

Genesis and Role of Madhesh Movement on state-restructuring in Nepal

Chaudhary, Deepak

Veröffentlichungsversion / Published Version

Zeitschriftenartikel / journal article

Empfohlene Zitierung / Suggested Citation:

Chaudhary, D. (2020). Genesis and Role of Madhesh Movement on state-restructuring in Nepal. *Technium Social Sciences Journal*, 14, 567-577. <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-71050-9>

Nutzungsbedingungen:

Dieser Text wird unter einer CC BY Lizenz (Namensnennung) zur Verfügung gestellt. Nähere Auskünfte zu den CC-Lizenzen finden Sie hier:

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/deed.de>

Terms of use:

This document is made available under a CC BY Licence (Attribution). For more information see:

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>

Genesis and Role of Madhesh Movement on state-restructuring in Nepal

Deepak Chaudhary

Independent researcher & Ph.D. Student Tribhuvan University, Nepal

dipak10@gmail.com

Abstract. The study aims to explore the genesis and the role of the Madhesh movement on state-restructuring in Nepal as well as challenges. This social movement erupted in January 2007 in the Tarai/Madhesh (southern plain terrain) region of Nepal after the issues of federalism and proportional representation were not included in the Interim Constitution. The data collection of this empirically-based study was carried out through In-depth interviews with participants (politicians, journalists, and ordinary people) of the movement, and direct observation. The Madheshi community as the excluded community in Nepal seemed to have angered against state-sponsored discrimination and exclusion that had been occurring for centuries. Madheshis were treated as non-Nepali; though the history of Nepal's Tarai/Madhesh has been old. The movement was spontaneous to a large extent against the state's prejudices and discriminations. This movement brought the changes, promoting social justice and equality in essence, and Madheshis / minorities' rights and inclusion in particular. As a result, the number of electoral constituencies was increased as it reached 120 in Tarai/Madhesh while it was 80 only; the representation of Madheshi and other minorities in the political arena reached 35 % and more, while it was 20% only. The main output of this movement was that it contributed to ensuring the principle of inclusion and federalism as a political system.

Keywords. Dignity, exclusion, federalism, inclusion, Madhesh movement, nation-building

1. Introduction

The role of the Madhesh movement- a social movement- is important in the state restructuring of Nepal, though the institutionalization of changes and rights still poses challenges. Social movements (SMs) relate to social change and therefore the social structure [1]. Both objective and subjective conditions are responsible for the occurrence of SMs; object conditions include the prevailing class structure of society, political structure, and economic condition, and subject conditions represent the level of class-consciousness among the oppressed classes [2]. However, this movement can well be understood by the Fourth World Theory (FWT) which relates to the position of non-state nations and people's conflict with the state government and ultimately it results in the social movement. The conceptual framework of FWT is rooted in the dynamic and evolving relationships between people, the land, and the cosmos [3]. As per FWT, a nation represents a 'cultural territory' as people based on common history, society, institutions, and language. It views people as self-defining whereas a state is a centralized political system within international legal boundaries. The Fourth World analysis

describes the geography, history, and politics based on the world's nations, focusing on people in most world issues, problems, and solutions [4].

Tarai/Madhesh (the southern plain terrain of Nepal) has a long history and culture in South Asia where Buddhism and Hinduism were flourished before 4th BCE. But, the people of the region have been faced with exclusion and marginalization since the territorial unification campaign in 1769. The present Tarai/Madhesh was annexed after the unification and treated as colonization [5]. The state-sponsored discrimination in citizenship, exclusion from political integration, exploitation of natural resources like forest and land, and cultural repression have been the major Madheshi's issues that created an identity crisis and the statelessness condition to Madheshi. Gaige [6] predicted that the state's discrimination and exclusion towards Madheshi (33 % of the total population in Nepal) could lead to strong resistance in the future, and also suggested to bring them into the mainstream through structural changes. Gaige's prediction came in truth when it erupted in 2007.

This movement has its own meaning because of its strong appearance and influences as it contributed to the political changes in Nepal. Furthermore, it was a new type of social movement in Nepal because this movement was not led by the established political parties in contrast to the past movements and not only for democracy but also for structural changes and cultural rights. Madhesh's issues are important in terms of national unity, and hence, this study is equally important for researchers and Nepal's policymaking. This study is original that will fill the gap in constructing knowledge regarding the Madhesh movement and its various facets.

2. Field and Data Collection

This study is based on both primary and secondary data. Key-Informant interviews and participant observation were mainly adopted for the collection of primary data. The participants (those who participated in the movement) were interacted informally (without questionnaire or time-hour) so that they could feel free to share information. Lahan, Biratnagar, Janakpur, Bhairahwa, and Nepalgunj (where the movement intensively occurred) were observed between 2007 and 2015. During the movement, security forces were seen patrolling and local people talking about the prejudices suffering over decades in the public. The slogans were written on the walls of the agitating city reflected the identity crisis among Madheshis. One slogan was providing more attention - Proudly say that we are Madheshis, not foreigners, sons of the earth. This slogan indicates how Madheshis had been facing an identity crisis. The observation helped to identify the situation of ground-reality. The participants who participated in the front line of the movement were interviewed in-depth way. I visited more times the places where the movement occurred and consulted with local more times informally. However, in my memory, a total of 25 respondents have interacted formally. Some of them were also consulted twice by phone as per necessity. Also, some Madheshis rickshaws and tea-shop keepers were interviewed to know their grievances because they had a connection with many communities, government officials, and leaders during their works. Some shoemakers and vegetable vendors belonging to the Madheshi community were also interviewed to know their experiences in Kathmandu as they had been facing discrimination. Their views are included in the findings/achievements sub-chapter. Much information was gathered, mainly from direct observations and inquiries with the general public. The journal articles, books, and newspapers were used as secondary data. The quantitative secondary data for exclusion and inclusion were intensively reviewed to explore the genesis of the movement.

3. Genesis of Madhesh movement, the nation-state formation, and exclusion

In order to know the genesis of the Madhesh movement, it is essential to link the origin of the nation-state, and the development of the national identity. Nepal Tarai/Madhesh represents the oldest human history like Buddhism (Buddha was born in Lumbini of western Tarai/Madhesh) and Vedic-Mithila/Hinduism (located in Janakpur of eastern Tarai/Madhesh) which were flourishing in this region before the Christian Era. The influence of Buddhism and Mithila was extended to most of India and the Terai of Nepal and Kathmandu. According to Braudel [7], Vedic and Buddha's age was famous for art, philosophy, and romanticism. Moreover, Tarai/Madheshi's contribution to Kathmandu civilization is not hidden [8] since its establishment. Maithili (Madheshi people reside in eastern Tarai) people have a rich political, religious, and artistic heritage [9].

With regard to the establishment of the present state of Nepal, the growing influence of Muslims in India in the middle ages resulted in the influx of the Brown monarchs in Nepal. The ruling/higher caste of the hilly area belonging to the Indo-Aryan origin entered into Nepal in and around the medieval period after the Muslim conquest [10] (also see Toffin, 2016). Before the emergence of the present territory of Nepal, there were several small independent principalities such as twenty-two and Twenty-six states. Among them, the Gorkha state succeeded in expanding the kingdom under a king Prithivi Narayan Shah. An ambitious Gorkha King named Prithvi Narayan Shah embarked on a conquering mission that led to the conquest of all the kingdoms in the valley by 1769 [11]. The territorial expansion campaign halted after the Nepal-Anglo India war that concluded with the Sugauli treaty in 1816. Therefore, the present territory of the country is an outcome of the war, annexation, and a treaty. And, the national identity took its shape accordingly.

Nepalese culture has been very much the construct of dominance caste [12 & 13] and the Parbatiya ethos of Gorkhali conquerors [14]. Furthermore, the exclusion of minorities in the national building process has been for the post-unification period [15]. For instance, Madheshis were not allowed to enter Kathmandu, they required written permission like a visa before 1950. Similarly, the Madheshi, Newar, and Tamang minorities were prohibited in army service in Nepal [16].

Regmi [17] argued that Prithivi Narayan Shah succeeded in a political unification of the present territory of Nepal but his successor could not lead to the formation of the nation completely. Between 1846 and 1950, the Ranas ruled over the country based on family and feudal mode. The 1950 revolution threw Ranas and introduced democracy and opened the country to outsiders. The eastern Tarai/Madhesh was the epicenter of the revolution. Later, some Madheshi leaders who participated in the revolution formed the Nepal Tarai Congress party for lobbying Madheshi's rights. They demanded the Madhesh as regional autonomy under a national structure. At the same time, the democratic two-third majority's government of the Nepali Congress Party under the leadership of BP Koirala was trying to implement inclusive policies and participatory democracy. But, King Mahendra dismissed the democratic government in 1960, and all powers consolidated within him. The king under the partyless Panchayat system ruled the country for 30 years.

Many policies related to the social, economic, and political were implemented during the Panchayat such as land reform in 1964, the modern national education system in 1971 enforcing the Nepali language (one language policy), and resettlements of hill people in Inner Tarai/Madhesh in 1964. Nepalization (Nepali national identity formation) process has been encouraged by adopting 'one language and one dress' (Nepali language and hill dress) policy by the Panchayat. Post-1960, the migration from the hill was encouraged by the state, believing

that it enhances acculturation and assimilation to Tarai/Madheshis into hill culture [18]. Nepal's Tarai/Madhesh represents the bowl of rice and cultivation. It contributes to more than half of the total GDP. Most of the trade routes linking with the nearest seaports in India are located in this region. However, the total area of the Tarai/Madhesh region covers only 23 percent of the total land of Nepal. Likewise, regional inequality was widened. As a result, the first people's movement erupted in 1989 against Panchayat forcing the king for democracy.

Nevertheless, the post-1990's political-changed also failed to address Madheshi grievances and problems. For instance, the Citizenship Act of 1963 was biased against non-Nepali speaking people as they required a recommendation letter from the government officials that were not amended. Before 2000, very few Madheshis were in a government office as officers. After the 1990-change, many commissions were formed to solve the citizenship issue. 34040 people have distributed citizenship in 1995 under the United Marxist Leninist (UML) government, but later the court ordered to cancel the distributed citizenship. Similarly, languages except Nepali have been prohibited at government offices, schools, and local levels. Likewise, even though there was a constitutional provision to review constituencies based on the population after the census report comes every ten years. However, the provision was removed from the constitution without any consultation with Madheshis. Due to this, the political representation of Madheshi was not increasing. In December 2001, Madheshis were mistreated during a protest against the publication of a magazine in Nepal claiming that Indian artist Hrithik Roshan had spoken abusively about Nepal.

In the same way, on 25 July 2008, Kathmandu metropolitan and Rajbiraj municipality implemented local languages as municipal official languages, but the Supreme Court ordered not to implement it. However, the post-1990 created awareness among minorities to their right, and democracy extended to the lower level. After the transformation of 1990, Nepal Sadbhavana Party, which was opened for Madheshi's right, emerged as a regional party. It worked to raise voices in the parliament for the Madheshis. Madheshis have a different culture and language than the hills and on that basis, Madheshis have been treated and discriminated against like non-Nepalese. Gajendra Narayan Singh said in one interview that Madheshis have been speaking out against discrimination and for equality [19]. On the other, Maoist's People War (1996-2006) raised the issues of minorities and excluded people that inspired the ethnic and regional movements. Maoist formed an ethnic-based organization and gave slogans for their salvation. Karki [20] argues that since the post-Maoist insurgency, various forms of activism and popular movements have been emerging to build up new ideologies-caste, ethnicity, region, religion to name a new.

Exclusion and Discrimination

The literature suggests that the state discrimination, exclusion, and negative attitude against Madheshis were major factors that led the Madhesh Movement. Madheshis have long been discriminated and they were treated as non-Nepali. The long exclusion and discrimination created an identity crisis among Madheshi and other minorities. Therefore, the Madhesh movement was a natural outcome of the Madheshis resentment against the Nepali state for its long ignorance and negligence to their grievances [21]. The negative attitude of the state towards Madhesh and the breadth of discrimination were highly found that inspired the movement [22]. Similarly, Tarai was viewed before 1951 more as a colony, and Madheshi has required a passport to enter Kathmandu. Eventually, the continued exclusion of Madheshi [23] from mainstream politics created an identity crisis among them.

According to Nepal Election Commission (see www.election.gov.np), there were only 20 % of Madheshi lawyers (a member of parliament) in parliament in the 1991's Parliament

election, whereas its population represents around 33 % of the total population. Likewise, Madheshis have been excluded in bureaucracy; Madheshis representation in bureaucracy, police, and the army found only 9 %. Since, Madheshi was denied to enter into the Nepal Army (see Pande, 2001) till 1950. Likewise, the poverty situation in the Tarai/Madhesh region is higher as it stands for 27.60 %, which is below the average poverty situation [24]. Dahal [25] mentions that the Madheshi people are relatively backward in the socioeconomic field compared to the hill people.

Gellner [26] (see Figure 1) describes that Madheshis are considered even further away from the heart of Nepalis. Figure 1 indicates that Madheshis and Bhotiya (high Himalaya residents) are in a lower stratum of exclusion in Nepal. Khas-Arya (ruling caste/class) and higher castes in Newar have been at the core part of state mechanisms and taking benefits.

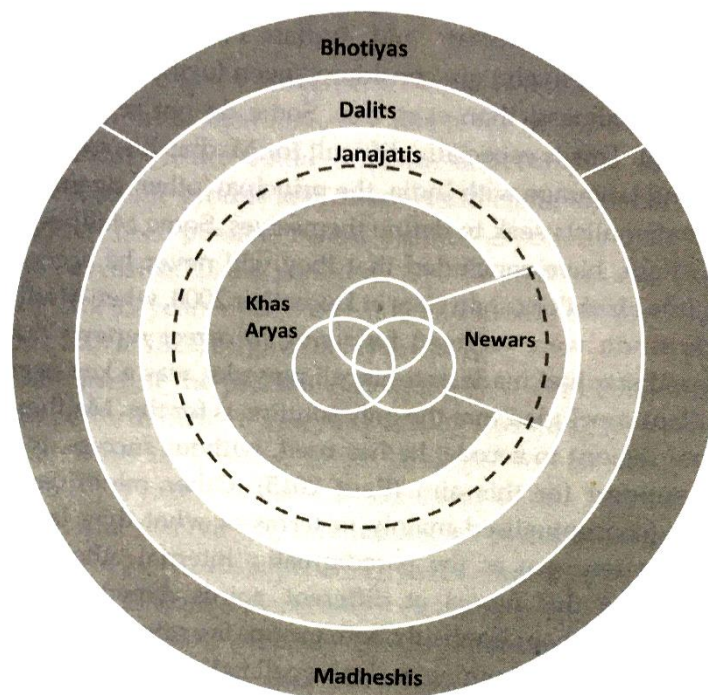


Figure 1: A representation of the unofficial hierarchy of macro-categories and ethnic groups in Nepal (Source: Gellner, 2016)

Respondents' Views

All participants were unanimous that the Madhesh movement was due to the discrimination upon Madheshis by the state for hundreds of years. The then chairperson of the Madheshi Janadhikar Forum-Upendra Yadav (now the president of Nepal Janata Samajbadi Party), which led the Madhesh movement, said on the phone on 2007 April that the movement was very aggressive as the state was trying to suppress it, but the movement was for the liberation of the oppressed people including the Madheshis. According to Ramrijhan Yadav, a senior journalist and politician (currently affiliated with the Nepal Samajbadi Party) who witnessed and experienced the movement very closely at that time said that this movement was seen as an aggression against the Maoists in the beginning, but in fact, it was a movement against state discrimination in essence. According to BBC Nepali correspondent and senior journalist, Brij Kumar Yadav from Janakpur, the repression of Madheshis and the lack of timely hearing of the agitation has further escalated. Similarly, the central committee member of Nepal

Sadbhavana Party, Birgunj resident leader Devendra Mishra said that long state-sponsored discrimination and oppression against Madheshis during the protest was the main reason for the Madhesh movement.

Therefore, the root cause of the Madhesh movement has been the long-standing discrimination of the state over the Madheshis.

4. The eruption of the Madhesh Movement

The Madhesh movement erupted on 1st January 2007 when the Interim Constitution did not include federalism as a political system and proportional representation based on population. It was believed that the existing number of electoral constituencies allocated for the Tarai/Madhesh belt and the election system would not be able to guarantee the proportionate representation of all the social groups in the Constituent Assembly (CA). As part of the protest, some pages of the Interim Constitution were burnt at Maitighar, Kathmandu. Consequently, some cadres, including Upendra Yadav-president of the Madheshi Janadhikar Forum (MJF) - were allegedly arrested and filed cases. MJF declared the strike in Tarai/Madhesh. Madheshis leaders and cadres of different political parties, intellectuals, and the common Madheshis participated in this movement [27]. It continued for 22 days and more than four dozen people got martyrs during the movement. After the second time, addressed by late Prime-minister Girija Prasad Koirala on 7 February 2007, the protest was halted, though the movement was sporadically taking place.

To address Madheshi demands, the Interim Constitution was amended twice within three months. As per the agreement, the increment of constituency numbers, inclusiveness, and proportional representation of Madheshis and other minorities were incorporated in the Interim Constitution. Meanwhile, MJF registered as a political party in the election commission. Similarly, Tarai-Madhesh Party was also formed by different leaders from Nepali Congress and UML. Again, these two parties started a protest in fulfilling 22 points agreements. For a second time, 8 point agreement between Madheshi parties and the government was signed out on 16 February 2008. The second Madhesh movement was extended in the western part of the Tarai/Madhesh of Nepal. After ensuring federalism, constituency numbers, and inclusion, the election of CA was held in April 2008. The CA declared Nepal a Republic nation on 28 May 2008 that appeared to be a drastic alteration in the history of Nepal, it established people's sovereignty [28], before it, the sovereignty had been under a King.

After the CA election, Madheshi parties emerged as powerful regional parties and Maoists became the first largest party. But nobody possessed a majority and the coalition governments led the country. Unfortunately, the Constituent Assembly could not deliver the constitution in its stipulated time frame due to the dispute in the federal set up. The state commission restructures recommended more than 10 provinces based on identity and capability, however, identity and capability were not clearly defined. After the earthquake in May 2015, major political parties came to a point for the promulgation of the Constitution in 2015 September, forming seven provinces rejecting the concept of identity. For the time being, Madheshi and Janajati started protests pressing for identity-based federalism and inclusion. Meanwhile, India initiated to make a calm, sending its envoy to Nepal and tried to convince the government for incorporating Minorities' demand so that the Constitution could become more accepting. India's concern was that further protest in Tarai/Madhesh would create a challenge to their security in the Nepal-India border. However, major political parties promulgated the constitution despite the pressure and protests on 20 September 2015.

Following the Constitution, the long political transition has been ended, however, minorities' dissatisfactions towards the constitution are still persisting.

5. Findings/Achievements of Madhesh Movement

The Madhesh movement contributed a lot to socio-political changes such as the assertion of a minority's identity and state-restructuring. After the Madhesh Movement, the negative attitude and perception towards Madheshi have largely been diminished. Before it, the Madheshi word was used as a derogatory word among hilly and Kathmandu people. All the participants accepted that the old discriminated-attitude of the mainstream towards Madheshis has been changed or diminished (Key Informants Interview). Madheshis had often been suppressed particularly in Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal. Below empirical shreds of evidence suggest how the Madhesh movement empowered Madheshi:

Lal Bahadur Mahara of Sarlahi district had been sewing shoes on the roadside in New Baneshwor, Kathmandu for decades. There was not a day that he was not insulted as a Madheshi. 'Marsya' or 'Madheshi', which were used by the hill origin people as insulting words, should be listened to by him. Many persons did not pay him for polishing his shoes. But after the Madhesh movement, he did not have to suffer such insults and bitter things. He is proud to be a Madheshi. [Interviewed with Mahara- he represents poor Madheshi- was taken in September 2013 on Kathmandu]

The resident of Hariaun of Sarlahi district, Chet Prasad Baral (hill origin) admitted that Madheshis have been discriminated against by the state. After the Madhesh movement, he was worried about national integration. He joined in Chure Bhawar, which was opened by Pahadis (hill origin) to encounter Madheshis. Later, he started working as a social worker to reduce the distance between Madhesi and Pahadi. He says that the national unity of Nepal can only be determined by the good relations between the Madheshi hills. [He was interviewed in April 2011 in Kathmandu].

First, the Madhesh movement contributed to the acceptance of the Madheshi identity at the national level. It dismantled the traditional concept of Nepali identity as it only recognized hill culture and origins as a Nepali [29]. Before it, Madheshis were taken as non-Nepali in Kathmandu and hill. The Madhesh movement resulted in the assertion of Madheshi identity at the national level, including Madheshi words in the Constitution. Following the Madhesh movement, state positive initiations in terms of policy, development, inclusion, and the budget has been given a priority for Madheshis. It is remarkable for inserting the people within a democratic framework; it contributed lots towards inclusive democracy [30] (also see Hachhethu, 2007 & Kumar, 2013). Moreover, the number of lawyers from Madheshis and excluded groups in the Constituent Assembly increased. For instance, Madheshis's participation increased in the political arena; it reached 36.42 % (while Madheshi population is 33%) followed by hill origin, ethnic group (Janajati) 34.33 %, and Dalits (11.94 %) [31]. Before it, only 20 % of Madheshis were represented in parliament. It was possible after the increment of electoral constituencies based on population following the movement. Tarai/Madhesh now represents 51 % of the total population, while there were only 90 electoral constituencies before 2008 and it reached up to 119 after the increment of electoral constituencies. (see Lawati, 2012), the Madhesh movement was historical that asserted the rights of minorities. Also, after the Madhesh movement, the republic of Nepal's first president, and vice-president were selected from the Madheshi community. Overall, this movement has led to a change in the policy of denial [32]. After the Madhesh movement, regional political parties like the Madheshi

Janadhikar Forum and Tara-Madhesh Party emerged as political power at the national level and they have participated in the central coalition government.

Federalism: the main achievement

The main achievement of the Madhesh movement was the assertion of ‘federalism’ as a political system that was directly linked to state-restructuring. However, the issue of federalism surfaced in 1950 by some Madheshi leaders of the Tarai Congress Party. Nevertheless, it had been discussed as a state restructuring issue since 2000 when Maoists initiated it exposing maps of various federal states based on ethnicity. Then, it had been a part of the discussion in the intellectuals sector. The major political parties have accepted it as an agenda and several models of federal set-up had been surfaced. However, political parties missed to incorporate it in the Interim Constitution knowingly or unknowingly and Madheshis grabbed this agenda at the moment. Federalism was essential in Nepal because the past decentralization without fiscal and political powers failed to address diversity and development. Theories on the origin of federalism are generally related to the concept of coming-together; to hold together multiethnic communities (see Breen, 2018). Due to the long exclusion, Madheshi wanted self-rule and participation in mainstream politics, Madheshi believes that only the federal system can boost Madheshi inclusion in the mainstreams and protect native culture.

As Sharma [33], the essentiality of federalization in Nepal has to be appreciated from three perspectives; the first is Nepal’s social and cultural diversity, the second perspective is related to inclusive development, and the third perspective relates to decentralization and the devolution of power and autonomy (p. 101). The devolution of power based on federalism was only the option to address inclusive development, social dignity, and social diversity. In this sense, only federalism represents structural changes to a large extent and the rationality of federalism was obvious. Federalism led the country from unitary to the federal political system. As of the Constitution of Nepal 2015, the country adopted a federal political system setting seven provinces; the power of devolution to the province and local level was based on the principle of devolution under federalism.

6. Discussion and Challenges

Despite the social and structural changes, there are also challenges in the wake of sustainability in terms of political changes. One challenge is how the relation between Madheshi and Pahadi can be intimated. The psychology of Nepali rulers had always been guided by the idea that the assimilation of all minorities and social groups in the broader Gorkhali culture [34] that hindering the broader concept of national identity. The acceptance and respect of Madheshi and other minority cultures at the national level is only the option to avoid any conflict between states and nations (people). Since the main spirit of the second people’s movement in 2006 was to protect and promote diversities in terms of social-culture.

The main challenge now is how to make the current Constitution more acceptable to all especially minorities. Many Madheshi and Janajanti have been dissatisfied with the present Constitution as they blamed that the present Constitution is promulgated in favor of the ruling classes. Their discontents are related to the model of federal set-up, and inclusion quotas. Demographically, six federal units except one (Province 2) have the majority of dominant classes/castes. They demand that the present Constitution should follow the spirit of the Interim Constitution, as the Interim Constitution has more provisions in the light of the inclusion of minorities.

Besides, there have also been challenges in its implementation. The authority and power prescribed by the Constitution are not completely given to the provinces and local governments.

It is blamed that the federal government and traditional elites are reluctant to provide authority and power to the sub-national governments. In practice, the tendency of centralization has frequently been seen. For instance, the Constitution has provisions the authority of land to the Provincial level, but it is not given to them. After the promulgation of the constitution, many laws related to the function of the federation, states, and local bodies have not been enacted, which has added complexity to the implementation of federalism.

However, someone would lobby against federalism for political and economic reasons. Amongst, Rashtriya Janamorcha Party (Communist faction) has been a campaign against federalism in Nepal considering Nepal could not afford federalism. Breen [35] argues that moderate secession risk has been causing the resistance of federalism in Nepal, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka that prevents the formation of an alliance between minority ethnic groups and regime change agents from the dominant ethnic group. Conversely, Suhrke [36] views Nepal does not easily slot into any of the categories or case models of federalism like in Iraq, Ethiopia, and South Africa, and it differs in many respects. In fact, federalism in Nepal is enhancing and strengthening decentralization and local people and addresses regional conflicts. However, the centralized tendency among some leaders and ruling classes suggests some speculation regarding the limitation of power to the sub-national levels. Nepal has witnessed a history of constant struggles for change [37] as it is not effectively institutionalized. This seems to be putting also democracy in further crisis and adding to the complexities. The role of sub-nationals in dealing with Covid-19 remained paramount and this led to a greater need for federalism in Nepal.

7. Conclusion

Whatever the challenges ahead, the Madhesh movement will be remembered for equality, social justice, and minorities' right in the modern history of Nepal. Its contribution to state restructuring i.e. the assertion of the federal system and inclusive democracy in terms of multiculturalism is explicit. However, Madheshis and other minorities have still discontent related to the model of federal set-up and inclusion quotas. They argue that the present set-up is not favored by minorities in terms of self-rule. Moreover, this constitution reduced the provision of proportional representation as it was 58 % in the Interim Constitution and now it is only 45%. While the interim constitution was more inclusive and they demand that the present Constitution should follow the Interim Constitution's inspiration regarding inclusion. The incorporation of Madheshi and Janajatis voices in the Constitution will further strengthen inclusive democracy in Nepal and it will enhance sustainability in terms of national integration. Madheshis can be integrated with mainstream politics through this process. Madheshis' concern has been with broader participation in Nepali socio-politics along with their dignity and recognition as well as inclusive development in Tarai/Madhesh. As of the Fourth World Theory, the Madhesh movement was caused because of a long conflict between state and nation (Madheshi), and exclusion and repression faced by Madheshis. The continuation of such conflict is not considered as good for national integration. The chances of such type of movement in the future cannot be ignored if the Nepali state fails to address Madheshis's stateless condition. The past historical circumstances and intense and anger expression of the Madheshis during the movement suggests such a prediction. Tarai/Madhesh is small in size but does have the capacity to influence national politics because of its location, population, and fertile land.

It is a bitter truth that Nepal has long been facing the centralizing tendency as it is rooted in societal structure despite the political changes, so it is the deficiency of the national political leadership. The government and the mainstream party's role make the present political system

more competent providing required laws without unnecessary interventions is essential. The key task now is to make public institutions more democratic and inclusive for efficiency so that they can effectively serve grass-roots people. Despite the large agricultural land and industries in Tarai/Madhesh, the Madheshis have been backward in human development, the districts of Province 2 have the lowest literacy rate in Nepal and inequality persists high. Therefore, the state needs to pay special attention to the development of the long-excluded Madheshi community, which is also important for national unity.

References

- [1] Mukherji, P. (1977). SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE : TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK. *Sociological Bulletin*, 26(1), 38-59. Retrieved June 7, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/23618292.
- [2] Berberoglu, B. (2017). *Social Theory; Classical and Contemporary-A Critical perspective*. New York: Routledge.
- [3] Ryser, C. R; Gilio, D.W. & Bruce, H.G. (2016). Fourth World Theory and Methods of Inquiry. 10.4018/978-1-5225-0833-5.ch003.
- [4] Nietschmann, B. Q. (1994). *The Fourth World: Nations Versus States. Reordering the World, Geopolitical Perspectives on the Twenty-first Century*. San Francisco, CA: Westview Press.
- [5] Bhattarai, B. (2007). *Madheshi Mukti ko Prasna (The Question of Salvation of Madheshi)*. Janadhouni Prakashan. Kathmandu.
- [6] Gaige, F.H. (2009 (1975)). *Regionalism and National Unity in Nepal*. Kathmandu: Social Science Baha & Himal Books.
- [7] Braudel, F. (1987). *A History of Civilizations*. New York: Penguin Books.
- [8] Nepal. G.M. (1998). *Nepalnirupan*. Kathmandu: Nepal Pragya Pratisthan.
- [9] Burkert, C. (1997). Defining Maithil Identity: Who is the Charge?. In J. P.-C. David N. Gellner (Ed.), *Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom* (pp. 241-274). Amsterdam: harwood academic publications.
- [10] Bista, D. (1991). *Fatalism and Development*. Hyderabad: Orient Longman Private Limited.
- [11] MoFA(Ministry of Foreign Affairs). History Of Nepal. Retrieved from <https://mofa.gov.np/about-nepal/history-of-nepal/>. 31 05 2020.
- [12] Gurung, H. (1997). State and Society in Nepal. In J. P.-C. David N. Gellner (Ed.), *Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom* (pp. 495-532). Amsterdam: harwood academic publications.
- [13] Whelpton, J. (1997). Political Identity in Nepal: State, nation, and Community. In J. P.-C. David N. Gellner (Ed.), *Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom* (pp. 39-78). Amsterdam: harwood academic publications.
- [14] Lal, C.K. (2002). Cultural flows across a blurred boundary. In Kanak Mani Dixit & Shastri Ramachandran. *State of Nepal*. 100-118, Kathmandu: Himal Books.
- [15] Burghart, R. (1984). The Formation of the Concept of Nation-State in Nepal. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 44(1), 101-125. doi:10.2307/2056748
- [16] Pande, S.B.B. (2004(2061 BS)). *Tes Bakhatko Nepal- Ranakalin Akhir Tin Dasak (Nepal- Three decades of Ranas)*, First Part. Kathmandu: Sardar Bhim Bahadur Pande.
- [17] Regmi, M.C. (1999 (1972)). *A Study in Nepali Economic History*. Delhi: Adroit Publishers.

- [18] Skar, H.O. (1999). *Nepal Tharu and Tarai Neighbors*. Kathmandu: Bibliotheca Himalayica.
- [19] *Souvenir*. (2001). Interviewed with Gajendra Narayan Singh (Chairmen of Nepal Sadhvawana Part). Kathmandu: Bhawani Sewa Samiti.
- [20] Karki, M.B. (2012). Edt. *Social Sciences methodology*. Kathmandu: Center for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS).
- [21] Hachhethu, K. (2007). *Madheshi Nationalism and Restructuring the Nepali State*. Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies/TU.
- [22] Lawati, M. (2012). Dynamics of Mobilization: Varied Trajectories of Dalits, Indigenous nationalist and Madheshi Movement. In M. L. Hangen (Ed.), *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal (Identities and Mobilization after 1990)*. New York: Routledge.
- [23] Upreti, B.R.; Paudel, S.B. & Ghimire, S. (2013). *Ignored or ill-represented?*. New Delhi: Adroit Publication.
- [24] CBS. (2010/11). *Nepal - Nepal Living Standards Survey 2010-2011*. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS).
- [25] Dahal, D. R. (2008). The Madheshi People: Issues and Challenges of Democracy in Nepal Tarai. In David N. Gellner & Krishna Hachhethu (Ed.), *Local Democracy in South Asia* (pp. 128-149). New Delhi: SAGE.
- [26] Gellner, D.N. (2016). *The Idea of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Social Science Baha.
- [27] Chaudhary, D. (2015). 2nd Edt. *Tarai/Madhesh of Nepal: An Anthropological Study*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- [28] Toffin, G. (2016). *Nepal: Imagination & Reality*. New Delhi: Adroit Publishers.
- [29] Chaudhary, D. (2012 January 25). We Have Overcome. *The Kathmandu Post*.
- [30] Gautam, B. (2008). Madhesh Bidroh: Nairasyatako Rajniti (Madhesh Revolt: Politics of Frustration). In B. Gautam (Ed.), *Madhesh Bidroh ko Nalibeli (Description of Madhesh Revolt)* (pp. 1-26). Kathmandu: Martin Chautari.
- [31] www.election.gov.np
- [32] Kumar, D. (2013). *Social Inclusion, Human Development, and National Building in Nepal*. Kathmandu: Vajra Books.
- [33] Sharma, P. (2014). State Restructuring in Nepal: Context, Rationale and Possibilities. In B. K. Edrisinha (Ed.), *The Federalism debate in Nepal* (Vol. 2, pp. 77-126). Kathmandu: UNDP & SPCBN.
- [34] Baral, L.R. (2012). *Nepal-Nation-state in the Wilderness*. New Delhi: SAGE
- [35] Breen, M.G. (2018). The Origins of Holding-Together Federalism: Nepal, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 48(1), 26–50, <https://doi.org/10.1093/publius/pjx027>.
- [36] Suhrke, A. (2014). Restructuring the state: Federalist Dynamics in Nepal, Chr. Michelsen Institution (CMI), Norway and Central Department of Sociology, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu.
- [37] Jha, P. (2015). *Battles of the New Republic: A Contemporary History of Nepal*. New Delhi: Aleph Book Company.