प्राज्ञिक विमर्श. वर्ष ६, अङ्क, १२, २०८१ असोज, ISSN 2676-1297 The Fragility of Democracy: Political Conflict in South Asia *Santa Bahadur Thapa, Phd

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Abstract

The complex interplay between political conflict and democratic fragility in South Asia is the focus of this research paper. The study examines South Asia to understand how conflict catalyzes and hinders democratic progress. The research delves deep into the root causes of conflict, including socio-economic disparities, ethnic and religious tensions, and institutional weaknesses. It analyzes how conflict can trigger democratic reforms through popular mobilization and erode governance and institutions. The study highlights the fragility of democratic systems in the face of deep-rooted conflicts and the challenges of balancing competing interests. It underscores the need for South Asian nations to address underlying grievances to strengthen democratic institutions and foster inclusive dialogue to navigate conflict constructively and secure a stable democratic future. The research employs a qualitative approach, relying on a comprehensive literature review and case study analysis to draw insights into the multifaceted relationship between political conflict and democratic development in the selected region.

Keywords: Democratic Consolidation, Ethnic and Religious Tensions, Institutional Weaknesses, Political Conflict, Socio-economic Grievances.

Introduction

The South Asian region, characterized by its rich diversity and intricate socio-political landscape, has experienced a dynamic interplay between political conflict and the pursuit of democratic reform. The eight nations within this region—Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Pakistan, India, Bhutan, and Afghanistan—have each navigated unique paths toward democratic governance, encountering successes and challenges (Hussain, 2009). The complex relationship between political conflict and the quest for democratic reform has been a defining feature of South Asia's political evolution in recent decades. The unique socio-political context of Nepal, with its history of monarchy, Maoist insurgency, and ethnic diversity, adds another layer of complexity to this dynamic (Thapa & Sijapati, 2003).

While political conflict is often associated with instability and disruption, it can also catalyze democratic progress. The 1990 People's Movement in Nepal, which led to the establishment of a multi-party system, and Bangladesh's struggle for independence, resulting in the restoration of democratic rule, serve as powerful examples of how popular mobilization and demands for change can lead to significant democratic reforms (Hutt, 2004; Jahan, 1995; Parajulee, 2000). The collective voice of the people, expressed through protests, demonstrations, and civil disobedience, can exert immense pressure on authoritarian regimes, compelling them to concede to reforms or face the risk of being overthrown. The power of mass movements to

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प्राज्ञिक विमर्श. वर्ष ६, अड्क, १२, २०८१ असोज, ISSN 2676-1297 challenge the status quo and push for greater political freedoms has been evident throughout South Asia's history. Nepal's journey towards democracy is a testament to

this power (Lawoti, 2005). However, the path to democratic consolidation in South Asia has been fraught with challenges. The region has also grappled with the detrimental effects of conflict on democratic institutions and processes. The Sri Lankan civil war, which lasted for nearly three decades, and Pakistan's persistent political instability, marked by military interventions and authoritarian tendencies, have eroded democratic governance and hindered its consolidation (Weiss, 2006; Jalal, 2014). The rise of religious extremism and ethno-nationalist sentiments has further fueled polarization and violence, posing additional obstacles to democratic progress. The experience of these countries underscores the fragility of democratic institutions in the face of deep-rooted conflicts and the challenges of balancing competing interests and identities within diverse societies. In Nepal, the decade-long Maoist insurgency and subsequent political transitions have also tested the resilience of its democratic institutions (Thapa, 2015). The root causes of political conflict in South Asia are multifaceted and deeply intertwined. Socio-economic grievances stemming from poverty, inequality, and lack of access to essential services often give birth to waves of discontent and unrest. The unequal distribution of resources and opportunities can lead to feelings of marginalization and exclusion, fueling social unrest and political instability (Ganguly, 2008). Ethnic and religious tensions, exacerbated by historical grievances and political manipulation, can also escalate into violence and undermine social cohesion. The instrumentalization of identity politics for political gain has been a recurring theme in the region, often leading to communal violence and the erosion of trust between different groups. In Nepal, the complex interplay of caste, ethnicity, and regional disparities has contributed to social and political tensions, further complicating the path to democratic consolidation (Hachhethu, 2002).

Despite these challenges, there are also reasons for optimism. The growing strength of civil society, the emergence of independent media, and increasing demands for accountability and transparency offer a glimmer of hope for a more inclusive and democratic future in South Asia (Ganguly, 2008). The active engagement of civil society organizations, the media's role as a watchdog, and the growing awareness among citizens about their rights and responsibilities can contribute to strengthening democratic institutions and promoting good governance. The region's ability to navigate these complexities and manage conflict constructively will be pivotal in shaping its democratic trajectory. The successful pursuit of democratic reform in South Asia hinges on fostering inclusive dialogue, implementing institutional reforms, and upholding human rights and the rule of law. Nepal's ongoing efforts to address its historical inequalities and build a more inclusive and participatory democracy serve as a crucial case study for the region (Lawoti, 2015).

Research Methodology

This study employs a qualitative research design, primarily relying on a comprehensive literature review and analysis of existing case studies. The literature review encompasses many scholarly works, including books, journal articles, and research papers that explore the dynamics of political conflict and democratic development in South Asia. The analysis of case studies involves examining specific instances of political conflict in each of the eight countries, drawing insights into the diverse manifestations of conflict, their underlying causes, and their impact on democratic institutions and processes. The study adopts a comparative approach, contrasting different cases to identify patterns and variations in the relationship between conflict and reform. The research also draws on theoretical frameworks from political science, sociology, and related disciplines to interpret the empirical evidence and develop a nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics at play.

Literature Review

The literature on political conflict and democratic development in South Asia is extensive and multifaceted, offering various perspectives on the complex relationship between these two phenomena. The impact of conflict on democratic institutions and processes has been a central focus of scholarly inquiry. Several studies have highlighted the potential for conflict to erode democratic governance, hinder consolidation, and lead to political instability (Hutt, 2004; Jahan, 1995; Uyangoda, 2005; Jalal, 2014). The Sri Lankan civil war and Pakistan's persistent political turnoil serve as stark examples of how protracted conflict can undermine democratic institutions and processes, leading to backsliding and authoritarian tendencies.

However, the literature also acknowledges the potential for political conflict to catalyze democratic reform. Popular mobilization and demands for change, often expressed through protests, demonstrations, and civil disobedience, can exert significant pressure on authoritarian regimes, compelling them to concede to reforms or risk overthrow (Teorell, 2010; Linz & Stepan, 1996). The 1990 People's Movement in Nepal, which led to the establishment of a multi-party system, and Bangladesh's struggle for independence, resulting in the restoration of democratic rule, are powerful examples of how conflict can shift towards greater political freedoms and participation. The literature on South Asian politics underscores the complex and often contradictory relationship between conflict and democracy, emphasizing the need for careful analysis and contextual understanding to grasp the dynamics playfully.

Findings and Discussion

The findings illuminate a nuanced interplay between political conflict and democratic crises in South Asia. While the conflict has occasionally spurred democratic progress by galvanizing citizen participation and exposing systemic flaws, it also threatens democratic consolidation. This is evident in the erosion of governance and institutions during prolonged strife. The study underscores the need for South Asian

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nations to navigate conflict constructively, fostering inclusive dialogue and prioritizing institutional reforms to secure a stable democratic future.

Root Causes of Political Conflict

The study uncovers a complex web of factors contributing to the persistence of political conflict in South Asia. These root causes can be broadly categorized into three interconnected dimensions: socio-economic grievances, ethnic and religious tensions, and institutional weaknesses.

Ethnic and religious tensions, often exacerbated by historical grievances and political manipulation, further complicate the socio-political landscape in the region. The instrumentalization of identity politics for political gain has been a recurring theme, often leading to communal violence and the erosion of trust between different groups (Jalal, 2014). This phenomenon is particularly pronounced in countries like India and Pakistan, where religious and ethnic divisions have deep historical roots.

Institutional weaknesses, characterized by corruption, lack of accountability, and weak rule of law, also play a crucial role in perpetuating political conflict. The lack of adequate and transparent governance mechanisms erodes public trust and creates opportunities for exploitation and abuse of power (Baral, 2008). This, in turn, can lead to a breakdown of social order and an escalation of conflict.

The study's findings underscore the multifaceted nature of political conflict in South Asia. Addressing these root causes requires a comprehensive approach that tackles socio-economic disparities, promotes inter-group harmony, and strengthens democratic institutions.

Impact of Conflict on Democracy

Political conflict has exerted a multifaceted and often contradictory influence on the trajectory of democratic development in South Asia. While the conflict has acted as a catalyst for positive change in some cases and instances, democratic backsliding and institutional erosion are equally prevalent, painting a complex picture of the interplay between these two forces.

In some instances, political conflict has played a transformative role, leading to the downfall of authoritarian regimes and paving the way for more democratic systems. The People's Movement in Nepal in 1990 is a prime example, where widespread protests and civil disobedience culminated in establishing a multi-party system, marking a significant stride towards democratic governance (Hutt, 2004). Similarly, Bangladesh's struggle for independence from Pakistan led to the restoration of democratic rule, demonstrating the potential for conflict to trigger a shift towards greater political freedoms (Jahan, 1995).

However, the impact of conflict on democracy is far from uniformly positive. In numerous instances, political strife has resulted in democratic backsliding, political instability, and the erosion of democratic institutions and processes. The Sri Lankan civil war, characterized by protracted violence and ethnic tensions, severely undermined democratic governance and hindered its consolidation (Uyangoda, 2005). Similarly, Pakistan's history of military interventions and persistent political

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instability has impeded the deepening of democratic roots, highlighting the fragility of democratic institutions in the face of deep-rooted conflicts (Jalal, 2014). The experience of these countries underscores the complex and often unpredictable relationship between conflict and democracy in South Asia, emphasizing the need for careful analysis and contextual understanding.

Conflict as a Catalyst for Reform

While political conflict often carries negative connotations, the study reveals instances where it has served as an unexpected impetus to democratic reform within South Asia. Popular mobilization and vocal demands for change have sometimes exerted significant pressure on governments, compelling them to implement reforms that enhance political participation, accountability, and responsiveness.

In the case of Nepal, the 1990 People's Movement stands as a testament to the transformative potential of conflict. Widespread protests and civil disobedience forced the monarchy to concede to demands for a multi-party system, marking a watershed moment in the country's democratic journey (Parajulee, 2000). This illustrates how conflict, when channeled through peaceful means, can be a powerful instrument for democratization. Similarly, India's anti-corruption movement led by Anna Hazare in 2011, while not directly resulting in regime change, galvanized public opinion and pushed for greater transparency and accountability in governance (Kumar, 2012, pp. 237-252).

The study's findings challenge the notion that conflict is solely detrimental to democratic development. They highlight the capacity for political strife to expose institutional flaws, stimulate public discourse, and foster a sense of collective agency among citizens. This suggests that while conflict can undoubtedly challenge democratic consolidation, it can catalyze positive change, prompting governments to address grievances and implement reforms that strengthen democratic institutions and processes.

Challenges to Democratic Consolidation

Despite notable strides toward democratic governance, particularly in South Asian pockets, the path to full-fledged democratic consolidation remains with formidable obstacles. These challenges, deeply ingrained in the region's socio-political fabric, underscore the fragility of democratic institutions and the persistent struggle to balance competing interests and identities.

Socio-economic grievances, such as poverty, inequality, and lack of access to essential services, continue to fuel discontent and unrest, providing fertile ground for political instability (Ganguly, 2008). The unequal distribution of resources and opportunities, coupled with systemic discrimination and marginalization, can lead to feelings of alienation and exclusion, fostering an environment conducive to conflict and undermining social cohesion. Furthermore, the manipulation of ethnic and religious identities for political gain remains a pervasive issue in the region, often exacerbating existing tensions and leading to communal violence (Baral, 2008). While potentially yielding short-term political dividends, the instrumentalization of

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identity politics can have devastating long-term consequences for democratic consolidation, eroding trust between different groups and hindering the development of a shared national identity.

The fragility of democratic institutions in the face of conflict and instability poses another significant challenge. As evidenced by the experiences of countries like Sri Lanka and Pakistan, prolonged conflict can severely undermine democratic governance, eroding trust in institutions and hindering the consolidation of democratic norms and practices (Uyangoda, 2005; Jalal, 2014). The persistent threat of violence and instability can also create an environment where authoritarian tendencies thrive, further impeding progress toward a more inclusive and participatory democracy. South Asia's challenges in pursuing democratic consolidation are complex and multifaceted, requiring sustained efforts to address underlying grievances, foster inclusive dialogue, and strengthen democratic institutions.

Similarities in Political Conflict and Crisis in Democracy

Despite their diverse political histories and socio-cultural contexts, South Asian nations exhibit striking similarities in their challenges in navigating the complex relationship between political conflict and democratic crises. These commonalities, deeply rooted in the region's historical legacies, socio-economic realities, and political dynamics, underscore the interconnectedness of these nations and offer valuable lessons for understanding the fragility of democracy in the face of conflict.

Socio-economic Grievances and Inequality: One of the most pervasive similarities across South Asian nations is the role of socio-economic grievances in fueling political conflict and undermining democratic stability. Widespread poverty, inequality, and lack of access to essential services create fertile ground for discontent and unrest, often leading to social and political upheavals (Ganguly, 2008). In India, for instance, the Naxalite insurgency, rooted in the grievances of marginalized communities in rural areas, has posed a significant challenge to the state's authority and democratic consolidation (Shah, 2013). Similarly, in Bangladesh, economic disparities and unequal access to resources have contributed to political polarization and violence, hindering the deepening of democratic institutions (Khan, 2017).

Ethnic and Religious Tensions: Another common thread across South Asia is the prevalence of ethnic and religious tensions, which often serve as flashpoints for conflict and pose a severe threat to democratic stability. The manipulation of ethnic and religious identities for political gain, coupled with historical grievances and inter-group rivalries, has fueled violence and undermined social cohesion in several countries. The Sri Lankan civil war, marked by deep-seated ethnic divisions between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority, serves as a tragic reminder of the devastating consequences of unchecked ethnic conflict on democracy (Uyangoda, 2005). In Pakistan, religious extremism and sectarian violence have repeatedly disrupted democratic processes and contributed to political instability (Jalal, 2014).

प्रात्तिक विमर्श. वर्ष ६, अड्क, १२, २०८१ असोज, ISSN 2676-1297 Fragility of Democratic Institutions: The fragility of democratic institutions in the face of conflict and instability is another shared challenge across South Asia. Prolonged conflict, whether rooted in socio-economic grievances, ethnic tensions, or other factors, can severely undermine democratic governance, eroding trust in institutions and hindering the consolidation of democratic norms and practices. Nepal's decade-long Maoist insurgency, for example, had a profound impact on the country's political landscape, leading to the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic. However, the transition to a stable democracy has been fraught with challenges, including political polarization, weak institutions, and social and economic inequalities (Lawoti, 2015). Similarly, in Bangladesh, frequent political crises and military interventions have hampered the consolidation of democratic institutions, highlighting the vulnerability of democracy in the face of conflict and instability (Khan, 2017).

Obstacles to Democratic Consolidation in South Asia

Despite the significant strides South Asian nations have made towards establishing democratic systems, the journey towards full-fledged and resilient democracies is fraught with challenges. These obstacles are deeply rooted in historical, socio-economic, and political complexities, highlighting the fragility of democratic institutions and the persistent struggle to balance competing interests and identities.

Socio-Economic Disparities and Grievances: One of the most pressing challenges to democratic consolidation in South Asia is the persistence of deep-seated socioeconomic disparities. Poverty, inequality, and lack of access to essential services continue to plague the region, creating fertile ground for discontent and unrest (Ganguly, 2008). These grievances can fuel political instability and undermine trust in democratic institutions, especially when marginalized groups feel excluded from the benefits of economic growth and development (Hussain, 2010). Moreover, the unequal distribution of resources and opportunities can lead to feelings of alienation and exclusion, fostering an environment conducive to conflict and undermining social cohesion (Baral, 2008).

Ethnic and Religious Tensions: Another significant obstacle to democratic consolidation in South Asia is the prevalence of ethnic and religious tensions. The manipulation of identity politics for political gain remains a pervasive issue in the region, often exacerbating existing tensions and leading to communal violence (Wignaraja, 2013). The instrumentalization of identity can have devastating long-term consequences for democratic consolidation, eroding trust between different groups and hindering the development of a shared national identity (Jayawardena, 1986). Furthermore, the rise of religious extremism and ethno-nationalist sentiments has fueled polarization and violence, posing additional obstacles to democratic progress (Ganguly, 2008).

Weak Institutions and Governance: Weak institutions and governance structures significantly challenge democratic consolidation in South Asia. Many countries in the region grapple with corruption, lack of accountability, and ineffective rule of law

(UNDP, 2013). These institutional weaknesses can erode public trust in the democratic process, create opportunities for political manipulation, and hinder the effective delivery of public services (Haque, 2001). Furthermore, the fragility of democratic institutions in the face of conflict and instability remains a pressing concern. As evidenced by the experiences of countries like Sri Lanka and Pakistan, prolonged conflict can severely undermine democratic governance, eroding trust in institutions and hindering the consolidation of democratic norms and practices (Uyangoda, 2005; Jalal, 2014).

External Influences and Geopolitical Complexities: The geopolitical complexities of South Asia, including the influence of external actors and ongoing regional conflicts, can also challenge democratic consolidation. The region's strategic location and the presence of competing powers can create an environment where external actors seek to influence domestic politics and undermine democratic processes (Pant, 2011). Moreover, ongoing conflicts, such as the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan, can divert attention and resources away from domestic development and democratic reforms, further complicating the path towards democratic consolidation (Bose, 2005). In conclusion, despite progress toward democracy in South Asia, the region grapples with numerous obstacles to address socio-economic grievances, promote inclusivity, strengthen institutions, and navigate the complexities of regional geopolitics. The successful pursuit of democratic reforms, and upholding human rights and the rule of law.

Roles of Political Parties in Strengthening Democracy

Political parties, as vital intermediaries between the state and its citizens, play a multifaceted role in shaping the strength and resilience of democratic systems. In South Asia, a region characterized by its diverse political landscapes and historical struggles for democratic consolidation, the functions and responsibilities of political parties are of paramount importance.

Representation and Articulation of Interests

At the heart of a functioning democracy lies the representation of diverse interests and aspirations. Political parties serve as vehicles through which citizens' voices are channeled and articulated within the political arena. In South Asia, where societies are often fragmented along ethnic, religious, and linguistic lines, the ability of political parties to effectively represent and accommodate diverse interests is critical for ensuring inclusivity and preventing social divisions from escalating into conflict. As noted by Jayadeva Uyangoda (2005), political parties in Sri Lanka have often struggled to bridge ethnic divides, contributing to the protracted civil war. In contrast, the success of India's multi-party system in accommodating a vast array of regional and linguistic identities underscores the importance of inclusive representation (Kohli, 2010).

Mobilization and Participation

A vibrant democracy thrives on the active participation of its citizens in the political process. Political parties are crucial in mobilizing and engaging citizens, encouraging them to exercise their democratic rights and responsibilities. Through rallies, campaigns, and grassroots outreach, parties can foster a sense of civic engagement and empower individuals to become active participants in shaping their nation's destiny. The role of political parties in mobilizing mass support during Bangladesh's struggle for independence (Jahan, 1995) and Nepal's People's Movement (Hutt, 2004) exemplifies their potential to catalyze political change and democratic progress.

Leadership and Governance

Political parties are the primary source of political leadership in democratic systems. They recruit, train, and groom individuals who aspire to hold public office and shape policy. The quality of leadership provided by political parties significantly impacts the effectiveness and responsiveness of government. In Pakistan, the dominance of dynastic politics and the lack of internal democracy within parties have often hindered the emergence of capable and accountable leaders (Jalal, 2014). On the other hand, the rise of grassroots leaders and the emphasis on internal party democracy in Nepal's Maoist party during the peace process (Thapa, 2015) demonstrate the potential for parties to foster transformative leadership.

Policy Formulation and Implementation

Political parties play a crucial role in formulating and implementing policies that address the needs and aspirations of the people. They develop policy platforms, engage in debates and deliberations, and, upon assuming power, translate their visions into concrete actions. The ability of parties to formulate coherent and responsive policies is essential for addressing pressing socio-economic challenges and ensuring effective governance. Implementing pro-poor policies by the Awami League in Bangladesh (Khan, 2017) and the focus on rural development by the Bharatiya Janata Party in India (Jaffrelot, 2019) illustrate the potential for parties to drive positive change through policy initiatives.

Accountability and Checks and Balances

In a healthy democracy, political parties serve as crucial checks and balances on each other, ensuring that power is not concentrated in the hands of a single entity. The presence of a robust opposition, holding the ruling party accountable for its actions and offering alternative policy visions, is essential for preventing abuses of power and promoting transparency. The vibrant opposition politics in India, characterized by vigorous debates and scrutiny of government policies (Yadav, 2009), contrasts with the challenges faced by opposition parties in countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh, where restrictions on political freedoms and the dominance of a single party have often hampered their ability to function effectively (Sattar, 2012; Riaz, 2019).

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study showcases the intricate relationship between political conflict and democratic crises in South Asia. While the conflict has occasionally

spurred democratic reforms, it also poses significant challenges to consolidation, as seen in backsliding and institutional erosion. Root causes, including socio-economic grievances, ethnic tensions, and weak institutions, must be addressed. Lessons from shared regional experiences can guide future progress, while political parties play a pivotal role in strengthening democratic systems. Navigating the complex path toward stable democracies requires sustained efforts, inclusive dialogue, and robust institutional reforms.

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