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Abstract

This paper examines the reasoning behind the voice (lessness) of Maila Tharu and his son Somlal Tharu, the prominent characters in Mahananda Dhakal's novel Burhan, representing the western Nepalese Tharu community, in the context of the discussion on subaltern awareness within Nepal's caste-based elite structure. The paper observes the novel's present presumptions regarding subaltern consciousness and resistance by looking at Maila, one of the leaders of the Nepali socio-political movement, and their seemingly unquestioned goal of mainstreaming. Furthermore, it highlights the Tharus' social reality in the light of how the subaltern is misrepresented and altered during transitions, particularly in Nepal's numerous politicalcultural movements, both before and after the Maoist insurgency and the Tharu Liberation movement. The study, which is a qualitative analytical research work, tries to conclude that despite the political liberation movements that took place throughout Nepal's political history, the voice for prosperity is still overshadowed by the contemporary governmental structure, where marginalized people like Tharus have turned into the victims of all kinds of wars and movements. In fact, Maila Tharu cannot speak nor is heard if today's power politics continues. Characters like Maila Tharu and his son Somlal experience the biases of cultural interactions and political changes as well as so-called right-based activism, which, until this day, works against economic prosperity.

Key words: Elites, liberation movement, marginality, representation, subaltern, Tharu,

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Introduction

This study attempts to examine *Burhan*, the first fictitious work by Mahananda Dhakal, critically from the standpoint of subaltern research and resistance by subaltern community. "Burhan" is a term from the Tharu language used to describe the plain and fertile agricultural areas in Bardiya, Kailali, and Kanchanpur districts. Nevertheless, the novel is set in the western Dang district and the plains of the Bardiya district regarding the protagonist's journey for a convenient life. The fifteen-part book opens with a difficulty endured by Maila Tharu in the Western Dang countryside; subsequent chapters focus on his uprooting to the Bardiya district and his battle to make ends meet. When his son Somlal actively participates in the Tharu liberty movement, his father's fight for liberty is considered unfinished. Western Nepalese Tharus' customs, conventions, and culture are essentially the focus of the story and its context. The novel covers its best the story of a Tharu migrant, especially from Dang to the western Terai dreaming to transform into a quality life.

The Odyssey of Maila Tharu

The journey from Dang to Burhan imposed on Maila Tharu, the protagonist of the novel, cannot be viewed as simply a migration; rather, it is a social, political, and cultural displacement. It becomes more pathetic and sentimental for the displaced. In particular, displacement forces an individual to move against his or her will. 'The condition of displacement does not become fixed with the end of movement; it remains an ongoing condition which is concerned with separation from home[. . .] is often described in terms of exile' (Bakewell, 22). Maila's pain and obligation of displacement is explicitly reflected when he says, "Maila's parents left the Hill without seeing the winter harvests that would shortly be harvested. They did not enjoy the winter harvest as much as they had in past years. They might never be able to grow on Chitrakuti soil. They would never plough to sow seeds or gather crops." (Dhakal, 51) His relocation is merely an attempt to live a better life. Caste-based discrimination, social and cultural segregation, and ongoing exclusion from resources and modes of production were the main driving forces at the period.

The Tharu community is and was the true hope of agriculture and soil, yet they were and still are relegated to a lesser social class. The relocation to Maila Tharu with his family and neighbours caused him to leave his birthplace. Maila feels sentimental about his trip to Burhan. Narrator further says, "He recalls his birthplace many times, many ways particularly the moment of departure in the early morning. Burhan was like glamour to his childhood innocence; however, he gradually felt an obscurity of poor Burhan" (Dhakal, 54). It was not only his plight. He says he still recalls the mass displacement of Tharus from Dang. The modern society's social structure was the cause of the relocation. The true cultivator, Tharus, had no land of their own to farm, had become weary of the mainstream elite structure's decades-long labour abuse of them in the name of tradition, felt degraded, and had fallen into a lower social and economic class. Therefore, immigration served as a means of both resistances to the elite structure and a search

for the dream of comfort. Dalits and other ethnic minorities are the main victims in Nepal.

The everyday activities of Maila and his community likewise accurately embody the overall practice of hegemony. He was compelled to move from Dang to Burhan due to his difficult social and economic circumstances. The constant discrimination he experienced as a child from elites had a tremendous impact on his life. His base economic structure is the reason for his marginalization in terms of identity in terms of health, education, and lower social strata. The administration of the economy is one of his biggest concerns in communal life. Novelists frequently ponder where contemporary authority has gone wrong. Novelists also ask why the government's persistent disregard for economic ambitions prevents Nepal's ethnic and indigenous groups from being empowered. Chaitanya Mishra says the Terai uprising is not regional movement. In fact, it is Jatiya movement. That is not the uprising of Terai but a Madhesi movement. Jatiya movement does not represent the interests of downtrodden people (3). In fact, the Terai revolt just made the identities of the Madhes from a comparatively affluent class visible, failing to express the true issues of the oppressed. Therefore, politicizing caste and ethnicity will always obscure the real issues. Regarding the communal image of Tharus, Upadhyay writes in Feudal Legacy, Ethnicization and Democratization in Nepal ... are the original stewards of the environment or the Bhumiputra (son of the land), holding the land of their ancestors in trust for future generations. They have no history of migration from other places. They are those distinct and vulnerable tribes who possess only a limited ability to participate in, and are most often marginalized by the development process. (101)

"Burhan" is a Tharu term that literally means "the new land" in its historical background (Chaudhary). The term "Burhan" is a joint name for the districts of Bardiya, Kailali, and Kanchanpur of western Nepal (Dahit, 1979). The Tharus moved from their customary properties in and around Dang, selecting Burhan as their new vacation spot.

Subaltern Studies provides a postcolonial critique that focuses on indigenous peoples, women, Dalits (or untouchables), people from backward classes, and marginalized people who have been left out of history (Wagle, 99). They are thus engaged in a struggle to define their own identity. In this periphery, the research work initially examines the conditions and contributing aspects of the migrating protagonist Maila and his son Somlal in the context of migration theories. It also examines his struggle for identity in the form of subaltern resistance to the bourgeoisie and governmental elites critically. The recent theory on subaltern and discourse studies will look into the family's resistance to their subalternism. It also attempts to critically assess the justification of identity politics and the Nepali ethnic movement in order to solve the future of subalterns like Maila and Somlal.

This research work also aims to critically examine the rationale behind identity politics and the Nepali ethnic movement in order to address the future of people like Maila and his family. The paper will endeavour to investigate the inadequacies of the long-running Nepalese

liberation movement since it hasn't seemed to be able to sufficiently address the core issues with the everyday existence of prominent Nepalese from the grassroots, such as Maila Tharu. What is the main disadvantage of this failure? Has the pursuit of affluence become a secondary objective for the Nepali freedom movement? The ethnic uprising that took place during the Maoist insurgency period and some of the movements that followed, most notably the Tharu Movement in western Nepal, have not adequately addressed the genuine suffering of subaltern Tharus. Thus, marginalized people, such as the Tharus, remain behind mainstream political, administrative, and social lives in the practical realm; and this paper examines and discusses all of these issues in order to reveal the reality of oppressed people like the Tharus of Western Nepal.

The essential concern of subaltern consciousness is finding the space of resistance. One way to interpret the move to Burhan is as an attempt to find comfort, which in turn sparks subaltern resistance. The historical narrative centers on elites' political consciousness, namely on their opposition to and rebellion against the status quo. Elites constantly attempt to engage with the state and shape popular opinion through lobbying in the media, public gatherings, petitions, and other means. In the Nepalese context, the term "subaltern" is controversial since it speaks to concerns of gender, class, caste, and ethnicity that are all closely tied to dominance and subordination. Problems of inclusion and exclusion related to geography, culture, religion, etc. By analyzing cases from South Asia, the study gazes on the live experiences of subaltern communities, their struggles for liberation, and the processes through which they negotiate their agency within complex socio-political frameworks. Tara Lal Shrestha, in this regard, states being a multicultural, semi-colonial country, the identities of the subaltern groups of people are diverse in the Nepalese context; they exist and speak from various spaces. Though Nepal was never colonized, it was/is never free from (neo) colonial and (neo) imperial power interventions. The internal colonization mission has dominated and subordinated the women, Dalits, Janajaties, Madhesis and disenfranchised them in such a way that the subalterns are hardly able to overcome the layers of hegemony (9).

In the cases of marginalized peoples' voice it is evident that their voices are bound to acknowledge their agents in various forms, for acquiring some kinds of social justice and inclusive policy. But the earlier one seek to refute the notion that the experiences of oppressed groups should be neglected in favour of the viewpoint of the ruling class. They make an effort to learn about their worldviews, cultural customs, and resistance. If there are no other options, silence alone can be a powerful kind of resistance. The protagonist, Somlal, loses his wife unexpectedly due to snakebite, rendering him powerless. He understands that is the outcome of his lack of wealth; he is a Kamaiya, a modern day slave. "Somlal cried severely. Maila's eyes welled with tears but could not outburst in cry. Kinsmen became speechless. They returned back home after her burial. Maila felt regretted due to the delay on her treatment." (Dhakal, 205). The villagers carried out his wife's funeral in accordance with their cultural customs. He would rather say nothing after she passed away. No sharing with his kin and family. His quiet is

a result of his resistance to and rage against the situation in which he is struggling, in addition to his deepest grief over losing his wife. The only option left to them when they are unable to rebel in a forceful manner is to stay mute and incite resistance in others.

The goal of subaltern studies should be to increase the subaltern's area of existence while resisting the need to elevate consciousness. Thus, subaltern, as Masse's opines, has to promote oppositional feelings, thoughts, and actions (46). Furthermore, he tries to resist Rudralal's offer of New Year, enslave him as *Kamiya*. The narrator observes Somlal's appearance in front of Rudralal. He didn't greet him, nor said *Ram Ram* (a cultural greeting). He remained silent. He was anxious and still. His body language was inferring that he would not continue at Badaghar (209). Dhakal further writes Rudralal got angry all of a sudden. He became rude when Somlal rejected to reply all his questions and alternatives (209).

Elites always have deliberately misrepresented the voices of the underprivileged groups which are identical to the colonist psychology to dominate the subaltern groups. As Frantz Fanon writes, "the magical, supernatural powers proved to be surprisingly ego busting" (19). The elite narrative history treats the subaltern community's exhilarating belief in and inspiration from ceremonial Gods as superstition. They accept both popular beliefs and folklore to be true. The middle class nationalists disapprove of their methods and philosophy. The first line of defense is language. In addition to verbally interacting with Elites, the native tongue allows the patient to communicate their innermost thoughts and feelings of anxiousness. The focus of the research shifts from politics to the subaltern people's culture, observing both literary and cultural ways of understanding history. The first emancipatory act in our understanding of castes, tribes, and other similar groups is carried out by the Subaltern Studies initiative as David Ludden says that a subaltern study has become "an original sight for a new kind of history from below, a people's history free of nation constraints" (12). The characters' use of their mother tongue for communication creates an emotional bond and a room for resistance. It subtly challenges the elite structure that is centred on the state. Their regional cuisine, traditions, and rituals help people feel safe and included in society while also bringing them closer to societal issues. Ethnic group languages have really been marginalized as a result of the state's reliance on one language. According to the president of the Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities, Raj Kumar Lekhi Tharu speaks on the national Television that because the state has long placed a strong emphasis on Nepali and Hindu cultures, indigenous nationalities and ethnic communities' culture and language have been neglected by the state. Although ethnic communities' languages and cultures have been neglected, this does not always indicate that they are poor on all counts.

Research Methodology

Since Mahananda Dhakal's subaltern resistance in *Burhan* is the subject of this paper, its foundation is the ethnographic method of investigation. It collects, analyses, and interprets data

in accordance with the fundamentals of qualitative research. This study gathers information about ethnic studies, analysis of political development in Nepal since decades, Tharu culture correspondences, and subaltern studies as well as migration study in accordance with the interpretative research paradigm.

A thorough analysis of pertinent literature was carried out in order to offer a thorough grasp of the problems pertaining to identity crisis, cultural encounters, and subalternism. A variety of academic databases, such as JSTOR, Google Scholar, and Research Gate, along with additional pertinent sources such books, journals, and articles were used to conduct the literature review. The researchers did the analysis of the book; no participants were included in the study. Due to the qualitative approach underlying the research design, themes pertaining to the research questions—such as ethnic studies, migration, identity politics, and the subaltern—could be thoroughly explored both online and offline. The primary source of data is *Burhan*, a novel written by Mahananda Dhakal. In addition, academics from the Tharu study were consulted for a comprehensive review of the text. It is strongly anticipated that the research piece will be helpful for upcoming studies on the examination of different Tharu spatial dimensions in mainstream politics.

The goals of the study were achieved through the use of a qualitative research approach. The data was acquired by a comprehensive thematic analysis of the text. Thematic analysis is a method for locating, analyzing, and summarizing patterns (themes) in data. The paper examines the novel's present presumptions regarding subaltern consciousness and resistance. It also looks at the marginal community's voice and justification, as embodied by the main character Maila Tharu, in the Nepali sociopolitical movement and its seemingly unquestioned goal of mainstreaming. It also reveals how the subaltern is (mis)represented during times of transition, a phenomenon that is more strongly felt in Nepal's various political and cultural movements, especially those that took place during and after the Maoist insurgency and the Tharu Liberation Movement in western Nepal. In light of pertinent literature, the study findings are examined and analyzed, and conclusions are reached as a result of the analysis. The study emphasizes the value of identifying subaltern identities and the strategies of resistance used to oppose mainstream elites in Nepali ethnic society. It examines critically the justifications of Nepal's liberation movements within the framework of Tharu empowerment.

Results and Discussion

The whole colorful and heartbreaking journey of Maila Tharu, who sets out to find economic, social, and psychological stability, from a Chitrakuti neighbourhood in the western portion of the Dang valley to "Burhan." Migration, defined as the state of being absent from one's customary area of residence, whether within a country or beyond borders, can have both positive and negative meanings, such as the pursuit of a better living environment. However, it may also have unfavourable responsibilities, such as avoiding political unrest, acts of violence,

natural disasters, or breaches of human rights. It usually comes with a big shift in the cultural makeup of the host community as well as the migrants. In this regard, Bakewell further clarifies the relation of migration and displacement as:

It is clear that both migration and displacement can be understood about process which bring about changes in people's physical condition and as a result transform economic, political and social relationships. Different aspects of migration and displacement process- including the structural condition in areas of origin, decision making (when to move, where to go), journey, and patterns of settlements – and the patterns of numerous of settlements and integration – are the subject of numerous studies.(19)

In *Burhan*, the situation of women and children is much more deplorable. It would be more appropriate to investigate the circumstances leading to their migration here, as they are linked to the Panchayat regime in Nepal. The state organizations in Panchyat portrayed expansive nationalist narratives that ignored the place of indigenous people within the Nepali political structure. In the history of Nepal, ethnic nationalities have rarely held decisive positions in the authority. Panchyat nationalism is redefined, reshaped, and rebuilt under King Mahnedra's direct leadership from 1961 to 1972. Hari P. Bhattrai states:

The constitution provision in various articles imposed by King Mahendra. "The 1962 Constitution particularly declared Nepal as a Hindu Kingdom [...] exclusionary and bias towards diverse cultural groups other than Hindus. Article 20 described the king as an 'adherent of Aryan culture and Hindu religion'. Article 3 specified Nepal as a 'Hindu' kingdom. Hindu symbols, like the cow as national animal, were embedded in the text. (58)

Kings brand of nationalism is institutionalized through the constitution, language, religion, clothing, literature, and other means. The politico-historical observation of Nepal presents the formation of nation-state which has been possible only thorough marginalizing and excluding certain religious, ethnic, lingual and cultural groups. Lawoti further writes, "The Nepali elite attempted to form a nation-state after the conquest but it was not based on political inclusion, equality and justice among various people and nations living within the territory. It was rather 2 through assimilation of various groups under the hill Hindu values and norms (103). Injustice has been pervasive throughout Nepali societies as a result of constant exploitation and discrimination against the Nepali people on the grounds of caste, religion, culture, and language. Discrimination, dominance, exploitation, and injustice are raging throughout society, endangering Nepal's peace, prosperity, and growth.

Unfortunately, the constitution of 1990 just remained a legal document. Public ownership in the constitution remained low; however, the multi-party democracy and constitutional monarchy were in its preamble. "Constitution of 1990 therefore rightly came under sharp scrutiny", Jhalak Subedi in *February First and Nepali Discourse on New Constitution Making*,

writes, "But the then government failed to bring about land reform and address Nepal's multicultural, multiethnic realities and regional inequalities because of the centralized state structure... The neo-liberal economic policy taken by the government increased the inequalities between the center and the periphery" (73). He further observes, "In the mean time, the CPN (Maoists) initiated a people's war, which quickly spread all over the country and took the form of a civil war. Racial, gender, regional and class issues, which the Maoist raised, were instrumental in the quick success of the movement" (73). After that, it turned into a questionable people's war. Overall, the real-life settings of Nepali poverty continue to be the same. The genuine agendas of social welfare, economic development, and equitable distribution were overlooked by the political shift that took place in 1990. Subaltern's overall goals stayed the same. By excluding the suppressed, the elite historiography is recognized as an official history.

At the expense of the cultures, religions, values, and castes of the marginalized people, the elite only valued their own cultures, codes, religions, and castes. In this sense, marginalized people's concerns have historically been ignored, and they are left out of significant initiatives. The people's voices are so muffled and unheard. Those viewpoints were absent from the prevailing historiography. The voices are denied by the elite history. In this connection, Ranjeet Guha suggests, "subaltern studies would not ignore the dominant, because the subalterns are always subject to their activity however its aim was to rectify the elitist bias characteristic of much research and academic work in south Asian Studies" (243). It aims to provide a systematic study of oppressed groups of society through a new historiography through a bottom-up approach. From the very beginning of caste division in Nepali society, the lower caste (Shudras) have been oppressed and ignored for centuries. Spivak's analysis is near to the composition of Nepali caste system. As he reclaims, "subaltern, they did not, do not speak. They do not have their history. They are Subalterns (30). The voices and actions of the oppressed indigenous people were completely disregarded by the bourgeois nationalists and monarchists. Reviewing the typical case of Nepali subaltern, Tara Lal Shrestha adds the subaltern groups exist in diverse locations and multiple situations. According to him:

[...] being a multicultural semi-colonial country, the identities of the subaltern groups of people are diverse. They exist and speak from various spaces. Though Nepal was never colonized, it was/is never free from (neo) colonial and (neo) imperial power interventions. The internal colonization mission has dominated and subordinated the women, Dalits, Janajaties, Madhesis and disenfranchised them in such a way that the subalterns are hardly able to overcome the layers of hegemony. The representation of the Nepali indigenous community especially Tharus, who are boycotted from mainstream politics. (17)

The tendency of subaltern studies seeks to explain the fundamental logic of oppressed people's expressions of resistance and oppression, which has a prominent foundation in Marxism. It reveals the history of poor people, primarily workers and peasants, on their own terms. The

group of a certain society denies subalterns the fundamental rights to take part in shaping social history and culture as an engaged and accountable citizen of the same country. Antonio Gransci argues that hegemony operates through the cultural and ideological sphere, where the ruling class establishes its dominance promoting its own worldview and values as universal and natural, while marginalizing and suppressing alternative perspectives. Capitalist society exercise hegemony by shaping the cultural narratives, norms, and institutions that support and perpetuate their economic and political interest (29). The entire effort of *Somlal*'s life remained under question when he refuses his appointment and revolts his family/community at the final scene of the novel:

The letter of appointment does not fulfill the dream of *Burhan*. This cannot be the outcome of my lifelong struggle for liberation. I do not need this mere paper. Is it enough to justify our identity? Is the ethnic existence limited only on it? Somlal brusted in a creeping voice. He angirily tored the paper into several pieces. Took bag. He straightly came out of the entrance gate being indifferent to *Ramita*. (324)

A question that begs to be asked—will his voice and efforts be heard in the future—is brought on by the sympathy for the character and the concern for his future. Given that the political and social liberation movement has been running for ten years, what is its rationale? The status quo, so-called liberation movement in Nepal is embodied by Maila Tharu and his son Somlal. The politics of inclusion and state reorganisation, which gained popularity following People's Movement II, are essentially insufficient to improve the actual situation of the ethnic impoverished Nepalis at the grassroots level. Nepal's political structure altered, but the country's impoverished residents' situation remained unchanged. The battle to get his voice and position heard stems from the state of the economy.

The intentional omission of economic concerns from the Nepali independence movement seemed to bewilder him. He only doubts the current socio-political structure, which he discovered when he discovered a wealthy upper class; Tharu is not the head of the Kamaiya Liberation Commission. We need to examine the propaganda discourse in order to assess and comprehend the workings of political conspiracies, as well as the discourse they generate, propagate, and influence. In the global context, colonialism has supported the multifaceted features in several domains in colonized countries in order to render the people docile, helpless, and confining; this is precisely how Maila Tharu and his group live. Native leads hybrid cultures and integrating discourses as a result. It is 'in a globalised world that tends to erase and homogenize differences and local inscriptions; global capitalism and cultural standardization also open up the risk of a flattening of differences' or an equalization of cultures (Guignery, 6). Such traits of hyberdity result with the issues such as ambivalence, indecisiveness, dislocatedness, and schizophrenia. My consideration on the adoption, consequences, and transmission of belief in conspiracy theories with their role is relevant to validitate the situation of *Maila* and his son's liberation movement which continuously lacking economic agendas. Conspiracy theories often arise from

speculation, misinformation and manipulation of facts and realities. A strong vision and focus on economic development was the underlying opponent of Nepali social backwardness, not our identity or "surnames," which reflect our caste or ethnicity. One by one, the political leaders of Nepal disregarded the economic goals. The emotion and identity triggers associated with culture, religion, gender, and unique identities were more potent in undermining the authority of the mainstream. For David Aaronovitch in *Voodoo Histories* sees a pattern among these inflammatory theories used similarly murky methods with which to insinuate their claims: they linked themselves to the supposed conspiracies of the past; they carefully manipulated their evidence to hide its holes. [...] (Paperback).

The goal of the political conspiracy discourse was to purposefully leave out the economic and GDP advancement agendas in Nepal's impoverished society. The fundamental agenda, which has the power to literally transform society, has always been marginalized by the political leadership of Nepal. Analyzing the dynamics of political conspiracy theories that are popular in South Asia, influence public perception, motivate people to believe them, and have the power to reshape political narratives. By examining the historical, social, and cultural background, it is possible to see how democracy, governance, and societal cohesion are primarily shaped to serve the interests of Nepal's ethnic and non-ethnic elites. The political story of Nepal has always captivated people's attention and has shaped narratives that mainstream canon has been interpreting for decades. As a result, Maila will continue to be unsaid, ignored, and unheard of in the future. Maila Tharu(s) can only talk when appropriate policy corrections and economic agenda implementations are realized. Right movements must implement a comprehensive economic plan to integrate Nepal's subaltern population into the mainstream during this prosperous economic period.

Conclusion and Recommendation

If the voices of Maila Tharu are not given tangible economic prosperity, then the subaltern agenda as a whole does not change. By suppressing the cultures, faiths, values, and castes of the marginalized people, the elite only respected their own cultures, codes, religions, and castes. In this sense, the Tharu people have historically faced marginalization, particularly in Nepal, where various initiatives consistently ignored their concerns. A number of factors have contributed to this historical neglect. The non-Tharu migrants like Parbati also struggle at the beginning of their stay in Bardiya district, but she and her family, with the support of the Tharu people, make significant changes in their lives and social status, as the novelist illustrates. Her children are capable of acquiring government jobs with handsome salaries, but the lives of *Bhumiputra* migrants like Maila Tharu even get worse. This is a partial truth, given the fact that nominal Tharus have also marched ahead despite facing a number of obstacles. The novelist depicts miserliness to showcase Maila Tharu's progress and positive changes in his life in an attempt to make his writing the representation of the majority of the Tharu folks.

Subaltern voices are so silenced and unheard. The prevailing historiography excluded those viewpoints. Maila Tharu, a grassroots Nepalese, still has basic economic goals that Nepal's power and government cannot reach. Why has this failure occurred, and what are its main disadvantages? Do Nepali freedom movements pursue affluence as a secondary objective? Neither the ethnic uprising during the Maoist insurgency period nor some of the movements that followed, most notably the Tharu Movement, adequately addressed the suffering of subaltern Tharus. The sympathy for the character and the apprehension about his predictions points to a significant issue with Nepal's ethnic minorities' political and economic mainstreaming. GDP and employment should be addressed in the state reform. Nepal's political structure altered, but the country's impoverished residents' situation remained unchanged. Addressing the historical marginalization of the Tharu people requires a comprehensive approach that involves acknowledging and rectifying past injustices, ensuring representation in decisionmaking processes, and implementing policies that respect their cultural identity and address their unique needs. Additionally, it is essential to promote inclusive development initiatives that empower the Tharu community economically and socially. For many years, Somlal and other members of his community have been used as scapegoats in political conspiracies in Nepal. He just doubts the status quo socio-political structure. It is impossible to truly bring wealth through changing the political structure.

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