

**THE *MADHESI* MOVEMENT IN NEPAL: A STUDY ON
SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS, 1990- 2015**

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Degree of Master of Philosophy

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DECLARATION

I, Anne Mary Gurung, do hereby declare that the subject matter of this dissertation is the record of the work done by me, that the contents of this dissertation did not form the basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the dissertation has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other university/institute.

The dissertation has been checked by using URKUND and has been found within limits as per plagiarism policy and instructions issued from time to time.

This dissertation is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Philosophy in the Department of Political Science, School of Social Sciences, Sikkim University.

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CERTIFICATE

This to certify that the dissertation entitled, “**The *Madhesi* Movement in Nepal: A Study on Social, Cultural and Political Aspects, 1990-2015**” submitted to Sikkim University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Political Science is the result of bonafide research work carried out by Ms. Anne Mary Gurung under my guidance and supervision. No part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree, diploma, associateship and fellowship.

All the assistance and help received during the course of the investigation have been duly acknowledged by her.

Date:

Swastika Pradhan

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Supervisor

PREFACE

The present study was very intriguing and fascinating for me and I am very pleased that I got an opportunity to work on it. The Madhesi movement of Nepal has always aroused my interest into the dynamics of the politics of Nepal. The study has widely focused on the objectives of the Madhesi movement and the causes behind it, as to what was behind the rise of the movement which almost shook Nepal.

The study revolves around the conflicts which occurred within the movement and how the Nepalese government has responded towards it. It delves into the matters of the Madhesi population of the Terai, their difficulties, problems and dissatisfactions which they claim to have faced. The study has tried inextricably to find explanations on the social, political and cultural aspects which are within the Madhesi movement.

While I have tried not to omit any matter of importance there might be many important things which might have been left out due to my special attention on the causes of the movement, conflicts and its objectives.

It would be too much to hope that the first dissertation should be free of errors of omission or commission and therefore I shall be thankful to the externals, members of the faculty and my friends for any advice to improve my work further in the future.

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The study has provided me with an opportunity to repay those who have facilitated my education and work over the past year and thank them for the pleasure I got to receive from this study. It has enabled me to both satisfy and stimulate my questioning on the Madhesi movement in Nepal. But most importantly, I am humbled by the support of my Supervisor Miss Swastika Pradhan without whose enthusiastic encouragement beyond the call of duty, this study would not have been possible. She made an effort towards showing me the greater possibilities in life and showed me the path to be hopeful towards the future. I would like to express my sincere gratitude and deep appreciation towards her for what I am molded into now.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CBES	: Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj
CPN (Maoist)	: Communist Party of Nepal
DDC	: District Development Committee
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
ICG	: International Crisis Group
IDSA	: Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis
JTMM	: Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha
MJF	: Madhesi Jan Adhikar Forum
MJF (L)	: Madhesi Jan Adhikar Forum (Loktantrik)
MNLF	: Madhes National Liberation Front
MNO	: Mongol National Organisation
NC	: Nepali Congress
NCP	: Nepali Communist Party
NEFIN	: Nepal Ethnic Federation of Indigenous Nationalities
NRs	: Nepali Rupees
NSP	: Nepali Sadbhavna Party
NTC	: Nepal Terai Congress
OBC	: Other Backward Classes
PLA	: People's Liberation Army
RAW	: The Research and Analysis Wing
SPA	: Seven Party Alliance

TMLP	: Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party
UCPN (M)	: United Communist party of Nepal (Marxist)
UDMF	: United Democratic Madhesi Front
UML	: United Marxist Leninist
UNDP	: The United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
VDC	: Village Development Council
YCL	: Young Communist League

Map of the Study Area
(The three districts of Jhapa Morang and Sunsari)



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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1: BACKGROUND

As the political situation in Nepal has always been in some sort of turmoil, scholars are of the view that Nepal is in a permanent transition. Prior to the Rana¹regime Nepal was a country isolated from the rest of the world. The 1951 movement brought some change in the political sphere, but those changes were shortlived (Pyakurel, 2012). In 1951 the century old long oligarchic Rana regime was overthrown. But the king disrupted the democratic experiments of 1951- 60 by his Royal coup of December 1960. King Mahendra introduced a system of absolute Monarchy based on Partyless Panchayat system. The Partyless system survived until the 1990 popular movement which restored multiparty democracy (Hachhethu, 2008).The people launched a mass movement with the demands to restore the multi-party democracy in the country and to end the king's autocratic regime. The movement has been popular as Jan andolan¹² (Pyakurel, 2012). Nepal has seen periods of autocratic rule from 1960 – 1990 and 2002- 2006. It experienced short lived democratic experiments from 1950- 1960 and 1991- 2002 (Yvome, 2007). It is vivid that 1990 and 2006 has been important in the case of Nepal because these years saw the advent of democracy. After the entry of democracy in 1990, leaders like Gajendra Narayan Singh demanded a fair share to Madhes³. Since 2007, more regional parties, aggressive and vocal, have come into the picture in the Madhesi movement (Ghimire, 2015). Hence the period of 1990s which marked the advent of democracy becomes crucial to the Madhesi movement which is the main focus of the present study. So the present study looks into the Madhesi movement from the 1990s to the year of 2015.

Nepal has three topographic regions and that is the mountains, the hills and the Terai or madhes (Nayak, 2011). The Terai is often interchangeably called 'Madhes', but the terms differ in original usage. The Terai refers to the fertile strip of low lying land sandwiched between the Himalayan foothills and the Indo Gangetic alluvial plain running from west to east throughout southern Nepal and stretching to India and Bhutan. The Terai incorporates 20 of Nepal's 75 districts, and includes close to half the population of Nepal's 26 million citizens (Miklian, 2009). There are different narratives about the origin of the term 'Madhes', but the most accepted one is

that, it stands for 'Madhya desh' or middle country on a more literal sense (Nayak, 2011). In other words it means a region between the hills and plains. The marginal groups living in the area desire a separate identity within Nepal and this has led them to identify themselves as 'Madhesis'⁴. The original inhabitants of Madhes were in fact the Tharu tribe of Nepal and it is said that the anthropological studies revealed that they migrated from Rajasthan in India during the Mughal invasions in the 16th and 17th century (Nayak, 2011).

According to Nihar nayak the Madhesi population consists of three major communities. They are the janjatis⁵ (Tharus), the people who migrated from the hills and the mountains in search of livelihood and on account of state sponsored migration called 'pahade madhesis' and the people of Indian origin who are often called 'Indian madhesis' who migrated to Nepal before 1950s from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The various castes and ethnic groups among the madhesis include Tharu, Yadav, Muslim, Teli, Chamar, Koyar, Brahman, Bhumihar, Amat, Mali, Tatma, Kanu, Rauniyar, Rajdhobi, Tamoli, Kathaoniya, Hajam, Sonar, Lohar, Tajpuriya, Bantar, Jhangar, Dhanuk, Rajbangshi, Meche, Satar, Dhimal, Mushar, Dom, Dushad etc.(Pathak & Chitra, 2007). The Indian madhesis are further divided linguistically into Maithali, Bhojpuri, and Abadhi in the eastern central and western regions (Nayak, 2011). According to the Census of 2011 of Nepal conducted by the Nepal's Central Bureau of Statistics, the total population of Nepal is 26,494,504. It has increased by 3,343,081 since 2001. According to the Census of 2011, 50.27 percent of Nepal's population lives in the Terai, which is exactly 13.3 million. In it the Tharus consist of 1,737,470, 6.56 percent of the Terai population. The Yadav are 1,054,458 that is 4.0 percent in population. Similarly the Muslims are 1,164,255 that is 4.4 percent in population. If people of maximum number of races considered as 'Madhesi' by Madhesi political parties are included then the Madhesi population will go up to 7.3 million that is 28 percent of the total population of Nepal. But some races among them for example Tharus and Marwari do not consider themselves as Madhesi which drops down the total Madhesi population to 20 percent (Census, 2011).

One of the least reported but most significant changes in Nepali politics since the 2006 people's movement (Jan andolan 2) is the emergence of the madhes as a political force. With the opening of the democratic space the madhesis asserted themselves. They challenged the hill centric notion of Nepali nationalism and staked claim for greater representation in the state structure

(Chakma, 2009). There are various reasons why the Madhesi movement initiated. The Madhesi issue did not suddenly emerge on January 2007. A long history of a sense of discrimination is at the root of the madhesi struggle. To understand the strong madhesi uprising in January 2007, it is necessary to understand the reasons behind it. For over five decades the madhesi's have been waging a movement against the discriminatory practices of the Nepal government, discriminatory laws of citizenship and language as well as recruitment policies to the armed forces and bureaucracy (Yvome, 2007).

The central issue of the madhesi's is the citizenship. A very large section of the Madhesi population is without citizenship certificate. This has caused great anxiety for the Madhesi population. People of the nationally dominant hill culture and people of the regionally important plain culture have lived often in suspicion of each other over time. Citizenship legislation framed by representatives of the nationally dominant hill culture during the 1960s reflects this suspicion, for it makes the acquisition of citizenship more difficult for the people of plains origin living in the Terai. Citizenship legislation framed after the restoration of democracy in 1990 is not much different. The citizenship legislation of 1950s was nondiscriminatory. However the citizenship legislation of 1960s was discriminatory because it was after the Royal coup and the political leaders of the Nepali Congress party were in exile and they were initiating underground activities from the Terai and border areas of India. This posed a threat to the Royal government and resulted for the act to be discriminatory. The requirement of speaking and writing the national language that is Nepali was inserted in the act. Hence the Madhesis were denied citizenship certificate due to their lack of knowledge of writing and speaking Nepali language. It is difficult for them to buy land or register the lands in their names due to the lack of citizenship certificates (Yadav, 2015).

The Madhesis believe that they are deprived and discriminated. The government organizations deny employment to them and their lands were forcefully occupied by various land acts in Nepal from time to time during the monarchy and panchayat period. They feel discriminated and exploited by the upper caste pahade migrant communities and the state as well. Besides these their cultural affiliations across the border have brought about many problems for them. For e.g., the National planning commission of Nepal made Nepali language compulsory for both official work and as the medium of education. In 1959 the first elected prime minister B.P koirala made

Hindi a part of the curriculum in Madhes in 1959. However king Mahendra after his coup revoked the decision and imposed 'Hamro bhasa, Hamro bhes, pran bhanda pyaro cha' (our language and costume are dearer to us than life itself). This poses a difficulty for the people of Terai. They believe that they are socio economically deprived. It is said that 76 percent of the total revenue of the country is collected from Madhes but there are no good colleges, universities, infrastructure or health facilities in the region (Nayak, 2011).

The struggle can be traced back to 1951 when a party called the Nepal Terai Congress was formed under the leadership of Bedananda Jha to advocate regional autonomy for the Madhesis (Yvome, 2007). This party failed to get people's endorsement in electoral politics as it lost all seats in the 1959 parliamentary elections (Hachhethu, 2007). Madhesi Mukti Andolan was then formed by Raghunath Thakur in 1956. Both the organisations (Nepal Terai Congress and Madhesi Mukti Andolan) raised their voice against discrimination and the exploitation of the Madhesis by the ruling elite. Again in 1983, Gajendra Narayan Singh established an organisation called Nepal Sadbhavana council and revived the Madhesi identity politics. The aim of the organisation was combating discrimination against the madhesis. The organization turned into a political party that is the Nepal Sadbhavana party. The party manifesto in the general elections of 1991, 1994, and 1999 was, a federal system of government, a liberal policy of citizenship and a separate madhesi battalion in the army (Yvome, 2007).

The escalation of maoist insurgency in Madhes since 2000 imputed to raise a militant madhesi nationalism. But its larger ethno regional content was overshadowed by a larger picture of its image as a communist insurgent. The CPN (maoist) contribution was that it gave importance to the issues related to socio economic change which had greater appeal in the poor strata of the madhes society. The entry of MJF (Madhesi Jan Adhikar Forum) in the madhesi activism has helped in enlarging the canvas of madhesi nationalism and in raising the militant madhes activism (Hachhethu, 2007). Since 2007 more regional parties aggressive and vocal have come into the picture (Ghimire, 2015). Important Madhes based armed groups such as Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (JTMM), Terai Cobra etc. consider themselves as the true representatives of the madhesi people (Nayak, 2011).

The Madhesi uprising in January 2007 was marked by protests bans and violence in some major parts of Nepal's Terai (Ghimire, 2015). The promulgation of the interim constitution on

December 16, 2006 by the eight major political parties in Nepal triggered off a series of protests across Nepal. The burning of the copies of the interim constitution were reported and this resulted in an agitation in the Terai. There was seen a dramatic increment in the number of Madhesi armed and unarmed parties during this period. The party called Madhesi people's Right Forum (MPRF) or better known as the Madhesi Jan Adhikar forum (MJF) intensified the protest, saying that the interim constitution failed to address the demands of the Madhesi people and both the factions of the Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha started stating that the interim constitution that was promulgated was prepared by the Nepali hill people and did not address the issues of the Terai. The movement in Terai became a full-fledged confrontation between the state and the Terai parties. There were incidents of violence like the burning down of various government offices in the Terai and the offices of the CPN (Maoists) by the MJF (Pandey, 2010).

Again in 2015 a Nepal blockade began in 23rd September 2015. This was after the passing of the long stalled constitution of Nepal on 20 September 2015 (Gurung, 2015). This was because the constitution failed to satisfy the Madhesis and Tharus who constitute 70 percent of the Terai population who regarded the formation of the seven federal provinces as per the constitution as grossly unfair to them. Only eight districts in the Terai from Saptari in the east to Parsa in the west were given the status of a province. The rest (12 districts) are to be joined with the hill districts. Hari Bansh Jha says that this is done for the sole purpose of converting the local people into minority. Immediately after the promulgation of the constitution, the ruling parties like the Nepali Congress and the CPN-UML celebrated Diwali but the Madhesi political parties and Tharuhat struggle committee observed it as a 'black day' (Hari Bansh, Jha, 2015). Hence this was an uphill political fight for Madhesis against the government to push the agenda for equality.

Although the Madhesi movement is an uphill movement with participation by multiple organisations and ethnic group under the Madhesi banner, the plurality of organisations and ethnic group sometimes leads to frictions between them which need to be noted while looking into the movement. The Tharu Madhesi relations have also declined and at the root of this lies the different and conflicting ways in which Madhesis and Tharus view themselves and the other. Madhesi parties in the Terai claim that Tharus and Madhesis since they live in Terai have similar cultural practices as Madhesi castes and both were exploited by the government. The Tharus recognise that they have had to face the brunt of exploitation because of the feudal practices of

the people from the hills, who displaced them from their land and deprived them of local resources. But they insist that this does not make them Madhesi. In addition to this the Tharu activists also see the Madhesi upper castes as exploiters as well as who came over from across the borders and took over their lands. Tharus consider themselves as the original inhabitants of the plains (Chakma, 2009). The Maoists they had also proposed five provinces for Terai like Awadhi, Mithila, Bhojpur, Tharuwan and Kochila. The Madhesis were not happy with the Maoists for this reason because the Madhesis wanted one province in the Terai. Since 2009 the Maoists have talked about dividing Madhes into two units, Tharuwan (in the west) and Madhes (in the east). This has angered Madhesi leaders precisely (ICG, 2007). According to Lokraj Baral the political parties from the Terai have the potential of being divisive due to personal rather than ideological reasons. Since most of them except the Nepal Sadbhavana party which is undivided, is the result of the Madhesi movement launched by the Madhesi Janadhikar Forum, fragile coalition did not help them consolidate as a unified force for achieving their objective of establishing a distinct Madhesi identity in Nepali Politics. He is of the opinion that some of the leaders who for the sake of power, have enfeebled or debilitated the parties so that the Tharus from the Terai and Inner Terai do not subscribe to the agenda or follow the agenda of other Madhesi parties. He says “Although all of these Madhesi parties have same types of pretentious Madhesi agendas, their weakened position is not likely to get them fulfilled” (Baral, 2011). On a similar note Achin Vanaik in his article ‘The New Himalayan Republic’ stated that the sources of tension were between the state and the Madhesis, among Madhesi groups themselves, and between Madhesis and settlers of hill origin, especially as there also emerged extreme Madhesi groups demanding expulsion of these settlers from the Terai and even independence from Nepal (Vanaik, 2008).

Hence the present study also looks into the conflict within the Madhesi groups, parties and other ethnic groups in the Terai within the Madhesi movement.

1.2: STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The end of Partyless Panchayat system and the establishment of parliamentary democracy in 1990 opened the door for the expression of ethnic demands. The new constitution formally recognised ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity but national identity was formally unchanged. Nepal remained a unitary Hindu monarchy with Nepali as the sole official language.

This became the reason for the rise of various ethnic and indigenous group demands after 1990s who had seen the phase of political exclusion earlier. Likewise the Madhesi issues and demands got more voice during this period like the other groups. Like the indigenous nationalities movements in the 1990s, Madhesi movement also has two sets of key issues in interrelated categories and they are political demands and socio cultural demands. Their political demands included inclusion and representation of their population, their citizenship issue etc. Their social and cultural demands included the preservation of their ethnic and cultural identity such that the state must recognise and support cultural diversity. The disputes about the imposition of one official language over their own languages and their demand for the removal of any form of discrimination against them in areas like recruitment and their cultural affiliations across the borders form their social and cultural demands. These also form the political, social and cultural aspects of the Madhesi movement and these are also some of the causes for the rise of Madhesi nationalism. Hence it was important for the present study to look into the causes of the Madhesi movement which highlight its different social, political and cultural aspects.

Besides, the aims and objectives of the Madhesi movement needed to be looked into. The ordinary Madhesi people's perception about the movement needed to be focused on. The Madhesi movement is often considered to have failed but it has seen a revival again in 2015, so a need arose to study the limitations of the Madhesi movement and the reasons for its failures. There was also a need to look into the efforts that have been made over time to integrate the Madhes in processes of policy formulation. The need to look into the conflicts within the Madhesi groups, parties and other ethnic groups in the Terai within the Madhesi movement arose because it would be crucial to the Madhesi solidarity and the success of the movement for which inter party and inter group differences had to be less important.

1.3: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Nishchal Nath Pandey's book, 'New Nepal: The Fault lines' analyses the situations filled with turmoil in the post republic period of Nepal. He discusses about the major issues faced by the country such as the federal structure, security sector reforms, armed movement in the Terai and religious and communal clashes. He examines the importance of these issues and their implications for the neighboring countries of Nepal such as India and China. It deals with the failures on the part of the Nepal government to address the questions of identity, ethnicity,

language, religion, region and culture. The book also mentions about the problems such as law and order, supply of daily essentials, immediate economic relief to the rural hinterlands, problem of forming and dismantling of the governments by the political parties and instability. The book provides an insight into the tumultuous situations in post Republic Nepal. But the Madhesi movement and turmoil in the Terai is only a small aspect in the variety of other problems that the author has mentioned (Pandey, 2010).

The book 'Battles of the New Republic: A Contemporary history of Nepal' by Prashant Jha covers an extensive territory in the corridors of power in New Delhi and Kathmandu as well as on the ground in Terai. It covers issues like the bold political transformation of Nepal in South Asia, identity based politics which has brought the marginalised social groups in the mainstream, Nepal's fragile polity, the maoists who sparked the transformation through an armed insurrection and the never ending political negotiations and difficulties that of failing to draft a constitution that paralysed the nepal government. It is an overview of the day to day politics in Nepal and especially the Terai. The book celebrates the deepening of democracy and it seeks answers to a fundamental political dilemma that is who exercises power, to what end and for whose benefit? The Battles of the New Republic on the questions of power sharing, the nature of the army, the role of India and the principle of sovereignty, the shape of federalism and the structure of the state have defined Nepal's contemporary political journey (Prashant, 2014).

The book rise of Ethnic Politics in Nepal: Democracy in the Margins by Susan Hangen focuses on the Ethnic Political Party Mongol National Organisation (MNO), which consists of multiple ethnic groups and has been mobilizing support in rural east Nepal. By investigating the Party's discourse and its struggles to gain support and operate within a village government, the book provides an insight into the processes of democratization in rural Nepal in the 1990s. It provides a more nuanced understanding of how ethnic political parties operate on the ground arguing that ethnic parties overlap considerably with social movements, and that the boundary between parties and movements should be reconceptualised. The relationship between ethnic politics and democracy usually presents a paradox for scholars and policy makers. As ethnic politics is becoming increasingly significant in Nepali politics, this book argues that it has the potential to strengthen the democracy rather than of destabilizing it. The analysis by Susan Hangen drawing on years of ethnographic fieldwork demonstrates that ethnic parties are not antithetical to

democracy and that democratization can proceed in diverse and unexpected ways. The work provides an in-depth discussion into the Indigenous Nationalities Movement, one of Nepal's most Significant Social Movements. It does mention the Madhesi Movement but does not deal with it in detail (Hangen, 2010).

'Internal Conflicts in Nepal: Transnational Consequences' by V.R Raghavan discusses about how the neglect of socio economic needs inequality and injustice in Nepali society attributed to the genesis of the maoist insurgency in Nepal. It discusses issues like how the Jana Andolan in the 1990s paved the way for multi-party governance in Nepal. It is vividly mentioned that the opening up of the polity led to the increased awareness of inequality which helped the maoist insurgency to grow. It mentions that even after the comprehensive peace agreement and election to the constituent assembly the coalition government thereon could not provide adequate steps to address the ethnic, economic and political aspirations of multi ethnic groups. This had caused further unrest and had created conditions for newer conflicts. The author also explains about the problems of movement of mafia groups, drug trafficking and political activities facilitated by the close proximity of Nepal with the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in India. He opines that the control of cross border activities remains difficult and led to serious cross border implications. This volume is a compilation of eight papers presented at a workshop organised at Varanasi in June 2010. But it mentions very less about the Madhesi movement and focuses more on the maoist insurgency and the problems that culminated thereon (Raghavan, 2011).

Another book 'Pathways to power: The Domestic Politics of South Asia' edited by Arjun Gunaratne and Anita M. Weiss introduces the domestic politics of South Asia in the broadest possible context, studying the ongoing transformative processes grounded in cultural forms. While doing so the book reveals to the readers the interplay between politics, cultural values, and human security. Although these are important correlations everywhere, they are not more compelling in other places than in South Asia. Identity politics not just religious but also of caste, ethnicity, regionalism and social class infuses all aspects of Social and political life in the subcontinent. Recognising this complex interplay of these factors the book moves beyond conventional views of South Asian Politics and finds all the connections between history, culture and social values needed in its examination of political life. It mentions India, Pakistan and Bangladesh which form the core of South Asia along with two smaller states on its periphery i.e.

landlocked Nepal and the island of Sri Lanka. The book clears that many factors bring together the disparate countries of the region into important engagements with one another. It mentions the Madhesi movement in Nepal and the implications on the India Nepal relations but does not focus on it in detail (Guneratne & Weiss, 2013).

The book 'Paradise Lost: State Failure in Nepal' by Ali Riaz and Subho Basu offers a unique interdisciplinary perspective on Nepal. It serves as a concise reference on the history of Modern Nepal from 1768- 2006, and as a valuable primer on the social, political and economic issues that contribute to the ongoing political crisis of the country. The central argument of the book is that the state of Nepal has failed. The authors state that their intention in classifying Nepal as a failed state is to answer the question of 'for whom the Nepali state has failed and how'. They try to bring forward the picture of a polity that has long been in problems and is facing an unprecedented crisis. The authors demonstrate that Nepal has been in stages one and two of the process of state failure since 1951. But it is unclear when the state became overwhelmed and thus moved on to the condition of becoming a failed state. The concept of failed state remains vague and blurry in the book. The core chapters in the book provide an insight into the modern history of Nepal. Chapter one is about the country's major political developments from 1768 to 2005 i.e. from the year when the Shah dynasty captured Kathmandu to King Gyanendra's Royal coup. The second chapter is about how ethnicity became a central element in Nepali politics. It traces the dominance of the high caste Hindus during the Shah period to the Ranas and in the Panchayat era. It mentions about some of the key social movements that arose during the 1990s and also mentions the Madhesi movement. Chapter three traces the dire economic problems of the country and examines their roots in exogenous, endogenous and ecological factors. Chapter four examines the rise of the maoists, stating that the maoists arose because of, and further contributed to the failure of the state. Chapter five describes the popular uprising of 2006. It is about how the political parties, maoists, the civil society members came together in reaction to the Royal Coup. It is a clear and engaging book but it lacks a detailed discussion of the Madhesi movement which is needed for the present study (Riaz & Basu, 2010).

Conflicts in South Asia' Volume 2 Economic and Ethnic dimensions, edited by Urmila Phadnis, S. D Muni and Kalim Bahadur are a collection of essays which addresses the political and social systems of the South Asian states comparatively. The books focus on issues such as domestic

conflicts in the South Asian States, ethnic turmoil, challenges to the state authority, economic policies and distribution of justice. The books discuss the challenges to the governmental legitimacy in the South Asian countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, and Nepal, due to the multiethnic character of the societies and the centralization of power etc. It has individual essays about the poverty trends in India, ethnic and political developments in Nepal which tend to be useful. Especially the essay on Nepal's ethnic and political development becomes useful to understand the ethnic turmoil in Nepal. But the book specifically does not focus only on Nepal but the whole of South Asia and studies similar problems in other countries of south Asia (Phadnis, Muni, & Bahadur, 1986).

The book 'Nationalism and ethnic conflict in Nepal: Identities and mobilization after 1990' edited by Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen deals with various articles by eight different scholars that deal with problems of identity of many marginalised groups in Nepal. Problems of recognition of various groups like hill Dalits, Madhesis, and Madhesi Muslims etc. are discussed. Issues such as ethno politics and ethno development are also discussed. The book comprises a vivid description of the ethnic diversity in Nepal and hence a description of rising conflicts between these diverse ethnic groups. But the book sees the various movements arising out of identity crisis, as ethnic conflicts and ethnic movements and does not focus much on the movement by the Madhesis (Mahendra & Susan, 2013).

Achin Vanaik in his article 'The New Himalayan Republic' sets out the complex socio historical backdrop to the Nepalese second democratic revolution of 2006 that overthrew the monarchy, the ensuing struggle for a new republic and the tactical challenges facing the communist party of Nepal (Maoist). Here he mentions about the Madhesi movement in the Terai and explains about the problems in the Terai. He specifically focuses on the maoist role in the Terai and explains the Madhesi movement in the context of transition in the political system after the overthrowing of monarchy. He explains the Madhesi movement in the aftermath of Jan Andolan 2, how the movement came up as a consequence of the failure of the interim constitution to enshrine a federal basis for a future Nepali state. But the author focuses on many other reasons as dilemmas of transition in the political system of Nepal and Madhesi uprising being one. He does not explain only about the Madhesi movement, its objectives or the state responses towards the movement (Vanaik, 2008).

Again the article, 'The Madhesi movement in Nepal: Implications for India' by Nihar Nayak identifies the reasons for the increasing assertiveness of the Madhesis in Nepal's politics. Nihar Nayak in his paper argues that the discrimination by the upper caste pahade (hill) people and the Nepali state has played an important role in the consolidation of Madhesi identity. He mentions about the mainstream madhesi parties taking a soft stand towards the issue while the armed groups demanding outright 'independence'. He also mentions about the differences that are existing inside the Madhesi movement and the fragmentation of the movement and how this has dragged India into the issue. Nayak discusses about how this would affect India and Nepal's relation and how anti-Indian sentiments would arise in Nepal, but does not focus much on the limitations of the Madhesi movement and the state responses on it (Nayak, 2011).

Frederick H. Gaige in his 'Regionalism and National Unity in Nepal' focused on the ethnic diversity and the division and conflict between the hills and the plains people in Nepal. In his book he considers regionalism as a problem of nation building in Nepal. He says that the problem of this division has to be overcome by Nepal. He mentions that the people from the plains dominate the economy, which gives them some leverage against the political hegemony of the capital. Hence Frederick Gaige, provides a comprehensive survey of conditions in the Terai and at the same time he also provides the reasons for the difficulty of integrating Nepal's population into a national community. Gaige opines that geography as a major factor divides the country into two parts. Economically the Terai people are in a more advantageous position. Factors like citizenship, education and language are all handled by the central government according to Gaige, to favor the people from the hills. The efforts made by the government for nation building always tend to perpetuate the inferior position of the people of the plains, instead of removing such inferiority issue. He also points out that the nature of all the policies of the government and the reforms it has brought about has always been designed to produce lack of communication in the Terai and underdevelopment (Gaige, 1975). Hence the author Frederick Gaige analyses the conditions and the reasons behind the hindrances of national unity in Nepal. But it is to be noted that he does not examine the Madhesi movement in the Terai in detail. Therefore it is evident that there still remains scope for the present study to look into the aims, objectives, causes of the movement and the state responses towards the movement.

1.4: SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The present study looks into the aims and objectives of the Madhesi movement. It focuses on the causes of the Madhesi movement, the demands of the people in the movement which highlight the political social and cultural aspect of the movement. The limitations and the failures of the Madhesi movement is another important area under the scope of the present study. The inter Madhesi conflict and the conflict among the various groups inside the movement itself is looked into. The present study looks into the perception of the ordinary Madhesi people about the Madhesi movement and the efforts that have been made to include the Madhesis in the policy formulations in Nepal.

1.5: OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- To discuss the aims and objectives of the Madhesi Movement in Nepal.
- To find out the causes behind the rise of the Madhesi Movement.
- To look into the inter Madhesi, inter party, and inter group conflicts within the Madhesi movement.
- To find out the efforts that were made to include the Madhesis in the policy formulation in Nepal.

1.6: RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What are the objectives of the Madhesi movement and what are the various causes behind the rise of the movement?
- What are the conflicts between the various Madhesi groups and parties within the Madhesi movement?
- What are the efforts that have been made over time to integrate Madhes in the processes of policy formulation?

1.7: METHODOLOGY

The present study depends on both the primary and secondary sources of data collection for the fulfillment of its objectives. It is a qualitative and descriptive research. The qualitative research presents non quantitative type of analysis. It describes reality as experienced by the groups, communities and individuals etc.

1.7.1: PRIMARY SOURCES:

Sample selection:

Purposive sampling has been used in which the organisers of the inquiry purposively choose the particular units of the universe for constituting a sample on the basis that the small mass that they so select out of a huge one will be typical or representative of the whole. The sample was chosen purposively because they had certain characteristics that were not common. The sampling technique was chosen also because it gives the researcher a considerable freedom of choice. But it should also be noted that an effort has been made so that characteristics like age, socio-economic status, religion, ethnic composition, caste etc. of the respondents are represented authentically without any bias.

Study area:

The area of study for the research to be conducted was Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari district of Nepal. Jhapa is the easternmost district of Nepal and lies in the fertile Terai plains. It borders Ilam district in the north, Morang district in the west, the state of Bihar, India in the south east and west Bengal, India in the East. The district is divided into 37 village development committees (VDC) and 7 municipalities. Morang district lies to the west of Jhapa. It has 6 municipalities and 47 village development committees. Sunsari district lies to the west of Morang consisting of 42 VDCs and 5 municipalities. The areas, Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari were taken for the following reasons:

In the proposed seven states of Nepal by the constitution of 2015, the Madhesis are populous in state 2 and the Tharus are populous in state 5. In political terms the Madhesis and the Tharus want two states both of which consist of only flat plains. For them no hilly region should be included in these two states. The current federal map with seven states has three areas that are not according to the demands of the Madhesis and Tharus.

- Inclusion of Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari should be made to the state 2 in the east.
- Continuation of state 2 and 5 through Chitwan and Nawalparasi should be there. In other words state 2 and 5 should remain joined.
- Inclusion of Kailali and Kanchanpur in state 5 should be there and removal of hill districts from state 5.

These were the reasons why the Madhesis and Tharus were still not satisfied with the demarcation made by the 2015 constitution and hence the present study focuses on Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari district which were not included in the state 2 which became the reason of resentment for them. Mentioning the population of Madhesis and Non Madhesis in Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari becomes important.

Jhapa	Morang	Sunsari
Madhesis: 226,529	417,171	396,594
Non Madhesis: 558,377	477,407	322,216
Others: 27,744	70,792	44,677

Table 1.1: Composition of Madhesis and Non Madhesis in Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari [Source: Nepal’s Central Bureau of Statistics]

The Madhesis are outnumbered by non Madhesis in Jhapa. In Morang the population of Madhesis is about 60,000 lower than non Madhesis and 70,000 of the rest are classified as ‘unknown’ or ‘others’. In Sunsari, Madhesis outnumber non madhesis by 74,000. In Jhapa Damak, was looked into. In Morang, Biratnagar was focused on and in Sunsari, Dharan was taken up.

In the present study three areas of Damak, Biratnagar and Dharan from three districts of Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari were purposively selected. The respondents targeted by the study were the Madhesi party leaders, Party members, ordinary Madhesi population and non Madhesis. The sample size was 109 dividing 35 respondents in each district consisting of 10 party leaders and members and 15 ordinary Madhesi respondents and 10 non Madhesi respondents in each district and 4 government personnels were interviewed for expert opinions, making a total of 109.

The Interview process:

The primary source of data collection was the use of survey method in which a semi structured questionnaire was used for the interview and the data was collected with the use of open ended

discussion. In each of the study area face to face interviews of the 15 Madhesi respondents were conducted. Direct personal investigation technique was used and similarly face to face interviews of the 10 non Madhesi respondents were taken in each of the study area. Visual methods were used for supplementing the data and the open ended discussions were recorded with the help of an audio recorder. The study also depended on Publications and reports of the Nepal government. In order to maintain the confidentiality of the interview and its voluntary nature all the respondents were asked for appointments and were given a choice to opt out of the interview. The respondents were also given a choice of negotiating a better time and place for the interview according to their convenience and were explained the purpose of the research clearly.

1.7.2: SECONDARY SOURCES: The secondary sources of data collection included, Books, Journals, articles, chronicles, newspapers and periodicals etc.

1.8: CHAPTERIZATION

- Chapter 1: This chapter consists of the introduction of the topic of the present study, the statement of the problem and the objectives of the research which the study has tried to fulfill.
- Chapter 2: Madhesi movement: Its Aims, Objectives and Causes.
This chapter is about the origin of the Madhesi movement and the objectives of the movement and the reasons behind its advent. It highlights the various causes that were behind the rise of the Madhesi movement and which helped in highlighting the movement's social, political and cultural aspects.
- Chapter 3: The conflicts in the Madhesi movement.
This chapter deals with the conflict between the various Madhesi groups, parties and other ethnic groups inside the Madhesi movement and the reasons behind them. The cultural and ideological differences between groups like the Tharus and Madhesis and conflicts between parties such as Madhesi parties and the CPN (Maoists) etc. has been focused in this chapter. Besides the internal conflicts the chapter also mentions the external conflicts and dynamics related to the Movement.

- Chapter 4: The Madhesi movement and State responses.

This Chapter analyses the efforts and policies of the Nepal government to integrate the Madhesi population in its policy formulation and decision making.

- Chapter 5: Conclusion and Findings.

This last chapter deals with the conclusion of the research and analysis and mention of the findings of research. Suggestions and recommendations were given as per the need of the study.

CHAPTER 2

MADHESI MOVEMENT: ITS AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND CAUSES

The Terai is the Northern fringe of the Indo Gangetic Plains on the foothills of the Central Himalayas. It is a long strip of fertile flat land in the southern region of Nepal. It is adjacent to the foothills of the Shivalik range of the Himalayas. The Terai lies in between the hills in the north and the Indo Gangetic plains in the south and so is called 'Madhya Desh' or Middle country in a literal sense. The Madhes is not only geographically but also culturally distinct from the hills. Most of the Terai inhabitants are plains people, called Madhesi, whose religion, traditions, languages, caste system, food, clothes, and other social customs and manners are similar to those of the people of the Indo-Gangetic plains and distinct from those of the hill people in Nepal (Yadav, 2006). There is a view in Nepal that 'Madhes' is not only a geographical term but that it also has cultural connotations. The desire of the marginalised groups in this region to have a separate identity within Nepal has led them to identify themselves as 'Madhesis' (Nayak, 2011). The Chapter is about this desire of the people in the Madhes to have a separate identity and the movement that followed subsequently in the Terai region of Nepal.

2.1: ORIGIN OF THE MADHESI MOVEMENT

Nepal is a landlocked, multiethnic, multilingual and multi religious country. Many dynasties of rulers ruled Nepal, but in the 18th century Prithvi Narayan Shah who was also known as the 'Gorkha King' set out to unify Nepal. He embarked on his mission by securing the neutrality of the bordering mountain kingdoms. He managed to conquer the Kathmandu valley in 1769, after many bloody battles and seizures, especially after the battle of Kirtipur (Rovato, 1799). According to father Giuseppe 'the King of Gorkha' in a space of four years affected the conquest of Nepal. He made himself the master of the country of the Kiratas⁶ to the east and of the other Kingdoms as far as the border of Cooch Bihar (Rovato, 1799).

In 1846 Jung Bahadur who was a young military commander seized on a governmental crisis to slaughter several dozen of the leading nobles of Nepal known as the Kot Parva or Kot massacre and thus he established his family (the Ranas) as the rulers behind the throne for over a hundred

years (Bhattarai, 2001). According to C.K Lal almost all the Rana rulers thereafter spent time conspiring against each other. Their whole regime rested on corruption. The Rana oligarchy had gone beyond redemption by 1950. The restoration of power to the Shah dynasty in 1951 was backed by a popular movement (Lal, 2001). The exiled Nepalis during the Rana rule had growing political consciousness due to the education in India. They got introduced to Western Political ideas and many of them actively took part in the Indian Independence movement. Quite a number of them were members of the Indian National Congress, while many others joined the Communist Party of India. Even though the Ranas prevented the formation of political and social organisations in Nepal, the immigrant Nepalis were able to form political parties in India. January 1947 saw the formation of some minor political and student organisations through the initiative of B.P Koirala, under the Name of Nepali National Congress (Nepali Rashtriya Congress) (Kraemer, 1999). Nepal's political events of 1950/51 have often been praised as people's revolution (janakranti), but it was actually the result of cooperation of both external and internal forces in a highly affective regional political situation and not just a revolution by the people (Pradhan, 1991).

According to Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen many Madhesis participated in the anti Rana democratic movement 1950-1951 that was primarily based in the Terai. Activism in the Terai/Madhes had increased with the anti-landlord movements during the 1950s that demanded the rights of the landless farmers and the small farmers (Lawoti & Hangen, 2013). With the end of the Rana regime and the advent of democracy in 1951, grievances and dissatisfaction began to be aired publicly. The marginalised groups openly started to challenge the state and started mobilizing themselves (Lawoti, 2012). It was during the 1950's and the 1960's that the region of Terai became the common ground for pro democratic movement and Madhesi activism. At this period the notion of 'internal colonisation of Terai' was construed in a number of ways ranging from the inadequate representation of Madhesis in the assembly to the denial of citizenship for all madhesis (Raghavan, 2011). Similarly the Madhesis were also engaged in a movement to oppose the compulsory imposition of Nepali in Public Schools (Gaige, 1975).

Terai was a politically active region and in 1951 Bedananda Jha established the Nepal Terai Congress (NTC) for the protection of the rights of the Madhesis. The objectives of the party were the establishment of autonomy in the Terai, making of Hindi as a state language, and to

ensure the adequate representation of the people in the Terai in the civil services. The party contested in the 1959 general election but all of the 21 candidates it had, lost in the election. The reason behind its failure was the inability to mobilise the madhesis because the Nepali Congress, Nepali Praja Parishad and Nepali Communist party (NCP) also extended their support to the Multilanguage policy during the elections (Lawoti & Hangen, 2013). Although the NTC failed to secure seats in the 1959 general election, it secured 2.1% of the popular votes in the election (Einsiedel, Malone, & Pradhan, 2012).

In 1956 Raghunath Thakur established the 'Madhesi Mukti Andolan' for the Madhesi cause. He argued that Terai came under the section 73 of the U.N Charter and that Terai was an autonomous region. He later formed the 'Madhesi Janakrantikari dal' to continue the Madhesi revolution. The organisation's main objective was to obtain self-governance, to select capable madhesis to make their own army, police and bureaucrats, the enforcement of laws made by madhesis in Madhes and to provide land ownership to the Madhesis (Rastra, 2011).

Various occasional uprisings besides the Madhesi issue were seen coming up during this period for instance the Tamang rebellion against the Bahun and the chettri moneylenders and landowners in Dhading and Nuwakot in 1959-60. But when the king took over the power and reimposed royal autocratic rule in 1960, all these movements along with the Madhesi movement subsided (Einsiedel, Malone, & Pradhan, 2012).

In 1979 there was a student protest in Nepal in the months of April and May. The consequence of the protest was that, it forced the monarchy to concede to holding a referendum on the possibility of a multiparty system in the country. According to the official figures 11 people were killed and 164 were wounded (Brown, 1995). After the monarchical rule opened up slightly in the aftermath of the 1979 student union and the referendum of 1980 which followed subsequently, the marginalised ethnic and caste groups slowly began to organise themselves and reassert themselves again. It is then that Gajendra Narayan Singh quit the Nepali Congress and formed the Nepali Sadbhavna Council in 1983 to represent the concerns of the Madhesis (Einsiedel, Malone, & Pradhan, 2012). Other ethnic associations such as the society for the promotion of Kirat religion and literature, the Nepal bhasa manka khal, and the forum for the rights of all ethnic people in Nepal also reemerged as cultural promotion organisations during this period along with other grass root level organisations (Hangen, 2000).

Gajendra Narayan Singh's Nepal Sadbhavna Parishad (council) which was a madhesi front to fight for Madhesi rights was later transformed into a political party that is the Nepal Sadbhavna Party (Lawoti, 2005). The Sadbhavna Council under the leadership of Gajendra Narayan Singh became the Sadbhavna party in the wake of the introduction of a quasi-democratic system in 1990. It however, could secure only a limited number of seats in the Terai (Riaz & Basu, 2007). The Sadbhavna Party's fate was similar to that of the Nepal Terai Congress in terms of electoral politics. It saw some success by winning some seats in the parliamentary polls of the 1990s, but it failed to build an organisation and it failed to expand beyond a narrow upper caste base of a few select districts of Terai. It did frame the Madhesi issue in terms of rights and justice but could never link it to livelihoods of the people and failed to mobilise them. The Madhesi voting patterns revealed that, broader party affiliations (NC-UML) and narrow caste loyalties (forward Yadav- backward Dalit) trumped any broader allegiance to a 'Madhes' region which remained a cultural rather than a political identity. The Sadbhavna party also got sucked into the power politics of Kathmandu and Gajendra Narayan Singh became content with a ministership in the cabinet (Jha, 2014). Many members of the Sadbhavna party actually opposed the formation of a party after the Council and they left the party and joined the Congress instead. Their belief was that, it is better to lobby for the demands of the madhesi rather than to float a new political organisation. The Nepali Congress had the Koirala family who traditionally led the party and with their base in Biratnagar they had maintained connections with the Maithili community and hence had a substantial following in the region. The domination over the Sadbhavna party by various fragmentations of the Terai community who are fragmented in terms of allegiance to different castes and ethnic identities, the Maithil Bahuns and the kayasths prevented the emergence of a pan Terai Movement. After the death of Gajendra Narayan Singh the party split in 1998 and Anandi Devi who was Singh's widow led the larger fraction of the party. She joined the pro-democracy movement and Badri Prasad Mandal who was the leader of the opposite fraction declared his loyalty to the king. Vast majorities of the Terai electorate voted for major national parties during the 1990s. The Sadbhavna party after the democracy movement got its new access to power and it hoped to play an important role in the creation of a federal polity (Riaz & Basu, 2007).

Away from the capital Kathmandu's politics, tremendous changes were taking place in the Terai. The indigenous people and the janjatis got international support and were slowly consolidating

themselves and they were openly challenging the hegemony of the few castes over the Nepali state. The politics evolving around ethnic and regional identities were becoming sharper both globally and regionally. Young people from the plains now visited Kathmandu, interacted with the state and recognised that they were treated differently and derisively. Missed opportunities were linked to a systemic discrimination. Questions like “How can I get a job, these pahadis will take it?” became a common refrain among Madhesis who had applied for positions in the government. Language movements that aimed at protecting Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Urdu and Hindi picked up a fast pace. Madhesi students in Kathmandu slowly began asserting their distinct cultural practices by organising events like the Saraswati puja. ‘The Democracy’ of the 1990s had led to greater awareness, but also to disillusionment and anger about the absence of greater access to opportunities, resources and representation. The Maoists too were slowly entering the Terai and shaking up its political social and economic structures (Jha, 2014).

With the establishment of a multi-party democracy in the 1990s people of Nepal had expected that the representation of the nation would become more inclusive. Fierce public Debate over the shape that the nation should take under the multiparty system took over the period of the 90s. In May 1990 the Constitution Recommendation Committee was formed. The majority of the suggestions that were made to the committee were about the issues of regional, linguistic, ethnic, and religious identity. Such suggestions to the Constitution Recommendation Committee challenged the panchayat model of a homogeneous nation. They criticised the privileged status of ‘Nepali’ over other languages. The lack of religious freedom to the citizens and the designation of Nepal as a Hindu country was also critiqued. Later the indigenous and marginalised groups were dissatisfied with the constitution of 1990. Although the constitution proclaimed that Nepal was a multiethnic and multilingual state, it had not been able to abandon the older model of nationalism as ‘Nepal’ still remained a Hindu Kingdom. In order to keep the Nepali citizens from being influenced by other religions such as Christianity and other non-Hindu religions, religious conversions were banned in the Constitution. Nepali remained as the language of the nation and was to be used as the official state language although other languages were also recognised as national languages. The Identity based movements of the 1990s could gain visibility by organising around the issues raised in the drafting of the 1990 constitution. The Madhesi movement being one of the movements aimed at ending the dominance of the state by

hill high castes Hindus (Hangen, 2007). Hence the 1990s became crucial for the strengthening of the Madhesi movement.

Again in January and February 2007 a 21 day long mass movement occurred in the Terai, which was an event parallel to the Janandolan II⁷ of April 2006. It was a landmark event which brought out the regional based ethno nationalism as one of the prominent issues in the national discourse of restructuring the Nepali state. The Transitional governance after the post Janandolan II offered some privileges and benefits to the Janjatis, Women and the Dalits, but nothing was granted in the case of Madhesis. Thus the Madhes explosion of 2007 was a consequence of the resentment held by the Madhesis against the Nepali state. The interim Constitution which was passed on 15th January 2007 had to be amended twice within less than a period of three months. The Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala with the eight party coalition along with the CPN maoist had to proclaim that federalism would be instituted in the Constitution and the number of constituencies would be increased in the Terai (Hachhethu, 2007).

Krishna Hachhethu gives a direct observation report of the Madhesi uprising from 16th to 26th January 2007 in Janakpur city of Dhanusha district. He mentions that the Madhes Bandh was called by the Madhesi Jan Adhikar Forum (MJF) backed by the Tarai Janatantrik Mukti Morcha (JTMM), (both faction Goait and Jwala Singh) and participated in by the members of the Nepal Sadbhavna Party (Hachhethu, 2007). The MJF intensified its protests by saying that the interim Constitution failed to address the demands of the Madhesi community. It along with TJMM stated that the constitution was prepared by the Nepali hill people and did not address the issues raised by the Terai. What till now was a sequence of intermittent campaigning and sporadic incidents of violence, converted into a full-fledged confrontation between the state and Terai parties (Pandey, 2010). Schools, shops and all modes of transport were banned and those trying to defy the ban were destroyed or burned down. Torch rallies were organised every evening throughout the movement. The Police failed to control the situation. The protestors defied the curfew and burned down government offices, banks, and some private property. Copies of the interim Constitution were also burnt. On January 16th, leaders of the MJF party were arrested while they were burning copies of the interim Constitution in Kathmandu. The Sadbhav or Harmony rallies were held by the local leaders of the seven party alliance to counter the protests, but these were not effective. When some members of the CPN maoist countered the members of

the MJF, The CPN (M)'s office buildings were attacked and burnt down. Slogans like 'Pahadis out of Madhes' and 'Down with hill administration' were frequently heard and chanted during the movement (Hachhethu, 2007). There was also a dramatic increment in the number of armed and unarmed political parties fighting for the cause of the Madhesi people (Pandey, 2010).

While tracking the various events of the movement in 2007, it can be found that the first flashpoint was in Nepalgunj, where the Nepal Sadbhavna party had called a strike. While the police and administration were trying to block the protests the pahadis in the Terai attacked the shops of the Madhesis in the town. There were various reports of the retaliation by the madhesis but the Pahade violence and the police complicity were captured in the camera. The anti Madhesi rampage was captured in a DVD and it was circulated widely (ICG, 2007). This fuelled anger and raised further tensions. Three days after the MJF leaders were arrested for burning the copies of the interim constitution on 16th of January, MJF activists protested the arrests in Lahan and Siraha. They clashed with the Maoists who shot dead Ramesh Kumar Mahato who was a young MJF activist. On the 20th of January as the MJF demanded action against the murder and compensation, the maoists seized Mahato's body and cremated it (ICG, 2007). The MJF stepped up protests against the government for inaction on its part. It also protested against the maoists who grudgingly and belatedly apologised. Ramesh Kumar Mahato's killing was the spark for the prolonged agitation. It was like lighting a fire on a bag of gunpowder. The activists of the movement called for a general strike in the Terai region and organised a widespread protest. The government on its side responded with curfews and an increased police presence. The MJF announced that it would continue the protests indefinitely until the interim constitution was amended, on the 25th of January. Government offices, banks, police posts, district offices, media organisations etc. were looted by the activists during the movement (ICG, 2007). They even vandalized the statues of Pahade political leaders. The direct impact was seen when Kathmandu's key supply routes were blocked, leading to inflation, petrol shortage and travel disruption. Although there were attacks on the Pahadis living in the Terai, communalism was not the defining feature of the unrest in Terai. The response from the state was harsh, killing more than 30 people and wounding almost 800 (ICG, 2007). The protest initially did center on Lahan and Janakpur at first but soon it spread to all Terai based towns. The MJF did organise some of the demonstrations but others were spontaneous and were organised and led by the local groups which helped in mobilizing the people, coordinating the protests and helped in providing support

to the injured. Places like Malangwa, Birgunj, Lahan and Biratnagar saw major clashes(ICG, 2007). The agitators in some cases blamed the journalists and the media for not covering the movement sufficiently. The MJF became the movement's leading party but the movement lacked proper planning. It was commented by one of the observers of the movement that, "it was Lahan that created Upendra not the other way round"(ICG, 2007). The MJF was not prepared to make the most of the public support that it received. A district level leader of the MJF also admitted that they did not know how to handle the movement. There were only four to six leaders in each district and twenty to thirty activists and they were not able to handle the pressure and deal with the sudden increase in the thousands of protestors. They did not have the organisation nor the leadership to mobilise the masses and to channel this energy for the benefit and good of their party. They could not keep in touch with the people who in the future might have turned into the long term supporters of the party. The escalation of the tension during that period surprised even those who led the movement. An Indian diplomat who followed the events closely commented that "everyone including the Madhesi leaders, failed to read the intensity of popular sentiments...even when Upendra Yadav and his colleagues burned the interim Constitution, they did not quite realise what they were doing – and when the NSP called a bandh its own leaders were shocked at its success"(ICG, 2007). But nevertheless despite all the failures in the 2007 Madhesi uprising, it was seen that the participation in the protests cut across the political divides. Activists of other groups from Nepali Congress and the UML (United Marxist Leninist) to both the factions of the JTMM played a major role in the movement. The longstanding grievances of the Madhesis even spurred the party such as the CPN (m) (Communist Party of Nepal Marxist) to join the protest, although many of the protests had an anti-maoist theme (ICG, 2007).

Again on 20th September 2015 Nepali new Constitution was promulgated but it could not satisfy the Madhesis and the Tharus who form almost 70 percent of the Terai population. They regarded the formation of the seven federal provinces as per the constitution as grossly unfair to them. Only a patch of eight districts were given the status of a state in the Terai and the remaining fourteen districts were carved with the hill districts. As a result a Nepal blockade began on 23rd September 2015. The major Madhes based parties also refused from signing the constitution. Provision was made in the Constitution for 165 members of the parliament, but the constituencies were developed in such a way that the people of the hills and mountain region

although their share in the total population of Nepal was less than 50 percent were allotted 100 seats. Whereas on the other hand even though the people of the Terai region inhabited over half of the country's population they were allocated only 65 seats. Due to this, a call was given by Unified Democratic Madhesi front and Tharuhat/ Tharuwan Joint Struggle Committee for indefinite strike in the Terai. Life in the Terai got paralysed due to the indefinite strike. The educational institutions, government offices, industries, banks, hospitals, shops, agricultural activities and transport services got crippled due to the strike. Essential items such as food grains, petrol and gas faced shortage of supply. Those people who depended on daily wages suffered the most. There were continuous curfews in various places restricting the movement of people. Law and order situation also deteriorated in the Terai. Rumors were there that India imposed a blockade and prevented the vehicles loaded with goods from India to enter Nepal (Jha H. B., 2015).

There was a fuel crisis and food scarcity in Nepal due to the blockade. Roughly 300 fuel trucks used to enter Nepal from India on a normal day, but it dwindled to only 5- 10 fuel trucks daily due to the protests in the Terai. The blockade did not only choke the import of petroleum, but also medicines and materials for earthquake relief. India was repeatedly asking Nepal to solve the issue with the Madhesi people because they were the ones blocking the border points and disrupting supplies. The trucks from India could not go to Nepal because of the insecurity, as the Terai part of Nepal was facing strikes from the period before the Nepal's new constitution was declared. The Nepali scholars were asking the government to internationalise the issue as India had stepped back from the Nepal India Friendship treaty and had violated the various trade, transit and commerce laws. There were also strong voices among the Nepali community that a landlocked country like Nepal should not be punished by India for political reasons. The Nepal government had asked for international help to solve the fuel crisis (Pandey L. , 2015). The government of India denied that it had imposed a blockade. It stated that the truck drivers from India were not entering Nepal owing to the safety reasons resulting from violent protests. On the 1st of October 2015 Sushma swaraj the Indian foreign minister denied Nepal's accusations officially and India's spokesperson Vikash Swarup pointed out that 4, 310 trucks had gone to the border but they were stranded and it was the responsibility of Nepal to take them from there onwards. On the other hand it was also reported that the trucks were not allowed to enter Nepal

by the Indian side, resulting in long queues of Nepalese trucks standing for days in the Indian side of the border (Telegraph, 2015).

On the 6th of October 2015 the Nepal Sadbhavna party criticised the media reports of Nepal of blaming the blockade on India. A madhesi leader Rajendra Mahato gave a statement that the blockade had been done by the madhesi people and so India had no hands in it (Times o. I., 2015). On the 2nd of November, Nepalese police moved into Birgunj to clear out all the protestors present there. The protestors in Birgunj managed to return and continued protesting even after the police actions. They attacked the police station with petrol bombs and stones. The police opened fire on the protestors in retaliation and a person named Ashish Kumar Ram was killed. He was later found out to be an Indian citizen. This raised concerns over the involvement of Indians in the Madhes protests. More than 25 protestors and civilians were injured and 6 police officers were injured. Since then a curfew had been imposed in Birgunj (Gurubacharya, 2015). Nepalese police again clashed with Samyukta Loktantrik Madhesi Morcha's (SLMM) protestors on the 21st of November. This happened in the district of Saptari where the protestors were blocking the vehicles from entering Nepal. There were around 5,000 protestors involved. The Nepalese police shot dead 3 protestors at Rupanj, Bhardaha and Rajbiraj. Again on 22nd of November another protestor was killed in Rajbiraj. A curfew was imposed in all the three towns (Khadga, 2015). The Tharuhat protestors who are seeking their own separate state different from Madhesi parties in the western Terai also clashed with the Madhesi parties during this period. More than 10 people from both sides were injured in clashes at Attariya, Hasanpur and Pipalchautara (Times, 2015).

The Madhesi protestors attacked the Nepali media outlets and a media van was burnt down on the 28th of December 2015. It was the van of Kantipur Publications in Parsa. The media outlet was blamed that it was publishing anti Madhesi news. There was also a view in Nepal that the madhesi protestors were being used as a proxy for Indian actions (Post, 2016).

The Madhesi leader Rajendra Mahato who is one of the top four leaders of the United Madhesi front which is an alliance of four Madhesi parties, backed down on February 4th 2016. He made a statement that they failed to create a pressure on the government by blocking border points and they only caused suffering to the ordinary people. The Madhesi leaders, however, state that their struggle is far from over and that they will continue to fight for their rights in the coming

days. They are still demanding only two Madhes provinces encompassing the whole Tarai region (Times T. N., 2016).

2.2: AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE MADHESI MOVEMENT

There are various aims and objectives that the Madhesi movement holds. Some of the major aims and objectives of the movement are as follows:

The 'Madhesis' search for identity and sense of belonging to the nation-state of Nepal. To fulfill this goal, they have four main aspirations, they are:

1. A liberal policy on citizenship so that most of the citizenship-less people can get their identity and fully participate in building this nation as bona fide citizens.
2. Official status for Hindi language since as the lingua franca it binds all Madhesis together.
3. Employment quota for Madhesis in the civil service and the army, thereby bringing them in the mainstream of national development;
4. A federal system of government to recognize their separate identity. (Yadav, 2006).

During the 2007 Madhesi uprising the aims of the movement were:

1. Abrogation of the interim Constitution
2. Declaration of federalism
3. Census before the election of the constituent assembly
4. Delimitation of electoral constituencies on the basis of population
5. Inclusion of madhesis in the state apparatus (Hachhethu, 2007).

In 2007 the UDMF United Democratic Madhesi Front was established and it was an alliance of three parties namely, Terai Madhesi Loktantrik Party (TMLP), Madhesi Jan Adhikar forum and Nepal Sadbhavna Party. It was formed prior to the constituent assembly elections of April 2008. The result was an eight point agreement programme and some of the issues that were included in the agreement were the following, which also highlighted the demands of the Madhesis:

- i. Nepal will be a Federal Republican Democratic state accepting the wish of the Madhesi people for an autonomous Madhesi state and that of the people of other regions for an autonomous state with federal structure. There will be distinct power sharing between the center and the regions in the federal structure on the basis of lists. The regions will have complete autonomy and authority. The elected Constituent assembly will devise a way to apply the formation of such states and the rights attributed to the region and the center while keeping national sovereignty, unity and integrity intact.
- ii. The Government will compulsorily appoint, promote and nominate madhesi, indigenous communities, women, dalits, backward areas and minority communities to ensure proportional participation in security bodies and all organs of the state.
- iii. The entry of madhesi and other groups into the Nepal army will be ensured to give the army a national and inclusive structure (Raghavan, 2011).

It is evident that as the movement has progressed during the years the aims and objectives of the movement have also evolved and have undergone changes. Like in the 2015 the aims of the movement were a little different than that of 2007. This was because when the constitution was passed in 20th September 2015 the seven states of Nepal was proposed by the constitution. The madhesis are populous in state 2 and the tharus are populous in state 5 (See Fig 2.1). In political terms the Madhesis wanted two states both of which consisted only flat plains. The flaw in the federal map proposed by the constitution was that the hill districts were also included in these states and the districts from the Terai like Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari were excluded from these states in the Terai and included in the states from the hills. Another flaw was that the two states that is 2 and 5 were separated with Chitwan and Nawalparasi in between, which are Terai districts but merged with the other state. Hence the aims of the movement during this period were:

1. Inclusion of Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari should be made to the state 2 in the east.
2. Continuation of state 2 and 5 through Chitwan and Nawalparasi should be there.
3. Inclusion of Kailali and Kanchanpur in state 5 should be there and removal of hill districts from state.

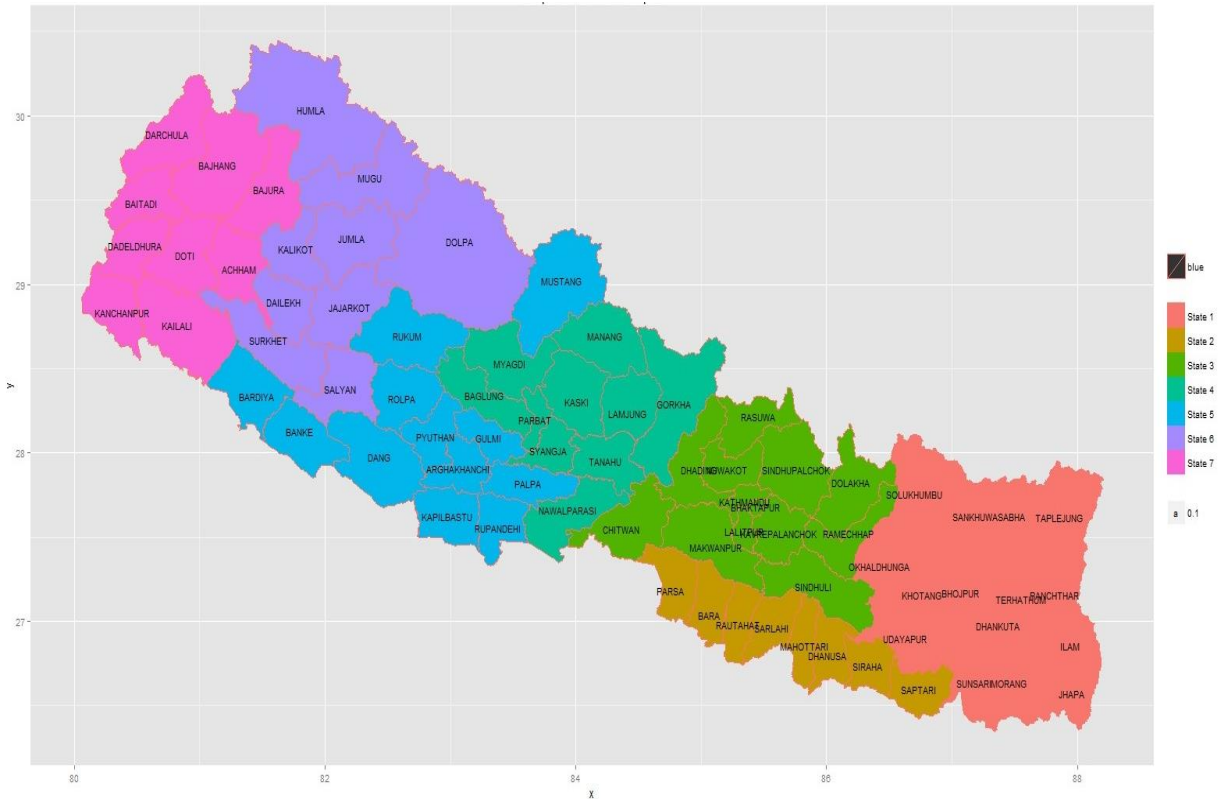


Fig 2.1: The proposed seven states of Nepal according to the 2015 constitution of Nepal [source: Madhesi Youth: Voice of young Nepalese]

The objective of having proportional representation has also been an important objective throughout the movement. The interim constitution in 2007 provided that 50% of the seats of the proposed constituent assembly will be subject to proportional representation and the other 50% will be subject to the old system of first past the post. The government of Nepal in 2007 considered ensuring proportional representation in the entire constituent assembly for the madhesis. But it was also stated that there are 104 castes in Nepal and accommodating all groups was impossible. Hence proportional representation has been an important objective for the movement.

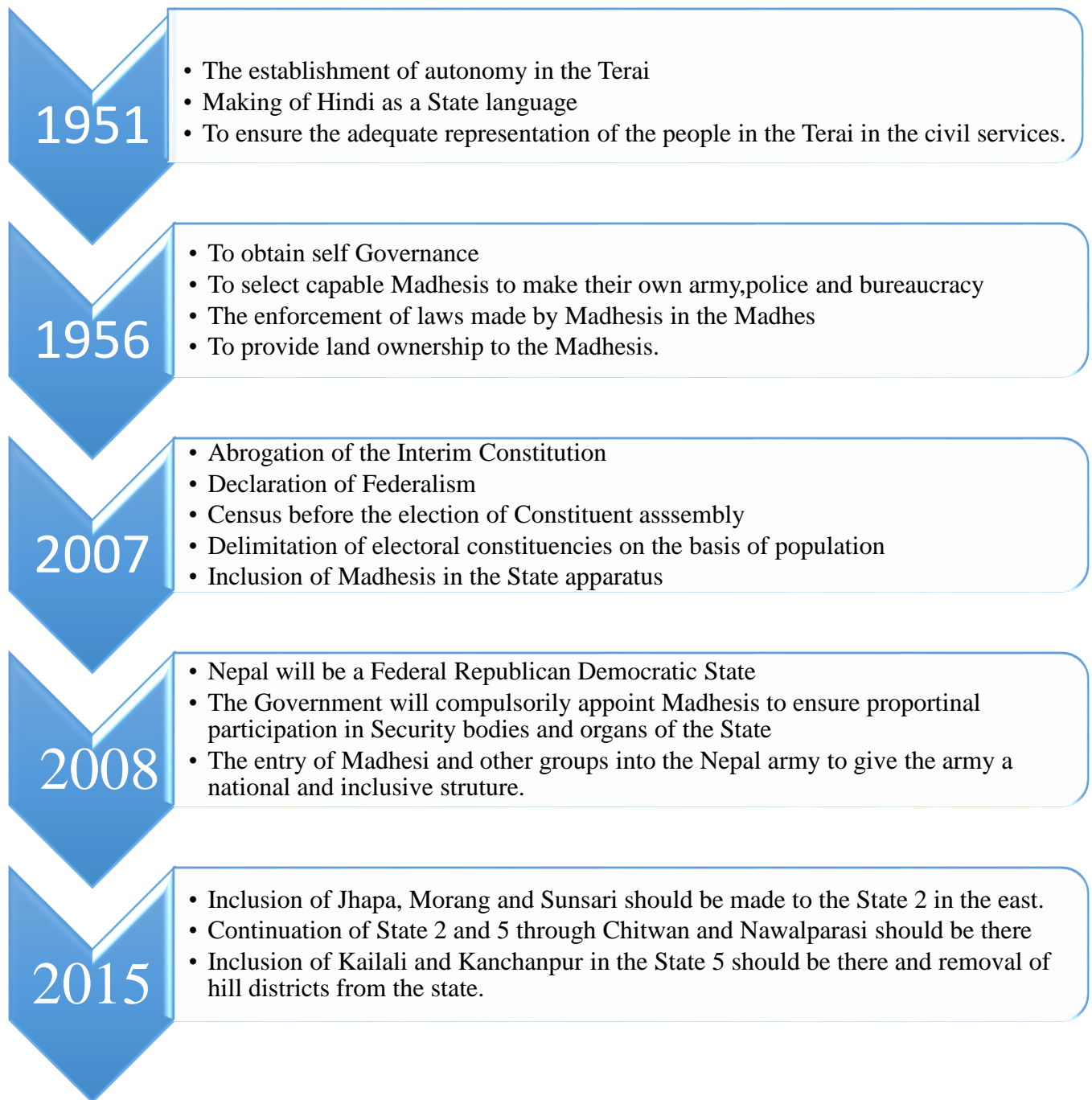
The major demands that are being raised by the Madhesis that have not been accommodated in the new Constitution of 2015 as per the IDSA (Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis) are:

- Group the 20 districts of Madhes in two federal provinces. The present federal structure separates five Madhes districts (Kanchanpur, Kailali, Sunsari, Jhapa and Morang) from Madhesh provinces and merges them with other proposed neighboring provinces.

- Delineate electoral constituencies based on population, geography and special characteristics which were accepted by the Interim Constitution after the Madhesh Movement of 2008.
- Incorporate the right to participate in state structures on the basis of principles of proportional inclusion, which was accepted by the Interim Constitution. Similarly, seats in the national assembly should be allocated on a proportional basis. Since Madhes has 51 per cent of the population, out of the proposed 165 electoral constituencies being proposed for direct elections, 83 should be allocated to the provinces in the Madhes region.
- Interim Constitution had provided for re-demarcation of electoral constituencies every 10 years, as per the census; the new constitution has increased it to 20 years. The Madhesi parties do not approve of this change.
- Citizenship should be passed on through the name of the mother as well. There should be no discrimination based on citizenship acquired by descent or naturalisation. The new Constitution states that only citizens by descent will be entitled to hold the posts of President, Vice-President, Prime Minister, Chief Justice, Speaker of Parliament, Chairperson of National Assembly, Head of Province, Chief Minister, Speaker of Provincial Assembly and Chief of Security Bodies (Jaiswal, 2015).

FIG 2.2: THE EVOLUTION OF THE MADHESI AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The figure shows the changes progress and the evolution that the aims and objectives of the Madhesi movement had undergone during the years.



2.3 THE CAUSES BEHIND THE MADHESI MOVEMENT

Dr. Harka Gurung in his book 'Trident and Thunderbolt: Cultural Dynamics in Nepalese Politics' clearly mentioned that there are three main social groups in Nepal that have been marginalised by the state's biased monopolistic policy. They are the 'janjati' who are the ethnic groups, marginalised on the basis of culture, the 'Dalit' or the untouchables who are marginalised on the basis of caste and the 'Madhesi' who are the inhabitants of the Terai who are marginalised on the basis of geography (Gurung, 2003).

So the Madhesi issue did not suddenly emerge, a long history of a sense of discrimination is at the root of Madhesi struggle. For more than five decades the Madhesi's have been waging a struggle against the discriminatory practices of the Nepali Government (Yvome, 2007). Over the years Madhesis have struggled from a sense of discrimination and consequent deprivation. They feel exploited and discriminated by the upper caste pahade migrant communities (Nayak, 2011). Hence there are various causes due to which the Madhesi movement spurted. These causes were the reasons behind the spontaneity of the movement. They also indicate the social, cultural and political aspects of the madhesi movement. The following are the various causes that led to the emergence of the madhesi movement:

2.3.1: Citizenship

Citizenship provides a person with his identity, with a nation and grants and with the access to power and services. It becomes a symbol of legitimacy for the people living within their National boundaries. It is a bond between the individuals and the Government of a nation and so it becomes important in the process of national integration (Gaije, 1975). The issue of citizenship in the Madhes was raised by the Terai based Sadbhavna party through a cultural movement that was aimed at making the demands of the madhes population heard in Kathmandu. Above all, this practice of the denial of the citizenship certificate to the people of the Madhes due to their alleged dual nationality becomes an important reason for the madhesi upsurge. The Government of Nepal followed a strict criterion on the issue of citizenship certificates. The reasons like cross border linkages among the Terai population with the Indians across the border, the constant to and fro movement of the people between Terai and North India and the fear of mass migration compelled the Nepal Government to follow and adopt a stringent attitude towards the issuing of

citizenship certificates to the people inhabiting the Terai and especially those who had relatives across the border (Riaz & Basu, 2007). Hence a very large section of the madhesi population is without a citizenship certificate. People who live in the hills and the people who live in the plains are suspicious of each other (Yadav, 2006). It was because of this suspicion that when the 1960 citizenship legislation was framed by the then representatives of the dominant hill culture that the 1960 citizenship legislation was found to be discriminatory resulting from the suspicion (Gaige, 1975). The citizenship legislation framed after the advent of democracy in 1990 was not much different than the 1960s. However the citizenship legislation of the 1950s was not discriminatory. The reason behind the citizenship legislation of 1960s being discriminatory is that, at that period after the Royal coup the leaders of the Nepali Congress who were in exile were initiating underground activities from the Terai and borders of India which posed a threat to the Royal government. The citizenship act of 1964 and the constitution of 1990 decided that citizenship would be given on the basis of descent and ability to speak and write Nepali. This was the essential requirement in the act. This clearly punished the people from the plains due to their lack of knowledge of Nepali language. A hill based intellectual Dr. Harka Gurung headed a commission on immigration in 1984 that recommended far more stringent control over migration from India. It resulted in the formation of the Nepal Sadbhavna Council which later turned into a party. It was formed as a cultural advocacy forum with the aim to raise concerns of the Madhes on a national level (Riaz & Basu, 2007). In the absence of various documents like birth certificates and landownership documents, the people from the Terai who spoke Hindi were denied the citizenship certificates and without the citizenship certificate they could not get the land titles and were deprived of various Government benefits and privileges. (Nayak, 2011). Citizenship is a must for acquiring land especially agricultural land. The farmers in the Terai are mostly landless or tenants, as they must be able to produce their citizenship certificate for buying land or registering the title of the land they work in, in their names. As a result the landless in the Terai have failed to qualify for the ownership of land. According to Ram Prakash Yadav it is a catch 22 situation for the landless in the Terai as the land registration document (Lal Purja) is needed to prove that a person belongs to Nepal and then he qualifies for citizenship, but to acquire land the person must have a citizenship certificate. The people in the Terai are living in this paradox (Yadav, 2006). A Government Commission in 1994 reported that almost 3.5 million Nepalese did not yet have citizenship certificate(ICG, 2007). The citizenship law was amended

in November 2006 and according to it anyone born in Nepal before 1990 and those who are permanent residents in Nepal are eligible for citizenship. But there are still many madhesis, dalits and janjatis who are yet to get citizenship certificates and are deprived. According to the UNHCR, about 800,000 citizens remained de facto stateless even after a successful government campaign in 2007 in which 2.6 million citizenship certificates were distributed (Nayak, 2011). Hence this issue became an important cause for the rise of the madhesi movement and it does highlight the political aspect of the movement.

2.3.2: REPRESENTATION

The people in the Terai view that the high caste Hindus⁸ of the hills have long held the majority of positions in the government and administration. In both the Parliament of 1959 and the national level panchayat in 1969, the high caste Hindus from the hills held more than 50 percent of the seats. The Brahmans, Chettris and Newars formed the overwhelming majority of officers in the National level administration in 1854, 1950, and 1965 (Gaige, 1975) and they comprised of 92 percent of the high officials in the bureaucracy in 1973 (Blakie, Cameron, & Seddon, 1980).

Table 2.1: Integrated National Index of Governance 1999.

Integrated National Index of Governance, 1999													
Institution	CHHE ^a		Dalit		Madhesi		Newar ^b		IN ^c		Other		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Judiciary: supreme-district	181	77	0	0	18	7.7	32	13.6	4	1.7			235
Constitution commissions	14	56	0	0	3	12	6	24	2	8			25
Cabinet	20	62.5	0	0	5	15.6	3	9.4	4	12.5			32
Parliament: lower, upper	159	60	4	1.5	46	17.4	20	7.6	36	13.6			265
Civil and security forces, elite	190	77.	0	0	9	3.7	43	17.6	3	1.2			245

Central committee, national parties	97	58.8	0	0	26	17.8	18	10.9	25	15.2			165
District development committee chair/vice, mayor/deputy	106	55.5	0	0	31	16.2	30	15.7	23	12			191
Industry/commerce leadership	7	16.	0	0	15	35.7	20	47.6	0	0			42
Educational leadership	75	77.3	1	1	7	7.2	11	11.3	2	2.1	1	1	97
Cultural leadership	85	69.1	0	0	0	0	22	17.9	6	4.9			123
Science/technology leadership	36	58.0	0	0	6	9.7	18	29	2	3.2			62
Civil society leadership	41	75.9	0	0	4	7.4	8	14.8	1	1.9			54
Total	1,011	66.5	5	0.3	170	11.2	231	15.2	108	7.1	1	0	1,520
Percentage (a)		66.		0.3		11.2		15.2		7.1		0	100
Population % (b) ^d		31.6		8.7		30.9		5.6		22.2		0.1	100
Difference % (a – b)		+34.9		-8.4		-19.7		+9.6		-15.1		-1	
Domination ratio (a/b)		2.1		0.03		0.36		2.71		0.32			

SOURCE: Lawoti (2005: 104-105). Chhe= Hill high caste Hindu Elite, Newars= are members of the indigenous nationalities category yet they are analysed as a separate category here because of their high socio economic status, IN= Indigenous nationality, the population percentage (b) is based on the 1991 census.

This table shows the extent to which high caste Hindus from the hills continued to dominate every sector of the government and the leadership of most non-governmental sectors such as civil society and education (Hangen, 2007). Compared to the period of the Panchayat years the political exclusion of marginalised groups actually increased under the post 1990 political system. Fewer indigenous nationalities were represented in the Parliament, Cabinet,

administration and judiciary (Lawoti, 2005). The following table is that of Madhesi representation in the previous Government cabinets.

Table 2.2: Representation of Various Caste and Ethnic Groups in the Cabinet from 1951 to 2005

Caste/Ethnic groups	Cabinet		Percentage of population in 2001	Proportional Share Index (PSI)
	No. of Ministers	Percent		
Brahmins	360	26.8	12.7	2.11
Chhettri/ Thakuri	378	28.2	17.3	1.63
Newar	136	10.1	5.5	1.84
Brahmins/ Chhettri/ Newar	874	65.2	35.5	1.84
Tarai (Madhesi)	205	15.3	33.0	0.46
Tarai/HSG/Others	234	17.4	29.0	0.60
Total	1341	100.0	100.0	

Source: From Exclusion to Inclusion Social Inclusion Research Fund (December 2007)

Discussions about the ethnic inequalities in Nepal concentrate on issues of the control of the state and access to state resources. However ethnic inequalities are also reflected in a wide range of other socio economic indicators. As the recent study by the World Bank demonstrates, Brahmins and chhetris as a whole as well as newars⁹ have higher health indicators, longer life expectancy, higher rates of school attendance, and lower levels of poverty than other socio cultural groups in Nepal (Bank, 2006). While there is a clear pattern of dominance of the high caste Hindus of the hills, not all individuals from this group are privileged, and this group does not have a monopoly on political and economic power. For example, many thakalis¹⁰ have been successful in business and some limbus and Sherpa have acquired considerable political power. Yet throughout Nepalese history high caste Hindus have dominated the apparatus of the state and

have maintained a particular advantage in gaining access to state resources. Those visiting government offices or receiving services from the government will most likely interact with high caste men from the hills. In this context critiques of the state have taken the form of critiques of high caste Hindus (Hangen, 2007). Despite of having a large portion of the population in Nepal, the Madhesis fill only five percent of the government positions and are underrepresented in the police, army and bureaucracy (Wann, 2007). The madhesis including the Muslims and the marwaris constituted nearly one third of the population of the country but their representation to the level of gazetted employees was a mere 9.9 percent. In comparison to them the Brahmins and the chhetris accounted for 71.6 percent of gazetted employees, followed by the newars, janjatis and the dalit, who accounted for 14.2 percent, 3.3 percent, and 0.9 percent respectively in the level of gazetted employees in 2010. This is illustrated by table 2.3.

The government had taken some steps to bridge these gaps in different sectors after the January 2007 madhesi movement and the eight point agreement between the government and the Madhesi parties. The government had tried to take affirmative actions. In this regard in 2007, an ordinance was passed for inclusive appointment (45 percent of the positions through free competition). Out of these the madhesis were entitled 28 percent positions. The indigenous nationalities were entitled 32 percent, women were given 20 percent, the dalits were entitled to 15 percent and the backward classes 5 percent (Nayak, 2011).

Table 2.3: Class-wise caste and ethnic composition in gazetted level employees in Nepal.

Ethnic group/caste	Special Class	First Class	Second Class	Third Class	Total Number	%
Brahmin	24	230	1, 161	3, 306	4,721	58.3
Chhettri	6	63	283	728	1,080	13.3
Dalit	0	3	11	60	74	0.9
Newar	7	68	374	703	1,152	14.2
Janajati	1	3	70	190	264	3.3
Madhesi, Muslim, Marwari	0	30	237	538	805	9.9
Total	38	397	2136	5,525	8, 096	100
Percentage	0.5	4.9	26.4	68.2	100.0	

SOURCE: Hari Bansh Jha, The Economy of Terai Region of Nepal: Prospects for its Sustainable Development Centre for Economic and Technical Studies, Kathmandu, 2010, p. 15.

Speaking about the political representation, the Tharus and the Madhesis in the Terai, despite having an overwhelming population, could get only 10 percent seats in the 601 member constituent assembly (constituent assembly 2) in the December 2013 elections. Many of the madhesi leaders were defeated in the constituent assembly 2 elections because they failed to address the people's problems. It is often stated that out of the lust for money and power they did not hesitate to fragment the parties. During the elections of the constituent assembly 1 in 2008 only three madhesi parties had contested and hence they had substantial presence in constituent assembly 1. In contrast during the constituent assembly 2 elections in 2013 there were 13 madhes based parties. Though during both CA-1 and CA-2 elections, the overall voting percentage of the madhes based parties remained almost the same about 12 percent. The madhesi leaders lost the elections because their votes were divided making it easier for the non madhesi leaders to win.

Nevertheless the madhes based parties did not learn any lesson from the election debacle and they could not come together to form a united front to protect their interest. By the time they formed the United Democratic Madhes Front, it was too late to exhibit their strength. The three major political parties, including the Nepali Congress, CPN-UML, and UCPN Marxist took advantage of this split. Because they had 90 percent of the seats in the CA-2 they excluded the madhesi parties in the constitution making process. But this was a major blunder that was made by them. It was forgotten that the madhesis and the Tharus have always been humiliated, ever since the central and eastern parts of Terai were gifted away by the British east India Company to Nepal, partly after the Sugauli treaty of 1816 and partly after the Sepoy mutiny (1857) in 1860. The hill elites always doubted the loyalty of the madhesis towards the nation. The distrust towards the madhesis and the Tharus provided these groups with ample reason to unite and protest against the constitution when a call was given for an indefinite strike in 2015 (Jha H. b., 2015). Also while speaking about political representation according to Farah Cheah in her article 'Inclusive Democracy for Madhesis: The Quest for Identity, Rights and Representation' out of 75 CDOs, (Chief District Officers) in 2008 only 5 were Madhesis. The number of Madhesis holding high level positions in the civil sectors and government bureaucracies reflects the attitudinal discrimination and barriers of entry to their community. Table 2.4 shows the number of appointments in the specified bodies piling in comparison to Pahadi¹¹ communities, bearing

in mind that Madhesis make up more than 50% of Nepal's population while Pahadis number about 14.1%.

Table 2.4: Madhesi Representation in the Cabinet, Constitutional Bodies and High Official Posts

Post and Organisation	Posts	Pahadi	Madhesi	% Madhesi
Minister	24	21	4	16.7
Royal Standing Committee	8	7	1	12.5
Chiefs of the Constitutional bodies	7	7	0	0
Judges in Supreme court	21	12	2	9.5
Members of the Constitutional Bodies	5	4	1	20.0
National Human Rights Commission	6	5	1	16.7
Ambassador/ Consulate Generals	23	23	1	4.3
Secretary/regional Administrators	37	36	1	2.7
Vice-Chancellors	5	5	0	0
Chief of Security Forces	3	3	0	0
Vice-chancellor RONAST, Royal Nepal Academy	2	2	0	0
Dept. Heads of HMG	47	43	4	5.8
Chief of Govt. Corporation and Committees	56	52	4	7.1
Chief of Govt. Information	4	4	0	0
Heads of Parliamentary Bodies and Committees	15	12	3	20.0

Source: Singh, A (2003) Restructuring of Nepali State: A Madhesi Perspective

Note: Number of Ministers is of Girija Prasad Koirala cabinet in 2001; all the other data are before October 2002.

The Madhesis were also demanding proportional representation. The interim constitution provided that 50 percent of the seats of the proposed constituent assembly would be subject to proportional representation and the other 50 percent would be subject to old system of first past the post, in which a candidate who receives the most votes wins the election. Allocating the seats according to an agenda to concentrate madhesi voters and enable them to elect candidates that they support even in the first past the post system was proposed. The government was considering the proposal in 2007 in order to ensure that the madhesi receive proportional representation in the whole of constituent assembly rather than only half. That said, there are 104 different castes in Nepal, so accommodating all groups is impossible and might yield disproportionate representation of some very small groups (Wann, 2007).

2.3.3: ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION

Another cause behind the dissatisfaction of the people in the Terai is their claim that their region is economically exploited. If we look into the history the manner in which the Terai region was annexed is particularly telling and different. When Prithvi Narayan Shah in the early 1770s turned his attention to the conquest of eastern Nepal, his instructions to one of his generals in the field clearly specified the value he placed in the Terai, “It is no use giving up revenue yielding better land (Terai) and retaining the land of inferior quality (hill)...do not give up the plains”. This set the practice of using the Terai as a source of revenue and distributing it to the ruler families, courtiers and military officers in return for their support (Lawoti & Hangen, 2013).

This legacy of treating the Terai as an ‘internal colony’ that is accommodating resources from the region without considering it as a constituent element of the Nepali nation state, continued into the Rana regime. The Rana rulers viewed the Terai as their Personal estate whereby they successfully allocated much of the revenue collected from the export of timber and conversion of forests into agricultural land and their personal coffers. Like the Shahs the Rana also refrained from developing the region for the fear that it would attract the attention of the British and also invite revolutionary ideas from the neighboring Indian state (Lawoti & Hangen, 2013). The result of this treatment of the people of Terai as revenue generating subjects as Arjun Gunaratne poignantly observes meant that “while the hill people had centuries to work out their relations with each other, and a hill culture had developed as a consequence of the centralizing activities of the state...Terai remained alien to those who held power in Kathmandu”. The limited

centralizing activities of the state also meant that the Terai population remained highly fragmented, undermining any possibility of a collective identity from taking firm root (Lawoti & Hangen, 2013).

Although the Terai region is rich in minerals and has fertile lands for agriculture a large proportion of madhesis are socio economically deprived. The Madhes or Terai accounts for 70 percent of the agricultural production of Nepal and 65 percent of the GDP. 76 percent of the total revenue of the country is collected from Terai. However there are no good colleges, schools, universities, and infrastructure or health facilities in the region. Madhesis are poorer and have lower education and health indicators than the people residing in the hills. Despite having fertile land and industrial hubs the unemployment rate is highest in the Terai region and per capita income is lower than the hills. The activists of the movement argue that this is the inevitable result of Kathmandu’s stranglehold on the decision making processes. Even when large revenues are generated locally, they are disbursed on the whims of capital centric bureaucrats (ICG, 2007). During the monarchical period the land of the madhesis was given away to the pahadis in the form of land reforms. The king also used to gift lands to the hill people as ‘Birta’¹² a Royal gift (Nayak, 2011).

Table 2.5: Per-capita income and unemployment rate in Nepal.

Region	Per capita in NRs (2003-2004)	Unemployment rate (%)
Mountains	12,295	1.5
Hills	18, 299	2.5
Terai	12, 975	5.1

SOURCE: Nepal Living Standard Survey Report, 2003/04, Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Nepal. NRs= Nepali rupees mean value.

Table 2.5 shows the per capita income and the unemployment rate in Nepal in 2003/04 where despite of contributing more than the mountains, the Terai has the highest unemployment rate.

Even regarding the forests in the Terai region there is the upper hand of the state in the control of Terai forests. If managed efficiently it is argued that the Terai forests could not only boost the local and national economy but also help in the environment conservation (Baginski, 2003). But

there is inequitable and ecologically unsustainable forestry practice in the Terai which has shaped the current forest politics and policy in the region (Pravat, 2006).

2.3.4: LANGUAGE AS A SOURCE OF CONFLICT

Realising the delicate ethnic and linguistic composition of the country, the Nepali state has forever been touchy about Nepal's unity, integrity, and security. It is natural that in a country like Nepal which is invariably multi lingual, the politics of language turns easily into a thorny issue and that was why Nepali language was developed as a lingua franca for the past three centuries, which served as a link language among different communities. Bhanu Bhakta¹³ who translated the Ramayana into Nepali was recognised as the 'Adi Kawi'¹⁴. Among the various ethnic groups the mangars accepted Nepali as their language. All the government offices, courts and educational institutions would use Nepali as the official language and even the public service exams would be conducted in Nepali. The panchayat system encouraged only Nepali. The panchayat system encouraged only Nepali as the principle language of the country for official purposes while promoting English in schools and colleges for students. At one point Sanskrit was also promoted but not as compulsory subject. Even till date the Hindus and the Mahayana Buddhists use Sanskrit in their religious texts. People from indigenous nationalities mainly newars use their own Newari language with its own native script. Maithili the second largest language is mostly spoken in Mithila region, comprising districts such as Siraha, Saptari and Morang. The third largest language Bhojpuri is spoken in Bara, Parsa, Chitwan, Rautahat and Nawalparasi while Awadhi is spoken in Banke, Bardia and Kapilvastu districts in western Nepal. People of various communities also speak Tamang, Tharu and magar languages. However while these languages continued to exist side by side, Nepali was being protected and supported by the state so as to keep in check the aforesaid concept of safeguarding the 'territorial integrity of Nepal' although it can be argued how far this policy has been successful (Pandey N. N., 2010).

The People of the hill origin in Nepal speak Nepali as their mother tongue, or if a janjati, dalit or tribal then they speak it as a second language. In contrast to them the people of the Plains speak a language other than Nepali both as their mother tongue and second language. Until 1958 the residents of the Terai as well as Indians were required to stop at the border town of Birgunj to obtain passport to proceed to Kathmandu. Their passports were then checked at Chisapani Garhi on the way to the capital. One's nationality appears to have been determined on linguistic basis

before 1951. Nepalese folks were the ‘hill folks’ who spoke Nepali or hill languages such as newari, magar and gurung. For this reason people travelling from the eastern or western hills did not require to produce a passport while going to the capital (Gaige, 1975). Thus, until the early 1950s language was the major factor for separating Madhesis from Pahadi population. This mindset continued throughout.

The mother tongue of the Terai people is termed as a foreign language. According to the Article 2 of the universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 and the article 18 (1) of the constitution of Nepal 1990, every community has rights to exercise their mother tongue. So the Rajbiraj Municipality and Dhanusha DDC decided to use Maithili language officially along with Nepali, but the Supreme Court on March 18, 1998 issued an interim order to stop the use of Maithili language. A joint struggle Committee formed to protect the right to use their own language was coordinated by the Maithili linguist Amresh Narayan Jha. On June 1, 1991 the division Bench of the Supreme Court of Nepal decided that no longer other languages can be used as official language except Nepali in Devanagari script. The National Census of 2001 showed that the second largest language spoken in Nepal after Nepali was Maithili. In the last three decades the Maithili population is increasing at the rate of 1.60 percent while the Nepali population is increasing at the rate of 2.27 percent. Also the population growth of Terai with Mithila Pradesh is 4.5%. If this situation carries on, the Maithili speaking Terai will be vanished in next 8 decades (Goait, 2007).

While it is true that there is a need to view language as a resource rather than a potential flashpoint, there is a host of other problems for the country to overcome, even if it sketches a linguistic foundation for the nation’s federal structure. Some members of the constituent assembly want 11 languages to get the status of official language which would be used in government official communications. Even if this happens there will be more than 50 languages left out and this will cause unnecessary problems (Pandey N. N., 2010).

2.3.5: EXCLUSION OF MADHESIS FROM PROFESSIONAL DISCUSSIONS

The article ‘Dalits in search for liberation’ by Hira Biswakarma groups the population of Nepal into different categories. He mentions groups which include Bahuns, Chettris and Newars,

considered the most privileged classes of people in Nepal, the Janjatis and the Dalits as the most exploited groups. But he ignores another highly disadvantaged group of people that is the Madhesis. It is unfortunate that the madhesis are mostly ignored in many of the discussions on the problems of poverty and exclusion. It is clear that all dalits, Terai caste groups, Janjatis, madhesis etc. are at much lower level of literacy as compared to other groups. This clearly justifies the inclusion of the Terai caste groups (madhesis) in the government's reservation in its administrative reforms road map (Yadav, 2006).

2.3.6: PAHADIZATION OF THE TERAJ

Bishnu Pathak and Devendra Uprety, in their article 'Terai Madhes: Searching for Identity based Security', explain the phenomenon of pahadization or Nepalization of the Terai. They call it as king Mahendra's Cultural nationalism. They explain it to be the state designed scheme of national integration and acculturation through the imposition of Nepali language and hill culture in the Terai (Pathak & Uprety, 2009). Krishna Hachhethu wrote that only in the post 1950 period did the state actively and aggressively launch several programmes to integrate the Terai culturally, economically and administratively and this process of integration was named as the pahadization of Terai (Hachhethu, 2007). Frederick Gaige mentioned the same as the Nepalization of Terai in his book Regionalism and National Unity in Nepal in 1975. This policy of integrating the Terai has been a threat to the Madhesis making it a cause for the rise of the movement.

The pahadization of the Terai or the Nepalization of the Terai policy of the Government was to promote migration from the hills to the Terai and to reduce the overall proportion of the Madhesis in the Terai. The government aided internal migration was termed as pahadization by Ram Prakash Yadav too in his article 'Madhesi: A Disadvantaged Social Group' (Yadav, 2006). This indeed was the Government's strategy of weakening the Terai population. The major aim of pahadization was to control smuggling and dacoits along the border with India by settling Indian army families in the Terai. For the acceleration of the migration process King Mahendra launched a new government institution named the housing development company which encouraged the hill people to settle in the Madhes region (Pokhrel, 2015). The pahadization incorporated two approaches, firstly to settle modern pahade in the Terai Madhes and secondly to establish existing Pahade property owners political power (Pathak & Uprety, 2009). Since the

Hill Brahmins and chettris are relatively well educated and tend to be more progressive in economic, social and political matters, they are easily able to get hold of local leadership rather quickly. The high caste hill migrants also tend to have better access and support of local administration due to their common cultural background with government officials. Dr. Frederick Gaige in his study, 'Regionalism and National Unity in Nepal' conducted in three districts in the early 1970s, found that 'the hill Brahmins and Chettris represented by far the largest percentage of migrants who acquired land, 50 percent of all migrants acquiring land in Jhapa, 75 percent in Kapilvastu and 48 percent in Kailali'. Given the large scale migration into Jhapa and Kailali, this eventually put much of the land in these two heavily forested districts into the hands of hill Brahmins and chettris. The government was reinforcing this trend by putting most of the land confiscated through the land reform program into the hands of settlers from the hills (Gaige, 1975). Dr. Gaige also pointed out the contradictory policies of the government in respect of the protection of forest in the Terai and Pahadization of the Terai through settlers from the hills in the forest. He pointed out the fact that 'despite the occasional effort to force hill settlers out of the forest, the government is not likely to object strenuously to this settlement pattern as it would if the forest areas were being settled by plain people, whom government officials suspected of being migrants from India. While a large number of settlers from hills have permanently settled in the Terai forest area by deforesting and converting forest land into agricultural land, plain people have lost their traditional right to use this forests. With the introduction of community forestry in the area, the hill settlers have totally taken over forest areas through their community forest user groups and denied the plain people of their traditional rights of access and use. There has been a continuous process of disempowerment of the Madhesis from the resources which they had used for many generations. Thus with the introduction of community Forestry (which is suitable and applicable for the hills) in the Terai, Madhesis have systematically been disempowered of their traditional right to use forest resources. Dr. Gaige had predicted that 'most of the four far western Terai districts, half or more of Sunsari and Morang district, and most of Jhapa in the far eastern Terai, Parsa, Bara, Sarlahi and Rautahat, and the three mid-western Terai districts will be settled predominantly by hill people. He also says that the eradication of Malaria has been a far more important stimulus to settlement of hill people in the Terai (Yadav, 2006).

This large scale migration of the pahadis to the land of Terai had started in the early 1950s and the 60s after malaria was eradicated from the land. The Nepalese rulers had conspired to displace the Terai residents to control the land in the Terai in the name of population distribution, in 1951. The Nepal resettlement company which was established in 1964 distributed 77,000 hectares of land in the Terai to those who were loyal to the palace or to the then panchayat system. Land was distributed to the migrant population from the hills partly by clearing the forest (mainly in Jhapa, Chitwan, Nawalparasi, Bardia, Kailali, Kanchanpur), and partly by uprooting many of the indigenous people including the Tharus, Satars and Rajbongshis. The Tharus in the far western region were the most affected. For generations together they have had no option but to live as bonded labor due to this reason (Nayak, 2011).

Speaking of migration from the hills, since the government has encouraged the hill people to migrate to the plains by facilitating them with malaria eradication programmes, clearing of forests and land resettlement schemes the Pahadi proportion of the population in the Terai has increased fivefold from 1951(ICG, 2007). The Hill origin migrants even constitute the majority in several districts (ICG, 2007). The Madhesi activists complain that the people of the hill origin with their relatively privileged background and extensive contacts in local administration due to cultural links, wield disproportionate influence (ibid: 2007). On the other hand many in the Kathmandu establishment have hardbound fears that India would use Madhesis to increase control or take over Nepal(ICG, 2007) and thus the encouragement of hill migration was to keep the madhesis, perceived as sympathetic to India in check (ICG, 2007).

2.3.7: NEPALI NATIONALISM

Dr. Harka Gurung in his article ‘Nepali Nationalism’ has stated that the term ‘State’ and ‘Nation’ have different political connotations. A nation is a more evolved condition than a state, for beyond territorial definition it includes an emotional bond among the people within the state. The Nepalese state has maintained its independent status for a long period, but it is yet to emerge as a nation. The country of Nepal has only been unified geographically, and not socially or economically. The social model that has been followed for the national unification has been ‘Hinduization’, which goes against the multiethnic character of Nepal. According to Dr. Gurung the social dynamism of the Nepali speaking population east of Mechi River charted the path to Nepali Nationalism. These pioneers were Darjeeling’s Gyawali and Kalimpong’s Chemjong in

history, Darjeeling's Koirala and Kalimpong's Pradhan in language, Kalimpong's Gurung and Subba in politics and so on contributed to the growth of Nepali nationalism. The pillars of nationalism are social and economic integration. But economic exploitation and social injustice prevail in Nepal. An example of this is the Madhesis and janjatis in the Terai. Caste hierarchy also perpetuates economic class division. Nepal's constitution in the 1990s gave primacy to one religion and one language which provided substance to the perpetuity of social disparity resulting in the rise of various ethnic and linguistic movements. A multiethnic, multilingual and a multi religious Nepal at that time needed a secular Constitution which would be the beginning of national integration (Gurung, 2007).

The search for the national identities in Nepal may be a recent phenomenon but it has deep roots in the past. The Nepali nationalism grew throughout too. Until 1769 Nepal was composed of small independent states and principalities of different nationalities. The Gorkha King Prithvi Narayan Shah embarked on his expansionist campaign and brought several states under the control of Gorkha. His expansionary policy, was followed by his successors, which came to an end only after their defeat in the Anglo Gorkha war (1814- 1816). It was only in the 1930s that the Nepalese government began to adopt the name 'Nepali' in an attempt to transform it into a modern nation state (Burghart, 1996). In general people of different origins within the country were living together in peace over the centuries. But this came to an end when groups began to feel discriminated against by the state. King Prithvi Narayan Shah had proclaimed his country to be the 'True land of Hindus' (Asali Hindustan). In 1854, Janga Bahadur the first Rana Prime Minister, introduced written laws based on Hinduism, dividing the country hierarchally and subordinating all other nationalities to the Brahmin- Chettris (Khas) ruling class. King Mahendra in the 1960's introduced the Partyless Panchayat system which proclaimed Nepal the only 'Hindu Kingdom' and Nepali or the Khas the only official language, thus ignoring its multi religious, multinational, multicultural and multilingual character. The ruling Hindu population of Nepal articulates its nationalism by imitating Indian Hindu nationalists. The thirty years of panchayat politics (1960- 1990) channeled its support to Hindu religious organisations such as the "World Hindu Council' (Visva Hindu Parishad) while ignoring the issues of minorities and their rights (Shrestha, 2003).

Hence Nepali Nationalism with a streak of Hindu fundamentals is also a cause for the rise of Movements not only of the Madhesis but many others. The JTMM (Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha) leader Jai Krishna Goait also stated that the people of the Terai have been the victims of the so called Nepalese Nationalism and patriotism (Goait, 2007). According to David Gellner “The madhesis are particularly bitter about the way they have been treated as a potentially disloyal fifth column within Nepal for so many years, about the facile way in which Nepalese nationalism has been built on the symbols of hill culture and antagonism to India, thus excluding them from full participation in the nation” (Gellner, 2007). The primary issue underlying the Madhes movement is the re-definition of the Nepali nationalism, which has rested on the pillars like one language (Nepali) and one dress (daura suruwal). While a person from the hill irrespective of nationality in the case of Nepali speakers from Indian Himalayas is considered a Nepali, Madhesi citizens have long been treated as the fifth column because of their geographical, cultural, and linguistic ties with people across the border in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. This has manifested itself in various forms, from deprivation of opportunities to insinuations about their ‘patriotism’ and prejudiced comments about dress, language and color (ICG, 2007).

2.4: CONCLUSION

Due to these persistent problems in the region some madhesis are losing faith in peaceful progress and democracy. They see the success that maoists achieved through violence and sometimes want to achieve the same for themselves. Following the lead of the maoists they are increasingly turning to violence to draw the attention of the government towards their problems. To curb the spread of violence in the movement, the mainstream political groups and others are trying to address the genuine problems of the people of Terai and are trying to convince the splinter groups that violence is not in the best interest of their people or their cause. They aim to persuade the madhesis that following the violent ways of the maoists will achieve nothing besides more violence and conflict (Wann, 2007). Dr. Harka Gurung in his book ‘Trident and Thunderbolt: Cultural Dynamics in Nepalese Politics’ divides these causes behind the movement and these problems of the madhesis into social, political and economic according to the nature of the problems, thus pointing out to the various social, political and economic aspects of the movement. He also along with the nature of the problems, provides us with various interventions

to solve the problems. He divides the problems of all the three contenders he talks about who are marginalised by the Nepalese government who are the janjatis, the madhesis and the Dalits. But keeping in mind the Madhesi movement we are only looking into the madhesis. Table 2.6 provides us with the details.

Table 2.6: Nature of the problems and intervention areas

Social Groups	Problems	Intervention
Janjati	Cultural 1. Religious Discrimination 2. Linguistic discrimination	1. Secular state 2. Official status to Janjati languages
	Economic 1. Low literacy 2. Unemployment	1. Education targeting 2. Affirmative action
	Political 1. Poor representation 2. Subjugated governance	1. Proportional Representation 2. Ethnic autonomy
Madhesi	Cultural 1. Linguistic Discrimination	1. Official status to Terai languages
	Economic 1. Employment bar	1. Recruitment in the army
	Political 1. Hill dominance 2. Citizenship problem	1. Regional autonomy 2. Ascertain long term residents vis a vis recent immigrants
Dalit	Social 1. Caste Discrimination	1. Secular state

	<p>Economic</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poor literacy 2. Unemployment 3. Landlessness 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Free Education 2. Seat reservation 3. Alternative livelihood
	<p>Political</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poor representation 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Collegiate election

SOURCE: Gurung (2003: 21), Trident and Thunderbolt: Cultural Dynamics of Nepali politics, Dr. Harka Gurung.

Thus the causes behind the Madhesi movement also highlight the nature of the movement which is Social, cultural and political as well. Hence these were the causes behind the Madhesi movement and Rajendra Mahato, Minister for industry, commerce and supplies and vice president of the NSP party dwelling on the prospects of violence in the Terai and Peace process in Nepal states that, the issue of Terai can be resolved democratically and peacefully and the entire international community as well should persuade everyone involved in it to resolve it peacefully and democratically (Mahato, 2007).

CHAPTER 3

THE CONFLICTS IN THE MADHESI MOVEMENT

Human beings have been learning about conflict throughout their development. This knowledge is spread across humanity, residing wherever humans live, work and play. It is a folk knowledge used continuously in everyday life and the ways of dealing with human conflict around the world are legion. They are transmitted from one life experience to the next and are passed down from generation to generation. Handling conflict is simply one of the life skills that human beings learn and practice (Bartos & Wehr, 2002).

John W. Burton in his essay 'Conflict Resolution as a political philosophy' defined conflict as an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce resources and interference from others in achieving their goals (Burton, 1993).

According to Morton Deutsch, "A conflict exists whenever incompatible activities occur...one party is interfering, disrupting, obstructing, or in some other way making another party's actions less effective" (Deutsch, 1973).

As conflict has steadily increased, so too has human effort to explain and manage it (Bartos & Wehr, 2002). As one reflects upon the conflict in the twentieth century, one knows it to be the bloodiest epoch of all human civilisation. The barbarism that characterises the past hundred years is greater than any that affected the earlier times. There were two major world wars and over 150 smaller wars fought in more than seventy five countries which resulted in deaths and destructions. The recent conflicts that are there are primarily internal and over 90 percent of the casualties due to the conflicts are civilians (UNDP, 1994).

Mary Kaldor in her seminal work 'New and Old Wars' used case study evidence from Bosnia (1999) and later in a second edition from Iraq (2006), to argue that a number of shifts have occurred in the nature of war and conflict particularly since the cold war. She highlighted what she regarded as key differences between so called old war and new war. The major difference between the old kind of war and conflict and the new kind of war and conflict is that, the old conflicts occurred between recognised states and were defined largely by direct and often large scale battles between identifiable uniformed armed forces distinguishable from civilians, whereas the new conflicts occur within and across states, often involving the state as one of

many sides in the conflict, rather than simply between states. It may involve a range of fighting forces, including but not limited to state armed forces, ex combatants, local Defence forces and militias, rebel groups and civilians (Beswick & Jackson, 2015).

It is a known fact that conflict is omnipresent and ubiquitous. The potential for conflict exists whenever individuals or groups pursue goals that they perceive to be incompatible. According to Richard E. Rubenstein there are various sources of conflict. He gives two sources of conflict and they are, personal and situational sources where he illustrates the biblical story about the crime of Cain and the social sources. He further divides the social sources of conflict into three and they are:

- Socio economic transformation generates Class conflicts: Economic development in rapidly changing societies is uneven, which advances the interests of some groups and subjecting others to new forms of poverty and indignity and hence class conflicts multiply and intensify. For example, the method of producing goods and services shifts from subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture and then to capitalist industry. This transformation undermines the old landowning and peasant classes, driving people from rural to urban areas creating new classes of rural and urban wage workers and vests preponderant economic power in another new class defined by its ownership and control of capital.
- Political Transformation generates identity group conflicts: As modernisation continues, large groups that are formally excluded from politics begin to participate, making the old political organisations and relationships obsolete, creating new institutions and forcing a reorganisation of the state as a whole.
- Cultural Transformation generates worldview conflicts: The transformation of cultural norms also generates conflicts. As the relationships based on deep culture do not change as quickly as economic and political relationships, the gap between the newer worldviews and older worldviews generates conflicts between nations, between groups, within nations and within individual minds (Rubenstein, 2003).

Here in the case of madhesi movement the conflicts which have generated are usually from the second source that Rubenstein mentions i.e. the political transformation that generates identity group conflicts. The madhesi movement also demands a restructuring of the Nepali state. The

chapter will thus deal with the conflicts internal and external which are related to the Madhesi movement.

There are several challenges lying ahead for Madhesis in order to ensure that the democratic system may work in their favor. The challenges are not only regionalism leading to misunderstanding and conflicts between the hill and Terai people but also structural conflicts within the Madhesis' own social structure (Dahal, 2008). Hence the need arises to explore the conflicts within the madhesi movement. The chapter will thus fulfill the objective of highlighting the conflict, ideological and cultural differences between the various groups involved in the movement, but before we look into the details it becomes imperative for us to identify and know about the different groups and parties that were involved in the conflict. The following section therefore deals with the various groups and parties involved in the movement.

3.1: THE MAINSTREAM NATIONAL PARTIES:

The Nepali Congress and the UML have strong organisational structures and support bases in the Terai. The mainstream leaders of these parties have their constituencies in Terai for example former Prime Minister Koirala in Sunsari and UML General Secretary and former Prime Minister Madhav Kumar Nepal in Rautahat. In the first general elections of 1959 and in the post 1990 elections a large majority of madhesis had voted for the major national parties especially the Nepali Congress. Although they had never voiced for the Madhesis, associations with the large established parties offered benefits such as government jobs and contracts, local and national political access and social status. The tendencies that the Madhesis had of voting for the national parties reflect their desire to be a part of the mainstream politics. The mainstream parties also tried to address the madhesi sensitivities at least on the symbolic issues and especially during the campaigns. With the madhesi uprising they also started establishing madhesi fronts. The UML for instance had a Loktantrik Madhes Sangathan (Democratic Madhesi Organisation) (ICG, 2007).

3.1.1: NEPAL SADBHAVNA PARTY (NSP):

It was actually launched as a cultural association i.e. the Nepal Sadbhavna Parishad (Council) in 1983 by Gajendra Narayan Singh with its core aim of having political and cultural rights for the madhesis. It transformed into the Nepal Sadbhavna party in 1990 and it had key demands like

reformed citizenship laws, official recognition for Hindi, a federal system and greater madhesi representation in the civil services and security forces (Hoftun, n.d.). It was the only regional party that was active in the post 1990 multiparty system. It opposed the 1990 constitution though working within its framework and consistently demanded a constituent assembly (ICG, 2007). Gajendra Narayan Singh reorganised the Central committee of the party in July 2001. Rajendra Mahato was then appointed as the General Secretary of the party. After the death of Singh in 2002, Badri Prasad Mandal was appointed as the acting party chairman. But at the fourth NSP General Convention in March 2003 held at Rajbiraj the party split into two. A faction led by Singh's widow Anandi Devi and Hridesh Tripathy broke away and formed the NSP (Anandi Devi). The remaining members elected Badri Prasad Mandal as their new chairman. But later in 2007, Mandal was expelled from the party and was replaced by Laxman Lal Karna. The party which was founded by Singh has now divided itself (Baral A. , 2016) into a number of parties under Rajendra Mahato, Anil Kumar Jha, Sarita Giri, Bikash Tiwari and Shyam Sundar Gupta (Baral A. , 2016). Nevertheless it played an important role in the Madhesi movement.

3.1.2: THE MAOISTS:

The Maoists were the other important group that had an important role in the Terai. The CPN Maoist established the Madhes National Liberation Front (MNLF) or the Madhesi Rashtriya Mukti Morcha (MRMM) in 2000 to expand the Maoist presence in the Terai. The Maoists supported the Madhesi demand for autonomy. They promised a federal state in Madhes, rights of self-determination and many other assurances during their decade old revolution against the monarchy and the state (Nayak, 2011).

3.1.3: THE MADHESI JAN ADHIKAR FORUM:

The Madhesi Jan Adhikar Forum (MJF) was established in 1997 and initially was registered as an NGO. The founding leaders of the party state that the Maoists helped them in its creation. It developed as a Cross Party Intellectual Forum to discuss and promote Madhesi concerns. The MJF emerged as a leading force in the Madhesi movement and in April 2007 it applied to the Election Commission to register as a political party. The two main leaders of the party were Upendra Yadav and Jai Prakash Prasad Gupta. But Gupta left the MJF in 2007. Despite the party was seeking to build a wide base in the Madhes, most leaders of were from the eastern Terai and its Central Committee consisted largely of upper and intermediate Caste Hindus, with a

predominance of the Yadavs (ICG, 2007). The MJF identified the internal colonisation prevalent in the Madhes and the racial discrimination faced by the Madhesis. It demanded the declaration of a Federal Democratic Republic with an undivided autonomous Madhes in Nepal. Its other demands were secularism, a proportional electoral system, the inclusion of Madhesis in the organs of the government, recognition of Hindi as Lingua Franca, proper citizenship certificates for the Madhesis, end of internal migration of the Pahadis to Madhes, end of discrimination against Nepali Muslims and official recognition for madrasas (Resolution of MJF Central Committee , 2006). It also opposed the rules made by the King and Maoist violence (ICG, 2007).

3.1.4: THE MILITANT AND FRINGE GROUPS:

Apart from these parties some armed groups from the Terai also claimed to be the true representatives of the Madhesi people and they have been demanding a separate sovereign nation since 2007. These groups alleged that the mainstream Madhes political forces had failed to represent the madhesi cause at the national level. An interesting fact about these groups is that most of them are the breakaway factions of the former CPN Maoist. Their motives and objectives are almost unclear and they indulge mostly in extortion and criminal activities and they justify their actions in the name of their fight for independence. The following are some of the organisations which fall in the above category:

JANATANTRIK TERAI MUKTI MORCHA (JTMM) or (TJMM):

The Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha was formed in the year 2004 after its split from the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). The demands raised by the JTMM include an autonomous Terai Region, filling up of all the administrative posts in the Terai by the Madhesis and return of tax revenues and their investment in the Terai. It has further split into two factions led by Jai Krishna Goait and Jwala Singh later it further split into Bisfot Singh faction. They were against the ongoing peace process in Nepal. The three factions and the Maoist cadres regularly engaged in violence against each other and also against each other and also against the people of the hill origin (Nayak, 2011).

TERAI COBRA:

The group had been formed in the year 2008 and had vowed to launch an armed separatist struggle for a sovereign Terai state. The strategy of the party was to oppose the presence of

people of the hills in the area. They were popular in districts like Bara, Parsa, Rautahat and Sarlahi and they claimed that their headquarters was in the southern town of Birgunj. They began their unsought activities by killing a truck driver in the Madhuwan area of Sarlahi District in February 2007 (Nayak, 2011).

3.1.5: THE CHURE BHAWAR EKTA SAMAJ:

The Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj (CBES) was set up by the pahadis in the eastern Madhes, in order to protect their interests against the growing Madhesi Mobilisation. Its Central Committee was reportedly dominated by the UML affiliated persons. Some also point towards its strong ties with the Nepali Congress (ICG, 2007). It demands the security and protection of the rights of the people from the hilly region in Madhesi areas and an autonomous status for Chure Bhawar region (Raghavan, 2011)

3.2: THE INTERNAL CONFLICTS:

As Prashant Jha has noted, politics in the Madhes is characterised by two key conflicts that is, between the state and Madhesi groups and within the Terai between political forces representing the different communities and castes. Understanding these conflicts and multiple relationships is helpful in unfolding the dynamics on the ground (Chakma, 2009).

There is an issue of solidarity in the Madhesi movement. The socio economic issues of the Madhes are not receiving national attention due to internal divisions among the Madhesis themselves. There is a lack of Unity among the Madhesis. Independent commissions of the Janjatis, Dalits and women have been formed by the Government of Nepal, completely ignoring the Madhesis. This has further created divisions among the Madhesis by segregating the Janjatis and the Dalits of the Terai and lumping them with the Dalits and the Janjatis of the hills and mountains, thus weakening the common voice of the Madhesis for advocating their cause. Janjatis and Dalits together constitute 26 percent of the Terai population. The Terai and the inner Terai Janjatis constitute about 25 percent of the total janjatis of the country. Similarly the Terai and the inner Terai Dalits constitute 35.5 percent of the total Dalits of the country. It is very likely that they are overshadowed by the dominant hill Janjatis and the Dalits and their problems may not get fully addressed. For instance Tharus belong to the adivasi/ janjati groups and are fighting for liberation from bonded labour system and land for the landless, while the hill janjatis

are taking up a movement on the question of language and culture as priority areas. Similarly within Dalits there is a hierarchy of upper and lower castes. Hill Dalits consider themselves superior to the Terai Dalits. Madhesis are also divided along the lines of different political parties, where they are usually in minority and cannot influence national policies in their favor. Even the Nepal Sadbhavna Party which is more concerned about Madhesi problems, is now divided into numerous parties. The Madhesi population is also composed of more than sixty ethnic and caste groups with tremendous variations in language and culture. The only common factor among them is their non-hill origin. They indigenously belong to the Terai with great similarity in culture and language with the people of Indo gangetic plains, adjoining the Nepalese border. So it is suggested that all the Madhesis whether adivasi, janjati, dalit, Muslim or other castes should unite and find a common ground to solve their common problems together rather than seek separate identities and be inward looking just within their own narrow caste boundary or group (Yadav, 2015). But this has not been the case in the Madhesi movement.

3.2.1: THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE MADHESIS AND THE THARUS:

The Madhesis are residents of Madhes sharing the correlated regional, cultural and lingual space of Madhesh. The Tharus also, living in Madhes (both Bhitri and Bahiri Madhesh as the government divides in its legal documents) and sharing the correlated regional, cultural and lingual space are Madhesis (Kumar, 2007). But the Tharus do not view themselves as Madhesis (Ghimire, 2015). Neither all Madhesis are Tharus, nor all Tharus are Madhesis (Kumar, 2007). The Tharu and Madhesi relations have declined in the past years and the reason behind the decline in their relations lies at the root of the conflicting ways in which the Tharus and the Madhesis view themselves and the other. The Madhesi parties in order to bring in solidarity and unity for the movement claim that Tharus are also Madhesis since they live in Madhes and that they have similar cultural practices as the Madhesi castes and the common ground that binds them is that, both have been exploited by the Nepali state. The Tharus on their part view themselves very differently. They say that unlike the Madhesis they had to face the brunt of exploitation because of the feudal practices of the old hill elites who displaced them from their land and deprived them of local resources. They insist that this does not make them Madhesis. The Tharu activists also view the Madhesi upper castes as exploiters too who came over from across the borders and took away their lands. The Tharus they consider themselves as the

original inhabitants of the plains. They state that their immunity allowed them to live in the malarial jungles of the plains and so they are entitled to the rights of indigenous communities (Chakma, 2009). To understand the conflict between the Tharus and the Madhesis it is important to know the cultural and racial differences between the Tharus and the Madhesis.

The Tharus are an ethnic group who are indigenous to the Terai. They are recognised as an official nationality by the governments of Nepal and India (Rajaure, 1981). According to the Census of 2011 of Nepal the Tharu population is 1, 737, 470 which accounts for 6.6 percent of the total population of Nepal (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2012). There are several endogamous subgroups within the Tharus (McClean, 1999) which includes:

1. The Rana Tharu who reside in the Kailali and Kanchanpur districts of the far Western Terai in Nepal and in Nainital, Uttarakhand and Kheri Terai, Uttar Pradesh in India. The Rana Tharus claim that they are of the Rajput origin (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2014).
2. The Kathoriya Tharu who mostly live in the Kailali district of Nepal and also in some parts of India (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2014).
3. The Sonha Tharu in the Surkhet district of Nepal (Sonha: A Language of Nepal, 2014).
4. The Dangaura Tharu residing in the Western Terai of Nepal in districts like Dang Dekhuri, Banke, Bardia, Kailali and Kanchanpur (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2014).
5. The Paschuhan or western Tharu living in Rupandehi and Nawalparasi districts of Nepal.
6. The Rautar Tharu of Rupandehi and Nawalparasi districts of Nepal.
7. The Purbaha Tharu of Rupandehi and Kapilvastu districts of Nepal.
8. The Aarkutwa or Chitwania Tharu residing in the central Terai in districts like Sindhuli, Chitwan and Nawalparasi (Lewis, 2009).
9. The Kochila Tharu residing in the Eastern Terai in districts like Saptari, Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, Sarlahi, Mahottari and Udayapur (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2014).
10. The Danuwar in the Eastern Terai in districts like Udayapur, Saptari and Morang (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2014).
11. The Lampucchwa Tharu in Morang district (Krauskopff, 1995).

Looking into the Tharu culture they themselves admit that they are the people of the forest. They have lived in the Chitwan Forests for Hundreds of years. They practiced shifting cultivation and cultivated rice, mustard, corn and lentils. Collection of forest products was also one of the

occupations of the Tharus. They collected forest products such as fruits, vegetables, medicinal plants and materials to build their houses. Their other occupations were hunting and fishing (Mclean, 1999). They never went abroad in search of employment and that has kept them isolated in their own localities. Because of this reason they have developed their unique culture away from the influence of adjacent India and from the influence of people from the mountains of Nepal. Unlike the Madhesis their houses are painted colorfully and the paints are made of clay, mud, dung and grass (Meyer & Deuel, 1997).

In the Western Terai most of the Rana Tharus live in 'Badghar'¹⁵ known as long houses with big families. They have their unique practice of following the Badghar system where a Badghar is elected as the chief of the village or a small group of villages for a year. The elections are held in the month of Magh (January- February). It is based on the count of households rather than the headcount. The Badghar who is elected has to work for the welfare of the village and the people (Lam, 2009). There is no, one single Tharu language that unites all the Tharus. There are several endemic Tharu languages. In Western Nepal it is seen that the Tharus speak Hindi and Awadhi. Towards Central Nepal they speak a variant of Bhojpuri and towards the East they speak a variant of Maithili (Guneratne, 2002). Their cuisines include items like 'Dhikari'¹⁶ which is made up of wheat and water and 'Ghongi'¹⁷ which is a type of snail. The Tharus are mostly nature worshippers and their spiritual belief is mostly concerned with the natural environment. They also worship a large number of deities whom they believe, live in the forests (Mclean, 1999). Tharus had lost their traditional lands and they became slaves to the new landowners, thus giving birth to the 'Kamaiya' system of bonding generations of Tharu families. The government of Nepal on July 17th 2000 had outlawed the practice of bonded labour prevalent under the Kamaiya system which prohibits one from employing any person as a bonded labourer (Torture, 2005). Hence it can be seen that the reason behind the Tharu denial when called a Madhesi, is the different and unique culture and practices they have and the different origin that they have. Hence they claim to be indigenous and the original inhabitants of the Terai and do not like to be called Madhesis who have castes and ethnicity similar to Bihar and eastern U.P with frequent inter marriages between families on either side of the border (Ghimire, 2015).

During the first Madhesi movement in 2007, the Tharus expressed their solidarity and participated in the movement in large numbers. But there was a growing sense among the Tharu

leaders that the Madhesis were trying to impose their own hegemonic identity without respecting their distinct Tharu identity. Another fact that contributed to the alienation was that Upendra Yadav and other Madhesi leaders did not make space for Tharus in the party i.e. MJF. In turn the Madhesi leaders claim that national parties, the UML in particular propped up the Tharu issue in order to weaken the madhesi cause and create divisions. Adding to this, the fact that Raj Kumar Lekhi the key leader of Tharu Kalyankari Sabha happened to be a UML member, created further suspicions. The election results (CA -1 2008) were also a clear manifestation of the fact that Tharus lacked faith in the Madhesi parties, as a consequence of which the Maoists won most number of seats in the Tharu dominated regions. There are two key Tharu groups prevalent in the Terai. One is led by a former Maoist commander Laxman Chaudhary who has set up the Tharu autonomous State Council. He is strong and popular in the far western districts of Terai like Dang, Banke, Bardia, Kailali and Kanchanpur and also has supporters in the eastern Terai. The other group is the Tharu Kalyankari Sabha which remains the oldest Tharu socio- cultural organisation. Both these groups came together as a part of a broader alliance and they were backed and supported by the Nepal Ethnic Federation of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFIN) in March 2009 to oppose the Tharus being bracketed with the Madhesis in a Proposed government legislation on affirmative action. The two week long agitation by these groups forced the Government of Nepal to sign a six point agreement that recognised the distinct identity of the Tharus, removed them from the list that classified them under the Madhesi category and promised the inclusion of Tharus in the state organs (Raghavan, 2013). In April 2009, Laxman Tharu resumed the agitation claiming that the government had not implemented the conditions of the agreement. This was a time when the Maoist and the Army controversy was getting hype in the capital's power corridor. As Pushpa Kamal Dahal (Prachanda) resigned from the government, Laxman called off the Tharu movement. As opposed to the single Madhesi province and the demand of 'One Madhes, One Pradesh', the Tharus demand a single Tharuhat across the Terai. Other activists among them however say that their bottom line is the creation of a Tharuhat province in the five districts of west and far west in the Terai. The Tharu movement had fractured the ties between the Madhesis and the Tharus. In the districts of eastern Terai like Morang, Sunsari, Saptari and Siraha both the communities live closely and share language and cultural practices and there have been no reports of any large scale riots but the localized incidents can easily take a communal flavor. The Tharu assertiveness has had another impact and

had created fissures in the Madhesi parties with the Tharu leaders who had joined them, facing enormous pressure from the Tharu constituents to carve out a distinct identity. An example would be Bijay Gachhedar's repeated opposition to one Madhes as a single province which can be attributed to the need to please his Tharu base. There is diversity within the Tharu community itself. There are major linguistic and cultural differences between the (dominant) mid-western communities whose language Dangaura is normally recognised as standard Tharu and those in the East who speak the languages of the surrounding Madhesi communities (Chakma, 2009). In the present political context language is intimately connected with the question of being a Madhesi i.e. whether one is identified as of Indian origin or not. The Tharu activists want the Tharus to be considered as the indigenous people of Nepal as implied by their participation in the Nepal Federation of Nationalities. Thus according to Gisele Krauskopff they have no interest in supporting the Sadbhavna party of the Madhesis nor do they seek its support (Krauskopff, 2008).

3.2.2: THE PAHADI MADHESI CONFLICT:

Another type of conflict that lies in the Terai and within the Madhesi movement is the relations between the communities and political forces in the Terai, they remain fragile and lend to strife and conflicts. The Tharu Madhesi conflict also come under it but another important conflict is the Pahadi Madhesi dynamic. The people of hill origin constitute about 33 percent of the Terai's overall population. Many of them claim to have been staying on in the plains for centuries, but the Madhesis tend to see their presence in the Terai in the context of a systematic plan by the king (Mahendra) in the 1960s to change the demography of the Terai by encouraging migration. With the break of the Madhesi movement many Madhesi extremist groups threatened the hill settlers to move out of the Terai. Even in the absence of direct threats the Pahadis had a feeling of insecurity as they were more vulnerable to extortion during the initial months. This has resulted in either migration or belligerence. Many of the Pahadis living in the Terai sold their houses and either moved to the northern areas of Nepal or to Kathmandu. But the Madhesi leaders had a different explanation for this flight and they claimed that it was the fear of losing power and the kind of resistance to the change in the power hierarchy where now the Pahadis had come to the bottom. The Pahadi communities living in the Terai responded in turn by setting up extremist outfits like the Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj which became active in districts like Mahottari and Sarlahi. It opposes all the demands of the Madhesis and claims that most of the

Madhesis are Indians who have bought fake citizenship certificates and it prescribes a security offensive against the Madhesi forces (Chakma, 2009).

3.2.3: THE INTER CASTE CONFLICTS:

Another fault line within the Terai is between the different castes that inhabit the region. Like in the northern India the Hindu caste structure in the Terai rests on a hierarchical principle with the upper castes like the Brahmins, Kayasthas, Rajputs and the Bhumihars having a share of power and economic advantages despite being a smaller part of the population. This constituted the earlier base of the Royal regime and the Nepali Congress, but in the past few years they have moved to the Madhesi parties, with a disproportionate share in the Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party. The Yadavs are in a sizeable proportion in the demography of the Terai and they had formed the core or the base of the Madhesi movement. They were involved mostly with the MJF which was led by Upendra Yadav. Unlike the Yadavs living in India the Yadavs in Nepal do not consider themselves as backward and the access to political power and land holdings has given them greater opportunities. The Non Yadav and backward communities voted for the Madhesi outfits but later started organising themselves as the other backward classes (OBC) federation to demand special status for themselves and rights from the government. The Dalits remained at the bottom of the ladder of hierarchy and were mostly landless labourers. Many a times the Maoists were successful in mobilizing many in the Dalit community, but sections inside the dalit community have also shifted allegiance to Madhesi parties and the Maoist splinter led by Matrika Yadav. The interests of the upper caste in the Terai and the Yadavs also contradicted as they were competing for the same state patronage and opportunities. The same was between the Yadavs and the Dalits who shared a landholder- landless labourer relationship. Hence there is a broad sentiment that is resentful of the Yadavs and their political power prevalent among apparently the Non Yadavs. Such an incident that reflects this inter caste conflict within the Terai is the beating up of a campus leader in Rajbiraj of Saptari district in 2009. The incident did have many other components that resulted in it but the element of caste played a dominant role in it. The campus leader who was beaten was a non-Yadav of the Sah community. The Yadav teachers in the campus and the other Yadav students leading the student's union were uncomfortable with the fact that a non-Yadav was the campus chief. So in a carefully planned attack the Yadav student leaders beat up the chief in order to force him to resign. The general

perception, the town people had after the incident was that the district officer did not take action over the incident because he himself was a Yadav. Those who were arrested after the incident were soon released when several political leaders across the party lines belonging to the Yadav community put pressure on the administration and judiciary to take a lenient view of the issue (Jha, 2009).

The inter caste clashes are not new in the Terai because it is the way in which the society has been structured since many a centuries. But the growing assertiveness and awareness among the various marginalised communities about their rights and the reluctance of the powerful groups and communities to give them a share has led to conflict and even violence in the Terai region. What is happening nationally in terms of Madhesis seeking their space through the Madhesi movement is reflected within the Terai with all the communities staking a claim. The clashes between the different parties, interests and communities are a reflection of that (Chakma, 2009).

3.2.4: CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE MAOISTS AND THE MADHESI PARTIES:

While talking about the internal conflicts in the Madhesi movement the conflict between the Maoists and the Madhesi parties also becomes important. The Maoists had initiated a civil war in 1996 which ended in 2006 after the government of Nepal signed a peace agreement with the Communist party of Nepal Maoist. The political elites in the Terai had recognised how ethnic divisions could be used to mobilise supporters and pressure Kathmandu and had begun to build a Madhesi identity movement along similar lines. This was during the period of the maoist civil war and the formation of the MJF in 1997 by activist Upendra Yadav was a milestone in this development. Originally an academic platform for the citizens of Terai to air their grievances, and discuss ways in which discrimination of Madhesis by Pahadis could be addressed; the MJF became more political and radicalized during the ten year civil war between the Communist party of Nepal Maoist and the government. The MJF leaders including Upendra Yadav either sympathised with or joined the Maoists. With the greater financial and military support that its alliance with the Maoists provided, the MJF was able to more quickly mobilise than the Indigenous Nationalities Movement before it (Hangen, 2007). But after the Maoists signed a comprehensive peace agreement with the government of Nepal in 2006, the high ranking Madhesis in the Maoist movement were sidelined, observing firsthand how the Maoist rhetoric of equality did not apply in their case. In response to this large numbers of supporters from the

Terai broke away from the Maoists to start their own movements combining the indigenous social mobilisation tactics with the knowledge gained from involvement with the Maoists on how to strategically attack the state. In response replicating the Maoist strategy, the Madhesi for the first time launched a systematic massacre against the Maoist on March 2/2007 in Gaur, a town bordering India. After this massacre the Madhesis were able to shift the meaning of Madhes from a geographical origin to racial and ethnic identity. The Gaur massacre was a clash between the members of the MJF and the Maoists that claimed altogether 28 lives. The Communist party of Nepal Maoist had held a memorial service for the Maoist cadres on 23rd March who died in the Gaur Massacre. It was held at Tundikhel's Khulla Manch in Kathmandu. Maoist Chairman Prachanda draped the party flags over the bodies of the 25 of their fellow activists who were killed in the clash with the MJF cadres (Peace and Collaborative Development Network, 2015). Hence the Madhesi parties were no longer in alliance with the Maoists. Moreover hoping to disassociate themselves from the violent past, the three Madhesi organisations, the NSP, MJF and the TMLP formed the UDMF in 2007 in order to project a united front and to create a platform for negotiation with Kathmandu and to distance the larger political players from criminal gangs who used to use Madhesi slogans to cover their actions. Now principle demand of the UDMF was the call for the liberation of entire Terai by redrawing the region into a single autonomous unit called 'Madhes' that would have the right to self-determination. The demand was commonly known as 'One Madhes' in Nepal. In the constituent assembly elections of April 2008 the UDMF's election slogan became 'Ek Madhes, Ek Pradesh'. The UDMF had gained politically by selling Madhesi identity through the one Madhes ideal. Most political moderates in the seven party alliance (SPA) of mainstream political parties were fighting the one Madhes proposal. The then prime minister Girija Prasad Koirala (NC) argued that it would split the country and he stated "I cannot fulfill the demand of creating whole Madhes as a one state no matter what power in this word forces me to do so". Although the Maoist leader Prachanda had been more considerable towards the idea of self-determination in the Terai, the Maoist and the CPN-UML released a joint statement on 27 June 2008 firmly rejecting the 'One Madhes' proposal as it stood. Hence the conflicts between the Madhesi Parties and the Maoists began (Miklian, 2009).

Another cause for Madhesi dissatisfaction with the Maoists was that, the Maoists had proposed five provinces for the Terai for a proper federal structure like Awadhi, Mithila, Kochila,

Bhojpura, and Tharuwan. Madhesis became unhappy with the Maoists for this reason. Again since the formation of their autonomous people's Government the Maoists had divided the Madhes into two units: Tharuwan (in the west) and Madhes (in the east). This had angered the Madhes leaders. The Maoists had stated that they were open to revising it, although a unified province could still incorporate a separate Tharu administrative Unit (ICG, 2007). Hence there is an irony in the fact that the CPN (Maoist) provided the basis for the rise of militant Madhesi nationalism which was in conformity with its strategy of ethnicisation of their insurgency, but later this turned and backfired in a spectacular way.

Another aspect of the Madhesi and Maoist conflict is that the Madhesh National liberation front (MNLF) was formed in 2000 in Siliguri India with the slogan "say with pride, we are Madhesi" as the CPN Maoists front organisation. It was actively mobilised in the Terai during the time of the Maoist insurgency. Most of the demands that were raised by the Madhesi parties such as the MJF and other Madhesi groups, like inclusion, federalism with the right of self-determination, language, cultural rights, reservation etc. were already been raised by the MNLF. The replacement of the MNLF founder leader Jai Krishna Goait by Matrika Prasad Yadav as the leader of the Front in July 2004 led to a split with the formation of the TJMM or JTMM by the dissidents. The dissidents hence confronted with the Maoist cadres and they actively campaigned that the CPN Maoist's pro Madhesi posture was fake. This position was accepted by several other small Madhesh armed groups including, a splinter group of the TJMM (Jwala Singh) and the MJF. Nepal Democracy survey 2007 revealed the Madhesi's anti Maoist posture. The majority of respondents belonging to the Madhesi castes and Muslims 'distrusted' the CPN Maoist nor did they believe in the CPN Maoist's commitment to the multiparty system. By contrast the majority of the hill respondents showed trust in the Maoist commitments. The local Madhesi leaders of the NC, UML and other parties gave up the idea of countering the Madhesh unrest when it became clear that it was turning into an anti-Maoist agitation. The call for Sadbhav rallies (by NC, UML and all other mainstream parties), which was effective in Nepalgunj against communal violence which happened just before the starting of Madhesh andolan from 16th January 2007 appeared ritualistic. It was a tactical resistance against the CPN Maoist. The flags of established parties failed to deter the CPN Maoist's long aggressive campaigns launched by its people's liberation army (PLA) during the insurgency period and by the Young Communist League (YCL) in the post Jan andolan II time. Whereas the militant

Madhes uprising proved an effective counter to the CPN (Maoist). To quote from the ICG report ‘for the Maoists, the Terai violence was a wakeup call: much of it was directed against their cadres, whose appearance of domination was shattered’ (Hachhethu, 2007).

3.2.5: CONFLICTS WITHIN THE MILITANT AND FRINGE GROUPS:

Speaking about the militant and fringe groups they too add to the internal conflicts within the Madhesi movement. Many opine that the fact that their involvement in the conflict, splits and tensions has led to the failure and instability of the movement. For instance, the Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (JTMM) is an armed Madhesi militant group which has split into three factions. The former MNLF leader Jai Krishna Goait broke from the Maoists and their Front to set up the JTMM in July 2004. He pointed that he was unhappy with the Pahadi domination of the party leadership. Positions in the Madhes and the discriminations against the Madhesis in the people’s liberation army. In addition to these he also resented the appointment of Matrika Yadav as the head of MNLF, while he was shifted to being the senior advisor. Jai Krishna Goait in August 2006 expelled the group’s eastern commander Nagendra Paswan (Jwala Singh) for his indiscipline as Goait states. On the other hand Nagendra Paswan i.e. Jwala Singh complained of Goait’s dictatorial tendencies and caste attitudes and he established his own faction of the JTMM group. But the similar fact between both the factions of JTMM is that they endorse violence and have been responsible for abductions, extortion, physical attacks and murders, but neither have been dismissed as of being purely criminal. Goait and Singh both had political agendas. Before joining the Maoists Goait was a political activist with the UML and Jwala Singh came from a background of journalism. The Goait faction of the JTMM split again with eight rebels led by Bisfot Singh, forming a splinter faction (Post, 2007). On the one hand Jwala Singh faction claimed to have an organisation that was modelled on the Maoists, with a central committee, central and district level Terai governments, a Terai liberation army and district committees across the region. On the other hand Goait faction claimed to have a central committee, east and west Terai regional bureaus, village, ward and cell committees and a parallel military organisation. But the main similarity here is that, for both the factions it was hard to confirm how their claims translated into ground reality, although they had certainly recruited members and had expanded significantly. Both the factions differed in their idea of and their perception of the Terai issue. Goait identified the Terai issue as being the issue of colonialism and thus had

demanded independence. He refused to be called a Nepali citizen and believed that Nepal had no legal claim to the Terai. He had also demanded that all the administrative posts in the Terai should be filled by the Madhesis and the government should return the tax revenues raised from the Terai back to the people living in the region. Jwala Singh on the other hand also questioned Nepal's historical claim to the Terai but he identified three main issues like, the authoritarian Pahadi state and its colonial exploitation of Madhes, class differences and caste differences. The example of the JTMM exhibits how there are conflicts and splits within the militant armed groups and how this has been a limitation against the progress of the Madhesi movement (Chakma, 2009).

Besides this another issue of conflict was that of the dozens of armed groups in the Terai who claimed to be fighting for the Madhesi cause, but very little is known about them and the people in the Terai viewed them as opportunistic, who made the most of the weak law and order situation in the Terai. They had a record of activities that were largely criminal and most of them had not issued political manifestos. Hence they were disliked by the residents of the Terai. For instance, although the Madhesi Tigers were formed a lot earlier than the JTMM they had remained inactive for several years and only became active when the Madhesi upsurge was at its height. Most Madhesis believe that their opponents i.e. the mainstream parties, the state administration and security forces encourage and support it.

Another source of conflict in between the Madhesi armed groups was that, while all Madhesi political formations including the Maoist MNLF and the JTMM (Jwala Singh) identified Hindu Madhesi caste structures as one of the root causes of underdevelopment, for many other groups (apart from dalit activists) Caste was of interest mainly as a potential basis for securing votes (ICG, 2007). There is also another conflict within the Madhesi movement i.e. the Hindu versus the non-Hindu groups among the Madhesis. Many of the Terai Janjati groups do not consider themselves to be Hindus by tradition. By contrast all Madhesi caste groups are Hindus. This raises a big question: Are the Terai adivasi/ Janjati groups closer to Terai Hindu caste groups in terms of language, religion and culture? Many Terai adivasi/ Janjati groups are already actively opposed to their integration into the Hindu caste model of Nepal. The other significant factor is the Muslim population of the Terai. In brief if the Madhesi people as a whole do not reach an accommodation about their diverse cultures, languages and religion, it is unlikely that they will

be able to build any kind of powerful or solidarity movement on the basis of geography alone (Dahal, 2008).

3.2.6: FEDERALISM AS A REASON FOR INTERNAL CONFLICT:

The Conflict between the various parties and groups also arose due to the idea of federalism which was the main demand of the first Madhesi movement as the Madhesis demanded the introduction of federalism in the interim constitution. The main achievement of the second Madhesi movement was the commitment by the government to an autonomous Madhes province. The notion of the self-rule in the Terai and the notion of shared rule at the center lied at the heart of the movement. The Madhesis did adopt the slogan of One Madhes according to their logic that Terai comprises a common cultural zone. But this demand of theirs ran into rough opposition from the different quarters. The ultra-nationalist elites opposed the federalism, in principle and felt that one Madhes is the prelude to the breakup of the country. NC and UML are reluctant converts to the cause of federalism and advocated vertical provinces that incorporated the hills and plains on the lines of old development zones. This was seen as discriminatory by the Madhesis. Maoists as mentioned earlier suggested later on to break up the Terai into five provinces. Some Tharu groups on the other hand demanded that the entire plains be constituted as Tharuhath. Others demand that far west districts be a Tharu province. They felt that a single madhes province would mean hegemony of Madhesi Hindu castes. Limbuwan activists agitating in the eastern hills have demanded the inclusion of far eastern districts like Jhapa in the Limbuwan province. Rajbangshi activists similarly claim that parts of Jhapa Morang and Sunsari should be a part of the Kochila state. The Kathmandu based planners have urged vertical provinces as economically more feasible, where both plains and hills will be able to derive mutual advantages. Many commentators opposed the ethnic states in principle, and they have raised the point that any province is bound to have people from different ethnicities and castes, carving out ethnic and linguistic provinces may make the minorities within them second class citizens, and thus defeat the purpose of federalism. When the federal debate used to be picked many feared that all these groups with conflicting demands could create chaos which would be hard for the state to handle (Chakma, 2009).

In brief, the heterogeneous social structure and preexisting cultural divisions within the Madhesi groups seem to lead to conflicts between Madhesis. On the one hand this may induce them to

build greater pan- Madhesi unity, in order to pursue joint benefits within the democratic system, on the other, in so far as they fail to do this, it avoids polarized ethnic conflict as in Cyprus, Sri Lanka or Northern Ireland (Dahal, 2008). These were the internal dynamics that worked into the internal conflicts between various parties, groups and communities within the Madhesi movement but it also becomes equally important to discuss the external dynamics that affect the movement as a whole.

3.3: EXTERNAL DYNAMICS:

India as a country has enormous leverage and has influenced the key developments in the Nepali politics ever since the 1950s. India's role, interest and leverage in Madhesi politics is often misunderstood both in Kathmandu and Terai (Chakma, 2009).

Till date India has treated the Madhesi issue as an internal matter of Nepal. India had also officially expressed the view that the problem of the Terai could be officially resolved by accommodating minority rights in the new constitution. But the people of hill origin in Nepal believe that India had been encouraging the one Madhes demand of the Madhesis. There remains a suspicion amongst the Pahadis and the major political leaders in Nepal that India is out to balkanise Nepal. This suspicion of theirs was further strengthened when there was an effort to develop a new pro India constituency in the Terai region in opposition to king Gyanendra's rule in 2002- 2004. Some of the leaders in Nepal have stated that the Indian ambassador had taken steps for it and had expressed his concerns about the Madhesi grievances in a manner that encouraged the madhesis to politically organise themselves. It is often said that as the madhesis were working closely with the maoists India did this to weaken the maoists and to create a buffer between the maoists of Nepal and India. As a part of this initiative, the Nepal India friendship association was reportedly supported by India and some development projects that were funded by India were diverted to the Terai region to nurture the constituency. Various leaders of the Nepal had numerous views on the state of affairs. The former Prime Minister G.P Koirala hinting at India's role in the Terai stated that 'the ongoing Madhes crisis can be solved within a minute if Nepal and India jointly work together for it'. The UCPN- Marxist chairman Prachanda (Pushpa Kamal Dahal) during the 2007 Madhesi movement said that if the perception about India that it is supporting the Madhesis in Nepal will gain further ground then it can lead to anti Indianism in Nepal, which will allow more space for China and Pakistan to use Nepal as a

hotbed for anti- India activities. He opined that the major political parties and the Kathmandu based intellectuals should understand that the people living in southern Nepal prefer to maintain their affiliations with India due to the discriminatory policies of the State. He mentioned that there is no visible change in the policies even after the formation of democratic, secular, republic of Nepal. He also predicted that the continuation of the Pahadi narrative that portrays Madhesis as Indian agents will further complicate the situation. He suggested that the Madhesis should also adhere to the constitutional norms of Nepal. But in contrast to these views the Madhesis believe that the Indian policies towards Nepal are Kathmandu centric. India is often accused by the Madhesis that it neglected the Madhesi movement. A senior leader of the Sadbhavna party commented that 80 percent of India's aid is being utilized in the hilly region. The Madhesis also accused India of engineering divisions in the MJF in June 2009 (Nayak, 2011).

When the first Madhesi movement emerged India took it positively for it had the potential to weaken the Maoists in the Terai. Throughout 2007 India tried to broker a deal between the Nepal government and the MJF. But even if Upendra Yadav was understood to be close to India, (he had been released by the Indian government even as two of his arrested Maoist colleagues were sent off to Nepal in 2003) the embassy did not trust him fully and felt that he may not be able to represent the political aspirations of the Terai. In this backdrop they encouraged the formation of the TMLP in December 2007. During the second movement India stepped in and tried to mediate an agreement between the Government of Nepal and Madhesi Parties (One meeting between the two sides was held in the residence of the Indian ambassador). In the post-election period of 2008 the relationship between the Indian establishment and Upendra Yadav had been declining. Yadav had publicly stated that India was not his headmaster and had also blamed the previous ambassador of Nepal Shiv Shanker Mukherjee of trying to ensure the defeat of MJF in the CA elections in 2008. In addition to these the presence of the Chinese delegates at the MJF party convention in early 2009 in Birgunj ruffled feathers in Delhi. The differences between India and the MJF surfaced again during the Maoist Katwal crisis, when India took a firm stand against the army chief's dismissal. Upendra Yadav's stand had initially been supportive of the Maoist position and then became ambiguous. He was a reluctant supporter of the Madhav Nepal Government, but he went along because Bijay Gachhedar had won the support of a majority of MPs. When the split in the party occurred there was widespread speculation that India had backed the Gachhedar faction. Later the Gachhedar led MJF, TMLP, and Sadbhavna became

closer to the Indian establishment while Upendra Yadav seemed to have fallen out of favor. Yet Yadav remains connected with India. Yadav reportedly spent a few days in Delhi in early July 2009 and met politicians and bureaucrats to reassure them that he is not 'anti- India'. India's investments in the form of development expenditure were geared towards the hill and there was a shift in focus towards the Terai only after 2002. Politically it had sympathised for the Sadbhavna party only in the 90s but never backed it with the intention to create a mass stir. Once the Madhesi movement took place the Indian establishment knew that its support to the Madhesi parties will give it additional leverage in Kathmandu. India wanted a stable Nepal and it required the Madhesi aspirations to be addressed. The core Indian objective was to get the Maoists into the mainstream politics and completing the peace process but India repeatedly insisted that it had no intention of backing the extremist outfits in the Madhes which would create instability both in Nepal and India. But there were multiple armed groups and extremists operating from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in India. Some News magazines in Nepal also suggested that the RAW and some other Indian agencies were supporting these groups. This perhaps was correct but the support to these groups were actually from the local politicians in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, and not necessarily the Indian state. Intimate cross border links meant that militants could rely on the supporters on the other side. So to be fair, India as a neighbor is in a difficult position. On the one hand Kathmandu feels that it backs the Madhesi movement to undermine the Nepali state and on the other the Madhesi actors feel that it does not adequately back their movement (Chakma, 2009).

The discrimination against Madhesis is an affront to India's ethnic identity and democratic ideals, and the resulting protests have created instability on its border. However, India risks overplaying its hand. The highly critical public comments of the Indian officials on the new constitution which are visible, as well as its unofficial economic blockade evoke the very anti-Indianism that lies at the core of Nepal's controversial constitutional provisions. India's actions also allow Nepal's conservative establishments to conflate the Madhesi movement with Indian subterfuge. Nepal's political elites have finally summoned the courage to pass a constitution although seven years overdue. Yet the document is clearly flawed in many aspects. In the current form of the constitution, the ethnic minorities like the Madhesis as well as women will face codified discrimination and limited political rights. The country may witness renewed civil conflicts. India's aggressive public comments and actions too are not helping find a proper

solution to the problem in Nepal. According to Nirabh Koirala and Geoffrey Macdonald, India needs to be a responsible neighbor and step back. It should encourage reform through diplomatic channels proactively, rather than making use of public admonishments and economic punishment reactively. This would always be a far more effective strategy in light of the cultural–political dynamics in Kathmandu. India does have significant leverage and power to sway Nepali politics, but as a neighbor it needs to demonstrate ‘sensitivity, caution, and astuteness’ that will inevitably be transformative for Nepal. Indian action may ultimately determine whether this transformation is triumphant or catastrophic (Koirala & Macdonald, 2015).

Another player affecting the external dynamics of the Madhesi movement is China. Events in Nepal since a new Constitution was adopted in 2015 without considering the aspirations of the Madhesis and Janjatis in the Terai region provided opportunities for China to fish in the troubled waters of South Asia. Trouble began in Nepal when it adopted a constitution for itself after a tedious process of consultations and political bickering among various political parties. The people in the Terai region were however up in arms with their demands for representation and so this led them to stopping the fuel and other supplies from entering Nepal. As a response to this the mainstream political parties to whip up an anti-India tirade and sought China’s help. China quickly moved into the scene with over 1,000 tonnes of petrol grant to Nepal, in addition to the possibility of exploring other related measures. A new element of contest between India and China is emerging in Nepal. While it is reported in the local press and in interviews that both China and India “cultivate” Nepal’s political leaders. Beijing’s deep pockets and its political influence in Kathmandu seem to be overshadowing the Indian influence over Nepal. A Nepali parliament committee in the past, cited financial irregularities by the ruling political dispensation in a Chinese funded energy project. So, China is making its concerted attempts to enter into Nepal and while the Indian soft power took a beating with rising protests in Kathmandu, it will not be easy for Beijing to break the historical ‘Umbilical cord’ between India and Nepal. But despite the fact China has made several attempts to influence Nepal. At first it began influencing Nepal on Tibet and other issues and Nepal’s movement towards China include the former’s adherence to the ‘One China’ policy where it treats Tibet as an ‘inalienable’ part of China, endorsement of ‘anti-secession’ law of China on Taiwan and Tibet and the ‘three evil’ construct of Beijing. Nepal also came under pressure to endorse Beijing’s membership in the SAARC.

Nepal and China also began the Sajha yatayat bus service from 2005. It is often reported that China's paramilitary troops intrude into Nepal to chase the fleeing Tibetans who find the Kodari road convenient to escape from Tibet. As a result while over 10,000 Tibetans used to escape to Kathmandu valley a few years ago, it is now come down to three digit figures. Paying heed to China's advice, Nepal's authorities had been putting restrictions on the Tibetan elections by confiscating the ballot boxes. Besides these china's arms supplies to Nepal in violation of the 1950 India Nepal treaty has brought in the Indian ire. In 1987, Nepal had bought \$200 million of small arms from China which resulted in the Indian Blockade of its borders with Nepal. However, the current standoff, according to the Indian side is that the blockade was due to the Nepali Madhesis themselves. Blockade as a coercive policy is used by China too and Nepal has lessons to learn from another landlocked country i.e. Mongolia. The Mongolian borders were also blockaded by China when the Dalai Lama visited Ulan Bator in 2002 (Kondapalli, 2015).

One of the points that is raised by the anti- India factions in Nepal is that, by ensuring proportional representation, to the 31 percent of Madhesis of the population India would have had a major bargaining block in the parliament Vis a Vis China. While it cannot be denied that the Himalayan nation of Nepal is of great strategic importance, it is unlikely that the Indian government would see the Madhesis as a counter weight to China. It is true that the political elites in Nepal are increasingly looking towards China but thanks to the cultural, geographically and economic factors that India will continue to be an important factor in Nepal. If one sees into it, culturally, a vast majority of Nepali population identifies with India. Indian music, food and even cricket will ensures that India's power status will be maintained in the future. For a Nepali citizen it is easier to maintain people to people contact with India than with China. Due to the open border with India it is very easy for the citizens of Nepal to visit India, but a visit to China with similar ease is not possible. Economically too almost all of Nepal's fuel, medicine and essential supplies come through India. Geographically, the southern border of Nepal with India is too conducive to transport goods. The infrastructure and terrain would mean that China will have will have difficulty in replacing India as Nepal's primary economic partner. The Indian support to the Madhesis is a part of its larger policy of supporting the democratic and inclusive elements in the region. During Prime Minister Oli's visit to India nothing concrete came out of the visit due to the soured relationship of the two countries due to the blockade. Traditionally, whenever the Prime Ministers of Nepal have visited India they have issued a joint statement at

the end of their meeting. But during Prime Minister Oli's visit there was no joint statement issued. This is a telling fact regarding the success of the meeting (Shastri, 2016). Although with the blockade being lifted there was hope that this disagreement would be settled sometime soon, this has resulted in the resignation of Prime Minister K.P Oli on Sunday 24th July 2016. It is said that P.M Oli was seen steering the Himalayan nation closer to Beijing than New Delhi. Some of the diplomatic observers see a vindication of India's foreign policy, behind his resignation. The major political parties like the Nepali Congress, Maoist Communist party (CPN-MC) and the CPN United came together to raise the combined strength of 292 in the 598 member constituent assembly against Mr Oli's party which had 175 seats which was far fewer than the 299 needed to win a vote of confidence. The main reason behind Mr Oli's demising popularity was his tilt towards China, sending India Nepal relations into a freefall. In addition to it, the redrawing of the provinces in Nepal marginalizing the Madhesi community added to the bitterness. Some of the diplomatic observers also state that Mr Oli made use of the Indian support to the Madhesis to justify his pro-China policy. But sourcing essential commodities from the Tibetan Plateau and reducing Nepal's dependence on India turned out to be difficult and impractical. Oli failing to honor a power sharing agreement with the maoist party made his coalition partners uncomfortable. On the other hand the key political figures like Prachanda who were leading the charge against Mr Oli is now being seen as the frontrunner of the Prime Minister's chair and he advocated a much more balanced and nuanced foreign policy where India had a larger role to play (Sen, 2016).

3.4: CONCLUSION:

In brief, the Madhesi movement has a series of conflict within it which stand as a herculean hurdle before it. The nature of the conflicts it has is both internal and external. Sometimes they are solely due to the internal situations and factors and sometimes they are all due to the play of external dynamics. But the conflicts do have a dire need to be resolved because their presence leads the movement towards failure despite of the joint efforts made by the Madhesis in the Terai.

CHAPTER 4

THE MADHESI MOVEMENT AND STATE RESPONSES

4.1: INTRODUCTION:

The chapter delves into the response of the Nepal Government towards the Madhesi movement. It analyses the efforts and policies of the Nepal Government to integrate the Madhesi population in its policy formulation and decision making. According to Nishchal Nath Pandey the state response towards the numerous complex and mutually conflicting demands of the movement is pathogenically weak (Pandey, 2013).

Another writer Yubaraj Ghimire in his article ‘Who are the Madhesis? Why are they angry’ states that efforts have been made to integrate the Madhes in the processes of policy formulation. He supports his view by stating that in 1947 just before India became independent, Prime Minister Padma Shumsher had suggested four representatives from the Terai in the Constitution Reforms Committee. Hence from the 1950s onwards some ministerial or key constitutional posts have gone to the Madhesis. Bhadrakali Mishra, whose cousin Shyam Nandan Mishra was India’s external affairs minister in 1978, was a minister in Nepal in 1951 and in the early 1980s he was the chief of the King’s advisory body. He was succeeded by Parshunarayan Choudhary, a Tharu. The previous president Ram Baran Yadav was a Yadav and the previous Vice President Paramananda Jha was a Maithili Brahmin, although the present president is Bidya Devi Bhandari and the vice president is Nanda Kishore Pun (Ghimire, 2015).

The International Crisis Group while talking about the State Response towards the Madhesi movement of 2007 states that the Nepali state had ignored the demands of the movement and did not negotiate with the Madhesi groups. So when trouble began slowly brewing it treated the protests as law and order problem instead. The state arrested the leaders, imposed curfews and gave authorisation to the police to shoot the violent protestors. Many of the mainstream politicians were happy to see a militant Terai force emerging to challenge the maoists, it was only when they themselves became the targets and the unrest showed no signs of abating did SPA leaders start looking for a political solution. The maoists claimed that the royalists and the Hindu fundamentalists from India were driving the Madhesi movement and so they dismissed the MJF and JTMM as criminals. They urged the government not to grant them legitimacy

through negotiations and consistently argued that the newly prominent activists were ‘irresponsible’ and lacked the ‘moral authority’ to represent the Madhesis. From the government’s side Prime Minister Koirala on 31st January 2007 in a televised address invited all the protesting groups for negotiation. He promised to increase the electoral seats in the Terai and announced a commitment to federalism. On the 2nd of February the government set up a ministerial level talk team. However the MJF led protestors rejected the offer and they complained that the Prime Minister Koirala did not empathize with their movement. Many Madhesis in the Terai felt that the speech was high handed and unilateral and did not recognise Madhesi demands and rights that were due to them. When the situation started deteriorating Koirala made a second address recognising the contribution of Madhesis to strengthening democracy, expressing regret over loss of life and again promising electoral representation and the inclusion of marginalised groups in the State bodies on a proportional basis. This Second address to the people of the Terai by the Prime Minister was welcomed by the MJF which suspended the agitation for a period of 10 days to let the government implement its promises. But the MJF set pre conditions for talks on the home minister’s resignation, action against those responsible for the killing and a judicial commission to examine the government’s behavior. The government prevaricated and it delayed the amendment in the constitution. It backed the home minister and did not even address uncontroversial demands such as compensating the victims. The promised judicial commission was only formed months later and was dominated by establishment figures like the police chief whose own force’s actions were under investigation. Feeling threatened by the Madhesi strength most of the marginalised communities expressed support towards the Madhesis and emphasized that they shared the demand for federalism and proportional representation. Much of the civil society groups visited the troubled districts and they urged the government to address the legitimate demands. It was seen that some media attention was finally drawn towards the Madhesi concerns. It prompted some sympathetic reporting but wasn’t much worth it (ICG, 2007).

Hence a field survey was conducted in the districts of Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari to look into the response of the Government of Nepal towards the Madhesi movement and to explore the causes, aims and conflicts of the movement. Damak, Biratnagar and Dharan were visited accordingly and 109 respondents were taken for fulfilling the objectives of the research. A microanalysis of the data that was collected is as follows:

4.2: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

4.2.1: JHAPA, DAMAK

15 Ordinary Madhesi Respondents:

4.1 Sex:

Male	Female
10	5

4.2 Age:

Age	Male	Female
18-30	5	4
31-45	3	
46-55	1	1
56-65		
More than 65	1	

4.3 Income:

Annual Income NRs	Male	Female
Less than 10,000		
10,000- 20,000		
20,000- 30,000	4	2
30,000- 50,000	4	2
More than 50,000	2	1

4.4 Education:

Educational qualification	Male	Female
Primary	2	1
Secondary	8	4
Graduate		
Post Graduate		
Professional		
Any other		

4.5 Occupation:

Occupation	Male	Female
Government Service		
Private Company		
Business	9	
Student		1
Unemployed		
Housewife		4
Any other (specify)		

Religion: 10 among the above respondents were Hindus and 5 were Kirats.

Community: 10 respondents belonged to the Maithili community and 5 from the Haluwai Community.

OBJECTIVES AND AIMS OF THE MADHESI MOVEMENT:

- All of the respondents that faced an in depth interview agreed that they are aware of the Madhesi movement. Out of the 15 respondents 73.4 percent of them mentioned that they are aware of the Madhesi movement since September 2015. Only 26.6 percent of them mentioned about being aware of the Madhesi movement since 2007. Before that they did not seemed to be aware of it.
- Out of the Madhesi respondents 86.6 percent of them have the opinion that it is for the better that the movement has come up. For them the movement is important to keep forward the demands of the Madhesis. They believe that the movement will lead to the benefits of the Madhesi community and their upliftment. According to them it will bring justice to the Madhesi community as they are (to quote a respondent), “Under the shoes of the Nepal Government and are lagging behind in every field” and so the movement gives voice to their demands. They opine that although a streak of violence is seen in the movement they hope that it will bring about progress for the Madhesi community. 13.4 percent of the respondents out of the 15 opine that the movement is not for the Madhesis of eastern Terai, especially not for the ones residing in Damak. They mentioned that places like Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha,

Rajbiraj, Mahottari, Bara, Parsa etc. should have this movement continue as the people there are the affected ones. They added that they do not even have basic facilities like toilets and schools. But according to them the people (Madhesis) in Damak are not suffering and are happy and satisfied.

- 26.6 percent of the 15 Madhesi respondents mentioned that the movement has had a positive impact on the Terai as the people have become aware of their rights and are politically aware of the happenings around them. To quote one of the respondents, he said, “yeslay Janjagaran lyayeko cha”¹⁸. 13.4 percent of the respondents argued that the impact of the movement has been favorable and positive not for the Terai but for only the leaders of the movement and the politicians. But according to them the people suffered the negative impacts for e.g. due to bandhs and strikes. 33.4 percent of the respondents argued that the impact of the movement on the Terai has been both positive and negative. The positive impact that they mentioned is that the Madhesis are now aware of the injustice that they were facing. They used the word ‘Sachet’¹⁹ while mentioning about them being aware. The negative impacts according to them have been the sufferings of the people when they are unable to earn during strikes and yet the problems of the Madhesis remain unresolved. To quote one of the respondents, she said, “Afu pani ramro gardaina, arulai Pani Garna didaina”²⁰. On the other hand 26.6 percent out of the 15 respondents mentioned that there have only been the negative impacts of the movement in the Terai.
- All of the respondents responded that they aspire to have a peaceful country. They want the Nepal Government to give them equal opportunities in every field. They want it to provide them with employment opportunities and ‘Samanta ko beuhar’ i.e. equal treatment. They mentioned that the rights of the Madhesis, adivasis and janjatis should be provided with, to quote them, they said, “Adhikar sunischit garaunu parcha”²¹. They also mentioned that their languages should also be stated as official languages and there is untouchability and differential treatment still present in the country so the government should do away with such problems.
- 86.6 percent of the Madhesi respondents mentioned that the movement demands a separate federal Province for them within Nepal. They mentioned that they want

proper demarcation of the pradhesis and they should be demarcated according to population. 13.4 percent of the respondents on the other hand, mentioned that there is no dire need for Jhapa to be included in state 2 as it is not an affected area where Madhesis experience inequalities in their daily life and they are self-satisfied. The movement according to the respondents also demands reservation for the Madhesi community in the various fields of the government and representation according to population. They also mentioned equal treatment of all and acceptance of the Madhesi community by the government.

CAUSES OF THE MADHESI MOVEMENT

- 86.6 percent of the Madhesi respondents said that the root cause behind the rise of the movement is inequality and the discrimination that the Madhesis have faced time and again. They mentioned that they are called as ‘Dhoti’, ‘Bhelay’ etc. by other communities and are treated unequally most of the times. The migration of the hill people to the Terai led to the lack of equal opportunities to the Madhesis and some don’t even possess citizenship certificates and that the Madhesis have always been suspicioned as an outsider, hence the movement arose to do away with such problems. 13.4 percent out of the 15 respondents were of the opinion that the maoists had announced that they would give different federal provinces to five different communities but could not provide what they had announced and hence the movement arose.
- All the respondents agreed that they do possess a citizenship certificate and they have been provided with it by the government. One of the respondents commented that some of the people make comments like ‘Bar ma India bata bagayra ayera deko’ i.e. the Madhesis came from India with the floods and so they are given citizenship certificates.
- Out of all the Madhesi respondents only 46.6 percent agreed that they do own a land in Damak and other places in the Terai and the rest 53.4 percent respondents mentioned that they do not own a land or any property.
- 86.6 percent of the Madhesi respondents agreed that they are comfortable and do know how to read and write and speak in Nepali language whereas 13.4 percent of the Madhesi respondents mentioned that they can speak and read in Nepali but are not comfortable in writing in Nepali language.

- Out of all the Madhesi respondents in Jhapa, 86.6 percent of them mentioned that the word ‘Madhes’ means the plains and lowlands of Nepal where once Raja Janak ruled and the word ‘Madhesi’ denotes all the people who live in Madhes, despite belonging to different communities. Apart from them 13.4 percent respondents mentioned that although the word ‘Madhes’ means a geographical region in Nepal, the word ‘Madhesi’ has a cultural connotation and it means the people who live in the Terai who are of Indian origin.

CONFLICTS IN THE MADHESI MOVEMENT

- All the respondents agreed that the conflicts within the movement have proved to be a vital limitation for the movement. They shared that the people have played a huge role in the movement but the parties and the leader they bring in conflict. They divide and open up new parties and create conflict.
- 46.6 percent respondents out of all the Madhesi respondents opined that India should support the Madhesi cause because it has always acted as a good neighbor and has advised Nepal to solve its issues. According to them it says “Adhikar barabar deu, karan Madhesi timro anga ho” i.e. give equal rights to all because Madhesis are also an organ of yours. 20 percent of the respondents opined that India is not supporting the Madhesi cause and wasn’t supporting earlier too but many people from the hills are just suspicious because the Madhesis are culturally and linguistically affiliated to India. They say that they have a ‘Roti Beti’ relation. 33.4 percent of the respondents opined that India should not support the Madhesi cause because it is an internal matter of Nepal and Nepal should be responsible for it and resolve it itself. If Nepal remains unable to resolve then the people won’t have confidence over their own nation.
- All of the respondents mentioned the conflicts between various political parties and among the leaders of the movement. They said that these parties and leaders are in a competition to assure the people that their rights and demands will be provided with, but none actually work for it. Apart from the parties they mentioned that the people that is the ‘janta’ and the communities too are always engaged in a conflict. They gave the Pahade and Madhesi divide as an example.

- 53.4 percent of the Madhesi respondents gave their opinion that the political parties have had an immense role in leading the movement and mobilising the people, whereas 46.6 percent out of the Madhesi respondents opined that the Madhesi political parties and other political parties did not have much role to play in the movement as they concentrate more on securing their political motives. They fight against each other and only assure the people that they would get what they demand but none work for the people. They said that “Lahan made Upendra Yadav, but Upendra Yadav did not make Lahan”.

STATE RESPONSE

- All of the Madhesi respondents responded that the Nepal government has not been successful in providing what the Madhesis demand. In fact they said that no government has been able to solve the Madhesi issue. The respondents shared that they are always assured by the government but the issue hasn't been solved. If the government would have been successful in providing what the Madhesis demand then the movement wouldn't have come up. They opined that the government hasn't been able to provide the Madhesis with proper representation and reservation. Prime Minister K.P Oli had promised to resolve the issues and provide compensation to the families of the martyrs who died in the movement, but he could not. Recently according to them the Dahal government did fulfill this but it is important for them to see what it does in the future. They mentioned that the movement is stagnant now just because the Dahal government has assured them that he will amend the constitution.
- All of the Madhesi respondents said that the government should listen to the Madhesi demands, hold meetings with the Madhesi protestors and start solving the Madhesis issues. They also mentioned that the government should solve the demarcation issue of the federal provinces and give equal opportunities and employment to the Madhesis.
- All of the respondents said that the Madhesis are not provided with any facilities by the government. The respondents also mentioned that not only the Madhesis but no one other than the Madhesis are also getting any facilities. Old age pension is given but also only at the age of seventy which most of the people are not able to get as they don't reach the age of 70.

- 86.6 percent of the Madhesi respondents mentioned that the people were dissatisfied with the 2015 constitution because citizenship hasn't been provided to all and the demarcation of provinces was not according to what the Madhesis had proposed. To quote one of the respondents he said that "Rooprekha pradhesh ko ramro sanga tai gariyena"²². Hence most of them point out towards faulty demarcation. Whereas 13.4 percent of the respondents pointed out that they need not be included in the state 2 as they are satisfied and protected in Damak and demarcation and getting included in the pradheshes did not matter to them.
- All of the respondents denied of availing any facilities from the government which would be helpful to them.

10 Non Madhesi Respondents:

4.6 Sex:

Male	Female
7	3

4.7 Age:

Age	Male	Female
18-30	3	1
31-45	1	1
46-55	3	1
56-65		
More than 65		

4.8 Income:

Annual Income NRs	Male	Female
Less than 10,000		
10,000- 20,000		
20,000- 30,000	3	
30,000- 50,000		
More than 50,000	4	3

4.9 Education:

Educational qualification	Male	Female
Primary	3	
Secondary	4	2
Graduate		
Post Graduate		1
Professional		
Any other		

4.10 Occupation:

Occupation	Male	Female
Government Service	2	1
Private Company		
Business	2	
Student		
Unemployed		
Housewife		2
Any other (specify)	3 waiter	

Religion: 7 out of the 10 respondents were Hindus and 3 were Buddhists.

Community: All of the respondents belonged to the Nepali community. 3 out of the 10 respondents were Tamangs, 4 belonged to the Khatri community, 2 belonged to the Sapkota and 1 of the respondents was a Pandey.

- All of the Non Madhesi respondents agreed that they are aware of the Madhesi movement. 60 percent of the Non Madhesi respondents mentioned that they are aware of the movement since September 2015. 40 percent of the respondents on the other hand mentioned that they were aware of it since 2007.
- 40 percent of the Non Madhesi respondents gave their opinion that the movement is for the good of the Madhesi brothers and that all should be happy and satisfied in the country, so the government should solve their issues. Whereas 60 percent of the respondents gave their opinion that it is a threat to the integrity and the unity of the

nation. It is also harmful for other people and community of the country due to one group of people.

- 40 percent of Non Madhesi respondents gave their opinion that the movement has had a positive impact on the Terai as the Terai has become politically active and the government has been finally discussing about the Terai. 60 percent of the respondents on the other hand opinionated that the movement has had a fully negative impact on the Terai because there was increase in violence and threat to security of the people in the Terai.
- 40 percent of the Non Madhesi respondents gave their opinions that the reasons behind the initiation of the movement were the inequality and discrimination that the Madhesi brothers were claiming to have faced. Whereas 60 percent of the respondents mentioned that the reasons behind the initiation of the movement is the demarcation issue of the Pradhesh and the dissatisfaction of the Madhesis with the constitution. They said that, when the constitution came up the people thought that now they could ask for anything for their communities and so the movement came up.
- All the Non Madhesi respondents agreed that the bandhs and strikes did create problems for them such as financial loss and loss of security. The absence of transportation had affected their daily lives and especially the people with small business who earn daily, suffered a lot.
- 40 percent of the Non Madhesi respondents agreed that the bandhs and strikes should be prevented totally but if the movement needs to be continued by the Madhesi brothers they should do it by using other methods. Whereas 60 percent respondents mentioned that the bandhs and strikes should be prevented totally.
- 40 percent of the Non Madhesi respondents did not own land or any other property, whereas 60 percent of them owned land and other forms of property.
- All the respondents agreed that although they are not so fluent in other languages other than Nepali they can manage to speak in Hindi or English.
- All of the respondents agreed that Nepali should remain the official language of Nepal. To quote the respondents, they said that “from Mechi to Mahakali²³ there should be one language that is Nepali”.

- 40 percent of the Non Madhesi respondents opined that the word ‘Madhes’ depicts the plains in Nepal and all the people living there, despite different cultures and communities are Madhesis. But 60 percent of the respondents gave their opinion that the term ‘Madhes’ came up only after the movement arose and that before the movement the plains in Nepal were known as Terai. They differentiated that the term ‘Madhesi’ is for the people of Indian origin “those who came from outside” and the term ‘pahade’ depicts the people from the hills of Nepal.
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents opined that India is actually supporting the Madhesi cause but it should not support if it is a good neighbor as it is an internal matter of Nepal and it should be solved internally. They gave the example of a family and said that if some of the members of the family are not happy because of some matter then does the neighbor come and solve it for them?
- 70 percent of the Non Madhesi respondents mentioned that they are not aware of the Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj. Only 30 percent respondents agreed that they are aware of the Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj and it is necessary to have CBES to protect the interests of the non Madhesis.
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents agreed that they do have a citizenship certificate and they have it since 16 years of age.
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents mentioned that they haven’t been availing any kind of facilities from the government. There are agricultural loans and facilities for the people but it does not reach the actual needy.
- All the respondents opined that the Madhesi movement should not continue further in the future because it would mean problem for all. 40 percent of the respondents added that the government should solve it as soon as possible and it should view all its citizens equally and it should remove the virtual ceiling put by the government on the Madhesis which prevents them from reaching the higher echelons in every field.

10 Party Members:

MJF Loktantrik (Damak)

In Jhapa, Damak a focus group discussion of 10 party members of the Madhesi Jan Adhikar forum (Loktantrik) was conducted. The Shetriya Adhyaksha Gopal Rijal, the Shetriya Sabapati

Chandra Prasad Rajbanshi and an important Nagar Sadasya shri Ram Ashish shah were present along with other Nagar Sadasyas. 6 out of the 10 party members were males and 4 were females. 4 were from the Nepali community 3 were from the Maithili community, 1 from the Newar community and 2 from the Rajbanshi community.

The party members were aware of the movement since 2007 and were not aware of it before that period. They discussed that the movement helps in uplifting the people of the grassroots and will be useful in bringing about equal treatment, equal rights and equal opportunities. Their opinion was that people should have the spirit of demanding the Madhesi demands. Most importantly it was mentioned that the MJF (L) is not much active in the movement and the reason being the participation of MJF (L) in the present Government. It was also mentioned by the party members that their party was blamed for many of the violent activities in the movement but it was Upendra Yadav's division of the MJF that was active in those matters. The MJF (L) had just supported the movement in the beginning according to the members. They believe that the Madhesis are backward and unequal and they want the same equal status as others without discrimination from the government. But in Jhapa, Damak they believe that the Madhesis are protected and safe and equal unlike in the other areas. According to them the Madhesis demand two Pradhes from Mechi to Mahakali. They believe that there is some truth in the movement hence without reason no movement would be there and the government has not been accepting it. The cause for the rise of the Madhesi movement according to the party members is unequal treatment that the Madhesis faced. In Rajtantra also there was discrimination present and with the coming of loktantra (democracy) also there is still discrimination hovering over the Madhesis. Hence this was the cause according to them. For the party members Madhes depicts a geographical region in Nepal and all the people despite of belonging to different communities are Madhesis. According to them there has been no party which has not divided and has not ended in conflict hence they mentioned that such conflicts have proven as a limitation for the movement. To quote them, they said, "Shakti Bichinna Bhayo". While discussing about India They mentioned that India does want the goodwill of all the people in Nepal. The Madhesis do have a 'Roti Beti' relation with India and that has become a reason for suspicion but on a serious note, the Madhesi issue is a matter of Nepal which should be solved by it rather than India. The suspicion grew because some of the Madhesi leaders went to Indian minister Mr. Lalu Prasad Yadav for meetings. They mentioned that this shouldn't have happened. While discussing more

on India they shared that they believe India was the one to do a blockade in the borders in 2015. According to them the dissatisfaction of the people with the 2015 Constitution was the improper demarcation of the provinces and it is believed that the constitution was made by the dominant hill community. They were of the opinion that even though the governments till now were not able to resolve the Madhesi issues, they are now ready to talk and do something about it. Saying so they held high hopes for the Dahal government.

4.2.2: OBSERVATIONS:

1. In Jhapa, Damak there were very less Madhesi respondents who were earned an annual income of more than 50,000 NRs as compared to the non Madhesi respondents.
2. The educational qualifications of the Madhesi respondents were limited to the primary and secondary level. Similar was the case for the non Madhesi respondents except for one of the respondents who was a post graduate.
3. Most of the Madhesi respondents were engaged in business large and small and only one of them had a government job as compared to the non Madhesi respondents who had three of them with government jobs.
4. All of the respondents Madhesi and Non Madhesi were aware of the movement only since September 2015 and very few of them knew about 2007 and before that.
5. Although the Madhesi respondents believed that the movement is necessary to keep forward the demands of the Madhesis a few of them believed that the movement is not necessary for them as they are protected and satisfied in a place like Damak but it is necessary for the ones in the western Terai in places like Dhanusha, Rautahat, Mahottari, Bara, Parsa etc. On the other hand almost 40% of the non Madhesi respondents opined that the movement is necessary for the Madhesi brothers to ask for their rights. 60% of them opined that the movement is a threat to the nation.
6. Among the Madhesi respondents very few of them thought that the movement had a positive impact on the Terai. Majority of them thought that the impact was either negative or both positive and negative. They keen not to omit the negative impacts that their own movement had. Again among the non Madhesi respondents 40% of them opined that it had a positive impact on the Terai and 60% or majority of them said that the impact was negative.

7. The conflict between the Madhesi and the non Madhesi could be seen but most of the non Madhesis in Damak were tolerant about the movement and people. They did sympathize the movement. A few of the Madhesis also pointed out that they weren't facing any severe inequality in Damak and were satisfied.
8. All the non Madhesi and Madhesi respondents had a citizenship certificate and the and the problem of citizenship was not seen in Damak
9. Almost 50% of the Madhesi respondents owned land and other properties and almost 70% of the non Madhesis owned land and other properties.
10. The non Madhesi respondents did have better income, better qualifications and better standard of living than the Madhesi respondents.
11. Almost all of the Madhesi respondents except 2 two of them were comfortable in speaking, reading and writing in Nepali language. They expressed that they have no problem in communicating in Nepali. On the other hand all of the non Madhesi respondents agreed that other than Nepali they can communicate in Hindi or English, but still all of them opined that Nepali should be the sole official language from Mechi to Mahakali.
12. Almost all of the Madhesi respondents opined that for them the word 'Madhes' denotes a geographical region of Nepal and all the people in Madhes are Madhesis but only 40% of the non Madhesi respondents agreed with this. 60% of the non Madhesi respondents opined that although Madhes means the plains of Nepal the word 'Madhesi' denotes the people of Indian origin and not all the people in the Terai are Madhesis.
13. The non Madhesi respondents felt that the bandhs and strikes should be prevented because they are problematic but 40% of them sympathised and said that if the movement is to be continued then the Madhesi brothers could use other methods.
14. All of the non Madhesi respondents opined that India should not support the Madhesi cause as it is an internal matter of Nepal but very few Madhesi respondents agreed with this opinion. Almost 50% of them said that India should support and few said that India was neither supporting nor it will support but it is only the suspicion of some in the Terai that India might be supporting the Madhesi issue.

15. It shows that all of the Madhesi respondents in Damak are in favor of the demarcation and they would like to be the part of state 2. Only 2 of the respondents opined that they need not be included as they are safe in Damak and are satisfied.
16. Only 30 percent of the non Madhesi respondents were aware of the Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj (CBES). It might be because they feel secure and satisfied in Damak and they never felt the need to go to CBES for help.
17. All of the respondents Madhesi and non Madhesi gave the information that they are not availing any facilities from the Government of Nepal.

4.2.3: MORANG, BIRATNAGAR

15 Ordinary Madhesi Respondents:

4.11 Sex:

Male	Female
11	4

4.12 Age:

Age	Male	Female
18-30	4	2
31-45	7	2
46-55		
56-65		
More than 65		

4.13 Income:

Annual Income NRs	Male	Female
Less than 10,000		
10,000- 20,000		
20,000- 30,000	4	4
30,000- 50,000	2	
More than 50,000	5	

4.14 Education:

Educational qualification	Male	Female
Primary	7	4
Secondary	3	
Graduate	1	
Post Graduate		
Professional		
Any other		

4.15 Occupation:

Occupation	Male	Female
Government Service	2	
Private Company		
Business	6	
Student		
Unemployed		
Housewife		4
Any other (specify)	3 Rickshaw pullers	

Religion: All of the 15 respondents were Hindus

Community: 13 respondents were from the Maithili community and 2 were from the Gupta (Bania) community.

OBJECTIVES AND AIMS OF THE MADHESI MOVEMENT:

- All of the Madhesi respondents agreed that they are aware of the Madhesi movement and they point out that they are all aware of it since 2007.
- All of the Madhesi respondents opined that they are glad that the movement came up as the movement has proved to be a platform to voice the demands of the Madhesis. They added that time and again the Madhesis have been treated differently by the Nepal government and other fellow citizens and now it is high time that the Madhesis are accepted and the movement is an opportunity to do so. They are of the opinion that the movement has raised a concern for the Madhesis and has been successful in stirring the minds of many regarding the Madhesis.
- 60 percent of the Madhesi respondents gave their opinion that the movement has had a positive impact on the Terai because people are aware of the injustice they were facing and are actively participating in the movement. 40 percent of the respondents opined that there were both positive and negative impacts of the movement in the Terai. Political awareness according to them added to the positive impacts whereas violence and loss of lives added to the negative impacts.

- All of the respondents agreed to the similar thought that they aspire to have equal treatment from the government, reservation for various posts and equal opportunities and a pradhesh of their own.
- All of the respondents gave their opinion that the Madhesi movement demands a pradhesh for the Madhesi community and the government should take into the matter for them.

CAUSES OF THE MADHESI MOVEMENT

- 13.4 percent of the Madhesi respondents gave the opinion that it was because of improper demarcation of provinces that the movement arose and so it is the cause for its rise. 86.6 percent of other respondents on the other hand said that it is due to inequality and discrimination that the Madhesis faced that the movement came up. They mentioned that some don't even have citizenship certificates and even after democracy came in Madhesis are still living as outsiders in their own country. They also added that there was always upper hand of the dominant hill people in the government, army, judiciary etc. and the constitution too was made in such a way to fulfill the interests of the dominant.
- 60 percent of the Madhesi respondents did not own any land or property whereas 40 percent of the respondents agreed that they do own land or other properties such as houses and shops.
- 93.4 percent of the Madhesi respondents agreed that they do know how to read, write and speak in Nepali language fluently. Only one of the respondent shared that though he can speak in Nepali language, he has a problem in reading and writing in Nepali.
- All of the respondents pointed out that the term 'Madhes' mean the 'Samtal' or lowlands of Nepal for them and all the people despite of their varying communities are Madhesis for them. They added that they themselves never differentiated between communities but the other communities pointed them out as Madhesis.

CONFLICTS IN THE MADHESI MOVEMENT

- All of the Madhesi respondents agreed that the conflicts within the Madhesi movement have proved to be a limitation for it. They mentioned that the leaders and the parties are never one and together and instead of cooperating with each other and working together in the movement they are in some sort of competition with each other.
- 80 percent of the respondents opined that India is nowhere involved in the Madhesi movement and it is being blamed by the people of the hill origin because the Madhesis share a 'Roti Beti' relation with India and are culturally affiliated to it. They agreed that India should not support the Madhesi issue because if Nepal is an efficient country then it should solve its internal matters itself. 20 percent of the Madhesi respondents agreed to the thought that India should support the Madhesi cause because India is an example of unity in diversity which Nepal should also follow and learn from India.
- All of the respondents point out towards conflicts between leaders. They kept forward their opinion that these days if one leader in the movement does not like what the other has to say, he leaves the party and opens up a new one and claims to represent the Madhesi people and demands. They also pointed out towards the conflicts between the people and the communities. How the community like Tharu want to be different and do not like being designated as Madhesis.
- 73.4 percent of the Madhesi respondents opined that the political parties did not have much role in the movement as they are always fighting against each other and though they have tried leading the movement they could not mobilise the people. It is the people that have led the movement. 26.6 percent of the respondents on the other hand had the opinion that the parties have played an important role in leading the movement and preparing the agendas for the Madhesi cause.

STATE RESPONSE

- All of the respondents point out that until now no government that came in Nepal has been successful in solving the Madhesi issues. But they hoped that the Dahal government will fulfill their demands and they also predicted that if nothing turns out to be affirmative then after the Dusshera and Diwali in 2016 there will be another spurt in the Madhesi movement.

- All of the respondents opined that the government should call upon the Madhesi ‘andolankaris’ (protestors) and meet them and try and solve issues like problems of representation, reservation and take steps to reduce inequality and most importantly solve the demarcation problem. It should fulfill the Madhesi demands.
- All of the respondents gave the opinion that the government has not provided anything to the Madhesis and the Madhesis do not avail any facilities of the government in fact no one other than the Madhesis also get facilities.
- All the respondents opined that they were dissatisfied with the Constitution of 2015 because the demarcation of the Pradhesh was improper and was not according to their demands.
- All of the respondents do not avail any kind of facilities from the government.

10 Non Madhesi Respondents:

4.16 Sex:

Male	Female
7	3

4.17 Age:

Age	Male	Female
18-30	2	2
31-45	2	1
46-55	2	
56-65		
More than 65	1	

4.18 Income:

Annual Income NRs	Male	Female
Less than 10,000		
10,000- 20,000		
20,000- 30,000		
30,000- 50,000	1	
More than 50,000	6	3

4.19 Education:

Educational qualification	Male	Female
Primary	1	
Secondary	4	1
Graduate	2	2
Post Graduate		
Professional		
Any other		

4.20 Occupation:

Occupation	Male	Female
Government Service	2	1
Private Company		
Business	4	1
Student	1	1
Unemployed		
Housewife		
Any other (specify)		

Religion: All of the 10 respondents were Hindus

Community: All of the respondents belonged to the Nepali community. 3 respondents were from the Karkee community, 2 were from the Budathoki community, 1 from the chettri and 2 from the Tamang community.

- All of the Non Madhesi respondents agreed that they are aware of the Madhesi movement. 20 percent of the respondents mentioned that they are aware of it since September 2015 and 80 percent of the other respondents mentioned that they are aware of the Madhesi movement since the year 2007.
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents opined that the Madhesi movement in the Terai is hampering the unity and integrity of the nation. What Prithvi Narayan Shah once united, people are again trying to divide it between communities. They mentioned about similar movements coming up such as Limbuwan, Tharuwan, and Tamuwan etc. To quote one of the respondents, she said, “Rashtriya ekata bhanga hudaicha” which means that the unity of the nation is threatened. One of the respondents even mentioned that the Madhesi demands for rights and equalities is legitimate but demarcation and one Madhes demands are illegitimate leading to further divisions.
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents agreed to the similar thought that the movement has had a totally negative impact on the Terai. No impact of the movement on the people and the place was seen to be affirmative by them. They gave several reasons for their point of view such as the loss of innocent lives and violence. They also mentioned a death of a child due to the conflict during a protest a year ago.
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents opined that the Madhesi dissatisfaction with the 2015 Constitution was the reason behind the initiation of the movement. They added that Nepal’s Constitution was passed by a majority (even better than India’s) but people find faults in it just because their demands for demarcation according to their proposal was not met. They further added that the demarcation demand of the Madhesis is illegitimate.
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents agreed that the strikes and Bandhs due to the movement are problematic. They added that during such times they are insecure about their lives and properties and there is absence of security. There is financial loss and problem of transportation adding up to immovability of goods.
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents agreed that the Bandhs and strikes should be prevented totally as all the population suffer due to it.
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents agreed that they own land, house and other properties. Even the 2 respondents who were students agreed that their families own land and property.

- All of the Non Madhesi respondents agreed that they are fluent and comfortable in other languages such as Hindi and English other than Nepali. Some agreed, even if not fluent they are comfortable enough.
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents agreed that Nepali should remain the official language of Nepal and all should use only one language.
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents opined that the word ‘Madhes’ is a geographical term indicated to the lowlands of Nepal, but the term ‘Madhesi’ does not depict all who live in the Madhes. It has a cultural connotation and it depicts a particular community in Nepal who are of Indian origin
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents agree to the opinion that India has been supporting the Madhesi issue but it should not actually support such an issue which is bringing in internal divisions in Nepal. According to them India should remain outside such matters of Nepal. .
- 90 percent of the Non Madhesi respondents agreed that they are aware of the Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj and they mentioned that it is very important to have the Samaj for the hill people to have their say in many matters and its existence is important for their security. Only one of the respondents said that he was not aware of the existence of the CBES.
- All of the respondents did have Citizenship certificates since 16yrs of age.
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents mentioned that they are not availing any facilities from the government.
- All of the respondents did not want the movement to continue further and they mentioned that the government should resolve the Madhesi issues as quick as possible for the good of all its citizens.

10 Party Members:

MJF Loktantrik (Biratnagar)

In Morang, Biratnagar a focus group discussion of the 10 party members of the Madhesi Jan Adhikar Forum was done. The Zilla Sachiv Pradeep Biswas, Zilla Adhyaksha Bhakti Majhi and other Zilla Sadasyas were present. 8 of the present party members were males and 2 were

females. 7 were from the Maithili community, 2 belonged to the Nepali community and 1 from the Dushad community.

The party member of the MJF (L) in Biratnagar were also aware of the Madhesi movement since 2007 and did not mention about the movement before that. They mentioned that the whole of the Madhes in the Terai are supporting the movement and the movement has had a positive impact on the people and the Terai. They mentioned that the Madhesi community aspires to be treated equally and the inequality that they are facing needs to be looked into by the government. They discussed that their main demands are that there should be two pradheshes from Mechi to Mahakali in the Terai and to gain equality and equal treatment from the government. They shared that the main reason behind the initiation of the movement is inequality that the Madhesi community has faced during the panchayat era and even in the democracy. They discussed that even in a democracy the people are not able to speak out and are still facing discrimination. They also mentioned that for them the word 'Madhes' is a geographical term and the word 'Madhesi' depicts all the people who live in Madhes. They opined that the conflict between various parties, leaders and communities has proved to be a huge problem and limitation for the movement. Otherwise the movement would have been maybe successful till now and without conflicts the movement would have been able to put more pressure on the government. The party members mentioned that the 'pahade' people are afraid that the Terai will be annexed by India and the chettri Bahuns from the hills who have settled in the Terai are afraid and insecure that they will be targeted. They held the opinion that India has been supporting the Madhesi movement but it should not support to the extent that it brings in division in Nepal. They discussed that a political party like theirs and similar such political parties have fought for the Madhesi demands with the government hence political parties according to them have played an immense role in leading the movement forward.

They gave their opinion that until now no government has been successful in solving the Madhesi issues because both the sides, the government and the parties are staunch in their opinions and no one agrees to bend or stoop. The movement too was supposed to be a peaceful one in the beginning but since 2007 violence crept in and the political parties involved are leading into more violence. They mentioned that the government has provided reservation to the Madhesis but still there are protests hence the government should first look into the demarcation

issue and try and solve it quick. This was the main issue of dissatisfaction when the constitution came up hence if it is solved, the problems related to the Constitution will also get solved.

4.2.4: OBSERVATIONS:

1. In Morang, Biratnagar there were less Madhesi respondents as compared to the non Madhesi respondents who had an annual income of more than 50,000.
2. The educational qualification of the Madhesi respondents was lesser in comparison to the non Madhesi respondents. As compared to the non Madhesis the Madhesi respondents had less number of graduates.
3. Most of the Madhesi and non Madhesi respondents were engaged in business and it was seen that the Madhesi respondents were in a majority. They were also engaged in occupations like pulling of rickshaws.
4. Almost all the respondents Madhesi and non Madhesi were aware of the Madhesi movement since the year 2007.
5. All of the Madhesi respondents opined that the movement came up for the rights of the Madhesi people and it has proved to be a platform to voice the demands of the Madhesis whereas all of the non Madhesi respondents opined that the movement has been hampering the unity and integrity of Nepal and is leading to further divisions.
6. 60 percent of the respondents i.e. majority of the Madhesi respondents felt that the movement has had a positive impact on the Terai and only 40 percent of them opined that the movement has had both negative and positive impact on the Terai, whereas on the other hand all of the non Madhesi respondents felt that the movement has had a totally negative impact on the Terai.
7. Unlike in Damak, the conflict between the Madhesi and the non Madhesi respondents in Biratnagar can be seen vividly because it can be seen that all the non Madhesi respondents held views that are not in favor of the movement, whereas all the Madhesi respondents were staunch with their views that were for the movement.
8. All the Madhesi and non Madhesi respondents had their citizenship certificates and so there was no problem of citizenship seen in Morang, Biratnagar.

9. All of the non Madhesi respondents were seen to have land and other forms of property whereas as compared to them the Madhesi respondents had less people owning land and property.
10. It was seen that the non Madhesi respondents did have better income, better qualifications and standard of living than the Madhesi respondents in Biratnagar.
11. Almost all of the Madhesi respondents opined that they are comfortable in speaking reading and writing in Nepali language (They are not in a position where they can only understand their language) and all of the Non Madhesi respondents too agreed that they are fluent in other languages other than Nepali but still all of the non Madhesi respondents opined that Nepali should remain the official language in all parts of Nepal.
12. All of the Madhesi respondents in Biratnagar were of the opinion that the word 'Madhes' for them denotes the 'Samtal' and lowlands of Nepal and the word 'Madhesi' depicts all the people living in Madhes despite of the varying communities. But the opinion that was given by the non Madhesi respondents was that, for them 'Madhes' does refer to an area in Nepal but the word 'Madhesi' depicts the people of Indian origin.
13. All of the non Madhesi respondents in Biratnagar pointed out that they want the bandhs and strikes to be prevented because it not only causes inconvenience but the people feel insecure about their lives and property.
14. Majority of the Madhesi respondents have the opinion that India is not involved in the Madhesi issue and is being blamed without reason. They opined that it should not support the Madhesi cause if Nepal is to prove that it is an efficient country. But 3 of the Madhesi respondents also opined that India should support the Madhesi cause. Whereas the non Madhesi respondents opined that India is supporting the Madhesi issue and it should cease to do so.
15. All of the Madhesi respondents held the view that the demarcation issue should be solved first and the pradhesh they demand should consist of the areas in the Terai they want. They express a desire to be a part of state 2 of the government's demarcation in 2015. The non Madhesi respondents on the other hand pointed that the demarcation demands are creating divisions and are a threat to the integrity of the nation.

16. Almost 90% of the non Madhesi respondents were aware of the Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj (CBES) unlike in Damak and they felt that it is necessary to have CBES to voice their demands and for their security.
17. All of the respondents Madhesi and non Madhesi gave the information that they are not availing any facilities from the Government of Nepal.

4.2.5: SUNSARI, DHARAN

15 Ordinary Madhesi Respondents:

4.21 Sex:

Male	Female
7	8

4.22 Age:

Age	Male	Female
18-30	2	2
31-45		4
46-55	2	1
56-65	2	
More than 65	1	1

4.23 Income:

Annual Income NRs	Male	Female
Less than 10,000		
10,000- 20,000		
20,000- 30,000		
30,000- 50,000	1	3
More than 50,000	6	5

4.24 Education:

Educational qualification	Male	Female
Primary	3	4
Secondary	3	4
Graduate	1	
Post Graduate		
Professional		
Any other		

4.25 Occupation:

Occupation	Male	Female
Government Service		
Private Company		
Business	6	2
Student	1	1
Unemployed		1 (old lady)
Housewife		4
Any other (specify)	3 Rickshaw pullers	

Religion: All of the 15 respondents were Hindus

Community: 6 respondents were from the Gupta (Bania) community and 8 were from the Maithili community and belonged to the Jaiswal community.

OBJECTIVES AND AIMS OF THE MADHESI MOVEMENT:

- All of the Madhesi respondents in Dharan agreed that they are aware of the Madhesi movement and all of them agreed that they are aware of it since September 2015.
- All of the respondents held the opinion that the movement should not have come up. It has brought in tension and violence in the region. According to them the one Madhes demand of the movement will divide the country and the country should not be divided on the basis of community. According to them the movement has made people suffer although it was for the cause of the Madhesis. It has only been a source of conflict and some of the demands of the Madhesis have been illicit like the demand of demarcation.
- All of the Madhesi respondents in Dharan agreed to the similar thought that the movement has had a negative impact on the Terai. They spoke of violence, conflict and difficulties faced by them due to a seven months strike in 2015.
- All of the respondents opined that not them but their Madhesi brothers in places like Dhanusha, Saptari, Siraha, Rajbiraj etc. strive to have a federal province of their own. One of the respondents added that this was because if they who want get a province then the income from that pradhesh will be solely theirs. They also mentioned that their

Madhesi brothers in other districts and places also aspire to have equality but they themselves do not face unequal treatment in Dharan and are satisfied and happy.

- All of the respondents opined that the demands of the movement is to have one Madhes, one pradhesh but they mentioned that they are satisfied and fine even if they are not included in the Pradhesh for the Madhesis. They also mentioned that they are not interested in getting a pradhesh as till now they haven't faced any kind of discrimination and crisis in Dharan. Dharan has always been peaceful.

CAUSES OF THE MADHESI MOVEMENT

- All of the respondents held the opinion that the issues of discrimination and inequality are not the causes for the movement's advent, but the movement was started by the leaders for their own self motives. They made it clear that the people only want development and democracy which is real. They argued that the movement demands a quota system, reservation etc. but they should actually compete in every field and not just blame the Chhetris and Bahuns for everything.
- All of the Madhesi respondents agreed that they do have a citizenship certificate. 46.6 percent of the respondents mentioned that they have it since 16 years of age and 53.4 percent of the respondents said that they have their citizenship certificates since 1994.
- 46.6 percent of the respondents stated that they did not have any land or other property whereas 53.4 percent of the Madhesi respondents in Dharan agreed that they did own land and other forms of property.
- All of the respondents agreed that they do know how to speak, read and write in Nepali language. They were comfortable in doing so.
- 20 percent of the Madhesi respondents stated that the word 'Madhes' means the geographical region in Nepal and all living in Madhes are Madhesis but 80 percent respondents held the opinion that although 'Madhes' means the 'Samtal' or lowland of Nepal all living in Madhes are not Madhesis. They mentioned that Madhesi is a community in its own and that the word 'Madhesi' has a cultural connotation.

CONFLICTS IN THE MADHESI MOVEMENT

- All of the Madhesi respondents agreed that the conflicts within the Madhesi movement have proved to be a limitation to the movement.
- All of the respondents opined that India has been supporting the Madhesi movement but it should not interfere in the internal matters of Nepal.
- All of the respondents held the opinion that there is a conflict between the leaders and the parties. They are according to them always involved in conflict with each other but otherwise the people and the communities are not involved in conflicts.
- All of the respondents argued that the political parties have not played any important roles in leading the movement. According to them they came up with their own self motives and interests.

STATE RESPONSE

- All of the Madhesi respondents argued that there have been too many political parties and leaders but whosoever came up in the government, no one has been able to solve the Madhesi issues. The Government of Nepal till now as per their saying has tried to negotiate and has assured the people that it would provide a solution. But nothing has worked and so the respondents said that they have high hopes from the Dahal government which came up recently.
- All of the respondents argued that the government should look into the Madhesi issues and resolve it but there shouldn't be division of the pradhesees on the basis of community. To quote one of the respondents, she said "Jatiya pradhes chahi banaunu hunna"²⁴. The government shouldn't allow such a division according to them. They mentioned that the country should develop first and every citizen should drop their self-interests.
- All of the respondents stated that the government has provided many facilities not only to the Madhesis but all the people. But the problem is that they are not reaching the people properly otherwise, the Madhesis are availing most of the facilities like in Amini (measurement of land), drinking water facilities, irrigation and even in teaching professions.

- All of the Madhesi respondents opined that the constitution of Nepal was nearly flawless but the Madhesis in the western and mid Terai region found flaws in it and were dissatisfied because they had problems of citizenship which will continue unless the open border between India and Nepal is closed and they had dissatisfaction with the demarcation that was done.
- All of the respondents held that they themselves are not availing any facilities from the government.

10 Non Madhesi Respondents:

4.26 Sex:

Male	Female
6	4

4.27 Age:

Age	Male	Female
18-30	2	2
31-45	3	2
46-55	1	
56-65		
More than 65		

4.28 Income:

Annual Income NRs	Male	Female
Less than 10,000		
10,000- 20,000		
20,000- 30,000		
30,000- 50,000	2	
More than 50,000	4	4

4.29 Education:

Educational qualification	Male	Female
Primary	3	
Secondary	2	4
Graduate	1	
Post Graduate		
Professional		
Any other		

4.30 Occupation:

Occupation	Male	Female
Government Service	3	2
Private Company		
Business	3	2
Student		
Unemployed		
Housewife		
Any other (specify)		

Religion: All of the 10 respondents were Hindus

Community: All of the 10 respondents were from the Nepali community, 6 respondents were from the Newar community and 2 were from the Rai community.

- All of the Non Madhesi respondents stated that they were aware of the Madhesi movement and they agreed that they were aware of the movement since September 2015.
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents agreed that the movement is no good for them and the movement has brought up only tension and conflict and should not have come up.
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents agreed that the movement has had a negative impact on the Terai. They opined that because of the movement the common people have suffered.
- All of the Non Madhesi respondents stated that the reason behind the initiation of the movement was to harm the integrity of the nation and to bring division.

- All of the Non Madhesi respondents agreed to the similar thought that the bandhs and strikes are a harassment for the people whether it is Madhesi or Pahade and that they suffered during the seven months strike in 2015.
- All of the respondents held the view that the bandhs and strikes should be totally prevented.
- 70 percent of the Non Madhesi respondents mentioned that they do own land and other properties. 30 percent of the respondents mentioned of not having land or other properties.
- All of the respondents agreed that they are (other than Nepali language) fluent in other languages like Hindi and English.
- All of the respondents agreed that Nepali should remain the official language in every place and institution in Nepal.
- All of the respondents opined that the word 'Madhes' depicts only the geographical name of the plains in Nepal and that the word 'Madhesi' points towards one of the communities that live in Nepal's Terai.
- All of the respondents gave their opinion that India is supporting the Madhesi cause but it should not provoke such issues in Nepal and should not interfere in Nepal's matters. They further add that the people of Indian origin who were living there since ages are all Nepalis and so such issues should not be provoked.
- All of the respondents stated that they are not aware of the Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj
- All of the respondents stated that they do have citizenship certificates and they have it since 16 years of age.
- All of the respondents mentioned that they are not availing any kind of facilities from the government.
- All of the respondents held the opinion that the Madhesi movement should not continue further in the future and the government should do away with preferential treatment and it should treat all with equality. They added that sometimes they do become suspicious of the Madhesi brothers because some people have made duplicate citizenship certificates too.

10 Party Members:

UCPNM (United Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist))

In Sunsari, Dharan a focus group discussion of the 10 party members of the United Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist) was done. The Ward Netri, Usha Subba and her 9 ward Sadasyas were present. 6 of them were females and 4 of them were males. All of them were from the Nepali community.

The members of the UCPNM were also aware of the Madhesi movement since the year 2007. Their opinion on the movement was that, asking for one's right is a good thing and all the citizens of Nepal should question about their rights but in the name of rights people should not have illicit demands. They discussed that the movement has had a negative impact on the whole of the Terai. Many Pahade people who are of the hill origin had to run away leaving behind their homes. They again mentioned that asking for one's right is an act which is a symbol of political awareness but it should not affect others. But the Madhesi movement has been affecting all other communities too in a negative manner. They hinted that, whatever the Madhesi movement has been demanding and are claiming that they have been lacking, the people from the hills of Nepal are also lacking that and they are facing the similar problems of less opportunities and unemployment but they do not protest in the way the Madhesi do. They hinted that Madhesis are protesting because there is somebody else provoking them (They meant it to be India). They shared that the Madhesis who were living there since ages are not the ones who are protesting but the ones who are new and have recently come and settled are the ones asking for such demands. They mentioned that the Government of Nepal has been doing what it can for its people but if the citizens themselves don't gain from what the government does for them then no one can help such citizens. They gave an example of a person, if he does not learn and educate himself even when the government is providing educational facilities, then it is obvious that he or she will be in the lower strata of the society. They further discuss that there is differences in viewpoint among the leaders and they compete among themselves to fulfill self-motives and so come up with such movements. They discussed that Madhes is a geographical region in Nepal but all living in the Madhes are not Madhesis and that Madhesis are a different community who share identical culture and living as India. They claimed that India is supporting the Madhesi issue but it should not interfere into Nepal's matters. They discussed further that if the movement

is to continue then the Madhesis should have it peacefully without any bloodshed. To quote them, they said, “Khooon ko holi banda garnu parcha” which means bloodsheds needs to be stopped. They gave their opinion that the government should have a series of meetings with the Madhesi parties and bring out a solution in such a way. They shared that reservation has been provided to the Madhesis in various fields but the government has not provided many facilities to the Madhesis nor to the others. The government on the other hand does provide facilities like education awareness programmes and skill training for women but only the pahades in the hills have become aware of it and the people in the Terai are still not aware. They claimed that the dissatisfaction with the constitution was just a reason to bring out a movement otherwise the constitution was flawless. They also mentioned that during the strikes also the Madhesis did not suffer as they were supplied with all the rations by their parties and the people who were suffering were the pahades.

4.2.6: OBSERVATIONS

- In Sunsari, Dharan too there were less Madhesi respondents who had annual income more than 50,000 unlike the non Madhesi respondents.
- There was not much difference between the educational qualifications of the Madhesi and the non Madhesi respondents unlike in Damak and Biratnagar.
- All of the Madhesi and non Madhesi respondents agreed that they are aware of the Madhesi movement since September 2015, which highlights their non-participation in the movement and lack of interest unlike in Biratnagar.
- In Dharan all of the Madhesi respondents too opined that the movement should not have come up as it has brought in tension and violence. They do not support the ideas of their fellow Madhesi brothers. The non Madhesi respondents too opined that the movement is a source of conflict and violence.
- As opposed to the views of the Madhesi respondents in Damak and Biratnagar all of the Madhesi respondents in Dharan opined that the movement has had a negative impact on the Terai along with the non Madhesi respondents.
- Unlike in Biratnagar and Damak the conflict between the Madhesi and non Madhesi respondents was seen to be less in Dharan as they had similar views.

- All of the Madhesi and non Madhesi respondents possessed their citizenship certificates and hence there was no problem of citizenship in Dharan.
- The Madhesi respondents in Dharan unlike the respondents in Damak and Biratnagar opined that the movement demands one Madhes and one pradhesh but they are satisfied even if they are not included in the pradhesh.
- Unlike the Madhesi respondents in Damak and Biratnagar the Madhesi respondents of Dharan pointed out that the movement did not come up because of inequality and discrimination but because of the leaders and their self-interests.
- The Madhesi respondents had less number of people who owned land and property than the non Madhesi respondents. All of the non Madhesi respondents were in possession of land and property.
- All of the Madhesi respondents could speak, read and write in Nepali language and all of the non Madhesi respondents could speak in other languages other than Nepali. But all of the non Madhesi respondents held that Nepali should remain the official language in the whole of Nepal.
- Majority of the non Madhesi respondents held the opinion that, the word ‘Madhes’ depicts the plains in Nepal but the word ‘Madhesi’ depicts a particular community in Terai. This view was also held by all of the non Madhesi respondents. Hence it is seen that unlike in Damak and Biratnagar the Madhesi people in Dharan do not want to include other communities as Madhesis to gain wider solidarity for the movement.
- All of the Madhesi and non Madhesi respondents opined that India has been supporting the Madhesi issue but it should not support it as it is the internal matter of Nepal.
- The non Madhesi respondents want the strikes and the bandhs to be prevented totally.
- Unlike in Damak and Biratnagar the Madhesi respondents want the issues to be solved by the government but they held the opinion that the demarcation according to the Madhesi demands should not be done as it harms the integrity of the nation i.e. the country should not be divided according to the communities.
- Unlike the Madhesi respondents of Damak and Biratnagar, the Madhesi respondents of Dharan point out that Madhesis are a part of many government facilities and are enjoying them.
- All of the non Madhesi respondents were not aware of the Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj.

- All of the non Madhesi and Madhesi respondents opined that they themselves are not availing any facilities from the government.

4.2.7: Expert Interviews:

In order to know about the governments approach towards the movement and to know about the steps that the government has taken to solve the Madhesi issue, in depth interviews of government personnels were taken. Damak Municipal Corporation's joint secretary (Adhikrit Karyakari Sachiv) Mr. Yubaraj Dahal, Biratnagar Municipal Corporation's executive officer (Karyakari Adhikrit) Gopal Prasad Regmi and Dharan Municipal Corporation's executive officer (Karyakari Adhikrit) Miss Tika Dutta Rai and Mr Ganesh Khatiwara were interviewed. There has been no elections in the municipal corporations since 18 years. It was found that all the four government personnels were aware of the Madhesi movement only since September 2015. According to them the movement arose because the Madhesis are looking for their political space. They have their own other reasons like financial reasons and problems of language, to come up with the movement. They gave their opinion that the Madhesis look out for 'Bhasi Adhikar'²⁵, representation, citizenship and reservation but only some demands of the Madhesis are legit and are profound and such should be looked into by the government. But many of the Madhesi demands are illicit which will never be presented by the government to the Madhesis. They held the opinion that the movement has had a negative impact on the Terai and especially the mid Terai region which was struck with violence. According to them the Madhesis are dissatisfied with the Constitution of 2015 because the places they had demanded were not included in the pradhesh that they got and they demand for a federal system, rights which weren't there before and reservation in every field. They mentioned that the criterias for citizenship are very simple and easy that are there in the Constitution but it is the mistake of many people that they do not apply for it. They also added that the people in the Terai do have a citizenship certificate but the people who entered Nepal later on do not have. They meant that the people who have been in Nepal since, ages do have a citizenship certificate and it is only those who came later on who are lacking it. Hence the Constitution is not to be blamed for such problems. The fact that they pointed out is that every interest group does not agree with the Constitution but in case of the Madhesis in actual practice they are getting what they but it is the leaders and the politicians that are dissatisfied with the Constitution. They mentioned that the grievances of

the Madhesis have been addressed and the demands of the movement are actually not of the Madhesi common people of the Terai but of the Party leaders and politicians. They also mentioned that the political parties have a thought in mind that if they continue the movement till the next elections then they might win over some seats. On the issue of India's role in the Madhesi movement they mentioned that India and Nepal share a good relation together and many have cultural affiliations in either of the countries and people marry on either sides and so many people from India have married in Nepal and are residing in Nepal. It is a responsibility of India to protect⁵ them and ensure their welfare and hence it has gotten itself involved in the matter. Talking about the various steps that the Nepal Government has taken or is taking to resolve the Madhesi issue they mentioned that the government has been talking about the revision of the Constitution and an amendment, representation of people according to population and development of Terai. According to them the Constitution itself is providing primary focus on the Terai in its annual budgets and in every policy of the government every year which guides the annual budget, Terai is given importance. According to them in it the government provides facilities to the Terai such as building of infrastructures like ring roads, finance to the Terai universities, and educational packages for the dropouts in the Terai, reservation in the civil services, reservation in recruitment in the government offices such as municipal corporations. The social development budgets are also divided for the Madhesis by the government. They agreed that there has been a difference between the governments approach towards the Terai before the movement and after the movement. They mentioned that the government has worked for the movement and has addressed the Madhesi grievances and has given importance to the Terai and this could be seen through the consequences such as almost 20 lakh people in the Terai have now got citizenship certificates and many Madhesis are now ministers such as Sita Devi Yadav. Mr Ganesh Khatiwara on the other hand mentioned that the government's approach towards the Terai has changed but not due to the movement but due to the advent of democracy. He mentioned that the coming of democracy in the 90s changed the government's approach not only towards the Terai but towards the whole of Nepal.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Chapter deals with the findings of the study after the field study that was conducted in the three districts of Nepal and the analysis that followed. The varied opinions of the respondents made it easier for the present study to look into the whole scenario of the Madhesi movement and the facts that revolved around it. Hence the findings of the present study are as follows:

5.1: FINDINGS:

5.1.1: The Aims and Objectives of the Madhesi movement:

As mentioned earlier, as the Madhesi movement has progressed during the years the aims and objectives of the movement has evolved throughout. Some of the important aims and objectives of the movement were mentioned by the respondents and some of them were to attain equal opportunities from the government in every field, 'Samanta ko beuhar' i.e. equal treatment and to attain the political rights of representation and participation of the Madhesis, Janjatis and the adivasis. According to the respondents the aim of the movement is also to achieve the status of official language for their various regional languages and to do away with untouchability and differential treatment. The movement aims to have reservations for the Madhesi groups in every field possible as they are backward and they also mentioned that the movement's aim is to have a Madhesi pradhes. It was made vivid that the movement demands a federal system and citizenship to all the Madhesi citizens of Nepal. About the Madhesi Pradhes the respondents mentioned that the movement demands two Pradheses along the Terai with only the districts in the plains. Recently the Madhesi parties are also demanding a probe committee to look into the excessive use of force by the security personnels.

5.1.2: The Causes behind the Madhesi movement:

Most of the Madhesi respondents mentioned that the causes behind the rise of the Madhesi movement is inequality and discrimination that they have faced time and again. The Madhesis mentioned that they are given names by other communities, like 'Dhoti' and 'Bhelay' and are discriminated in the society. The migration of the people from the hills was mentioned which led to a lack of equal opportunities because the hill migrants as they were intelligent and forward

took over all the opportunities that were there. The citizenship issue was raised by the Madhesi and it was mentioned by them that because they were always viewed as outsiders in Nepal they were denied citizenship which became a cause for the movement to come up. It was also mentioned that the Maoists had earlier announced that they would provide five different federal provinces in the Terai and they could not provide what they had announced and this too became a cause for the movement to arise. The upperhand of the hill people in the government, army and judiciary and the dominance of the hill people while framing the constitution of Nepal was also mentioned as a cause. The improper demarcation of the federal provinces in the proposed map of seven federal provinces by the constitution of 2015 is also considered as a cause behind the rise of the movement. Some of the non Madhesi respondents who were dealt with in the present study agreed with the view that the Madhesi movement came up because of inequality and discrimination. But most of them stated that the cause behind the initiation of the movement was the dissatisfaction of the Madhesi with the constitution which otherwise was flawless according to them.

5.1.3: The Conflicts in the Madhesi Movement:

It was mentioned by the Madhesi respondents in the present study that there are party to party conflicts. The leaders of the various parties are engaged in conflicts with each other within the movement. It was shared that the people have played a huge role in leading and participating in the movement but the leaders and the parties brought in conflict and violence. The people opinionated that the political parties divide and lead to the formation of new parties and bring about new conflict. The respondents kept forward their opinion that these days if one leader in the movement does not like what the other has to say, then he leaves the party and opens up a new one and claims to represent the Madhesi people and demands. The conflict between the people and the communities were also mentioned, how the communities like the Tharus do not like being designated as Madhesi and would like to be distinct. All the respondents who were dealt with in the present study mentioned that such conflicts have proved to be a limitation for the movement. It was mentioned that the leaders of the movement and the political parties are in a competition with each other to assure the people that their rights and demands will be provided with but none actually work for it. Besides while mentioning about the conflict between

communities the biggest example that was mentioned was the Pahade Madhesi divide in the Terai.

5.1.4: The State Response:

Majority of the respondents (Madhesi and non Madhesi) that were taken up for the present study responded that the Nepal government has not been successful in resolving the Madhesi issue and has not fulfilled the Madhesi demands. People are only receiving assurance from the government but despite the assurances no proper results are seen. It hasn't been able to provide the Madhesis with proper representation and reservation. It was found that no government has been able to resolve the problems of the Madhesis. As told by the respondents the K.P Oli government had assured to resolve all the matters concerning the Madhesis and had announced compensation for the families of the martyrs who had died during the movement but it could not provide all that it had announced. The Pushpa Kamal Dahal government recently provided the martyrs families with compensation. A total of NRs 1 million was given to the families of 41 protestors and 11 security personnels who lost their lives in the Madhesi protests. The money was distributed to the families on the recommendation of the home ministry. The Dahal Government reassured the people that it would resolve the Madhesi matter as quick as possible as a consequence of which recently the movement has remained stagnant and the Madhesi respondents were of the view that if the Dahal government also fails to achieve its said goals then the movement will come up again with a thrust.

All of the Madhesi and Non Madhesi respondents in the present study shared that the government has not provided any facilities to them whether it is a Madhesi citizen or a Non Madhesi. But in the expert interviews the government personnels mentioned that the Nepal government has been providing many facilities to the people. They mentioned that Terai holds an important place in the annual budget of Nepal and in the policies which guide the budget. The Government of Nepal is investing on the development of Terai and in facilities such as building of infrastructures like ring roads, hospitals, drainage etc. It provides financial support to the Terai universities, educational packages for the dropouts in the Terai are given, reservation in the civil services, and reservation in recruitment in the government offices are also provided. They also mentioned that the Madhesis are a part of the social development budgets. Some of the respondents also mentioned about facilities of irrigation, drinking water and the jobs of amini

given to the Madhesis by the government. The respondents felt that the government should listen to the Madhesi demands, hold meetings with the Madhesi protestors and solve the demarcation problems of the pradhesis. They held the opinion that the government should take these steps to resolve the Madhesi issue. They also added that the government should try and reduce inequality, fetch methods to increase reservation and representation and promote equal treatment.

5.1.5: JHAPA- DAMAK

As mentioned earlier, the Madhesis are outnumbered by non Madhesis in Jhapa according to the population census of 2011 and so it was found that there were very less Madhesis who earned an annual income of more than NRs 50,000 as compared to the non Madhesis. The educational qualifications of the Madhesi respondents were confined to the primary and secondary levels whereas the non Madhesi respondents in Jhapa included postgraduates. The Madhesis were mostly involved in business large and small and had lesser government jobs in comparison with the non Madhesis. It seemed that all of the Madhesi and non Madhesi respondents in Jhapa Damak were aware of the Madhesi movement only since September 2015 and were not much aware of it before. This proved that Jhapa being in the Far East was not much affected by the movement. This was further proved by the view of few of the respondents that the movement is not necessary for them as they are protected and satisfied in Jhapa Damak and they never had to face inequality and discrimination. They also held the view that the movement is necessary for the Madhesis in the mid and western Terai in the places like Dhanusha, Rautahat, Mahottari, Bara, Parsa etc. It is necessary to mention here that some of the non Madhesis were of the opinion that the movement should continue if it is for the good of the Madhesi brothers. They sympathised with the Madhesi matters and the movement. But the non Madhesi respondents who held such views were very few as most of the non Madhesi respondents considered the movement to be a threat to the nation. The Madhesi respondents in Jhapa were also keen at showing the negative side of the Madhesi movement as very few of them mentioned that the movement had a positive impact on the Terai. Most of them considered that the movement had either a fully negative impact or both positive and negative impact on the Terai. Similarly the non Madhesi respondents in Jhapa considered that the movement had a negative impact on the Terai, but a few of them sided with the positive impact. This showed that although the conflict

between the Madhesis and the non Madhesis existed in Jhapa Damak, some of the non Madhesis were tolerant about the movement hence the level of conflict was not as much as in Biratnagar in Morang District. But although the level of understanding between the Madhesi and Non Madhesis in Jhapa Damak was better than that of a district like Morang there were several differences that stood between them. It was obvious in the end of the survey that the non Madhesi respondents did have better income, better qualifications and better standards of living than the Madhesi respondents. It was vividly seen that the Madhesi respondents had less of them owning land and other properties on the other hand the non Madhesi respondents, majority of them owned land and properties. It was seen that the majority of Madhesi respondents were fluent in speaking in Nepali language and were comfortable in reading and writing in it. This proved that they were not in a position where they understood only their regional language. On the other hand all the non Madhesi respondents were fluent in other languages like Hindi and English other than Nepali but still all of them opined that Nepali should be the sole official language from 'Mechi to Mahakali'.

The differences in opinion between the Madhesi and the non Madhesi could be seen as almost all of the Madhesi respondents in Jhapa Damak opined that for them the word 'Madhes' denotes a geographical region and the word 'Madhesi' denotes all the people who live in the Madhes. They held such opinion to gain wider solidarity for the movement. Only few of the non Madhesi respondents agreed with this view and a majority of them opined that although 'Madhes' means the plains of Nepal the word 'Madhesi' denotes the people of Indian origin and not all who live in the Madhes are Madhesis. The non Madhesi respondents in Jhapa Damak were not in favor of the bandhs and strikes. They held the opinion that they should be prevented but a few of them were there who sympathised with the movement and stated that if their Madhesi brothers should continue the movement then they should do it by other means and methods other than strikes. The fact that Jhapa, Damak because it is in eastern Terai was not affected much by the movement and the people in it did not participate actively in the movement was proved by the fact that only few of the non Madhesi respondents in Damak were aware of the Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj and a majority of them were unaware of it. Despite of not being affected majorly by the movement the Madhesi respondents in Jhapa were in favor of the demarcation of the Pradhes and they stated that they would like to be a part of the proposed state 2 of the federal map of 2015. Only a few responded that it does not matter if Jhapa is not included in state 2. Hence it

can be seen that Jhapa Damak was not the centrifocal point for the movement and the hostilities between the Madhesi and non Madhesis are lesser than that of Biratnagar despite the fact that non Madhesis outnumber the Madhesis in Damak.

5.1.6: MORANG- BIRATNAGAR

According to the population census of 2011 the population of Madhesis and non Madhesis are almost equal in Morang Biratnagar. It was found that there were less Madhesis as compared to the non Madhesis who had an annual income of more than NRs 50.000. Here also the educational qualifications of the Madhesis were lesser in comparison to the non Madhesis. Most of the Madhesis and non Madhesis were engaged in business and it was seen that the Madhesis were also engaged in occupations like rickshaw pulling. It was found that the non Madhesi respondents had better income, educational qualification and standard of living than the Madhesi respondents in Biratnagar. All of the non Madhesi respondents possessed land and other forms of property whereas there were very less Madhesis who possessed these. In Biratnagar all of the Madhesi and non Madhesi respondents were aware of the Madhesi movement since 2007 and they remembered the activities of the Madhesi parties before 2007 too which proved that Biratnagar has been one of the important places that the movement affected. But there was a huge difference in opinion that was seen between the Madhesis and the non Madhesis. All of the Madhesis held the opinion that the movement came up for the rights of the Madhesi people and it has proved to be a platform to voice the demands of the Madhesis whereas the non Madhesis opined that the movement has been hampering the unity and integrity of Nepal and is leading to further divisions. Majority of the Madhesis held the opinion that the movement had a positive impact on the Terai whereas all the non Madhesis opined that the impact of the movement was negative. Unlike in Damak the conflict between the Madhesis and the non Madhesis could be vividly seen in Biratnagar because it could be seen that the non Madhesis held views that were not in favor of the movement whereas all the Madhesis were staunch with their views that were for the movement. Unlike in Damak the non Madhesis were not tolerant towards the movement.

Majority of the Madhesis agreed that they are fluent in Nepali language and can read and write in it (they were not in a position that without their language being made an official they cannot communicate in offices). On the other hand the Non Madhesis agreed that they are fluent in other languages such as Hindi and English other than Nepali but still all of them opined that

Nepali should remain the official language in all the parts of Nepal. Another instance of difference in opinion was found out between the Madhesis and the non Madhesis when all of the Madhesis opined that the word 'Madhes' for them denotes the plains or lowlands in Nepal and the word 'Madhesi' denotes all who live in Madhes despite of the varying communities, whereas the non Madhesis held that although 'Madhes' is the plains of Nepal all who live in Madhes are not Madhesis and Madhesis are the people of Indian origin. The pahade Madhesi hostility could be seen through this and was further strengthened when the non Madhesis severely criticised the bandhs and strikes and said that these should be totally prevented and the movement should not continue further as it creates insecurities such as loss of life and property. Almost all of the non Madhesis were aware of the Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj which proved that Biratnagar as an important sub Metropolitan city in the Terai was an active participant in the movement.

It was found that the respondents in Biratnagar are in favor of the demarcation based on ethnic lines. They want the demarcation issue of the pradheses to be solved and the pradhes they demand should have the areas in the plains only and they expressed their desire to be a part of state 2 of the proposed federal map of Nepal. But all of the non Madhesi respondents went against the view that it is a threat to the integrity of the nation. Hence in Biratnagar the Madhesis and non Madhesis had a vast difference in their opinions but here it was seen that the Madhesis very eager for the movement more than in other study areas of Dharan and Damak.

5.1.7: SUNSARI- DHARAN

It was found that in Sunsari Dharan too there were less Madhesis who had an annual income of more than NRs 50,000 in comparison with the non Madhesis. It was also seen that there were less number of Madhesis who owned land and other forms of properties than the non Madhesis. The non Madhesis in Dharan were better in income and standard of living than the Madhesis but it was seen that there was not much difference between the educational qualifications of the Madhesis and the non Madhesis unlike in Damak and Biratnagar.

Again all of the Madhesis and the non Madhesis agreed that they were aware of the Madhesi movement only since September 2015 which proved that Sunsari Dharan was not much affected by the movement even when the Madhesi population outnumbered the non Madhesi population. The major finding that was made in Dharan was that all of the Madhesis held an opinion that was totally different than that of the Madhesis in Damak and Biratnagar. They spoke against the

movement and stated that the movement should not have come up as it has brought in Tension and violence. They did not support the ideas of their fellow Madhesi brothers in Damak or Biratnagar. The non Madhesis too held similar views. Similarly the Madhesis in Dharan unlike the Madhesi respondents in Damak and Biratnagar opined that the movement has had a negative impact on the Terai along with the non Madhesi respondents. Unlike the Madhesis in Damak and Biratnagar the Madhesis in Dharan held the opinion that the movement demands one Pradhes and one Madhes but they are satisfied even if they are not included in it. They pointed out that the movement did not come up because of inequality and discrimination but because of the leaders and their self-interests. Unlike in Damak and Biratnagar the conflict between the Madhesis and the non Madhesis was seen to be less in Dharan as they held similar views. Unlike in Biratnagar and Damak the Madhesis wanted the government to solve the Madhesi issues but they stated that the demarcation of Pradheses according to the Madhesi demands should not be done as it is harmful for the integrity of the nation and the country should not be divided on the basis of communities. Both the Madhesis and the non Madhesis held that although the word 'Madhes' depicts the plains of Nepal the word 'Madhesi' depicts a particular community in the Terai and all living in the Terai are not Madhesis hence unlike in Damak and Biratnagar the Madhesis in Dharan did not want to include other communities as Madhesis to gain wider solidarity for the movement. It was found that all the non Madhesi respondents were not aware of the Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj. This hinted towards the fact that Dharan was not an important area that was affected by the movement. Both the Madhesis and the non Madhesis did not want to be a part of the Pradhes which the movement has been demanding and they stand against it.

In Damak and Biratnagar the differences in opinion between the Madhesis and non Madhesis were seen which highlights one of the important conflict within the movement i.e. the Madhesi Pahade conflict. In Dharan it was a different case as the Madhesis gave views that were similar to the non Madhesis. In the matter of reservation the Madhesis said that instead of asking for quota they should compete healthily with the non Madhesis and arise if they feel that they are backward.

5.1.8: CITIZENSHIP:

The denial of citizenship certificate to the people of the Madhes due to their alleged dual nationality had become a cause for the Madhesi movement's advent. But it was found that all the Madhesi respondents in Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari possessed a citizenship certificate and that there existed no such problem of citizenship faced by the respondents. It was earlier mentioned in the present study that the land registration document (Lal Purja) is needed to prove that a person belongs to Nepal and then only he or she qualifies for citizenship. The problem was that to acquire land it was mentioned that the citizenship certificate was necessary and vice versa. It was a situation of dilemma for the people. But it was found that Lal Purja was not necessary to acquire a citizenship certificate. It is not needed by a person to qualify as a citizen. It was found through the respondents that the criterias for obtaining citizenship are simple and easy to follow. The people only require having the proof of citizenship of their brothers, fathers or relatives.

5.1.9: INDIA'S ROLE:

Regarding India's role in the Madhesi movement there were a series of views among the respondents in the three study areas. In Jhapa Damak all the non Madhesi respondents opined that India is supporting the Madhesi issue and it should not support such an issue because it falls under the internal matter of Nepal. The non Madhesis in Morang Biratnagar held the same view and so did the Non Madhesis in Sunsari Dharan.

When looked into the response of the Madhesi respondents, in Jhapa Damak they gave a very different opinion that India was neither supporting them nor will it support the Madhesi issue in the future, but this rumor that India is supporting the Madhesis is the result of a suspicion of some people because of the Madhesi's cultural affiliations with India. Half of them said that India should support them because it has always been a good neighbor, only a few of them held views similar to the non Madhesis that India is supporting the Madhesi issue. Similarly the Madhesis in Morang Biratnagar also held the view that India is not involved in the Madhesi issues and is being blamed without reason and a few of them opined that India should support the Madhesi cause. But in contrast to these views the Madhesis in Sunsari Dharan claimed that India has been supporting the Madhesi movement and it should not interfere in the Madhesi matters as it provokes conflicts and division inside Nepal.

Hence it can be seen that it is true that the debate about India's involvement in the Madhesi issue remains unresolved and it still exists as there are some who want India to support the movement and some who do not.

5.1.10: THE POLITICAL PARTIES:

Focused group discussions with the members of the MJF (L) that is, the Madhesi Jan Adhikar Forum (Loktantrik) were held in Jhapa, Damak and Morang, Biratnagar. Although the Bijay Gachhedar division of the MJF accepted in both the study areas that because they were involved in the present government they could not actively participate in the Madhesi movement, they supported the movement and held the opinion that the movement helps in uplifting the people of the Terai who are at the level of the grassroots. They made it clear that the movement will be further useful in bringing about equal treatment equal opportunities and equal rights. They believe that the Madhesis are discriminated and it has been in the root of the movement. In Sunsari, Dharan the members of the UCPN (Marxist) too underwent a focused group discussion and they held views that were different than that of the MJF (L). Their views were against the movement. They discussed that the movement had a negative impact on the whole of the Terai. They also believed that the problems about which the Madhesis are raising their voices are not only theirs but all the citizens of Nepal are facing such problems. The members of the UCPN (Marxist) did not sympathise with the Madhesi movement and pointed out that the movement has been affecting all the other communities negatively.

Hence, through the focus group discussions done with the party members in the three areas, it could be seen that only the Madhesi parties were holding ideas and views that were for the movement and Non Madhesi parties such as the UCPN (Marxist) did not have such ideas which would be for the movement.

5.1.11: THE SOCIAL ASPECTS:

It was claimed by the Madhesi community that they are deprived of many of the facilities from the government, that they are backward and that their socio economic status is lesser than that of other communities such as the Chhettris and the Bahuns. This highlighted the social aspect of the Madhesi movement. The pahade (i.e. the people of hill origin) and the Madhesi (i.e. the people from the plains) divide not only brought out the cultural differences and the cultural aspect but

also brought out the social aspects. It was found during the survey that the non Madhesi respondents had better income better qualifications and standard of living than the Madhesi respondents. Hence they are socio economically backward which urged most of them to participate in the movement for their rights. The social and economic deprivation of the Madhesi respondents brought out the social aspects of the movement. Another important fact that brought out the social aspects of the Madhesi movement was the fact that the Madhesi respondents complained about the indignation that they face in the society when they are called 'Dhoti' or 'Bhelay' by the other communities. They consider it as a humiliation to them in the society. This also became a cause for the Madhesi movement as through the movement the madhesis began asserting themselves and they began demanding their identity to be recognised because due to this they started feeling to have an identity crisis. Hence it contributes to the social aspect of the movement.

5.1.12: THE CULTURAL ASPECTS:

Various nuances under the Madhesi movement highlighted its cultural aspects. The linguistic discrimination issue in which the making of Nepali language as the sole official language created disputes between the various communities and led to the rise of a feeling of discrimination among the groups like the Madhesis, highlights the cultural aspect of the Madhesi movement. The Madhesis demand that their languages should also have the status of an official language and this has been a very important issue for the movement. Hence this issue points out towards the cultural aspect of the movement. The issue of pahadization of the Terai also highlights some of the cultural nuances of the movement. As it is already known that pahadization is a state designed process to integrate the Madhes, it is said that the Madhes is tried to integrate culturally along with along with economically and administratively. The Madhesi activists say that the process of integration of the Terai culturally is by imposing the dominant hill culture in the Terai and this is considered to be a threat to the Madhesis. The migration of the hill people to the Terai was one of the moves of the government under the pahadization scheme.

Another such instance that brought out the cultural aspect of the movement is the issue of Nepali nationalism which has rested on the pillars like one language, one dress and one culture. Due to it the Madhesis claim that they are treated as a fifth disloyal column in the society. The Madhesis are often doubted upon because of their cultural affiliations across the border and this became a

grievance which ultimately resulted in the movement. The conflict between the Tharus and the Madhesis also brings forward one of the cultural aspects of the Madhesi movement. The Madhesis on the one hand in order to increase their support and solidarity for the movement claim that the Tharus are also Madhesis as they also live in the Madhes. But on the other hand the Tharus want to preserve their distinct culture and community and completely refuse to be called Madhesis. This brought about conflict in the movement but also highlighted an important cultural aspect of the movement.

5.1.13: THE POLITICAL ASPECTS:

The political aspect of the Madhesi movement was highlighted by the issue such as representation which the Madhesis raised. They demanded their proper representation and recruitment in the state structure and in other areas like civil services and the army. This was one of the major reasons why the Madhesi movement came up and it was the most important topic that was spoken about by the Madhesis. Another issue that brought out the political aspect of the movement was the issue of citizenship. Although the citizenship law was amended in November 2006 and all the permanent residents of Nepal and those who were born before 1990s were given citizenship certificates, it was claimed by the Madhesi community that most of them are still deprived of the citizenship. Hence this became an issue which became the reason behind the Madhesi upsurge. This highlighted the political aspect of the Madhesi movement. Besides these the conflicts between the Madhesi parties and the political leaders too, add to the political aspects of the movement.

5.2: RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS:

The report by International crisis group Known as ‘Nepal’s Troubled Terai Region’ gave a series of recommendations to the Government of Nepal on the issue of the Madhesi movement and the demands of other marginal groups and they are as follows:

- According to the report the Government of Nepal should address the reasonable demands for political participation of all excluded groups (not just those whose protest has forced attention) and it should follow the following ways to do so:

- The government should discuss and resolve grievances not only with the protest leaders but also with the concerned parliamentarians, the local community representatives and the civil society representatives.
 - It should start the back channel communication to draw the armed groups into peaceful dialogue and
 - It should use all available leverage to control armed groups and other organisations founded in reaction to the Madhesi movement and draw them towards negotiations.
- The report also recommends the Government of Nepal to show willingness to make concessions on the basis of equal rights for all citizens. For this it should follow the following methods:
- It should revise the electoral system to ensure fair representation of the Madhesis and all other marginalised groups including a fresh delineation of constituency boundaries if the mixed electoral system is retained.
 - It should improve the communications and ensure that the approach of the government is clearly explained and is not misunderstood and it should make sure that there are means to invite and pay attention to citizens concerned.
 - The Government of Nepal should send senior party leaders of the government to explain what the government has done and is doing to improve representation.
 - The government should take affirmative action towards boosting the Madhesi presence in the Civil Services.
 - It should initiate discussions on options for federalism, their implications, and consequences and on how to implement them.
 - The Government should honor the Madhesis who were killed in protests and compensate their families and the injured.
- The report also recommends that the government should restore law and order and rebuild the trust of the people in the local administration and security forces. The following are the methods that the report recommends to do so.
- The Government of Nepal should improve the community relations by holding meetings between the Chief District Officers (CDOs) and Madhesi political actors

to listen and respond to the public concerns. It should ensure that the local government offices are well staffed and are more accessible

- It should balance the deployment of armed police with a greater emphasis on the civil and community policing.
- It should also start discussions on using affirmative action to redress ethnic and regional imbalances in the army and security forces by the use of recruitment training and promotion.
- It should also consider transferring district administrators and police chiefs who are responsible for excessive security action and consider the appointment of Madhesi officials in sensitive districts (ICG, 2007).

Although the Dahal government has recently taken up and turned some of the recommendations into actions such as distribution of compensation to the families who have lost the members of their families in the protests, the government should look into some of these recommendations seriously and act upon it as there are still instances in 2016 where the Madhesi parties are demanding relief from excessive suppression by the police and other security forces.

The report by the International Crisis Group also gave recommendations to the Madhesi political leaders and opinion makers. According to the report they should continue pressing the government for fair electoral representation and inclusion by rejecting violence, taking part in the elections to the Constituent Assemblies, cooperating in the commission of enquiry seeking to redress grievances by judicial means and by devising forms of protests that do not adversely affect the social and economic life of the people in the Terai. The Madhesi leaders should also reduce communal tensions by making space for women in the movement, ensuring representations of janjatis, Muslims and all Hindu castes including the Dalits and by not insisting on a unitary Madhesi identity if it is unacceptable to some communities (ICG, 2007).

After the field survey in the three study areas of Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari it becomes mandatory to give the following suggestions:

- The Government of Nepal should carry out the necessary steps that it had agreed with in the eight point agreement with the UDMF.

- The appointments, promotions and nominations which would bring inclusive proportional representation of Madhesis and other marginal groups in all the state organs should be carried out by the Government of Nepal.
- It should encourage the inclusion of Madhesis in the local bureaucracy and local governments such that the population does not trust in the state structure.
- As mentioned earlier the government should provide recruitment of the Madhesis and other marginal groups in the Nepal army to give the army a more inclusive form.
- The government should hold dialogues and discussions with the Madhesi activists and political leaders and bring about a solution gradually with their help.
- The Government of Nepal should take a wise decision while demarcating the provinces if it further takes a step towards this idea of demarcation without jeopardizing the national integrity and national harmony of the country.
- The Government of Nepal should respect some of the genuine demands of the Madhesi community and it should convey to the Madhesi leadership the need to be moderate and not succumb to the identity chauvinism keeping in mind the larger democratic frame and peace process.

5.3: CONCLUSION

The Madhesi movement was a strong political movement seeking enlarged participation of the Terai in Nepali Politics (Ghimire, 2015). The movement was a stark reflection of the challenges confronting the restructuring process in Nepal. It was also a reminder to the Constitution and the government that the problems in Nepal are not yet over and that there are serious socio economic and political issues that need to be addressed (Yvome, 2007). Hence the movement with the onset of democracy has brought out all the grievances that were amongst the people in the Terai. The respondents besides the government personnel in the present study were of the opinion that the government has not been able to fulfill their demands and redress their grievances. Henceforth the government should pull up its sock for the redressal of public grievances and it should work impeccably towards resolving the issues that occur within the nation. The Madhesi movement has been a platform for the Madhesi community in Nepal to vent their grievances and to raise their voices against their multiple problems. The government should deal with it proactively and settle and resolve the Madhesi grievances with political discussions and dialogues rather than reactively with force and coercion. On the visit of Nepal's Prime Minister

Pushpa Kamal Dahal in India in September 2016 the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi expressed his confidence that PM Dahal will successfully implement the Constitution of Nepal through inclusive dialogue, accommodating the aspirations of all sections of the diverse society in Nepal. Hence on this sensitive issue Dahal publicly committed before the media that resolving the Madhes crisis would be his top priority and without the inclusion of Madhesis the Constitution will not be enforced (Sahay, 2016). Hence the hope for successful and peaceful resolution of the Madhesi issue remains steadfast and the Madhesi population can take a breath of relief with the strong hope that their issues will be resolved in the near future.

ENDNOTES

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- ¹ Rana: The Rana Dynasty was a Khas Chettri Rajput dynasty which ruled the kingdom of Nepal from 1846 until 1951, see, 'The Ranas of Nepal' by Prabhakar Sjb Rana, Pashupati Sjb Rana and Gautam Sjb Rana, 2002.
- ² Jan Andolan 1: It was the People's movement 1 of 1990 in Nepal, see, 'The Challenge to democracy in Nepal: A political history' by T Louise Brown, 1996.
- ³ Madhes: The lowlands of southern Nepal or the Terai region, see also, 'Madhesi movement in Nepal: Implications for India' by Nihar Nayak, 2010.
- ⁴ Madhesis: They are an indigenous ethnic group of Nepalese people who are natives of the madhes plains of Nepal, see, 'Most of the Madhesi people are losing their identity' by Vijay Kanta Karna.
- ⁵ Janjatis: It is a Nepali word for indigenous people in Nepal, see, 'Towards a Democratic Nepal: Inclusive political institutions for a multicultural society' by Mahendra Lawoti.
- ⁶ Kiratas: They are the indigenous ethnic groups that lived in the mountains of Nepal.
- ⁷ Jan Andolan 2: It was the People's movement 2 of 2006 in Nepal, see, 'Madhesi Nationalism and restructuring the Nepali State' by Krishna Hachhethu, 2007, p. 9
- ⁸ The "High caste Hindus" mainly the Bahuns and the Chettris in Nepal, see, 'Creating a New Nepal: The Ethnic Dimension' by Susan Hangen, 2007.
- ⁹ Newars: They are the indigenous inhabitants of Nepal, see, 'The Newars: The indigenous population of the Kathmandu valley in the modern state of Nepal' by Bal Gopal Shrestha, 1999.
- ¹⁰ Thakali: They are an ethnolinguistic group originated from the Thak Khola region of Mustang district in Nepal.
- ¹¹ Pahade or Pahadi: It is a common term used in Nepal to indicate those who live in the districts in the hills.
- ¹² Birta: A form of land ownership granted by the state for services rendered.
- ¹³ Bhanu Bhakta Acharya: A Nepalese poet and writer who translated the epic Ramayana from Sanskrit into Nepali language, see, 'New Nepal: The fault lines' by Nishchal Nath Pandey, 2008, p.63
- ¹⁴ Adi Kawi: It means the first poet, see, 'New Nepal: The fault lines' by Nishchal Nath Pandey, 2008, p.63
- ¹⁵ Badaghar: A big or long house.
- ¹⁶ Dhikari: A Tharu cuisine
- ¹⁷ Ghongi: A Tharu cuisine
- ¹⁸ "yeslay Janjaganan Iyayeko cha": The movement has brought about political awareness among the people
- ¹⁹ "Sachet": Aware
- ²⁰ "Afu pani ramro gardaina, arulai Pani Garna didaina": The respondents meant that the political parties neither do any good nor do they let others do well.
- ²¹ "Adhikar sunischit garaunu parcha": Rights should be redefined and reconfirmed.
- ²² "Rooprekha pradhesh ko ramro sanga tai gariyena": The demarcation of the provinces was not made proper.
- ²³ Mechi to Mahakali: Mechi and Mahakali are rivers in Nepal.
- ²⁴ "Jatiya Pradhesh chahi banaunu hunna": The communities should not be based on the communities.
- ²⁵ "Bhasi Adhikar": Linguistic rights.

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APPENDIX I

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

SIKKIM UNIVERSITY

SURVEY SCHEDULE

ON

**THE *MADHESI* MOVEMENT IN NEPAL: A STUDY ON SOCIAL,
CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS, 1990-2015**

(For the Madhesi respondents)

SECTION A: Personal Information

1. Name:
2. Sex: (Male) (Female)
3. Age:

Age	Male	Female
18- 30		
31- 45		
46- 55		
56- 65		
More than 65		

4. Income:

Annual Income NRs	Male	Female
Less than 10,000		
10,000- 20,000		
20,000- 30,000		
30,000- 50,000		
More than 50,000		

5. Occupation:

Occupation	Male	Female
Government Service		
Private Company		
Business		
Student		
Unemployed		
Housewife		
Any other (specify)		

6. Education:

Educational qualification	Male	Female
Primary		
Secondary		
Graduate		
Post Graduate		
Professional		
Any other (specify)		

6. Religion: (Hindu) (Muslim) (Sikh) (Christian) (Any other)

7. Community:

8. Address:

SECTION B: Objectives and Aims of the Movement

1. Are you aware of the Madhesi movement? Y/N. If yes then since when are you aware of it?
2. What is your opinion about the movement?
3. What do you think has been the impact of the movement in the Terai?
4. What are the aspirations that you have from the government?
5. What does the movement demand from the government?

SECTION C: Causes of the Madhesi Movement

1. What do you think are the causes for this movement?
2. Do you have a citizenship certificate? Has the Government provided you with it? Y/N If no then why?
3. Do you own a land of your own?
4. Are you comfortable in reading and writing in Nepali language?
5. What do you mean by the term 'Madhes'? Does the word Madhesi denote all the people who live in the Terai or does it have any other meaning?

SECTION D: Conflicts in the Madhesi movement

1. Do you think that the conflict within the movement has proved to be a limitation for the movement?
2. Do you think India should support the Madhesi cause? If yes then why? / If no then Why?
3. What kinds of Conflicts are there in the Madhesi movement?
4. What do you think has been the role of political parties in the movement?

SECTION E: State response

1. Do you think that the Nepal Government has been successful in providing what the Madhesi demand?
2. What should the state do according to you to solve the Madhesi issues? What steps should it take?

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3. Can you name some policies of the Government or any facilities provided to the Madhesi people of the Terai by the Government?
 4. Why has there been a dissatisfaction among the Terai people regarding the 2015 Constitution of Nepal?
 5. Are you availing any kind of facility from the government? If yes then what are those? (Example: Unemployment Doles, Old age Pensions, Employment Schemes, Agricultural Benefits, loans or any other benefits)

APPENDIX II

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

SIKKIM UNIVERSITY

SURVEY SCHEDULE

ON

**THE *MADHESI* MOVEMENT IN NEPAL: A STUDY ON SOCIAL,
CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS, 1990-2015**

(For the non Madhesi respondents)

SECTION A: Personal Information

1. Name:

2. Sex: (Male) (Female)

3. Age:

Age	Male	Female
18- 30		
31- 45		
46- 55		
56- 65		
More than 65		

4. Income:

Annual Income NRs	Male	Female
Less than 10,000		
10,000- 20,000		
20,000- 30,000		
30,000- 50,000		
More than 50,000		

5. Occupation:

Occupation	Male	Female
Government Service		
Private Company		
Business		
Student		
Unemployed		
Housewife		
Any other (specify)		

6. Education:

Educational qualification	Male	Female
Primary		
Secondary		
Graduate		
Post Graduate		
Professional		
Any other (specify)		

6. Religion: (Hindu) (Muslim) (Sikh) (Christian) (Any other)

7. Community:

8. Address:

SECTION B:

1. Are you aware of the Madhesi Movement? Y/N. If yes then since when are you aware of it?
2. What is your opinion about the movement?
3. What do you think has been the impact of the movement in the Terai?
4. What do you think was the reason behind the initiation of the movement?
5. What is your opinion about the bandhs and strikes during the movement? Does it create problems for you?
6. Should the bandhs and strikes be prevented?
7. Do you own a land or house or any property of your own?

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8. Are you comfortable in speaking in any other language other than Nepali?
 9. Do you think Nepali should be made the official language?
 10. What do you mean by the term 'Madhes'? Does it denote all the people who live in the Terai or does it have any other meaning?
 11. Do you think India should support the Madhesi cause? If no then why? If yes then why?
 12. Are you aware of the Chure Bhawar Ekta Samaj? If yes then do you think it is necessary to have this Samaj to protect the interests of the non Madhesis?
 13. Do you have a citizenship certificate? If yes then since when do you have it?
 14. Are you availing any kind of facility from the government? If yes then what are those?
(E.g. Unemployment doles, Old age pensions, employment schemes, agricultural benefits, loans or any other benefits)
 15. Do you think the Madhesi movement should continue further in the future? What should the government do to solve these issues?

APPENDIX III

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

SIKKIM UNIVERSITY

SURVEY SCHEDULE

ON

THE *MADHESI* MOVEMENT IN NEPAL: A STUDY ON SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS, 1990-2015

(For the expert interviews)

SECTION A: Personal Information

9. Name:

10. Sex: (Male) (Female)

11. Age:

Age	Male	Female
18- 30		
31- 45		
46- 55		
56- 65		
More than 65		

12. Income:

Annual Income NRs	Male	Female
Less than 10,000		
10,000- 20,000		
20,000- 30,000		
30,000- 50,000		
More than 50,000		

13. Occupation:

Occupation	Male	Female
Government Service		
Private Company		
Business		
Student		
Unemployed		
Housewife		
Any other (specify)		

14. Education:

Educational qualification	Male	Female
Primary		
Secondary		
Graduate		
Post Graduate		
Professional		
Any other (specify)		

6. Religion: (Hindu) (Muslim) (Sikh) (Christian) (Any other)

15. Community:

16. Address

SECTION B: Objectives and Aims of the Movement

1. Are you aware of the Madhesi movement? Y/N. If yes then since when are you aware of it?
2. What is your opinion about the movement?
3. What do you think has been the impact of the movement on the Terai?
4. What do you think was the reason behind the initiation of the movement?

SECTION C: Causes of the Madhesi Movement

1. What is it that the people want from the movement?
2. Even after the government's distribution of citizenship certificates why do you think people without citizenship are still left and demand for citizenship?
3. Do you know how many Madhesi Chief District officers are there among the 75 Chief district officers in Nepal?
4. Why has there been a dissatisfaction among the Terai people regarding the 2015 Constitution of Nepal?

SECTION D: Conflicts in the Madhesi Movement

1. What kinds of conflicts do you think are there in the Madhesi movement?
2. Do you think India is supporting the Madhesi cause?
3. What do you think has been the role of the political parties in the movement?

SECTION E: State Response

1. What are the steps that the government has taken to solve the problems of the people concerned with the movement?
2. Can you name some policies of the Government or any facilities provided by the government of Nepal to the people of the Terai?
3. What kind of approach has the government undertaken to solve the Madhesi issue?
4. Can you view any difference between the Government's approach before the movement and after the movement towards the Terai?

APPENDIX IV

Some photographs from the field research:



Damak Municipal Corporation
(Anne Mary Gurung, September, 2016)



Dharan Municipality Corporation
(Anne Mary Gurung, September, 2016)



Biratnagar Municipal Corporation
(Anne Mary Gurung, September, 2016)



A respondent in Damak
(Anne Mary Gurung, September, 2016)



Mr Ram Ashish Shah of the MJF (L)
(Anne Mary Gurung, September, 2016)



Mr Yubaraj Dahal the joint secretary of Damak
Municipal corporation (Anne Mary Gurung,
September, 2016)



Mr Ganesh Khatiwara of the Dharan Municipality
(Anne Mary Gurung, September, 2016)



A respondent in Dharan
(Anne Mary Gurung, September, 2016)



Members of the MJF (L) Damak
(Anne Mary Gurung, September, 2016)



Members of the UCPN (Marxist) Dharan
(Anne Mary Gurung, September, 2016)

(Source: Field Research)