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Madheshi Women and Feminist Movement in Nepal



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Abstract

Background: The formal feminist movement in Madhesh emerged in reaction to the discriminatory, oppressive, and autocratic actions perpetrated by the state, entwined with concurrent political movements, effectively spotlighting and confronting prevalent social issues. Feminist movements in Nepal have played a significant role in bringing about major changes in various aspects of society, advocating for gender equality, women's rights, and social justice.

Methods: This research adopted a qualitative method with an intersectionality theoretical framework to explore the firsthand experiences of Madheshi women who have actively engaged in feminist movements. The research collected data from face-to-face in-depth interviews with 28 women political leaders, 8 women journalists, 15 women rights activists, and 3 family members of women rights activists and political leaders with purposive sampling. Similarly, this study also gathered the perceptions of 14 Madheshi men from various sectors.

Results: This paper explores Madheshi women's contribution to feminist and other movements in Nepal. It examines the challenges that they faced during the movements. The study underscores the heterogeneous nature of Madheshi women's involvement, illustrating varied roles across historical contexts. The findings of the study revealed that Madheshi women are challenging patriarchies through various means.

Conclusion: There is a significant gap in the documentation of the Madheshi women's and feminist movements in Nepal. Despite their active participation in feminist movements, their voices and concerns persistently remain on the periphery.

Novelty: The research documents the contribution, challenges, and strategies of Madheshi women adopted by Madheshi women. It also addresses the gap in the existing literature regarding the Madheshi women.

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Keywords: contribution, document, intersectionality

Introduction

Feminism is a social, political, and ideological movement that promotes gender justice in society and works to dismantle patriarchal structures. Feminism is not a monolithic ideology, and various feminist understandings may differ on specific issues. Feminism does not constitute a singular, unified political ideology (Bhasin & Khan, 1999). It encompasses social and political movements that advocate for the rights and address the concerns of women. Social and economic campaigns addressing women's issues are also integral to the feminist movement. People and organizations may be involved in different forms of activism simultaneously (Khanal, 2014).

Various individuals are engaged in the feminist movement in various ways. Some contribute to the upliftment of women through activities such as painting, writing poetry, singing songs, engaging in dramas, and conducting studies.

The Nepalese feminist movement plays a crucial role in heightening feminist consciousness and urging them to claim their rights, broaden the scope of women's rights issues, and foster unity among women through groups and alliances to contribute to policy changes in the country (Acharya, 2012). The remarkable sacrifices made by women in achieving various rights in Nepal. Notably, Madheshi women played a significant role, sacrificing their lives during movements to restore democracy in the 1990s (Tumbahangfe, 2002). They participated actively in most of the political and social movements of Nepal including the Madhesh movements (Sah & Rai, 2022). They have played a pivotal role in challenging traditional social norms that hinder gender equality. Many good policies have been formulated with the effort of Madheshi women. The feminist movement in Nepal emerged in distinct phases, aligning with political movements, such as Saat Saal ko Kranti. The shared objectives of political and feminist movements aimed at instituting a democratic system in the country, seeking to transform and structure the system in history. The feminist movement has long been advocating for women's rights and empowerment such as women's education, political involvement, addressing violence against women, and promoting women's economic empowerment (Mishra, 2018). However, the entrenched patriarchal and autocratic system has consistently posed challenges to the feminist movement in Nepal. Women from diverse backgrounds actively participated in the movement with determination and unwavering courage. These women encountered both physical and psychological torture during various movements in Nepal.

I argue that mainstream writers failed to document the contributions of Madheshi women. They were often excluded from mainstream narratives of the feminist movement in Nepal. Despite facing numerous social, cultural, and economic challenges, they actively participated in the movements. Yadav (2016) stated that women are excluded based on their education, class, caste, region, political affiliation, and age in a patriarchal structure. Overall, Madheshi women engaged actively in the feminist movement to challenge and transform societal norms, seeking to create an egalitarian society for future generations.

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This study helps to document the courage of Madheshi women's warriors. Moreover, this study will broaden the understanding of the feminist movement and Madheshi women. Additionally,

the study findings contribute to reshaping the feminist agenda, fostering unity among diverse feminist voices in Nepal.

Current Knowledge

The feminist movement in Madhesh

The feminist movement in Nepal was formally started against discrimination, autocratic domination, and oppression of the state in the 1950s. Mishra (2018), the feminist movement played a significant role in advancing gender equality and ensured women's representation in legislative bodies. However, women had to struggle for their representation in every sector. The pre-Rana regime feminist movement primarily concentrated on establishing democracy and human rights in Nepal.

During the Rana regime, the major concern of the feminists was for women's education, skill development, and campaign against entrenched traditional social norms such as child marriage, and polygamy. Some of the committees were established in Terai to challenge the hegemonic cultural and social norms. In Madhesh, women's committees were formed to combat traditional social norms and cultural practices, with a primary focus on promoting the skills and education of Madheshi women. A "Mahila Samiti" was established in the Chandraganj of Sirah district in 1974 B.S. The objectives of the Samiti were to focus on education and provide orientation on domestic and handicraft skills for women. The committee protested against ghumto pratha (veil system) in Saptari and Dhanusa districts in 1975 B.S. Samiti's action seemed to promote women's liberation and equality. However, the Samiti was functional for approximately one and a half years (Tumbahangfe, 2002; Tumbahangfe, 2006). This type of informal network redefines women's role and transforms society.

Women from some communities still wear *ghunghat* which is a powerful tool to restrict women's mobility. This practice prevents women from engaging in work, fostering women's dependency on financial support from others (Devi & Kaur, 2019). The privileged and affluent urban women used to wear veils whereas those who belonged to poor families and worked as slaves were less likely to wear veils. Sah (2017) further stated now Madheshi women who live in the city rarely wear *ghumato*. The majority of Madheshi women do not view *ghumato* as a barrier in their career.

Akhil Nepal Mahila Sangh was founded in 2007 B.S (1950 AD) in Birgunj with a mission for women's liberation. The organization submitted a proposal to the Nepalese government, advocating for the inclusion of women in the cabinet. The demands of the organization included the appointment of doctors and nurses in the hospitals with maternity wards, and the enactment of national law to ban child marriage, and polygamy (<u>Tumbahangfe</u>, 2002). However, the state failed to address the demands of the committee.

A Madheshi woman Kalupati Devi and Yamuna Devi played a significant role in the Parasi, Butwal, Bhagwanpur, and, Jhande Nagar revolts led by the Nepali Congress against the Rana

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regime under the leadership of Dr. KI Singh in 1950 AD (Sah, 2019; Tumbahangfe 2002; Raut, 2018; Sah & Rai 2022). However, the movement was dominated by women leaders whose fathers, husbands, or any close relatives were prominent leaders at that time (Acharya, 2012). Still, Nepalese politics is dominated by the relatives of the prominent leaders.

Kisaan Andolan (1951-1957 AD) was the most extensive movement in the country's history. Large numbers of farmers actively participated in the protest. During the Bardiya Rajapur's movement in 2008 Baisakh 20 B.S. (3 May 1951), the police fired on the farmers' protest and the tragic loss of six farmers' Koili Tharuni, Pati Ram Tharu, Lakshmi Tharu, Dibuva Tharu, Chapu Tharu and Solariya Tharu, twenty-seven farmers were injured. Their primary objectives were to claim one-third (Trikur) of the harvested grain as compensation for their labor. Approximately 1300 Tharus, including men, women, and children, mobilized to collect their Trikur from the field. (Khadka, 2021; World Organization Against Torture 2006, p.13).

Further, women engaged in a hunger strike for 27 days in 2008 B.S (1951 AD). They were demanding the reopening of the closed jute mill in Biratnagar. The movement was started in 2003 by Falgun 21, and aimed at securing fair wages, quarters, and other benefits for the workers (Paudel,2018; Tumbahangfe, 2002). The peasant movement was started in 2009 B.S in Rauthat which is recognized as "*Tanusuk Fatta*" movement in Nepal. Farmers united and chanted "*Re Nahi Ji Kaho*". Farmers were oppressed by the police and many were arrested. This movement gained momentum in the districts of Sarlahi, Mahottari, Bara, Pasa, Saptari, and Rauthat (Raut,p,187; Khadka,2021).

In 2025 B.S Chaitra (1969, April), Farmers of Kapilvastu protested against the exploitation of poor Madhesi farmers by the Nepal government in the name of a savings scheme. Madhesi women surrounded the Nepali government officials who had gone to collect savings in Taulihawa of Kapilvastu. The uprising took place in the villages of Kapilvastu and Nawalparasi. The police repressed widely and fired, and as a result, 23 people lost their lives (Gaige, 2013, p.195-196). Tumbahangfe (2002), Madheshi women performed a significant role in the peasant movement (Kisan Bidroha) in the Dhanusa district during 2032 B.S (1975 AD). There was a people's movement in 2046 B.S(1990 AD). Women from all over Nepal participated in diverse forms of protest, including carrying gaagri, binding black clothes around their mouths, and creating noise with clattering plates. They had also organized a torch rally to raise their voices. However, the government responded by arresting numerous protestors from various places including Sulochana yadav, and Sarita Yadav arrested from Morang (ibid).

Madheshi women actively participated and made significant sacrifices as front-line warriors at various historical junctures to assert their identity vis-a-vis the state. For instance, on February 20, 1990, in Yadukoha, Dhanusa, three Madheshi women - Janaki Yadav, Sonabati Yadav, and Bhuwaneshori Yadav were shot by the police while participating in a protest rally against the government (<u>Tumbahangfe</u>, 2006; <u>Sah</u>, 2017, <u>Tumbahangfe</u>, 2002; <u>Sah</u> & <u>Rai</u>, 2022). These events marked a pivotal moment, with these three Madheshi women becoming the first ladies'

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martyrs in the history of Nepal (Sah,2019). The Madhesi women did not hesitate to make sacrifices with their lives.

The feminist movements are not only limited to achieving political rights in Nepal but also focused on addressing issues related to superstition and malpractice prevalent in society. For instance, advocacy for the rights of single women, and protesting against harmful practices

such as witch-hunting, dowry, child marriage, Kamalari, and Chhaupadi. Marani Devi, an old village woman, contributed to creating awareness in the marginalized community against social evil such as witchcraft which is a deep-rooted cultural practice in society. Similarly, Dhengani Devi from Parsa was killed in the accusation of witchcraft. After these incidents, the government was compelled to pass the Witchcraft Act (Offense and Punishment) 2072 (Adhikari, 2008; Karna, 2022; Bhandari, 2023). Accusing women of witches, and tormenting them mentally and physically is a very common practice in many villages in southern Nepal. Sapna Sanjeevani raised her voice against violence against women, and patriarchy during the women's march. She advocated for justice by reciting the poem. Unfortunately, she got the threat of murder and rape (Baral, 2021). Similarly, Rubi Khan, along with 11 other women, was demanding a fair investigation into the death of Nakuuni Dhobi and the disappearance of Nirmala Kurmi (Nepal, 2022). Muskan Khatun is a women's rights activist dedicated to eradicating acid attacks in the country. She was honored with the 2021 International Women of Courage Trophy. She was a victim of an acid attack at the age of 15 ("Muskan Khatun Got", 2021).

Research Gap

The research on the feminist movement in Nepal has made significant progress in recent years. However, there is not enough literature regarding the involvement of Madheshi women in Nepal's feminist movement. The study of the feminist movement and other political movements in Nepal has predominantly been conducted from the perspectives of *Pahadi high*-caste women. This study has been done from the Madheshi women's perspective and tries to capture their narratives. Therefore, this study highlighted the engagement of Madheshi women in the feminist movements.

Research objectives

The primary objective of the study is to explore the role of Madheshi women within feminist movements. Additionally, this study seeks to examine the strategies they employ and the challenges they encounter while participating in the movements.

Materials & Methods

The qualitative design was applied to this study. I successfully conducted comprehensive indepth interviews with 28 Madheshi women political leaders,15 women's rights activists, 8 women Journalists, and 3 family members of women rights activists and political leaders with purposive sampling. In addition, key informants' interviews were conducted with 14 Madheshi men representing various sectors. The aim was to explore the understanding of Madheshi men regarding the involvement of women in various movements.

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The participants of the research were from higher caste to lower caste. They were also from various ages and classes. The collected data were analyzed by using Nvivo software. The research has been analyzed through the feminist lens.

Results and Discussion

Madheshi women's engagement in political Movements

A political movement represents the collective and organized efforts of a group to bring substantial change in major aspects of society. Some people think contributing to the movement means solely activities like chanting slogans, protesting, and participating in marches. Senior journalist Chandra Kishor challenged this perception.

In Kishor's view, active participation in a movement goes beyond physical presence on the streets. contributing to a movement means a way of supporting the attainment of the goals of the movement. Even actions carried out from one's home are also recognized as participation in the movement. He additionally shared a history of Madheshi women, as articulated by the renowned Hindi writer Ram Briksha Benipuri's in his 'Nepal Diary's.

Sumitra singh (Bhumihar) was from Lohana of Dhanusa district. She was one of the five-member delegation that went to Russia in 1956 AD along with Mangala Devi Singh. She was also a member of 'Sallahakar Sabha' formed during King Tribhuvan's time. She played an active role in various social and political movements. She was actively involved in the movements for democracy during 2007-17 B.S.

Dana Devi Nepali (Tiwari) who is one of the Madheshi women leaders from Mahottari was exiled during the *Panchyat period* along with her *family*. She graciously shared

I was in exile in Kharsang, Sitamarhi and Muzaffarpur of India from 2030 to 2035 B.S (tentative five years). I was active in politics in forming women's organization. I had supported my husband to run the night class for women in different places in Mahottari. I was arrested on the 7th Falgun 2046. I had a warrant 7 days before. I came out of a procession (Julus) from my village Chauria and I was arrested by the police. They kept me in Jaleshwor jail. I was beaten by the police. I was also blinded, (Hammar ankha foirdela aa akhno wote banhiya sa thik nai bhel chhai) and had to be treated for 2 months. But my eyes are not working well until now. I was freed on Chaitra 26,2046 from the jail. But I feel proud that I came with a democracy.

She further said that at that time some women were always with me. They were

Bimala Sharma from Malibara, Tara Devi, from Kolhwa Bagyia, Narayanbati,Kaasi devi from my village, Sitaram Bhandari's wife and wife of Ganesh sir from Hirapur. She further said that we formed Mahila Sangh at Mahottari . I was an advisor of the Mahila sangh, Bimala Sharma was the

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president, Narayanbati was a secretary and Sitamram Bhandrai's wife was a treasure.

The Nepalese people's movement successfully dismantled the prolonged monarchy and autocratic system of governance in 1990 AD (<u>Dhakal, 2015; Tamang, 2009, Yadav, 2016</u>). In each political movement, both men and women actively participated in various stages, as their counterparts of men and women from the *Pahadi* community. However, during the people's movement in 1990 AD, only a limited number of Madheshi women were prominent front-line

warriors. Regarding the direct involvement, Journalist Dharmendra Jha and Chandra Kishor said Only a few Madheshi women were directly involved in the politics until 1990s AD.

The Maoist movement insurgency which took place from 1996 to 2006 AD against the state. Several women played significant roles from every caste such as Madheshi, Dalit, Janjati, and some ethnic minorities. Within the eastern Terai region, oppressed castes such as Dalits and Tharus also played substantial roles in the Maoist movement (Manchanda,2004; Tamang 2009). There is an increase in the acceptance of various castes in Nepal after Maoist conflicts (Yadav, 2016, p.53). Most of the Madheshi Dalits joined the Maoist party to confront the oppression they had experienced since their childhood.

Indu Tharu who is a researcher, shared

Our family had to face unnecessary and unwarranted torture from the Nepal Army during the conflict. I lost my grandmother, my father, and my uncle during the conflict. My grandfather and my uncle were brutally killed by the police. I had a terrible life during my childhood.

Jwala Sah who is a federal MP shared her experience

There was a meeting to send injured cadres to India for their treatment. At the same time, we were surrounded by the army and they started firing. At that time, I was 2 months pregnant. Three friends died on the spot and I thought I would not live. Then I jumped into the Jamuniya River.

The Madhesh movement has been recognized as a separate identity of Madheshi and contributed to shaping federalism in the country (Hachhethu, 2007; Chamlagai, 2020). These movements were very significant in contributing to social and political changes. It created opportunities for women who never thought of entering politics or becoming politicians (Yadav, 2016 p66). Women from diverse castes, classes, and groups were largely and voluntarily involved in the movements. Notably, six Madheshi women sacrificed their lives during the Madhesh movement in 2015 AD, Ranjana Singh Chhetri from Marchwar Rupandehi, Nandani Pandey from Bethari Butwal, Sohawati Muraw from Rupandehi, Dropati Devi Dhanuk from Rangeli Morang, Ramsila Mandal from Hathilet Mahottari, and Radhika Das Kaithbaniya from Sarlahi (Sah, 2019; Sah & Rai, 2022). I met Chameli Devi Das who actively engaged in the Madhesh movement shared her experience

I participated in Thaari, Jhadoo (Plate, broom julus) procession which was organized to demonstrate the power of women. Similarly, I set fire to cars, vandalized public property, and clashed with police. Sometimes even I got

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beaten by the police. Sometimes we used to go to the front so that the men protestors would not be beaten too much. A larger number of Dalit women participated in the movement. Somehow there were some women from another caste as well they were Rita Jha, Anuradha Yaday, Rukmini Mandal, and more.

Some of the research participants entered into politics driven by family influence, personal interests, capabilities, and more. Although there has been an increase in the representation of women due to inclusive policies, nepotism remains pervasive in Nepalese politics. Despite the significant contributions of Madheshi women, they lag significantly behind Pahadi women and

male members of their community. Moreover, within the Madheshi community, Dalit and Muslim women face greater disparities compared to their higher-caste Hindu counterparts. Other Dalit women leaders said the media person was taking a bite of men and higher caste-educated women only. Senior advocate Pannala Gupta also agreed that Dalit women's contributions have remained largely unrecorded in history among Madheshi community. He further stated that those who possess the ability to read and write have the power to document their history.

The involvement of Madheshi women in social movements/ Social campaigns

Dalits are marginalized and categorized as low case in South Asia. Madheshi Dalits are scattered in Terai belt. Madheshi Dalits are poor and landless people in the community. A larger number of Madheshi Dalit women do not have ownership of the land. Most of the women are uneducated and work as laborers on the other's farmland. Women are a backward community even among the Dalit community (Tiwari,2014). Dalits are assigned low-paid and less prestigious jobs in society. They have been participating in various types of movements to change their social and economic status in society. For example, Chamar (Ram) and other Dalits from Siraha and Saptari districts have participated in various movements against castebased discrimination and untouchability (Paudel,2007). The Dalit movement has also been significant in achieving legal amendments, allocation of budget anti- caste discrimination programs, workshops, etc. (Kharel&Suji,2019). However, they are facing challenges in pursuing their agendas.

Sino Bahiskar movement was held in Madhesh. There was a tradition that Chamar was forced to dispose of cattle carcasses without any pay. The higher caste community wanted to stop the movement (Jha,2017). The Chamar (Ram) caste was humiliating because of this tradition. Madheshi analyst Tula Narayan Sah noted that *Sino Bahiskar movement was initiated from Siraha district but its effect spread all over the Madhesh*. Further, I have talked with Ram Rati Ram who has participated in the movement.

One day, a buffalo (Pada) died in Lahan Ward No. 1 Matiarwa. The people of the Chamar community refused to dispose. There was economic blockade social boycott, and restriction to use of public properties as well. All the shops were closed. We were hungry and thirsty. Then, we started to protest and the human rights organizations of other countries including Nepal also supported us. We broke the blockade together. She further added that no Chamar women were

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appointed as midwife and swastha swayam sevika. But when the children were born in the village, the Chamar women were called to cut the placenta even at night.

Nepalese journalists played a significant role in advancing the feminist movement by offering a platform for women to share their stories. Among them, Madheshi women journalists actively address gender disparities, discrimination, and inequalities through in-depth reporting, feature stories, and more. Sometimes they also show a sense of solidarity by covering the news of protests. I have talked with a woman journalist who is from Madhesh province. Her experience

A boy had loved a girl from the Chaudhary community for 8 years and kept her as a wife without marriage. The boy was a ward member and wanted to marry another girl. I assured her that I would keep her identity confidential but use the boy's name in the news. The News chief was absent on that day, I aired her story as a headline, and it quickly gained widespread attention. Ultimately, the marriage was halted, and she got compensation.

I got an opportunity to meet with a woman rights activist Pallavi who said I want to portray the agency role of Madheshi women through Mithila paintings. She shared her work

In the past, traditional paintings often portrayed women confined to the domestic setting or engaged in religious rituals, perpetuating patriarchal norms that can inadvertently reinforce stereotypical gender roles. I intend to shift this narrative by portraying women in diverse roles; women are driving scooters and going to school, a deputy mayor or vice chair and ward members delivering speeches, and engaging in various activities.

The Nepalese mainstream feminist movement treated women as a homogeneous group, largely overlooking the specific concerns of Madheshi, Dalit, Muslim, and Janjati women. This movement was predominantly dominated by a higher caste such as *Brahmin, Chhetri, and some Newar* women until the 1990s (Jha, 2018; Sah, 2019; Tamang, 2009). The mainstream feminist perspective tended to view the agendas of Madheshi, Dalit, Muslim, and other marginalized groups as merely geographical issues. I went to visit Rubi Khan at Maitighar Kathmandu, a woman rights activist who was demanding justice for the murder of women. She highlighted her narratives.

This is the third time of our movement, driven by the quest for justice for Nirmala Kurmi. Our movement comprises fifteen individuals, with an initial group of 14 undertaking a walk from Nepalganj to Kathmandu. Despite our efforts, mainstream feminists have not come to join us. This is a national-level movement, and these self-proclaimed feminists remain silent.

I met Muskan Khatun who is a human rights activist and also the survivors of the acid attack. She shared her story

I was studying in class nine when I was attacked by throwing acid. I sent a letter to the prime minister KP Sharma Oli (former Prime minister) for a stronger. Then Nepal government introduced a law incorporating the provision for a fine of RS 10 million and a jail sentence of up to 20 years for the

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perpetrators of acid attacks. I was honored as an International Woman of Courage award in 2021.

The interviews above reveal that women from diverse professions, caste and ethnicity, geography, and political backgrounds participated in the feminist movements of Nepal. Some engage directly, while others contribute indirectly, collectively contributing to achieving justice for women. Despite their significant impact, their influence at the decision-making level remains limited.

Challenges

Most participants said they faced challenges while participating in the movement. While the specific challenges vary from person to person. I met Sarita Sharma, one of the Women leaders of Loktantrik Samajadi Party, Nepal (LOSPA) who shared her challenges and strategy to participate in the movement.

I belong to a prestigious family from the upper caste. I wanted to participate in the movement. But my family opposed my participation. Despite their objection, I participated in the rally, unfortunately, there was a firing from police and a larger number of protestors were injured including me. Despite my injury, I did not go to the hospital for treatment. Some media persons were reporting about the protest and then I requested them not to reveal my face, disclose my identity, and share my photographs in the media because my family would know about my involvement.

Another woman right activists shared her strategies

I received rape threats, and attempts were made to hack my Facebook. Unknown numbers threatened my family as well. I went to the police to file a complaint. But they did not register my case. I did not get support from mainstream feminists. I deactivated my social media personal account and I thought it would be better not to file the complaint again. Then I started writing some articles as a strategy and giving interviews only in international trusted media.

Despite facing challenges, Madheshi women continue to participate in the feminist movement in Nepal. They are working for social justice and equity. However, they express great disappointment with the behavior of mainstream feminist movements. Mishra (2021) agreed that marginalized women are not happy with the mainstream feminist movement because the mainstream feminist movement is predominantly led by higher-caste urban women, who often assert that women are homogeneous groups and share common issues. So marginalized women's agenda is often neglected.

Conclusion

The feminist movement has achieved notable success in challenging discrimination, oppression, and gender inequality in both social and political sectors. Madheshi women have actively contributed to the feminist movement throughout the history. Their contribution has been crucial to the success of various movements. They are contributing to the movement

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through art, drama, poems, research, writing, and protesting against violence such as accusing witchcraft, rape, preventing child marriage, policy advocacy, and more on. Women are not homogeneous groups; their contributions to feminism vary based on diverse factors. The contribution of the Madheshi women within the feminist movement in Nepal has often been overlooked and undocumented in history. The agenda of marginalized women including Madheshi women, received limited attention within the feminist movement. They faced physical and psychological challenges due to the involvement of the feminist movements. Their challenges also differ from one another based on factors such as education, socio-economic conditions, and caste. However, they have overcome challenges by adopting various strategies. Analyzing the influence of feminist movements on the everyday lives of ordinary Madhesi women is essential for future research.

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