

Ethnic Politics in Nepal



Shyamu Thapa Magar

National Foundation for Development
of Indigenous Nationalities

2015

Ethnic Politics in Nepal

Shyamu Thapa Magar (Ph.D)



**National Foundation for the Development
of Indigenous Nationalities
2015**

Ethnic Politics in Nepal

- Author : Shyamu Thapa Magar (Ph.D)
- Copywrite © : Author
- Publisher : National Foundation for Development of
Indigenous Nationalities
Jawalakhel, Lalitpur
E-mail: mail@nfdin.gov.np
Homepage: www.nfdin.gov.np
- Executive/Managing Editor : Sarina Gurung
- Cover Designer : Kamsingh Chepang
- Cover Picture : Borrowed from NEFIN
- Edition : June 2015
- Publication Copies : 500 Copies
- ISBN : 978-9937-8439-4-2

No authorized photocopying

All rights author. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of authors, or as expressly permitted by law.

Printed in Nepal

Dedicated to my parents in Laws
Late **Bal Dhoj Thapa Magar** (1970-2060 B.S.) and
Man Maya Thapa Magar (1990-2066 B.S.)
and
**All indigenous ethnic people of the
country who are fighting
for their equal rights.**

Shyamu Thapa Magar (Ph.D)
2015

PUBLISHERS NOTE

National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN) was established under the NFDIN Act 2058 -2002_by The government of Nepal with the goals of comprehensive development of indigenous nationalities of Nepal. The academy has completed its fourteenth years. Since its establishment the NFDIN has been working for the promotion and social development of indigenous People's language, literature, religion, and culture through its yearly program. In addition to this NFDIN has accomplished different academic tasks of research and publication on the aspects of indigenous nationalities of Nepal. The academy has its regular yearly program of partial economic supports to the publication of quality literary articles and books on the endangered language of indigenous people. Research Section has changed its publication planning/policy from the fiscal years 2071/2072. The Research Section has decided to provide full financial supports to those selected manuscript that contribute to the development of indigenous knowledge and awareness. The planning /policy are applicable to all the academic works on mother tongue such as literature, dictionary, and research works etc.

National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities is delighted to publish a research based book entitled, 'Ethnic Politics, Political Participation and Representation in the Country' by Dr. Shyamu Thapa Magar. Since its establishment NFDIN has been insecantly helping and encouraging the publication of academic journals, articles, historical documents, and books etc. The present book brings to us the combined perspectives of an indigenous scholar and a woman to look at the current political process and the position of the indigenous

people in it. More specifically the book has been able to provide a synoptic chart to quickly review the history of ethnic movement, women in ethnic politics and ethnic politics and its impact on ethnic political participation and representation through policy implication. Despite the small size of the book, the author has successfully incorporated the pros and cons of ethnic movement in different regime changes including shah dynasty to second peoples' movement in Nepal. The inclusion, participation and representation are commonly used terms in almost all spheres of society in Nepal at present but implementation and assessment in practices has become a herculean task for political leaders, development workers, civil society, intellectuals and scholars in Nepal. The author has assessed and brings forth the impact of the ethnic movement on the political participation and representation, where she has concluded that the ethnic movement has been able to raise the political awareness of the indigenous people. Such scholarly works like the present book may be helpful in materializing the desired condition of inclusive society in Nepal in near future.

Finally, we would like to thank Dr. Thapa Magar for writing research book which apparently shapes the issue for inclusion of indigenous nationalities in Nepal. Moreover, it assists to those who have vested interests in understanding the ethnic politics, political participation and representation of indigenous nationalities in Nepal. In essence, the book is taken as important archival source for the people of this community who believe and work for the equality and justices in the society.

Sarina Gurung

For Academic & Research Division

NFDIN, Jawalkhel, Lalitpur

June, 2015

ABSTRACT

Nepal is in a political transition phase with declaration of Federal Democratic Republican country in South Asia. This was only possible with peoples' efforts to bring democracy through peoples' movement in 1990s. All deprived section of the society came on the surface demanding for equal rights and equal participation as others in the country. Among these groups, indigenous ethnic groups of Nepal started ethnic politics demanding for equal rights and equal access over state resources. Their cultural development trajectory turned towards right claiming trajectory for the equal access over the state resource. They alliance together and formed Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities as an umbrella organization that works toward common goal by demanding for the equal participation and representation as equal as others in the country. The objectives of this research analyze ethnic politics in Nepal and its impact on political participation and representation in the country. The data for this research was collected from interviewing several student leaders from Tribhuvan University and indigenous ethnic activists from different ethnic organization. The findings of this study showed that all indigenous ethnic leaders are affiliated with different political parties and its wings besides their affiliation with ethnic organization in the country. Political awareness has increased among the ethnic group members after 1990 political movement. This awareness has helped them to realize that without political affiliation, ethnic groups are not able to access over state resources as equal as others. NEFIN is able to increase ethnic awareness among the ethnic people working as the platform for collective demand. Ethnic politics has helped many indigenous ethnic groups to get benefit individually and in group.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Coming from largest ethnic group Magars and working as researcher on ethnic issues, my interest and sentiments always stand to contribute on these groups through research work besides my teaching job at the Tribhuvan University. Conducting research is not possible without any financial support where honor of receiving grant is always attached. National Foundation for the Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN) has always been supportive and generous to indigenous ethnic researchers by providing some amounts of money for the research despite of its limited resources. NFDIN has always been supportive towards my research work. I am very much thankful to the Vice Chairperson and Member Secretary of this foundation and the research division officers, Dr. Lal Rapacha, Miss Sarina Gurung along with Jagat Gurung, Ram Maden, Suchitra Rana and other staffs.

Respondents of this research representing different ethnic organizations (Dhimal, Dura, Sherpa, Walung, Chepang, Thami, Topkegola, Gurung, Tamang, Magar, Yakthum Chumlung, Yakka Rai, Thakali, Chhantyal, Tharu, Sunuwar, Dhanuk, Newar, Kumal and Brahmans, Chhetries, Rai, Madhese student wings of different political parties) were very helpful. Their support on providing their valuable time, opinions and suggestions are the main source of information to complete this research. My deep appreciations and thanks are not enough to express with these lines, although I am very much thankful to all for their support and kind cooperation. I am also thankful to my research assistants K.P.Rana, Nupur Aryal and Chandra Katuwal for their help to collect data for this research.

Contents

	Chapter One	
Introduction		1
Background of the Study		1
Statement of the problems		6
	Chapter Two	
Literature Review		11
	Chapter Three	
Methodology		16
Significance of this Study		17
Limitations of the Study		17
	Chapter Four	
The history of ethnic movements in Nepal		19
Introduction		19
Caste System and Impact over Ethnic Politics		21
Constructing Indigenous Ethnic identity in Nepal		30
Indigenous Ethnic Groups and Political Impacts		40
Indigenous ethnic women and youths		43
	Chapter Five	
Ethnic Politics and its Impact on Ethnic Political Participation		46
Political Affiliations		53
NEFIN Politics		59
Women in Ethnic Politics		63
Demographic Analysis of the Respondents and their Perspective on Ethnic Politics		64
	Chapter Six	
Summary and Conclusion		67

References 70

List of Tables

Table No. 1. Caste Categories of Muluki Ain, 1854 A.D.	22
Table No. 2. Compositions of State Elites, 1854 and 1999	23
Table No. 3. Candidates Passing Gazette Level* (Grade III) with percentage	24
Table No. 4. Representations in Governance, 1999	25
Table No. 5. CA members elected in II Constituent Assembly in 2013 and their representation in group basis	51

Photos from fieldwork

Photo No. 1. Interviewing with Jetendra Chepang.	73
Photo No. 2. NEFIN Steering committee Meeting before Interview.	73
Photo No. 3. NEFIN, trust, belief and common platform, a program to handover money to save Anish Khaling.	74
Photo.No.4. Handing over money to Anish Khaling family.	74
Photo.No.5. Yakthum Chumlung Secretary and Limbu symbols for groups' identity.	75
Photo. No. 6. Meeting with Dura executive committee members and advisors.	76
Photo No.7. Meeting with Dhimal chairperson Ganga Maya. Dhimal and her district committee members in Kathmandu.	77
Photo No. 8. Interviewing Kumar Tamang, of Tamang Ghedung and Raj Kumar Lekhy, former president of NEFIN.	78
Photo. No. 9. Trend of felicitation of Constituent Assembly members in ethnic organization, case of Magar community.	79
Photo No.10. Indigenous ethnic women in NEFIN.	80

Introduction

Background of the Study

Nepal, a small country in South Asia has been declared Federal Democratic Republican throwing thirty years of autocratic Panchayat political system through 1990 people's movement. Those political parties restricted during Panchayat regime came on surface demanding for the multiparty democratic political system. The Constitution of Nepal in 1990 addressed clear fundamental rights for the deprived section of the society. In this process many deprived sections of the society such as women, Dalits, indigenous ethnic groups, disables and religious minorities came on surface demanding for the equal rights and equal access over the state resources. This movement helped indigenous ethnic groups to become aware about their group identity to be distinct from others using cultural codes. They started establishing social organizations for the cultural development of their ethnic community group. Cultural codes are revived and re-invented for their separate cultural group identity (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). Adibasi Janajati Mahasang (Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities) stood as platform for raising collective voices for equal rights. Adibasi Janajati Mahasang worked as a strong umbrella organization demanding for the rights of indigenous ethnic groups demanding for the equal participation and representation in the country through affirmative action. Equal

participation, representation and equal access over state resources demanded by ethnic groups plays important role to bring reservation for the identified deprived groups in the country. Government of Nepal has already started reservation while recruiting candidates through Public Service Commission. The reservation process became possible through ethnic movement in the country as collective voices standing upon NEFIN in Nepal. The collective voices of ethnic groups, through NEFIN brought awareness following protest ideology (Khurane, 1999) as street rally, road blockages etc. They worked as pressure group to make the government listen their voices by mainstreaming them in every sector of the development as equal as to those others who hold political and bureaucratic power in their hands in the country.

In this process of demanding collective rights, indigenous ethnic group became aware about the importance of their social organizations. They started bringing awareness among the people from their own community who carry their ethnic group title, surname as ethnonym. The group surname as suffix with their name became shared common identity to feel as the member of the community group. They participated voluntarily for the cultural development of their community group. These volunteers were found affiliated with different government and nongovernmental organizations, political parties, self employed business personals, social service providers and students. They were carried away with primordial thoughts of being distinct group in the country based on their cultural traits they carry and their cultural codes (Shastakov, 2008) they have invented (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) as their group symbols. Their group affiliation helped them to interact with each other, shared their experiences and realized their oppressive and exploitative behavior they faced in their day to day lives in the past. Their realization of being deprived due to social, political and economic situation helped them subordination and domination of high caste groups through their behavior in the past forced them to work collectively to resist those practices

in the present situation. Their nominal participation and representation in the national level politics and bureaucratic positions forced some ethnic scholars to search those discriminatory rules and regulations existed in the society structured through policies. Exploring historical past with traces of deprived situation realizing their weak position, they prioritized ethnic movement as the essential trajectory to claim their rights for the equal benefits through policy implementation. In this right claiming process, not only indigenous ethnic groups but women and Dalits also started blaming Hindu based caste system for their deprived situation. The national legal code, Muluki Ain of 1854(1910 V.S), the main instrument to run Nepali legal and social systems is found highly discriminatory against them in the country. All these groups blamed high caste group for capturing resources in their hands. They are also blamed for the social, economic and political deprivation of these groups based on Hindu social structure placing them as servitudes in the country and institutionalizing social stratification within Nepali society. Those wearing sacred thread (Janai) were placed on the top among the four strata as high caste groups especially Brahmans who were privileged to attain education achieved the higher level bureaucratic positions in the country (Hofer, 2004; Gurung, 2006; Magar, 2013;2014).

Indigenous ethnic groups (indigenous ethnic group is also used simultaneously denoting ethnic group in this book) were placed non enslaveable and enslaveable alcohol drinker group in third position. This creates huge gap between high caste group and other groups in the society forcing the latter one to exclude from utilizing resources as equally as others. This exclusion was also practiced in the political and bureaucratic positions in the country. Nominal numbers of individuals representing indigenous ethnic group were found involved in Nepali politics and in bureaucratic positions in the past. Very few have been found aware about their situation. Despite of cultural awareness raised among some indigenous ethnic groups by establishing ethnic

social organizations, their affiliation with political parties were nominal during Panchayat political regime.

After 1990 people's movement and ten years of Maoist movement helped them to bring awareness to indigenous ethnic group individuals through their involvement in the politics. Political awareness with their involvement in ethnic politics and mass media supported to escalate the level of awareness after 2006 second people's movement called *dosro janaandolan*. Individuals representing indigenous ethnic groups became visible in Nepali politics. Impact of Maoist movement addressing indigenous ethnic issues with ethnic based autonomous region plays important role on attracting them into Maoist communist political party. Many men and women from indigenous ethnic groups along with women and Dalits joined in Maoist insurgency. Their participation with Maoist political party helped them to understand and realize their weak participation and representation in the politics. Ten years of Maoist movement plays important role to bring awareness among people about their poor economic, social and political situation in the country. The social organization established for the cultural development of the indigenous ethnic groups turned into a platform to practice politics within their community group members. Social organizations focusing on prioritizing for the cultural development preferred on religious development claiming to become Buddhist resisting Hindu religion based on caste system as mechanisms (Magar, 2013) discarding celebrating Dashain the main festival especially putting red tika on their forehead (Hangen, 2010).

Those members affiliated with ethnic social organizations and working as ethnic activists were also found affiliated with different political parties. Their participation as ethnic activists became trade mark for the political parties as possible candidate representing indigenous ethnic groups. Emerging issues of ethnic based autonomous region along with equal political participation and representation and to have equal access over the state re-

sources opened door for many individuals. Issues raised by Maoist political party for the proportional representation is highly supported by all deprived section of the society including indigenous ethnic groups. The demand of proportional representation and participation for utilizing resources within government and semi government agencies was accepted promulgating the clauses within Nepal ACT while entering into the services and sitting for the Public Service Commission for the Government and Service Commission within Tribhuvan University.

Those political parties especially Nepali Congress and United Marxist-Leninist Communist Party besides Maoist Communist Political Party were also pressurized to create spaces within their party structure. United Marxist Leninist Communist Political Party and Nepali Congress, the major two political parties were forced to follow Interim Constitution applying proportional representation. All political parties were forced to allocate proportional representation during first Constituent Assembly that dissolved in May 2012. Many indigenous ethnic groups along with women, Dalits and individuals representing regionally disadvantaged area were highly elected and nominated. The first Constituent Assembly provided platforms to many individuals representing their ethnic group besides their core political party representation. Political party membership along with their commitments to the party is the reward to get ticket for the election with victory is the main achievement for both individual and the political party. Political party earns good will among the members as well as their rival party to show their representation practices within party structure. The individuals gain achievement to be elected and nominated for the Constituent Assembly member as reward for their commitments towards the political party. This rewards appeared both material and non material forms. Their participation as political party members provided individual opportunities under the direct and proportional representation position during constituent assembly election. Individuals rep-

representing Indigenous Ethnic groups within political parties were able to get chances in the name of indigenous ethnic; Dalits and women categories were hard to get this opportunity previously. This Constituent Assembly opened door for the Terai dwellers in the name of regionalism standing as a fourth Major political party.

Ethnic politics has become one of the main trajectories to access political rights through their active participation and representation in the country affiliating with different political parties. Their political party affiliation and membership within ethnic organization opened spaced for them to practice political culture within ethnic organization providing spaces and recognition among the community members. This study analyzed indigenous ethnic movement and its impact on political participation and representation in the country as accessing resources in the name of ethnic politics.

Statement of the problems

More than twenty-five political parties were registered during first Constituent Assembly. The issue of federalization based on fourteenth ethnic based autonomous region demanded by Maoist communist political party was supported by indigenous ethnic groups forced other political parties to address the issues by bringing different models avoiding ethnic based autonomous region. Nepali Congress and CPNUML, major political parties brought federalization focusing on geographical topography and linguistic issue with capacity development arguing threat of instability and conflict issues.

Ethnic based autonomous region brought rays of hope to have distinct cultural identity linked with their history and historical settlement. Their distinct cultural identity activities slowly turned towards right claiming activities in a collective form. Ethnic movement turned towards claiming ethnic based autonomous region dreaming to have separate ethnic based autonomous

region with right to develop their group and territory in the economic and political aspects using all kind of local resources forced many indigenous ethnic group activists to stand for the rights of their ethnic groups carried away instrumentalising primordial thought of being the distinct group in the country. The issue of ethnic based autonomous regions appeared into the discourses among caste group (high caste) and indigenous ethnic individuals who are affiliated with ethnic social organization. This situation flamed on ethnic groups demanding for the separate ethnic based autonomous region. Among them, Tharu people demanding for the Tharuhut, Tamangs demanding for Tambaasaling and Limbu and Rais demanding for Limbuwan and Khambuwan appeared aggressively with slogans affecting high caste group who are settling in those regions. Being insecure, and dissatisfaction, they started forming Brahmin, Chhetries and Dasnami Samaj, Akhanda Sudurpachhim etc. appearing on the street with slogans. Despite of being new committee, they also started demanding to be enlisted as Adibasi of this country with having distinct Hindu religious identity, Nepali language as national language. The Magars demanding Magarath, Gurungs demanding Tamuwana along with other groups demanding autonomous regions based on language were limited on their street rallies and speeches in during their annual program. The impact of ethnic activities forced political parties to think about ethnic participation and representation while nominating candidates for the election. Government also took initiative on sensitizing ethnic participation and representation within government structures in every level. These entire initiate was only possible through ethnic movement initiated by NEFIN and ethnic social organizations for their awareness programmes. These programs targeted Muluki Ain for establishing oppressive and suppressive behavior towards ethnic, Dalits and women in the society. Muluki Ain 1854, main legal code institutionalized four verna system categorizing wearers of twice-born thread and ethnic groups with

enslaveable and un-enslaveable alcohol drinker (Gurung, 2006; Hooper, 2004; LBMC, 2008, Magar, 2013:125). The argument of indigenous ethnic groups mainly focused on the given categories always oppressed and suppressed by the high caste groups for their benefits. Many of them were deprived due to Muluki Ain discrimination practices on not getting opportunities to attain education. The classification of groups into various categories based on their occupation was the main mechanism to exclude them from attaining education and involving in other occupation besides their designated occupation. Strong rules and regulations and hard and merciless punishment forced many ethnic and Dalits to avoid struggling for the new opportunity (LBMC, 2008). Due to lack of education and awareness about their situations indigenous ethnic groups stay passively in the politics. Unqualified situations forced all indigenous ethnic groups as minority in the country without having any access over the state resources. Promulgation of Muluki Ain from the beginning, participation of indigenous ethnic groups' involvement as state officials was nominal in 1854 to 1999 as in the signatories of Muluki Ain (Gurung, 2006:82). According to the 2001 census, indigenous ethnic groups' educational attainment is very low in-comparisons with Hill Brahmans, Chhetries and Newar communities. Likewise, candidates passing Gazette Level (grade III) represents the same problems published in the Bulletins of Public Service Commission in which high caste groups cover 87% followed by Newars with 8.7% and indigenous ethnic groups with 3.2% (Gurung, 2006; Magar, 2013:129). Gurung adopted the table of individuals represented in the governance in 1999 shows 808 individuals from high caste groups and 98 from hill ethnic groups (ibid) represented in the government. Realizing all these gaps between caste and indigenous ethnic groups, indigenous ethnic politics plays important role to bring awareness among the members to participate and represent their community group in the politics. Participation and representation of indigenous ethnic groups in

the government services are very nominal. The mechanism within government structure to sit for the gazette level examination has become a barrier to apply, give examination and get pass due to various social, psychological and lack of commitments (Sherpa, 2067).

Although participation in the politics directly benefited to the individuals involved in politics, they stood as community representative despite of not having direct linkages between individuals representing indigenous ethnic group taken as pride among the community group. The minimal participation and representation in the government services determined by the educational attainment of the individuals also unknowingly represents the groups. Gurung also explain weak position of indigenous ethnic group on attaining educational degrees in-comparison with high caste groups along with Newars since from the beginning. Ethnic group politics helped many indigenous ethnic group members to be aware about their political situation in the country. The awareness increasement within individuals opened door in the politics and their strong positions within political party they are affiliated with. The first Constituent Assembly opened door for many indigenous ethnic and Dalits males representing their political party they were affiliated with. Some females affiliated with political party also got opportunity in this first election. Their participation representing their political party was also perceived as representing indigenous ethnic groups they belonged. The second constituent assembly election also provided opportunities for many indigenous ethnic individuals who were affiliated with different political parties as well as with their indigenous ethnic social organizations. Politics has become one of the strong niches for some indigenous ethnic group leaders thinking that politics is the only medium for the development of individuals' capacity as well as the group's recognition. Ethnic politics for group identification created both positive and negative effects for the individuals as well as for the groups. This research focused mainly on

ethnic politics in the country after 1990 restoration of democracy and its impact on their participation and representation in the country. Research questions to guide this research are;

1. Why indigenous ethnic movement started in Nepal?
2. What were its demands to stand as separate groups for their identity in the country?
3. How ethnic politics plays important role to forced government to address their issues that helps to increase their political participation and representation in the country?

The specific objectives of this research are;

- To investigate history of indigenous ethnic movements in Nepal.
- To explore ethnic politics demanding for the political participation and representation in the country.
- To analyze impact of ethnic politics in policy level and its implementation.

Literature Review

Many indigenous ethnic groups in Nepal came on surface demanding every sphere of their economic, political and religious issues after 1990 people's movement (Sales, 2000:49). They started demanding political rights establishing social organizations for the development of their social and cultural identity in the beginning. The issue of identity has become vital for them to be distinct from others as a separate group in the country. Cultural codes were invented and revived from the past. These ethnic social organizations attracted members from the same community carrying primordial feelings based on the ethnonym and endonym carrying group attributes associated with ethnic community group. They work collectively establishing a federation, Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities (Nepal Adibasi Janajati Mahasang) for the louder voices to be heard by the government. These groups' identification started working effectively and forced government to initiate drafting policy addressing the issues of Adibasi Janajati of Nepal including other deprived section of the society incorporated in country rules and regulations.

Interim Constitution 2063 plays important role on addressing indigenous ethnic issues related with their participation, representation and equal access over the state resources as others in the country. The positive discrimination and affirmative action targeting to uplift the deprived section of the society focused on

the human rights issues addressing mother tongues as language of the nations, rights to get education in their mother tongue mentioned under Fundamental rights in clauses 17 along with right to preserve and conserve culture, language, script, cultural civilization and resources in sub clause 3. Under the policy of the state, clause 35 (10) mentioned about the reservation in attaining education, health services, residential rights, food authority and employment for the certain period to uplift socially and economically deprived indigenous ethnic groups, Madhesi, Dalits including marginalized community and those labor and farmers living below poverty line. It also mentioned about social justice issues in clauses 21 under fundamental rights. Social inclusive process is mentioned clearly on clauses 33(gha1) for above mentioned groups. Positive discrimination for them is also mentioned in clauses 14. Clauses 63 in constitution about the proportional electoral system for three hundred and thirty five members and twenty-six nominated members incorporating indigenous ethnic and members of other above mentioned groups during Constituent Assembly. Despite of the given provisions many indigenous ethnic groups are unaware about enjoying the fundamental rights as equal as others in the society due to lack of education, not having access over the resources. Bijaya Subba (2012) tried to analyze rules and regulations stated in the Nepal Acts provision for different sectors in the country in his book, entitled with *Adibasi Janajati Sambandhi Nepal Sarkarko Samabesi Niti तथा Karyakram Haru ko Byawastha*. There are many provisions that addressed Adibasi Janajati in Nepal Acts mentioning to provide equal participation and representation over accessing the state resources as uplifting their social, economic and political condition as well as giving priority on preserving and protecting their cultural rights. The government has tried to bring inclusive provision based on group with unclear and insufficient provisions with confusing statements. All these provisions addressing issues of Adibasi Janajati in the constitution are initial steps to pro-

vide equal rights by mainstream then through policy. Nepal Act has brought good opportunity for the Adibasi Janajati of Nepal. All these achievements were only possible when Adibasi Janajati became aware about their rights through consciousness increase-ment. Ethnic consciousness increasement was only possible when Adibasi Janajati intellectuals and activists brought issues of in-equality and discrimination exited in Hindu based caste system (Bhattachan, 2005). Bhattachan also mentioned that Adibasi Janajati was not allowed to open political party with Janajati title mentioned in the 2047 (1990) Constitution of Nepal. The clauses 115 clearly show that they were not only restricted on enjoy-ing their fundamental rights but they have to faced injustice, ex-ploitation and sufferings. A clause 112(3) shows that they were restricted to run press and published newspapers. They were not allowed to open political party based on religion, caste and eth-nicity, language and region with the example of Mongol National Organization which was not accepted by Election Commission as seeing sampradaik through their names and symbols (Nepal Law Journal, 2052:19 in Bhattachan, 2005). Due to discriminato-ry provisions on not allowing to register political party based on ethnicity, many indigenou ethnic people became unaware about their political rights results lack of political awareness along with restriction on raising collective rights and controlled on partici-pation and representation in policy making (56-57). Collective efforts for demanding equal participation and equal access over state resources, Janajati align together establishing Adibasi Jana-jati Mahasang which plays important role to be heard from the state following protest ideology. Adibasi Janajati Mahasang stood as strong organization to bring awareness among the people and forced government to address their issues. This step of affirmative action brought reservations in the government and semi govern-ment sectors during enrollment in the services and providing scholarship. The issues of proportional representation are men-tioned in Interim Constitution forcing political parties to nomi-

nate individuals representing indigenous ethnic groups during election. This provision has given opportunities for indigenous ethnic group members to stand as a leader representing their political parties. Ethnic politics played important role on leadership development among indigenous ethnic groups.

Ethnicity in Nepal can be understood through different conflicting views in the eyes of native scholars. Those observing primordialist lines emphasized on group questions for identity especially belonging into the group. Views of high caste groups particularly expressing that ethnic upsurge is motivated to gain political and economic advantage under instrumental perspectives (Hachchethu, 2009; Magar, 2013;2014) and some stood between two. Some scholars blamed that all these movements are initiated and captured by the elite's of the community targeting for the economic benefits and some claimed that ethnic group movement is the mechanism to create imagined community within country (Anderson, 1983) with primordial thoughts. Some ethnic scholars claimed that all these movements emerged though the century's suppression, oppression and discriminatory policy and practices existed in the society (Bhattachan, 2005; Gurung, 2006 and Gurung, 2000; 2010). Hachchethu (2003,2009) sees social discrimination and inequality under caste system has become major issues to escalate ethnic politics in Nepal.

Ethnic politics in Nepal, initiated as the cultural development of the groups to protect their indigenous and traditional rights in the beginning turned towards rights claiming agency in the post 2006 second people's movement in Nepal. Based on the cultural codes, ethnonym they carry as group started aliening together for the ethnic collective rights. The collective efforts works as pressurizing government through road blockage and rallying as well as through advocacy programme to be heard for their existence for better policies targeting for their development. Reservation seats for the Public Service Commission within government and Service Commission within semi-government offices

brought some opportunities for the these deprived section of the society. Ethnic politics plays important role for recognizing the existence of ethnic groups and their future opportunities for the political participation and representation not only in the parliament but also in the government services although they have to face several obstacles while appearing and preparing for the examination (Sherpa, 2067).

Methodology

The data for this research is collected through rapid appraisal qualitative research method following exploratory and descriptive research design. Both primary and secondary data were collected as required by this study. Published and unpublished books, journals and articles were reviewed as required and primary data were collected from those individuals who were affiliated with indigenous ethnic association that were affiliated with Adibasi Janajati Mahasang. Findings are presented in report referring to person's lives, lived experiences, behaviors, emotions, organizational functioning, social and cultural phenomena that help them to affiliated with their *jatiya sanstha*, interactions and their political participation and representation.

Individuals were interviewed based on checklist to get required information as guidelines. Those members working as ethnic activists representing their social organizations are the unit of analysis of this research. Due to Constituent Assembly meeting, CA members are unable to interview despite of being failure to reach them with several attempts through telephone calls.

Indigenous ethnic leaders are also found affiliated with political parties besides their membership with social organizations. Some of them are directly affiliated with political parties whereas some of them have attracted towards the party ideologies are also included in this study. Politics plays prime role on moving forward ethnic politics. Some university caste and ethnic group students were also interviewed to get their opinion towards the pres-

ent ethnic politics and its impact in the ethnic participation and representation in the country. Among 59 Government identified indigenous ethnic groups; individuals were interviewed following the checklist research questions were prepared and some of them were discussed in groups to get the information about their perspectives. Interviews were set through telephone call. It was only possible to contact those who have their ethnic organization in Kathmandu although many of them were not easily available due to their heavy schedules. Those who were contacted were co-operatives and tried to answers according to their knowledge and understanding.

All these collected data are presented on tables and text to accomplish this research. Two research assistants were hired to support principal researcher. They helped on preparing open ended research questions, collecting information, arranging meeting, accomplish interview and collect secondary information.

Significance of this Study

Ethnic politics has helped indigenous ethnic groups to demand their rights collectively in the country. This collective efforts forced government to be flexible while providing opportunities on equal basis bringing it clearly on the national policies in different sectors. This study also analyzed the history of ethnic movement, their targets to access resources, their efforts to access over the political participation and representation in the country analyzing the impact of ethnic politics and its implementation. This study might be useful to all those academicians, politicians and ethnic leaders to analyze their situations in the country.

Limitations of the Study

Studying ethnic politics in the country is not a simple task that can be completed in a very short period of time. It needs a rigorous and continuous study to analyze those literature already published and to collect data covering all those indigenous ethnic

groups of Nepal. The limitation of this study appeared as unable to reach to all those individuals representing their organizations due to their busy schedules. Many of them are involved in many other organizations so we were only able to get their short interview. Conducting research on indigenous ethnic groups and their participation and representation appeared as huge challenges for this researcher. Many of them are living outside of Kathmandu and those who are living in Kathmandu are found affiliated with different organizations as doing their job for their livelihood since their affiliations with ethnic social organizations are voluntary. Their voluntary involvement works as responsibility to the organization carrying primordial thought to develop their society followed by the hidden instrumentalism thoughts targeting both individual and community goals.

The history of ethnic movements in Nepal

Introduction

The history of ethnic movement in Nepal can be studied on the ideology that is rooted into caste system based on Hindu religion with the concept of exclusion and inclusion. Hindu religion has been established as the main religion since from the establishment of Shah Dynasty through unification process by King Prithvi Narayan Shah followed by Rana Prime Ministerial rules. This issue was lying beneath the surface of Hindu rulers in the name of patriotism. This patriotism kept on silence during Rana regime when Junga Bahadur and his brother started pleasing British Colonial Authority by sending Nepalese youth to suppress the Indians resisting British Colonials writing fate of Nepalese with the title of *The Gurkha* (Magar,2013;14). 1950 Democracy declaration by King Tribhuvan B.B.Shah opened door for the Nepalese to feel the democracy. Democracy was controlled by King Mahendra bringing Panchayat political system that survived until 1990 people's movement that throws thirty years of Panchayat political system. This democracy opened door for many deprived groups to express their suffering of inequality with oppressive and suppressive behavior they faced in their daily lives from higher caste groups in the society. Educated ethnic academics initiated forming ethnic social organizations for the development of

their community groups. Awareness raising programme focused mainly on social disparity between high caste groups and other members in the society. Ethnic movement mainly focused on cultural development of the community group turns towards political right claiming organizations entering into the politics after 2006 second people's movement. Social exclusion and inclusion issues appeared among academicians and policy makers as a new emerging field to work for the development of deprived section of the society. In this process women, Dalits, ethnic groups, disables became visible working on the development of their groups. Many development workers got opportunities to work on social exclusion and inclusion issues. Many social scientist got chances to work on these issues disseminating their academic outcomes in the forms of journals and book. Many Non-Governmental organizations got works to bring awareness among the people they have targeted to uplift their society in grass root level. Behind this entire scenario, the initiative of supporting Nepali society through inclusive participation and representation of deprived section of the society was only possible with the support of International Bilateral Organizations launching programmes with financial support. Among them, Norwegian Embassy and SNV Nepal plays important role on enhancing social inclusion practices analyzing exclusive practices within the system. Huge numbers of information on minority groups were searched and surveyed. This issue helped many individuals to work as social inclusion and exclusion experts representing different groups (high caste, ethnic, Dalits and women). Social exclusion is taken as the main causes for economic, social and political disparity in the society (Tamang, 2014:3) by the ethnic leaders and academician in the country focusing towards the inclusive practices. Ethnic groups inventing and reviving their cultural codes for their group identification became ethnic symbols for cultural identity of the group turned towards right claiming activities for the inclusive participation. They demanded removal of those exclusionary practices

existed in the policy adding provisions of representation in bureaucratic positions, educational attainment, defining indigenous ethnic identity through promulgation of the constitution after 1990. The government of Nepal also became sensitive towards their demands by implementing some policies during recruiting in the government and educational field. To reach this level, ethnic politics became louder and visible after 2006 second peoples' movement that mainly focused on ethnic based autonomous region. Ethnic activists focused their goals towards ethnic based federalization again blaming Shah Dynasty with Hindu based caste system in Nepali society.

Caste System and its Impact Over Ethnic politics

In responses to the Islamization of northern India, and spread of Christianity later on, Nepal decided to protect itself from foreign domination by Hinduizing the state. Brahmin domination in the state structure became the *raison d'être* of the Nepalese state with its national identity rooted in the image of *Parbate* (hill) high castes and their mother tongue (*Parbate/Nepali*) (Gurung, 2006). Society was organized on the basis of a hierarchical caste system whose distinctive feature was exclusiveness based on ritual status with reference to marriage and diet. The *Muluki Ain* (Legal code of the country) of 1854 was a written version of social codes derived from the *Manusmriti* tradition. The classical *Varna* (order) model had four occupational categories: (1) Brahman as priest (2) Kshatriya as warrior (3) Vaishya as trader and (4) Sudra as servitudes with various occupations. Within these four verna model five hierarchical categories accommodate the tribal natives between the pure and impure castes (Gurung, 2006:11) as shown in Table 1.

The *Muluki Ain* (National Legal Code, 1854) formulated on the basis of Hindu orthodoxy was endorsed by State counselors who were mostly from *Parbate* (hill) high castes groups. Thus, caste hierarchy and internal status ranking was influenced by po-

litical considerations. The existing social equality in the society was further enhanced by the state ideology focusing on spatial diversity creating significant cultural, social and economic variety among those untouched by the development (Gurung, 2006) also creates discrimination and social exclusion.

Table No. 1. Caste Categories of Muluki Ain, 1854 A.D.

Hierarchy	Category	Social Group
A	Wearers of twice-born thread	Parbate (hill) upper castes (Brahmins, Chhetries and Khas), Newar Brahmin, Tarai Brahmin, Newar upper caste.
B	Non-enslavable (Alcohol drinkers)	Magar & Gurung (associated with Gorkhali Army, Sunuwar (Hinduised), Newar (non-Hindu)
C	Enslavable	Bhote (Buddhist), Chepang, Kumal & Hayu Ethnic minorities (Alcohol Drinkers), Tharu (Tarai ethnic groups), Gharti (progeny of freed slaves).
D	Impure-but touchable	Lower caste Newar, Muslim, Christian
E	Impure Untouchables	Parbate artisan castes, Newar scavenger castes

Source: Hooper, 2004; Annex-C, Gurung, 2006:11.

The access of high caste people in the decision making positions, social discrimination became entrenched in the policies. While comparing the involvement of high caste groups in formulation of Muluki Ain in 1954 and 1999 presented on table no.2. Dalits's condition was miserable and ethnic groups' presence were nominal in-comparison with high caste groups, the Newars and the Tarai people.

Table No. 2. Compositions of State Elites, 1854 and 1999.

Social Groups	1854		1999	
	Number	Percentage	Number	%
High caste (Hill)	166	78.3	1011	66.5
High caste Newar)	32	15.9	231	15.2
High caste (Tarai)	2	0.9	170	11.2
Ethnic groups	6	2.8	108	7.1
Dalit caste groups	- -	--	5	0.3
Others (Caste unidentifiable) -	6	2.8	-	-
Total	212	100	525	100

Source: Signatories of the *Muluki Ain*, 22 Dec. 1854 and G. Neupane, *Nepalma Jatiya Prasna*, Integrated National Index of Governance in Nepal, (2000:82).

The nominations to the committee based on education become a barrier for their presence since educational attainment is very poor among these groups. King Jayasthiti Raj Malla (1382-95) had already initiated caste system among Newars introducing sixty-four caste divisions in Kathmandu Valley. The sixty-four caste divisions among Newars have been argued as base on occupational differentiation rather than the *Verna* model of *Muluki Ain* (Gurung, 2006; Gray, 2011). *Muluki Ain* was established as legal code of the country on which all rules and regulation were promulgated. Representation in policy formulation depended upon the education the individual had attained and the position in government's competitive Public Service Commission Examinations played an important role in an individual's social mobility. Ethnic groups, being poorly represented in higher educational achievement were under-represented. Attaining higher education and commitments for competing for the public service commission stood as mirage for the majority

of the ethnic groups of the country since they are not absent on acquiring education with few exceptions. Two-thirds of the ethnic groups have literacy levels below the national average. On the other hand, certain caste groups are dominant in higher education (Gurung, 2006) due to their cultural capital of nurturing education as compared to indigenous ethnic groups. The school drop-out rates were higher among the latter. Many indigenous ethnic groups and Dalits are still struggling to complete their school education.

Table No.3. Candidates Passing Gazette Level* (Grade III) with percentage.

Caste/Ethnic Group	1984/85 N=472	1990/91 N=459	1994/95 N=1,014	2000/2001 N=185
Bahun/Brahman/Thakuri/Rajput/Chhetri	69.3	67.3	81.2	87.0
Newar	18.6	18.5	9.7	8.7
Madhesi (excluding Brahman, Rajput, Dalit)	8.5	10.2	5.5	3.2
Indigenous Nationalities (excluding Newar)	3.0	2.4	1.8	0.5
Muslim	0.6	0.9	0.4	0.5
Dalit -	-	0.7	0.2 -	-

Source: Subba & others, 2002, based on Bulletins of Public Service Commission, Table 49. (Gurung, 2006).

*Candidates passed in Civil Servants examination starting from third gazetted officers.

The preference for education is given among the higher caste groups targeting to become Civil Servants. Priorities are given for

the livelihood among the indigenous ethnic groups. Majority of them dropped out from high school education. Either they prefer to go as labor to foreign countries or migrated to the big city in search of work.

Table No. 4. Representations in Governance, 1999.

Institution	Hill High caste	Newar	Madhesi	Hill ethnic groups	Dalits	Total
Constitutional bodies	14	6	3	2	-	25
Council of Ministers	20	3	5	4	-	32
Judiciary	181	32	18	4	-	235
Legislature	158	20	46	36	4	265
Civil Administration	190	43	9	3	-	245
Political party leaders	97	18	26	25	-	166
DDC* chair/mayor	106	30	31	23	-	190
Civil society leaders	41	8	4	1	-	54
Total	808	160	142	98	4	1,212

Source: Adapted from Neupane, 2000, p.82 (Gurung, 2006).

* DDC: District Development Committee

Table 4. shows the representations of the groups in the government in 1999. This table explains the positional differences between high caste groups and other groups in the country through their representations in different government bodies. Majority of the powerful positions are covered by high caste groups followed

by the Newars. Madhesi hold the third and hill ethnic groups are in the fourth. Among them the Dalits are the least represented in government positions. All these positions are determined by the educational attainment and their commitment to sit for the Civil Servants Examinations.

School and certificate level educational attainments of these three broad social groups as to the proportion of their respective population is positive for caste and negative for ethnic and other groups. But the discrepancy becomes accentuated at higher levels as shown in above table. Only those who are able to graduate with an undergraduate degree can sit for the Gazette Level Examinations that is run by the Public Service Commission. The candidates passing Gazette Level Examinations from 1984 to 2001 shows that high caste groups have greater participation than ethnic groups.

Educational attainment plays important role over the individuals' capacity to understand and analyze the situation within the environment they are living in. Nepal Social Inclusion Survey 2012 (Gurung et.al, 2014) showed the data about the percentage of literate populations aged six years and above from pages 42-51 showed that 97-98 percent. Among them, Jain (98.4%), Marwadi (97.3%) and Kayatha(97.2%) have the highest level of literacy rate followed by Baniya(93%), Byasi(93%) and Rajput(91%) with quite lower rate out of 98 social groups covered within the study. Musahar, Kushbadiya and Dom stood among the lowest among the top lowest groups. Madhesi Brahmin and Chhetries covers forms 91.1% besides others covering 93.7% followed by Hill Brahmin (88.2%) and hill Chhetri (80.3%). Newars are 85.4% literate higher than Chhetris. In this research Mountain and Hill Janajati covers 78.5%. Madhise Dalits are lower literate percentage than Hill Dalits. Likewise, Byasi (97.2%), Gurung and Thakali with 94.8% each representing Hill/Mountain male ethnic groups among the literate top ten with Byasi women and Thakali women stood with 87.6% and 80.1%. The continuation

of the school attendance shows Brahmin and Chhetris, Newars and Tarai within others categories are highest school attendants with age five to twenty-five. Madhesi Brahmins (82.1%), Hill Brahmin (82.9%) highest school attended percentage in comparison with Terai Janajati (71.1%) and Mountain/Hill Janajati (69.1%) where Newars cover 77.5 percent of the total 71.3 total country population. Madhesi Brahmin/Chhetri(71.6%), Hill Brahmin(62.6%), Newars (57.1%) along with Chhetri (42.2%) are higher on population aged 18 above years completed at least eight grade. This also explain about the M/H Janajati (39.0%) and Terai Janajati (37.3%) with Muslims (23.3%) in lowest numbers, Hill dalit(24.7%) and Madhesi Dalit(11.8%).

Social Inclusion Atlas of Nepal: Demography, Health and Education vol.III (2014:3-14) shows that Brahmin/Chhetrees have the highest literacy rate (76.03%), while Musalmans have the lowest (43.56%). The literacy rate of Adibasi/Janajati is just above the national average (66.79%) followed by Madhesi Caste (55.49) and Dalits (52.48%). In relation with basic level education, secondary level educations (grade 9-12) also have highest percentage of Brahmins and Chhetries (38.95%). Dalits forms the lowest (14.81%). Madhesi caste covers 28%, Adibasi Janajati 26% and for the Musalman, 16.66%. Among the social sub groups, Hill Brahmins have the highest percentage (45.39%) while Madhesi Dalits as lower (12.71%). Newars stood as the second (44%) followed by the Madhesi Brahmins (43.8%), Hill Chhetries form (34.16%), other Madhesi castes forms (26.86%), Hill Janajati (26.22%), Terai Janajati (26.18%), and Hill Dalits (15.37%). Tertiary Education as Higher education (Bachelors Degree and above) plays important role on peoples' qualification for getting job and earns for their livelihood. According to the census (2011) 616,176 peoples have bachelor's degree or higher level qualifications covering 4.2% of the total population. Among them 352,036(6.1%) Brahmins and Chhetries have studied at bachelors or higher level whereas, Madhesi, AdibasiJanajati, Dalits and

Musalman are 72,855(3.83%), 72011(1.58%), 9456(0.63%) and 7491(1.81%) respectively. Within the sub groups, Madhesi Brahman cover 12.34% as the highest, Hill Brahman hold second highest position with 10.3% followed by Newars (9.88%), Hill Chhetrees (3.87%), other Madhesi castes (3.03%), Hill Janajati (1.63%), Terai Janajati(1.44%) and Madhesi Dalits(0.72%). This affected on the professional occupational involvement with poor results. This data clearly showed that Adibasi Janajati including Terai Janajati, both hill and Terai Dalits and Musalman (religious minority) are deprived due to exclusionary system within Nepali social and economic system is still not able to stand as equal as high caste groups in the country.

Due to having lower educational attainment, many indigenous ethnic groups are demanding for equal opportunities and access to scholarships provided by the government. They express their demands through street rallies, demonstrations and road blocked strikes. The government of Nepal started giving attention to indigenous ethnic groups and Dalits' demands by bringing changes in policy formulation by encouraging participation and representation of indigenous ethnic groups in every levels of the government structure. People from caste and indigenous ethnic students, political leaders, government and non-government officers expressed that reservation is essential for those deprived groups for a certain period of time until they become capable to compete with others. Whereas, some argue that reservation system is captured by some elites of the groups who benefited from this system. Some people argue that majority of Adibasi/Janajati seats are captured by the Newars. Newars are highly educated among Adibasi/Janajati and they are able to access the state resources under the reservation since their social, economic conditions are much better than other groups except their political participation.

People have become aware about their fundamental rights provided by the constitution. They are becoming aware and criti-

cal towards the exclusionary practices structurally existed under the government system forced government to stressed development management based on people's inclusive participation, social accountability and transparency granting people's right to public information (Gurung et. al.2014). The Good Governance Act (2008) demanded public administration to be pro-people, accountable, transparent, responsive, participatory and inclusive. Several guidelines and procedures are implemented as tools for accountability for the promotion of the good governance. The good governance is associated group's involvement on government and non government job besides access to other financial social groups. M/H Janajati are the fourth lowest group who has access to financial institution by social groups. Local level jobs in VDCs, Municipalities, DDCs and other government line agencies, pertinent institutions for governance is rare places for Janajati to have access as social groups. It is also captured by the Madhesi B/C (29.1%), Newars (26.3%), Hill Chhetri (21.5%) and Hill Brahmin (15.8%) where Janajati cover 8.4% besides Hill and Madhesi Dalits and Muslims. Janajati access on user groups stood as four positions after hill Dalits. The empowerment programme with prioritization helped on increasing their participation. They are still facing some experience of discrimination in access to public services by social groups' category besides Dalits.

Janajati inclusion into political process showed about their participation in their customary politics by social groups in informal politics through customary practices and formal politics focusing on political parties. The culturally built customary practices are commonly found among some castes and ethnic groups in the country like Guthi of Newar, Bheja of Magars, Dhikur of Thakali, Badghar/Bhalmansa of Tharu, Majhihadam/Gachhadar of the Santhals etc. formally registered with government are working as modern institutions specifically taking up identity based issues. Newars (79%) forms the largest percentage having this institution besides Terai Janajati (69.7%) besides Madhesi

other caste (48.8%) and Madhesi Dalit(43.3%). In this matter, Hill Dalits (3.9%), Hill Chhetri (4.8%), Madhesi B/C(7.9%) and Hill Brahmin(9.9%) are the lower percentage on practicing customary politics. Even though these customary practices are practiced highly by other groups, they are registered by the high caste groups than Janajati. Due to having education and aware, high caste groups are found highly involved in NGO/CBOS in comparison with ethnic groups. Chhetris hold the highest position followed by the Brahmins, Janajati and Newars in decision making post of NGOs/CBOs. Newars, Terai Janajati, Madhesi B/C and Brahmins are found highly involved in right based organizations. The domination of Hill Brahmin, Hill Dalits, and Hill Chhetri are apparent in the public spheres regarding local governance.

The knowledge about the formal political issues on federalization, republicanism, proportional representation, reservation and identity politics are also found higher among these dominant groups. The awareness among the Janajati is found poor in comparison with above mention group. Representation in decision making position in political parties, participation in political movements and voting the last election (CA-1 election 2008) in which Janajati only hold 2.2 percent where majority is hold by Madhesi B.C (3.9%) and Hill Chhetries (3.9%).

Awareness on political participation and representation of indigenous ethnic groups are possible through their affiliation with their ethnic social organization, user groups committee and with political party wings and sister organization.

Constructing Indigenous Ethnic identity in Nepal

Indigenous ethnic movements became visible in Kathmandu after the 1990 peoples' movement. Due to government restrictions on establishing indigenous ethnic social organizations, ethnic social gatherings were limited to informal organizations focusing on the development of language and culture of the group strengthening social bonds among community members. This initiative was

limited within groups during Panchayat period. Adibasi Janajati were suppressed and oppressed since the beginning of eighteenth century with the beginning of Shah Dynasty. No rulers ever tried to mainstream them by addressing their issues of deprivation. The servitude position forced them to stay and serve their rulers. Due to the suppression and dissatisfaction towards the discriminatory system, many individuals put their efforts to bring changes by revolting against the ruler sacrificing themselves individually and collectively.

Pallo Kirat Limbu people's movement against the language domination in 1778 A.D, Tamangs peoples' of Nuwakot revolted for the autonomy, Rais of Bhojpur movement against encroachment of their land in 1808 A.D, Suk Dev Gurung from Lamjung's movement for autonomy in 1858 A.D, revolt of Lakhan Thapa of Gurkha against Junga Bahadur Rana in 1876 A.D, Supati Gurung's revolt against Rana rulers in 1977 A.D in Gurkha, Dashain boycott revolt in Dhankuta in same year, the movement against Nepali rulers for destroying Buddhist religious books in 1885 A.D, Kirat revolt on Kipat abolishment in 1964 A.D, Language movement in 1965 by Newars in Kathmandu, Chepang Kisan movement in 1975 A.D, and movement for language rights by Newars of Kathmandu and Limbus of Panchthar in 1988 A.D are the main roots of historical ethnic movement in Nepal which helps on to promote on ethnic, social, cultural, linguistic, religious and economic rights (Gurung, 2067). Lakhan Thapa, Suk Dev Gurung and 1924 A.D of Newars' revolt against rulers in Nepal is taken as the history of ethnic movement in Nepal. With initiation of some individuals focusing on protecting language and culture of the ethnic group, many indigenous ethnic organizations were already born after declaration of democracy by King Tribhuvan. Tharu Kalyankari Sang (1951), Gurung Kalyankari Sanga (1954), Nepal Magar Sangh (1955), Nepal Tamang Samiti (1955) were established although they were not able to work

effectively due to restriction of group gatherings by the state with statement of national security issues. The referendum held in 1979-80 opened door for the ethnic movement and ethnic politics institutionalized. Newars started celebrating New Year called Vintuna. Khagendra Jung Gurung, Bakhansing Gurung, Padma Sundar Lawati and M.S. Thapa Magar established Mongol Sangh Morcha and demanded ethnic based autonomous region but this Morcha was unable to move forward due to victory of the Panchayat political system. SETAMAGURALI (Sherpa, Tamang, Magar, Gurung, Rai, Limbu) stood as discourses that was first published by Desantar Saptahik News papers. Gore Bahadur Khapangi also ignored about the existence of this organization many social and political organizations emerged after referendum focusing on linguistic and cultural development of the ethnic community targeting for the ethnic rights. Sarbajatiya Manch established under the chairmanship of Sitaram Tamang, Mongol Rastriya Sangh under the chairmanship of Gopal Gurung, Rastriya Janamukti Morcha under the chairmanship of M.S. Thapa Magar, Khambuwan Mukti Morcha by Gopal Khambu and Akhil Nepal Janajati Sammelan by Pari Thapa ethnic political organization that carried ethnic identity issues. Besides this, Manka Khal, Langhali, Tamudhi, Nepal Tamang Ghedung, Thakali Sewa Samiti, Kirat Rai Yayokka, Kirat Yakthum Chumlung, Sunuwar Sewa Samaj, Sherpa Sangh were established as ethnic organization immediately after referendum which focused on ethnic language, culture and religious protection (Gurung, 2067). After 1990 multi party democracy, increasement of awareness among the people with the fundamental rights provided by the constitution, indigenous ethnic group alliance together for the common ethnic issues and rights establishing Nepal Adibasi Janajati Mahasang with the initiation of eight ethnic groups. UN Declaration of World Indigenous Year was one of the major supports for the indigenous ethnic group to work collectively for the develop-

ment, protection of their language, culture and cultural heritages getting support from international support. NEFIN was able to bring ethnic definition through the Lapsiphedi conference. They were able to pressurize for the establishment of department that works for the Janajati within government structure. Rastriya Janajati Bikash Samiti was formed under Ministry of Local Development. Collective voices of NEFIN and their involvement forced government to establish National Foundation for the Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN) in 2002. This organization works on defining Jat and jati that helps to shows the differences between caste and ethnic groups (Gurung, 2006). This conforms to the linguistic connection of *jat* being subsidiary to *jati* and reflects well with the reality of *Jat* dominance in Nepal. *Jat* or caste refers to social groups with internal hierarchy and *Jati/Janajati* is differentiated on the basis of mother tongue, religious tradition and native area. In other words, *Jat* (caste) groups are vertically stratified according to ritual status while *Jati* (ethnic) groups are differentiated by culture and space (Gurung, 1998, CBS, 2001:35, Gurung (2000); Bhattachan (2000).

Indigenous ethnic movement is seen as the product of political-economic deprivation based on the four *Varna* systems in Nepal. They are struggling for equality through the democratic process constructing their separate group identity among others in the country. These movements were organized by indigenous elites based on histories and their life experiences. Their sufferings, suppression and oppression given by high caste groups in the past were used to demand remedy for their deprivation from using the state resources in the country. Deprivation based on social exclusion from enjoying the state resources is given more preferences in these movements. Their experience of being excluded from enjoying equal opportunities as others under the Hindu caste system is given more emphasized. All indigenous

ethnic¹ and disadvantaged groups² collectively demanded for equal participation and representation in the country after restoration of democracy in the 1990. The 1990 new constitution assured multi-ethnic and multilingual society. The new constitution allowed opportunities for indigenous ethnic groups to work collectively for demanding religious secularism. The constitution allowed all indigenous ethnic and disadvantaged groups to establish social organizations in the name of the group focusing on social and cultural development of their particular ethnic groups including language. Interactions with other indigenous ethnic groups enhanced their analytical skills to analyze their situation and search for future opportunities. The struggle for their group identity emerged primarily focusing over the development of culture and language of the community groups. These movements mostly targeted self identification using cultural codes directly related to their language, dress codes and demanding for declaration of ethnic national holiday on their main ethnic festival separately.

This formalization process occurred following Nepal being declared as multi-ethnic, multicultural and multilingual, democratic, independent, sovereign Hindu and Constitutional Monarchy (Gellner, 2008:6). Major eight ethnic groups initiated (Magar, Gurung, Newar, Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Sherpa, and Sunuwar) alliance by founding the *Nepal Janajati Mahasang*

¹ The ethnic groups of Nepal are defined as indigenous ethnic groups by the NFDIN, the government unit under the Ministry of Local Development in 2002 with consultation of indigenous ethnic activists and intellectuals of Nepal.

² Disadvantaged and deprived groups are known to be socially, economically and politically deprived groups such as Dalits (scheduled caste), women, indigenous ethnic groups, minorities and disabled of the society. The concept of scheduled caste in Nepal denotes former untouchables as different from the Indian system in which all indigenous ethnic groups along with lower castes are incorporated under the category of scheduled castes and tribes.

(National Federation of Indigenous Nationalities) in 1991. This was the process of self-claimed federation of the indigenous ethnic groups initiated for collective demands. NEFIN formed a committee in response to the UN in December of 1993 for declaring to celebrate the Indigenous Decade in March 1994. The definition of indigenous people refers to those communities that have the following characteristics who are not under the category of Hindus³ in Nepal (Gellner, 2008; Gurung, 2010; Bhattachan, 2000; 2005). Those groups with distinct linguistic and cultural traditions following animism, claimed not to be Hindu; descendants of the people whose ancestors had established themselves as first settlers or principle inhabitants in any part of the land falling within the territory of modern state (Nepal), or who inhabitants of [sic] the present territory of Nepal at the time when persons of different culture or ethnic origins arrived there with their own history (written or oral); displaced from their own land for the last four centuries particularly during the expansion and establishment of modern Hindu nation state and have been deprived of their traditional rights to own the natural resources (*Kipat* {communal land}, cultivable land, water, minerals, trading etc.); subjugated in the State's political power set-up (decision-making process), whose ancient culture, language and religion are non-dominant and social values neglected; traditionally erected society on the principle of egalitarianism—rather than the hierarchy of the Indo-Aryan caste system and gender equality (or rather women enjoying more advantageous positions)—rather than social, economic and religious subordination of women, but whose social norms and values have been slighted by the state; who formally or informally, admit or claim to be “the indigenous people of Nepal” on the basis of the aforementioned characteristics.

³ Hindus are follower of the Hindu religion especially from Aryan race living under a stratified social system (Indigenous Voices, 1994: 2-3).

The concept of indigeneity was adopted after joining the UN Resolution Forum with the declaration of World Indigenous years 1993. Indigenous ethnic identity issues were started in Nepal after getting support internationally. Based on internal standard, the definition of Indigenous ethnic people of Nepal was defined from 1994 Lapsifedi convention and included in Constitution of Janajati Mahasang, 2047 (Gurung, 2010:16-17). Based on this constitution, social, cultural, linguistic and religion focused movement continue on moving forwards forced government to form steering committee under the coordination of Prof. Santa Bahadur Gurung for drafting Adibasi Janajati Utthan Rastriya Pratisthan. This committee prepared draft report along with 61 enlisted Janajati for the recognition. Government formed Rastriya Janajati Bikash Samiti in 1997 under Ministry of Local Development to work on Janajati issues when incapable to promulgate the given Act on time. The continuation of Janajati movement forced government to promulgate Adibasi Janajati Utthan Rastriya Pratisthan Ain in 2002. This Act identified 59 indigenous ethnic groups removing Manange and adding Tin Gaule Thakali merging Chimtan and Thintan as identified indigenous ethnic groups of Nepal. After recognition of these fifty-nine indigenous ethnic groups formally, many other groups also came on existence demanding to be distinct and different from others with having different language and culture. Among them, some groups that were enlisted within Rai (Kulung, Bahing, Loharung, Yamphu, Nachiring, Athapahariya and Bantawa) demanded to be enlisted as separate group from Rai due to having different language, culture and territory.

The issues of enlisting new groups were demanded by Ghale from Gurung, Jyapu from Newar, Pun from Magar, Pode from Newar, Rana from Tharu, Balami and Karmarong demanding to be enlisted as separate group continuously. This forced Nepal government to identify the basic measures of Janajati identification, enlisting Janajati groups based on their social and econom-

ic condition under the coordination of Prof. Dr. Om Gurung (Gurung, 2010).

This high commission working committee was formed which works on identification of Janajati living in different parts of Nepal based on international criteria, national situation and the feeling of Janajati movement, common language with main feelings, common culture, traditional economic livelihood, common geography, common written-unwritten history, relations with land and exclusion from national politics. This commission identified and enlisted 81 indigenous ethnic groups in Nepal. Gurung admitted that Adibasi Janajati movement started turning towards ethnic identity issues along with their representative issues for their equal participation in the country. International Labor Organization Convention 169 (ILO, 169) had become the main mantra for the development of Indigenous Ethnic Nationalities in Nepal. Discourses over this ILO 169 opened opportunities for many indigenous ethnic and non-indigenous individuals to work as experts for doing advocacy for the group in the programming. Due to insensitiveness of major political parties towards indigenous ethnic people, NEFIN and Unified Indigenous Ethnic Struggle Committee continue their movement pressurizing government and political parties of the country. Proportional representation based on ethnic population with application of proportionate electoral system was main agenda of ethnic movement. Under the pressure of ethnic movement and international community government of Nepal was compelled to be ready for agreement with NEFIN and Unified Ethnic Struggling committee. This twenty point agreement opened door for proportional electorate system with representation of the minority addressing in the constitution. This agreement is taken as a huge step for the indigenous ethnic groups. Based on this agreement, ethnic movement plays important role on disseminating information through campaigning for the indigenous ethnic representation in all political parties. This brought huge result with the elect-

ed and nominated 219 Ethnic Constituent Assembly members representing different political parties covering 36 percent representation of the total 601 Constituent Assembly members who cover 240 elected members, 335 as proportional representative members and 26 nominated by the President. This helps many indigenous ethnic individuals to develop their individual capacity which they would have never able to achieve easily without this movement as result of the present second Constituent Assembly that nominated indigenous ethnic individuals who are fully devoted to the party politics.

NEFIN, working as pressure group also plays important role on establishing NFDIN. NFDIN Steering Council members representing 59 indigenous ethnic social organizations in Nepal plays important role on identifying ethnic groups in Nepal. NFDIN works to eradicate disparities meted out to the nationalities in the economic, social, and cultural development of the nation through research and protection of the cultural heritage of the nationalities. This was expected to bring improvement in their capabilities through empowerment in the field of economic, social and community activities, to involve the nationalities in the national development by enhancing their knowledge and skills to improve their access to national resources by means of professional modernization. NEFIN became critical on the government steps towards ethnic issues. Ethnic scholars criticize CBS census taking careless and biased process affecting indigenous ethnic groups of Nepal. NEFIN works as common forum to express their collective demands. They raised different issues that incorporated disparity against ethnic groups of Nepal. They also targeted the Census taking system not favorable towards ethnic group's populations. The first 1952/54 census was unable to cover all aspect of ethnic groups missing religion and languages. Caste and ethnicity only came into existence for the first time in the 1991 Census (Gurung, 2005; Gurung et.al. 2006; CBS, 2008: 86). The 2001 Census spokes about caste and ethnicity issues including language and religion. Enumeration of

2001 census documented 103 castes and ethnic groups with 92 languages which increase up to 125 caste and ethnic groups with 123 languages (CBS,2011).

The Establishment of the National Foundation for the development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN) was the first milestone for the indigenous ethnic groups of Nepal. Recognition and legalization for indigenous ethnic groups has given them an opportunity to stand for their right to self development in social, political and cultural aspects. The legalization of this Foundation not only provided authenticity over the indigenous ethnic groups of Nepal but also brought clear categorization of the groups, and their social and economic position in the country. Information about these people was disseminated through media where the most endangered groups were given priority for protecting their genes (case of *Raja mama⁴ of Kusunda*) and their cultural habitat⁵ and rights to roam freely in the forests for the Raute the nomads.

In this process of group identification many groups sought for separate identification. NFDIN became the only government institution for dealing on indigenous ethnic identification issues. It dealt with problems regarding indigenous ethnic issue by receiving applications from different groups in the country. Many new groups emerged when the government identified fifty-nine indigenous ethnic groups. The government policy on providing reservation on attaining education in the university, sitting for the Service Common examination under Tribhuvan University and

⁴ NFDIN has found only one unmarried man under the endangered group called Raja mama from Kusunda. NFDIN searched a girl for him to marry, provided land and support for his monthly living for protecting his group.

⁵ Route (the nomads), Chiefs were brought to Kathmandu. They were given audience by King Gyanendra and Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal “Pradchanda”. The famous statement Raute gave to the King was, “You are the king of Nepal, and we are the king of the Jungle. Let us live and roam in the Jungle freely for our living”. Rautes are supported financially when they enter urban areas through government initiative especially NFDIN.

Public Service Commission examination entering for the gazette level examination also opened door for many deprived sections of the society along with ethnic groups in the country.

Indigenous Ethnic Groups and Political Impacts

The establishment of an indigenous ethnic federation was to work collectively for demanding equal participation and representation in the parliament and access over the state resources on an equal basis. Politics became vital for every social organization. All individuals attached to indigenous ethnic social organization are found affiliated with political parties from the central to grassroots levels. The trademark of individual identification of ethnic group activists is to be linked to a political party associated with an ideology. Political affiliation is apparent among every individual within every indigenous ethnic and social organization. People within social organizations are divided by their different political ideologies. Affiliation with political ideologies and political parties has caused rifts and suspicion among members of indigenous ethnic social organizations. The majority of the members affiliated to a political ideology could work harmoniously avoiding those members affiliated to an opposition party's political ideology. Political ideologies and associated parties enable members of an indigenous ethnic organization to work with all others in Nepal. Members with different political ideologies who may become organized due to their political association are excluded during this course. Even though their membership is assured, their participation is limited to remaining as non-members of the executive committee.

Each ethnic group organization is attempting to have their entire executive committee members sharing a single political orientation than having executives belonging to different political parties. As executive committee members in each ethnic organization are elected, members of the same political parties are supported to bring about a majority. Those who are affiliated

with other political parties are also elected as committee members but they are kept out from participating in major decisions. At times, there are negotiations for the positions and manipulations to bring majority within the committee that brings balance within the members in ethnic organizations (Magar, 2013;2014). The nominations of the chairperson among indigenous ethnic groups, women, youths and students are all controlled by the political party that has the greatest number of members in an ethnic group. It seemed that they are strongly committed towards political parties rather than their community groups during elections but in some ethnic social organizations priority is given for the social organization coming into consensus among the members negotiating with certain key posts and inclusive participation through their individual will.

Political party plays an important role on nominations and withdrawals of candidates during elections for the executive committees in these organizations. Even leadership positions within the NFDIN are recommended by the committee of the Federation of Indigenous Nationalities who share the same political orientation. These positions are filled by members who have contributed to their political parties. These political positions are filled depending upon the holding of political positions in the government by the major political parties. The issue of 'we' and 'others' based on political orientation is prevalent within each indigenous ethnic social organization based on political orientation. Bargaining and negotiations are common for both elected and nominated members affiliated with different political parties. In this process games are played by members using their power and position in creating favorable situations to bring in their members belonging to the same political parties. The casting of votes by members representing the districts depends upon the political party they are affiliated with. This has created competition between members of different political parties within the same community group. Political party affiliations also play an important role during elections

of committee members at social organization. Often, it is viewed and participated in as if they are participating in national political party elections. Social organizations have become the platforms for all indigenous ethnic activists to exercise their political power to be identified as an upcoming political leader from their own communities representing different political parties. These activities and positions help in creating better opportunities especially in attaining political positions in their political parties on the basis of indigenous ethnic groups. Exclusion and inclusion thus can be observed within each ethnic group's social organization based on political affiliations. The majority of the members are brought together from their network of members from the same political party. The theory of kin selection is minimized as a consequence of seeking members from the same political party. As people related by clan and kinship join different political parties, the selection for the ethnic cadres is based on political party affiliation and their involvement with the organization along with their kinship relation (Magar: 2013; 2014).

The euphoria of leading their indigenous ethnic social organizations as leaders is also linked up with their instrumental, affective and moral commitments as they enable them to hold positions in political parties. Powerful positions within community social organizations have created a new stratum of political ethnic elites. Some of these elites become powerful if their political party attracts numerous members from their own ethnic group. Members of smaller political parties become the minority within their ethnic organizations. They are easily excluded through the election process. If anyone manages to reach the executive committee level, they are easily excluded from all the important sub-committees in the ethnic organization. They are excluded despite their participation without giving any responsibility or opportunity to play an active role.

Affiliation with political parties plays an important role for people being recommended by the committee members for at-

tending programmes and meetings as representing the group. They are tagged as *afnomanche* (*our man*) (Bista, 1994) rather than *their expertise*. Individuals with different political party affiliation (taken as ‘not our man’) are hardly recommended by the ethnic social organization. Although instrumental and affective commitment among members is maintained within a community, it is conditioned by other factors. The involvement of the members is visible in celebrating ethnic festivals together but competition for the positions is visible during elections.

Ethnic conflicts were never expected in Nepal when Bista (1991) wrote about “Fatalism and Development” reflecting on indigenous ethnic issues of Nepal for the first time. The efforts of intellectuals and activists from different deprived groups such as women, indigenous ethnic groups and Dalits are being addressed in the Constitution of Nepal as part of mainstreaming political issues. In this process, the government has initiated separate provisions for women, indigenous ethnic groups and Dalits in government positions along with political representation in the parliament.

Indigenous ethnic movements escalated by the ten years Maoist conflict, have helped to further demand for equal participation and representation by women, ethnic groups and Dalits. The Constituent Assembly opened the doors in politics for all deprived groups. It was initiated by the Maoist Political party to support them to represent the deprived group through their participation in elections. In the name of inclusion, Dalits, indigenous ethnic groups and women were given opportunity for equal representation by the Maoist political party. It forced other political parties to be flexible in promoting indigenous ethnic group membership were visible.

Indigenous ethnic women and youths

All indigenous ethnic group associations have their own women and students associations as their sister organizations. They

work on developing their groups through their activities under the particular ethnic social organization constitution. Each ethnic sister organization alliance together and formed federation in district levels for district level participation which support on their social and personal development Indigenous ethnic women play an important role in making the activities of ethnic group organizations successful. Their participation during road blocks against the government, attending street rallies and marches and celebrating indigenous ethnic days bring identity and crowds to the ethnic movement. Their wearing of colorful indigenous ethnic dresses in printed '*lungi*' saron, colorful waistbands, blouses and ornaments publicize their ethnic groups as unique and different. Males also wear their ethnic group dresses especially at rallies and programs but in lesser numbers than women. Women wearing colorful dresses and ornaments appearing on the street reflect the increased level of awareness of their identity to others.

The existence of the Federation of Indigenous Ethnic Women's Associations reflects their active participation during programmes run by NEFIN. Often the Executive Committee of the Federation of Indigenous Ethnic Women's Associations is seen as an extension supporting the Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities. The members of the committee are also elected and nominated based on their involvement and their political affiliations within ethnic social organizations. Males of certain indigenous ethnic groups affiliated with certain political parties stand as their backup affiliated with the same political party during election of the committee members. Having a separate women's federation is established as an argument for allowing women to form the thirty-three percent of the positions within the NEFIN is not very seriously taken. Women are also divided by different political parties where they are generally guided by males of their own communities affiliated with similar political parties. Group collectivities is the main theme of their movement although po-

litical affiliation plays an important role during elections and being nominated to certain positions.

Likewise, indigenous ethnic youths also have a national federation. Youths are nominated and elected based on political affiliations while representing a community group that is affiliated to a party. Each individual, while representing a community group is also having a political affiliation. 'Ours' and 'not ours' are also prevalent among indigenous ethnic youths as well. Based on the political affiliations, 'we' or 'others' are constructed within youths' circles.

Programmes are run collectively for the collective voices. Youths like adults are also divided. These youths are given opportunities based on their affiliation with political parties through their networking. They share in both being a member of an indigenous ethnic group as well as a party member while strengthening their network for future opportunities.

Ethnic Politics and its Impact on Ethnic Political Participation

Nepal is in a political transition phase with thirty years of autocratic Panchayat political system to multi party system with declaration of Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal. This help to bring immense political awareness among the people of Nepal. All those deprived section of the society, participated during the people's movement also found this situation more favorable to bring their issues through demands with logic of inequality and deprived situation structured by the state. The level of awareness was escalated by the ten years of Maoist's conflict in which many of them were affected directly and indirectly along with the 2006 second people's movement called *dosro janaandolan*. This *janaandolan* plays important role to alliance all political parties and forced the king to handover people's right into their own hands. It was a huge achievement for the political party to rule the country through their collation and declared Federal Democratic Republican with religiously secular state.

People who supported to bring democracy became aware about their situation started demanding equal participation and representation in the country as equal as others. Among them, indigenous ethnic groups, with established social organization, alliance together and established Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFIN). Ethnic leaders who are affiliated

with their own ethnic social organizations are practicing political culture within their organization get more chances when they are affiliated with NEFIN. NEFIN works as the main organization to raise voices for their rights in collective forms. Their collective efforts evidenced on demanding for equal participation and representation in every sector of the development. To have equal access over the state resources, equal participation and representation policy was demanded realizing their in-competencies to compete with others who have traditional culture of attaining education and joining into the bureaucratic positions in the county. They used protest ideology method to be visible in-front of the government rallying on the street, road blocking and disseminating their demand through print capitalism (Anderson, 1983) publishing books, articles, palm plates and posters. Cultural development to identify oneself as separate groups through cultural codes incorporated ethnic based autonomous regions as their identification agenda. This issue brought huge discourses among the politicians representing different political ideology before first Constituent Assembly. Ethnic movement demanding for equal participation and representation forced all political party leaders to think about nominating their cadres from these groups representing their political party. No matter whether they were affiliated with indigenous ethnic groups' social organization or not, many of them got opportunity to participate in this Constituent Assembly election in 2008. Many candidates representing different indigenous ethnic groups and Dalits were given tickets to stand for the elections. Many of them were elected through direct elections whereas; significant numbers were nominated under proportional representation from their political party and stood as representation of their own ethnic and Dalit groups' indirectly. In the name of participation and proportional representation, women candidates were nominated from disadvantaged and marginalized groups. Their participation and representation help them to develop their individual and group

qualities. Many of them representing different indigenous ethnic groups were felicitated by ethnic social organizations with pride. The moments of felicitation with speech from Constituent Assembly members brought some commitments to the group as the member of the community establishing imagined community concept that forced them to declare to support the organization as the member of the community. With their presence both individual and groups earn good names under the ethnic group identity recognition. The irony of this group attachment is that very few CA members representing in CA Assembly were nominated for both direct and proportional representation have less members in ethnic social organization. The present situation helped community group to take pride to have someone representing their group in the parliament and the individual fully affiliated with political party. Impact of indigenous ethnic movement initiated by NEFIN plays important role among indigenous ethnic CA members. The demand of fourteen ethnic based autonomous region unaccepted by Nepali Congress and Unified Marxist-Leninist (UML) brought six and seven (mono-ethnic) regional entities on which eight has been accepted recently with consensus among the major political parties. NEFIN played a vital role in pressuring indigenous CA members forming indigenous CAUCUS to incorporate the rights of indigenous people in the new constitution. Federalism became a politically agreed agenda, but it polarized the position of the political parties and made the negotiations in the CA confrontational.

Those political parties along with Maoist political party stood as supporting ethnic based autonomous regions whereas, Nepali Congress, Unified Marxist and Leninist political party along with some other small parties stood against this demand. Many raised issue on dividing the country with possible conflict between the citizens of Nepal. Major political parties initiated federalism based on language and geography rather than ethnic based autonomous region. Some raise issues with capability at-

tached with identity criteria rather than ethnic based autonomous region with anticipation of promoting conflict among the groups. This situation with demand of ethnic based autonomous region stood strong until Maoist political party rule the government and started losing its essence when other coalition political party runs the government. Due to not being able to write constitution after extending its time, Constituent Assembly was dissolve in 12 May, 2012.

The second election of Constituent Assembly brought unexpected results in direct and proportional representation. Legally, representation of women must cover thirty-three percent, 37.8 percent indigenous ethnic groups, 31.2 Madhesi, 13 percent Dalits and 4 percent of disadvantaged community along with 30 percent of Khas Aryans. The result shows that majority hold by Chhetries and Brahmans under direct election. The rules mainly brought opportunities to those relatives of the political leaders through proportional representation seats. Representations of disadvantaged groups decreased. The first Constituent Assembly provided space for Adibasi Janajati with 37.2 percent along with 50 Dalits. Women were represented with 32.78 percent with 197 numbers. In comparison with first Constituent Assembly, representation of women, Janajati, Madhesi, Dalits and disadvantaged community are lesser in numbers in the second Constituent Assembly which promote Khas and Aryans' representation especially through proportional representation.

Many deprived groups analysts expressed that, getting ticket for the election take good coverage over the candidates forced candidate to accept the decision. Many candidates are given seats in those constituencies where the candidate from other political party has strong hold, result loosing in the elections. Politics of election also plays important role on mutual understanding attaching with slogans during campaigning. In this political transition phase, some used religious slogans that attached with their party agenda; some used regional issues as

by Madhesi' and some used ethnic issues following ethnic based ideology. Ethnic based autonomous region created some insecurity among the caste groups. Alliance with caste groups of different political parties as well as sentiments plays important role for the holding majority by two Major political parties. Maoist political party stood as third major political party in the country. Nepali Congress and CPNUML becoming major political party were anticipated to win due to the strategy of influencing the voter on hitting on the hot nails when heated. This was fuelled up with the aggressive expressions and activities of ethnic groups demanding for ethnic based autonomous region with street rally, road blocks and concept of *agradhikar*. It was common among the youths with the saying that, *ek gachi lai, ek bachi lai* (one for tree and other for cow), *ek gai lai, ek dai lai* (one for cow and other for elder brother¹). The rest 26 members among 601 have not been nominated yet. In this regard, Supreme Court brought the issues of inclusive representation and gave decisions to nominate 26 members from those members who were not nominated for the direct and proportional representation during election. The given table shows the situation of people representing their groups based on direct and proportional representation besides 26 members.

¹ Gachi means tree, a symbol of Nepali Congress, democratic political system, bachi means cow, symbol of Rastriya Prajatantra party, gai means cow and Dai means elder brother, for Bisheshor P.Koirala, leader of Nepali Congress.

Table No. 5. CA members elected in II Constituent Assembly in 2013 and their representation in group basis.

S.N.	Groups	Representation	Expected percentage
1.	Women	171 (28%)	198(33%)
2.	Adibasi Janajati	173 (28%)	222(37.8%)
3.	Madhesi	161(20%)	187(31.2%)
4.	Dalits	42(7%)	78(13%)
5.	Disadvantaged region	21(3.5%)	24(4%)
6.	Khas/Aryan and others	229(36%)	180(30%)

Source: online Khabar based on election commission report, 2014.

In spite of the ethnic group demanding for the equal participation and representation in the country, the second CA election brought the results of the presented table that Khas/Aryan and other groups have more representation than the allocated percentage. It covers, six percent representation of the high caste groups showed that the leaders in political party with high domination of high caste groups became more sensitive about ethnic based autonomous regions. The dissatisfactions among ethnic group members forced them to leave the party to join with other political party with like minded similar ideological groups formed political party. Only those who were devoted with party politics without raising ethnic issues were given tickets. The results of the election show that some members were given constituency with minimal chances to win while competing with candidates representing other political party. Many strong indigenous ethnic leaders representing different political party managed to win were taken as the successful candidates within political party. Previous CA member formed CAUCUS. Formation of CAUCUS brought strong disagreement among ethnic

member with in party structure. This created formation of ethnic issue focused political party that attracted significant numbers of people as political party members. Major political party took decisions not to have CAUCUS to avoid ethnic disturbances and declared party whip that CA members have to take permission from the party committee to speak during Assembly after 2nd constituent Assembly.

Ethnic politics plays important role during first Constitution Assembly with result of significant numbers of ethnic participation and representation in the country. Ethnic voices and expressions towards ethnic rights issues were very loud. CAUCUS stood as a platform for the indigenous ethnic Constituent Assembly members to aligned together to raise their issues collectively. The awareness among the members helped to bring ethnic issues during CA meetings. This brought difficulties on unanimous decisions over the issues among CA members in major political parties. Focusing more over the ethnic based federalization issues brought sensitivity among the politician stating on instability in the country. This situation creates inability to bring new constitution. The impact of ethnic politics can also seen as significant role over the participation and representation of the ethnic individuals in the second constituent assembly. They represent political party they are affiliated with and the ethnic group they belonged to even though they are not found directly affiliated with Indigenous ethnic groups of Nepal.

The culture of felicitating of those ethnic political leaders, especially initiated by those ethnic activists affiliated with ethnic organization works as the forum to exchange prides between two groups. One as leader to represent the particular ethnic groups in political party in national level and the other one is the feeling of being proud to have member representing ethnic group as their own member of the community group. This enhanced the mutual relations between political candidate and the group members to feel as their own member and get some commitment toward s

ethnic groups they belong supporting their voices focusing on the development of the community.

The above mentioned statements are supported and argued based on the information collected from many individuals representing different ethnic groups.

Political Affiliations

Politics of Nepal is paralyzing every section of the society. People are divided into the different political ideology in Nepal. This political chain is tied tighter in the daily lives of the people. Caste based social strata is lying beneath the political chains. People are recognized with their political ideological brand names. Indigenous ethnic activists are not exceptional from this political branding (Magar, 2013). This creates intra and inter-ethnic divisions within ethnic political leaders affecting ethnic political movements in Nepal.

This is an irony that not only ethnic activists but people working in bureaucratic positions as well as people associated with other sectors are also affected with this branding. Majority of academicians, peasants, and workers in different sectors are politically branded through their affiliation either in central level, district level or associations in the forms of political wings. Regarding this issues, ethnic group activists are not exceptional. They are also found affiliated with political party through their membership either in district level committee or in ethnic wings within political party structure. This situation plays important role on ethnic social organization committee elections. Majority of the respondents of this research shows that only five respondents did not mentioned about their affiliation with any political party among thirty six respondents. Tribhuvan University students from different caste and ethnic groups, enrolled for the Master of Arts and Master of Education are also found affiliated with student wings of different political parties. They are groomed under the school of political party ideology. T.U students' affli-

ation in political party becomes a platform for the individual's identification of belongingness to the political party student's wings. Ethnic politics and its impacts are understood based on their political schooling. Ethnic students are affiliated with ethnic student's wings but they are also branded with political party within ethnic student wings. This political brand becomes visible during ethnic students associations' election especially in central level. This branding differentiate between our and other's feelings. In this case, a Magar, former president of Tribhuvan University student leader aged, thirty-eight said that, he is not affiliated with any ethnic related organizations and associations. He is directly linked with Nepali Congress and was supported for the student politics in Kirtipur campus. He emphasized on individual self performance for accessing for the resources. Ethnic people must organize to bring awareness among the people from the grass root level rather than demanding rights living in Kathmandu.

A perception towards ethnic participation depends upon the individual's political ideological schooling. Students who are affiliated with Maoist communist political party and newly formed political party (Sanghiy Samajbadi Party) by ethnic leaders focusing ethnic rights over resources and their traditional ownership on land based on their group identity play important role on ethnic movements. The irony of establishing new political party also divided into democratic and republican political party that hampers the collective voices to stand with strong political ideology. In this movement, students from ethnic groups expressed their involvement in students politics affiliating with different political sister organizations helps them to realize and understand society and its issues clearly. They feel self inspired to be involved in student politics. This helps them to bring political self consciousness and ethnic awareness. ANNISU (Revolutionary) T.U committee members and also a central committee member of Nepal Magar Association, Student Association, twenty-seven years old Ale Magar expressed that, his affiliation

with this political party attracted him due to its party declaration of considering all indigenous ethnic groups by nominating on higher positions within political party. He agreed that the indigenous ethnic groups' victory in Constituent Assembly in direct and proportional representation seats is the impact of indigenous ethnic group movement initiated by NEFIN. NEFIN, a social organization works on attaining rights and justice for the indigenous ethnic people turned its working areas towards political right claiming agency. The provisions of inclusiveness and proportional representation systems were accommodated in the constitution with the pressurization of the ethnic movements in Nepal. Ethnic politics is enhanced by ethnic movement of Nepal. The connections between ethnic movement and ethnic politics works as the mechanism to demand the establishment of inclusive participation and representation system accommodating into the upcoming new constitution. The social and cultural development of groups focusing on language and culture took its strong hold on politics and political demands. The state policy allowed schools teaching in mother tongues in primary level. Twenty six years old female from Rai community expressed that ethnic organization is the souls of ethnic individuals who works for the group rights. All indigenous ethnic groups must focus their community as their group identity. Political parties do not prefer to address indigenous people and their issues clearly. All indigenous ethnic students must develop themselves to be capable to compete with caste group in open competition although proportional representation has already supported to indigenous ethnic groups incorporating in the policy .

Many caste group students felt that indigenous ethnic movement should not be limited within indigenous ethnic groups in Nepal. They must be understood and supported by caste group leaders for maintaining equality based on equity in the society but using one's rights does not mean violating other group rights. Movements of indigenous ethnic groups are turning towards ex-

tremism which is very harmful to the society and the nation. They also opposed on the proportional representation system stating that it will only benefited to certain individuals with high chances to access those resources.

All the respondents representing indigenous ethnic social organizations agreed that their ethnic social organization was first established for the social and cultural development of the community. With realizing their deprived situation, their social organization turned toward claiming right oriented social organization demanding for the political rights as equal as others. Their social organization works as platform for demonstrating collective power to manifest their goal to be distinct among others for the group identity. The paws of politics have also reached into the NEFIN member associations. The executive committee members within ethnic social organizations are directly and indirectly affiliated with political party either in micro and meso level or in different political wings under political party structure. Despite of this situation, two stream lines are prevalent within social organization. Majority of them expressed that they do not have political influences within their social organization. Some expressed that, many executive committee members of their organizations are affiliated with political party but they have strict rules of not bringing political issues while working for the group benefit. Some members in Yakthumchumlung, the Limbu organization has to resign from their post of ethnic organization when they were elected in second Constituent Assembly election. The president of Chepang community expressed his distressed that ethnic organization has been used as the ladder for the individuals for the party politics. Majority of ethnic leaders are guided by the political party ideology which hampers on ethnic group politics for the development of the group rights. The influence of politics is prevalent in every ethnic social organization. Despite of bringing awareness among the people, the influence of politics brings divisions within the members.

The government initiation of inclusive participation and representation within government policies is a bench mark for opening door for the indigenous ethnic groups in the country. Ethnic voices with ethnic rights are given more emphasis for the development of ethnic groups. Due to lack of education, lack of awareness and not having access to attain knowledge, they become weak internally that creates deprivation on accessing over the state resources externally.

The president and general secretary of Sherpa Association expressed that ethnic movement focused more on exercising political power within every ethnic social organization which is essential part for the ethnic movement in contemporary Nepal. The previous and Present Sherpa leaders were actually not representing Sherpa community although they were Sherpas. They represented from different ethnic groups. The given statement shows that all those individuals writing Sherpas are not Sherpas. Sherpa ethnonym was given by the government to unify the group who were living in the higher mountains, expressed by the Topkegola president and vice president of NEFIN who also belongs to Topkegola community.

They were Bhote, but while applying for the citizenship, the CDO office told them that if they write Bhote, they had to go back to Bhot so majority of mountain dwellers wrote Sherpa as their ethnonym. Originally they claimed themselves as Dokpya/Thokpya. Likewise; the president of Walung community and advisor sixty two years old, former mayor of Dhankuta Municipality also mentioned that they used to write Bhote as their surname. Their ancestors arrived from Tibet were known as Gobangi, an autonomous state/administration of seven clan. Their written history with tax payment dates back to the period of King Rajendra Bikram Shah. Ethnic politics raised two questions in general in his understanding, whether, ethnic leaders are really working for the right of ethnic groups or they are highly influenced and guided by the political party. The president and founder of Walung

expressed that ethnic groups are divided within themselves due to political ideology. Despite of impact of politics, ethnic groups must take interest on politics, must be informed and take interest on the ethnic issues, must not stick on traditional practices and must have right oriented social organization.

The vice president of NEFIN, Dandu Sherpa, representing Topkegola, explained that ethnic politics is getting matured with huge experience of protest with high involvement of ethnic movements. He expressed the reasons of ethnic politics in Nepal have several reasons. One, with having knowledge of suppression, the second is realization of their deprived situation among others searched for ethnic rights and constructing ethnic identity issues, they stick more on ethnic issues and capacity development among the ethnic participant. This helps to focus more on reviving the ethnic movement in different levels. It runs with support from individuals and organization from local, national and international level. He opined that there are three types of people within indigenous ethnic activists are:

1. Purely politically guided activists
2. Purely guided by ethno-politics
3. Guided by both ethno-politico consciousness

He emphasized more on ethno-politico consciousness for the successful ethnic movement towards the right direction and to reach the goal. Despite of having weak in positions due to not taking heartily and contributing with commitments, it is moving forward strongly carrying the issue of ethnic rights. His arguments accepted that ethnic issues are acknowledged by the Maoist insurgency. He believed that on autonomous state based on identity will be successful in one day. The more it delayed the higher adverse effects it faced for its sustainability. Only ethnic based single identity province will be more effective in the Nepali Politics. His statements contradict with other ethnic members affiliated with different political ideology. He was affiliated with CPN (UML) before

he affiliated with Social democratic Party of Nepal (New political party formed before second Constituent Assembly).

The treasurer of Sherpa Association expressed his understanding that all indigenous ethnic leaders are manipulated by the political ideology. Ethnicity and identity are interrelated. Ethnic identity must be linked with group identity rather than the political ideology. There are very few people who are drive fully with the concept of ethnic identity issues. Majority of the activists and political leaders are focusing more on personal and political links associating with social organization. Indigenous ethnic groups hope for the acknowledgment of their status in the upcoming new constitution. Leadership does not emerge over night. They have to contribute for the community and win the heart of the people. The only threat of the indigenous ethnic politics is to get the personal benefit rather than the group in the long run. To avoid this situation, all activists, intellectuals and politician must join for the collective rights.

Thirty six years old, UCPN Maoist, working in Central committee member, cultural division in Nepal Tamang Ghedung sees weakness of ethnic movement is weak organizational structure and financial positions within members due to not able to convince all indigenous ethnic people to involve directly in politics. Ethnic movement must stand as the platform to cover all indigenous ethnic groups for the emancipation of ethnic suppression from caste group's behavioral and state legal systems.

NEFIN Politics

NEFIN, an umbrella organization of fifty-seven among fifty-nine government identified indigenous ethnic groups of Nepal stood as a strong and effective pressure group organization for the establishment of the rights of indigenous ethnic groups of Nepal. It plays vital role in the Nepali politics on demanding equal rights and equal access over the state resources as equal as others in the country.

NEFIN established in 1991 was initiated by the eight major ethnic groups in the beginning. The present NEFIN has the history of committed secretary generals represented by Suresh Ale from Magar community, Pursuram Tamang representing Tamangs, Bal Krishna Mabuhang from Limbu and Prof. Dr. Om Pd. Gurung representing Gurung community. The presidential system changed after Gurung's term helped to bring Pasang Sherpa representing Topkegola, Raj Kumar Lekhy from Tharu and the recent president Nagendra Raj Kumal representing Kumal community.

The leadership within NEFIN is also influenced by politics. NEFIN members representing different ethnic groups are already involved with political party. Politics plays important role on NEFIN committee election. The argument between the larger and the smaller population groups are lying beneath the NEFIN. The present president of NEFIN, representing Kumal got high support from other small population groups with majority. The small population ethnic group broke the chain of control of largest groups within NEFIN continued from the beginning.

Ethnic groups with larger population expressed their dissatisfaction towards the turn basis system stating that they have to wait centuries to wait for their turn. In this regards, the lesser number of population groups claimed that population does not matter during the election of the executive committee of NEFIN. No matter how large the groups are, they own only one vote as their voting rights during NEFIN election. The lesser number of ethnic organizations alliance to bring victory casting vote to Kumal who belongs to the democratic political party, a strong example to explain where politics did not work. The present election challenges the theory of political affiliation discarding the ethnic issues proved that group's interest is powerful while targeting for the resources align as strong unity despite of direct voting and negotiations with other posts. The political ideology has

no effects over the interest of larger population group and fewer population groups during election.

NEFIN's regular activities are running smoothly as usual besides demanding the ethnic rights using protest ideology. The questions rise over the NEFIN activities when larger populated ethnic groups are absent when highly required their support. Regarding their presence, the larger population groups said that their supports are always there since they have major role to establish NEFIN to reach this position. Respondents from larger populated groups also mentioned that they have not seen any substantive activities of NEFIN recently. In this period of CA II, they need to work effectively to include indigenous ethnic issues in the upcoming constitution. Some argued that majority and minority feeling lying beneath the NEFIN activity along with people branded with political ideology. The president of Tamang Ghedung agreed that party politics is rampant not only in Tamang Ghedung but also in other ethnic organizations but it limits only during election and organization always endure to exterminate these type of issues from Tamang community. Exercising party politics is common during assembly. Members start working collectively for the benefit of the community group. Chhantyal community expressed their views that ethnic movement must be launched silently in a peaceful ways. Regarding the issues of ethnic participation, the lesser population groups appeared in large numbers than the larger population group during ethnic protest. Eventhough larger group claimed to be large population, they have less numbers in participating during protest in the street. Dura and Chyantal communities also expressed the same statement lthough people among them are in lessers than high populated groups.

Ethnic movement needs strategy to bring the solution rather than only identifying the problems. Due to not having clear and concise visions, ethnic leaders are not able to solve the ethnic issues in Nepal. The general secretary of Nepal Magar Association,

Roka Magar expressed that ethnic movement brought changes in policy to include ethnic issues that helps to allocate the resources on the proportional representation system with example of CA election. The ironies of the movement are the lack of commitments among the ethnic leaders in the country. Likewise, the president of Nepal Magar Association also clarified about establishing new political parties as the platform for the ethnic leaders. Nepali congress and CPNUML are not sensitive towards ethnic issues. Ethnic people are only used as vote banks by the other political party. For the equal opportunity and searching for the alternate political power, a common ethnic focused political party was thought by those ethnic leaders on which two parties was formed with deeply rooted communist and democratic political party. The Magars plays important role on establishing NEFIN. It is important for those organizations to give their full efforts on indigenous ethnic issues when required. NEFIN must works for establishing ethnic rights in the country. The present CA members are not groomed to work for the development of indigenous ethnic groups. They are purely groomed by the political party ideology. They are not allowed to go against the political party whip since restriction of CAUCUS.

With contradiction with other respondents stating clearly, the president Gurung community, thirty six years old Resham Gurung said, Ethnic politics understood only as claiming for the equal rights and equal opportunity but doing politics on the political environment is also a politics. Whatever we are doing for the right of ethnic groups is a pure ethnic politics. It is obvious that indigenous ethnic groups are affiliated with political parties but it has to depend upon their depth of their involvement on which they priorities. No matter how they are managing their affiliation with political party and indigenous ethnic movements, demanding rights linked with party politics in the central level. It is most important to get affiliation with other political party to let them know the status of ethnic groups in comparison with

others. Without Political awareness people cannot raise their issues in front of others. Fighting for the rights is understood as politics. Ethnic movement has its main role on establishing reservation while entering into the public service commission and semi government offices. Awareness among indigenous ethnic groups is must for fighting for the group rights.

Women in Ethnic Politics

Ethnic women play an important role on supporting ethnic movement in Nepal. They have been seen as the active members during ethnic programmes wearing colorful clothes, supporting on street rally as well as during the road blocks besides taking active participation as cultural agents. The active participation of ethnic women in NEFIN and their ethnic social organization during programmes are visible although majority of women's participation in key positions are almost nil. Within particular ethnic social organization, women organizations are established as their sister organization where all women come into one platform to work for the women's development. Women's positions within ethnic social organization are seen as fulfilling the requirements. There are very few women elected and nominated in some key posts. Regarding women's participation in NEFIN, the president of NEFIN told that the systems of referring for the representatives during NEFIN Assembly, males are recommended by the ethnic organizations. Some women expressed that indigenous ethnic social organizations including NEFIN is not sensitive towards women's participation. Indigenous ethnic women walking shoulder to shoulder with men in ethnic movements are not given priority during providing positions. Ethnic women who are thought to have freedom to express and attend the programmes are also not given priority by the ethnic males. The respondents of NEFIN members clearly stated that NEFIN is not able to uplift women as equally as males because every time, when they asked representatives from other social organizations, they only send

males. They expressed that they have to bring women in NEFIN with special provision to increase their numbers along with their capacity development.

Demographic Analysis of the Respondents and their Perspective on Ethnic Politics

Ethnic politics took its height on its movement during first Constituent Assembly despite of their political affiliation with different political parties. Political affiliation of indigenous ethnic leaders became barriers for them to go against their affiliated political party that is running the government. Interviewing thirteen student leaders studying Masters Level at Kirtipur Campus are found affiliated with student organizations of political parties. Adibasi Janajati and Madhesi students are also found affiliated with their ethnic student social organizations besides political party sister organizations. Among them only Magar has written Buddhist as his religion. Almost all wrote Hindu as their religion. Among them, six were representing caste groups, two Newars and four indigenous ethnic groups. Magar, former chairperson of student union, aged 38 said that it happened for him to be elected as the chairperson representing Nepal Bidhyarthi Sang, Nepali Congress T.U. student wing through his continuous involvement. He is not affiliated with any ethnic based social organizations with political party. Respondents were between twenty five to forty years of ages and are found involved in some part time works to support their living in Kathmandu since many of them came to Kathmandu to attain educational qualifications.

Respondents representing indigenous ethnic social organizations were between the ages of twenty six to sixty-six ages. With distribution of ages of the respondents, eleven were between twenty to twenty nine years, eleven were representing thirty-thirty nine, thirteen were between forty to forty-nine, eight represent within fifty-fifty-nine and only three covers fifty-nine to sixty above. Only one representing Yakthumchumlung has at-

tained M.phil as the highest education qualifications. Six respondents have completed Master degree and rest have attained lesser than the given information. The irony of ethnic movement and activists association with ethnic organization is that their commitments and their devotion to ethnic social organization are the most important attributes of ethnic activists. Besides this they are carried away with primordial feeling of attachment with the group. Besides the students representing caste groups, almost all respondents expressed their religious identity different than Hinduism. They said Buddhism, Kirati, Bonism and Prakritipujak. Issue of religious identity is also developing with the issues of ethnic identity. Indigenous ethnic Associations through NEFIN disseminated information to write Buddhist as their religion as the resistance of Hindu domination in the country. As representing ethnic social organization all ethnic activists have to write Buddhist as their religion. Regarding this political affiliations, majority of members are found affiliated with political party. Some clearly stated their political party affiliations where some shows hesitant. Some brought their political party name with confident some ignores stating that he is not affiliated with any political party. Besides their political party affiliation, they clearly stated that members leave their political party shoes outside the office before entering into the ethnic social organization. In this category, Yakthumchumlung, Thakali, Chhantyal, Gurung, Dura, and some Dhimals expressed that candidate with political affiliation brings division within community. Some respondents expressed their affiliation with political parties but it does not affect with the day to day works. This is only seen during election of the committee members and political awareness is important for the awareness. Some are found affiliated with new born ethnic focused political party. They believe that only this party can bring equality and justice to the oppressed and deprived people. Respondents were found affiliated with largest political parties in the country especially Communist Party Nepal United Marx-

ist and Leninist, Communist Party Maoist, Nepali Congress and other some small parties. They emphasized that political awareness is essential and necessary to understand the social, economic and political situation of the country and the people. So political awareness is important for ethnic groups to understand their political situation and work with new strategy for their community development.

Regarding ethnic based autonomous region, respondents based on their political ideological schooling affiliated with ethnic group are eager and interested on participating the discussions. Beside ethnic groups with larger population with distinct demanded autonomous region, many small populated ethnic groups are also expressed their thought of demanding territory known as their ancestral land.

Summary and Conclusion

Ethnic politics and ethnic movement in Nepal came on surface after 1990 people's movement and was escalated with support of Maoist Movement addressing ethnic based autonomous region. Initially ethnic movement targeted for the cultural development of the community, changed its direction towards right claiming collective movement later on. Collective efforts were possible only when they alliance together establishing Nepal Adibasi Janajati Mahasang. The movement of Adibasi Janajati Mahasang carried the theme of equal participation, representation and equal access over state resources. In this process of claiming equal rights, government of Nepal brought reservation policy in the Public service examination, recruiting for the gazette positions and also in other sectoral positions. To achieve these goals, indigenous ethnic groups incorporated protest ideology within their activities. Their effective pressurization over the political and bureaucratic positions as the mechanism for the mainstreaming went effectively. These efforts were only possible when indigenous ethnic groups became aware about their rights and analyze their political economic situation in the country. Ethnic awareness to be culturally different using cultural codes emphasized over their ethnonym they carry as their surname. The surname they carry worked as shared common identity to feel as the member of the community group. In this process of identifi-

cation, majority of ethnic activists are working voluntarily. Their participation to work for the community development is driven by primordial thoughts in the beginning which eventually targeted towards instrumentalism. In this process of their involvement they invented and revived those traditional symbols for the group identification. Nepal being religiously Hindu majority, Nepali social structure is based on caste system that created social strata that was institutionalized based on Muluki Ain 1854. Indigenous ethnic groups are placed as slaveable and unenslaveable category which create huge gap between high caste groups and other in the society. The centuries practices forced them to be stay as deprived situation. The suppressed and oppressed groups in the society hardly dare to raise their voices against the system. The only way out they found was the 1990 people's movement escalated by Maoist ten years of conflict. This made new path for indigenous ethnic groups to work collectively demanding equal access over the state resource. 2006 second people's movement called *dosro janaandolan* in which indigenous ethnic people's participation became visible. Many of them who are representing their ethnic social organizations are found affiliated with political party. That social organization established for the cultural development of the community turned as the platform to practice politics. Affiliating with social organization as well as political party helped to groom them as possible candidate for the future politics. In this process of grooming oneself, the issue of political participation and representation and to have equal access over the state resources opened door for many individuals. The ethnic movement with proportional representation and participation forced government to promulgating some clauses in Nepal Act while entering into the service and sitting for the Public service commission for the government and service commission within Tribhuvan University. The impact of movement is seen clearly on the process of allocating proportional representation during first constituent assembly with high numbers of ethnic participation.

Participation and representation in the first constituent assembly brought direct and indirect benefit to the individuals as well as the community groups they belong strong members of political party. This helped to bring awareness among indigenous ethnic groups in the country. Theoretically, ethnic movement in Nepal is addressed in 1991 constitution as fundamental rights along with interim constitution which emphasize over the ethnic rights besides international conventions and laws that Nepal has ratified for the development of indigenous ethnic groups in the country. The reasons of ethnic deprivation was the establishment of Muluki Ain that forced them to work as service provider, were they were never able to rise up to compete with higher caste groups in the country. To compete with the latter one, their realization for educational attainment forced them to understand importance of education besides their involvement as activists. Ethnic intellectuals started raising issues about the disparity within the structural system. Their efforts were able to bring changes within NEFIN and their strategy. NEFIN started demanding equal participation and representation in the country directly benefited to ethnic political leader within their political party. Few indigenous ethnic groups were able to get chances as CA members. This brought huge awareness among ethnic activist and ethnic political leaders. The aggressiveness of ethnic movement based on ethnic based autonomous regions brought some insecurity within high caste groups in the country forced them to change strategy by choosing those ethnic political leader who were blindly supportive to political party. This creates some confusions and difficulties among the political leaders. The impact of politics is also visible within ethnic activists during NEFIN and ethnic social organization committee elections. Some leaders argue that if they are not politically aware about their rights they cannot compete with high caste groups. Despite of their affiliation with political party, all indigenous ethnic groups are committed towards the development of ethnic organization.

References

- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities*. London: Verso.
- Bhattachan, Krishna B.(2013). 'Ethnopolitics and ethnodevelopment: an emerging paradigm in Nepal-wit a postscript (5-35p)' in *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal.Identities and Mobilization after 1990* (Edt.) Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen.Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.
- Bhattachan, Krishna B.(2005). Adibasi Janajati ka sawalharuma konini sachetana, netritwa Bikas ra janawakalat. Nepal Adibasi Janajati Mahasang, Janajati Sasaktikaran Pariyojana. Lalitpur, Nepal.
- Bhattachan, K.(2000). Bishwako Adibasi Janajati Andolanko Sanchipta Etihas ra Sikna Sakne Path. Journal of Indigenous Natiionalities.No.3.Mangsir, 2067.
- Central Bureau of Statistics. (2011). Major highlights census, 2011, Nepal.
- Central Bureau of Statistics. (2001). *Population Census*. National Planning Commission Secretariate, Government of Nepal.
- Central Bureau of Statistics of Nepal Government. (2008 reprinted). *Population Monograph of Nepal* (Vol. I & II). Kathmandu: National Planning Commission Secretariate, Government of Nepal,.
- Central Department of Sociology/Anthropology (2012). Social Inclusion Atlas of Nepal. Demography, Health and Education. Vol.III. CDSA, T.U. Kirtipur.
- Creswell, John.W. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among five approaches*. (Second edition). University of Nabraska.Lincoln. Sage publication, California.
- Government of Nepal.(1992). *Government Servant Act*.
- Gurung, Y.B, Bhim.Suwal, Meeta Sing Pradhan, Mukta Sing Tamang (2014). *Nepal Social Inclusion Survery,2012*. Caste, Ethnic and Gender Dimen-

sions of Socio-Economic Development, Governance, and Social Solidarity. Central Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal.

Gurung, Harka.(2006). From Exclusion to Inclusion: Socio-political agenda for Nepal. Kathmandu: Social Exclusion Research Fund. SNV Nepal.

Gurung, Om. Pd. (2000). Nepal ma Adibasi Janajati andolanko itihās. Journal of Indigenous Nationalities.No.3.Mangsir, 2067.

Nepal Act. Part 4.2049 (1992) GoN.

Hachhethu,K, Lal B.Yadam, Deepa Gurung.(2009). *Nepal: Interface between State and Ethnicity*. Report Submitted to Social Inclusion Research Fund, Kathmandu, Nepal.

Hacchethu, Krishna. (2003). 'Democracy and Nationalism Interface between State and Ethnicity in Nepal'. *Contribution to Nepalese Studies*. Vol. 30.No.2. (July, 2003).217-252. CNAS/TU.

Hangen, I. Susan. (2010). *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Nepal: Democracy in the Margins*. (Special Nepal Edition). London and New York Group.: Routledge,

Hobsbawm, Eric.(1983). *Introduction: Inventing Tradition*. Edited: Hobsbawm and Terence, Ranger. *Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press.

Hofer, Andras.(2004). *The Caste Hierarchy and the State in Nepal: A study of the Muluki Ain of 1854*. Nepal. Himal Books.

Kurane, Anjali. (1999). *Ethnic Identity and Social Mobility*. New Delhi and Jaipur. Rawat Publication.

Law Book Management Committee.(2008). *The Muluki Ain*. Under Ministry of Law and Justice. 12 Amendments. 2064/8/4

Magar, S.Thapa (2013). *A study of Magars affiliated with Nepal Magar Association: Transition from Assimilation to identity construction*. Dissertation presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctoral of Philosophy at the Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies. Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, Japan.

Magar, S.Thapa (2014). *The Magars: Constructing Ethnic Identity in Nepal*. Scholars' Press. Germany.

- Sales, Anne de.(2000). The Kham Magar County, Nepal: Between Ethnic claims and Maoism. *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research*.19.14-72.
- Shestakov, A.Alexander.(2008). Cultural Codes Concepts in Contemporary World. Department of Public Administration and Organizational Theory, Bergen, University.
- Sherpa, Pasang.(2000). Nijamati Sewama Adibasi Janakti Sunyata ra Samabesikaran ko Sawal. *Journal of Indigenous Nationalities*. No. 3. Mangsir, 2067.
- Subba, Bijaya.(2069). *Adibasi Janajati sambandhi Nepal sarkarko smabesi nititatha karyakramko awastha*. Submitted to Foundation for Indigenous Ethnic Nationalities,
- Tamang, Deepak.D.(2014). Introduction: citizens, Society, and State: Crafting and Inclusive Future for Nepal. *Citizens, Society & State*. Edited by Deepak D.Tamang & Mahesh Raj Maharjan. Mandala Book Point.
- www.onlinekhabar.com/2014/01/151760/

Photos from fieldwork

Photo No. 1. Interviewing with Jetendra Chepang.



Source: Fieldwork, 2013

Photo No.2. NEFIN Steering committee Meeting before Interview.



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Photo No. 3. NEFIN, trust, belief and common platform, a program to hand-over money to save Anish Khaling.



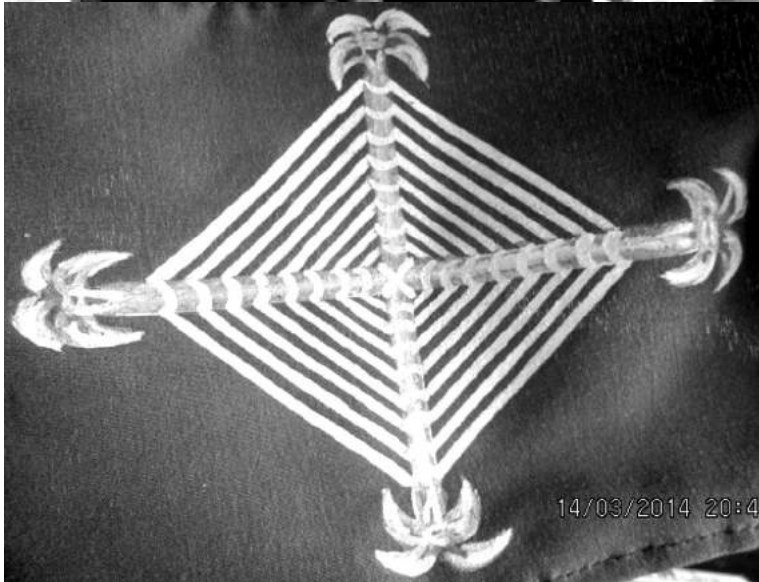
Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Photo.No.4. Handing over money to Anish Khaling family.



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Photo.No.5. Yakthum Chumlung Secretary and Limbu symbols for groups' identity.



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Photo. No. 6. Meeting with Dura executive committee members and advisors.



Source: Fieldwork, 2013

Photo No.7. Meeting with Dhimal chairperson Ganga Maya Dhimal and her district committee members in Kathmandu.



Source: Fieldwork, 2013

Photo No. 8. Interviewing Kumar Tamang, of Tamang Ghedung and Raj Kumar Lekhy, former president of NEFIN.



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Photo. No. 9. Trend of felicitation of Constituent Assembly members in ethnic organization, case of Magar community.



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Photo No.10. Indigenous ethnic women in NEFIN.



Source: Fieldwork, 2013



**National Foundation for Development of
Indigenous Nationalities**

Jawalakhel, Lalitpur, Nepal

Post Box No. 14385

Telephone No. (01) 5553175, (01) 5553147

Fax No.+977-1-5553148

Email: mail@nfdin.gov.np

ISBN-13: 978-99937-8439-4-2



9 789937 843942