

NATIONALISM AND ETHNIC CONFLICT IN NEPAL

Identities and Mobilization after 1990

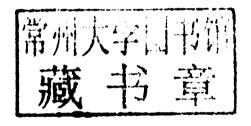
Edited by Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen



Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal

Identities and Mobilization after 1990

Edited by Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen





First published 2013 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada by Routledge

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2013 Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen

The right of the editor to be identified as the author of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Nationalism and ethnic conflict: identities and mobilization after 1990 / edited by Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen.

p. cm. - (Routledge contemporary South Asia series; 58)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Nepal-Politics and government-1990- 2. Minorities-Political activity—Nepal. 3. Indigenous peoples-Nepal-Politics and government. 4. Nepal-Ethnic relations-Political aspects. 5. Group identity-Nepal. 6. Nationalism-Nepal. I. Lawoti, Mahendra, 1965- II. Hangen, Susan.

JQ628.A38M55 2012 305.80095496-dc23

2011047206

ISBN: 978-0-415-78097-1 (hbk) ISBN: 978-0-203-11826-9 (ebk) Typeset in Times New Roman by Taylor & Francis Books



Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal

Identity movements, based on ethnicity, caste, language, religion and regional identity, have become increasingly significant in Nepal, reshaping debates on the definition of the nation, nationalism and the structure of the state. This book analyzes the rapid rise in ethnic and nationalist mobilization and conflict since 1990, the dynamics and trajectories of these movements, and their consequences for Nepal.

From an interdisciplinary perspective, the book looks at the roots of mobilization and conflicts, the reasons for the increase in mobilization and violent activities, and the political and social effects of the movements. It provides a historical context for these movements and investigates how identities intersect with forms of political and economic inequality. Nepal's various identity groups — Dalits, indigenous nationalities, Madhesis and Muslims — have mobilized to different extents. By examining these diverse movements within the same time period and within a unitary state, the book illuminates which factors are more salient for the earlier and extensive mobilization of identity groups.

Bringing together empirical contributions on key issues in identity production in a comparative perspective, the book presents an interesting contribution to South Asian studies as well as studies of nationalism and identity more broadly.

Mahendra Lawoti is Professor of Political Science at Western Michigan University, Associate Fellow at Asia Society, USA and a columnist at The Kathmandu Post. His research interests are democratization and ethnic politics in Nepal and South Asia, and he has published widely in these areas.

Susan Hangen is Associate Professor of Anthropology and International Studies at Ramapo College, USA. Her current research investigates transnational politics in the Nepali diaspora.

Routledge Contemporary South Asia Series

1 Pakistan

Social and cultural transformations in a Muslim nation

Mohammad A. Qadeer

2 Labor, Democratization and Development in India and Pakistan Christopher Candland

3 China-India Relations

Contemporary Dynamics Amardeep Athwal

4 Madrasas in South Asia

Teaching Terror? Jamal Malik

5 Labor, Globalization and the State

Workers, Women and Migrants Confront Neoliberalism Edited by Debdas Banerjee and Michael Goldfield

6 Indian Literature and Popular Cinema

Recasting Classics Edited by Heidi R.M. Pauwels

7 Islamist Militancy in Bangladesh A Complex Web Ali Riaz

8 Regionalism in South Asia

Negotiating Cooperation, Institutional Structures Kishore C. Dash

9 Federalism, Nationalism and Development

India and the Punjab Economy *Pritam Singh*

10 Human Development and Social Power

Perspectives from South Asia Ananya Mukherjee Reed

11 The South Asian Diaspora

Transnational Networks and Changing Identities Edited by Rajesh Rai and Peter Reeves

12 Pakistan-Japan Relations

Continuity and Change in Economic Relations and Security Interests Ahmad Rashid Malik

13 Himalayan Frontiers of India

Historical, Geo-Political and Strategic Perspectives *K. Warikoo*

14 India's Open-Economy Policy

Globalism, Rivalry, Continuity Jalal Alamgir

15 The Separatist Conflict in Sri Lanka

Terrorism, Ethnicity, Political Economy Asoka Bandarage

16 India's Energy Security

Edited by Ligia Noronha and Anant Sudarshan

17 Globalization and the Middle Classes in India

The Social and Cultural Impact of Neoliberal Reforms Ruchira Ganguly-Scrase and Timothy J. Scrase

18 Water Policy Processes in India

Discourses of Power and Resistance Vandana Asthana

19 Minority Governments in India

The Puzzle of Elusive Majorities Csaba Nikolenyi

20 The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal

Revolution in the Twenty-first Century

Edited by Mahendra Lawoti and Anup K. Pahari

21 Global Capital and Peripheral Labour

The History and Political Economy of Plantation Workers in India K. Ravi Raman

22 Maoism in India

Reincarnation of Ultra-Left Wing Extremism in the 21st Century Bidyut Chakrabarty and Rajat Kujur

23 Economic and Human Development in Contemporary India Cronyism and Fragility

Debdas Banerjee

24 Culture and the Environment in the Himalaya

Arjun Guneratne

25 The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Nepal

Democracy in the Margins Susan I. Hangen

26 The Multiplex in India

A Cultural Economy of Urban Leisure Adrian Athique and Douglas Hill

27 Tsunami Recovery in Sri Lanka

Ethnic and Regional Dimensions

Dennis B. McGilvray and Michele

R. Gamburd

28 Development, Democracy and the State

Critiquing the Kerala Model of Development K. Ravi Raman

29 Mohajir Militancy in Pakistan

Violence and Transformation in the Karachi Conflict Nichola Khan

30 Nationbuilding, Gender and War Crimes in South Asia

Bina D'Costa

31 The State in India after Liberalization

Interdisciplinary Perspectives Edited by Akhil Gupta and K. Sivaramakrishnan

32 National Identities in Pakistan

The 1971 War in Contemporary Pakistani Fiction

Cara Cilano

33 Political Islam and Governance in Bangladesh

Edited by Ali Riaz and C. Christine Fair

34 Bengali Cinema

'An Other Nation' Sharmistha Gooptu

35 NGOs in India

The Challenges of Women's Empowerment and Accountability Patrick Kilby

36 The Labour Movement in the Global South

Trade Unions in Sri Lanka S. Janaka Biyanwila

37 Building Bangalore

Architecture and Urban Transformation in India's Silicon Valley John C. Stallmeyer

38 Conflict and Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka

Caught in the Peace Trap?

Edited by Jonathan Goodhand,

Jonathan Spencer and Benedict Korf

39 Microcredit and Women's Empowerment

A Case Study of Bangladesh Amunui Faraizi, Jim McAllister and Taskinur Rahman

40 South Asia in the New World Order

The Role of Regional Cooperation Shahid Javed Burki

41 Explaining Pakistan's Foreign Policy

Escaping India Aparna Pande

42 Development-induced Displacement, Rehabilitation and Resettlement in India

Current Issues and Challenges Edited by Sakarama Somayaji and Smrithi Talwar

43 The Politics of Belonging in India

Becoming adivasi

Edited by Daniel J. Rycroft and
Sangeeta Dasgupta

44 Re-Orientalism and South Asian Identity Politics

The oriental other within

Edited by Lisa Lau and Ana Cristina

Mendes

45 Islamic Revival in Nepal

Religion and a new nation Megan Adamson Sijapati

46 Education and Inequality in India

A classroom view

Manabi Majumdar and Jos Mooij

47 The Culturalization of Caste in India

Identity and inequality in a multicultural age *Balmurli Natrajan*

48 Corporate Social Responsibility in India

Bidyut Chakrabarty

49 Pakistan's Stability Paradox

Domestic, Regional and International Dimensions Edited by Ashutosh Misra and Michael E. Clarke

50 Transforming Urban Water Supplies in India

The Role of Reform and Partnerships in Globalization Govind Gopakumar

51 South Asian Security

21st century discourse Sagarika Dutt and Alok Bansal

52 Non-discrimination and Equality in India

Contesting boundaries of social justice Vidhu Verma

53 Being Middle-class in India

A way of life Henrike Donner

54 Kashmir's Right to Secede

A Critical Examination of Contemporary Theories of Secession Matthew J. Webb

55 Bollywood Travels

Culture, Diaspora and Border Crossings in Popular Hindi Cinema Rajinder Dudrah

56 Nation, Territory, and Globalization in Pakistan

Traversing the Margins Chad Haines

57 The Politics of Ethnicity in Pakistan

The Baloch, Sindhi and Mohajir Ethnic Movements Farhan Hanif Siddiqi

58 Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal

Identities and Mobilization after 1990

Edited by Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen

59 Islam and Higher Education

Concepts, Challenges and Opportunities Marodsilton Muborakshoeva

60 Religious Freedom in IndiaSovereignty and (Anti) Conversion *Goldie Osuri*

Contributors

- Megan Adamson Sijapati is Assistant Professor of Religious Studies at Gettysburg College, in Gettysburg, PA. She is the author of *Islamic Revival* in Nepal: Religion and a New Nation (Routledge 2011), and articles including Muslims in Nepal: The Local and Global Dimensions of a Changing Religious Minority and The Tablighi Jamaat and Gender: Women, Narrative, and the Religious Discourse of Struggle. Her ongoing research interests are in religious authority, experience, and revival, and religious conflict and cooperation.
- Krishna Bhattachan teaches at the Central Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tribhuvan University, Nepal. He has conducted research and advocacy on the rights of excluded groups like the indigenous nationalities, Dalit, Madhesi and women. He is the secretary of the Indigenous Nationalities Mega Front. He is the author of numerous publications on ethnic politics in Nepal, including *Minorities and Indigenous Peoples of Nepal* (NCARD 2008).
- Mollica Dastider teaches Political Science at the Department of Political Science at the University of Delhi. Her areas of research include liberalism and minority cultures, and contemporary society and politics in South Asia. She is the author of *Understanding Nepal* (2007) and *Religious Minorities in Nepal* (1995) and many articles, including *Liberal Dilemma with Difference: Muslims in a Western Democracy*.
- Susan Hangen is Associate Professor of Anthropology and International Studies at Ramapo College, NJ. She is the author of *Creating a New Nepal: The Ethnic Dimension* (East West Center Washington 2007) and *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Nepal: Democracy in the Margins* (Routledge 2010).
- Mahendra Lawoti is Professor of Political Science at Western Michigan University, Associate Fellow at the Asia Society and columnist for The Kathmandu Post. He is the author of many publications on Nepali politics, including *Towards a Democratic Nepal* (Sage 2005). He is the editor of *Contentious Politics and Democratization in Nepal* (Sage 2007), and the coeditor of *The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal* (Routledge 2010).

- Steven Folmar is Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Wake Forest University. He is the author of many articles on Dalit issues, including "Identity politics among Dalits in Nepal," in *Dalits of Nepal: Towards Dignity, Citizenship and Justice*, A. Guneratne (ed.), Social Science Baha, Kathmandu, pp. 68–101.
- Mallika Shakya is a Senior Lecturer of Anthropology and Development in University of Pretoria, South Africa. She has worked for the World Bank and the United Nations for over ten years and is affiliated with Wolfson College, Oxford. She is the author of many articles, including "Bridging the Design Gap: The Nepali Clothing Export Industry Graduating from Fordism to Flexible Specialization," *Journal of Modern Craft* (4(3), 2011).
- Bandita Sijapati is an Adjunct Professor at the Nepa School of Social Sciences and Humanities, and Research Director at the Center for the Study of Labour and Mobility, Social Science Baha, Kathmandu. Her research interests are in ethnic politics, political socialization, migration, and social movements. Her publications have included a co-authored volume, A Kingdom Under Siege: Nepal's Maoist Insurgency, 1996–2004, Zed Books, London, 2005.

Acknowledgments

Many of the papers here were initially presented at a series of panels that we organized for the 37th Annual Conference on South Asia, held in October 2008 in Madison, WI. We thank the discussant Sara Shneiderman, presenters and audience members at those panels for their comments, which informed revisions of these papers. Other papers were presented at a session that we organized in August 2009 at Martin Chautari in Kathmandu, Nepal. We thank Martin Chautari, the panelists and audience members there as well for their feedback. We would like to thank all of the contributors to the volume for revising their papers, many times in some cases, at our request. Susan Hangen and Mahendra Lawoti contributed more or less equally in the editing of the book.

Susan would like to thank Mahendra Lawoti for proposing this edited volume. It has been a challenging and rewarding project, and she has learned a great deal from working with him. She would also like to thank her husband Tika Gurung and daughter Jaya Gurung, as well as her parents, Richard and Claire Hangen, for supporting her while she completed the many rounds of editing and writing involved in bringing this book to completion.

Mahendra would like to thank Susan Hangen for providing very helpful comments and reading his draft chapters multiple times and Marie Lecomte-Tiloune (CNRS, Paris), Martin Gaenszle (University of Vienna, Vienna), Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka (University of Bielefeld, Germany), Pratyoush Onta (Martin Chautari, Kathmandu), and Rajendra Pradhan (Nepa School, Kathmandu) for inviting him to present Chapter 10's initial draft at their institutions. The chapters are far better with the comments and feedback received. Mahendra would also like to thank the College of Arts and Sciences and the Haenicki Institute for Global Education at Western Michigan University for providing the International Development Grant and the International Education Faculty Development Fund respectively to travel to Nepal. He is also grateful to Krishna Bhattachan for stimulating discussions and D. B. Angbuhang, J. B. Biswokarma and Bal Krishna Mabuhang and Yogish Kharel, Subodh Pyakurel, and Sunil Sharma at INSEC for providing and/or verifying data. He would finally like to thank his wife Geeta Gurung Lawoti, sons Sajjan and

Sumbon Lawoti, and parents Padma Sunder and Vishnu Sobha Lawati for all the love and support provided during the long research, writing and editing process.

Susan Hangen, New York, NY Mahendra Lawoti, Kalamazoo, MI

Abbreviations

ANAI All Nepal Anjuman Islah

BCE before common era

CHHE caste hill Hindu elite (Bahuns and Chhetris from the hill region)

CHHEM caste hill Hindu elite males

CPN-UML Communist Party of Nepal – United Marxist Leninist

DHRO Dalit Human Rights Organization

DNF Dalit NGO Federation

DNP Dalit Nationalities Party (Dalit Janajati Party)

DWO Dalit Welfare Organization

FDNF Federal Democratic National Forum (Sandhiya Loktantrik

Rastriya Manch)

FEDO Feminist Dalit Organization

FLSC Federal Limbuwan State Council (Sanghiya Limbuwan Rajya

Parishad)

FPTP first past the post

ILO International Labour Organization

IN indigenous nationalities

JUP Jana Utthan Parishad (People Upliftment Council)

KWP Kirat Worker's Party

KYC Kirat Yakthung Chumlung

LANCAU Lawyer's National Campaign Against Untouchability
LLF Limbuwan Liberation Front (Limbuwan Mukti Morcha)
MJF Madhesi Janadhikar Forum (Madhesi People's Rights Forum)

MLT Madhesi Liberation Tigers (Madhesi Mutkti Tigers)

MNO Mongol National Organization

MPRF Madhesi People's Rights Forum (Madhesi Janadhikar Forum)

MRMM Madhesi Rashtriya Mukti Morcha

NASWN National Association for Social Welfare in Nepal (Nepal

Rastriya Samaj Kalyan Sangh)

NC Nepali Congress

NCARD National Coalition against Racial Discrimination

NCDPDN National Council for Dalit People's Development in Nepal

(Nepal Rastriya Dalit Jana Bikash Parishad)

NCP Nepal Communist Party NDA Nepal Defense Army

NDLF Nepal Dalit Labor Front (Nepal Dalit Shramik Morcha)

NEFIN Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities

NFDIN National Foundation for the Development of Indigenous

Nationalities

NGC Nepal Goodwill Council (Nepal Sadbhavana Parishad) NGP Nepal Goodwill Party (Nepal Sadbhavana Party, NSP)

NGP-A Nepal Goodwill Party – Anandi

NJM Nepal Janajati Mahasangh (Nepal Federation of Nationalities)

NMFN National Muslim Forum Nepal

NNDSWO Nepal National Dalit Social Welfare Organization NNP Nepa National Party (Nepa Rastriya Party) NPF National People's Front (Rastriya Jana Morcha)

NPLP National People's Liberation Party (Rastriya Janamukti Party)
NRJJP Nepal Rastriya Jana-jati Party (Nepal National Nationalities

Party)

NRJMM Nepal Rastriya Jana Mukti Morcha (Nepal National People's

Liberation Front)

NRJMP Nepal Rastriya Jana Mukti Party (Nepal National People's

Liberation Party)

NRJP Nepal Rastriya Jana Party NTC Nepal Tarai Congress

PKLNF Pallo Kirat Limbuwan National Forum (Pallo Kirat Limbuwan

Rastriya Manch)

PR proportional representation

TMDP Tarai Madhes Democratic Party (Tarai Madhes Loktantrik

Party)

TPLF Tarai People's Liberation Front (Janatantrik Tarai Mukti

Morcha)

TSS Tarai Samrakshan Samiti

UNNIP United Nations Nepal Information Platform

v.s. Vikram Sambat (Nepali calendar)

WHF World Hindu Federation (Vishwa Hindu Mahasangh)

YCL Young Communist League

YF Youth Force

Contents

	List of Illustrations	xi
	List of contributors	xii
	Acknowledgments	xiv
	List of abbreviations	xvi
C.F.	CTION	
	CTION 1 ontextualizing nationalism and ethnic conflict	1
1	Introduction: nationalism and ethnic conflict in Nepal SUSAN HANGEN AND MAHENDRA LAWOTI	5
2	Ethnopolitics and ethnodevelopment: an emerging paradigm in Nepal – with a postscript KRISHNA B. BHATTACHAN	35
3	Nepali economic history through the ethnic lens: changing state alliances with business elites MALLIKA SHAKYA	58
	CTION 2 entities and movements	83
4	Problems of identity for Hill Dalits and Nepal's nationalist project STEVEN FOLMAR	85
5	The National Muslim Forum Nepal: experiences of conflict, formations of identity MEGAN ADAMSON SIJAPATI	102
6	Boycotting Dasain: history, memory and ethnic politics in Nepal	121

Contents		
In pursuit of recognition: regionalism, Madhesi identity and the Madhes Andolan BANDITA SIJAPATI	145	
Refusing to choose: the Muslim Madhesis and the coexistence of religious and regional identity in Nepal's Tarai MOLLICA DASTIDER	173	
CONTON 2		
Trends of Nepal's ethnic and nationalist movements and conflicts		
Dynamics of mobilization: varied trajectories of Dalit, indigenous nationalities and Madhesi movements MAHENDRA LAWOTI	193	
Transforming ethnic politics, transforming the Nepali polity: from peaceful nationalist mobilization to the rise of armed separatist		
	In pursuit of recognition: regionalism, Madhesi identity and the Madhes Andolan BANDITA SIJAPATI Refusing to choose: the Muslim Madhesis and the coexistence of religious and regional identity in Nepal's Tarai MOLLICA DASTIDER CTION 3 Lends of Nepal's ethnic and nationalist movements and conflicts Dynamics of mobilization: varied trajectories of Dalit, indigenous nationalities and Madhesi movements MAHENDRA LAWOTI Transforming ethnic politics, transforming the Nepali polity: from	

257

Index

Illustrations

rigures				
0.1 0.2	Topographic map of Nepal Caste/ethnographic map of Nepal	2		
9.1	Modeling ethno-political mobilization in Nepal	216		
10.1	Killings by indigenous, Hindu and Madhesi organizations	230		
Tabl	es			
1.1	Population of major ethnic and caste groups	9		
7.1	Representation of various caste/ethnic groups in national			
	legislature	153		
7.2	Representation of various caste/ethnic groups in different sectors	153		
7.3	Human development by major case and ethnicity, Nepal 2006	154		
9.1	Mobilization indicators and performances up to 2010	201		
10.1	Violent ethnic (national, ethnic, religious, and caste) conflicts			
	since 1950–51	239		
10.2	Major issues and institutions related with ethnicity and			
	nationalism in various constitutions	245		