), Parsa (12.16%) and Kapilbastu (10.37%). Muslim are the largest single religious group in four districts: Kapilvastu (19.42%), Parsa (15.40%), Bara (13.43%), and Rautahat (19.47%). Tharus are dispersed all over the *Madhesh* with a population all over the Madhesh with a population of 1,533,879 (6.75%) of the total Nepal population. They are largely concerned in Kailali, Kanchanpur, Bardiya, Dang and Banke (ibid). And rest of Madhesh districts are covered by caste group of *Madheshi* and non-*Madheshi*. But representation of Madheshi or non-*Pahadi* is very few in the state power sharing which are described in different sub-heading below:

5.3.1 Civil Service

In Nepal, high official posts have been occupied by hill Brahmins, Chhetries and Newars while majority Madheshee people have been excluded from these positions. The composition of the higher grades of bureaucracy demonstrated a strong bias against weaker section of Madheshee people. Social economic and political benefits distributed only to the hill Brahmins, Chhetrit and Newar has deep historical tools. These communities enjoyed Ran patronage and got civil service opportunities for modern education, and training of abroad for learner progressions. Though a minority they are powerful ones. A vast majority of teachers university progerssors, academician, intellectual and journalists are the high caste Hindus too (Yadav, 2005). Madhshi make up 33 to 45 percent of Nepal's population but are seriously underrepresented in the government. The comparative figures are below:

Fig:6: Contribution of Madhesi in the Population of Nepal.

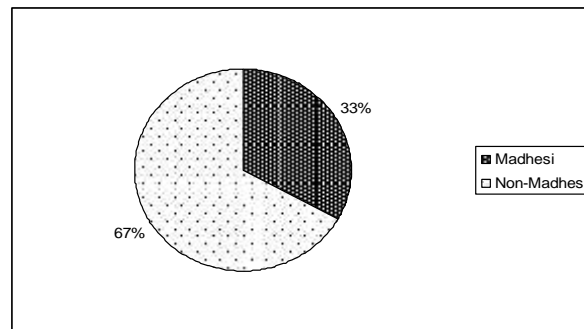
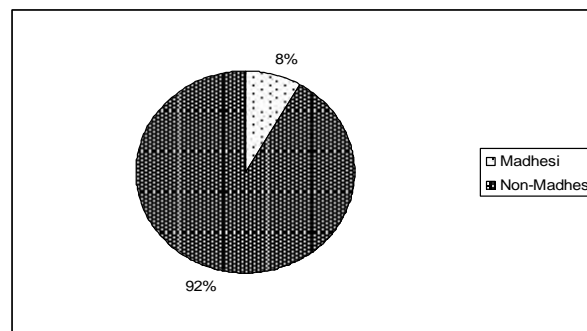


Fig:7: Representation of Madhesi in Civil Service.



Source: Yadav, 2007 (Madhesh Foundation for Peace, & Dev)

The figure itself speaks the discriminatory and exploitative attitude and activities of the Nepal government. Inspire of 33% of 45% population contribution in the government civil service Madheshi is only 8.4% in 1991. Nepal public service commission report revealed that only one Madheshi in the lost of 77 persons was recruited for the post of section officer. One from hill Junijuti and one Madheshi are in the period of multi party democracy. The administration and civil service sector is composed of 85 percent Bahun, 9 percent Chhetris and 2.6 percent Newars which are given following table.

Table No.:10: Caste /Ethnic Composition of Senior Officials

S.N	Post	Brahmin	Chhetri	Newar	Madheshi	Others	Total
01	Secretary	12	5	8	4	1	30
02	Add Secretary	16	5	11	1	1	34
03	Joint Secretary	-	-	-	-	-	-
04	Adm. Services	56	9	17	5	3	90
05	Health Service	22	9	36	4	2	73
06	Education Service	11	2	12	4	1	30
07	Judicial Service	3	10	3	3	1	20
08	Audit Service	1	2	2	-	-	5
09	Legislative Service	1	-	2	-	-	3
10	Engineering	33	13	36	17	4	103
11	Agriculture	11	6	17	3	2	39
12	Forest Service	12	4	12	-	1	29
	Total	178	65	157	41	15	456
	Percentage	39.03	14.25	34.42	8.99	3.29	100

Source; Nijamati Kitab Khana, 1998

Till December 1991 there were 456 senior level officers (Joint secretary and above), both administrative and technical of these 30, 34 and 392 were in the ranks of secretary, Additional secretary and Joint secretary respectively. Hill Brahmins, Chhetris, Newars altogether holding 87.7% of high position. The Madheshi are only 8.99% and highly dominated. At present there are 178 senior officials (first class) but only two are Madheshi in government service.

Till December 1991 there were 4.56 senior level officers (Joint secretary and above) both administrative and technicals of these 30, 34 and 392 were in the ranks of secretary, additional secretary and joint secretary respectively. Hill Brahmins, Chhetris, Newars altogether were holding 87.7% of high position. The Madheshi are only 8.99% and highly dominated. At present there are 178 senior officials (first class) but only two are Madheshi in government service.

**Table:11: Caste/Ethnic Compositions of Senior Officials Including those of
Under Secretary (Administrative Service) Level**

S.N	Post	Brahmin	Chhetri	Newar	Madheshi	Others	Total
01	Secretary	12	5	8	4	1	30
02	Add Secretary	16	5	11	1	1	34
03	Joint Secretary	-	-	-	-	-	-
04	Adm. Services	56	9	17	5	3	90
05	Health Service	22	9	36	4	2	73
06	Education Service	11	2	12	4	1	30
07	Judicial Service	3	10	3	3	1	20
08	Audit Service	1	2	2	-	-	5
09	Legislative Service	1	-	2	-	-	3
10	Engeineering	33	13	36	17	4	103
11	Agriculture	11	6	17	3	2	39
12	Forest Service	12	4	12	-	1	29
Total		178	65	157	41	15	456
Under Secretary		238	83	177	44	9	551
Grand Total		416	148	334	85	24	1007
Percentage		41.33	14.7	33.16	8.4	2.38	100

(Source: Contemporary Nepal, 1998:122)

If the number of officers under secretary level of administrative service is added the total goes up to 1007 officers. Of these 41.3% are hill Brahmins, 33.16% Newars, 14.7% Chetris and only 8.4% are Madheshi. It is really, weakness of the Nepal government which invites internal conflict or Madhesh movement.

**Table No.:12: Representation of Madheshi in
Nepalese Judiciary**

S.N	Organizations	No. of Judges	No. of Appointees	Hill people	Madheshi people
01	Supreme Court	21	20	18	2
02	Chiefs of Appeal Courts	12	12	10	2
03	Judges of Appeal Courts	73	73	64	9
04	Judges of District Courts	131	131	123	8
	Judicial Services	18	18	18	0

Source: Bulletin of Judicial Council, 2001:Vol-2

Regarding geographic representation, Kathmandu dominates other geographic areas 51.95% representation. The hill region represent 29.22% and the *Terai* (including both *Madheshi*) and hill people) 18.33% respectively. The *Terai* people or *Madheshi* have genuine grievances in so far as they are not adequately represented in power structure of Nepal, be it in army, security force, administration, national, legislature or the cabinet. Most of the responded complained the Nepalese government that it was biased to the *Madhesh* people for sharing the power. Their accusation is proved by different tables which show the representation of *Madheshi* people in the state strategies. It is also one of cause for motivating the *Madhesh* movement.

Table 13: Geographical Representation of Senior Most Officials

S.N.	Post	Kathmandu	Hill	Madhesh	Total
1	Secretary	14	7	9	30
2	Add secretary	21	7	6	34
3	Joint secretary	45	31	14	90
Total		80	45	29	154
Percentage		51.95	29.22	18.83	100

Source: Contemporary Nepal, 1998:123.

Upper table only belong to the administrative only belong to the administrative service officials. All of the respondents have common view on the representation of the Madheshi people in the government and non-government job. They said, "we need proportional representation in the every sector of government. We want proper representation in the country which shows we feeling and we can also feel we are the citizen of Nepal. We desire to divide own and resource, sorrow and happiness equally among all Nepalese. It only can develop the country neither country will divide into two parts. Strategies of the Nepal government excluded Madheshi people fro all the service of state. Madheshi youth are unemployed comparatively to the Pahadi youth. The indifference of government to the *Madheshi* is one of the causes for *Madhesh* movement."

5.3.2 Representation of Madheshi in security forces security forces are the very sensible sector of the state. They are guard of country citizen and property legally. They are symbol of country, that's why they must be represent all the community, caste, group, classes, sex, race, geography, religion and so on. As we know, Nepal is known for multi-diversity in the world. But the state shows communal characterize. Since unification of the Nepal. In spite of existence of ethnic groups in Nepal higher posts as senior officers in army and police forces have been monopolized by hill people.

Table: 14: Position of Madheshi in Security Forces

S.N.	Department and Position	No. of officers	No. of Madheshi
1	Senior officer in Nepal Army	18	0
2	Chief of police (Armed & national)	3	0
	Police AIGP	4	0
	Police DIG	16	0
	Police SSP	41	0
3	Armed police AIGP	3	0
	Armed police DIG	8	0
	Armed police SSP	16	0
	Armed police SP	37	0
	Total	143	0

Source: Madhesh: Social Demography & Discrimination; 2004

Table: 15: Caste and Ethnic Breakdown of the Senior Officers (general) in the NA

S.N.	Caste/Ethnic Groups	Percentage of population	Percentage in Nepal Army
1	Chhetri including Rana	15.80	38.10
2	Brahmin (Hill)	12.74	7.90
3	Magar (Hill ethnic)	7.14	7.90
4	Tharu (Madhesh ethnic)	6.74	0.00
5	Tamang	6.64	1.60
6	Newar	5.48	6.30
7	Muslim	4.27	0.00
8	Kami (Dalit)	3.94	-
9	Yadav	3.94	0.00
10	Rai	2.79	3.20
11	Gurung	2.39	15.90
12	Damai /Dholi	1.72	9.50
13	Thakuri	1.47	-
14	Limbu	1.58	9.50
15	Brahman(Madhesh)	0.59	0.00
Total		76.23	92
Remain		23.77	8

Source: Jana Astha, Nepali National Weekly, 13 any 2004; Yadav: 2005.

Madheshi people have no access to the Nepal Army. A similar situation prevails in the police forces too. The *Madheshi* peoples are only 2.3% in lower rank of Nepal

police. According to one of the TMDP leader Haridesh Tripathi, "Among 95000 Nepal Army only 832 *Madheshi* are including army (Army Javan) in the Army forces."

As a result, the *Madheshi* people are excluded from high post responsibility of the security forces of their own motherland. Certain elite groups in Nepal argue that none but the Gorkha (hill people) belong to martial race. Therefore other communities are not relished as capable for the army without reliable logic behind it.

It is a historical fact that Harisimha Deva an eminent '*Karnatak*' king of Terai region has recruited a number of Madheshi people in his army. He was a historical personality. It is also a fact that when Prithivi Narayan Shah attacked Jay Prakash Mall, the latter had twelve thousand strong Madheshi recruited in his army who were called "Tirhutiya Army". The Tirhutiya army fought very bravely against the organized force of Prithivi N. Shah following the defect of Jay Prakash Mall, Prithivi Narayan Shah eventually discontinued or discovered aged the service of Madheshi army (Yadav; 2005; Vimal; 2005). After that there are hardly any evidence of recruitment of Madheshi people in the Nepal army. The Nepalese army had remained loyal to the king throughout its history. The NA has never represented all sections of Nepalese society and has therefore not become a national army. To acquire the national character, the NA should proportionately recruits Madheshi also. The NA is hard hit by caste discrimination and nobility monopoly (ibid). It becomes more clear when the top posts above colonials are seen to be occupied by Rana, Shah and Chhetri and elites or non-Madheshi people.

5.3.3 Political Participation of *Madheshi*

Politics is a driver of state. It leads country according to people and they represent the citizen of country. In regards to representation in parliament the number of Brahmins and Chhetri of the hilly region is comparatively high. Both in the *Panchayat* system and in the current of hilly region are dominant political

elements in national politics. Traditionally, politics at all levels in Nepal has been determined primarily by the factors of land ownership primarily by the factors of landownership and caste status. Indeed, several Madheshi attained national recognition during the period of party politics. Nevertheless, these general groups carry with them the large economic, cultural deficits and linkage (attachment) to the powers as they attempt to move into the sphere of national politics. A comparison of membership in election there was decreasing position of Madheshi which seen position of Madheshi which seen in the table.

Table: 16: Madheshi MPs in Parliament

MPs form Ethnic Group	1959	1978	1981	1991		1994	1999	
	HR	HR	HR	HR	NA	HR	HR	NA
Madheshi	22%	15%	20%	21	15	18%	20%	3%
Hill people	78%	85%	80%	79	85	82%	80%	91.7%
Percentage	100	100	100	100	1000	100	100	100
Total no. of seats	109	129	112	205	60	205	205	60

Source: Election Commission Bulletins, 1994/1999.

Above mentioned table shows that the representation of *Madheshi* MPs in parliament in 1959, 1978, 1991, 1994, and 1999 elections. *Madhesh* MPS in parliament accounted 22% in 1959 which fell all the time low to 15% in 1978. The foregoing observation about advantaged and disadvantaged groups in national politics of Nepal can be substantiated with a reference to data available on communal representation in national politics. A comparison of membership in two elective bodies the 1959 parliament and 1967 national Panchayat is highly instructive. An increase was marked in representation of hill people from 78% in the parliament to 90% in national assembly and corresponding decrease from 22% to 8.30% of *Madheshi* of all the people who had been member of the National *Panchayat* from 1963 to 1988, 380 out of total 501, 76% failed from the upper caste groups Brahmin, Chhetri etc. of the hilly region, one of the TMDP local leader Dr. Vijay Singh said, "During the past decade, the crown has become the pivot around

which the traditional interest group, the sacred elite, the military and the landowning aristocracy still revolve. These group gain access to the people have become the center of administration and the political structure in Nepal, even though, its dominant policy and decision making role is not deigned via law or within the constitution of this country. Hilly people captured all the structure of decision making and implementation. That's why *Madhesh* movement occurred against of Paharization, discrimination, internal colonization, one communal nationalism, extreme exploitation etc. *Madheshi* are cheated by *Pahadi* rulers or political parties and some opportunist *Madheshi* so-called leaders.

Table: 17: Representative in the House of Representative (HOR) by Caste and Ethnicity

S.N.	Caste/Ethnicity	Ration of population	1991 Election	1994 Election	1999 Election
01	Hill High castes	7023220(30.89%)	114(55.61%)	129(62.93%)	122(59.51%)
02	Hill Dalits	1616522(7.11%)	1(0.48%)	-	-
03	Hill Ethnic	5011631(22.04%)	34(16.59%)	24(11.71%)	28(16.66%)
04	Newars	1245232(5.48%)	14(6.83%)	12(5.85%)	14(6.83%)
05	Inner Terai ethnic	251117(1.11%)	1(0.48%)	-	-
06	Terai/Madhesh castes	3464249(15.24%)	18(8.78%)	22(10.37%)	29(14.15%)
07	Madhesh dalits	904924(3.99%)	-	--	-
08	Madhesh Ethnic	2814927(8.11%)	18(8.78%)	14(6.83%)	10(4.88%)
09	Muslims	971056(4.27%)	5(2.43%)	4(1.9%)	2(0.97%)
10	Women	11377556(50.04%)	7(3.41%)	7(3.41%)	12(5.85%)
11	Men	11359378(49.96%)	198(96.56%)	198(96.56%)	193(94.15%)

The total no. of seats: 205

Source: CBS, 2001 and Election Commission, 1991, 1994 and 1999.

If we look at the pattern of representation in both the houses of parliament, house of representatives and national assembly in each of the elections, it is appavant that the experiment with democracy could not address the problems of exclusion of Madheshi, deprived caste, race and communities. The dominant caste groups are over-represented in both houses. And Madheshi communities dominated through race discrimination in politics too.

Table: 18 Representation in the NA by Caste & Ethnicity

S.N.	Caste/Ethnicity	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999	2001
01	Hill high caste	33(55%)	37(61.37%)	33(55%)	33(55%)	33(55%)	36(60%)
02	Hill Dalit	2(3.33%)	2(3.33%)	3(5%)	3(5%)	4(6.67%)	3(5%)
03	Hill Ethnic	8(13.33%)	7(11.67%)	5(8.33%)	7(11.67%)	8(13.33%)	9(15%)
04	Newar	8(13.33%)	5(8.35%)	9(15%)	9(15%)	8(13.33%)	5(8.33%)
05	Terai/Madhesh caste	6(10%)	6(10%)	6(10%)	5(8.33%)	5(8.33%)	4(6.67%)
06	Madhesh Dalit	-	-	-	-	-	-
07	Madhesh Ethnic	2(3.33%)	3(5%)	4(6.67%)	2(3.33%)	1(1.67%)	1(1.67%)
08	Muslim	1(1.67%)	-	-	1(1.67%)	1(1.67%)	1(1.67%)
09	Women	3(5%)	3(5%)	5(8.33%)	7(11.67%)	7(11.67%)	7(11.67%)
10	Men	57(95%)	57(95%)	55(91.67%)	53(88.33%)	53(88.33%)	53(88.33%)

Source: National Assembly, Secretariate, 2001

The House of Representative has 205 members elected on the basis of adult franchise. The NA (National Assembly), the upper house of the parliament is a 60 members house and the member come from different constituencies: 35, including three woman members elected by HOR on the basis of proportional representation; 15 i.e. three each from five development regions elected by the representatives of the local bodies and 10 nominated by the king. Although, the major political parties, particularly the communistis, often insist that National

Assembly should be made the house of nationalities in order to compensate for under representation of *Madheshi* and various other groups the candidates. They filed do not comply to that position and the house remain dominated by Brahmin and Chhetri of hill region. Who occupied more than 50% of the total seats. Likewise ethnic groups women, Dalits are least represented. The minority of non-*Madheshi* leaded *Madhesh* for the last several decades. They were elected by Madheshi but they rejected and neglected *Madhesh* and *Madheshi*.

Table:19: Representation of Madheshi Community in the Council of Ministers

S.N.	Categories	No. of Madheshi	Ministers%	No. of Hull. M	Ministers%	Total	%
01	Ministers (1960-1989)	35	16%	181	84%	216	100
02	Ministers (1992-1993)	4	17%	20	83%	24	100
03	Cabinet minister (1994-1995)	0	0%	9	100%	9	100
04	Deuba's cabinet Minister 2004 nominated by king	5	20%	20	80%	25	100

Source: Nepal Rajpatra, 2061/814

Above table shows the Madheshi ministers in the council of minister during the *Panchyat* regime between 1960 and 1989 was 16%. The situation has not improved even after the restoration of municipality parliamentary democracy. The share of Madheshi minister in the council of ministers headed by pm F.P. Koirala account for 17 percent. But in the council of minister headed by PM Man-Mohan Adhikari on behalf of CPN (UMK) government. *Madheshi* minister was si in bis

cabinet. The leaders only distributed sympathy to the Madheshi nevertheless power and resources to one.

Table: 20: Representation of Madheshi Community in the Central Committee of Political Parties

S.N.	Political parties	Royal central committee No.	Madheshi member	%
01	Nepali congress	35	3	8.58
02	CPN (UML)	65	1	1.53
03	Nepali congress(D)	35	3	8.58
04	RPP	45	7	15.55
05	Janamorchha Nepal	51	1	1.96
06	CPN/Maosit	35	1	2.85

Source: Madhesh: Social Demography and Discrimination, 2004:51 & Papers.

The representation of Madheshi community in central working committee of large. Political parties in Nepal was inadequate. The hill Brahmin, Chhetri and Hill ethnic controlled the central leadership of major political parties. This is one of the reasons why Madheshi working in these political parties are treated with distrust by hill leadership. Qualities as talent and self respect have been disqualifying rather than qualifying factors for the Madheshi. Persons having talent and self-respect have been discouraged & sometimes even punished. There is no any vital role given to Madheshi leaders in these political parties. The political parties represent, as a model one two from Madheshi community not a respected representation from them.

Table: 21: Regional and Communal Groups within the 1959 Parliament and the 1967 National Panchyat System

S.N.	Regional and communal groups of representative sensitive	1959 parliament		1969 national panchayat	
1	Hill Brahmin	31	28.4	30	24.0
2	Chhetri	30	27.5	47	37.0
3	Newar	5	4.6	15	12.0
4	Low caste hill people	1	0.9	1	0.8
5	Hill tribal	22	20.2	19	15.2
Hill People Subtotal		89	81.7	112	89.6
01	Hindu & Muslim from Madhesh	13	11.9	11	8.8
02	Madhesh tribal	7	6.4	2	1.6
Plains people subtotal		20	18.4	13	10.4
Total of all representatives		109	100.00	125	100.0

Source: Gaige; 1975

A comparison of membership in two elective bodies, the 1959 parliament and the 1967 national Panchyat is instructive. As table:21 indicates, there was an increasing the representation of hill people from 82 percent in the parliament to 90 percent in the national Phanchyat and a corresponding decrease for plain people from 18 to 10 percent. This table shows the Panchyat system or direct king region discriminated or dominated and Madheshi extremely.

5.4 The Weakness of Human Rights Organizations

The Human Rights Organization included United Nations Office of the high commission for Human Rights, Media, Political Parties, NGOs/INGOs, Civil Society and many more. The role of Civil Society and Human Rights organization is commendable during the *Madhesh* Movement. They played their roles impartially. They performed their duties as natural an neutral. The team of the civil society could not play the role as they played in the second people

movement. There was not a right presentation of national civil society, Human rights' activist and media to cope *Madhesh* movement.

5.4.1 The Human Rights Organizations

Madhesh have started peaceful movement for their justified human rights even though government is killing innocent people. In effective role of human rights activist increased the high number of destruction and casualties of Indigenous Madheshi of Nepal are victims of denial of human rights. Loss of integrity, racial discrimination, domination and exploitation (Yadav, 2007). Fundamental human rights such as: civil and political rights, economic, social and cultural rights of the plains people (Madheshi) in Nepal are not well respected. Madheshi people of Nepal have been subjected to dominated, exploitation, discrimination and suppression of their human rights and fundamental freedom since the foundation of the state of Nepal, still continue all level (Yadav:2005). The national activist of human rights had been watching Madhesh movement from centre (Kathmandu). They did not go in the spot of Madhesh movement at the beginning after large destruction of human beings and property they concerned it.

The team of the civil society under the leadership of Devendra Raj Pandey monitored the human rights as well as general situation in Madhesh. Celebrated writer, Khagendra Sangraula national daily, weakly and monthly papers and magazines after monitoring the overall situation in Madhesh. The team of civil society, blamed the absence of political parties and police high handedness for the situation getting out of hand in its report.

Shyam Shrestha, a CMDP members, told an all party meeting at the parliamentary committed that there are no political leaders to guide or control the masses in the Madhesh. (see box below)

Box no.4 Voice of Shyam Shrestha:

"We wondered why national parties and top-level leaders were enjoying a cozy lie in Kathmandu while *Madhesh* movement was occurring in the *Madhesh*? He added that the agitation would have been less aggressive had leaders and lawmakers visited the trouble area. He further said that the excessive force used by security forces was also to blame for the situation getting worse. Police atrocities added fuel to the fire. Policemen, especially those from the hilly areas, are responsible for distributing the communal harmony in the *Madhesh*. He added more that they found policeman forcibly entering protester's and *Madheshi's* houses and abusing insulting beating them. The government may not be able to stop the situation from taking the shape of a separatist movement if such oppression continues." (Kathmandu Post: 2007 July)

Another CMDP members, Krishna Pahadi Urged, "We urge the government to address the problem, through a round table conference attended by representatives of all other oppressed ethnic communities." But some of the political leaders threatened that they moved army to control the *Madhesh* Movement. This statement was opposed by many intellectuals. Shambhu Thapa, former president of the NBA suggested that a committee of experts on constitution must be formed to recommend the interim parliament to make amendments in the interim constitution. He also asked the government not to even think of declaring a state of emergency and sending in army in the Terai, saying the move will be counter productive (Radio Interview).

Vijay Datta a reader of Mahendra Sanskrit Campus and Human Rights activist said: **"Human Rights activist or Civil Society members are the spokesperson of political parties and non-Madheshi except some members. So, they were biased to the Madhesh Movement. They forget their ethnics and watching. They forge their ethnics and watching centre. And we have lack of resources and manpower to conduct properly during the *Madhesh* Movement. The responsible person of administration, media human rights political parties government etc. add fuel in fire**

of blaming whole *Madheshi* as they want such non-responsibility made agitation more aggressive during the *Madhesh Movement*."

5.4.2 The Role of Media and Police Force:

Media is voice of voiceless and helpless. It never speaks others voice on the basis of prediction or blissful. But the media of Nepal (National Media) failed to procedure the desired result when it comes to relishing projecting the issues confronting projecting the issues conforming the *Madheshi*. Even those working in *Terai* could not understand the problems form a proper perspective. On the other hand, the people had lots of expectations form the media and when nothing actually happened they felt down and frustrated. Therefore there were many instance of direct attacks on media, persons media house and media, organizations and the tendency is continuing even which needs to be understood mutually by the people and the media (Chandrakishore, 2008). Many journalists and Medias were attacked by protestors on different places of *Madhesh* to exert pressure on the media to, neither report the events at all nor report them misinterpretately (Sultan, 2007). Prateek Pradhan a journalist claimed,

Box:6: A Journalist Prateek Pradhan Claimed,

"After the Maoist, the *Madhesh Movement* has proved to be another predator of Nepali press. The people of the plains generally understood as *Madhesh*) started their movement from January 2007, after the interim government promulgated the interim constitution. These people who are slightly different from hilly people by little darer complexion are demanding autonomous state, federal structure and proportional electoral system. Most of the mainstream presses are not totally against these demands. However, in the name of predefine the ethnic identify, the aggressive and armed groups of *Madhesh* have proved up on journalist. The journalists have been getting threatening calls from various political and criminal groups, sometimes for exposing their deeds and sometimes for not publishing or transmitting their news".

Maximum of respondents of *Madhesh* blamed, "**Media is communal and biased to *Madheshi*. Because maximum of the journalists and media owners are non-*Madheshi*. 'One of the local media person (B.K. Yadav) strongly claimed' Really, national media and journalist not use sincere to *Madhesh* movement. They had played quite different role in the *Madhesh* Movement comparison to the second people movement. The news and articles of papers, magazines and broadcasting of TV and radio/FM during the *Madhesh* movement proved it. They never covered the positive news of *Madhesh* movement whether they minister prate the protest. There were few national medias' journalist even that they were only finding weakness of protest not a news. Such activities of journalists and medias agitate the protestors. And they attacked on them aggressive even though, local media and journalists were covered the protests very sincerely".**

In a gargle transition period like what we are seeing now in Nepal, it is not possible for the state, establishments to see everything correctly, including the plights and difficult of marginalized communities. As responsible institution, the media must therefore play the all important role of pointing out the all important role of pointing out the shortcomings of the state so that the nation at large benefits from it. Its watchful eyes must not be squint when the need arises to point out issues that are inter, community in nature. The media also must play the role of imitating inter-community dialogue keeping in the need to respect the function as a cementing agent particularly in pluralistic society like Nepal. Similarly no state machinery can effectively provide security to media and media persons at any given point of time. Strict and honest adherence to code of conducts, people sensitive approach and respect for social values are their automatic and sustainable security or safety. The media had never place positive activates during *Madhesh* Movement. "The local media were leading the protest," Arun Shrestha said.

The role of police forces is dissatisfactory since initial phase of *Madhesh* Movement. Police rolled up at least 28 MPRF activist whole the later were staging protests at *Mandala*. Protesting coders were detained in Hanuman Dhoka by crossing the fundamental human rights. The former clash of Nepalgunj saw police forces' biasness to the *Madheshi* people. It was extremely in human activities of police forces. Protesting cadres and MPRG activist vandalized *Madhesh* after

arresting of MPRF activist and leaders at Mandala, Kathmandu. As part of their attempt, the group also distributed some copies of CDs in which the Nepalgunj incident was recorded (Kantipur, 2007, June 17). Even, *Madhesh* Movement was peaceful; the police forces used extremely force that took 54. *Madheshi* protestors life during *Madhesh* Movement (see annex). It's large number of martyr (Shahid) comparison to second people movement. It also proves the role of police forces, civil society human rights organization and media. For details see appendix 8 and for this context (see in below box).

CASE STUDY - ONE

Injured Protestors were also Beaten Cruelly in Hospital

Once when the *Madhesh* Movement started. I a heard from local FM (radio) that whole *Madhesh* was vandalized. Kantipur was also centralized and large mass of *Madheshi* were protested on the road against the temporary government at campus went to watch movement at campus Chowk. I saw, the police force charged activist very cruelly and forcefully. Informant of me, many *Madheshi* people were beaten haffazadly by throwing stick (Banda). I was also charged by policeman while I didn't participate in the protest directly. I became angry after seeing such a police activities. Their suppressive nature excited me to throw stones to them. In this way I spent my first day in the *Madhesh* Movement. Second day, I participated again in *Madhesh* protest at some place. The agitators were positing the presence of police force and their suppression. Suddenly without warning the police force fired bullet haggazandly towards the mass of people. And people scattered here and there. I also hide behind the electricity pole. Meanwhile, one of the student screamed 'he has bullet in his arm by pointing me and caused for help.

My operation was successful then I felt relief there. After two days a group of police force entered in the hospital and '*Lathi Charged*' on patients, visitors, helpers and insulted the doctors and nurses. I was sleeping on my bed, meanwhile I charged screaming sound in another wards of hospital. Suddenly, I stood up and hide in toiler inside the door. The police beaten even, serious injured person. That' why I was much feared and decide to return my home because there was risk to stay. I requested doctor to discharge me but the doctor did not allow me to go. At last, I convinced them and I returned back my home.

5.4.3 Crisis of Identity

The *Madheshi* people of the Nepal have their identity problems, similar to those of people who have emerged from colonial experiences (Yadav, 2005) Neither Nepal's history nor Nepal's hill culture of the ruling elite satisfy their identity needs, because they have not been associated with either national symbols with which the national symbols with which the *Madheshi* people could easily identity are missing. The Nepali language, perhaps even more than crown itself, is a powerful and pervasive symbol of Nepalese nationalism in the hill region. Nepali is spoken by relatively few *Madheshi* people, even as a second language national or even one that is recognized for government use at the regional level (ibid). The *Madheshi* people are regarded as second class citizen in Nepal (Gaige, 1975). Their identity is neglected by state and destroyed with ill intension.

Box:7: View of Bhashkar Gautam, A Researcher of Martin Chautari

"There are three main factors or *Madhesh* movement: first identify crisis, second less representation (in every sector of the state). Third unequal access or rights of *Madheshi* people. Identity determine everything, such a representation, access and so on. Their two levels of identify one social identity and another national identity. Society and nation both are dominated by Nepali (*Phadi*) community and *Madheshi* community is excluded from both of them. SO, *Madheshi* would be also provided equal rights as Nepal in society and nation. Their culture and language should be regarded and respected by society as well as state. To develop any soviet or community or nation their language and culture must be identified or recognized neither they could not develop themselves. Language and culture is barrier for representation in polity, administration and socio-economic condition. So, that these factors impelled *Madheshi* to raise their voices through *Madhesh* revolt.

Gautam is an editor of "*Madhesh Bidrohko Nalibeli*" and he knows *Madhesh* issue very well. But innocently, he said *Phahadi* community as a Nepali where as *Madheshi* not a Nepali. He said, 'Nepali and *Madheshi* are equal in rights'. As we

know there are two communities *Pahadi* (Hill-people) and *Madheshi* (plains people) in the Nepal and both of those communities are Nepal. The maximum hilly respondents of the study claimed themselves as a Nepali but others are *Madishe* (*Madheshi*) and they used frequently such words while, I was taking with them. A lady student of 18 years old, Renu Shrestha said, "We Nepali were also support *Madheshi* movement, though some *Madheshise* people doubt onus. so we left to participate on movement now Nepali people are threatened by *Madheshi* armed threatened by *Madehise* armed group." It shows, the narrow thinking of policy makers and rulers spreader one communal national identify of Nepal. it influenced the Nepali society and non-hilly peoples identity is in crisis's in Nepal. They are supposed non-Nepali that's why their culture and language must be included in Nepal legally one of the youth political analysts, Tula Narayan Sah said,

"Some of the prominent causes are; crisis of Madhesh identity and dis-meaningful representation in al sectors of state mechanism. To conduct any countries rule, regulation the ruler needed money and weapons and by distributing money and weapons the ruler control the power of state. Unfortunately, none of these things are under of *Madheshi*: when some *Madheshi* are in power sharing, they have no control over the state mechanism so they need meaningful representation in power sharing. *Madheshi* identity is in shade due to dis-meaningful representation in the policy making of the Nepal. They are excluded from the main-stream of development of policy making."

After analyzing the information, I concluded that the *Madhesh* movement occurred for self dignity and *Madheshi* identity. Identity crisis is the very prominent factor for raising the *Madhesh* movement it exist the *Madheshi* background and alien. In max view, "The state is the form in which the individuals of a ruling class assert their common interests." political power if Nepal serves the hilly people in different ways.

5.4.4 Nationality of Nepal vs Identity of Madheshi

Over the past several hundred years, the plains people *Madheshi* have been undergoing cultural change. In the name of nationality there is *Paharization* or *Nepalization* on the *Madhesh*. It actually extends beyond linguist and cultural changes ranging from the adoption of different values to that of different clothing styles and food preferences. The process of *Khasization* (*Nepalization* is beginning in the *Terai*, now that hill people are setting in the region (Gige, 1975). Some of the plains tribal and caste people would undoubtedly respond reading to *Nepalization* as their own cultures prove unable to withstand the integrative pressured of the more coupled and aggressive hill culture. However, it must be remembered that the *Terai* culture is simultaneously being merged into that of the north Indian plains and hilly as a result of migration from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and hill die. culture of the plain and expensive from the as vital and expansive from the hill culture. Though, Nepalese government has taken various steps to encourage the *Nepalization* (*Pahadization*) process in the *Madhesh*, but it is clear that the plains people would resist the government more oblivious efforts to transform their cultural patterns (ibid). However, in the name of nationalism (one communal) cultural homogeneity is not a necessary precondition for national unity. Certainly the plains (*Madheshi*) people of the *Terai* could be brought into a participating relationship with the hill people with the hill people without adopting the hill culture.

Madheshi people have their own identity since ancient time. But it is overlapped through *Nepalization* by Nepalese Government. The government identified the nationally by regarding hill people. *Khas* language, *Khas* dress (*Daura*, *Surwal*, *Topi* etc), hill festivals, hill culture etc. are symbolized the nationality of Nepal. Except certain community of the hill, maximum community of the Nepal are excelled from the national identity *Pahadization* are speeded through migration,

nationalism and policy of citizen distribution, cultural hegemony and so forth. It is a hindrance for *Madheshi* or non-hilly people to integrate national unity.

5.4.4.1 Migration into the Madhesh/Terai

People have been migrating into the Terai since the first Aryan tribesman pushed eastward from the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna rivers around 900 B.C. During the period 900 to 500 B.C. the Aryans penetrated into what is now northern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, and the powerful kingdom of Videha was established in northern Bihar and the south-eastern *Terai/ Madhesh*. The capital of Videha was called Mithila, and it may have been located at the site of modern Janakpur in Mahottari, Dhanusha district of the eastern Terai (Gaige, 1975). Unlike the less powerful rulers, the kinds of Sakyas, and their capital about 563 B.C. to a Sakya another at Lumbini, near Kapilbastu. Yet, another important kingdom of the ancient period established its capital at Simraun Garha in the south east corner of Bara district. It shows, the *Terai* was ancient land for *Madheshi*. They have been staying there (*Terai*) for past several hundred years. The Nepali speaking seen kings of Palpa and Makwanpur gained control of the mid western *Terai* in the 15th or 16th century and extended their control to the eastern *Terai* around the mid 17th century. The oral history of *Terai* inhabitants sheds further light on *Madhesh* settlement patterns in modern times. Oral history in this case refers to the stories told by village elders of their forefathers and for fathers' journeys.

Between the 1860s and 1951 the Nepalese government encouraged economic development in the *Terai/ Madheshi* and made an effort to settle hill people in the region. The government also had to consent itself with letting migrations from India in the name of develop the economy of the *Terai* (ibid). Charles Mc Dougal, an American Anthropologist, has undertaken the most detailed study of the *Terai*. He describes three types of migration from the hills in to the *Terai*. The first is permanent migration, the second type of migration is semipermanent, seasonal. After the eradication of malarias, in operation with the world Health Organization

and US/Aid in the 1950s, it is amazing that hills people migrated into *Terai* rapidly. Many Nepalese government official tend to assume that migration into the *Terai* is primarily from the hills and that these migrants, as their numbers grow, will gradually change the hill-plains cultural equation, bringing about a *Nepalization* of the region. This assumption results from the fact that hill settlers are more conspicuous than settlers of plains (*Madhesh*) origin.

On the other hand, the hill migrations settle among the relatively unsophisticated plains tribal people, the hill people are able to acquire local leadership rather quickly. Plains tribal such as the *Tharus* tend to have little sophistication about economic affairs. They are prone to borrow money without understanding the interest terms or the consequences of indebtedness, and thus fall prey to the false dealing of money lender and lose control of their land. Now they are landless and second class citizen of Nepal. The second class citizen of Nepal. The *Gurkhas*, being hill people are assumed to be more loyal to the government than others who might settle along the border. The government policy to settle ex-servicemen and other hill people in the *Terai* during the past ten years has been to change the cultural composition of the population so that the plains people would find themselves in a minority (Dainik Nepal, July;5;1972).

Similarly, in the changed circumstances people living in the *Madhesh*, mountain and hill can be imbued with a sense of identity, if inhabitants of those regions are allowed to participate without discrimination in the administrative, political and economic process of modernization. The privileged classes have used this tactics to separate the *Terai* population from the main stream of political life. The government prepaid Rapid development plan (1954), Nepal resettlement company (1964), Jhapa resettlement company Khanchanpur resettlement project, Nawalparasi resettlement project etc. were implemented by clearing the dense forest land of *Madhesh* and settled hills people. On the contrary the landless

Madheshi people in the *Terai* were rarely given any land in this wave of resettlement projects or company (Gaige, 1975; Jha 1993; Yadav; 2005). Migration of population has created imbalances in the *Terai* and many people are forced to migrate outside (India, Qatar, Arab, Malaysia and so on). The minority hill people have dominated all over the *Madhesh* due to help of administration and policies of Nepal.

5.4.4.2 The Policy of Citizenship in Nepal

Citizenship bestows the rights to participate in the governing process. It grants access to power, it is a symbol of legitimacy for people living within their national boundaries. Citizenship is a bond between the individual and the government of a nation and therefore, important in the process of national integration (Gaige, 1975). Citizenship legislation framed by representatives of the nationally dominant hill culture during the last few decades. It reflects this suspicion of citizenship more different for *Madhesh* origin in the Nepal.

For this reason the political dynamics surrounding Nepal's citizenship policy, the motives behind it and responses to it in the *Terai*. To support this statement see box:8 the view of Rajendra Mahato.

Box:8: The Concept of Rajendra Mahato, a President of Sadabhavana Party,

Hill people always try to control *Madheshi* in any ways. The citizenship commission 2051 B.S. approximately 40 lakhs genuine Nepali has been denied of citizenship certificates. Majority of them are *Madheshi* people were living in the *Terai* Denial of citizenship had created many problems. First, they do not get service in the government corporation and private intrusions secondary, they can not run industry and trade. Thirdly denial of citizenship in ones' own country mean humiliation as one treated as foreigner in own country. And fourthly the denial of citizenship is the denial of the basics human rights to have property. The reality is that no body in Nepal is liable to purchase land in absence of citizenship. Hill people were given preference over plains people settled in the *Madhesh* so that the *Madheshi* were related to a second class citizen. This is understandable when one remembers that the *Terai* was viewed before 195 more as a colony than an integrated part of a modern nation, state. Latter, effort of Gajendra Narayan Singh and some more *Madheshi* political leaders the problem of citizenship card is solved in some extent But, till many genuine *Madheshi* are staying here without citizenship card .

The government given preference to citizenship card who can speak Nepali, have land are from hill community wearing hill dress and so on. Such a criteria obstacle for *Madheshi* to get citizenship card. Their is contradictory law of government that without citizenship people could not buy any property and without ownership of property they could not get citizenship cards. Culturally different from the hill people and geographically isolated from centre, *Madheshi* people living in the *Terai* were considered to be a least quasi-foreigners.

Citizenship received detailed attention in critical 7 and 8 of the 1962 constitutions articles of the 1962 constitution is a repartition of article 2 of the 1952 citizenship act; it gives qualification for those who can be classified as citizen automatically, that is by birth and marriage. It declared a citizen anyone who was born in Nepal anyone permanent settled in Nepal who had at least one parent born in Nepal any

woman married to a citizen. I also states that anyone who had lived in Nepal for at least fifteen years can acquire citizenship. (Gaige, 1975)

5.4.5 Psychological Discrimination

Madheshi are psychologically discriminated by the state and Hill community. The social inequalities created humiliation for *Madheshi*. The under representation and symbolic representation of *Madheshi* people in civil services and security disproportionate representation in legislative and executive bodies; and opportunities to certain caste people in political appointments are some examples of injustice and exploitation of *Madheshi* people. Such a narrow policy of state have made weak psychology of *Madheshi* people. In fact, the seeds of psychological discrimination, disunity and factualism were sound by Prithivi Narayan Shah. The inhabitatans of the *Madhesh* were not given any important assignment since the unification of Nepal. The following table shows the present condition of *Madheshi* and non-*Madheshi* in government services.

Table: 22: Ratio of Population and Service

S.N.	Caste/Ethncity	Population%	Service percent
01	Hill Brahmin, Chhetri	32.5	69.5
02	Madheshi	31.5	11.5
03	Newar	6.5	15.5
04	Janajati	22.5	7.5
05	Dalit	9.5	0.5

(Source: Lawoti; 2005)

In this way the position of *Madheshi* community in Nepal distintegrate them to the state, Dominant position of Hill community discourage and humiliate them buy saying dislike words. Every symbols of nation belongs to Hill community. Even, statue, language, dress, culture, festival etc. are the representation the non-

Madheshi. So, they tried to abolish the domination of Hill community. C.K. Lal a political analyst stated,

"People broke down personalities the status of many personality due to not disrespect. They broken down the *Pahadi* domination. The *Madheshi* people were psychologically dominate by *Hill* community in many ways. There was not a right of Madhesh was not a right representation of Madheshi community in Nepal. There was not any state of *Madheshi* community in hilly are but *Madhesh* was also covered by statue of Hill community. It affected the *Madheshi* protestors psychologically and they destroyed maximum of the statue from the Madhesh such activate are called such activities are called an cultural revolution. *Madhesh* people hit the Hill oriented culture and domination."

Further more a senior journalist of Janakpur Rajeshwar Nepali explained (see in box 10).

Box:10: View of Rajeshwar Nepali

"Nepal centrally biased to Madheshi community and martyrs too. One of the great martyr Durganandna Jha is the best example for political parties and state's narrow psychology. He was only one person who threw the bomb on the late king Mahendra B.B. Shah. Due to this effort, he was hanged in *Sundhara* jail, Kathmandu. Conversely, his history is unknown to general Nepalese people. Because there is no statue of Durganaanda Jha in Kathmandu. I want to raise question why did not his statue build in Kathmandu? Such a many brave martyrs and intellectual Madheshi are disrespected by Pahadi ruler and state."

Such a various psychological factors are the catalysts of occurring *Madhesh* movement. The dominant mechanism of *Pahadi* community make *Madheshi* inferior to them. *Madheshi* in defeated defeat psychologically in comparison to the hill community.

CHAPTER SIX

CONSEQUENCES OF THE RECENT MADHESH MOVEMENT

"Society is impossible without conflict. But society is worse than impossible without control of conflict"
-Paul Bohannan

In fact, it is very difficult to explain or analyse the consequences of the recent *Madhesh* movement. Because, this movement became very vague and extant. It is not completed at a present time due to transitional period. Until finalization of new constitution it is really tough to describe the result of *Madhesh* movement. Though I have tried to present consequences of recent *Madhesh* movement or changes after the *Madhesh* movement in the *Madheshi/Terai* more subtle and clear manner as far as possible. For this, I present under some sub-headings: socio-cultural change, political change, administrative change, economical change and psychological change. Consequences which follow or come after as a result or inference, effect, importance; social standing; the relation of an effect to its cause (logic); consequentiality (Schwarz, 1994).

6.1 Socio-Cultural Change

Socio-cultural change from pull between innovating tendencies and tendencies that make for the continuation of existing culture forms. Continuity underlies stability. Because of social continuity group members come to expect definite types of behavior which do not normally change with an abruptness that makes adjustment to groups life difficult (Encyclopedia of Social Science, 1970) on the other hand, change goes on everywhere and at all times. It may be induced by factors and forces spontaneously arising within the community or it may take place through the contact of different culture. For, Malinowski (1945) "**Culture change is process by which the existing order of society its organization, beliefs and knowledge tools and consumers goods are more or less rapidly transformed.**"

Change implies several parts of social heritage. Thus heritage may be classified for the present purpose under material objects and non-material culture including organization, sciences, art, philosophy literature, religion, customs and the life, F. Barth (1981) points out that in order to understand social change. As it is clear from Barth's statement, continuity and change ought to be considered simultaneously. David Mandelbaum's (1961) argument is that traditional and modern cultural traits coexist in some societies. He says that there is the possibility of traditional societies modernizing without necessarily abandoning their traditional institutions, beliefs and values. Continuity of old things and continuity of new things go at the same time.

Rita Devi, an activist of Madhesh protest said, **"This movement brings a little change in society. Before this protest there was deep feeling of touchable-untouchable caste. But later, there is improving condition of so-called untouchable castes. People stay together and eat together in any program. Madhesh movement gave a common platform for Madheshi to do something until it is continuously in Madhesh."**

Conflict or movement transformation suggests that a fundamental way to promote constructive change on all these levels is dialogue. It is essential to justice and peace on both an interpersonal and a structural level. It is not the only mechanism, but it is an essential one. Movement impacts situations and changes things in many different ways. We can analyze these changes in four broad categories: the personal, the relational the structural and the cultural. "The socio-structural dimension highlights the underlying causes of conflict and the patterns and change it brings about in social political and economic structures. This aspect focuses attention on how social structures organizations and situations are built sustained and changed by conflict. It's about the ways people build and organize social, economical, political and institutional relationship to meet basic human needs, provide access to resources and make decisions that affect groups, communities and whole societies (Lederach, 2003)."

Prescriptively transformation seeks to help those in movement to understand the cultural patterns that contribute to conflicts in their setting and then to identify promote and build on the resources and mechanism within that cultural for constructively responding to ad handling movement. It is a key to transformation, proactive bias towards seeing conflict as a potential analyst for development. It focuses on the dynamic aspect of socio-cultural change.

"Understand and address root causes about socio-cultural condition that give arise to violent and other harmful expressions of conflict. Foster the development of socio-cultural structures to meet basic human needs (substantive justice) and to maximize participation of various societies people in decisions that effect their lives, procedures, justice etc. (Paul, 2003)"

This movement for identity and understand the socio-cultural pattern that contribute to the rise of violent expressions in the *Madhesh* movement. Resources and mechanisms within a socio-cultural are setting for constructively responding to and handling conflict among people. Basically, backwarded people of Nepal are very conscious to their socio-cultural development.

6.2.1 Social-cultural Relation: Mess in *Madhesh*

"The people become more ambitious and aggressive after this movement. Even, they have common agenda and they fought against hill oriented government. Now they are divided in many groups for personal benefit," said Kasim Pathan.

The only common factor among them is their non-hill origin. They indigenously belong to the *Madhesh* with great similarity in socio-cultural and language with the people of Indo-Genetic plains adjoining main adjoin the Nepalese border.

Ram Bahadur Sah, an officer of bank suggested, "All *Madheshi*, whether Adivasi, Janajati, Dalit, Muslim, Tharu or other castes should unite and find a common ground to solve their common problems rather than seek separate identities and be

inward looking just within their own narrow caste, community, group, religious and self boundary."

Therefore, this is proper time for all *Madheshi* to continue their unity of establishing the *Madhesh* is socio-cultural identity. They should form an umbrella organization got the welfare of all the *Madheshi* people. In this age there is strength in union. They have to fight or their fundamental rights not for personal will. Ram Prakash Yadav, a researcher said, "The *Madheshi* population also composed of more than sixty ethnic and caste groups with tremendous variation in language and culture.

The socio-cultural condition of the *Madheshi* in Nepal is deplorable along with the less of their national and cultural identities such as language and cultures due to unbearable domination of the hill people. The racial discrimination practiced in Nepal is based on the policy of ethnic cleansing. The racial discrimination practice in Nepal is based on the contain elements of genocide, which may also interpreted to mean extermination of the race to a nation (Yadav, 2005; Rakesh, 2007). One of the senior journalist Yadav expressed his fillings, see below in box.

Box:11: View of Senior Journalist, Yadav

Some people of the Terai, Madhesh and non-Madheshi want communal not in the *Madhesh* for their personal benefit and political benefit. At the time of Madhesh protester, unruly groups tries to disorder social harmony by threatening, tour cheering and abusing hill community. Therefore, some hill community displaced from the *Madhesh*. People became unruly (*Arazak*), they forget to respect their elders and any offices, stating that anti-*Madheshi* and anti-people elements were involved in the *Madhesh* movement to sabotage the achievement of the protest.

Some of the Hill communities who always in power, are frustrated and more aggressive from *Madhesh* movement. Because they lose their dominant power after *Madhesh* movement. The general people of *Madhesh* are more conscious

now a days. They raise their voice any-where, but in a small cases the political leaders misused them. In a present condition, their is increasing of *Madheshi-Pahadi* feeling among people."

In a nutshell, *Madhesh* need social movement. Even, this movement offered due to socio-cultural factors, it could not bring proper change in socio-cultural structure. Only people have become conscious about their socio-cultural issues. For political benefit, all the caste and group community have raised voice to be a leader and it's brought mess in *Madhesh*.

6.3 Political Change

Political change is including holistic change of state's mechanism and rule-regulation. The second people movement and *Madhesh* movement (complementary movement of second people movement) have brought drastic change in Nepalese politics. But, it could not bring change in political leaders of Nepal (Jha, 2066). There is debate of inclusion, reservation and representation of all community, group, caste, sex region and class in the current Nepalese politics. The following table shows in the change of representation in politics.

Table:23: Representation in Constitution Assembly

S.N.	Parties	Madhesh		Dalit		Janajati		OBC		Others		Total persons	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
01	CPN (Maosist)	15	15	7	6	20	18	2	2	14	16	50	50
02	Nepali Congress	11	10	4	5	14	13	1	1	12	12	37	36
03	CPN (UML)	11	10	5	4	12	12	1	1	10	11	35	35
04	APRF	10	11	0	3	2	2	0	0	1	0	11	11
05	TMDP	6	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	5
06	NDP	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	4	4
07	CPN(Male)	2	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	1	2	4	4
08	Janamorcha Nepal	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	2
09	CPN(United)	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	3	2
10	SP(R)	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	12
11	Others	4	0	2	0	7	6	2	0	6	2	18	10
	Total proportional	64	58	19	21	59	56	6	4	49	46	174	
	Total elected	64	58	19	21	59	56	6	4	49	46	174	161
	Total percent of CAM	34.09		8.17		33.39		3.83		34.09		100	

Source: Sopan (Monthly), Jeshta 2065, Nepali Khabar Patrika (Monthly), Asar 2065; Antarrastriya Manch 24:7

The total number of direct elected seat is 240, proportional elected seat 335 nominated seat 26, and grand total seat 601 for representation in constituent assembly. Among 601 constitution assembly members, 196 are *Madheshi* who represent in CAW. Above table is clear description of *Madheshi Dalit*, *Janajati*, OBC and Female representation by proportional system. The former elections had not such a inclusive. It is more clear in below table.

Table: 24: Direct elected CAM of Different Parties

S.N.	Parties Name	Elected CAM		Nominated		Proportional
		Madheshi	Pahadi	Madheshi	Pahadi	
01	CPN (maoist)	16	107	-	10	105
02	N.congress	07	29	-	05	73
03	CPN (UML)	06	28	-	05	70
04	MPRF	28	01	02	-	22
05	TMDP	09	00	01	-	11
06	CPN(male)	00	-	-	01	05
07	NDP	00	-	-	-	08
08	SP (R)	04	00	-	-	05
09	CPN (United)	00	-	-	-	-
10	Janmorcha N.	00	02	-	-	-
11	Others (44 parties)	02	02	1	01	33
	Total	73	167	04	22	335
	Grand total	240		26		601

Source: Madheshi Vani, Nepali Khabar Patrika, 2065. Sopan, Jestha-2065.

There is high level of representation of *Madheshi* people in Constituent Assembly. The level of political participant of *Madheshi* increase the general *Madheshi* confidence. They are hoping their bights feature optimistically. The

Madhesh movement established regional parties in Nepal. And this movement makes people aware too.

CASE STUDY TWO

I Can Call Dozens of Women

A Dalit lady, Chemeli Das, 30 years old of Dhanush district, Lakshmipur Bageba-5. She had two children: son and daughter and her husband is wage labour. Now, she has just started a dairy in Pidari Chowk, Janakpur. Sh is local activist from Dalit community she has no land except home and homeland. Once I reached DDC Dhanush to observe relation between people and offices. At that time, I have seen her boldness informs of LDO by complaining her community problem. She said KDO. "If you neglect my proposal, I will call dozens of Dalit women to round your chamber." I was amazed to see the courage of Dalit illiterate lady in *Madhesh*.

She further said, "I know how to deal our problems in related office. During the *Madhesh* movement I learnt to speak boldly. Latter I have participated in various social and political activities. So, I know our rights now, very well. Now, I am the leader of Dalit community. They believe on me and they support me any time when I need I have dropped a proposal for financial support of common *Dalan* (public house) for Dalit community. But LDO always pretends me by saying this and that from two weeks. I know there is budget for Dalit development program, but with the combination of political representative LDO divide many kinds of budget among them. Therefore, I have given him ultimatum for tomorrow.

Assertion of ethnic and regional identity is rising. Nepal has witnessed a rise in ethnic and regional consciousness particularly, after *Jana-Andolan* (2006). In the past *Jana-Andolan* II, the issue of ethnicity became more prominent after the *Madhesh* movement (2007/08) in the Nepal. The rise of ethnicity and regionalism however, won't contribute to the disfiguration of the country. There is competition to include and rise up *Madheshi*, *Dalit*, *Janajati*, Muslim, woman and back

warded people in the different political parties after this movement people are in favor of affirmative action for the excluded groups and have a sense of who the excluded and included groups are. Both the elite and the public sympathize with the excluded groups. Generally, the hill high castes and Newar are considered as included and others like *Madheshi*, *Dalit*, *Janajati*, Muslim woman and back grounded groups community are considered as excluded in Nepal.

Jhala Nath Khanal, a president of the CPN (UML) said, **"The second people movement and Madhesh movement has opened up now possibilities. Its first and foremost mandate is to abolish the monarchy and unitary state, which means we need to establish a democratic republic or federal state in Nepal. Another mandate of this protest is to abolish feudalism which means that we have to pursue a scientific agricultural revolution. The restructuring of the Nepali state is another goal set by these mass movements. That goal should be clearly reflected in the new construction to be made after one. The nature of the democracy that we are advancing now should inevitably be inclusive. We should also radically change the culture and the social structure of the country. The practice of exploiting woman, *Dalit*, *Janajati*, *Madheshi*, *Muslim* should be abolished, and the practice of unsociability must end. In the spirit of *Madhesh* Protester. What we need to do hence forth is to bring an end to all types of discrimination rooted in and based on language culture, regional class religions, caste and communal."**

The opening of the political environment after the abolish of monarchy and *Madhesh* protest resultant freedom of speech that the citizens enjoyed in Nepal. As shown by the result of the survey, a large majority of the Nepali people are paying greater attention to the political activities and developments in Nepal. Although, all the people who are aware of political developments are not involved in associational life, their political awareness could help them get involved in various political or social activities if they wanted to do so. Besides with *Madhesh* movement reinvigorating movements *Dalit*, *Madheshi*, *Janajati*, woman Civil

Society members Human Rights activist and professional the save for political participation has ground in the *Madhesh*.

Upendra Jha, a leader of MPRF said, "**The political parties who came into power after the restoration of democracy in 1990 did not pay attention to the demands of the excluded groups Madheshi, Dalit, woman Janajati and other back grounded people so the ethnic and background group's activist had organized themselves take to the streets and launched their own movement**".

Ninety percent of the citizens of the *Madhesh* had participated in *Madhesh* had participated in *Madhesh* movement directly or indirectly. Majority people of the *Madheshi* had participated in the *Madhesh* movement directly, and some were supported morally. In the last four years there has been a marked increase in the number of people participating in protest and political movements as evidenced by collecting information during the field visit. There were, however, deviation from this general picture, while more woman reported that they had participated in activities carried out by formal organizations which is surprising at all. This quite natural taking into account the rise of *Madhesh* movement as they have stake in such movements. But what is surprising here is that the number of participants belong suffered group or out stream of development. The disadvantage and the down trodden people raise their voice effectively after the *Madhesh* protest. The *Madheshi* issues in neap is still inchoate. The present transition period is therefore very critical in framing the republic federal structure that Nepal will have in the future and for managing the intricacies of *Madhesh* conflict transformation. The political change of Nepal brings many abuses in *Madhesh* too.

6.3.1 Political Weakness

A short times achievement of '*Madheshi* People Rights Forum' (MRPF) have influenced and encouraged the certain caste; group and community to be a leader of own community. And established political parties are feared to see increasing condition of regional parties. The leader of national parties has been blaming

Madhesh movement. In Kathmandu, Maoist Spokes person K.B. Mohara could be involve in the violence with the aim of derailing the constituent assembly elections (Kathmandu post, 2007, December 27). Stating that anti-democracy elements movement to sabotage the achievement of the mass movement. Sher Bahadur Deuba, NC said, some unruly elements are trying to destroy the atmosphere for holding the Constituent Assembly elections. Similarly, leader of CPN (UML) Amrit Kr. Bohara said retrogressive forces under the protection. The palace are stil active to sabotage the achievement of the second people movement. Likewise, Arjun N. KC, said anti-democratic elements are involved in the *Madhesh* protest. He stressed to promote the communal harmony. One more Maoist leader, Dev Gurung stressed, the nature of the movement shows that retrogressive forces under the protection of the palace are trying to create an uproar and destroy mutual harmony.

Conversely the weakens and narrowness of the political parties ad leaders of to the *Madheshi* people to revolt against government and interim constitution which was promulgated in Nepal. A students activist said, "So called national parties and leaders are themselves communal to provide leadership of all Nepal. The *Madhesh* people always believer on them and elected them for their (*Madheshi*) representation. Though, they deceived cheated the *Madheshi* and *Madhesh*. They are selfish and guilty of *Madhesh* for great destruction. Now, they are blaming *Madheshi* by saying: unruly, royalist retrogressive, disloyal, Indian and so on, because they are feared to shape the power of state. Their autocratic thinking blamed innocent *Madhesh*. To say innocently, they are disloyal son of Nepal because the sold Nepal's resources land and river to India for their own political and personal benefit. So, first of all they should improve themselves."

In fact such political weakness motivated *Madhesh* movement and their non-responsible character emerged many armed group in *Terai*. There are 109 armed group formed in *Terai* against government (See appendix). If government could

not responsible for a '8 points agreement of Madhesh movement these may be the armed group get support from *Madheshi*. A 8 point understanding helped to make success constituent assembly election. And it strengthen the national integration to re-institute republic federal state because the people now had leaders who were all on the same page. Besides, the transition period after *Madhesh* movement has been an eventful. Time, and thus the people are paying greater attention to what is going on in the country.

The *Madheshi* people are not satisfied from the regional parties' activities. They claimed all of them except few leaders are selfish. They only raise the voice of backward people to get power and after getting power they forget the mandate or demand they forget the mandate of *Madheshi* is federalism with substantial powers (autonomy). They want better distribution of revenue not a great difference such as government incomes 80 to 88% but government invest 12 to 15% income in a significant part of *Madhesh/Terai*. However, they have made it clear that they are committed to the sovereignty and integrity of Nepal. And the leader of *Madhesh* only raise, "One province of *Madhesh (Ek Madhesh Ek Pradesh)*" and Hindi language for second language in Nepal. But they never debate on the sensitive demand among all *Madheshi* people. People are unknown to those demands so, they are misused by any person in *Madhesh*. It's better to solve the problem of Madhesh than suppressed the people voice. In the support of the view that government's suppression to the *Madheshi* voice the following case study make clarify.

CASE STUDY THREE

He Was Died by Brutally Beaten, said Tapeshwor Thakur

"He is my elder son new he is not with us. He always participates in *Madhesh* movement with his friend. But, I was unknown to his activities. I never participate physically in *Madhesh* movement. I supported morally this protest. Once, there was very taught clash between protestors and police force. The police force charged protests very cruelly and agitators run-away here and there. After that time my son fell down the ground by throwing *Danda* (stick) of police. Meanwhile the group of police rounded him and beaten brutally on his hand with boot and rifles hood (Banduk Kokuna). He was fainted there then polices left him on his own condition. Latter some protestors took him from the road at that item he was a little conscious. Then, he came back home and slept on the bed by watching TV. After 15 minutes he went toilet but he stooned on the way. His mother screamed and run to him. He was fainted he did not know anything. We were amazed why it happened. Latter, I knew, his brain's vein was treated due to hurt of police charge from post mortem. I was much socked to think about him and wildness ok police force. That's why he was died.

The peoples apathy towards political parties, which resulted from parties failure to maintain combination of '*Madheshi Morcha*' (front) and good dealing of peoples demand or mandate and delivery of services to people. That apathy, however, increased of people to see their activities for power shading. The people saw a worsening of the security situation in the country, especially in *Madhesh* by different armed groups and crime groups. Only the alliance of *Madhesh* parties and government forged between the mainstream political parties and the armed groups if *Terai* generated a hope among the people that democracy and peace would be restored.

The ruling elites are murdering the merit and potential power of the *Madheshi* community. But it is also an irony that most of the *Madheshi* are themselves

communal. They have made of their mind to appoint their own relatives siblings and kith and kin to the lucrative posts. Others are vain or bell for them. A Brahmin candidate, Yadav recommends a Yadav candidate, Tharu recommended a *Tharu* candidate etc. for the post of different sectors. This is extreamist thinking of some leaders. It is not a good for *Madhesh* unity. In this way, the republic system never comes in Nepal. That's why people want meritocracy where in all Nepali citizens of every hue and history feel represented equally.

6.4 Administrative Change

This sub chapter deals the *Madheshi* people representation in administration an present relation of *Madheshi* people to officials in Nepal. Behalf of *Madheshi* representation in administration or bureaucracy the process is going on so. There was no proper representation in administration still. The public service commission has reserved 22 percent seat for *Madheshi* in public service seat for *Madheshi* in public service. It takes time to maintain *Madheshi* representation in higher post of bureaucracy or administration. The interim constitution 2007 has already provided that all government sector and non-government sector must show that they have a provision for the inclusion of oppressed from neglected and oppressed groups or community (including Madehi, Dalit, women, Janajati) in their officer or board at all level. Besides making of executive committed and selection of candidates for any election the political parties must ensues the ethnic group's Dalits woman, Madehsi following table make it clear.

Table:25: Integrated National Index of Governance

S.N.	Bodies/officers	Madheshi (%)	Pahadi(%)
01	Court	7.6	92.4
02	Constitutional bodies	12.0	88.0
03	Cabinet	10.0	60.0
04	Parliament	34.9	65.1
05	Public administration	3.7	96.3
06	Party leadership	15.8	86.2
07	Commerce and industry	35.7	64.3
08	Education arena	7.2	92.8
09	Cultural arena	0.0	100
10	Science/technology	9.7	90.3
11	Civil Society	7.4	92.6
12	National policy commission	16.67	83.33
13	Ambassador	21.73	78.27
14	Secretary	2.7	97.3
15	Army	0.87	99.13
16	LDO	2.78	97.22
17	Officer of commission monitor	00	100
18	Acting Adhikrit	1.70	98.30
19	Officer of H.M.	4.10	95.40
20	CDO of Nepal	8.00	92.00
21	Regional officer	00	100

Source: Home Ministry, 2009; Local Development Ministry, 2009; International IDE 2008; and Different Papers, Magazines (2007-2009).

Inclusive policy of government is proceeding in every sector of state after *Madhesh* Movement Agreement. After this movement *Madheshi* people became more aware and officers of government also became loyal to the people. On officers of district, administration office Mahottra said, **"We always serve the people as equal honestly. Though people were a little feared and hesitate to face or share their problems in the past. But now days, they face boldly and without any hesitation to us. And some of the people became unruly; they completed to do something disrespectfully. So, I think this protest has brought positive change as well as negative too."**

Similarly, most of the officer of different districts' offices responded as him. My direct observation also proved there was a little change in relation among people and administrative offices. The officers' loyalty and people's boldness help both of them side. But there is great problem of language to communicate each others. One Muslim lady of Sarlahi said, "***Hamar Paisa Ek Adami Buraile Ba, Uhe Khatir Ham Ailhain Lekin Hamre Bat Hakim Samajhbe Na Karihen.Hskim Ka Kahahai Hamhuna Bujhihen.***"

She had come for money related problem but due to communication problem she had not express her problem and officer also could not make her understand as well. Likewise, some youth people were debating with LDO in district development committee. Office on development issue an officer of Sarlahi said, "**Now, we are feared to face public because they may be member of any armed groups or any political, parties. They threaten us in a small case,** if that is not favour to them." In this way, some of the officers shared their problem in *Madhesh*.

6.5 Economical change

There is bad impact of *Madhesh* movement on the economic condition in the present situation. Because, long period of *Madhesh* movement in two phases, and later this protest, there are many armed group and other groups vandalized the *Madhesh* frequently. Such an activities have affected *Madheshs* economic system directly. And incensement of armed group in *Madhesh* displayed the hill community and businessman from the *Madhesh*. There is no peace and security from any people. So high profile people are also migrated from there. That's why there is no good condition of business and tourism.

A rickshaw puller of Janakpur and an owner of gold shop said that because of migration of *Pahadi* people and high profile person from the *Madhesh* so their income was decreasing condition. And another cause for decreasing income due to frequently *vandalize* of *Madhesh*.

6.7 Psychological Change in National Integration

Madheshi like other marginalized groups are underrepresented in all the state institutions particularly the armed force; administration; and higher post of government mechanism. They demanded proportional representation in the legislature the executive, the judiciary the media and in the public services at the national level. They also want most senior posts in administration in the *Madhesh* to be localized' that is given to *Madheshi*. Before, the *Madhesh* movement there was non-*Madheshi* identity in Nepal and out of country. For physical psychological and historical reasons the government had failed to enforce an equal distribution of goods and services. For a long time the vision of the government at Kathmandu did not extend beyond the confines of the developed budget has for long time been spent entirely on the Kathmandu valley and its environs. Indeed the Kathmandu and hilly was treated as Nepal for all practical purposes. *Madhesh* and *Madheshi* had not been recognized as Nepal and Nepali. The exploitive nature of state made weak the *Madheshi* people psychologically. That is proved from the Mahantha Thakur's case study in below (for detail see appendix).

CASE STUDY FOUR

Sharing the Power and Resources: Integrate the Country

"I served NC as my family and I was elected three times from Sarlahi as NC leader. But I could not do any thing for Madhesh as I could. I raised many issues of Madheshi in NC meeting and cabinet. Our colleagues assured me but they never implemented. When I raised any issue strictly then they sued *Madheshi* colleagues against of me. It is itself irony. Sometimes some non-*Madheshi* leaders supported me where a ssome Madheshi leaders opposed for personal benefit to get position in aprty and government. There was less debate on Madhesh issue in NC. Jhapa congress (*Mahadhibeshan*) is the best example for me where I had raise the *Madheshi* issues e.g. representation of *Madheshi* in army and police force. The open political environment of Nepal after end of king regime the *Madheshi* raised their voice very powerfully. It bent all the political parties and government. To make easy for new generation I left NC forever because, the *Madheshi* youths may be misleaded by so called national parties. I wanted to be an activist of *Madhesh* but some *Madheshi* leaders requested me to lead the new *Madheshi* party and guided the *Madhesh* properly. In the effort of *Madheshi* well wisher, we established TMDP in B.S. 2064 Paush 13. Ideological and psychological freedom is the elements of boldness. But these two basic elements are controlled by large party not by *Madheshi* or any oppressed groups.

"Madheshiyon Ko Sarkar Nahi Adhikar Chahiye, Satta Nahi Prabhusatta Chahiye Aur Kota Nahi Samanupatik Hissa Chahiye." - **Mahantha Thakur (TMDP)**

But now, *Madheshi* people have gotten identity, internationally as well as nationally. The changed circumstance of *Madhesh* and *Madheshi* made them bold psychologically. The major demand of *Madheshi* is federalism with autonomy and

local language in the province. These demands made by *Madheshi* and marginalized groups for the recognition of cultural, lingual and regional identity. They imply major restructuring of the state and the re-allocation of political power and economic resources, with a greater recognition of group rights. Mahendra Lawoti, has shown that there demands were also made to the commission that drafted the 1990 constitution, only to rejected. He further claims through federalism, electoral systems, democratization of political parties, economic and social rights, the executive system, gender rights empowerment of communities through civil and political rights and fairer citizenship rules.

Madheshi need rights not government they need sovereignty not a power and they need proportional representation not a quota or reservation. They want get rid from internal colonization of Nepal. They are supposed as conquered citizen. The extreme exploitation, domination, suppression and racial discrimination burst as *Jwalamukhi* through *Madhesh* movement. All *Madheshi* are suffered either *Muslim*, *Tharu*, *Dalit* and so on in Nepal in the comparison of hill people. Politically and legally could not achieve any things only their issue established as a prominent issue of Nepal in al over the world. The political leader and government realized very well that without *Madhesh* and *Madehi* could not precede any thing in Nepal. Mother tongue, culture and representation of every community are very essential for all provinces in future. "I want to establish *Madhesh* issue in Nepal, politically and legally our history gives company to us" Thakur added.

Being a *Madheshi* Thakur also faced psychological pressure in NC party in the past. He was respected in NC party. But his *Madhesh* favored voice was suppressed very trick fully by his colleagues. *Madheshi* is discriminated and humiliated. Fortunately, *Madheshi* people have awakened and proved capability to avail their rights. Now, *Madheshi* could not accept any discrimination, suppression, domination and exclusion. They want to integrate *Madhesh* and

Madheshi to Nepal and non-*Madheshi* as well. Certainly, people will go for the best option living peacefully in true or heartily unified Nepal. *Madheshi* people never want to separate from the Nepal. They desire the recognition of *Madhesh* and *Madheshi* in integrated Nepal. If not, it will be compulsion for *Madheshi* to go for complete freedom, A sovereign state that is neither desirable nor the best, but will be a compulsive option. And the state rulers will be wholly responsible for this. It is an essential issue for state to pay attention towards the *Madhesh* issue in time.

"In a number of countries the problem of national integration has been circumvented by the elimination of minority groups that are difficult to integrate. The bloody histories of such actions are well known. Theoretically, he could be eliminated by forcing all plains people to migrate to India. Despite evidence that Nepal's land reform program could have been used to transfer larger portions of agricultural land from plains people to hill people effectively dispossessing the plains people this, has not been done to any significant extent, and there is no indication that the Nepalese government plans to attempt mass dislocation and resettlement of its people. Aside from the administrative difficulties inherent in such an undertaking several other factors would prevent its implementation. The economic power of the plains people is a second factor. In most developing nations political and economic power are controlled by the same elite groups. Although the existence of separate politically and economically powerful groups is not peculiar to Nepal, it complicates the process of national integration."

- Gaige. 1975: 194/195

The hill majority controls politicians both the hill and the plains though the bureaucracy, the army and the administrative service. Of course the governing elite among the hill people also control many economic resources but the plains people are marginalized from the resources. Integration of the *Madhesh* into the national framework by force is not a viable option for the Nepalese government. A

more realistic alternative would be to draw the plains people into the national structure through participation in the nation's political life through cultural values. Hill people regard the *Madheshi* people of the *Terai* as Indian citizens in disguise more loyal to India than to Nepal, and they are coward. This suspicion has been reinforced the *Madheshi* disintegrate to the hill people and ill oriented to the hill people and hill oriented country as well. Therefore the problems of hill psychology generated contradictory, situation to integrate and establish national identity of *Madheshi* to *Pahadi* or state. The plains people of the *Terai* (*Tharu*, *Muslim*, *Dalit* etc.) have their own identity problems, similar to those of people problems who have emerged from colonial experiences. Neither Nepal's history nor Nepal's hill culture satisfy their identity needs because they have been associated with either. National symbols with which the *Madheshi* people could easily identify the *Madheshi* people could easily identify are missing. "Even, there is seen fraction between *Madheshi* and non-*Madheshi* from *Madheshi* movement later; it will bring integration and social harmony to them."

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

"A struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are not only to gain desired values but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals."

-L.A. Coser

"Conflict need not disrupt a social system that indeed it may contribute towards the maintenance of society"

-Gluckman (1956)

7.1 Summary of Main Findings

Conflict is life and life is conflict. It is complex relationship between two or more parties who have or think they have incompatible goals. Conflicts arise in social and political relations when human interaction takes place as groups, communities, classes, nations, states, etc. Conflict itself as a dynamic energy of change is not intrinsically bad. This thesis deals to the causes and consequences of the recent *Madhesh* movement from the central *Terai*. This study is based on the basis of functional conflict theory. Conflict has always been a part of human life. It appears due to difference of opinion, lack or scarcity of essential resources, ambition, identity, culture and meaningful representation. Nepal has faced numerous challenges in governance or peace matters at a crucial time in its history. Political instability, weak governance and dual policy of state have bred and given continuity to economic and social inequity and marginalization of minority in politics, thereby making it a huge challenge for the political sector. Conflict is an active stage of disagreement between people with opposing opinions, principles and practices manifested in different forms like grievance conflict and dispute. Thus condition potentially erupts into conflict when this stage turns into conflict/antagonism is called by class of cultural, political social natural

and economic interest between individuals and groups. At final stage of conflict, people gain victory.

The anthropologist studies conflict as a multidimensional social process that operates in many different contexts and results in a variety of consequences. Anthropologist insists that conflict is in great part of cultural product, they are also cognizant of the biological and social aspects of conflict among non-human primates. There are 'Classical' and 'Protest movement' but this term may also be used to designate mass movements which seek to redress grievances of certain groups as well as movement opposing socio-cultural change.

Different sources of literature have attempted to explain causes and consequences of *Madhesh* movement. Though, it needed further clarification which was only possible through research by applying anthropological tools and techniques. Thus the present study was aimed to ascertain and analyze under some specific objectives. These are: To ascertain and analyze the causes/factors of recent Madhesh movement, to find out and analyze the consequences/changes in the socio cultural, polity and administrative relation among the people after this movement, and to ascertain and analyze the people's perception on the benefits of this movement and the process of integration/disintegration in the country.

This study is related to political anthropology which provides guide line to the new researchers for further study and policy makers to understand the perception of ethnic movement or *Madhesh* movement. For this study, I had selected 5 districts from the central Terai. These districts are Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha, Mahottari and Sarlahi.

The methodology of this study has followed exploratory research design. I have carefully tried to note all the observed events from the study area and described them carefully. My effort has been to explore the hidden causes and consequences of *Madhesh Movement* from grassroots people through anthropological approach. This study included both primary and secondary sources data. The nature of data is

predominantly qualitative. Purposive sampling procedure had been applied to select informants. A total of 113 people were interviewed formally and nearly 100 people were visited informally during the study period for information collection..

I applied unobtrusive observation, interview, key informant interview, focus group discussion, group interview, case studies, and informal interview collecting for primary data. And qualitative data were analysed on the basis of thematic classification.

Madhesh movement was occurred to establish a cultural and political identity of *Madheshi* people. It was a spontaneous movement, even though this movement was organized by MPRF. This movement was result of many historical events and activities. The seed of discrimination had been sown at the time of the unification of Nepal by Prithivi Narayan Shah. *Madhesh* and *Madheshi* were victims of internal colonialism of Hill elites and rulers of Nepal. Causes or factors of *Madhesh* movement vary as reported people belonging to different occupations, statuses, classes, sexes, groups, communities, places etc. Whether people's statement or saying style were different, they said the same things that *Madheshi* people are discriminated, dominated, oppressed, suppressed, exploited and hated by the state and Hill elites. *Madheshi* people are treated as a second class citizen in Nepal. They are conquered and coward people, so they have no rights as hill people.

In addition, *Madhesh* and *Madheshi* are main contributors to Nepal and Nepalese economy. But they were neglected by state as a non-citizen in their own country. The prominent factors of *Madhesh* movement were lingual, cultural and racial discrimination. *Madhesh* could not find out their identity in the nationality of Nepal. For the several years there was a communal (Khas) hegemony as a national identity. It is also called *Nepalization* or *Pahadization*. Unilinear language policy is a great hinderance in education system of Nepal for non-hill origin or *Madheshi* people. Rural and illiterate *Madheshi* people hesitate to visit office or organization

due to language problem. The maximum people of the rural area are unable to express their own feelings. They have own language but there is not such system to speak local language at offices. So, language is a big obstacle for *Madhesi* to have access to state mechanism.

Likewise, one communal (Khas) cultural practice in Nepal imposed by state was decreasing the others' culture of Nepal. So, *Madhesi* community felt isolation and humiliation themselves in own country. That's why; they revolted against the cultural hegemony. They wanted to establish their own cultural identity in Nepal. Therefore, some intellectuals said it was movement of self dignity and identity of *Madhesi* community.

Similarly, the less representation of *Madhesi* people in state mechanisms disintegrated the *Madhesi* community in the country. They were excluded socially, culturally, economically, psychologically and politically from the Nepalese society. *Madhesh* and *Madhesi* contributed a lot in every progressive movement of Nepal though; they were not respected by rulers and political parties in the past. Conversely, they were blamed as an Indian or India oriented community by media and some political leaders time to time. Even, the pure and spontaneous recent *Madhesh* movement was blamed and abused by different political parties, intellectuals and media and so on. It became one of the prominent factors for irritating *Madhesi* protestors in the recent *Madhesh* movement. It was just like fuel to fire. They want autonomous federal republic state.

Further, the educated *Madhesi* people understood the racial discrimination from different available data and literatures where as rural and illiterate people knew from dominant behaviour and representation of Hill people in all over the country. The *Madhesi* people were psychologically tortured by some *Pahadi* people. In the past, the king was also symbol of *Khas* (*Pahadi*) community, so they were strong in power. Extreme suppression of *Madhesh* movement by police force, and misinterpretation of this movement by national media, intellectuals and political

leaders united the *Madhesi* community at one stage or place. And local media got chance to lead *Madhesh* movement. Unfortunately, this movement took 54 protestors life.

As a result, *Madhesh* movements have brought some changes in socio-cultural structure, polity and administration which are both positive and negative changes in these structures. Society is becoming more open and advanced. The traditional socio-cultural structure is going to be restructured. The so called elite castes of *Madhesh* are being liberal to so called low castes (untouchable castes) and female too. The non-*Madhesi* people of *Madhesh* are also being so liberal to *Madhesi* people. Females are also encouraged every where in *Madhesh* due to large number of reservation and political awareness. It established the regional party and increased the number of CAM in recent election. Every political party of Nepal has included good number of *Madhesi* leaders. And some of the government officers have given priority for high posts to maintain the balance of officials. New candidates for civil service are also provided some reservation quota as an inclusive policy of government. Such an inclusive system brings national integration in future whereas clash between dominated and dominant community or group at the present time. Political leaders are most benefited from this movement in the present but later, all disadvantaged groups will be benefited from new constitution. One of the great results of *Madhesh* movement is the inclusion of federal system and proportional representation in CA election in interim constitution, (2007) of Nepal. This movement has recognized the *Madhesh* and *Madhesi's* identity in all over the world. Hundred percent of the respondents have positive attitude on the *Madhesh* movement but some disagree to the process of this movement.

Conversely, after this movement, there is anarchy in *Madhesh* because unruly groups have been disturbed the social harmony for personal benefit. In the name of *Madhesh* welfare, many armed groups have emerged as a mushroom in *Terai*.

Large number of the *Madheshi* youths has been involved in armed group as well political parties, due to unemployment. And criminal activities (murder, kidnapping, robbery, extortion, etc.) have been happening under the cooperation of police force, administration and political leaders in *Madhesh*. People became disloyal to the society and their elders. Due to threatening of some armed groups, a large number of the *Pahadi* (high profile) people are displaced (migrated) from *Madhesh* to hill city area. Psychologically, race discrimination (*Pahadi* vs *Madheshi*) has increased among people at a present time because some elites and ruler class of *Pahadi* people felt they have lost from this movement.

In addition, unhealthy political competition in Nepal has brought many abuses in *Madhesh*. It increased caste politics, communal politics, and criminal activities. Regional parties are guiltier for castism in *Madhesh*. It will become great problem of *Madhesh* in future if it is not improved. This movement established *Madheshi* elites and cast groups in politics. They are the same faces except a few new faces in politics. *Madheshi* people are not satisfied from the activities of the *Madheshi* leaders. Some of the former leaders deceived the *Madheshi* in the name of *Madhesh* agenda but they got involved only in power sharing game for their personal benefits. Due to short time, success of MPRF and TMDP, they inspired many more caste and community to be a leader on their own caste and community agenda in Nepal. It increased internal clash among them.

In a nutshell, the previous people movements before 2006 were launched for political change or establishment of democracy in Nepal. But latter, second people movement was launched for restructuring the state. But it was unable to include all Nepalese feelings at the time of declaration of interim constitution (2007). Only after that, the *Madheshi* people upraised their agitation for their rights. Before this movement they were used by political leaders in the name of different people's movement. According to functional theory this conflict or movement is for restructuring of the society and state. It's not for destruction and disintegration.

Because, equal power and resource sharing system brings progress and integration in the society and country.

7.2 Conclusions

-) *Madheshi* are victim of internal colonization and racial discrimination for a long time in Nepal.
-) Common problems triggered by as long socio-economic and cultural discrimination to the different people in a platform for recognition of their identity.
-) Fighting or working together for a common purpose promotes social solidarity among people in a region. In other words, movement for socio-cultural identity has the potential of bringing more integration and among people of a particular region even though there is diversity within it.
-) Socio-political movement generates awareness by the social identity and sense of ownership of issues raised by the people.
-) The success of the socio-political movement depends on the large scale participation of grassroots people but the fruits are exclusively enjoyed by elites.
-) Suppression of the political movement can further intensify its nature to bring major change in the society.
-) Conflict can only be resolved in any region only if the state apparatus works for the promotion of social equity and cultural equality.

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Figure:3: Indo-European Languages

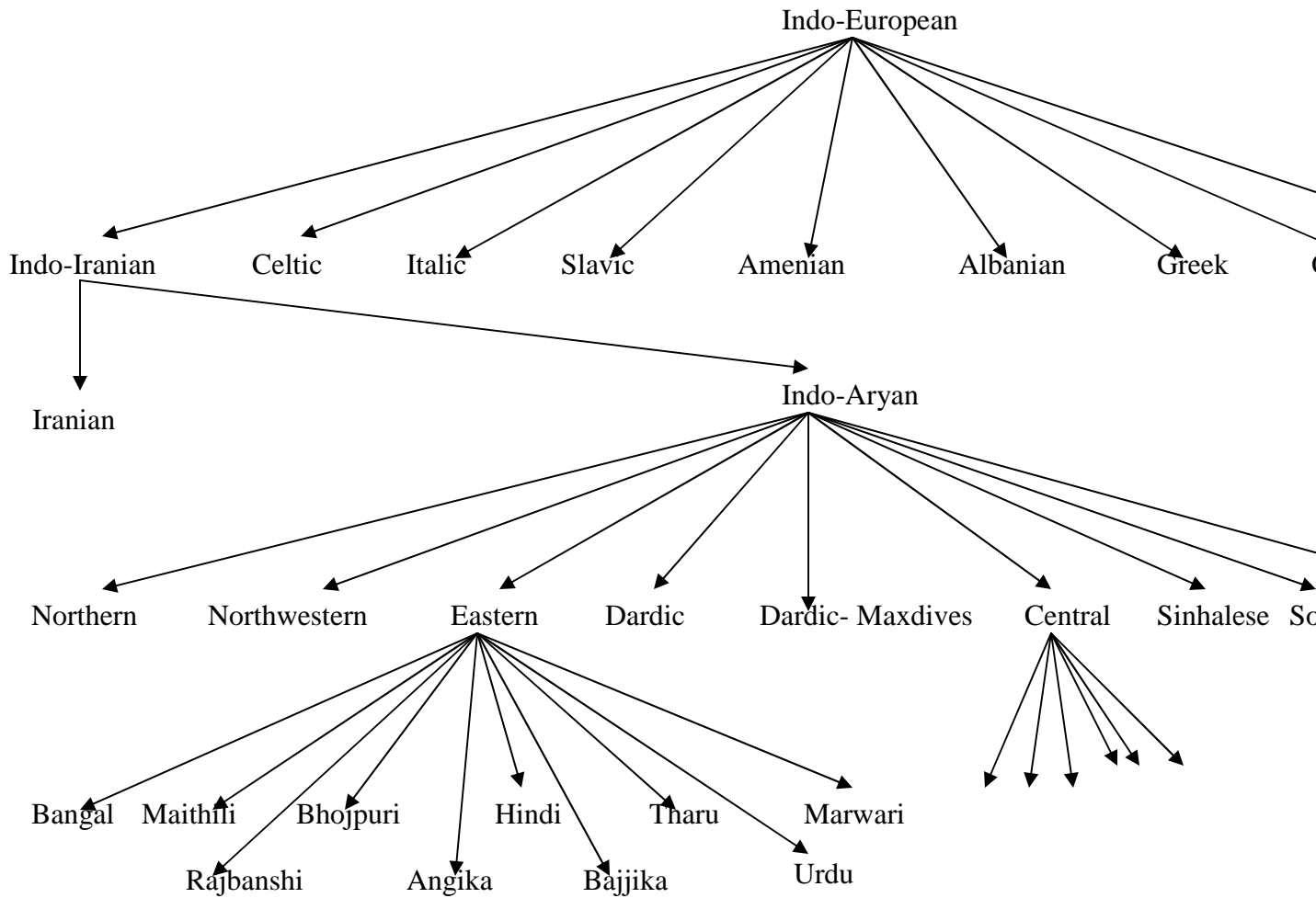
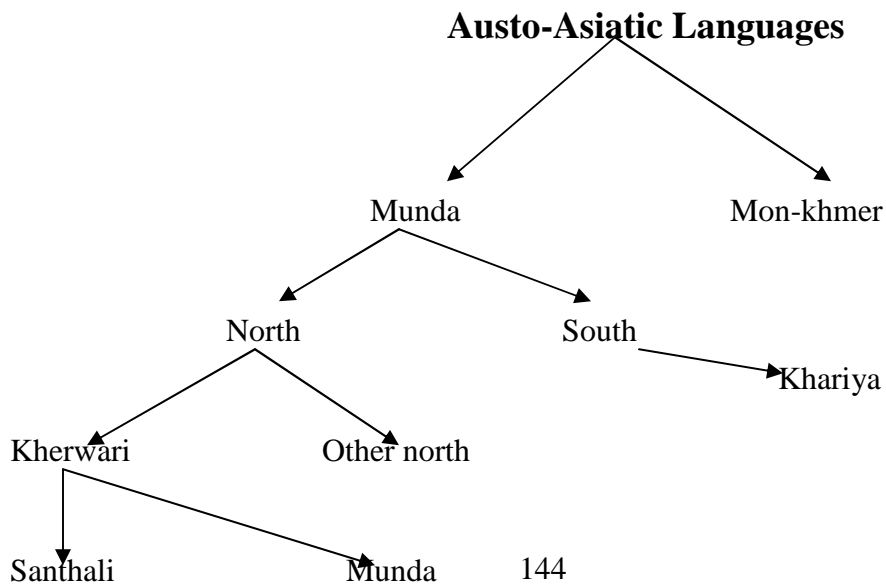


Figure:4: Austo-Asiatic Languages

Source: Gordon



Language

Figure:5: Dravidian

Dravidian Language

APPENDICES

Appendix:1: List of *Shaheed* (Martyr) of *Madhesh Movement* (2007/08)

S.N.	Name	Address	Date
1	Ramesh Kumar Mahato	Majhaura-5, Siraha	2063-10-05
2	Becahn Yadav	Dhodhana-5, Siraha	2063-Magh, 06
3	Mohamod Anish	Chharrapati, Siraha	" Magh - 8
4	Pramod Saday	Mahadeba-3, Siraha	" Magh - 8
5	Bijay Kumar Sahani	Mahadeba-3, Siraha	" Magh - 8
6	Shekh Abdul Ansari	Bara	-
7	Ajir Miyan	Kalaiya, Bara	2063, Magh -13
8	Raj Kumar Kamat	Biratnagar, Morang	2063, Magh-17
9	Taluhasda	Hatkhola, Morang	2063, Magh-24
10	Nirmal Rajbanshi	Hatkhola, Morang	2063, Magh-13
11	Sadananda Yadav	Biratnagar Morang	2063, Magh-17
12	Dindayal Mandal	Hatkhola Morang	Falgun, -9
13	Hari Mehata	Innanuwa sunsari	Magh -7
14	Shyam Sundar Mehata	Innanuwa sunsari	Magh -7
15	Ramekbal Rai	Sirpura, Sarlahi	2063, Magh-21
16	Ashish Ali Mikarani	Malanguwa, Sarlahi	2063, Magh-21
17	Ram Naryan Sah	Salempur-3, Sarlahi	2063, Magh-21
18	Sanjay Kr. Ray Yadav	Jamuniya, Sarlahi	2063, Magh-22
19	Dinesh Ray Yadav	Gamhariya-6 Sarlahi	2063, Magh-21
20	Mahabir Sah	Birgunj, Parsa	2063, Magh-18
21	Dipendra Sah	Birgunj, Parsa	Magh-19
22	Birbal Mukhiya	Bardiya	Falgun 14
23	Rajesh Kr. Thakur	Parkauli,5, Mahottary	Magh 20
24	Shiv Shankar Yadav	Dhanusha	Magh 21
25	Bisjut Miyan	Duhabi, Sunsari	2064 Fagun 15
26	Samjhana Rai	Bhojpur	2064, Fagun 15
27	Rajesh Thakur	Bisnhanpur, Siraha	2064, Fagun 05
28	Jagadish Paswan	Nawalparasi	2064, Fagun 14
29	Gulten Das	Bijhawa, Saptari	2064, Fagun 13
30	Guljar Khan	Nepalgunj, Banke	2064, Fagun 05
31	Nareshjung Karki	Morang	2063, Magh 17
32	Sukhalal Majhi	Sunsari	2064, Fagun 13
33	Sunita Mahato	Gobindapur-8, Siraha	2064, Magh 10
34	Mohamod Mudasin	Siraha	2064, Magh 8
35	Jitendra Marbaita	Spatari	2064, Magh, 22
36	Rajesh Yadav	Spatari	2064, Magh 22
37	Bhagabati Mandal	Inaruwa, Sunsari	2064, Magh 8

38	Ramshwarup Mehata	Inaruwa, Sunsari	2064, Magh 7
39	Ramananda Mehata	Inaruwa, Sunsari	2064, Magh 18
40	Kari Thakur	Janakpur ,14, Dhanush	2064, Magh 21
41	Manish Jha	Saptari	2064, Magh 23
42	Pavan Kr. Sah	Janakpur, Dhanusha	2064, Magh 21
43	Binod Ray	Madanpur, Sarlahi	2064, Magh 21
44	Jamir Alam	Kalaiya, Bara	2064, Magh 14
45	Koili Kori	Puraina, Banke	2064, Magh 15
46	Mool Ram Tripathi	Khajura, Banke	2064, Magh 25
47	Kashi Ram Harijung	Belhari Banke	2064, Magh 25
48	Mata Pd. Barma	Belhari Banke	2064, Magh 25
49	Dile Ram Yadav	Bardiya	Falgun 14
50	Sutar Mukhiya	Pato, Saptari	Falgun 14
51	Chandrika Yadav	Rupandehi	Falgun 15
52	Babu Narayan Yadav	Dhanusha	Magh 23
53	Jibadhari Yadav	Malagwa, Sarlahi	Magh 21
54	Khohare Goriya	Puraina, Banke	Magh 15

(Among them 32 are only authorized by government, until 22 are in process)

Source: Antararastriya Manch, Sopan, Nepalikhabar Patrika, 2064 *Chaitra* and Madhesh Badi Parties' (MPRF, TMDP & SP/R) record.

Appendix:2: Prime Minister of Nepal (Since 2007-2066)

S.N.	Name of PM	Duration of time
1	Mohan Shamser	2007-11-07 to 2008-07-...
2	Matrika Pd. Koirala	2008-8-1 to 2009-4-26
3	Advising Govt. (Tribhuvan)	2009-4-30 to 2010-11-07
4	Matrika Pd. Koirala	2011-11-7 to 2011-11-19
5	Matrika Pd. Koirala	2011-11-19 to 2012-10-13
6	Direct rule of Mahendra	2012-10 13 to 2014-03-11
7	Tanka Pd. Acharya	2014-4-11 to 2014-7-29
8	Dr. K.I. Singh	2014-7-29 to 2015-2-2
9	Direct rule of Mahendra	2015-2-2 to 2016-2-13
10	Subarna Shamsher	2017-9-1 to 2019-12-20
11	Direct rule of Mahendra	2019-12-20 to 2020-9-13
12	Dr. Tulsi Giri	2020-9-14 to 2021-10-14
13	Dr. Tulsi Giri	2021-1014 to 2022-10-8
14	Surya Br. Thapa	2023-4-16 to 2023-1018
15	Surya Br. Thapa	----- 2025-12-25
16	Surya Br. Thapa	
17	Kritinidhi Bista	-
18	Direct rule of Mahendra	2027-1-1 to 2028-1-2
19	Kritinidhi Bista	2028-1-3 to 2030-4-1
20	Nagendra Pd. Rijal	2030-4-1 to 2032-8-15
21	Dr. Tulsi Giri	2032-8-16 to 2034-5-25
22	Kirtinidhi Bista	2034-5-27 2036-2-16
23	Surya Br. Thapa	2036-2-18 to 2037-2-20
24	Surya Br. Thapa	-
25	Surya Br. Thapa	-
26	Lokendra Br. Chanda	2040*3-30 to 2042-12-7
27	Nagendra Pd. Rijal	2042-12-8 2043-3-2
28	Marichman Singh	2043-3-2 to 2046-12-24
29	Lokendra Bdr. Chanda	2046-123-25 to 2047-1-6
30	Krishna Pd. Bhattra	2047-1-7 to 2048-2-12
31	Girika Pd. Koirala	2048-2-12 to 2051-8-13
32	Manmohan Adhikari	2051-8-13 to 2052-5-20
33	Sher Bdr. Deuba	2053 -5-26 to 2053-11-26
34	Lokendr Bdr. Chand	2053-11-29 to 2054-6-29
35	Surya Bdr. Thapa	2054-6-20 to 2054-12-29
36	Girija Pd. Koirlara	2054-12-30 to 20-5-9-8
37	Girija Pd. Koirlara to 2056-2-13
38	Krishan Pdr. Bhattra	2056-2-13 to 2056-12-7

39	Girija Pd. Koirlara	2057-12-7 to 2058-4-7
40	Sher Bdr. Deuba	2058-4-7 to 2059-6-18
41	Lokendra Bdr. Chanda	2059-6-25 to 2060-2-20
42	Surya Bdr. Thapa	2060-2-21 to 2061-2-20
43	Sher Bdr. Deuba	2061-2-20 to 2061-10-19
44	Girija Pd. Koirlara	2063-1-11 to 2065-4-31
45	Pushpa Kamal Dahal	2065-5-2 to 2066-1-15
46	Madhav Kumar Nepal	2066-2-11 to

Source: Madhesh Vani Weekly, Jestha: 15

Appendix: 3: Armed Group of Terai/ Nepal

- 1) Akhil Terai Mukti Morcha (Goit)
- 2) Akhil Terai Mukti Morcha (Pratap)
- 3) Akhil Terai Mukti Morcha (Tuphan)
- 4) Akhil Terai Mukti Morcha
- 5) Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (Jwala Singh)
- 6) Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (Rajan)
- 7) Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (Prithvi)
- 8) Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (Bishphot)
- 9) Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (Pavan)
- 10) Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (Himmat group)
- 11) Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (Toophan)
- 12) Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha
- 13) Terai Janatantrik Morcha
- 14) Super Kranti Dal
- 15) Nepal Deffence Army
- 16) Rashtriya Army Nepal
- 17) Janabadi Republic Terai Mukti Morcha
- 18) Terai Kobra
- 19) Terai Bagi
- 20) Nepal Janatantrik Party
- 21) Tharu Rashtriya Party Nepal
- 22) National Republic Party Nepal
- 23) Madhesh special Force
- 24) Madhesh Virus Killers Party
- 25) Utthan Sangha
- 26) National Terrorist Encounter Committee
- 27) Liberation Tiger of Terai Ealam
- 28) Gorkha Mukti Morcha
- 29) Nepal Republic Young Tigers Group
- 30) Terai Janakranti Morcha

- 31)Sanyukta Janakranti Morcha
- 32)Nagaraj
- 33)GAAFP Ranbir Sena Nepal
- 34)Sanyukta Bidrohi Morcha
- 35)Sanyukta Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha
- 36)Terai Mukti Morcha
- 37)Tamang Cobra
- 38)Madhesh Mukti Tigers
- 39)Virus Killers
- 40)Terai Defense Army
- 41)Janabadi Terai Mukti Morcha
- 42)Ajingar Samuha
- 43)Ulfa Samuha
- 44)Nepal Gorkha Army
- 45)Tamang Cobra
- 46)Terai Army
- 47)Rashtriya Mukti Sena
- 48)Kirat Janabadi Workers Party
- 49)Khunbuwan Ladaku Dal
- 50)Mangol Organization
- 51)Nepal Rebels Groups
- 52)Madesh Liberation Tigers
- 53)Madeshi Janamukti Morcha
- 54)Terai Control Army
- 55)Rashtriya Janatantrik Party
- 56)Bhishan Himali Bagh
- 57)Janatartrik Terai Mukti Morcha (Ranbir)
- 58)Defense Nepal of Trishul Sena
- 59)Mangolian Rebels
- 60)International Tigers
- 61)Terai Military Morcha

- 62)Sanyukta Janatantrik (Ananda)
- 63)Rastriya Samanantar Jwalamukhi
- 64)Madhesh Rastra Janatantrik Party (Krantikari)
- 65)Janashakti Krantikari Party
- 66)Terai Sanyukta Janatantrik Party
- 67)Sanyukta Tharu Mukti Morcha
- 68)Pallo Kirat Limuawan Rastriya Morcha
- 69)Terai Encounter Party
- 70)Terai Ekta Parishad
- 71)Mahan Madhesh Krantikari Party
- 72)Sharti ka Lagi Kranti Terai
- 73)Madhesh Terai Army
- 74)Royal Defense Army
- 75)Khumbuwan Rashtriya Morcha
- 76)Khumbuwan Democratic Morcha
- 77)Sanghiya Limbuwan Rajya Parishad (Kumar Lingden)
- 78)Sanghiya Limbuwan Rajya Parishad (Sanju Hang Paulangwa)
- 79)Sanghiya Limbuwan Rajya Parishad (Misekhad)
- 80)Revolutionary Left Wing
- 81)Madheshi Silence Killers
- 82)Terai Rastriya Muktisena
- 83)Terai Rastriya Janakranti Party (Krantikari)
- 84)Madhesh Rashtra Krantikari Party
- 85)Terai Control Party
- 86)Medhesh Rastrya Janatantrik Party
- 87)Medhesh Rastrya Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha
- 88)Terai Liberation Force
- 89)Peoples' Army
- 90)Terai Janajagaran Sangharshashil Morcha
- 91)Terai Putra
- 92)Madhesh Krantikari Dal

- 93)Dinoceras Group
- 94)Terai Janamukti Krantikari Party
- 95)Terai Commando
- 96)Terai Killers
- 97)Yayam Bhumi Madhesh Sarkar
- 98)Rastriya Liberation Army
- 99)Sarghiya Republic Rastriya Morcha
- 100) Sanyukta Liberation Front of Nepal Terai Janatantrik Party
- 101) Madeshi Mission J.T.M. Morcha
- 102) Terai Madhesh Party
- 103) Terai Madhesh Mukti Tigers
- 104) Madeh Terai Morcha
- 105) Hindu Sena
- 106) Santi Mukti Morcha
- 107) Hindu Rastra Nirman Sena
- 108) Janatantrik Madesh Mukti Morcha Terai
- 109) Tiger Madhesh Mukti Tigers

Source: *Gorkhapatra Dainiki*, Baishakh: 17 and Madeshvani Weekly;
Baishakh: 18, 2066

Appendix:4: Checklists

Appendix:4:1 Checklist for Key Informants

Name:	District:
Age:	Sex:
Occupation:-	Marital status:-
Education:-	Caste/ethnicity:-
Religion:-	Date:-

- 1) How do you take *Madhesh* movement?
- 2) Why did this movement take place?
- 3) Why did this movement take place in 2007?
- 4) Why didn't this movement occur before 2007?
- 5) What is the historical background of this movement?
- 6) What are the prominent causes of this movement?
- 7) What do you think that this movement was self activated or was lead by any party?
- 8) Who was lead by this movement?
- 9) What do you think this movement was political or socio-cultural?
- 10) Why did all *Madheshi* people, involve in this movement?
- 11) Did you participate in this movement or not? Why?
- 12) How did you participate or support this movement?
- 13) What are the benefit from this movement?
- 14) How much change did you feel after this movement?
- 15) What are the changes in the socio-cultural structure of the *Madhesh* after this movement?
- 16) What are the changes in the political sector for *Madheshi*?

- 17) What do you feel that the changes in state mechanism or administration?
- 18) Who are most benefited from this movement, now?
- 19) Do you satisfy from this movement's consequences?
- 20) What do you think this movement have brought integration or disintegration among state and *Madhesh*, and non-*Madheshi* and *Madheshi* in Nepal?
- 21) What was the global effect on this movement?

Appendix:4:2 Checklist for General Interview

Name: District:
Age: Sex:
Occupation:- Martial status:-
Education:- Caste/ethnicity:-
Religion:- Date:-

- 1) What do you know about the *Madhesh* movement?
- 2) How did you observe this movement?
- 3) Did you participate in this movement? If yes, how?
- 4) Who informed you about this movement?
- 5) Why did people participate in this movement?
- 6) What are the main causes of this movement?
- 7) Who guided this movement?
- 8) What types of people participated in this movement, generally?
- 9) Why protestors attacked on various statues?
- 10) What types of slogans were raised in the period of this movement?
- 11) What do you obtain from this movement?
- 12) Who are the most benefited from this movement?
- 13) What are the changes after this movement in Nepal?
- 14) Who established from this movement?
- 15) Do you satisfy from the result of this movement?
- 16) Do you think that the regional parties are going ahead according to spirit of *Madhesh* movement?
- 17) Do you think this movement has succeeded?
- 18) Who are in-loss from this movement? If yes how?
- 19) What do you think that this movement integrate or disintegrate the people of Nepal?

Appendix:4:3 Checklist for Group Interview

Name:	District:
Age:	Sex:
Occupation:-	Marital status:-
Education:-	Caste/ethnicity:-
Religion:-	Date:-

- 1) Why did recent *Madhesh* movement take place?
- 2) Why did all *Madheshi* take part in this movement?
- 3) What was the desire of the protestors who participated in this movement?
- 4) Why did this movement to be taken such tremendous form?
- 5) Who was leading this movement?
- 6) What are the advantages of this movement?
- 7) What are the changes in the socio-cultural structure after this movement?
- 8) What are the changes in the state mechanism after this movement?
- 9) Who took the most advantage from this movement?

Appendix:4:4 Checklist for Focus Group Discussion

Name:	District:
Age:	Sex:
Occupation:-	Marital status:-
Education:-	Caste/ethnicity:-
Religion:-	No. of participants:-

- 1) What are the people's perception on *Madhesh* movement?
- 2) What are the non-*Madheshi* people's perception on *Madhesh* movement?
- 3) Why did this movement occur?
- 4) How much change comes from this movement?
- 5) What do you think that this movement integrate or disintegrate the *Madhesh* to non-*Madheshi* and *Madhesh* to state?
- 6) What elements are needed to integrate the country?
- 7) What do you think that this movement brings destruction or development/violence or peace?
- 8) In which level integration /disintegration is seen the most in Nepal?

Appendix:4:5 Checklist for Case Study

Name:	District:
Age:	Sex:
Occupation:-	Marital status:-
Education:-	Caste/ethnicity:-
Religion:-	Date:-

- 1) What is your main income resource?
- 2) How many members of your family are involved to earn money?
- 3) What is your perception on *Madhesh* movement?
- 4) Why did you participate in this movement?
- 5) How did your family member participate in this movement?
- 6) What were your roles in this movement?
- 7) What was the role of police force, administration, journalists, political leaders, Human Rights activist, Civil Society members you felt during this movement?
- 8) What did you feel that the relation among the protestors or activist during this movement?
- 9) How much did you face police charge during this movement?
- 10) What's your overall experience or view on this movement and during this movement?
- 11) Do you satisfy from this movement, now?

Appendix:5: Name list of Respondents

S.N.	Name	Sex	Age	Status	Address
1	Mahantha Thakur	M	67	Social worker	Mahottari
2	Rajendra Mahato	M	50	Social worker	Sarlahi
3	Matrika Yadav	M	47	Social worker	Dhanusha
4	Bimalendra Nidhi	M	48	Social worker	Dhanusha
5	Jhala Nath Khanal	M	48	Social worker	Kathmandu
6	Rambharosh Kapadi	M	47	Officer	Dhanusha
7	Rajeshwor Nepali	M	62	Journalist	Mahottari
8	Dharmendra Jha	M	36	Journalist	Dhanusha
9	Prof. Dr. Haribansh Jha	M	57	Economist	Saptari
10	Tula Narayan Sah	M	34	Analyst	Saptari
11	Prashant Jha	M	25	Journalist	Bhaktapur
12	Brij Kumar Yadav	M	40	Journalist	Dhanusha
13	Sharad Singh Bhandari	M	45	Social worker	Mahottari
14	Shitaram Agrahari	M	53	Editor	Sunsari
15	Bhaskar Gautam	M	30	Researcher	Kathmandu
16	Dr. Rajendra Vimal	M	60	Reader	Dhanusha
17	Upendra Jha	M	47	Social worker	Saptari
18	Krishan Khanal	M	48	Reader	Kathmandu
19	Sanjay Sah	M	34	Social worker	Dhanusha
20	Roshan Janakpuri	M	42	Social worker	Dhanusha
21	Manoj Bachchan	M	34	Director(NGO)	Parsa
22	Julee Mahasheth	F	30	Social worker	Dhanusha
23	Karima Began	F	32	Social worker	Parsa
24	Ritu Jha	F	21	Student	Mahottari
25	Mostaki Ansari	F	20	Housewife	Mahottari
26	Mokina Khatun	F	60	Housewife	Mahottari
27	Anisha Yadav	F	35	Housewife	Mahottari
28	Baika Pokherel	F	27	Nurse	Mahottari
29	Sumitra Mahato	F	28	Businessman	Mahottari
30	America Sada	F	34	Housewife	Mahottari
31	Chandrika Sah	F	29	Teacher	Mahottari
32	Sanjeex Jr. Jha	M	27	Student	Mahottari
33	Rabindra karma	"	46	Officer	Mahottari
34	Abhiram Ray	"	35	Officer	Mahottari
35	Jagadish Sah	"	42	Officer	Mahottari
36	Maharudra jha	"	58	Lecturer	Mahottari
37	Ishakha Rain	"	56	Farmer	Mahottari
38	Sadik Kawadi	M	60	Businessman	Mahottari
39	Kalamudian Rain	"	32	Teacher	Mahottari

40	Manish Pandey	"	40	Doctor	Mahottari
41	Debendra Chaudhari	"	45	Officer	Mahottari
42	Pallav Kasaju	'	30	Officer	Mahottari
43	Shantosh Ghimire	"	28	Officer	Mahottari
44	Rajendra Chaudhari	"	49	Officer	Mahottari
45	Rajkumar Mahato	"	45	Farmer	Mahottari
46	Brahamdev Mahara	"	46	Farmer	Mahottari
47	Prem Lama	"	35	Farmer	Mahottari
48	Januka Upadhayay	M	28	Housewife	Mahottari
49	Rajo devi	"	45	Housewife	Mahottari
50	Sagari Adin	"	50	Housewife	Mahottari
51	Anita Yadav	"	34	Teacher	Mahottari
52	Rakesh Kr. Sah	"	21	Student	Mahottari
53	Kamal Kumar Sah	"	27	Student	Siraha
54	Sunil Kr. Jha	"	27	Student	Mahottari
55	Ram Kalebar Tiwari	"	40	Officer	Mahottari
56	Talmun Ansari	"	50	Businessman	Mahottari
57	Lakshman Upadhaya	"	38	Teacher	Mahottari
58	Yogendra Upreti	"	46	Doctor	Mahottari
59	Radhakanta Thakur	"	62	Engineer	Mahottari
60	Prabhash Jha	"	29	Officer	Mahottari
61	Mahabir Yadav	M	38	H.A.	Mahottari
62	Jaharudin Rain	"	30	H.A.	Mahottari
63	Lalan Singh	"	45	Activist	Mahottari
64	Anil Upreti	"	34	Businessman	Mahottari
65	Yogendra Shrestha	"	55	Farmer	Mahottari
66	Pooja Ghimire	"	32	Teacher	Mahottari
67	Tapeshwar Thakur	"	47	Barber	Mahottari
68	Manoj Sah	"	30	Student	Dhanusha
69	Rita Jha	F	36	Activist	Dhanusha
70	Sudhira Chaudhari	"	52	Officer	Dhanusha
71	Minakshi Jha	"	48	Activist	Dhanusha
72	Iswari Giri	"	38	Housewife	Dhanusha
73	Chameli Das	"	32	Housewife	Dhanusha
74	Renu Shrestha	"	18	Student	Dhanusha
75	Mantroriya Devi	"	34	Businessman	Dhanusha
76	Birshana Chaudhari	M	26	NGO, officer	Dhanusha
77	Arjun Kshetri	"	40	Journalist	Dhanusha
78	Shushil Ghimire	"	27	Student	Dhanusha
79	Makar Bdr. Shivakoti	"	53	Peon	Dhanusha
80	Rambahadur Shah	"	42	Officer	Dhanusha

81	Naresh Giri	"	44	Farmer	Dhanusha
82	Vijaya Giri	"	36	Activist	Dhanusha
83	Naresh yadav	"	26	Student	Dhanusha
84	Kasim Pathan	"	58	Officer	Dhanusha
85	Rajendra Mahato	"	32	Officer	Dhanusha
86	Ajay Jha	"	42	Journalist	Dhanusha
87	Ramchandra Raut	"	45	Labour	Dhanusha
88	Jageshwar Mahara	"	35	Labour	Dhanusha
89	Ashok Chaudhari	"	19	Labour	Dhanusha
90	Brikhesh Lal	"	52	Activist	Dhanusha
91	Iswar Pokherel	"	53	Reader	Dhanusha
92	Vijaya Kr. Singh	M	53	Doctor	Dhanusha
93	Sapana Datta	F	23	Doctor	Dhanusha
94	Tetari Das	"	36	Labour	Dhanusha
95	Sangita Ghimire	"	20	Housewife	Dhanusha
96	Sittal Dhital	M	27	Student	Dhanusha
97	Shiv Narayan Jha	"	21	Lecturer	Dhanusha
98	Kishori Nayak	"	35	Lecturer	Dhanusha
99	Ram Lakhan Yadav	"	44	Lecturer	Dhanusha
100	Nagendra Das	"	28	Student	Dhanusha
101	Prabesh Chaudhari	"	27	Farmer	Dhanusha
102	Manish Jha	"	23	Student	Dhanusha
103	Indrajit Thakur	"	23	Labour	Dhanusha
104	Nir Khawas	"	28	Businessman	Dhanusha
105	Gyan Br. Shrestha	"	22	Labour	Dhanusha
106	Dharbendra Jha	"	58	Journalist	Dhanusha
107	Karuna Paudel	F	24	Journalist	Dhanusha
108	Rashbihari Khatbe	M	21	Peon	Dhanusha
109	Dipendra Jha	"	36	Student	Dhanusha
110	Ganga Jha	"	24	Activist	Dhanusha
111	Sumitra Yadav	F	54	Student	Dhanusha
112	Nilam Das	F	22	Businessman	Dhanusha
113	Dharmendra Kr. Mahato	M	26	Teacher	Mahottari

APPENDIX : 8 : CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY ONE

Injured protestors were Beaten in hospital

Ras Bihari Khatbe a Dalit, 36 years old, inhabitant of Dhanusha, Kuwa -12, has been working in the R.R.M Campus as a peon. He has three children two sons and a daughter. He belongs to poor family and he is main earning person of his family. All his family members are depend on him.

“Once when the *Madhesh* movement started. I a heard from local FM (radio) that whole *Madhesh* was vandalized. Large mass of *Madheshi* were protested on the road against the temporary government at campus went to watch movement at Campus Chowk. I saw, the police force charged activist very cruelly and forcefully. Infront of me, many *Madheshi* people were beaten haffazardly by throwing stick (Danda). I was also charged by policeman while I didn't participate in the protest directly. I became angry after seeing such a police activities. Their suppressive nature excited me to throw stones to them. In this way I spent my first day in the *Madhesh* movement. Second day, I participated again in *Madhesh* protest at same place. The agitators were opposing the presence of police force and their suppression. Suddenly, without warning the police force fired bullet haffazardly towards the mass of people. And people scattered here and there. I also hide behind the electricity pole. Meanwhile, one of the student screamed 'he has bullet in his arm by pointing me and called for help.

Very soon, I was surrounded by dozens of people. I became very nervous after seeing my bleeding but the people co-operated me as their family member and all of they were tried to sympathize me. One of the people wrapped my wound with his own towel tightly. Though, I felt, "I would die very soon because of bullet: If I were die then what happens to my family. I have three small children, thinking that I was fainted that time. Road was completely blocked so, some youths carry

me on his back one by one and walk for hospital through hide street. I was feared after reaching hospital. The doctor, convinced me, 'Don't worry you will be cure very soon'. It's not dangerous wound. It's a simple case we will save you, be release."

My operation was successful then I felt relief there. After two days a group of police force entered in the hospital and '*Lathi* Charged' on patients, visitors, helpers and insulted the doctors and nurses. I was sleeping on my bed, meanwhile I heard screaming sound in another wards of hospital. Suddenly, I stood up and hide in toilet inside the door. The police beaten even, serious injured person. That's why I was feared and decided to return my home because there was risk to stay. I requested doctor to discharge me but the doctor did not allow me to go. At last, I convinced them and I returned back my home. After few days, I again participated in movement even my wound was not cured. The local leaders said "This movement is for gaining rights." So, we participated in the movement to secure our children or coming generation's life and rights.

CASE STUDY THREE

HE WAS DIED BY BRUTALLY BEATEN

Tapeshwor Thakur, 47 years old barber, inhabitant of Prakauli-3, Mahottari. Now he is staying Janakpur-7 with his family. He had two son and a daughter but now he is father of two children only. His elder son, Rajesh Thakur a school boy, 15 years old was died in the Madhesh movement by police force. He has been cutting chair since 2022 B.S. He has no land except house with home land (Ghaderi). So, he is managing his family livelihood by cutting hair in saloon. Further he said, I had been cutting hair for 10 years in Jaleshwor after that I have been cutting hair in Janakpur. For while he became silent then pointed the photo which was hanging on the wall with garland. He said, "He is my elder son. Now he is not with us". He always participate in Madhesh movement with his friend. But, I was unknown to his activities. I never participate physically in Madhesh movement. I supported morally this protest. Once, there was very tough clash between protestors and police force. The police force charged protestors very cruelly. Then agitators run-away here and there. At that time my son fell down on the ground because of throwing Danda (stick) of police. Meanwhile, the group of police rounded him and beaten brutally on his head with boot and rifles hood (Banduk Ko Kuna). He was fainted there then police left him on his own condition. Latter some protestors, took him from the road at that time he was a little conscious. Then, he suddenly came back home and slept on the bed by watching TV. After 15 minutes he went toilet but he stooned on the way. His mother screamed and run to him. He was fainted he did not know anything. We were amazed why it happened. The road was totally blocked, I became nervous, what to do and my wife was weeping loudly. In a few minutes many people were gathered there and some of the youths said that he was beaten by police so he was fainted. Then, I became more nervous. Then some youth kept him on the Thelagadi (pull cart) and rush to hospital with my brother. They did not allow to go with him by seeing our condition.

The doctors was cooperated him very sincerely in the hospital. His condition was improved after three days treatment. There was not a such iccupment (technology) which checked up clearly. Though, doctors treated him by the help of diagnosis. Suddenly, his condition became more complex then doctor referred him for further treatment. With the help of some youth my brother again run to Dharan hospital. There were many obstacles in the way. Dahran due to vandalized by CBES or Maosits at that time. Any how, they reached Dahran hospital but doctors denied to accept him because his condition was very serious. So the doctors suggested, to go Kathmandu or Patana. But at the time of returning from Dharan, he left us forever his tear was following to his real as stream and painful story made me serious too.

Latter, I knew, his brain's vein was teared due to hurt of police charge from post mortem. I was very socked to think about him and wilderness of police force.

For a several months we (spouse) became just like living without feelings (dead body with breath). The government provided 10 lakh as a compansation to us. I used this amount to buy house and daughter's marriage. My younger son reading in class eight, now and he helped me in saloon, at his leisure time. I lost my son for *Madhesh* welfare but political leaders don't lead honesty and sincerely. It is not satisfactory action of *Madheshi* leaders they are as usual. So, I want to make remember the political parties that more than half century of *Madheshi* martyrs who irrigated *Madhesh* with their blood. If they deceive the martyrs they will be person of martyrs curse.

CASE STUDY FOUR

SHARING THE POWER AND RESOURCES: INTERGRATE THE COUNTRY

Mahantha Thajur 67 years old a president of Terai Madhesh Democratic Party of Nepal. He born in Ekarahiya, Mahottari in 1942 June 5th and he has completed his primary education from his village. SLC from Parihar Bihar, graduation from RRM Campus Janakpur, BL from Kathmandu and M.A. from T.U. Kirtipur in Modern History. His father was a farmer. They worked in RRM Campus as a lecturer of history in 2032 B.S. After 2036 B.S. He worked in Sarlahi Campus as a lecturer. He has two brother and a sister. His mother was died while he was only two and half years old. He has many ups and downs in his life. His life is struggleful. He has started his political career since B.S. 2026 as a cadare of Congress Party. He was imprisoned many times and he spent 5-6 years imprisoned life.

Further Thakur said, "I served NC as my family and I was elected three time from Sarlahi as NC leader. But I could not do any thing for Madhesh as I could. I raised many issues of Madheshi in NC meeting and cabinet. Our colleagues assured me but they never implemented. When I raised any issue strictly then they used Madheshi colleagues against of me. It is itself irony. Sometimes some non-Madheshi leaders supported me where as some Madheshi leaders opposed for personal benefit to get position in party and government. There was less debate on Madhesh issue in NC. Jhapa congress (Mahadhibeshan) is the best exampl for that where I had raise the *Madhesh* issues eg. representation of *Madheshi* in army and police force. But it was rejected trickfully by my colleagues. The open political environment of Nepal after end of king regime. The *Madheshi* raise their voice very powerfully. It bent all the political parties and government. To make easy for new generation. I left NC forever. Because, the *Madheshi* youths may be misleded by so called national party. I wanted to be an activist of *Madhesh* but

some *Madheshi* leaders requested me to lead the new *Madheshi* parties and guided the *Madhesh* properly. In the effort of *Madheshi* well wisher, we established TMDP in B.S. 2064 Paush 13.

Ideological and psychological freedom are the elements of boldness. But these two basic elements are controlled by large party not by *Madheshi* or any oppressed groups. I felt so in Nepali Congress. That's why I left Nepali Congress I always became Minister in NC government. There was not any problem for personal adjustment in party but there was great problem for *Madheshi* issues. I had suggested many times GP Koirala and central committee of NC to included *Madheshi* issue in NC party. It may be long last from party but they never accept my suggestion once I became coordinator of negotiation committee from the government side to talk with MPRF. Unfortunately, I became serious ill at that time though, I had talked with Upendr Yadav informally before, formal negotiation my committee was dissolved. The narrow thinking of large political parties ire *Madheshi* against government. I have told many times that dividing the power or decentralizing the power and sharing the resources strengthen the state or integrate the country. It's not a matter for worry to any body. The greedy leaders of power are only opposed this concept. If state suppressed the *Madheshis* voice, it may be danger for Nepal. Because *Madhesh* has all the elements which needed for a state: certain land population, cultural, language history and attribute. *Madhesh* movement lunched for equal rights of *Madhesh* in all institutions of country.

