



TOWARDS A FEDERAL NEPAL

Series I

AN ASSESSMENT
OF PROPOSED
MODELS

PITAMBER SHARMA and NARENDRA KHANAL
with
SUBHASH CHAUDHARY THARU

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chapter I

SYNOPSIS OF THE MODELS PROPOSED FOR THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE STATE

It was the Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007, that incorporated the resolve and intent of transforming Nepal into a (secular) federal democratic republic. The argument for transforming Nepal into a federal state, however, is not new, having been the basis for the recognition of the homelands of major ethnic groups for a number of years now.

A number of models have been proposed for the restructuring of the state under federal lines, particularly since the 2006 Jana Andolan II. This book provides synopses of models that are available in the public domain. But since there has been a plethora of such proposals not all of the proposed models could be included in this analysis. This has been necessitated because of two reasons: first, most models have been presented in the form of articles in vernacular magazines and newspapers, not all of which are easily accessible; and, second, the focus of most models has been on the geographic delineation of states or provinces with very little in the way of establishing a theoretical rationale for the delineation. While an effort has been made in making as comprehensive a selection as possible, the models dealt with here are far from exhaustive. The attempt has mainly been to include models that fairly represent the range of propositions that have been made.

The analysis is organised under five headings:

Objectives: The objectives with which the restructuring of the state has been proposed. This provides the rationale for the restructuring of the state.

Principles/criteria: The criteria proposed and used in the identification and delineation of the federal units.

Data and level of information: The source of data used in the analysis and the spatial level for which the data is pertinent. This indicates whether the data is verifiable.

Proposed federal model: The geographical delineation of federal units and their coverage in terms of existing administrative and spatial units. This is usually accompanied by a map showing the geographical delineation.

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority: This is to gain an idea of the structure of governance in terms of tiers of governance from the centre and the provinces or states down to the local level, and the scheme of decentralisation and devolution of power envisaged at different stages.

Three particular points need to be noted with respect to the models presented. First, each model proposes a number of principles or criteria for the restructuring of the state, and the geographical identification of the federal units. The criteria, however, do not lend easily to a consistent interpretation and often one of these may be at odds with the other. Second, the focus of most exercises is in the geographical delineation of the federal units. Ethnic concentration and language groups are considered in terms of the patterns reflected in the 2001 census, mostly at the district level. And, third, in most models, issues related to the tiers of government, devolution of authority and power-sharing at the different levels receive only passing reference or remain ignored altogether.

The focus seems to lie in the delineation of provinces or states, and the tiers of government, their structure and function and devolution of power below this level are simply not considered to be of relevance to the debate on state restructuring. As a result, an extremely important rationale for the restructuring of the state, namely, decentralisation and devolution of power to the lowest level, has not received the deserved attention. A related issue is that of the type and form of representation at various levels of government. Not enough thought has been paid to this aspect either.

1.1 MODELS OF RESTRUCTURING

Summaries of the models for restructuring the state into a federal system so far proposed are given below.

Structure for decentralised governance and ethnic partnership—proposal for an autonomous federal structure and inclusive governance

GOVINDA NEUPANE, social/community activist, 2000

Objectives

Resolve ethnic problem, promote ethnic equality, social justice and equality of opportunities for all, promote transparent management, and enhance ethnic partnership.

Principles/criteria used

- Ancestral homeland of caste/ethnic, language and cultural groups (identity).
- Topography and geographical potential.
- Ethnic autonomy and self-determination.
- Expression of people's aspirations.

Data and level of information

- Population Census 1991 data on ethnicity, language at district level.
- Data on participation of different ethnic groups at the national-level decision-making processes (in political, judicial and administrative systems, and education and academia).

Proposed federal model (see Map 1.1)

- 11 autonomous regions: Kirat (11 districts), Bijayapur (3), Mithila (5), Tamsaling (9), Nepa (3), Lumbini (6), Kapilbastu (6), Tamumagarant (9), East Khasan (9), Middle Khasan (7), and West Khasan (7).
- In a later paper entitled 'Multiethnic federal state and inclusive democratic governance system' (in S. Tamang [ed], *Nepalko Sandharbhama Rajyako Punsamrachana*, 2006) Neupane proposes 8 regions: Kirat (11 districts), Tamsaling (9), Nepa (3), Tamumagarant (9), Khasan (23), Tharuwan (6), Bhojpuri (6) and Mithila (8). The three Khasans of his earlier formulation (West, Middle and East) have been merged into one while the name of Kapilbastu has been changed to Tharuwan; and Bijayapur and Mithila have been combined to form the Mithila region; and the Lumbini region has been renamed Bhojpuri.

The implications of topography and geographic potential for the delineation of regions have not been explained. The Tarai districts have been combined to form the three (Mithila, Bhojpuri and Tharuwan) federal regions in the Tarai.

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

- Three tiers of governance: centre, provincial/regional and local.
- Defence, foreign affairs, foreign trade, monetary policy with the centre; land administration, natural resource management, education, culture and social services with the province/region; and decentralised power with local bodies.

Does not provide a clearly defined structure of representation at different levels.

Reorganisation of districts and restructuring from the perspective of decentralisation and regional development

HARKA GURUNG, geographer/planner, 2000/2006

Objectives

To achieve regional balance in national development through decentralisation and devolution of power and authority by restructuring sub-national political/administrative units. As such, Gurung's is not a model for a federal Nepal but only a proposal to restructure and reorganise existing districts.

Principles/criteria used

- Development administration (decentralisation and devolution of power and authority).
- Expansion of transport network.
- Economic viability (financial resources—revenue and expenditure pattern in the districts).

Data and level of information

Revenue and expenditure data by district, potentiality for resource mobilisation at the district level, regional disparity (GDP, level of development and its trend), land use, accessibility, industrial location and urban system at the district and development region levels.

Proposed model for reorganising districts (see Map 1.2)

Four hierarchical orders of spatial units in terms of function have been proposed: 5 planning and development regions as the 1st order, 25 administrative and development districts as the 2nd order, 75 service-delivery areas as the 3rd order, and 3000 VDCs and 34 municipality as local-level service delivery and development units in the 4th order.

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

- 5-tier: centre, planning and development regions, districts, *ilakas* (areas) and VDCs/municipalities.
- Regional Development Council to coordinate development activities at the regional level. Line agencies to come under the supervision of the Council. Details on governance and thematic areas of devolution of power are not discussed.

Federal state from the perspective of regional development and ethnic identity proposed

PITAMBER SHARMA, geographer/regional planner, 2006, 2007

Objectives

Federalism proposed as a means of addressing the three major development challenges: (i) ethnic/linguistic/cultural identity of population groups; (ii) inclusive development and improved livelihoods; and (iii) decentralisation and devolution of power to the lowest level. Regional development is proposed as the objective of federalism, and ethnic concentration, including traditional occupation of major ethnic/caste groups, as the criteria for delineating districts (or electoral colleges) within the federal units.

Principles/criteria used

- Geographical diversity and ecological interdependence.
- Drainage systems/watersheds.
- Resource endowment—niches (specificities), comparative advantages, and development potentials.
- Highland (mountain)-Lowland (Tarai) linkages and complementarities (environmental, population and economy).

- Socio-cultural identity as expressed in major caste/ethnic/language clusters.
- Inclusiveness and meaningful empowerment (decentralisation, devolution of power seen as the crux of federalism).

Data and level of information

- Population Census 2001 data on the distribution of ethnic and language groups at district- and VDC-level.
- Population size, area and GDP by districts, food availability situation, hydropower potentiality, existing major urban areas and road networks.

Proposed federal/regional model (see Map 1.3)

6 provinces/regions: Eastern (Kosi basin with 3 districts), Central (Kosi-Gandaki basin with 3 districts), Capital (Bagmati basin), Western (Gandaki basin with 5 districts), Karnali (upper Karnali and Bheri basin with 2 districts), and Far-western (greater Karnali basin with 5 districts). A total of 19 districts within these 6 provinces/regions. Except for the Capital and Karnali regions, all other regions include both mountain and Tarai districts in their respective areas. The proposed district boundaries can be redefined to better reflect ethnic/linguistic concentrations as seen at the VDC level in the 2001 census data. Most districts would have the dominance of one or two ethnic/caste groups, thus reflecting distinct ethnic identities.

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

- Four layers of government: central, provincial/regional, district and village/municipality

A bicameral parliament at the centre (House of Representatives and House of Nationalities), and a small unicameral legislature at the provincial/regional level. Districts or electoral colleges directly elect representatives to the provincial/regional and the central legislatures. Defence, monetary/fiscal, foreign affairs and major infrastructure regulated by the centre; all other powers to be delegated/shared with the provinces and lower levels of government. Autonomy and devolution of power to the lowest level, i.e., the level of settlements and villages following the principle of subsidiarity. No details on village/municipality and power-sharing mechanism.

Cooperative federal structure

ALOK K. BOHARA, non-resident Nepali, economist, 2007/2008

Objective

Reduce ethnic tensions, preserve ethnic pride, promote economic cooperation, preserve territorial integrity and the environment, and establish a devolutionary cooperative federal mechanism.

Principles/criteria used

- Ethnic enclaves as expressed in existing districts.
- Major and minor river basins.
- Population size and distribution.
- Comparative resource advantages to harness complementary resource endowments and consequent ecological interdependence and economy of scale.
- Federal units as a means to find solutions to common problems.

Data and level of information

- Generalised census data at the district level; allusion to information but no clear data according to proposed federal units provided.
- Poverty data from the Nepal Living Standard Survey II (2004) to elucidate the commonality of the

problem of poverty across ecological regions. Shows that the most marginalised are the hill and Tarai Dalits and Janajatis in each geographical region as defined by the NLSS. Argues that ethnically clustered administrative entities alone may not be practical to solve the array of socio-economic problems.

Proposed federal model (see Map 1.4)

Four states following three macro and one micro watersheds:

- Karnali (incorporating Mahakali, Seti, Karnali, Bheri and Rapti watersheds) with 25 western districts of which 5 are in the Tarai. The state has 4 regions comprising as many ethnic enclaves.
- Gandaki (incorporating the Gandaki system and Bagmati) with 23 districts of which 7 are in the Tarai. The state has 5 regions comprising as many ethnic enclaves.
- Kosi (incorporating the Kosi system as a whole) with 24 districts of which 8 are in the Tarai. Kosi has three regions comprising as many ethnic/linguistic enclaves.
- Kathmandu (incorporating the 3 districts of the valley) broadly incorporating the Bagmati watershed (presumed perhaps as the Newar enclave and also the federal capital).

In each of the three major states of Karnali, Gandaki and Kosi, the hills have potential for biodiversity and non-timber forest produce (NTFP), hydropower and tourism resources. The Tarai has potential for agriculture, fisheries and industrial activities. Data on resource potentiality and further explanation of ethnic and linguistic enclaves have not been provided.

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

- Four tiers of government: centre, state, region and village/urban centre.

Illustrative power-sharing scheme

Dfousf; income taxes, VAT, airways, aviation fees, innovation and patents, international trade, border customs and import/export duties, postal service, Nepal Army and national defence, SAARC-related regional and international matters, citizenship, science and technology, immigration, treaties, human rights, national highways, disaster management, environmental regulations, public health and epidemic, monetary policy, national parks and forests, land-use management and research and development, water resources, and larger-scale hydropower and dams.

The structure of the central government is not discussed.

Dppqfs bujwf !tubuf; medium- and small-scale hydropower, electric utilities, mining, tourism, autonomous universities, north-south/east-west regional feeder roads, forest resources, state parks and lands, state police, flood control, waterways and navigation.

Detailed structure of the state government is not discussed. Regions to send representatives to the state assembly and the governor of the state to be directly elected.

Sfhjpo; sales taxes, vehicle registration, business registration fees, schools, vocational schools, health, community forest, local law and order.

No discussion of regional government.

Wyntbhf0wscbo !dfousft; property taxes, health posts, local pathways, animal shelters, entertainment fees and duties, sanitation fees, local traffic, parking fees, primary schools, local tourism, etc. No discussion of village/urban government.

The central government is assumed to be strong with powers to come up with a mechanism to distribute

revenue in an equitable manner. But the states will retain strong bargaining powers. The present districts are proposed to be retained as development planning districts or development cantonments.

No discussion of the structure of local bodies or power-sharing at different levels of government.

Ethnic autonomous federal structure

BHAWANI BARAL, social activist, 2004/2006

Objectives

Enhance national unity by resolving the problems of disparity (ethnic, language, religion and regional) and establish an inclusive system through better participation and self-determination.

Principles/criteria used

- Ethnic homeland.
- Language and culture.
- Geographical/regional.
- Inclusiveness and participation.
- Autonomy in governance.

Data and level of information

Population Census 2001 data on ethnicity and language at the district level.

Proposed federal model (see Map 1.5)

10 autonomous provinces and one special autonomous region: Limbuwan (6+3 districts, including area north of Charkose Jhadi of Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari districts), Khambuwan (5+1, including north of Chure and Charkose Jhadi of Udayapur district), Madhes (11 districts, south of Charkose Jhadi or East-West Highway of Udayapur, Sunsari, Morang and Jhapa), Tharuwan (9 districts), Tambasaling (9 districts), Newa (3 districts), Tamuwan (8 districts), Magarat (10 districts), Khasan (10 districts), Namuna (4 districts—Darchula, Baitadi, Dadeldhura and Doti), and Kochila (Morang and Jhapa) as a special autonomous region. Provinces and regions defined more or less by the concentration of particular ethnic groups at the district level. Boundaries (e.g., Charkose Jhadi) do not follow existing district boundaries. Provision for many special autonomous regions and sub-regions/communes/areas.

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

- Central, federal state, special self-governed areas, areas, village/urban/ethnic minority committees.
- No clearly defined roles and responsibility of the proposed governance system.

A model of cultural autonomy and self-governance

SURENDRA K.C., historian, 2006

Objectives

Enhance national unity by reducing caste/ethnic-, language-, religion-based oppression; establish inclusive democracy through social justice, equity in power-sharing, improved participation and self-determination; and resolution of conflict and establishment of sustained peace.

Principles/criteria used

- Ethnicity, language, religion, culture.

- History.
- Geography.
- Autonomy.

Data and level of information

Population Census 2001 data on ethnicity and language at the district level. The application of criteria is not explicit nor clarified in any detail.

Proposed federal model (see Map 1.6)

Two models:

- 8 autonomous cultural regions: Kirat Pradesh (11 districts), Tambasaling (9 districts), Nepal Mandal (3), Magarant (7), Tamu Pradesh (8), Mithilanchal (12), Lumbini Pradesh (8), Sinja Pradesh (17); and
- 5 provinces based on historical and geographical entities: Kirat (11 districts), Nepal Mandal (12), Gandak (13), Madhes (20) and Karnali (19). The ethnic connotations of the Gandak and Madhes provinces are not clear. Follows the 'Ek Madhes, Ek Pradesh' proposition in the Tarai in the second version.

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

No information on tiers of government or governance or the nature of autonomy proposed.

Inclusive democratic federal state

PREM BAHADUR SINGH, political activist, 2006

Objectives

Establish people's right to self-governance, enhance national unity through better participation, resolve conflict and establish sustained peace and stability.

Principles/criteria used

- Homeland of ethnic and language groups.
- Geographical regions (backward/oppressed areas).

Data and level of information

District-wise ethnic and language data from the 2001 census.

Proposed federal model (see Map 1.7)

14 provinces: Limbuwan (5 districts), Khambuwan (6 districts), Tamang (9), Newari (3), Tamuwan (6), Magarat (10), Bheri (4), Karnali (5), Khaptad (7), Rajbansi (3), Mithila (5), Bhojpuri (4), Abadhi (3) and Tharuwan (5).

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

No information on governance or devolution of authority.

Federal models

SHANKAR POKHAREL, affiliated to CPN-UML, 2006

Objectives

Enhance self-determination, identity of indigenous/ethnic groups and Dalits and access to political, economic, social and cultural processes.

Principles/criteria used

- Geographical location.
- Ethnic concentration/intensity and cultural habitation (homeland).
- Language.
- Socio-cultural conditions.
- Economic condition.
- Administrative accessibility.
- Natural resource endowment.
- History.
- Administrative cost.

Data and level of information

Population Census 2001 data at the district level.

Proposed federal model (see Map 1.8)

15 provinces: Tamor (6 districts), Kosi (5), Birat (3), Janakpur (5), Simroungadh (3), Kathmandu (4), Sunkosi (9), Narayani (6), Annapurna (5), Kaligandaki (6), Lumbini (3), Rapti (5), Karnali (9), Khaptad (7), Bhabar (4 districts—Banke, Bardiya, Kailali, Kanchanpur). Proposes redefinition of some districts such as Lalitpur, Kavre, Dhading, Makwanpur, Gorkha, and Nawalparasi. No details regarding the basis for redefinition.

The principles/criteria in the identification of the 15 provinces have not been elucidated in detail.

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

- 3 tiers of government: central, provincial and local
- Proposed power-sharing at different levels:
 - Centre: national defence, foreign affairs, central banking, monetary system, railways, airways, major national highways, central university, human rights, supreme court, customs, large hydro projects, distribution of multi-provincial natural resources, provincial conflict resolution.
 - Province: public security, trade, industry, labour management, roads, water resources, forest, land management.
 - Local bodies: details not provided.

No details on the structure of governance.

A Model for Political Restructuring and Electoral System of Federal Nepal: Building on the Strength of Ethnic Diversities and Regional Complementarities

RAM C. ACHARYA, non-resident Nepali, economist, 2007

Objectives

Identify natural homeland of main ethnic, language and caste groups; identify electoral constituencies for inclusive democracy, identify political sub-national entities that can sustain inclusiveness and promote economic development; provide a model of proportional electoral system for both national and sub-national parliaments; and provide a model for the representation of ethnic, language and caste (ELC) groups as well as women in the political decision-making process.

Principles/criteria used

- Inclusiveness in political power-sharing by making ELC focus regions electoral constituencies.
- North-south combination of a few ELC focus regions to generate immense benefit from the complemen-

tarities in natural endowment and comparative advantage between northern and southern regions.

- Allow all provinces to be bordered with the rapidly emerging economic powerhouses of China and India.
- Identification of natural homelands of all ethnic (Limbu, Rai, Tamang, Gurung, Newar, Magar and Tharu), language (Maithili, Bhojpuri and Abadhi) and caste (Dalit) groups other than Bahun, Chhetri, Thakuri and Sanyasi that constitute more than 1 per cent of Nepal's population as focus regions to be considered as electoral constituencies for both national and provincial parliaments. An existing district is considered a natural homeland of any one of the 11 ELC groups if that group is in the majority (more than 50 per cent of the population) among all groups, or in plurality (with the highest fraction but less than 50 per cent of the population) in the district. The district is also considered a natural homeland of any one of the 11 ELC groups even if it forms the second largest after the Bahun-Chhetri group in the district, which is the case in 46 of the 75 districts of the country. All districts that qualify to be a natural homeland for a given group, which, by the criteria mentioned above, would number 68, are combined to make a focus region for that group.
- Districts without either a majority or plurality of the above-mentioned ethnic, language and caste groups are categorised as regions without any focus group.
- Districts located in the most remote areas without either a majority or plurality of the above-mentioned ethnic, language and caste groups are categorised as territories.

Data and level of information

Population Census 2001 data on ethnicity and language at the district level.

Proposed federal model (see Map 1.9)

4 provinces—Mechi, Kosi, Gandaki and Karnali; and 1 territory—Rara (Dolpa, Humla, Jumla and Mugu districts) with 12 ELC regions—Kanchanjunga (Limbu in 3 districts), Sagarmatha (Rai in 8), Eastern Tarai (without any focus group in 3 districts) in Mechi province; Gaurishankar (Tamang in 9 districts), Kathmandu (Newar in 3), Mithila (Maithili in 5) in Kosi province; Annapurna (Gurung in 5 districts), Ridi (Magar in 13), Central Tarai (Bhojpuri in 4) in Gandaki province; Khaptad (Dalit in 11), Lumbini (Abadhi in 3), and Western Tarai (Tharu in 4 districts) in Karnali province.

Note: Acharya points to a number of issues that may be raised in his scheme for identifying and delineating ELC regions. For example, ELC regions differ widely in terms of size of area and population; ELC regions are not territorially contiguous; and democratic principles are violated because in the identification of ELC regions Bahuns and Chhetris are excluded. He concludes that ethnic population distribution is so mixed and that both the horizontal class differences (resource disparity between focus groups) and vertical class differences (disparity of resource ownership within groups) are so alarming, it is not feasible to delineate federal states based on ethnicity alone. So, these regions must be an essential component of a federation, but a federation based on them alone is not feasible politically and not desirable economically. ELC regions are proposed for electoral constituencies. A proportional representation system and electoral formula addressing the issues of ethnicity, language, caste, gender and regionalism has been proposed to foster inclusive democracy. However, the ELC regions exclude the Bahun-Chhetri group, which forms 30 per cent of the population.

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

- 3 tiers of governance: central, provincial and local
- Bicameral parliaments both at the national and provincial levels where all citizens are equal in the lower house of parliament at both levels; all provinces are equal in the upper house of national parliament; and all ELC regions are equal in the upper house of provincial parliament.
- Unicameral territorial governance.
- No details on power-sharing, roles and responsibilities of central and provincial governments.

- Proposes a proportional representation system and electoral formula where ethnic, linguistic, caste, gender and regional issues are addressed to foster an inclusive democracy.

Inclusive Democratic Restructuring Framework

NARAHARI ACHARYA, affiliated to the Nepali Congress, 2005,2006

Objectives

To establish an inclusive democratic system with political, economic and cultural rights; autonomy and proportional representation to enhance participation; decentralisation, devolution of power and good governance; and to reduce social, economic and regional disparity and manage conflicts.

Principles/criteria used

- Favourable geography and major watersheds, i.e., Kosi, Bagmati, Gandaki and Karnali.
- Linguistic and cultural characteristics.
- Natural resources and economic potential.
- Population density.
- Ethnic diversity and proportion.

Data and level of information

Based on qualitative information, census data has not been used.

Proposed federal model (map not provided)

- 4 provinces in hills and mountains: Kosi (area between Mechi and Kosi rivers), Bagmati (area drained by Bagmati and its tributaries), Gandaki (Sapta Gandaki watershed from Gosaitan in the east to Dhaulagiri in the west), and Karnali (Dhaulagiri to Nandagiri);
- 5 provinces in the Tarai—Mechi-Kosi, Kosi-Bagmati, Bagmati-Narayani, Narayani-West Rapti, and Rapti-Mahakali.

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

- Three tiers: centre, province and local.
- Centre: foreign affairs, defence, monetary system, information and communication.
- Province: political, economic, cultural and language.
- Local: self-governance.

Details on devolution and structure of governance not provided.

Restructuring Framework proposed

BRIKHESH CHANDRA LAL, affiliated to Tarai Madhesh Loktantrik Party, not dated

Objectives

To eliminate disparity and oppression; enhance opportunities for equal participation, promote access to resources, strengthen national unity, self-governance and self-determination; and promote cultural identity.

Principles/criteria used

- Geography (topography/settlement).
- Ethnicity.
- Language.
- Culture.

Data and level of information

Population Census 2001 at the district level.

Proposed federal model (see Map 1.10)

4 provinces (*pradesh*): Eastern, Kathmandu, Western and Madesh; and 11 regions (*prakhanda*): 4 regions in Madhesh Pradesh: Birat, Mithila, Kapilbastu and Abadh; 3 in Eastern Pradesh: Kirat, Sailing and Trisuli; 2 in Western Pradesh: Dhaulagiri and Karnali; and 1 in Kathmandu Pradesh: Kathmandu.

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

Not provided.

Ethnic and regional autonomy model

RAJENDRA SHRESTHA, affiliated to CPN-UML, 2006

Objectives

To establish inclusive democratic system with equal opportunity and rights for all ethnic, language, religious, regional and gender groups.

Principles/criteria used

- Geographical location and accessibility.
- Population size.
- Ethnic-regional relationship (historical homeland of different ethnic groups, contemporary situation of ethnic mixing, 'psychology' of the people).
- Social and economic relationship (economic condition, financial management, production relations, resource endowment, market, exchange, education, health, communication, transport, etc).

Data and level of information

No quantitative analysis or use of data.

Proposed federal model (see Map 1.11)

14 provinces: Yakthung (6 districts), Khambu (5 districts and part of Dhankuta and Sankhuwashava), Sessanta/Tambasaling (9 districts and part of Lalitpur), Nepal Mandal (3 districts and parts of Kabhre and Makwanpur), Tamu Gandak (5 districts and part of Tanahun, Syangja and Parbat), Magar Gandak (11 districts), Bheri (6 districts and part of Rukum and Bajura), Karnali (5 districts and part of Kalikot), Mahakali (5 districts), Kosi/Kochila (3 districts), Janakpur/Mithila (5 districts), Bhojpur/Simraun (4 districts), Gautambudhapur/Abadh (3 districts), and Tharuhat (5 districts).

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

- Four tiers of governance: centre, province, district and municipality/VDC (autonomous districts and municipality/VDCs based on major ethnic/language groups proposed but nature and characteristics of autonomy not explained).

Ethnic autonomy model

K.B. GURUNG, Janajati activist, 2006

Objectives

To establish inclusive and participatory system of governance with equal access to all and autonomy in governance.

Principles/criteria used

- Ethnic population and settlement, geography and language.
- Education, culture, tradition and religion.
- Land forms.
- Economic base and potential.
- Infrastructure development: situation and potential.
- Economic, social and cultural interdependence, interaction and understanding.
- Equity and co-existence.

Data and level of information

Proposed autonomous region and area-wise ethnic data based on Population Census 2001.

Proposed federal model (see Map 1.12 after GEFONT, 2007)

11 autonomous regions: Limbuwan, Khambuwan, Tambasaling, Newar, Maithili-Tharu, Tamu (Gurung), Magarat, Western Khasan, Far Western Khasan, Tharuhat and Tharu-Bhojpuri; and 6 autonomous areas: Sherpa, Maithili, Rajbansi, Bajjika (Bhojpuri), Abadhi and Bhojpuri and many autonomous communes.

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

- 4 tiers: centre, province, area, and commune
 - Bicameral parliament at the centre: ethnic assembly (at least one representative from each ethnic group); and representative assembly and national council (combined)
 - Autonomous regional assembly (elected through proportional election system)
 - Autonomous area assembly (elected through proportional election system)
 - Autonomous people's commune

Details on devolution not provided.

Structure of Ethnic Regional Autonomy

PARI THAPA, affiliated to Janamorchha-P, 2006

Objectives

Establish all-inclusive and participatory governance system and enhance national unity and equity in opportunities and rights.

Principles/criteria used

- Ethnography.
- Topography.
- Linguistic region.

Data and level of information

No quantitative analysis or use of data.

Proposed federal model (map not provided)

- 9 autonomous regions: Khas/Khasan, Khambu/Khambuwan, Gurung/Tamuwan, Tamang/Tambasaling, Tharu/Tharuhat, Newar/Newa Khala, Magar/Magarat, Maithili/Madhesi, and Limbu/Limbuwan (no details on the areal coverage and size in terms of area and population).

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

- External affairs, national defence and monetary system at the centre. Formulation and implementation of

policies and programmes for economic, linguistic, religious and cultural development by the regions.

Inclusive democratic structure proposed

KUMAR YONJAN TAMANG, affiliated to CPN-Maoist, 2006

Objectives

To establish inclusive autonomous structure of the state, sustained peace and prosperity; reduce socio-economic and regional disparity; and enhance national unity.

Principles/criteria used

- Population by ethnicity, land and area.
- Linguistic area of majority groups.
- Historic alienation and oppression at the regional level.

Data and level of information

National-level human development indices (average life expectancy, literacy and poverty) according to ethnicity and district-level data on ethnicity and language in Population Census 1991.

Proposed federal model (see Map 1.13)

- 11 provinces: Kirat (11 districts), Tamang (9 districts), Newar (3 districts), Bhote-Tamuwan (6 districts), Magarat (11 districts), Tharuwan (6 districts), Jadan (7 districts), Khasan (8 districts), Maithili (5 districts), Kochila (3 districts), and Bhojpuri (6 districts).
- Proposal for autonomous sub-areas, autonomous national areas and autonomous national village areas, and autonomous area, but the number and size and functions not provided.

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

- Bicameral parliament (ethnic assembly with at least one representative from each ethnic/caste group and representative assembly).
- Centre: foreign affairs, defence, monetary system, revenue collection and distribution. Formulation and implementation of national development policies, coordination.
- Autonomous government: administration, development, judiciary, peace and security.

Restructuring based on federal governance system proposed

AMARESH NARANYAN JHA, Madhesi activist, 2006

Objectives

To establish regional autonomy in the governance system.

Principles/criteria used

Not clearly mentioned.

Data and level of information

No details given.

Proposed federal model (see Map 1.14)

10 provinces: Mithila (9 districts and parts of Bara, Ilam and Udayapur districts), Bhojpuri (3 districts and parts of Bara and Chitwan), Abadhi (3 districts and part of Bardiya), Tharu (3 districts and parts of Banke, Bardiya, Salyan and Surkhet districts), Mahakali-Karnali (13 districts and parts of Surkhet and Salyan),

Tamuwan (6 districts), Magarat (11 districts), Tamang (9 districts and part of Chitwan district), Kirat (10 districts and part of Udaypur) and Newar (3 districts).

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

- Centre, province, and districts. No further details about local bodies.
- Bicameral parliamentary system both at the centre and province.
- No details about roles and responsibilities or the structure of governance and devolution of power.

Federal structure

BABURAM ACHARYA, historian, 2005

(derived from paper reprinted in S. Tamang (ed), 2006, excerpted from *Prachinkalko Itihas*, 2060 BS)

Objectives

To divide Nepal into different regions based on natural attributes and historical information and provide framework for restructuring.

Principles/criteria used

- River/river basin.
- Topography.
- Language, civilisation and culture.
- Historical traditions.
- Socio-economic interaction and interdependence.

Data and level of information

Historical and qualitative information on each region.

Proposed federal model (see Map 1.15 after GEFONT, 2007)

4 physical regions (*bhukti*): Malika, Muktinath, Pashupat, Baraha; and 15 zones (*mandal*): Silgadhi, Senja, Rajpur, Badi, Kaski, Butwal, Gorkha, Kathmandu, Dolakha, Simrawan, Janakpur, Wollo Kirat, Pallo Kirat, Saptari and Morang.

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

No information.

Quasi-federal governance system

CHANDRA KANTA GYAWALI, lawyer, 2007

Objectives

To establish inclusive democracy, reduce disparity, enhance access to resources, build social and cultural identity, and utilise right to development.

Principles/criteria used

Geographical specificities: balanced representation of all geo-ecological regions—mountains, hills and Tarai (incorporating climate, tourist area, revenue collection centre, culture, natural resources and infrastructure).

Data and level of information

Population Census 2001 data on ethnicity and language at national level.

Proposed federal model (see Map 1.16)

- Seat of central government in Kathmandu (4 districts).
- 7 autonomous state governments: Far-eastern (7 districts), Eastern (9 districts), Central (15 districts), Lumbini (16 districts), Western (6 districts), Mid-western (9 districts), Kaptad (9 districts).

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

- Centre, 7 autonomous provinces and 25 autonomous districts.
- Centre: monetary system, foreign affairs, national boundary agreements, army, security, extradition, customs.

No details for autonomous regions.

Structure of Federal State

MANGAL SIDDHI MANANDHAR, SHOYA SHRESTHA and PUSHPA SHARMA, geographers, first author affiliated to CPN-UML, 2008

Objectives

Establish inclusive and self-governed governance system with equal access in economic, social services and decision-making processes; conserve and protect ethnic identity; enhance 'psychological' unification and responsibility of people; and promote sustained peace and regional balance.

Principles/criteria used

- Concentration/majority in terms of ethnicity and language.
- Homeland, ancestral area, continuity of residence.
- Psycho-cultural association with land.
- Cultural identity of different groups and regionalism.

Data and level of information

Population Census 2001 data on ethnicity and language at village development committee level.

Proposed federal model (see Map 1.17)

12 provinces: Tambasaling (Tamang), Tamuwan (Gurung), Magarat (Magar), Tharuhat (Tharu), Khasan (Chhetri), Khambuwan (Khambu Rai), Limbuwan (Limbu), Newa (Newar), Mixed West (Bahun), Mithila (Maithili language), Mixed East (Chhetri) and Mixed Far East (Bahun).

Each province represents a major ethnic and language group.

Proposed tiers of government and devolution of authority

Not discussed.

1.2 POSITION OF POLITICAL PARTIES WITH RESPECT TO FEDERALISM

Among the political parties, the CPN (Maoist) is the only one that has presented a comprehensive geographic model for a federal republic of Nepal. Other major political parties such as the Nepali Congress and the CPN (UML) have given some indication of the criteria to be used in delineating federal units, but have largely refrained from presenting a geographic model, leaving it to the better judgement of the Commission for the Restructuring of the State to be set up by the Constituent Assembly. Regional political parties such as the MJF, TMLP and various factions of the Nepal Sadbhavana Party have focused more on the Tarai/Madhes and have simply proposed a single Madhes autonomous region comprising of the 20 southern districts.

Neither the nature of devolution of power between the centre, provinces and local bodies nor the structure of governance has received much attention although most political parties call for fully autonomous federal units. The Maoists go so far as to give the federal units the right to self-determination although the nature of this self-determination has not been explained in any detail. There is also mention of semi-autonomous units or autonomous districts and areas within federal units but the nature and characteristics of these features have neither been explained nor elucidated upon.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEPAL (MAOIST)

Objectives: Institutionalisation of republic, democratisation, ethnic and territorial autonomy and right to self-determination, reduction in disparity, group solidarity, and 'psychological' unity.

Criteria: Ethnic (common language, common geography, common economy, and common 'psychological' structure) and territorial identity, nationalities, ethnic structure, geographical accessibility, major language, economic potential.

Federal model (see Map 2.1)

11 autonomous republic states: Seti-Mahakali, and Bheri-Karnali based on territorial identity; Magarat, Tharuwan, Tamuwan, Newa, Tamsaling, Kirat, Limbuwan, Kochila and Madesh based on ethnic identity; and Mithila, Bhojpura and Abadh sub-states based on identity of major languages. Proposes and allows for more sub-autonomous state or units and autonomous areas based on ethnic concentration at the local level but no details provided.

Rights and responsibilities: defence, foreign affairs, inter-state trade, monetary policy, central bank, customs, revenue, large hydroelectricity projects, railways, airways, national highways, central university, etc, with the centre. Details of devolution at lower levels not provided.

Governance system:

- 3 tiers of government: central, autonomous federal state and local level.
- Bicameral parliament at the centre and unicameral legislature at the state; proportionally elected representation in the lower house and equal representation of all states in the upper house.
- Executive president elected directly by the people; prime minister elected by members of legislative body.
- Governors and chief ministers in the states.
- Three layers of judicial structure: supreme court at the centre, high courts in the states, and district courts in the districts; also people's courts/reconciliation centres within the districts.

NEPALI CONGRESS

- Ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious and regional diversity as the basis of Nepal's nationality.
- Criteria: national sovereignty, geographical location and suitability, population, natural resource endowment, economic potential, interdependence among regions, language, ethnic and cultural agglomeration/

dominance, political/administrative potential, specificity and aspirations of people living in different areas, Madhesi, Janajatis, Dalits, etc.

- 3 tiers of government: centre, province and local.
 - o Central government: foreign affairs, monetary policy, national defence, customs, income tax, revenue collection, and areas to be coordinated with lower levels of government such as airways, highways, large hydroelectricity and other national-level projects.
- Right of self-governance and autonomy to local bodies.
- Bicameral parliament at the centre and unicameral at the province.
- Prime Minister as chief executive.
- Election of President from members of central and provincial parliaments.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEPAL (UML)

- Federal structure of governance considering the ethnic, linguistic, cultural and geographical specificities of the country.
- Criteria: geographical location and specificities, population and ethnic concentration, mother tongue and language used, cultural characteristics, administrative accessibility, economic social interdependence, capability and potentials, availability of natural resources, and historical basis.
- The number, size and coverage of provinces are not made explicit. The centre is to be responsible for national defence, foreign affairs, monetary policy, central banking, railways, airways and national highways

MADHESI JANAADHIKAR FORUM

- Participatory, consensual and inclusive democracy, right to self-determination, regional autonomy, Madhes as an autonomous state, and autonomous areas within state.
- Bicameral parliament at the centre.
- President as chief executive with 5-year terms.
- Central government: national defence, foreign affairs, monetary system, national economic policy and communications.
- Legislative, executive and judicial bodies in each state.

TARAI MADHES LOKTANTRIK PARTY

- Autonomous Tarai province with right to self-determination.
- Peace and prosperous Tarai-Madhes as one autonomous province.
- President as the head of state and Prime Minister as the chief executive.

JANAMORCHA NEPAL

- Number and coverage as recommended by high-level restructuring commission with the help of experts and approved by the constituent assembly in consensus.
- Criteria: ethnicity, language, geographical area, population, administrative accessibility, natural resource endowment, economic resources.
- Ethnic, language and territorial autonomy and self-governance based on right to self-determination.
- Directly elected President as head of state and chief executive
- 3 layers of governance: centre, province and local.
- Bicameral parliament at the centre (directly elected representatives in the lower house and representatives from provincial units and nominated national figures), and unicameral in the provinces.
- Proportional representation and consensual governance system.

NEPAL MAJDOOR KISAN PARTY

- 14 existing zones to be considered as federal provinces.
- Bicameral parliament (upper house/national assembly with ethnic representation, and lower house or

representative assembly) at the centre and unicameral legislative assembly in the provinces.

- Central government: defence, foreign affairs, transport, communications, monetary system, international trade, science and technology, postal services, and customs.
- President elected directly by the people as the head of state and government as well as army.

NEPAL SADBHAVANA PARTY (MAHATO)

- 3 autonomous provinces following the physiographic regions: mountains, hills and Madhes; several autonomous areas based on language, culture and communities
- Provincial legislative body in each province with autonomy.
- Autonomous areas responsible to the province.
- Bicameral national parliament.
- 3 layers of judicial provisions: supreme court, provincial court and district court.
- 3 layers of administrative structure: centre, province and local.
- President as head of state, Prime Minister as chief executive, and Chief Minister with executive rights in the provinces.
- Centre responsible for monetary policy, defence, foreign affairs, and coordination.

NEPAL SADBHAVANA PARTY (ANANDIDEVI)

- 3 provinces: mountains, hills and Madhes, based on geographical characteristics, history and culture
- Madhes (i.e., 20 Tarai districts) one province.
- 3 layers of governance: centre, province and local bodies.
- Bicameral parliament at the centre and provinces.
- President as head of state, Prime Minister as chief executive, Chief Minister as head of provincial government, and Governor nominated by the President as Chief of the Province.
- Foreign affairs, finance, defence, communications, airways, highways, national hydroelectricity and subjects of national importance with the centre.

RASTRIYA PRAJATANTRA PARTY (NEPAL)

- Hindu kingdom and constitutional monarch as head of state.
- Prime Minister as chief executive.
- Autonomous federal governance based on ethnic and geographical characteristics and economic potential.
- Local bodies: district, municipalities/VDCs with right of self-governance.

RASTRIYA PRAJATANTRA PARTY

- Federal units at the recommendation of a high-level commission of experts—geographer(s), historian(s), surveyor(s), sociologist(s)/anthropologist(s), language expert(s), lawyer(s), Madhesi and indigenous ethnic groups, etc—and with consensus of all the parties in the constituent assembly.
- Criteria: geography, population, ethnic community, language, cultural identity, natural resource endowment and economic potential.
- Central government: finance policy, monetary policy, foreign policy, defence, sovereignty, communication, international trade, projects with national importance, coordination and control.
- District councils, areas, VDCs/municipalities within provincial government, number to be determined by the high-level commission.

RASTRIYA JANASHAKTI PARTY

- Autonomous federal state.
- Criteria: physical and geographical features; ethnic, lingual and cultural sensitivities; economic means and resources; and administrative condition.
- 3 layers of governance: centre, province and local.

- Bicameral parliament at the centre.
- Centre: defence, foreign, communications, monetary policy, and national financial policy.

RASTRIYA JANAMORCHA (CHITRA BAHADUR K.C)

- Unitary system of governance.
- Decentralisation, self-governance, local ethnic autonomy.
- President as head of state and Prime Minister as chief executive.
- Bicameral parliament.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEPAL (EKIKRIT)/(COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEPAL-INTEGRATED)

- Ethnic regional autonomous governance system (no details).
- Central government: foreign affairs, national defence, monetary system, aspects of national and inter-provincial importance such as natural resource management, national highways, airways, special revenue collection, etc.
- President/head of state in rotation by ethnicity, Prime Minister as chief executive.

CHURE-BHABAR RASTRIYA EKTA PARTY NEPAL

Chure-Bhabar, i.e., south of Mahabharat and north of *charkose jhadi*, and Mechi to Mahakali as a federal unit (no details on other information).

1.3 VIEWS OF DIFFERENT ORGANISATIONS/MEMBERS BELONGING TO ETHNIC GROUPS

The Janajati groups have historically been at the forefront of the movement demanding homelands for indigenous nationalities. Although many of these groups are focussed on this issue, the perception of what constitutes an ethnic homeland differs considerably among Janajati groups and even within the same group. The views of different Janajati organisations/members particularly as they relate to Tharuhat, Tamuwan, Magarat and Kirat homelands in the restructuring of the state are presented below.

THARUHAT

Tharuhat Swayatta Rajya Parishad Nepal, Declaration Paper of First National Conference, Dang, 7-8 June, 2008

- Establish ethnic autonomy with right to self-determination to the whole of the Tarai without delineation of a proper Tharuhat area.

Mahesh Chaudhary, affiliated to CPN-UML, *Kantipur*, 4 July, 2008

- 5 regions in the Tarai: Birat Pradesh (Jhapa, Morang, Sunsari); Janakpur Pradesh (Siraha, Saptari, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Udayapur); Simraungadh (Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, Sarlahi); Lumbini (Chitwan, Nawalparasi, Rupandehi, Kapilbastu); and Dangausharan Pradesh (Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali, Kanchanpur).

Jyoti Danuwar, paper presented at a workshop organised by Tharu Welfare Council, 29-31 May, 2008

- 4 autonomous provinces in the Tarai: Kochila (Jhapa, Morang, Sunsari); Aul Tharuhat (all areas north of the east-west highway in Siraha, Saptari, Udayapur, Sindhuli, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi, Bara, Parsa and Rautahat; Makwanpur and Chitwan district and its 235 VDCs. It can be called Chure-Bhabar Pradesh); Madhesi Pradesh (all areas south of the east-west highway in Siraha, Saptari, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi, Bara, Parsa and Rautahat); Tharuwan Pradesh (Kanchanpur, Kailali, Bardiya, Banke, Dang, Kapilbastu, Rupandehi, and Nawalparasi) (see Map 3.1).

TAMUWAN

Jagaman Gurung and Gurung (Tamu) Rastriya Parishad, paper presented in a workshop organised by the Gurung [Tamu] Rastriya Parishad

- Ancestral land: Kaski, Parbat, Syangja, Lamjung, Tanahun, Mustang, Manang, Gorkha (Budi Gandaki to Kali Gandaki). Redefinition of Syangja, Parbat and Kaski districts; 51.5 per cent of the national Gurung population live in these 8 districts but comprise only 14.8 per cent of the total population of the proposed Tamuwan) (see Map 3.2).

MAGARAT

Nepal Magar Sangh Central Committee, based on papers presented at an interaction programme

- Magarat autonomous area by K.B. Gurung: Parbat, Palpa, Tanahun, Syangja, Myagdi, Gulmi, Baglung, Arghakhanchi, Rolpa and Pyuthan (10 districts).
- Magarat autonomous area by Bam Kumari Budha: Nawalparasi, Gulmi, Baglung, Palpa, Arghakhanchi, Parbat, Rukum, Rolpa, Pyuthan, Salyan, Dang, Jajarkot, Surkhet, Dailekh, Dolpa, Gorkha, Palpa, Syangja and Myagdi (19 districts).
- Magarat autonomous area by Magar Rastriya Mukti Morcha: Gulmi, Baglung, Nawalparasi, Dang, Palpa, Arghakhanchi, Rukum, Rolpa, Pyuthan, Salyan, Parbat, Gorkha and Myagdi (13 districts).
- Magarat autonomous region by the Nepal Magar Sangh Kendriya Samiti: Palpa, Nawalparasi, Syangja, Tanahun, Gulmi, Arghakhanchi, Dang, Pyuthan, Salyan, Surkhet, Rolpa, Rukum, Baglung, Myagdi, Parbat and Dolpa (16 districts). Within this, based on the differences in language, culture and geographical location, Palpa, Nawalparasi, Syangja and Tanahun can be defined as Barha Magarat sub-autonomous region; Gulmi, Arghakhanchi, Dang, Salyan, Pyuthan, Surkhet, Rolpa, Rukum, Baglung, Myagdi, Par-

bat as Athara Magarat sub-autonomous region. Similarly, Udayapur, Sindhuli, Ramechhap, Dhankuta, Okhaldhunga (5 districts) can be defined as Udayapur sub-autonomous region and Dolpa as Sahaara Ikai autonomous local area. No details on the relationships among regions, sub-regions and local areas provided (see Map 3.3).

KIRAT

Kirat Rai Yayokkha Kendriya Karyasamiti, paper presented at central committee

- Kirat area: Tamakosi to Mechi, bounded by Chure to the west of the Kosi river and the international boundary with India to the east of Kosi, incorporating Sunsari, Morang and Jhapa districts.
 - Sub-autonomous areas—Kochila, Limbu (Terhathum, Panchthar, Taplejung, Dhankuta, Sankhu-washabha and Morang); Rai (Okhaldhunga, Khotang, Solukhumbu, Bhojpur, Dhankuta, Sankhu-washabha, Sunsari, Morang); and Sherpa (Solukhumbu, Ramechhap, Okhaldhunga, Sankhuwasabha and Taplejung) (see Map 3.4).
- Area-level sub-autonomous areas—Sunuwar and Yakkha.
- 6 layers of autonomous areas: Kirat autonomous state, Kirat autonomous sub-state, regional-level autonomy; area-level autonomy, village-level autonomy and *tole*-level autonomy.

Difference between the levels of autonomy, and types and levels of autonomy among different tiers not explained.

LIMBUWAN

Kirat Yakthumba Kendriya Karyalaya

- Limbuwan federal state bounded by Arun and Kosi rivers to the west, Mechi river to the east, India to the south and the Tibet Autonomous Region of China to the north (see Map 3.5).
- Many ethnic-based autonomous areas within the state; nature of autonomy not explained.

TAMSALING

Kumar Yongong Tamang, 2008

Kumar Yongong on behalf of Nepal Tamang Ghedung Sangh has proposed a Tamsaling federal unit (see Map 3.6).

NEPAL CHEPANG SANGH

- Nepal Chepang Sangh has also proposed a Chepang autonomous area covering parts of Chitwan, Tanahun, Gorkha, Dhading and Makwanpur districts (see Map 3.7).

NEPAL LOKTANTRIK SHERPA SANGH

- Nepal Loktantrik Sherpa Sangh has proposed the Himal region as the Sherpa region in general, and the area east of Dhading district as the Sherpa autonomous area (see Map 3.8).

1.4 CRITERIA FOR RESTRUCTURING OF STATE INTO FEDERAL UNITS

A number of individuals have presented their ideas on the restructuring of the state, focussing mainly on the criteria that needs to be taken into account in undertaking the exercise. Some representative voices are mentioned here.

Rabindra Adhikari, UML leader and activist, 2006

Geographical accessibility, population, natural and economic resources, social and economic linkages.

Parashuram Ghimire, political scientist (not dated)

Physiography, cultural and ethnic agglomeration, and areas occupied by marginalised groups.

Buddhi Prasad Bhandari, college lecturer, 2007

Physiography, geographical accessibility, ethnicity, economic linkages/interactions; based on literature review, he has proposed 14 provinces (5 in the Tarai and 9 in the hills and mountains).

Bal Krishna Mabuhang, Janajati activist, university teacher of population studies, 2007

Restructuring to establish an inclusive system for sustained peace and prosperity though the reduction of disparity based on ethnicity/caste, language, culture, geographical area and gender; proposes that the 11 major ethnic/caste groups (Chhetri, Magar, Tamang, Bahun, Tharu, Gurung, Rai, Limbu, Yadav, Muslim and Newar) be considered while dividing Nepal into federal states.

Dilli Ram Dahal, anthropologist, 2007

Characterises Nepal as a country with multi-ethnic/caste and cultural groups, horizontal and vertical disparity, weakening socio-cultural structure due to high rate of migration (mixing); proposes a target approach for inclusiveness of disadvantaged and marginalised groups rather than a holistic one.

Shankar Prasad Sharma, economist, 2007

Financial base (revenue and expenditure), economic and natural resource endowment and potential should also be considered while proposing federal provinces; favours federal units that integrate the north-south dimensions of Nepal.

Krishna Khanal, political scientist, 2007

Restructuring of the state necessary for addressing the aspirations of people's identity, inclusive democracy and expansion and distribution of livelihood opportunities and services; proposes consociational approach to federalism based on the following principles/criteria:

- ethnic/language cultural dominance,
- contiguity of land and accessibility,
- natural resources and economic potential,
- interdependence,
- political and administrative potentials, and
- avoidance of island units (i.e., surrounded by another single province).

Proposes 10-13 federal provinces (3-4 representing Madhesi dominant areas; 1-2 representing the Himali region and the remaining from the middle hills. He has also proposed 3 layers of governance: centre, province and local (municipality/village); bicameral system at the centre and unicameral in the provinces; proportional representation of population in the lower house and equal representation in the upper house. On power-sharing, finance, defence, foreign relations, highways and energy should be with the centre; centre to play effective role in making national policies, coordination and monitoring.

Lok Raj Baral, political scientist, 2007, 2008

Considers devolution of power and resources as the major aspects of restructuring Nepal into a federal system; argues that a cooperative federal model is suitable for Nepal and proposes 5 regions without mentioning names or area of coverage; main principles and criteria proposed are

- national unity and sovereignty
- ethnic/linguistic and cultural identity,
- interdependence, unity and understanding among communities and geographical regions,
- resource endowment,
- economic and administrative potentials,
- devolution of power (sharing of power between centre and provinces rather than right to self-determination),
- size of federal units, and
- partnership in judicial and administrative services.

Parashuram Tamang, Janajati activist, 2006

Proposes the following criteria for federal provinces:

- historical/original homeland of ethnic/language groups,
- continuity of occupation of area,
- distribution of ethnic groups,
- cultural geography, and
- 'psychological' attitude and aspirations of people for self-governance.

Proposes 3 layers of autonomous governance: centre, province and area; a bicameral parliamentary system: ethnic assembly in the upper house elected through proportional representation of all communities with legislative right, and lower house with reserved seats for minorities, and unicameral ethnic autonomous legislative assembly with semi-proportional electoral system at provincial level; centre responsible for foreign affairs, defence and monetary system only.

Mahendra Lawoti, political scientist, 2006

Proposes an inclusive federal structure in order to reduce cultural disparity and enhance partnership in power-sharing, sustained peace and prosperity; allows for different forms of federalism—cultural and territorial, and non-territorial for highly dispersed groups; local community-based self-governance for minority communities in the provinces; special provisions for marginalised groups and argues that all these approaches in combination are necessary to establish an inclusive democracy.

Puspa Raj Kandel, economist, 2006

To bring people into the mainstream of development and for the optimum utilisation of the means of production, and reduction in disparity recommends fully decentralised and self-governed political units rather than federal provinces. The number and coverage of such self-governed autonomous political/administrative units have not been detailed. Criteria to be considered in delineating such units include population, geography and accessibility, ethnicity, natural resource endowment and complementarities, equity, economy of scale, revenue base and financial stability. Proposes 3 tiers of governance: central, autonomous units (25 districts as proposed by Harka Gurung), and village/municipalities (reducing the number of existing village development committees to about a third in order to minimise unproductive expenditure).

chapter 2

ASSESSMENT OF PROPOSED MODELS/ FRAMEWORKS/ CONCEPTS OF RESTRUCTURING

The models/frameworks/concepts proposed so far by different individuals, political parties and major ethnic organisations mentioned in the preceding chapter can be broadly divided into five groups based on the objectives, criteria used and structural forms of federation.

1. *Models that do not propose any change in the existing structure* and only seek greater decentralisation and devolution of power (Rastriya Janamorchha-Chitra Bahadur K.C. and Nepal Majdoor Kisan Party).
2. *Models that emphasise ethnic/language/culture and territorial identity* based on majority/plurality (G. Neupane, 2000; B. Baral, 2004; K.B. Gurung, 2006; K.Y. Tamang, 2006; P. Tamang, 2006; M.S. Manandhar et al, 2008; P. Thapa, 2006; A.N. Jha, 2006; P.B. Singh, 2006; S. Pokharel, 2006; R. Shrestha, 2006; B.K. Mabuhang, 2007; M. Lawoti, 2006; CPN-Maoist; and organisations representing Limbus, Kirat-Rais, Tharus, Magars, Tamangs and Chepangs).
3. *Models that are exclusively based on physiography and geographical regions* (Nepal Loktantrik Sherpa Sangh; Chure Bhabar Rastriya Ekta Party; Nepal Sadbhavana Party-Mahato; Nepal Sadbhavana Party-Anandidevi; Madhesi Janaadhikar Forum; Tarai Madesh Loktantrik Party).
4. *Models that conceive of federal units as planning units and take into account geographical specificities* (resource endowment, ethnicity/language/culture territory) and complementarities (P. Sharma, 2006/7; A. K. Bohara, 2007/8; R. C. Acharya, 2007; N. Acharya, 2006; C.K. Gyawali, 2007; H. Gurung, 2006 also falls in this group although he does not advocate a federal structure).
5. *Concepts and criteria without information on geographical delineation of federal state* (R. Adhikari, 2006; D.R. Dahal, 2007; S. Sharma, 2007; K. Khanal, 2007; L.R. Baral, 2008; and political parties, including the Nepali Congress and CPN-UML).

Many of these models/framework are based on an analysis of district- and national-level data on ethnicity, language, natural resources and their potential, per capita GDP, poverty level, revenue and expenditure, people's participation in mainstream economic, social, political and administrative activities, and decision-making processes. Pitamber Sharma (2007), M.S. Manandhar et al (2008), and B.K. Mabuhang (2007), have used VDC-level attribute data on ethnicity and language and integrated spatial data with the help of

GIS tools. It should be noted that VDC-level information is limited to ethnicity and language only.

In assessing the proposed models in detail further below, only two from Group 2 (G. Neupane and the CPN-Maoist) and three from Group 3 (Alok Kumar Bohara, Ram Chandra Acharya and Pitamber Sharma) have been taken up for further analysis. The first two are taken as representative of a federalism based on ethnic/language/nationalities whereas the second three are taken as representative of arguments for federalism based on resource endowments as well as ethnicity/nationalities attributes. These models have been evaluated in the manner in which they account for *ethnicity* (majority/plurality), *resource endowment* (proportion of different land use/land cover and land capability classes), *food situation* (demand/supply), and *status of financial resources* (revenue and expenditure) at the district level.

2.1. NUMBER, NAME AND SIZE OF PROPOSED FEDERAL UNITS

The number of proposed federal states range from just 3 (Nepal Sadbhavana Party-Anandidevi) to 15 by Shankar Pokharel (Table 1). Out of a total of 25 models reviewed, 4 have proposed fewer than 5 federal states, 10 have proposed 5-10 federal states, and 11 have proposed 11-15 federal states. The number of districts/ethnic or linguistic enclaves/regions within the federal states range between 12-25. Federal states have been named using several criteria: ethnic/language identity to mountain ranges and peaks, river, historical places, etc.

Table1: Number of proposed federal units

SN	Models proposed by	Number of provinces/regions	Criteria	Basis for names
1	Alok K. Bohara	4:12	E, L, CA	R
2	Amaresh Narayan Jha	10	E, L, C	E, L
3	Baburam Acharya	4:15	H	H
4	Bal Krishna Mabuhang	11	E	NA
5	Bhawani Baral	10 + 1	E	E
6	Brikhesh Chandra Lal	4:11:05	E, L, C, Eco	P
7	Chandra Kanta Gyawali	8	PoR	P
8	CPN (Maoist)	13	E, L, C, Ter	E, L
9	Govinda Neupane	11 or 8	E, L	E, L
10	Harka Gurung	5:25	FN, AD	M, R, P
11	K.B. Gurung	11:06	E, L, C	E, L
12	Krishna Khanal	13 or 14	E, L, C, CA, Acc	NA
13	Kumar Y. Tamang	11	E, L, C	E, L
14	Lok Raj Baral	5	CA, NU	NA
15	Mangal Siddhi Manandhar et al	12	E, L, C	E, L
16	Narahari Acharya	9	Eco	R
17	Nepal Majdoor Kisan Party	14	ZN	M, R, P
18	Nepal Sadbhavana Party (Anandidevi)	3	Eco	NA
19	Pari Thapa	9	E, L, C	E, L
20	Pitamber Sharma	6:19	E, L, CA	M, R, P
21	Prem B. Singh	14	E, L, C	E, P
22	Rajendra Shrestha	14	E, L, C	E, L, P
23	Ram Chandra Acharya	4 + 1:13	E, L, C, CA, Acc	R, P
24	Shankar Pokharel	15	E, L, C, Acc	P
25	Surendra KC	8 or 5	E, L, CA	E, R

Note: E = Ethnicity; L = Language; C = Culture; H = History; M = Mountain range and peaks; R = River/watershed; P = Placename; FN = Financial resources; AD = Administration; CA = Comparative Advantages and Complementarities; Acc = Accessibility; NU = National Unity; Ter = Territory; ZN = Zones; Eco = Ecology; NA = No details available

Table 2 shows how the five selected models have delineated the proposed federal units.

Table 2: Proposed federal units in selected models

CPN (Maoist)	G. Neupane	Ram Chandra Acharya	Pitamber Sharma	Alok Kumar Bohara
Limbuwan	Kirat	Kanchanjunga	Arun	ERE 4
Kirat		Sagarmatha	Sagarmatha	
Tambasaling	Tambasaling	Gaurishankar	Sailung (Gaurishankar) + Trishuli	ERE 5 + 7
Newa	Nepa	Kathmandu	Kathmandu	ERE 6
Tamuwan	Tamumagarat	Annapurna	Manasalu + Annapurna	ERE 8
Magarat		Ridi	Ridi + Dhaulagiri + Sworgadwari	ERE 9 + 10
Tharuwan	Kapilbastu	Western Tarai	Far-West Tarai	ERE 3
Kochila	Bijayapur	Eastern Tarai	East Tarai	ERE 1
Mithila	Mithila	Mithila		
Bhojpura	Lumbini	Central Tarai	Mid Tarai	ERE 2
Abadh		Lumbini	Lumbini (West Tarai)	
Bheri-Karnali	Purbakhasan + Madhyakhasan	Rara Territory	Jumla + Humla + Bheri	ERE 11
Seti Mahakali	Paschimkhasan	Khaptad	Byas-Rishi + Khaptad	ERE 12

Note: ERE refers to Ethnic Regional Enclaves.

Table 3 shows the size of selected proposed federal states in terms of population and area. The minimum size of the population in the five models ranges from about 204,000 to 928,000, while the maximum ranges from 3,003,227 to 8,593,000. The minimum size in terms of area ranges from 899 sq km (Kathmandu) to 19,610 sq km, and the maximum from 21,000 sq km to 61,917 sq km.

Table 3: Spatial extent or size of selected proposed federal units

Models	Number of federal units or states	Population range	Area (sq km) range
CPN (Maoist)	13	899,150 - 3,003,227	899 - 27,534
Govinda Neupane	11	928,135 - 3,344,823	899 - 21,187
Alok Kumar Bohara	4	1,645,091 - 8,593,009	899 - 61,917
Ram Chandra Acharya	5 + 1 territories	203,504 - 7,100,776	19,610 - 39,714
Pitamber Sharma	6	203,504 - 5,914,490	899 - 42,307

Source: Calculation based on district-level population census data, 2001, and district area published by CBS.

2.2. SHARE OF ETHNIC/LANGUAGE GROUPS IN FEDERAL UNITS

Territorial distribution of ethnic/caste/language groups is one major criterion in the geographical delineation of federal units. It would, therefore, be interesting to see how the selected models take care of this aspect. Table 4 shows the share of the identified ethnic/language (EL) population groups in what have been called their ancestral homelands. The results for each of the major EL groups show that the percentage share of the concerned group in the federal unit considered its ancestral homeland is less than 40 per cent in most cases. For Limbus, it is between 23.5 and 39.5 per cent, and for Rais, between 25.2 and 34 per cent. Similar figures for other groups are Tamangs (27.4 to 49.5 per cent), Newars (35.4 to 36.6 per cent), Gurungs (17 to 48.4 per cent), Magars (26 to 35.6 per cent), and Tharus (28 to 38.4 per cent). The range reflects the difference in proposed territorial coverage of the 'ancestral homelands' but it also shows that a large share of population (between 50.5 and 83 per cent) in the federal unit comprise of population groups other than the titular EL group.

Further, if we consider the EL population in the federal unit as a proportion of the total EL population nationally, another aspect of the picture is revealed. For example, only between 49.5 and 72 per cent of the national Limbu population would be within the federal unit characterised as their homeland. Similar figures

for other groups are Rai (40.7 to 63.2 per cent), Tamang (49 to 62.4 per cent), Newar (46.8 to 49 per cent), Gurung (23.5 to 52 per cent), Magar (34.7 to 51 per cent), and Tharu (46 to 58 per cent). This shows that generally between 30 to 60 per cent of the concerned ethnic population live outside the region identified as their homeland. The only exceptions are the Maithili and Abadhi language groups.

This shows a high degree of mixing of different ethnic groups in areas identified as homelands of particular EL groups. As a result, the maximisation of both the proportion of the concerned ethnic population in the population of the concerned federal unit and the proportion of the total national ethnic population within that federal unit is simply not possible. These two have an inverse relationship. As the size of the ethnic homeland is increased, the share of that ethnic group in the population of the concerned federal unit decreases and vice versa. The percentage share of the concerned ethnic/language group in the concerned federal unit's total population can only be increased if the size of the federal unit is reduced to include only the core area (i.e., areas with majority). However, the reduction in the size of the federal unit would exclude many people of the same ethnic group living in peripheral areas, i.e., more people of the same ethnic group would be excluded from the federal unit identified as their homeland.

Table 4: Percentage share of major ethnic/caste and language groups in region and national population by proposed federal provinces

	CPN (Maoist)		Ram Chandra Acharya		Pitamber Sharma		Alok Kumar Bohara		M.S. Manandhar et al	
Major ethnic language (EL) group	Share of EL population in EL region	Proportion of national EL population in EL region	Share of EL population in EL region	Proportion of national EL population in EL region	Share of EL population in EL region	Proportion of national EL population in EL region	Share of EL population in EL region	Proportion of national EL population in EL region	Share of EL population in EL region	Proportion of national EL population in EL region
Limbu	26.8	67.2	39.5	49.5	23.5	69.3			26.0	72.0
Rai	25.7	46.4	25.2	63.2	26.2	40.7			34.0	51.0
Tamang	27.4	62.4	31.8	59.7					49.5	49.4
Newar	35.4	46.8	35.4	46.8	35.4	46.8			36.6	49.6
Maithili			77.2	82.8					52.0	
Bhojpuri			51.8	62.7						
Gurung	17.0	52.0	23.4	37.4	26.9	23.5	20.6	38.9	48.4	24.2
Magar	28.4	34.7	26.0	51.1					36.5	43.4
Abadhi			32.6	91.7						
Tharu	34.6	50.2	38.4	46.0	34.6	50.2	34.6	50.2	28.0	58.6

Source: Calculation based on Population Census 2001

2.3. NATURAL RESOURCE ENDOWMENT

The mountains and hills are rich in forest and water resources whereas the Tarai is rich in fertile cultivable land. Table 5a shows the percentage distribution of population in the federal units proposed by the CPN (Maoist), and the differences in the percentage of different types of land compared to the population percentage in the respective units. The proportion of good quality land (land capability Class I and II¹) and irrigable land is less than the percentage of population in all the proposed federal units in the hills and mountain, i.e., Limbuwan, Kirat, Tambasaling, Newa, Tamuwan, Magarat, Bheri-Karnali and Seti-Mahakali (the proportions are given in Annexes 1a, 1b, 1c and 1d). Similarly, the proportion of net cultivated land is less than the proportion of population in 4 proposed units in the hills and mountains. So, there is less scope to

1 Land Resource Mapping Project (1986) has classified land into 7 capability classes: Land Class I and Class II are gently sloping land with a slope less than 5 degrees and are suitable for agriculture with just a few limitations.

develop agriculture in these federal units, namely, Tambasaling, Newa, Tamuwan and Magarat. However, these proposed states are rich in forest resources and pastureland. The Tarai is rich in terms of good quality land and has prospects for increasing the productivity of agricultural crops through improved irrigation facilities, particularly in Kochila, Mithila, Abadh and Tharuwan. Irrigation facilities can be developed through inter-basin transfer of water from perennial rivers originating in the hills and the mountains. The complementarities—forests/hydropower/environmental services/tourism in the hills, and food grains in the Tarai—can be harnessed for sustainable development of the country. The disparity in the distribution of population and natural resources is reduced if the Tarai, hills and mountains are included in one federal unit

Table 5a: Percentage of population and land resources, model proposed by CPN (Maoist)

Federal unit	Population (1)	Area (2)	Land Capability I&II (3)	Net cultivated (4)	Irrigated (5)	Irrigable (6)	Forest (7)	Shrub (8)	Pasture (9)
Limbuwan	3.9	5.5	0.5	5.3	4.1	2.3	5.0	10.3	2.7
Kirat	4.9	8.9	1.5	6.5	3.9	2.6	9.2	16.4	6.6
Kochila	9.3	3.2	14.9	10.8	14.6	15.9	1.6	1.0	0.6
Tambasaling	12.6	13.2	7.3	11.7	10.7	8.1	14.8	30.3	7.3
Newa	7.1	0.6	1.3	1.3	2.4	1.6	0.5	1.5	0.0
Mithila	13.0	4.1	18.0	13.7	14.6	20.5	2.6	0.1	0.6
Bhojpura	6.9	2.5	12.0	6.3	11.2	9.3	2.8	0.2	0.5
Tamuwan	7.2	11.1	2.7	6.6	4.8	4.0	6.9	10.7	18.5
Magrat	8.6	10.4	1.4	8.4	3.9	2.8	12.1	10.7	12.6
Abadh	7.6	3.6	13.3	8.7	11.8	12.6	3.8	2.9	0.4
Bheri Karnali	4.1	18.7	1.4	4.8	2.7	2.4	14.6	4.6	37.2
Seti Mahakali	5.2	10.0	0.9	5.6	4.8	2.9	11.7	8.6	11.4
Tharuwan	9.6	8.3	24.7	10.4	10.6	15.0	14.3	2.7	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Calculated based on CBS, Population Census 2001 for Columns 1 and 2; Land Resource Mapping Project, 1986 for 3 and 4; Irrigation Master Plan for 5 and 6; and CBS, Environmental Statistics of Nepal, 2006 (JAFTA 2001) for 7, 8 and 9.

Table 5b: Percentage of population and land resources, model proposed by Alok Kumar Bohara

Regions	Population (1)	Area (2)	Land Capability I&II (3)	Net cultivated (4)	Irrigated (5)	Irrigable (6)	Forest (7)	Shrub (8)	Pasture (9)
Kosi	37.1	28.6	36.3	42.1	41.4	44.1	25.6	47.6	14.4
4-ERE	8.8	14.4	2.0	11.8	8.0	4.9	14.2	26.7	9.3
5-ERE	6.0	6.9	1.4	5.8	4.3	2.8	7.1	19.8	4.0
1-ERE	22.3	7.3	32.9	24.5	29.2	36.3	4.2	1.1	1.2
Kathmandu	7.1	0.6	1.3	1.3	2.4	1.6	0.5	1.5	0.0
6-ERE	7.1	0.6	1.3	1.3	2.4	1.6	0.5	1.5	0.0
Gandaki	33.3	28.7	34.8	31.8	36.7	32.8	27.0	30.7	28.7
7-ERE	4.6	4.8	2.0	4.1	3.4	2.8	5.2	10.2	2.7
8-ERE	4.4	9.3	1.7	4.1	3.2	2.6	5.0	8.9	17.8
9-ERE	7.7	7.1	1.9	6.9	4.0	3.0	7.6	8.2	6.8
2-ERE	16.5	7.6	29.2	16.6	26.1	24.4	9.1	3.4	1.4
Karnali	22.5	42.1	27.6	24.8	19.5	21.5	47.0	20.2	56.8
10-ERE	3.6	5.1	0.5	4.0	1.5	1.2	6.3	4.3	6.6
11-ERE	4.1	18.7	1.4	4.8	2.7	2.4	14.6	4.6	37.2
12-ERE	5.2	10.0	0.9	5.6	4.8	2.9	11.7	8.6	11.4
3-ERE	9.6	8.3	24.7	10.4	10.6	15.0	14.3	2.7	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: ERE refers to ethnic regional enclave.

Source: Calculated based on CBS, Population Census 2001 for Columns 1 and 2; Land Resource Mapping Project, 1986 for 3 and 4; Irrigation Master Plan for 5 and 6; and CBS, Environmental Statistics of Nepal, 2006 (JAFTA 2001) for 7, 8 and 9.

Table 5c: Percentage of population and land resources, model proposed by Ram Chandra Acharya

Regions	Population (1)	Area (2)	Land Capability I&II (3)	Net cultivated (4)	Irrigated (5)	Irrigable (6)	Forest (7)	Shrub (8)	Pasture (9)
Mechi	18.1	17.6	16.9	22.5	22.5	20.8	15.8	27.7	9.9
Kanchanjunga	1.9	3.8	0.1	2.9	2.2	1.2	3.0	7.3	2.3
Sagarmatha	6.9	10.6	1.9	8.9	5.7	3.7	11.2	19.4	7.0
Eastern Tarai	9.3	3.2	14.9	10.8	14.6	15.9	1.6	1.0	0.6
Kosi	30.7	16.4	22.7	25.0	24.6	27.7	15.4	31.6	7.3
Gaurishanker	10.6	11.7	3.3	10.0	7.7	5.7	12.3	30.0	6.7
Kathmandu	7.1	0.6	1.3	1.3	2.4	1.6	0.5	1.5	0.0
Mithila	13.0	4.1	18.0	13.7	14.6	20.5	2.6	0.1	0.6
Gandak	27.1	27.0	23.8	25.1	25.7	21.4	26.0	24.4	32.5
Annapurna	3.8	8.9	1.6	3.6	2.6	2.2	4.7	8.6	17.5
Ridi	14.4	14.1	6.2	13.6	8.8	7.4	16.0	15.2	13.9
Central Tarai	9.0	4.0	16.0	8.0	14.3	11.7	5.3	0.5	1.1
Karnali	23.2	25.7	36.4	26.2	26.7	29.6	36.7	14.5	19.1
Khaptad	8.4	15.4	2.0	9.2	6.9	4.8	20.3	11.4	17.3
Lumbini	6.8	3.7	14.1	8.4	10.2	12.5	5.0	0.6	0.3
Western Tarai	7.9	6.7	20.3	8.5	9.5	12.3	11.4	2.5	1.5
Rara territory	0.9	13.3	0.3	1.2	0.5	0.5	6.1	1.7	31.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Calculated based on CBS, Population Census 2001 for Columns 1 and 2; Land Resource Mapping Project, 1986 for 3 and 4; Irrigation Master Plan for 5 and 6; and CBS, Environmental Statistics of Nepal, 2006 (JAFTA 2001) for 7, 8 and 9.

Table 5d: Percentage of population and land resources, model proposed by Pitamber Sharma

Regions	Population (1)	Area (2)	Land Capability I&II (3)	Net cultivated (4)	Irrigated (5)	Irrigable (6)	Forest (7)	Shrub (8)	Pasture (9)
Eastern	23.1	19.3	24.1	28.4	19.8	29.5	16.9	27.7	10.1
Arun	4.6	7.9	0.5	6.3	4.0	2.6	7.3	18.0	4.9
Sagarmatha	4.3	6.5	1.5	5.5	3.0	2.3	6.9	8.7	4.4
East Tarai	14.3	4.9	22.1	16.6	12.7	24.6	2.7	1.0	0.8
Central	25.5	16.5	26.1	24.1	35.5	26.7	16.7	30.4	7.5
Sailung or Gaurishankar	6.0	6.9	1.4	5.8	4.6	2.8	7.1	19.8	4.0
Trishuli	4.6	4.8	2.0	4.1	4.3	2.8	5.2	10.2	2.7
Mid Tarai	15.0	4.8	22.8	14.1	26.5	21.1	4.4	0.3	0.8
Capital	7.1	0.6	1.3	1.3	3.1	1.6	0.5	1.5	0.0
Kathmandu	7.1	0.6	1.3	1.3	3.1	1.6	0.5	1.5	0.0
Western	21.8	21.5	20.9	21.4	22.0	20.6	18.9	20.3	25.5
Manasalu	2.1	5.1	0.9	2.2	1.3	1.3	3.0	6.7	7.4
Annapurna	5.1	3.5	1.7	4.2	3.4	2.6	3.6	3.4	2.7
Dhaulagiri	1.7	5.2	0.3	1.8	0.7	0.7	3.3	2.4	12.8
Ridi	3.3	2.5	0.7	2.9	2.0	1.0	2.7	4.7	1.6
West Tarai or Lumbini	9.6	5.1	17.3	10.3	14.6	15.0	6.3	3.2	0.9
Karnali	0.9	13.3	0.3	1.2	0.6	0.5	6.1	1.7	31.3
Jumla	0.5	7.1	0.2	0.7	0.3	0.3	2.9	0.8	18.0
Humla	0.4	6.2	0.1	0.6	0.3	0.2	3.2	1.0	13.3
Far-Western	21.6	28.7	27.3	23.6	19.1	21.0	40.9	18.4	25.6
Sworgadwari	3.6	5.1	0.5	4.0	1.9	1.2	6.3	4.3	6.6
Bheri	3.3	5.4	1.2	3.6	2.5	1.9	8.5	2.8	5.9
Khaptad	3.1	6.3	0.5	3.6	4.1	1.8	7.4	4.5	6.6
Byasrishi	2.1	3.7	0.4	2.1	2.8	1.1	4.4	4.0	4.9
Far-West Tarai	9.6	8.3	24.7	10.4	7.8	15.0	14.3	2.7	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Calculated based on CBS, Population Census 2001 for Columns 1 and 2; Land Resource Mapping Project, 1986 for 3 and 4; Irrigation Master Plan for 5 and 6; and CBS, Environmental Statistics of Nepal, 2006 (JAFTA 2001) for 7, 8 and 9.

(Tables 5b, 5c and 5d). Figures 1a to 1d show the percentage share of population, cultivated land and forest by federal units proposed by the CPN (Maoist), Pitamber Sharma, Alok Kumar Bohara and Ram Chandra Acharya.

Fig. 1a: Percentage Share Population and Land Resources by Federal Units Proposed by CPN-Maoist

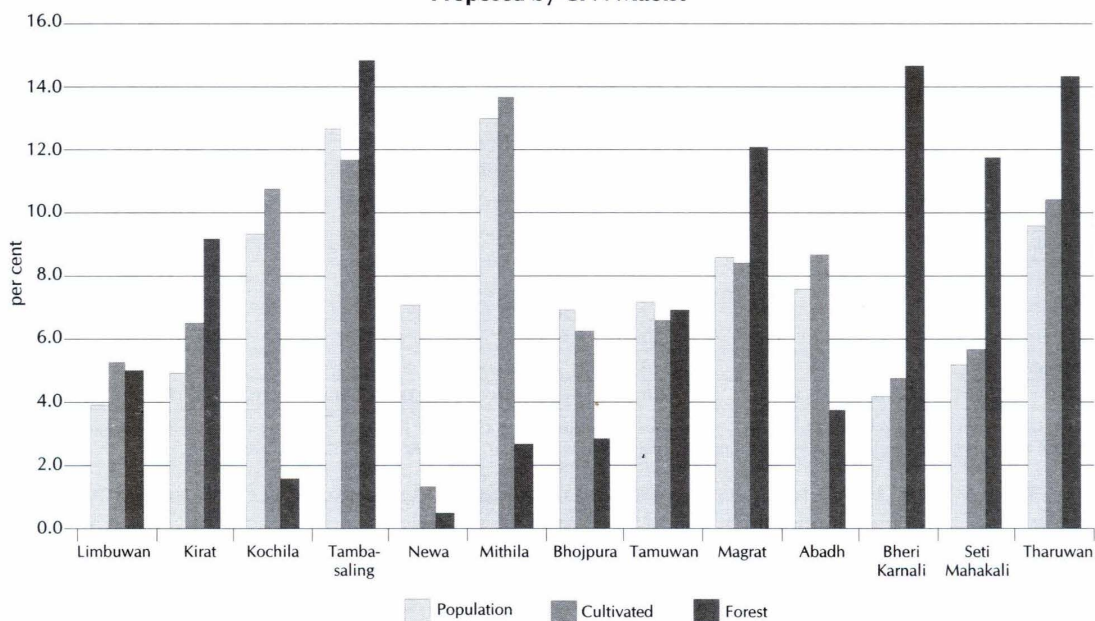


Fig. 1b: Percentage Share Population and Land Resources by Federal Units Proposed by P. Sharma

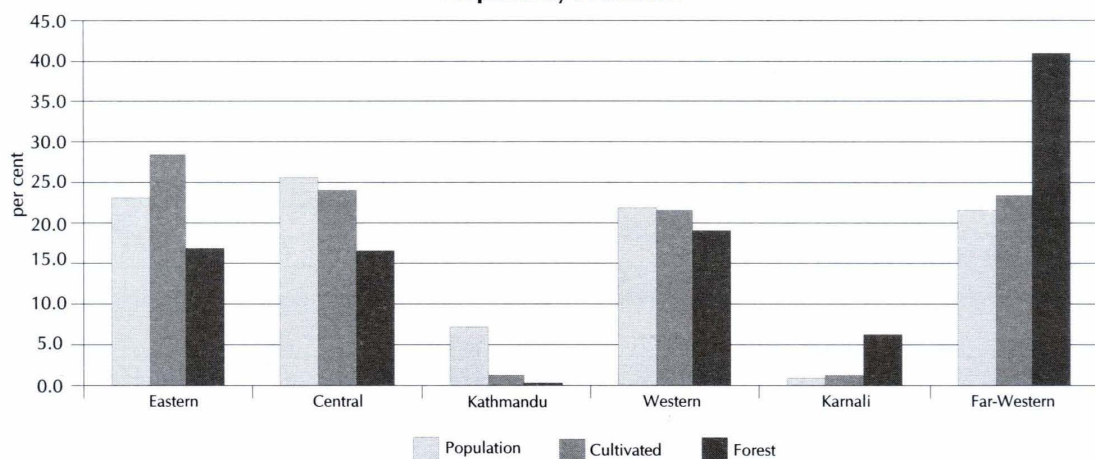


Fig. 1c: Percentage Share Population and Land Resources by Federal Units Proposed by A.K. Bohara

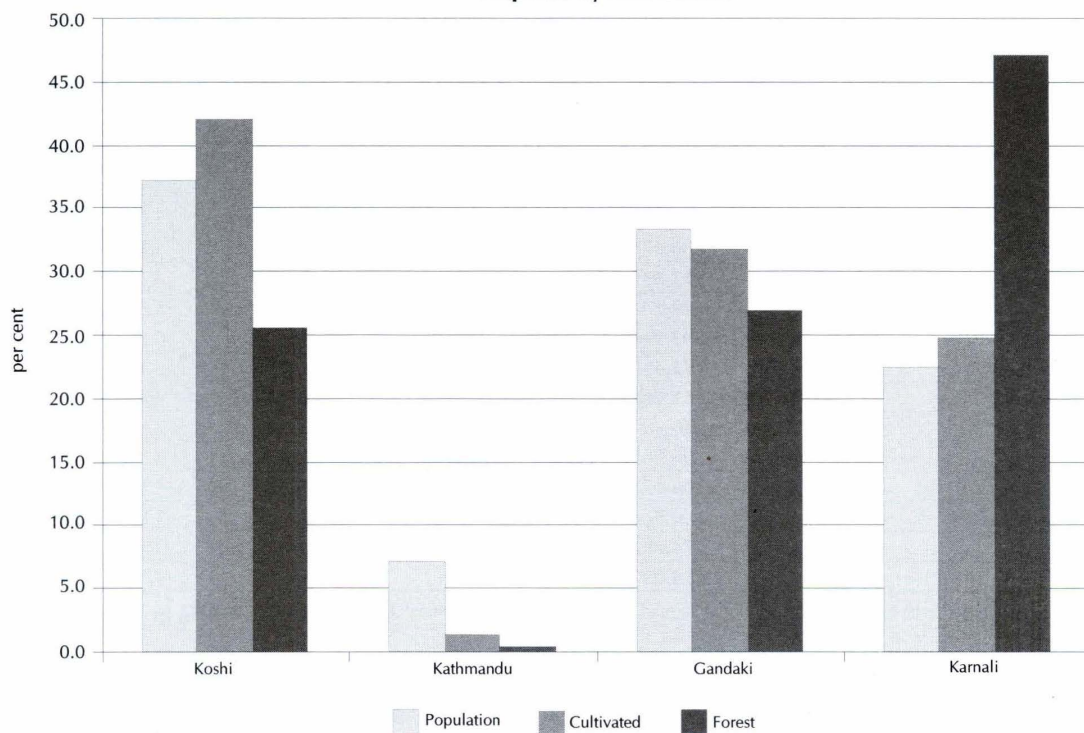
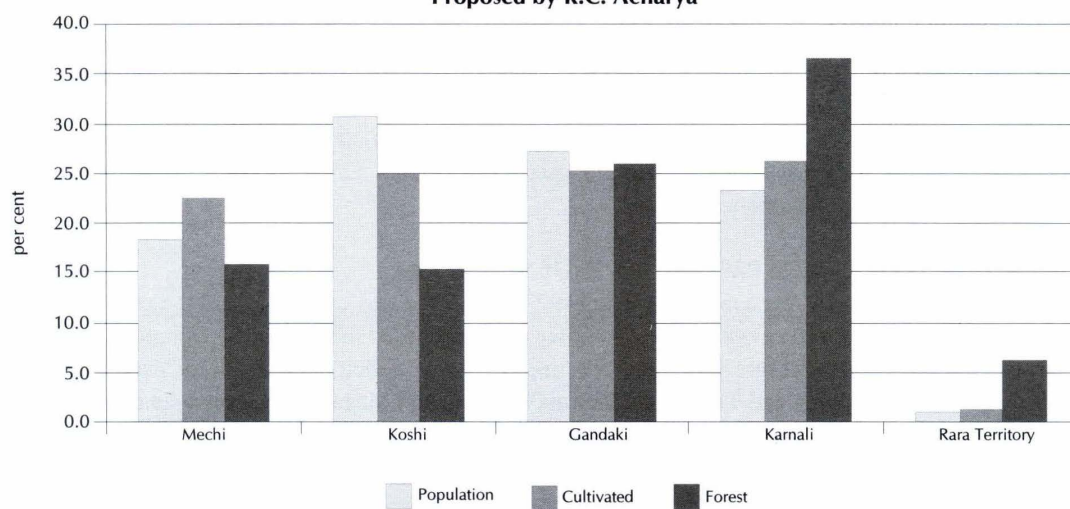


Fig. 1d: Percentage Share Population and Land Resources by Federal Units Proposed by R.C. Acharya



The Tarai has a high potential for increasing agricultural production by developing irrigation facilities. But it is also highly prone to flood damages. The proportion of land made uncultivable due to flood/soil erosion is comparatively high in the Tarai, particularly in the central (Mithila, Bhojpur) and western (Abadh) regions (Table 6). It should also be noted that the size of spatial unit not only determines the economy of scale for economic development but also for reducing vulnerability from natural disasters such as floods, landslides and droughts. Generally, economy of scale can be attained and vulnerability reduced by increasing the size of spatial unit.

Table 6: Number and area of holdings, number of holdings reporting and area of land made uncultivable due to flood/soil erosion (CPN-Maoist Model)

	Number of holding	Area (ha)	Affected holding	Affected Area	% Holding	% Area
Limbuwan	153,127.0	148,830.2	5,912.0	755.6	3.9	0.5
Kirat	200,989.0	177,193.1	7,848.0	1,917.1	3.9	1.1
Kochila	301,496.0	306,471.9	11,404.0	2,822.0	3.8	0.9
Tambasaling	494,176.0	317,635.4	21,188.0	3,253.2	4.3	1.0
Newa	111,966.0	29,244.1	7,014.0	439.9	6.3	1.5
Mithila	399,585.0	393,948.3	33,041.0	8,669.1	8.3	2.2
Bhojpur	184,505.0	172,411.2	11,356.0	3,332.5	6.2	1.9
Tamuwan	281,151.0	151,062.0	11,638.0	1,111.8	4.1	0.7
Magarat	351,313.0	258,484.5	12,455.0	1,092.4	3.5	0.4
Abadh	226,460.0	206,983.9	19,297.0	4,924.5	8.5	2.4
Bheri Karnali	161,016.0	106,123.4	3,014.0	260.2	1.9	0.2
Seti Mahakali	202,320.0	110,861.6	3,621.0	267.0	1.8	0.2
Tharuwan	296,035.0	274,787.6	9,096.0	2,000.0	3.1	0.7
Total	3,364,139.0	2,654,037.0	156,884.0	30,845.3	4.7	1.2

Source: Calculation based on CBS, 2004. National Sample Census of Agriculture, Nepal 2001/02: District Summary, pp. 151-152.

2.4. FOOD SITUATION

The availability of food calories based on average production of major cereal crops over five years and calorie requirements of the population as per the 2001 census was calculated at the district level (Table 7).² The balance between calorie availability and calorie requirement shows that only five of the Maoist-proposed federal states—Tharuwan, Kochila, Bhojpur, Abadh and Mithila—are in surplus whereas all the proposed federal units in the hills and mountains are in deficit. The proposed Newa federal unit is the worst in terms of food situation, followed by Tambasaling, Magarat, Tamuwan, Seti-Mahakali, Kirat, Bheri-Karnali and Limbuwan. The situation is better in the nested models proposed by Bohara, Acharya and Sharma. Except for Kathmandu, all the other proposed federal units in Bohara's model—Kosi, Gandaki and Karnali—are in surplus. Only Kathmandu and Rara Territory are in deficit in Acharya's model. Similarly, except for Kathmandu and Karnali, all the other proposed federal units—Eastern, Central, Western and Far-Western—are in surplus in Sharma's model.

2.5. FINANCIAL RESOURCES: PRESENT REVENUE SITUATION

The balance between district revenue and development expenditure was calculated and the results shown in Table 8. In the CPN (Maoist) model, except for three of the proposed federal units—Bhojpur, Kochila, and Abadh—all units are in deficit. The situation is improved (i.e., deficit is lower) in the nested models, namely, Tambasaling (Sailung and Trishuli) in Sharma's model; and Magarat and Tamuwan (Gandaki) in Acharya's and Bohara's.

Table 7: Federal States in terms of food situation (balance of calorie availability and requirement) by rank

Food situation	CPN (Maoist)	Alok Kumar Bohara	Ram Chandra Acharya	Pitamber Sharma
Surplus	Tharuwan Kochila Bhojpura Abadh Mithila	Kosi Gandaki Karnali	Karnali Mechi Gandaki	Eastern Western Far-Western Western
Deficit	Newa Tambasaling Magarat Tamuwan Seti-Mahakali Kirat Bheri-Karnali Limbuwan	Kathmandu	Kosi Rara Territory	Kathmandu Karnali

Source: Calculation and rank based on New Era, 'A Study on Population Pressure Index (PPI) in Nepal', 2003.

Table 8: Proposed federal states and their financial situation (balance of revenue and expenditure) by rank

Food situation	CPN (Maoist)	Alok Kumar Bohara	Ram Chandra Acharya	Pitamber Sharma
Surplus	Bhojpura (Birgunj) Kochila (Biratnagar) Abadh (Bhairahawa)	Gandaki	Gandaki	Central
Deficit	Newa Bheri-Karnali Magarat Tamuwan Seti-Mahakali Tharuwan Tambasaling Kirat Mithila Limbuwan	Kathmandu Karnali Kosi	Kosi Karnali Rara Territory Mechi	Kathmandu Far-Western Western Eastern Karnali

chapter 3

CONCLUSIONS

Over 50 models/framework/concepts for restructuring the state proposed by different individuals, political parties and organisations have been reviewed in terms of objectives, principles/criteria used, types and sources of data used, the geographical delineation of federal model, and devolution of authority. Among the models reviewed, only 20 have a clear geographical delineation of federal units with defined boundaries. The main objectives behind the proposal to restructure the state into federal units can be grouped into two broad categories: 1) resolving problems of socio-cultural disparity, enhancing ethnic/cultural identity with autonomy, and the right to self-determination; and 2) addressing the challenges of development and achieving regional balance by promoting economic cooperation and preserving territorial integrity through decentralisation and devolution of power and authority. Models based on the second set of objectives have adopted a nested approach with emphasis on ethnic/language identity at the regional/district level and geographical complementarities at the federal.

Many models/frameworks/concepts have spelt out similar types of criteria, namely, ethnic/language/cultural identity, economic viabilities, resource endowment and complementarities. However, some have heavily emphasised the idea of ancestral homelands of ethnic/language/cultural groups in delineating federal units and considerations of geographical complementarities receive little attention.

Most models have proposed three- to four-tiered structure of governance: centre, province/region and local (districts and village/municipality) but many have not touched upon the governance system, power-sharing, roles and responsibilities among different tiers of government, etc, in any detail.

Many models have used information from Population Census 2001 at the district level while only three have used data at the VDC level. However, there are slight inconsistencies between the published figures at the district level and the VDC levels. There are also some minor discrepancies between the published version of the census report and what was distributed by CBS in CDs. Moreover, the insurgency had its impact on the 2001 Census and, as a result, 957 wards of 83 VDCs in 12 districts could not be enumerated. These facts should be taken into account while analysing the population data of 2001.

The number of proposed federal units in the models reviewed ranged from 3 to 15. Some models are based mainly on physiographic characteristics (Tarai, hills and mountains), others on ethnicity/language/culture, watersheds, comparative advantages and complementarities, or locational advantages (linking the two large neighbouring countries, India and China, or incorporating the Tarai, hills and mountains in one federal unit).

Federal units have been variously named. Models that emphasise the ethnic/language criteria favour names

based on ethnic and language groups, while others have named federal units after major rivers, mountain peaks, historical associations, etc.

In the five major models analysed and assessed, the federal units delineated on the basis of ethnicity, with the exception of Chhetris, do not have the titular ethnic group in the majority in that federal unit. In most cases, the proportion of the titular ethnic/language population living outside the federal unit is considerable. As a result, it is difficult to carve out federal units that have (i) the highest percentage share of the titular ethnic group in the total population of the unit as well as (ii) the highest percentage share of the national population of the titular ethnic group within the unit. This is due to the fact that the settlements of different ethnic groups are highly mixed.

The perception of territories in terms of ethnic/linguistic homelands also differs among contending ethnic groups and also political parties. As a result, there are claims and counter-claims on the same territory. For example, the districts of Sunsari, Morang and Jhapa proposed by the CPN (Maoist) under the territory of Kochila is claimed by Limbus as belonging to Limbuwan while the Madhes-based political parties include the area under the one Madhes state. Similarly, Magars have demanded two territorial pockets as part of their homeland: Surkhet-Tanahun and Ramechhap to Dhankuta to be incorporated under Magarat. Likewise, Tharus have demanded the incorporation of all Tharu-dominant areas from east to west into a Tharuwan federal unit.

In terms of natural resource endowment, particularly land capability and irrigation, the federal units identified in the Tarai are better placed. However, the damage of cultivable land from floods and soil erosion is comparatively high in the Tarai, especially in Mithila, Bhojpur and Abadh. The distribution of forest and pasture resources is better in federal units identified in the central, mid-western and far-western hills.

Federal units identified in the hill-mountains are also rich in hydro-power resources as well as tourism based on natural resources, and diversity in natural and cultural landscapes. Tourism prospects in the federal units identified in the Tarai are based on pilgrimage and wildlife.

Hill-mountain-based federal units in general have a precarious food situation. There are comparative advantages and complementarities among different geo-ecological regions in terms of distribution of environmental resources and development potentials. Political/administrative decision-making boundaries among different federal units in the same watershed may hinder not only the flow of resources but also create problems in the sustainable management of environmental resources.

The financial resource base of many proposed federal units is poor and most of the units identified in the hill-mountains are in deficit in terms of the balance between revenue and expenditure. In the current situation, such a deficit is likely to increase if the number of federal units is increased.

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ANNEXURES

Annex 1a: Calorie situation, CPN (Maoist)

	Calorie requirement	Calorie available	Calorie balance
Limbuwan	1,839,930,645	1,709,502,867	-130,427,778
Kirat	2,344,411,124	1,925,913,134	-418,497,990
Kochila	4,037,185,775	6,224,508,298	2,187,322,523
Tambasaling	5,901,997,046	4,903,011,165	-998,985,881
Newa	3,366,349,714	1,280,497,205	-2,085,852,509
Mithila	5,621,139,976	7,566,209,162	1,945,069,186
Bhojpura	2,997,501,346	5,111,122,066	2,113,620,720
Tamuwan	3,398,415,234	2,839,677,294	-558,737,940
Magrat	4,054,565,420	3,327,435,157	-727,130,263
Abadh	3,281,586,100	5,337,152,592	2,055,566,492
Bheri Karnali	1,959,700,584	1,685,351,172	-274,349,412
Seti Mahakali	2,448,876,785	1,970,205,663	-478,671,122
Tharuwan	4,165,402,840	6,520,336,371	2,354,933,531
Total	45,417,062,589	50,400,922,146	4,983,859,557

Annex 1b: Calorie situation, Alok Kumar Bohara

	Calorie requirement	Calorie available	Calorie balance
Kosi	16,682,905,318	19,821,249,274	3,138,343,956
ERE* 4	4,184,341,769	3,635,416,001	-548,925,768
ERE 5	2,840,237,798	2,395,115,813	-445,121,985
ERE 1	9,658,325,751	13,790,717,460	4,132,391,709
Kathmandu	3,366,349,714	1,280,497,205	-2,085,852,509
ERE 6	3,366,349,714	1,280,497,205	-2,085,852,509
Gandaki	15,106,804,425	17,496,854,380	2,390,049,955
ERE 7	2,178,227,006	1,579,006,192	-599,220,814
ERE 8	2,104,013,845	1,846,292,609	-257,721,236
ERE 9	3,661,943,886	2,694,391,761	-967,552,125
ERE 2	7,162,619,688	11,377,163,818	4,214,544,130
Karnali	10,261,003,132	11,802,321,287	1,541,318,155
ERE 10	1,687,022,923	1,626,428,081	-60,594,842
ERE 11	1,959,700,584	1,685,351,172	-274,349,412
ERE 12	2,448,876,785	1,970,205,663	-478,671,122
ERE 3	4,165,402,840	6,520,336,371	2,354,933,531
Grand Total	45,417,062,589	50,400,922,146	4,983,859,557

* ethnic regional enclave

Annex 1c: Calorie situation, Ram Chandra Acharya

	Calorie requirement	Calorie available	Calorie balance
Mechi	8,221,527,544	9,859,924,299	1,638,396,755
Kanchanjunga	920,558,749	918,563,350	-1,995,399
Sagarmatha	3,263,783,020	2,716,852,651	-546,930,369
Eastern Tarai	4,037,185,775	6,224,508,298	2,187,322,523
Kosi	14,005,954,494	12,820,828,372	-1,185,126,122
Gaurishanker	5,018,464,804	3,974,122,005	-1,044,342,799
Kathmandu	3,366,349,714	1,280,497,205	-2,085,852,509
Mithila	5,621,139,976	7,566,209,162	1,945,069,186
Gandak	12,387,538,021	13,690,756,211	1,303,218,190
Annapurna	1,781,054,501	1,530,606,640	-250,447,861
Ridi	6,725,449,932	6,120,138,345	-605,311,587
Central Tarai	3,881,033,588	6,040,011,226	2,158,977,638
Karnali	10,385,612,294	13,757,120,861	3,371,508,567
Khaptad	3,992,147,133	3,383,264,432	-608,882,701
Lumbini	2,950,239,049	4,871,921,319	1,921,682,270
Western Tarai	3,443,226,112	5,501,935,110	2,058,708,998
Rara Territory	416,430,236	272,292,403	-144,137,833
Grand Total	45,417,062,589	50,400,922,146	4,983,859,557

Annex 1d: Calorie situation, Pitamber Sharma

	Calorie requirement	Calorie available	Calorie balance
Eastern Region	10,360,283,571	12,985,004,809	2,624,721,238
Arun	2,165,707,744	1,999,869,924	-165,837,820
Sagarmatha	2,018,634,025	1,635,546,077	-383,087,948
East Tarai	6,175,941,802	9,349,588,808	3,173,647,006
Central Region	11,498,350,099	13,526,372,723	2,028,022,624
Sailung or Gaurishankar	2,840,237,798	2,395,115,813	-445,121,985
Trishuli	2,178,227,006	1,579,006,192	-599,220,814
Mid Tarai	6,479,885,295	9,552,250,718	3,072,365,423
Capital Region	3,366,349,714	1,280,497,205	-2,085,852,509
Kathmandu	3,366,349,714	1,280,497,205	-2,085,852,509
Western Region	9,931,076,073	10,806,726,122	875,650,049
Manasalu	971,726,481	935,635,198	-36,091,283
Annapurna	2,396,033,133	1,864,192,315	-531,840,818
Dhaulagiri	815,174,299	662,687,349	-152,486,950
Ridi	1,583,023,818	1,078,169,508	-504,854,310
West Tarai or Lumbini	4,165,118,342	6,266,041,752	2,100,923,410
Karnali Region	416,430,236	272,292,403	-144,137,833
Jumla	243,452,404	174,030,016	-69,422,388
Humla	172,977,832	98,262,387	-74,715,445
Far-Western Region	9,844,572,896	11,530,028,884	1,685,455,988
Sworgadwari	1,687,022,923	1,626,428,081	-60,594,842
Bheri	1,543,270,348	1,413,058,769	-130,211,579
Khaptad	1,461,381,516	1,149,866,684	-311,514,832
Byasrishi	987,495,269	820,338,979	-167,156,290
Far-West Tarai	4,165,402,840	6,520,336,371	2,354,933,531
Grand Total	45,417,062,589	50,400,922,146	4,983,859,557

Annex 2a: Balance in revenue and expenditure, CPN (Maoist)

Region	Amount
Limbuwan	-2,230,122,937
Kirat	-2,554,476,249
Kochila	3,274,649,701
Tambasaling	-2,933,567,480
Newa	-31,053,131,089
Mithila	-2,383,499,279
Bhojpura	16,105,361,505
Tamuwan	-3,942,741,382
Magrat	-4,255,895,598
Abadh	2,268,689,742
Bheri Karnali	-3,967,727,690
Seti Mahakali	-3,615,947,245
Tharuwan	-3,318,664,324
Total	-38,607,072,323

Annex 2b: Balance in revenue and expenditure, Alok Kumar Bohara

Region	Amount
Kosi	-5,286,935,649
ERE* 4	-4,784,599,185
ERE 5	-1,393,486,887
ERE 1	891,150,423
Kathmandu	-31,053,131,089
ERE 6	-31,053,131,089
Gandaki	10,462,943,443
ERE 7	-1,914,958,727
ERE 8	-2,706,373,513
ERE 9	-3,664,653,698
ERE 2	18,748,929,382
Karnali	-12,729,949,028
ERE 10	-1,827,609,768
ERE 11	-3,967,727,690
ERE 12	-3,615,947,245
ERE 3	-3,318,664,324
Grand Total	-38,607,072,323

Annex 2c: Balance in revenue and expenditure, Ram Chandra Acharya

Region	Amount
Mechi	-1,509,949,484
Kanchanjunga	-1,066,425,344
Sagarmatha	-3,718,173,841
Eastern Tarai	3,274,649,701
Kosi	-36,745,075,982
Gaurishanker	-3,308,445,614
Kathmandu	-31,053,131,089
Mithila	-2,383,499,279
Gandak	7,335,812,874
Annapurna	-2,194,427,746
Ridi	-6,949,999,020
Central Tarai	16,480,239,639
Karnali	-6,152,022,635
Khaptad	-6,047,837,839
Lumbini	2,692,508,549
Western Tarai	-2,796,693,345
Rara Territory	-1,535,837,096
Grand Total	-38,607,072,323

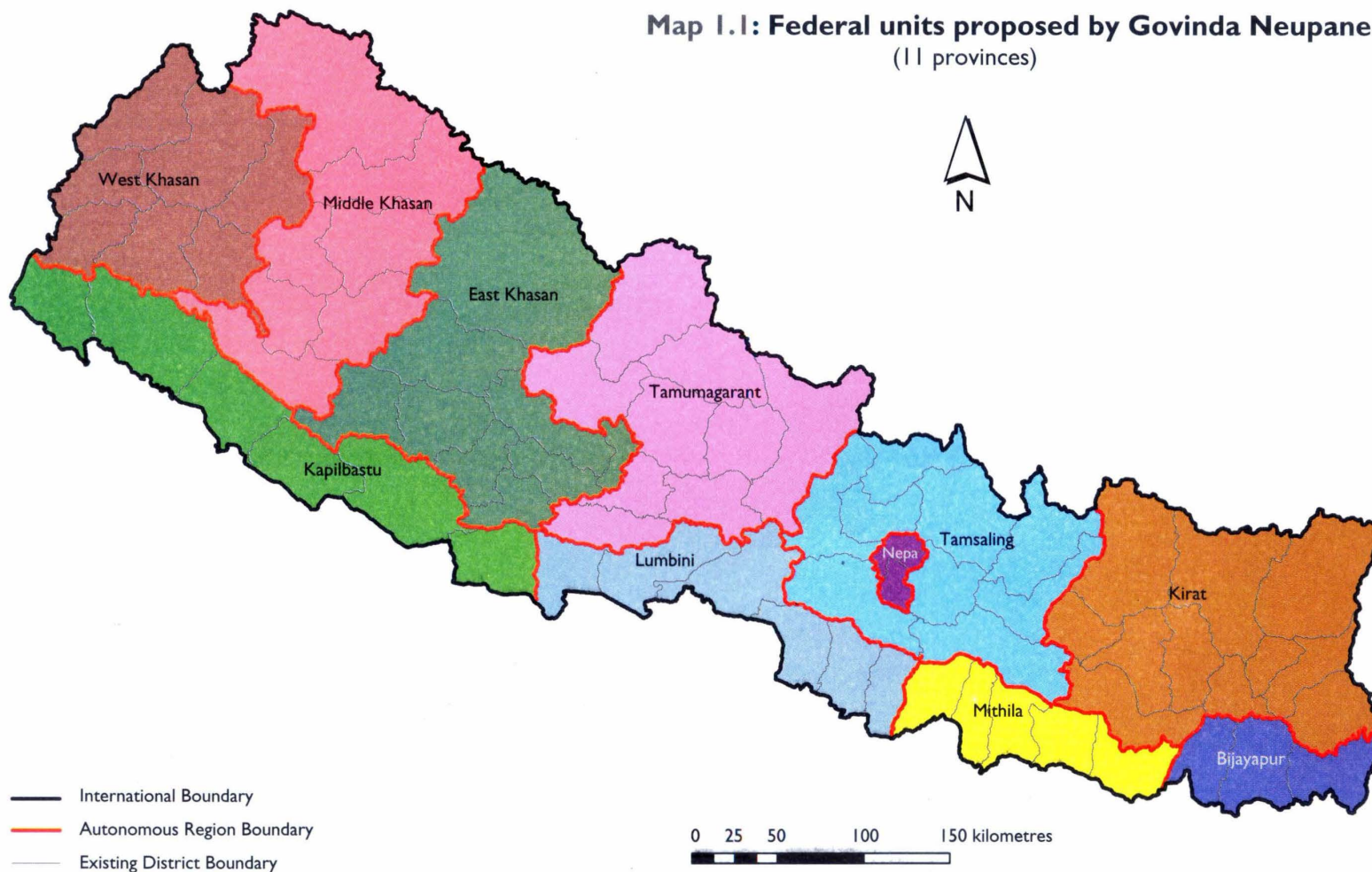
Annex 2d: Balance in revenue and expenditure, Pitamber Sharma

Region	Amount
Eastern Region	-2,748,385,944
Arun	-2,587,238,439
Sagarmatha	-2,197,360,746
East Tarai	2,036,213,241
Central Region	11,651,853,073
Sailung or Gaurishankar	-1,393,486,887
Trishuli	-1,914,958,727
Mid Tarai	14,960,298,687
Capital Region	-31,053,131,089
Kathmandu	-31,053,131,089
Western Region	-3,727,459,335
Manasalu	-1,204,671,385
Annapurna	-2,498,695,910
Dhaulagiri	-1,170,769,852
Ridi	-1,496,890,064
West Tarai or Lumbini	2,643,567,876
Karnali Region	-1,535,837,096
Jumla	-847,031,154
Humla	-688,805,942
Far-Western Region	-11,194,111,932
Sworgadwari	-1,827,609,768
Bheri	-2,431,890,594
Khaptad	-2,107,163,310
Byasrishi	-1,508,783,935
Far-West Tarai	-3,318,664,324
Grand Total	-38,607,072,323

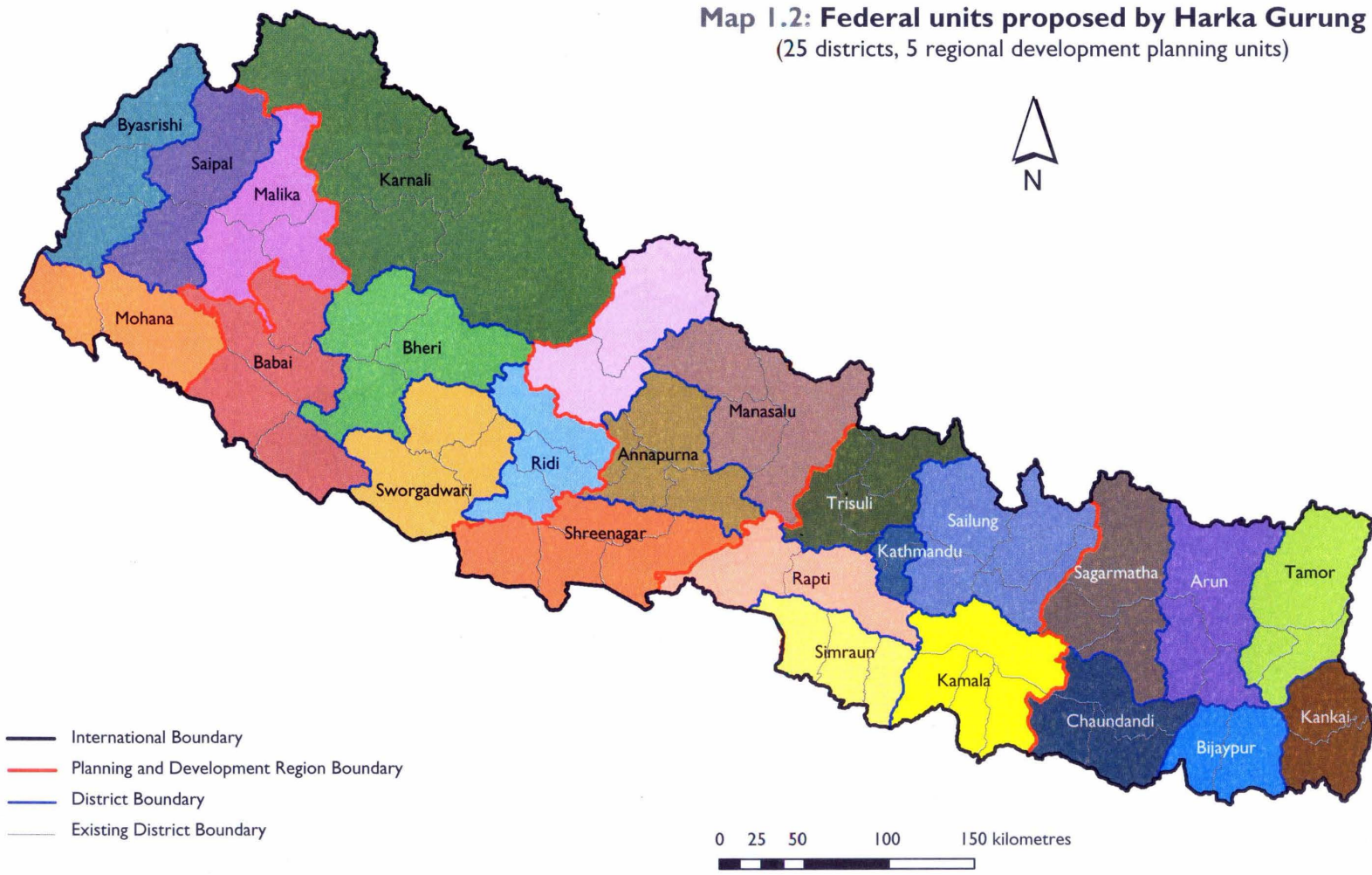
MAPS

Note: Some of the maps on the following pages are based on textual descriptions.

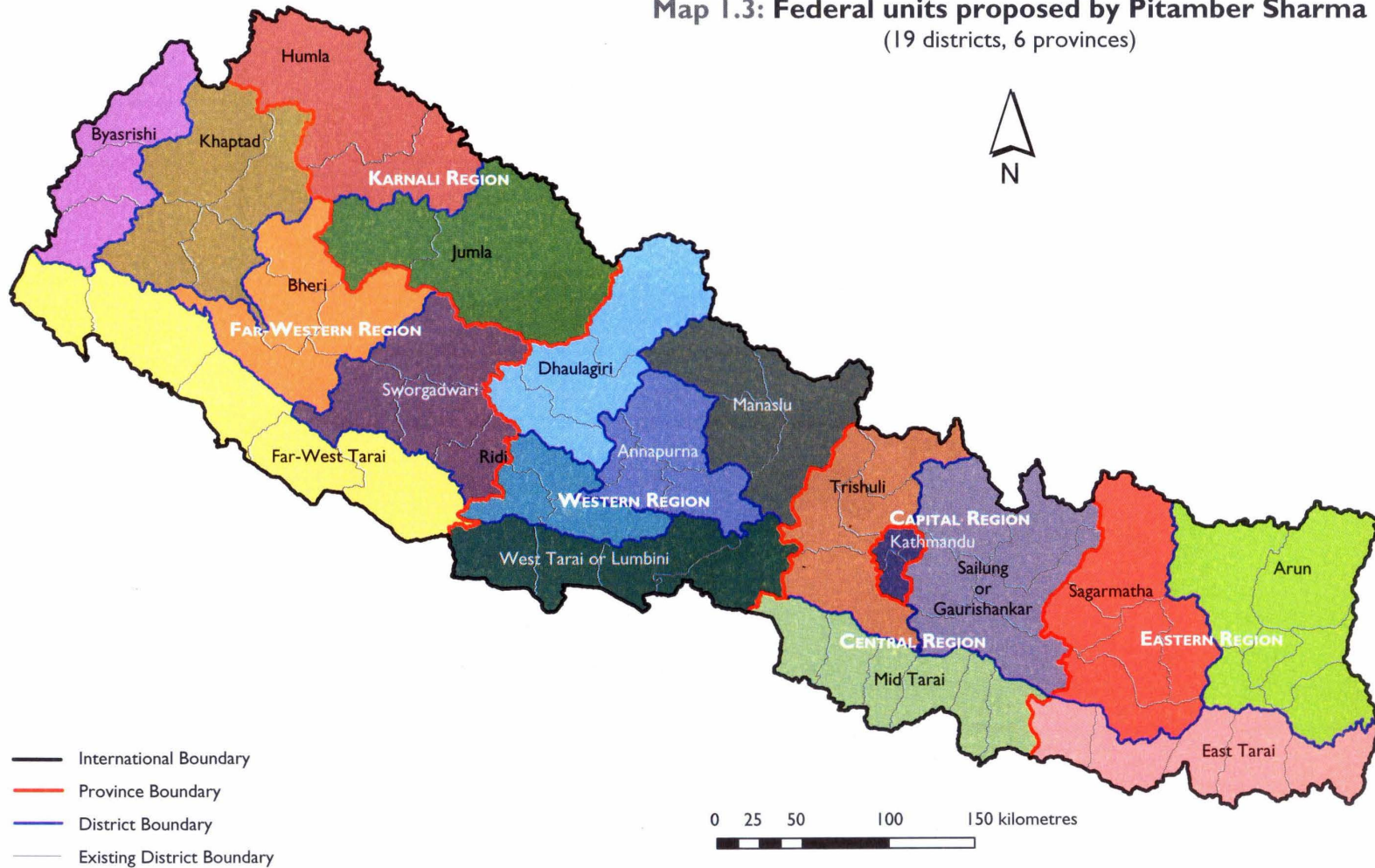
Map I.1: Federal units proposed by Govinda Neupane
(11 provinces)



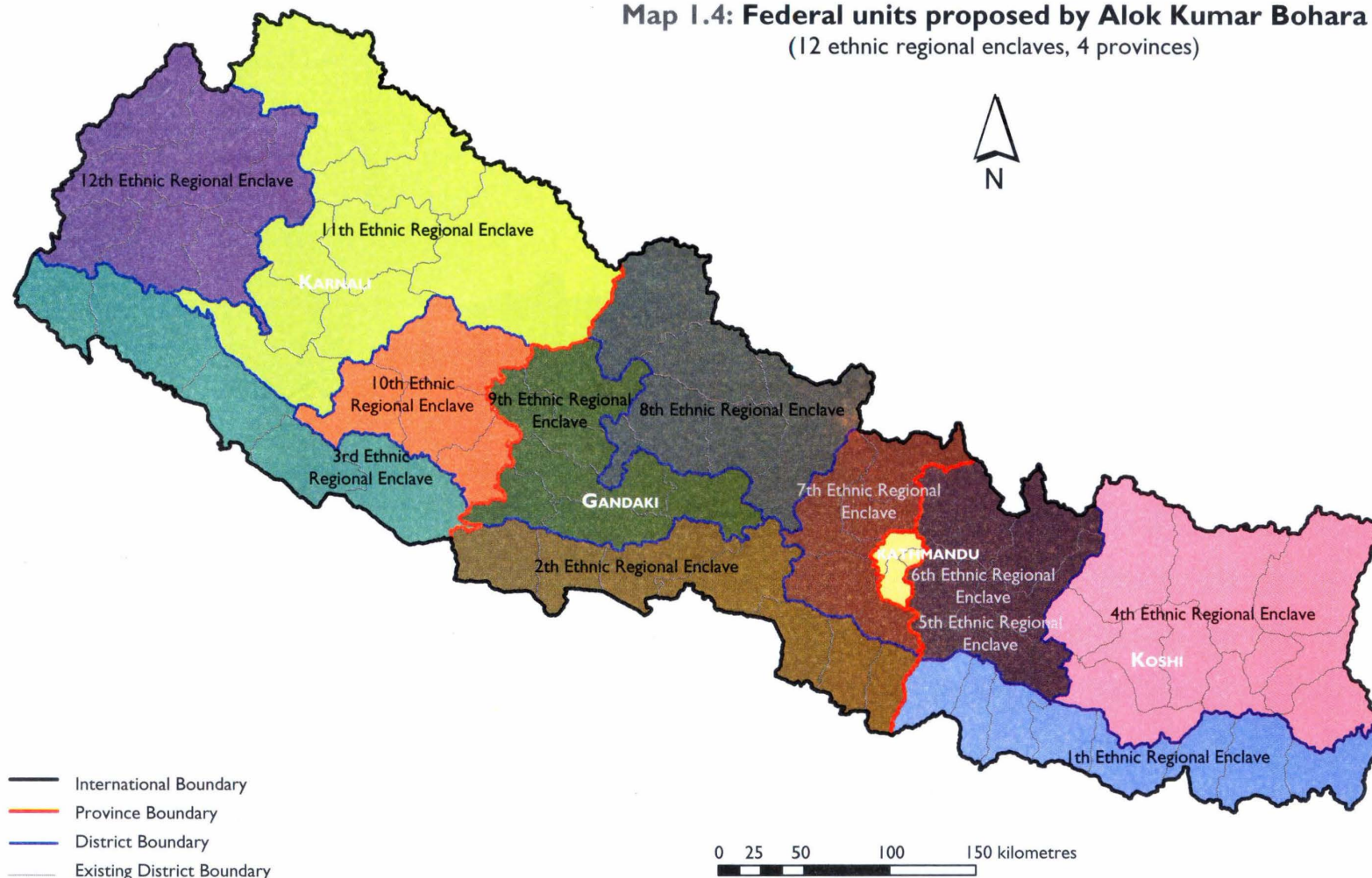
Map 1.2: Federal units proposed by Harka Gurung
(25 districts, 5 regional development planning units)



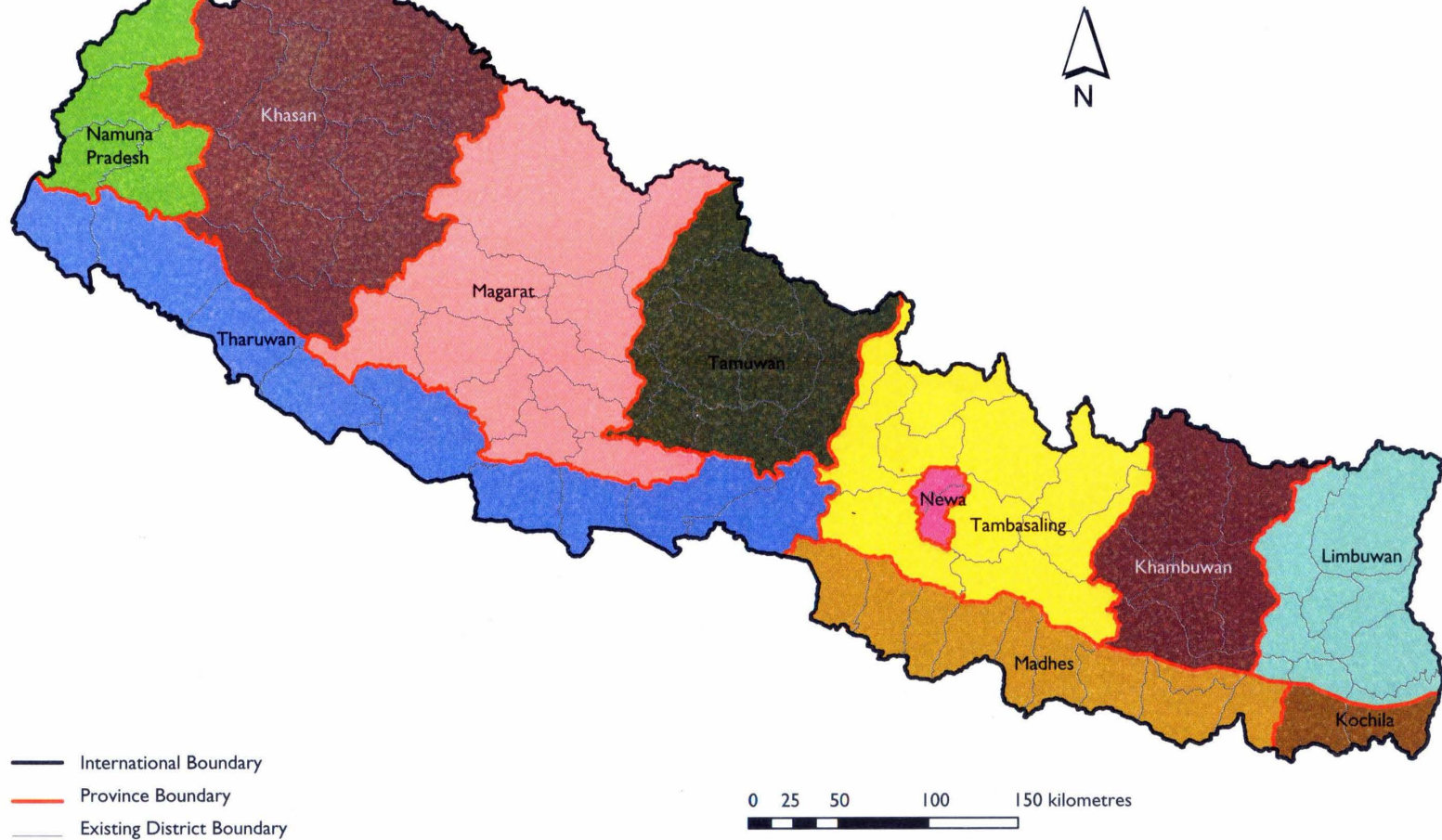
Map 1.3: Federal units proposed by Pitamber Sharma
(19 districts, 6 provinces)



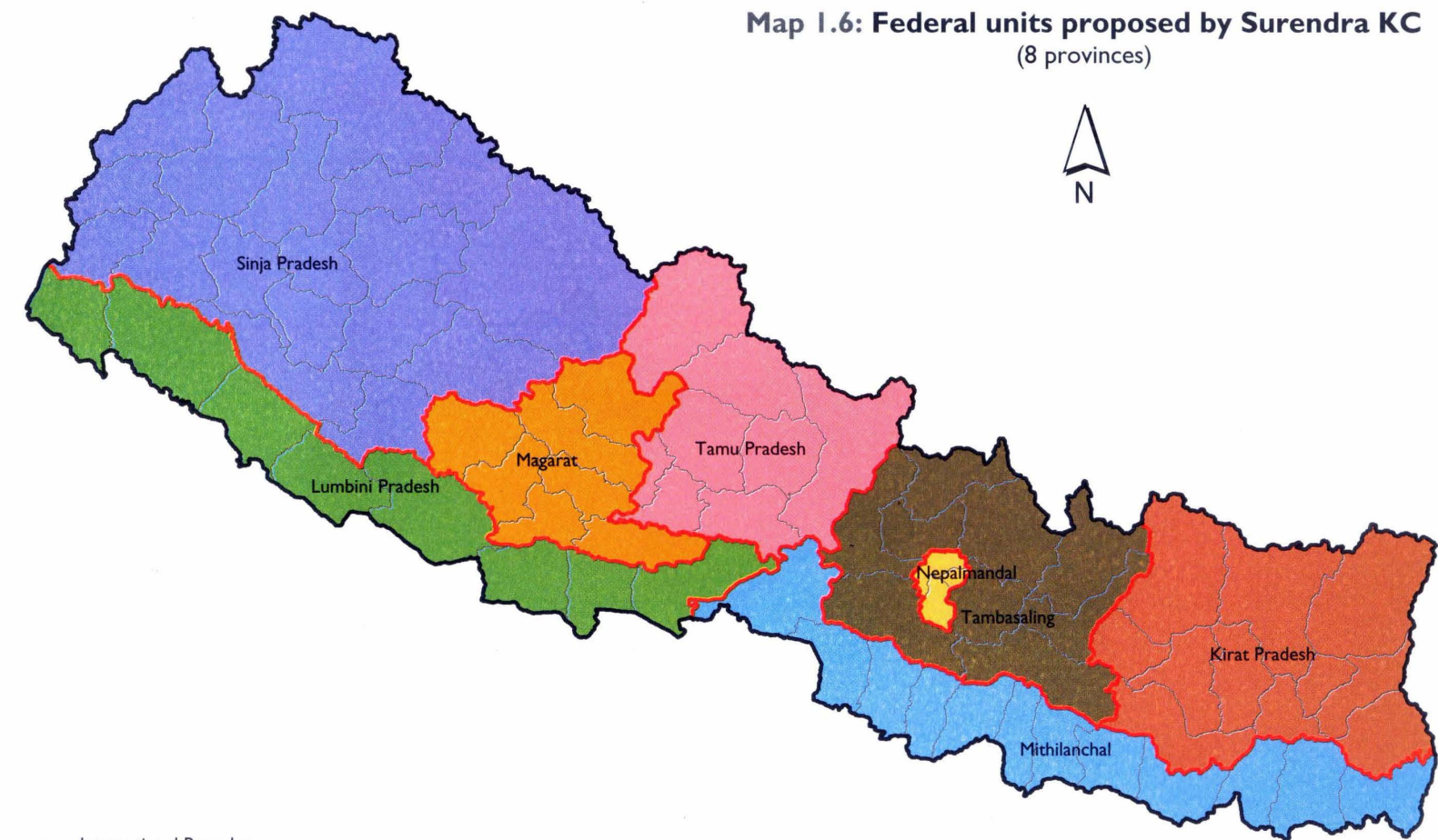
Map 1.4: Federal units proposed by Alok Kumar Bohara
(12 ethnic regional enclaves, 4 provinces)



Map 1.5: Federal units proposed by Bhawani Baral
(11 autonomous regions)



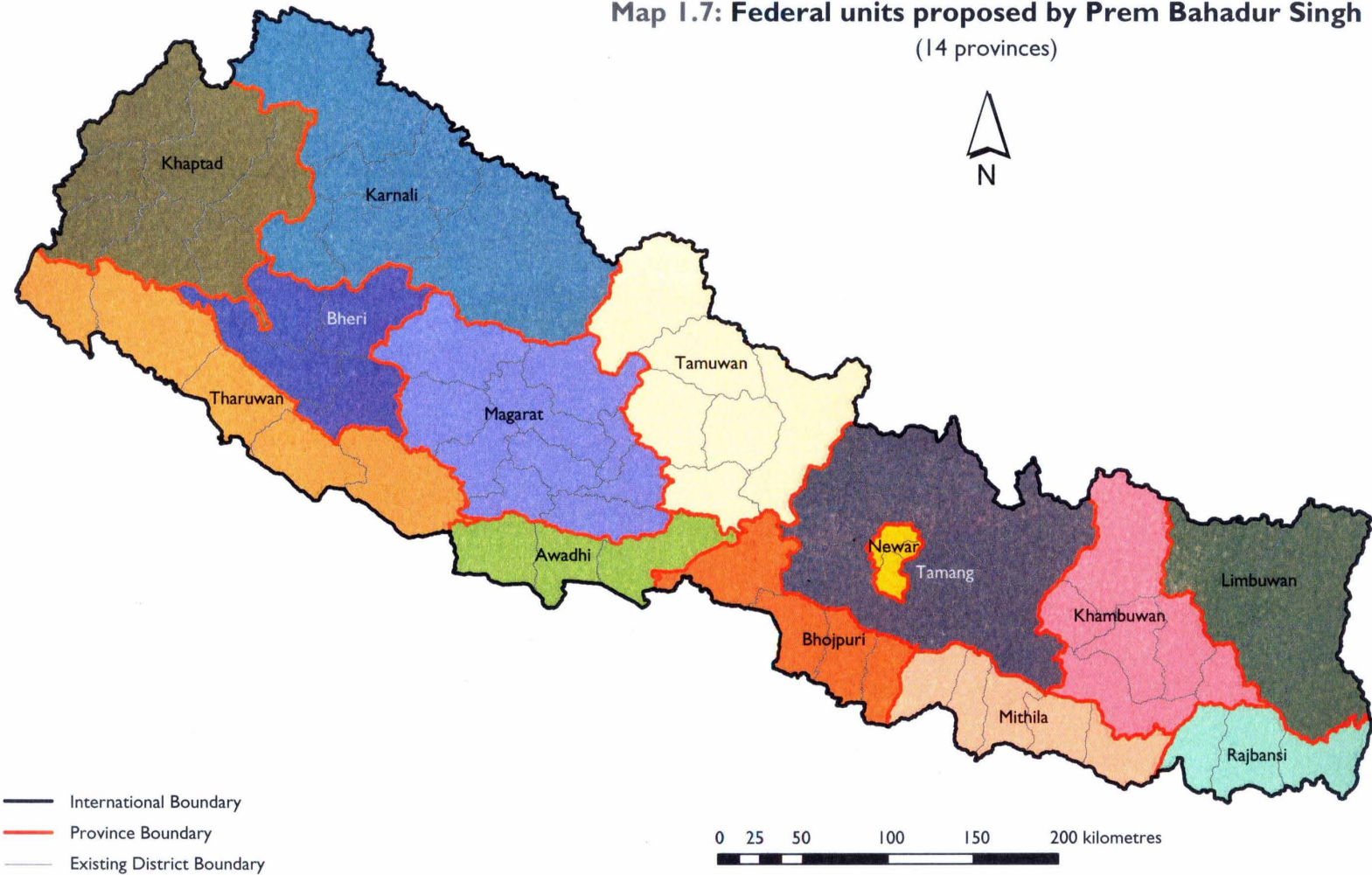
Map 1.6: Federal units proposed by Surendra KC
(8 provinces)



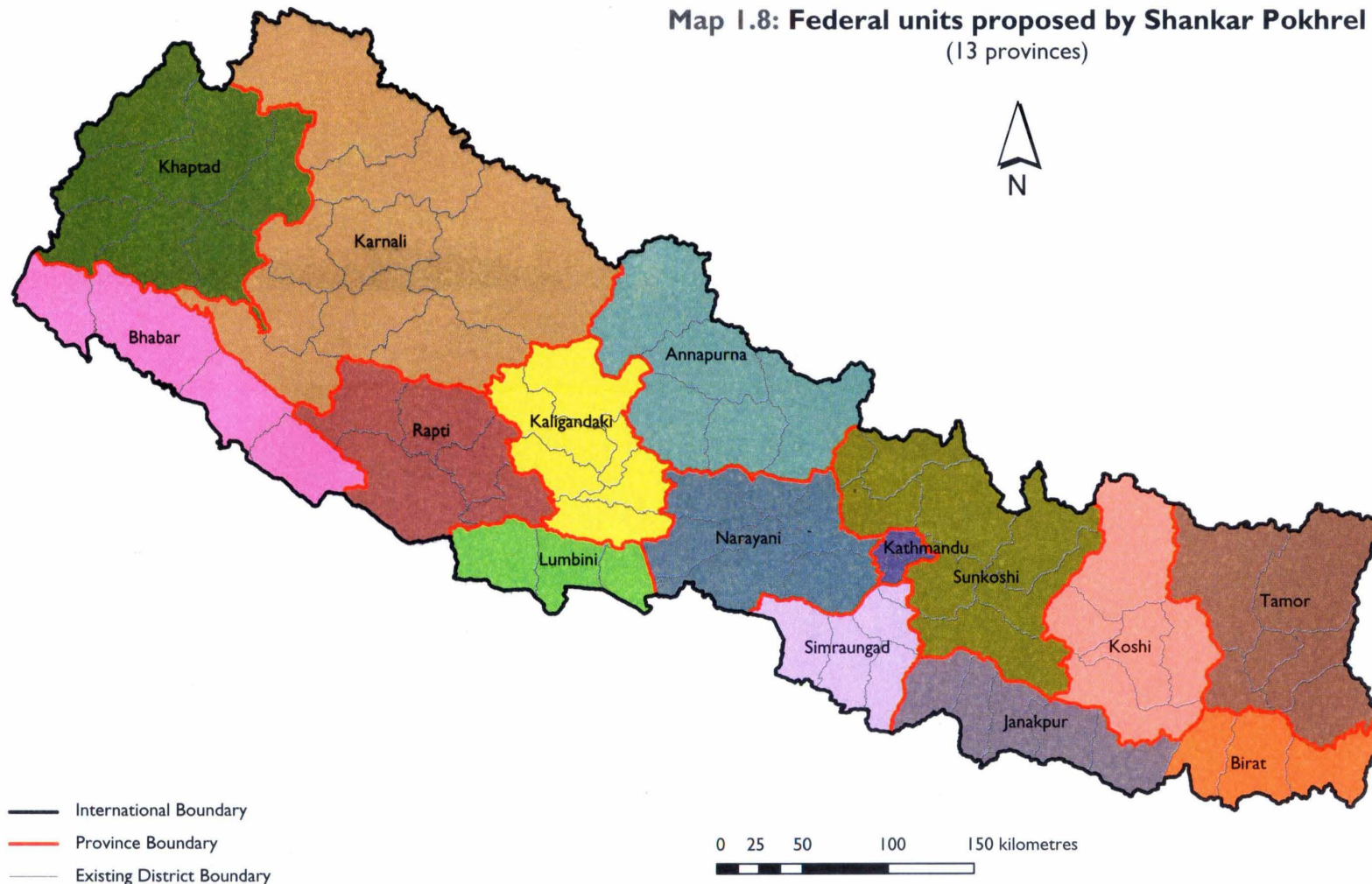
- International Boundary
- Province Boundary
- Existing District Boundary



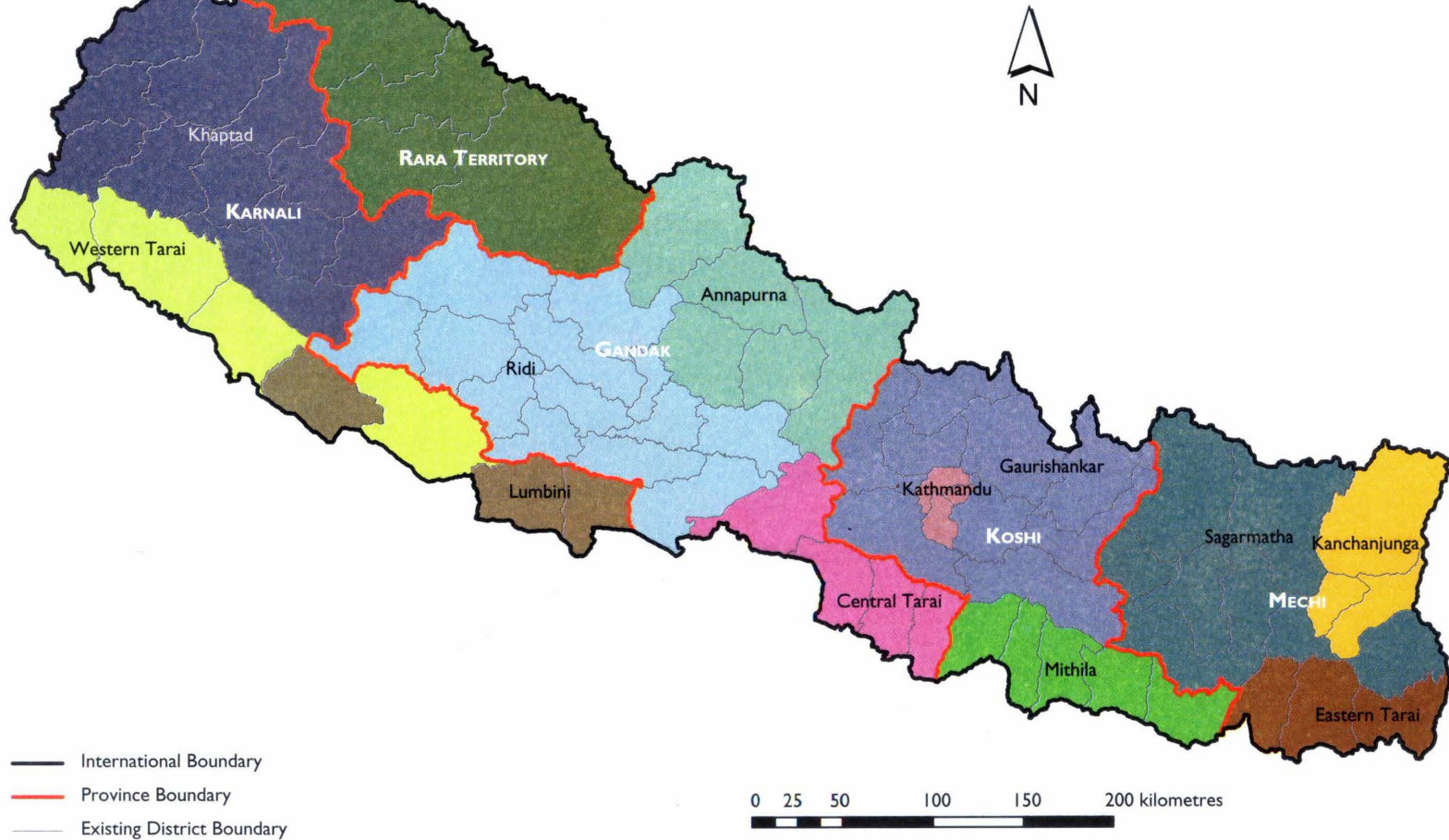
Map 1.7: Federal units proposed by Prem Bahadur Singh
(14 provinces)



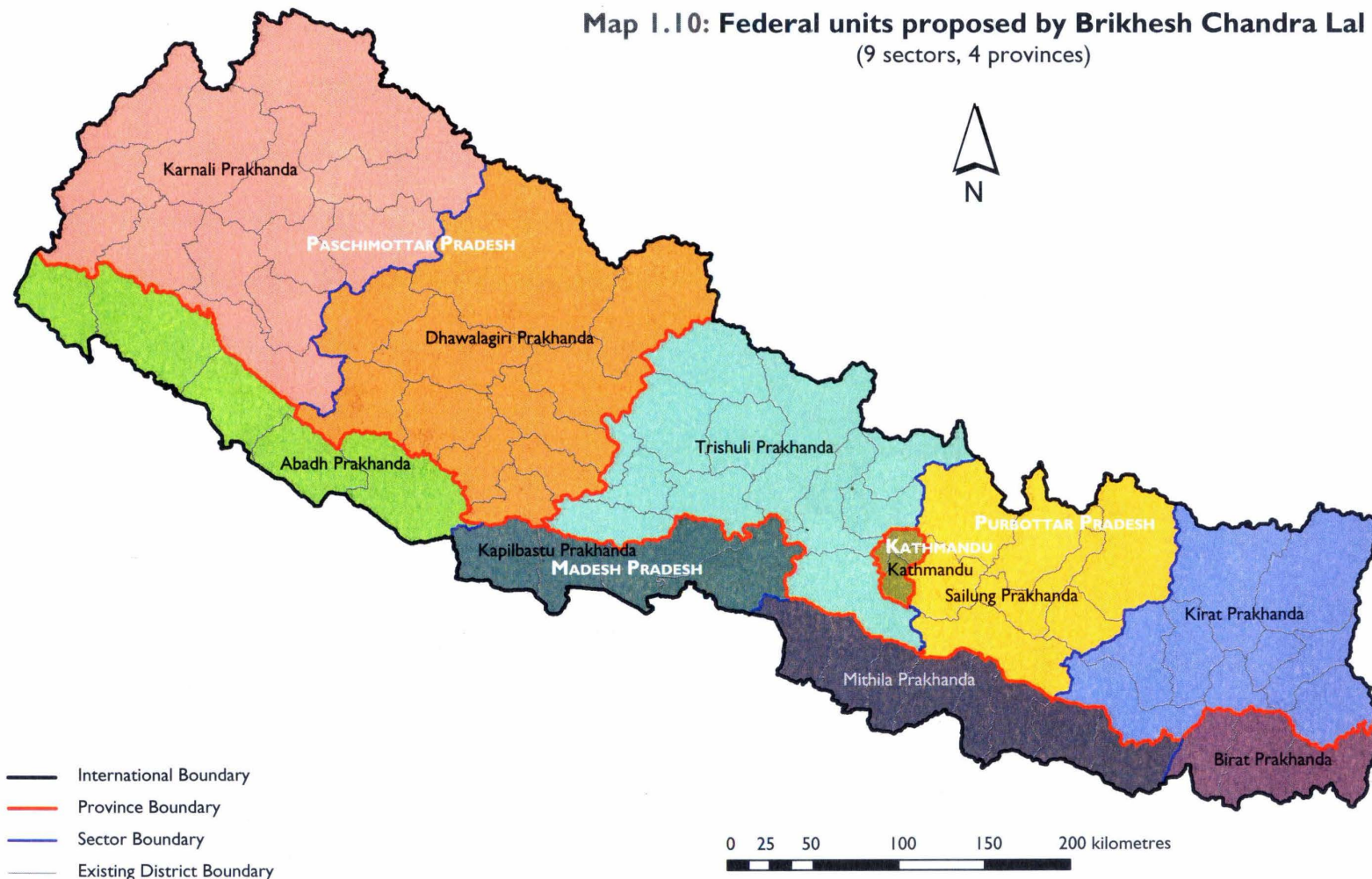
Map 1.8: Federal units proposed by Shankar Pokhrel
(13 provinces)



Map 1.9: Federal units proposed by Ram Chandra Acharya
(12 ethnic, language, cultural regions, 4 provinces, 1 territory)



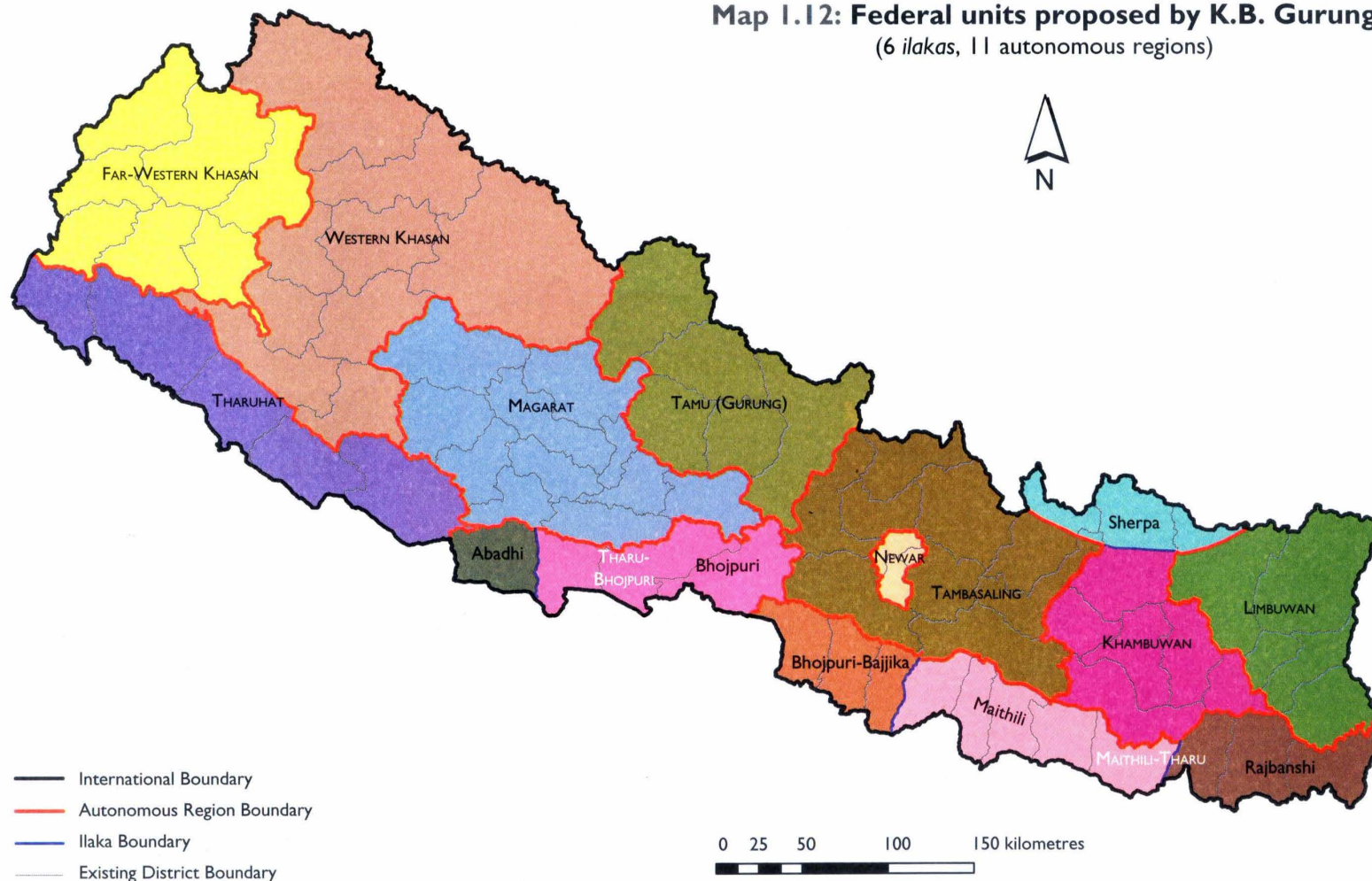
Map 1.10: Federal units proposed by Brikhesh Chandra Lal
(9 sectors, 4 provinces)



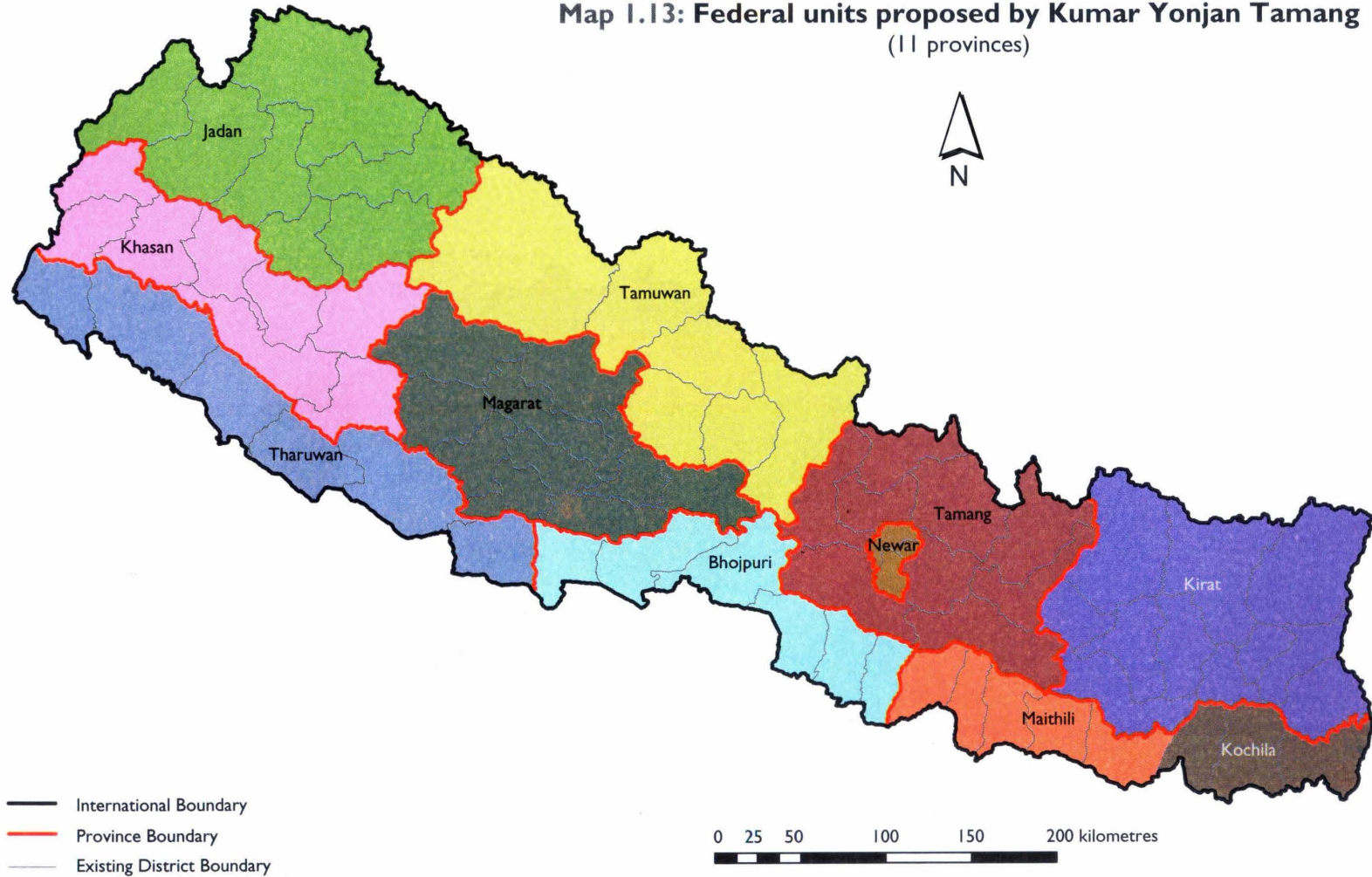
Map 1.11: Federal units proposed by Rajendra Shrestha
(14 provinces)



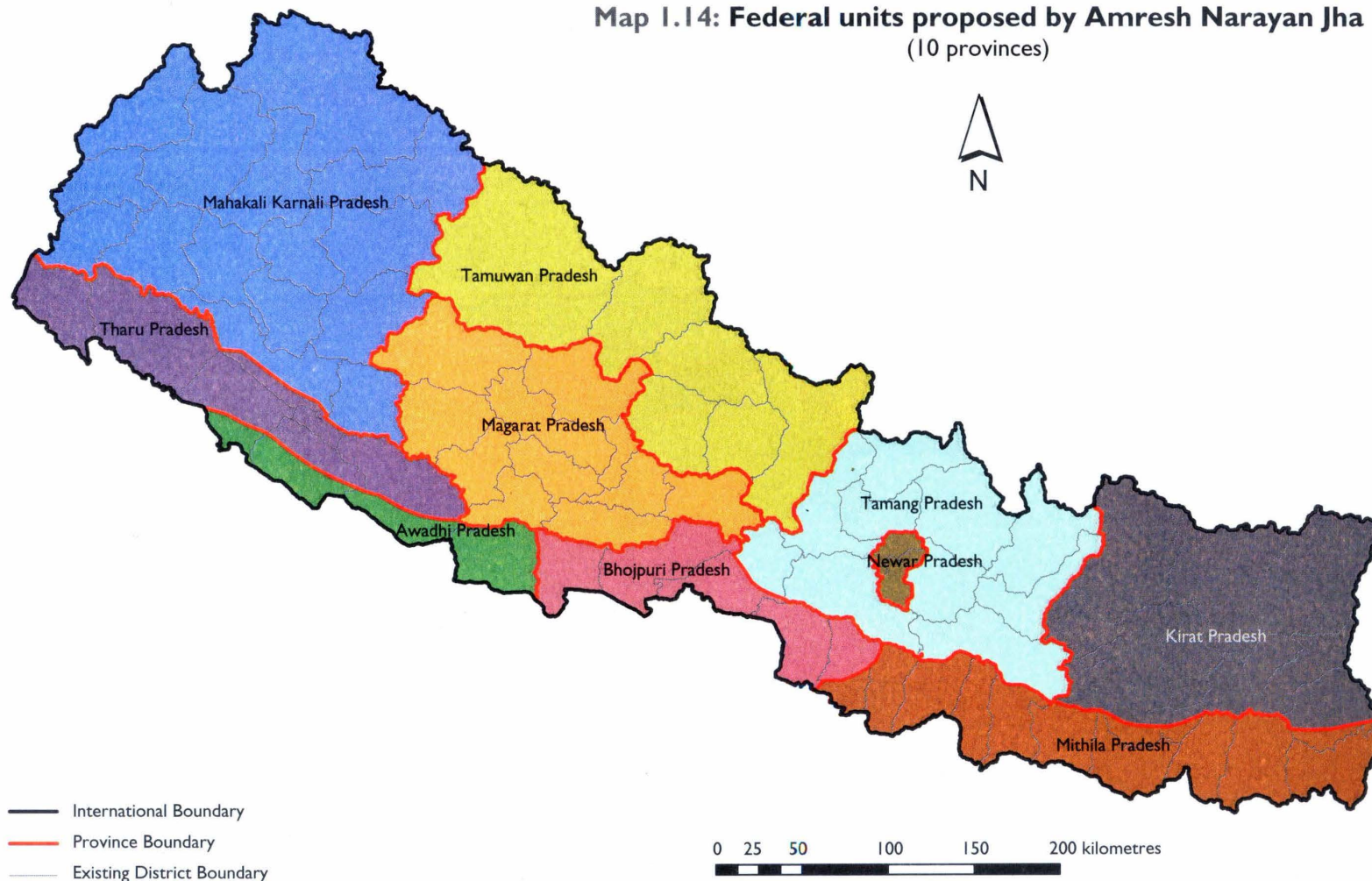
Map 1.12: Federal units proposed by K.B. Gurung
(6 ilakas, 11 autonomous regions)



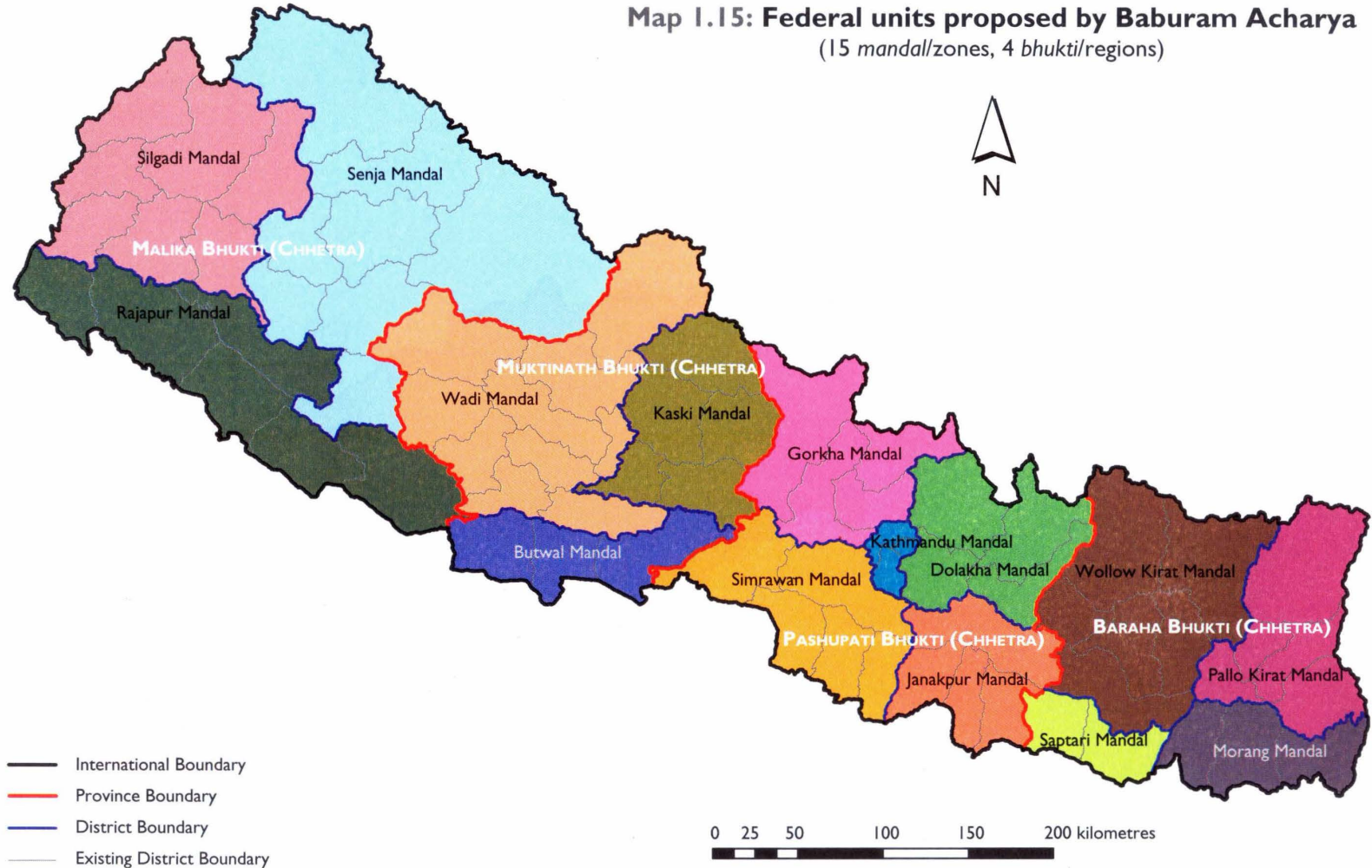
Map I.13: Federal units proposed by Kumar Yonjan Tamang
(11 provinces)



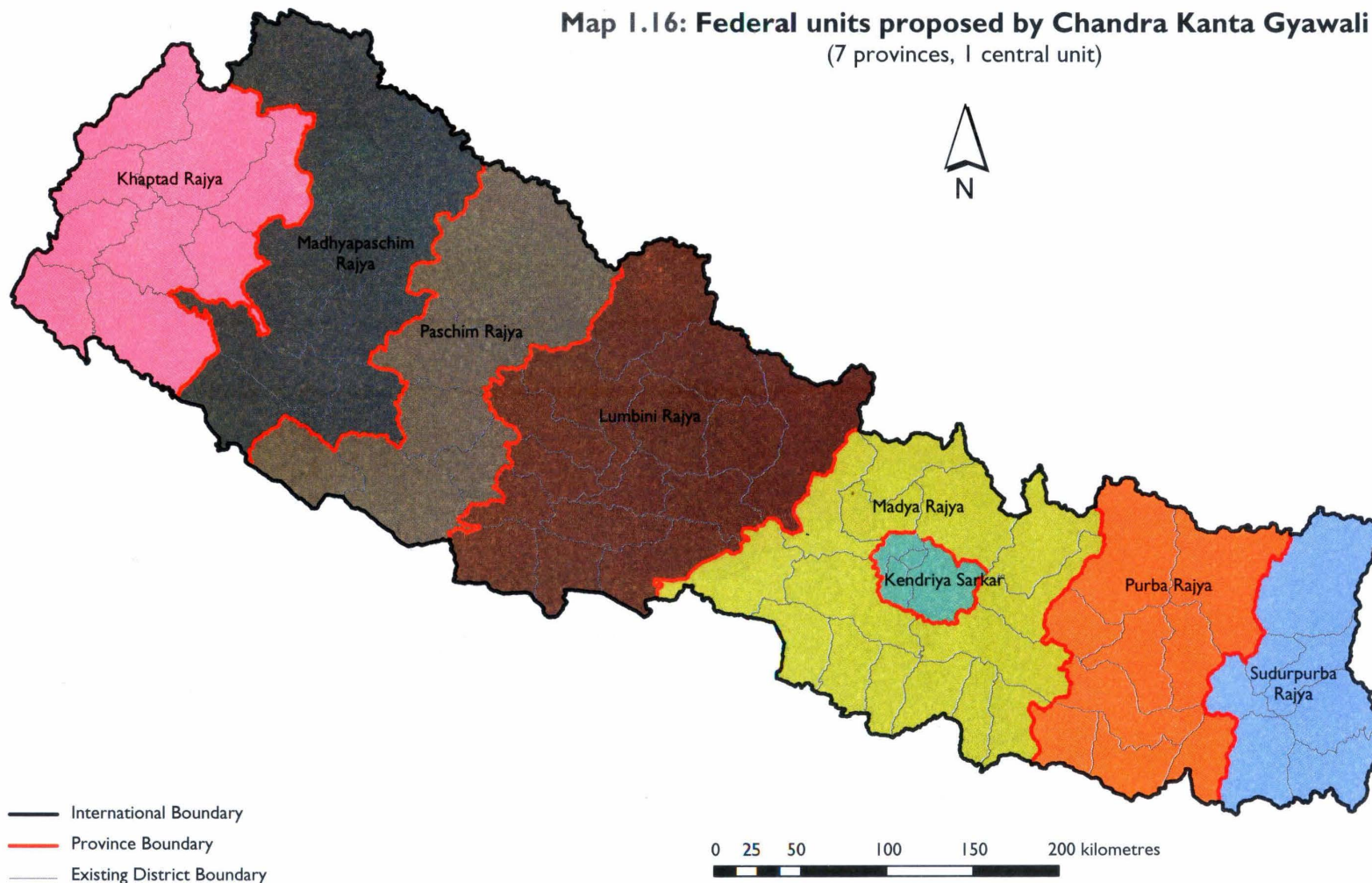
**Map 1.14: Federal units proposed by Amresh Narayan Jha
(10 provinces)**



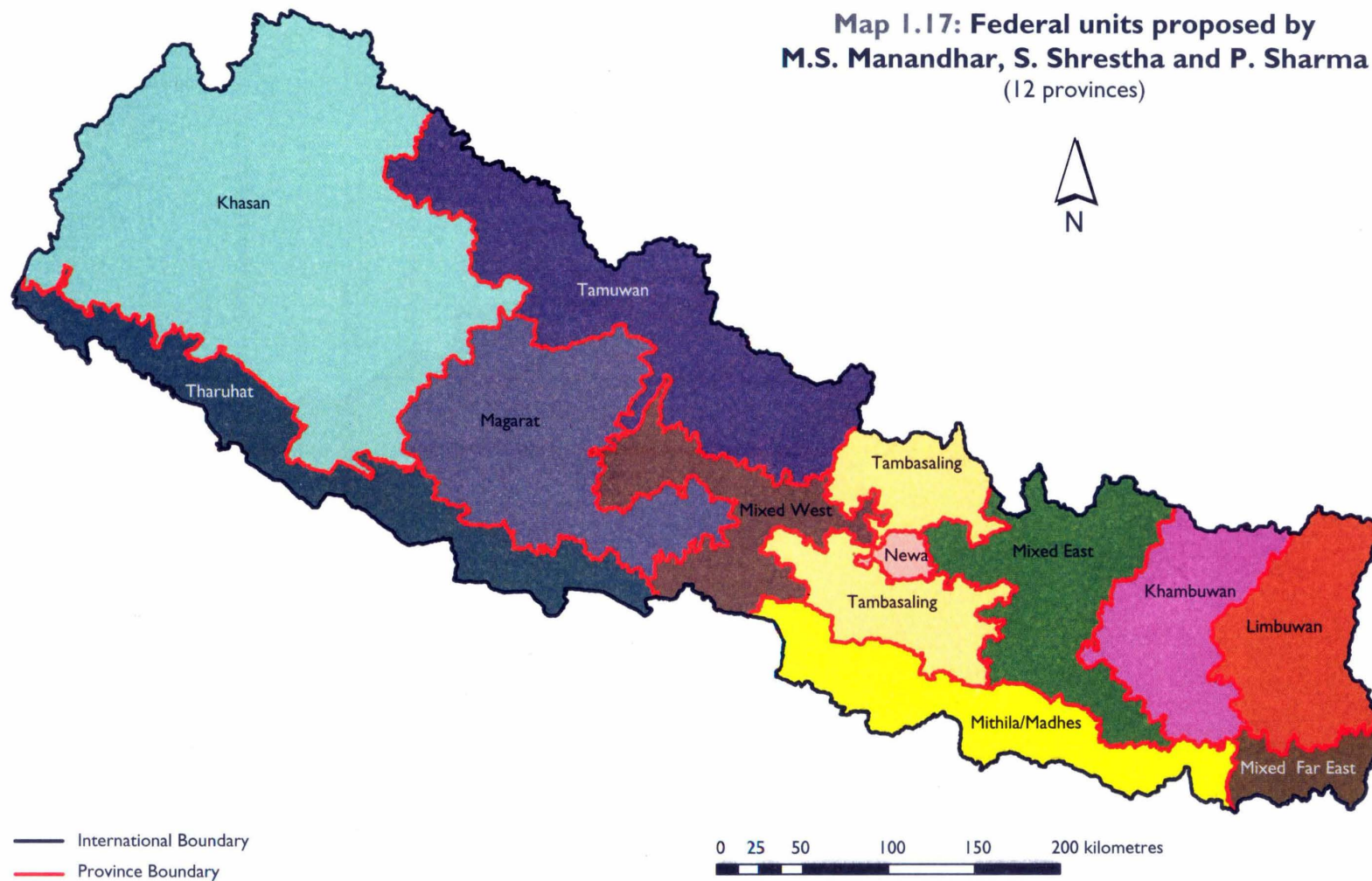
Map 1.15: Federal units proposed by Baburam Acharya
(15 mandal/zones, 4 bhukti/regions)



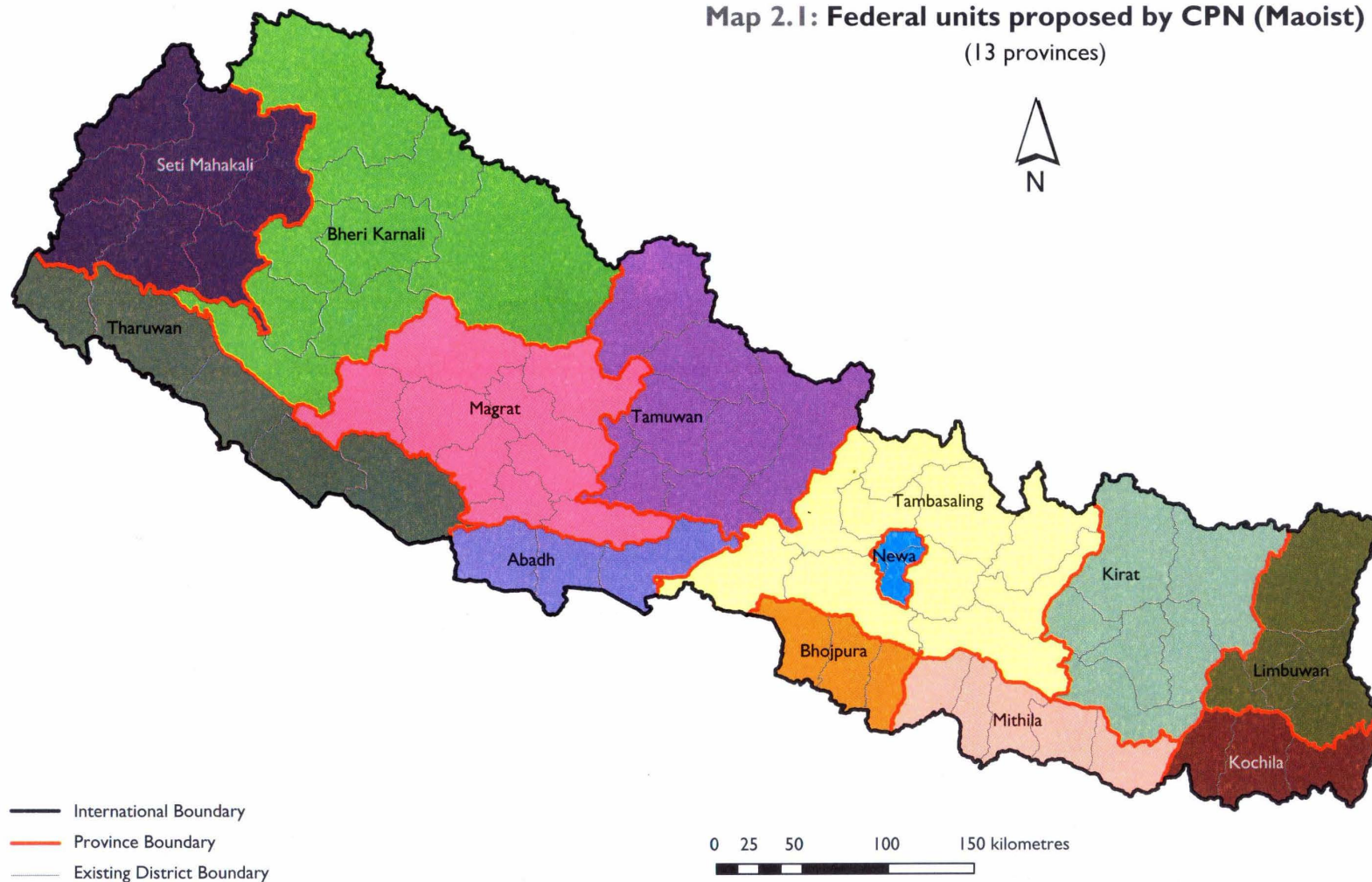
Map 1.16: Federal units proposed by Chandra Kanta Gyawali
(7 provinces, 1 central unit)



**Map I.17: Federal units proposed by
M.S. Manandhar, S. Shrestha and P. Sharma**
(12 provinces)

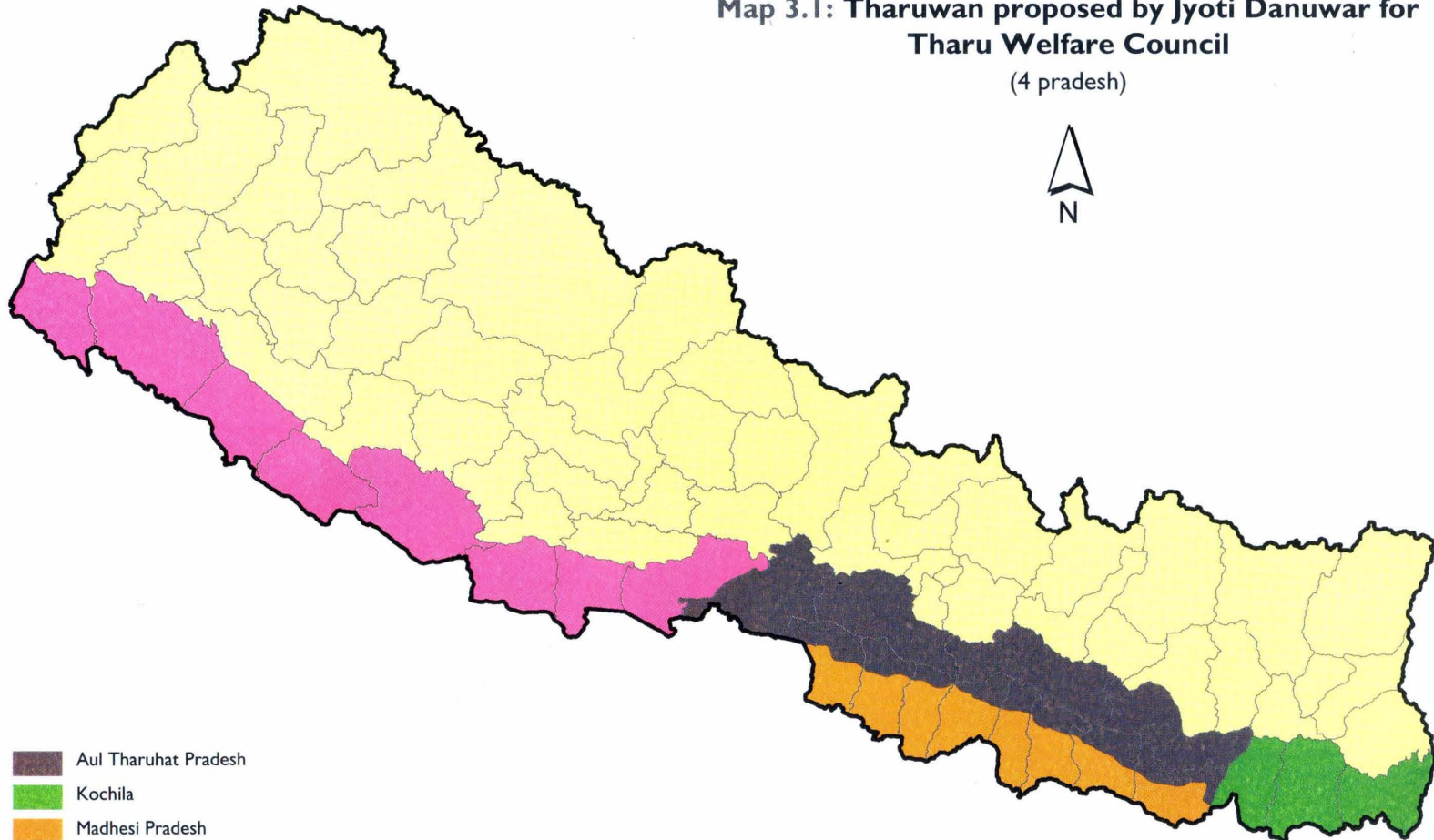


Map 2.1: Federal units proposed by CPN (Maoist)
(13 provinces)



**Map 3.1: Tharuwan proposed by Jyoti Danuwar for
Tharu Welfare Council**

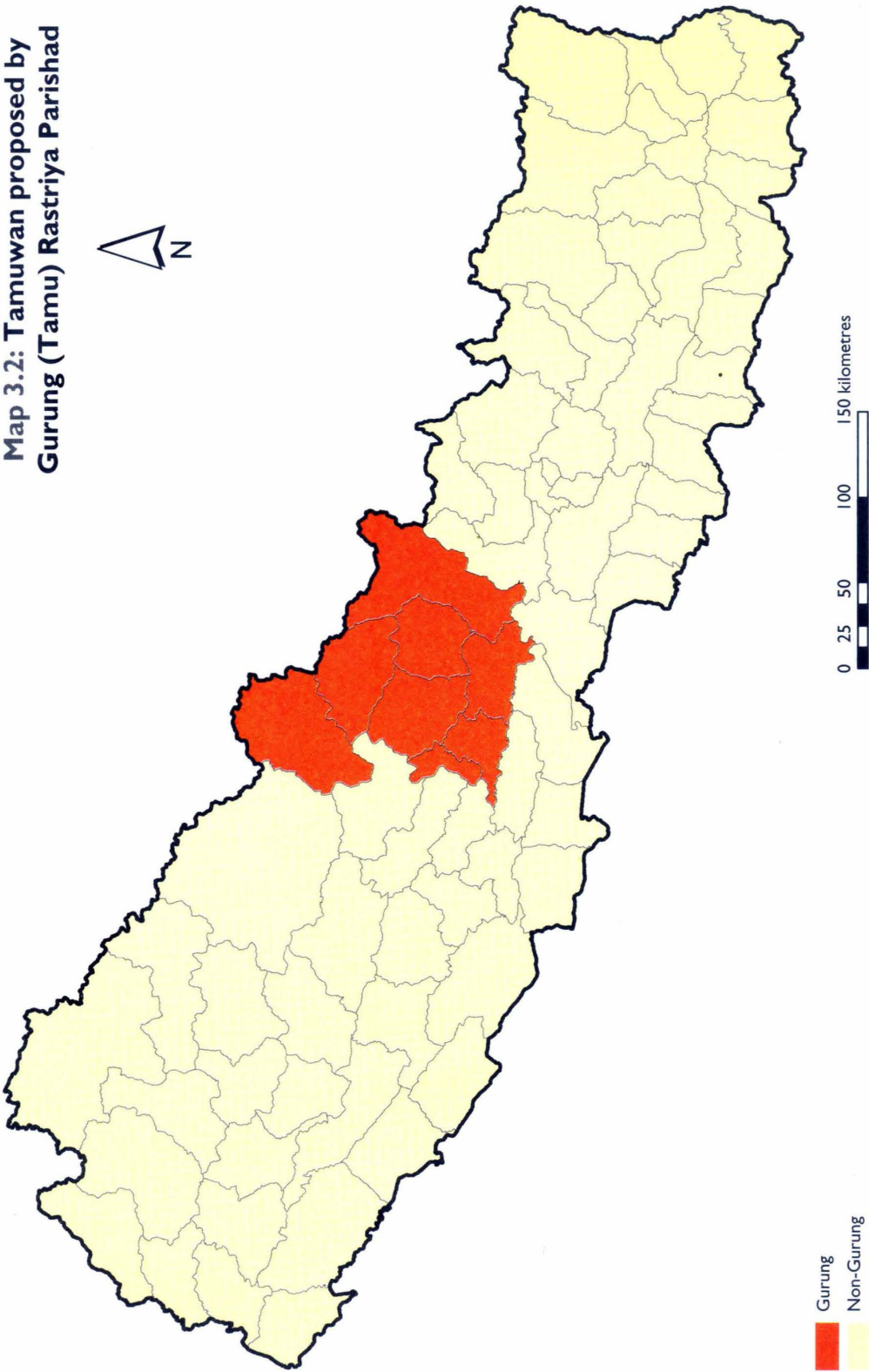
(4 pradesh)



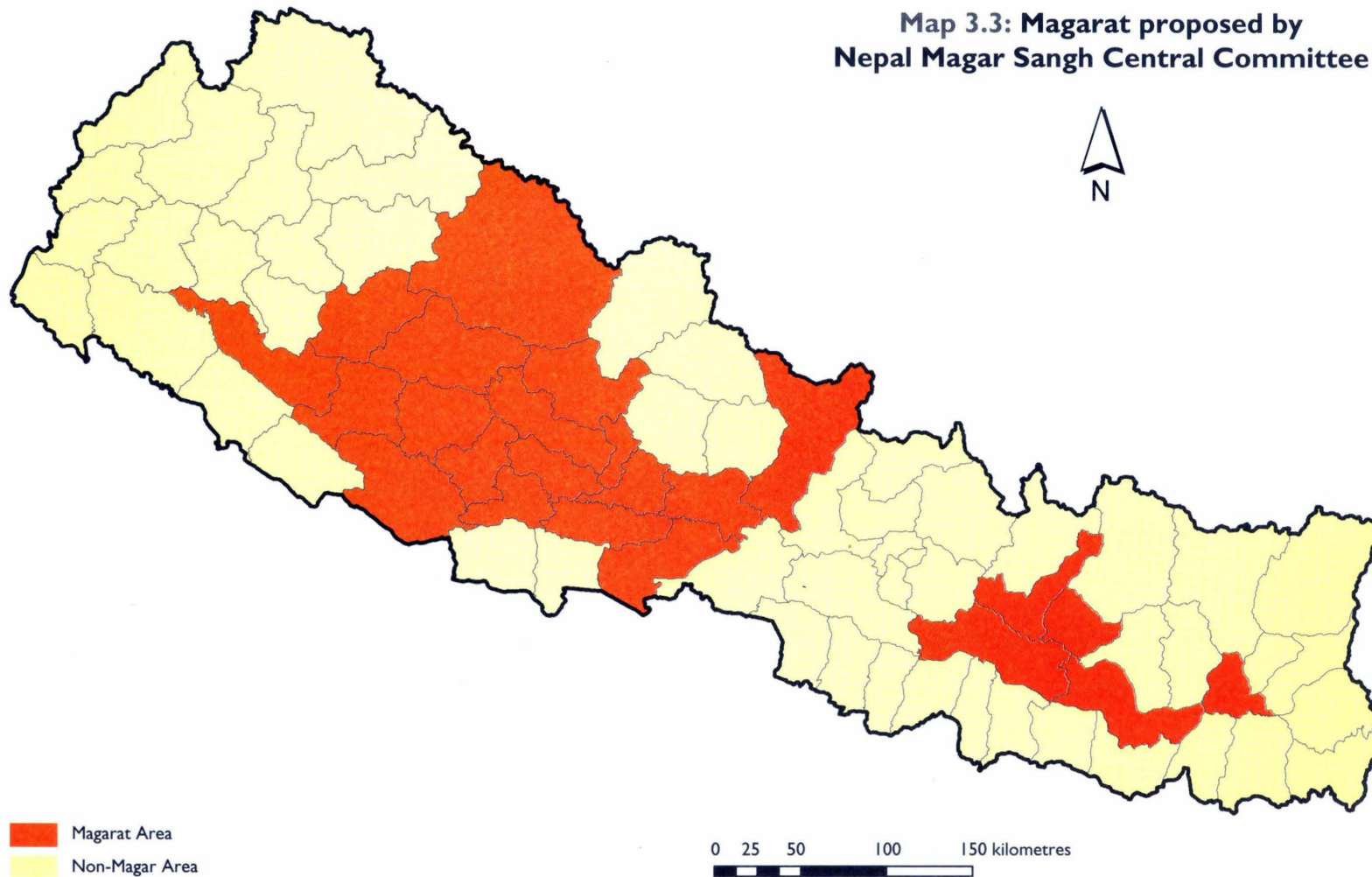
- Aul Tharuhat Pradesh
- Kochila
- Madhesi Pradesh
- Tharuwan Pradesh
- Non-Tharu Area

0 25 50 100 150 kilometres

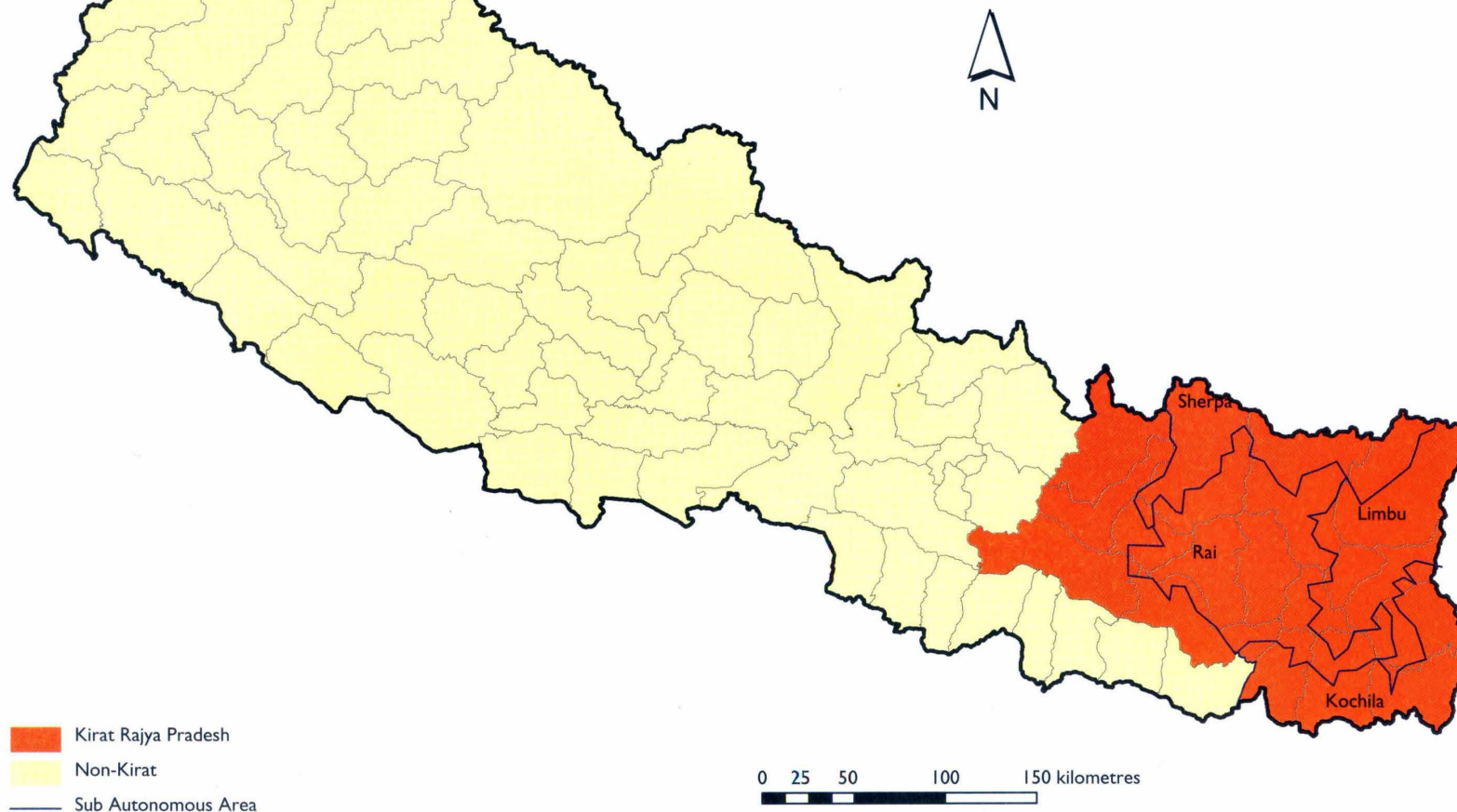
Map 3.2: Tamuwan proposed by Gurung (Tamu) Rastriya Parishad



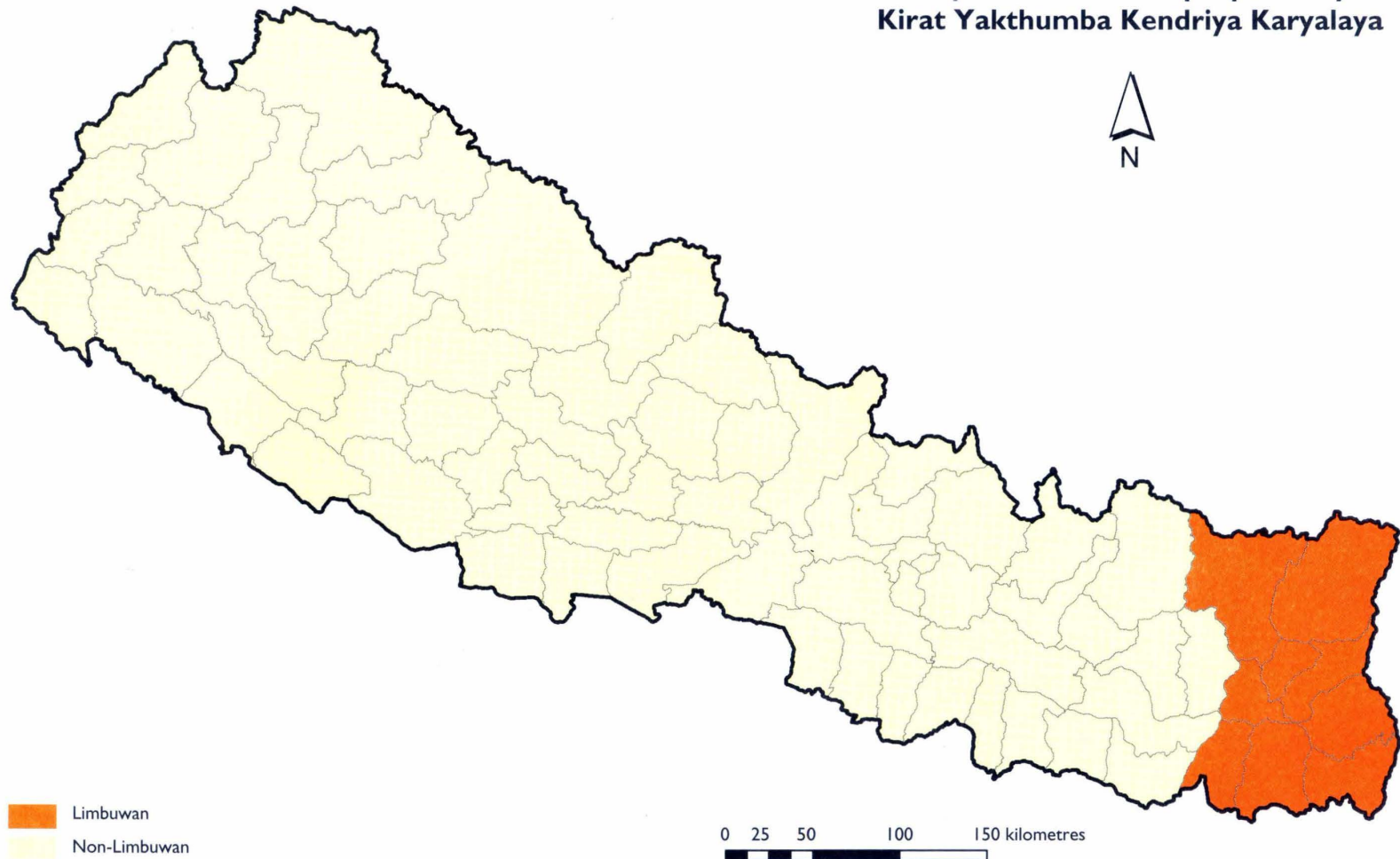
**Map 3.3: Magarat proposed by
Nepal Magar Sangh Central Committee**



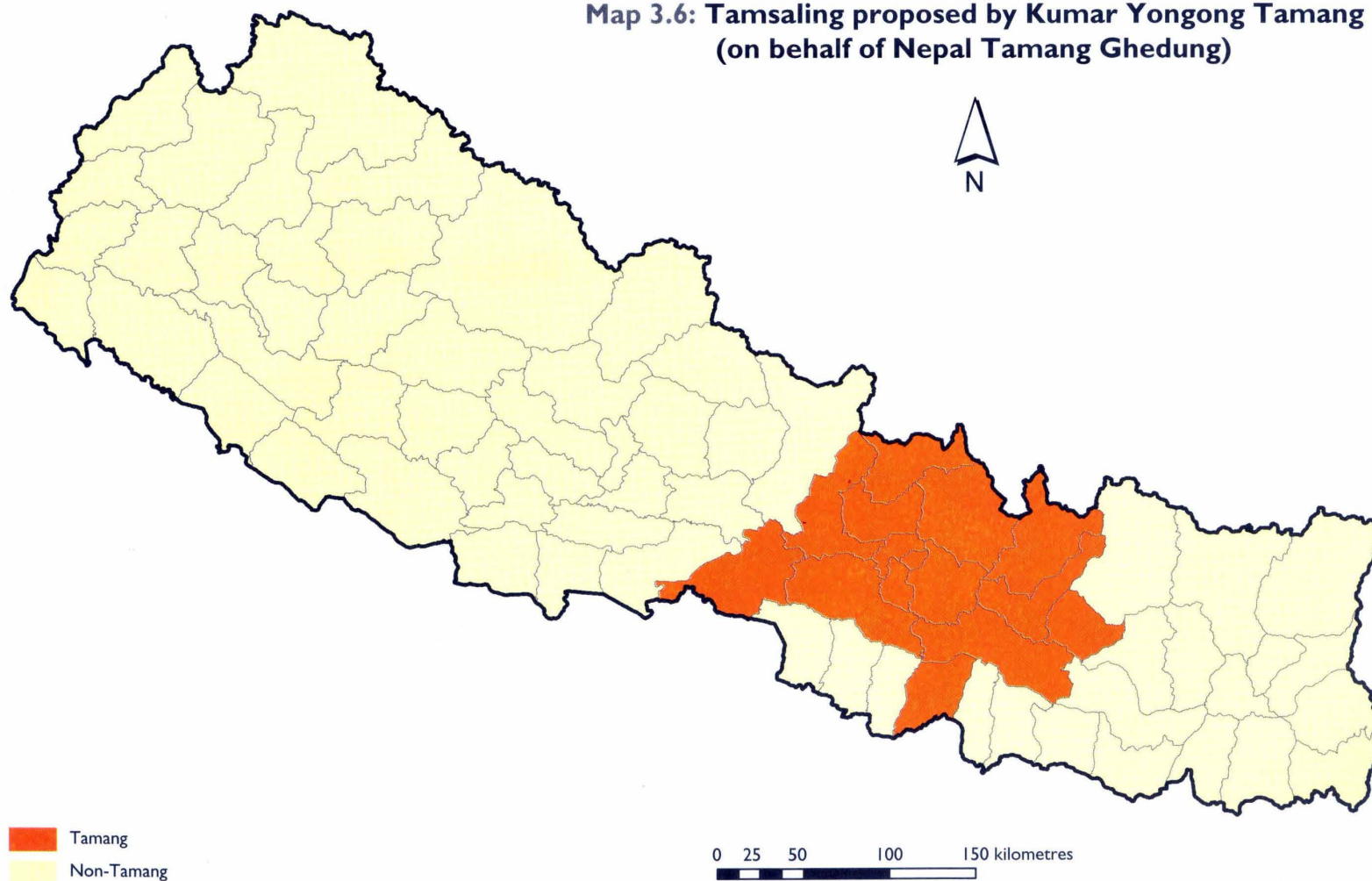
Map 3.4: Kirat Autonomous State (Region)
Proposed by Kirat Rai Yakthumba Central Executive Committee
(5 sub-autonomous ilakas)



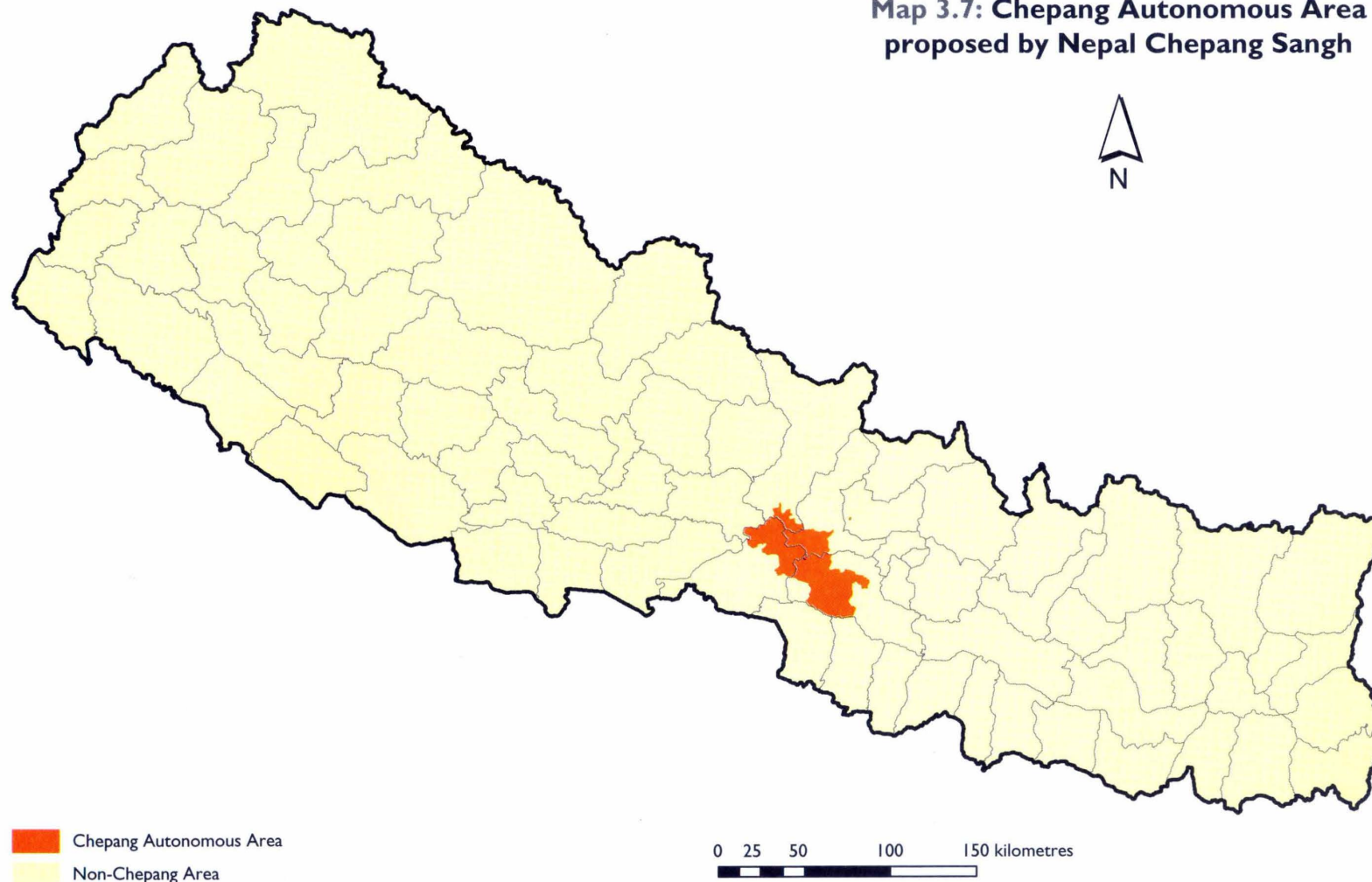
**Map 3.5: Limbuwan proposed by
Kirat Yakthumba Kendriya Karyalaya**



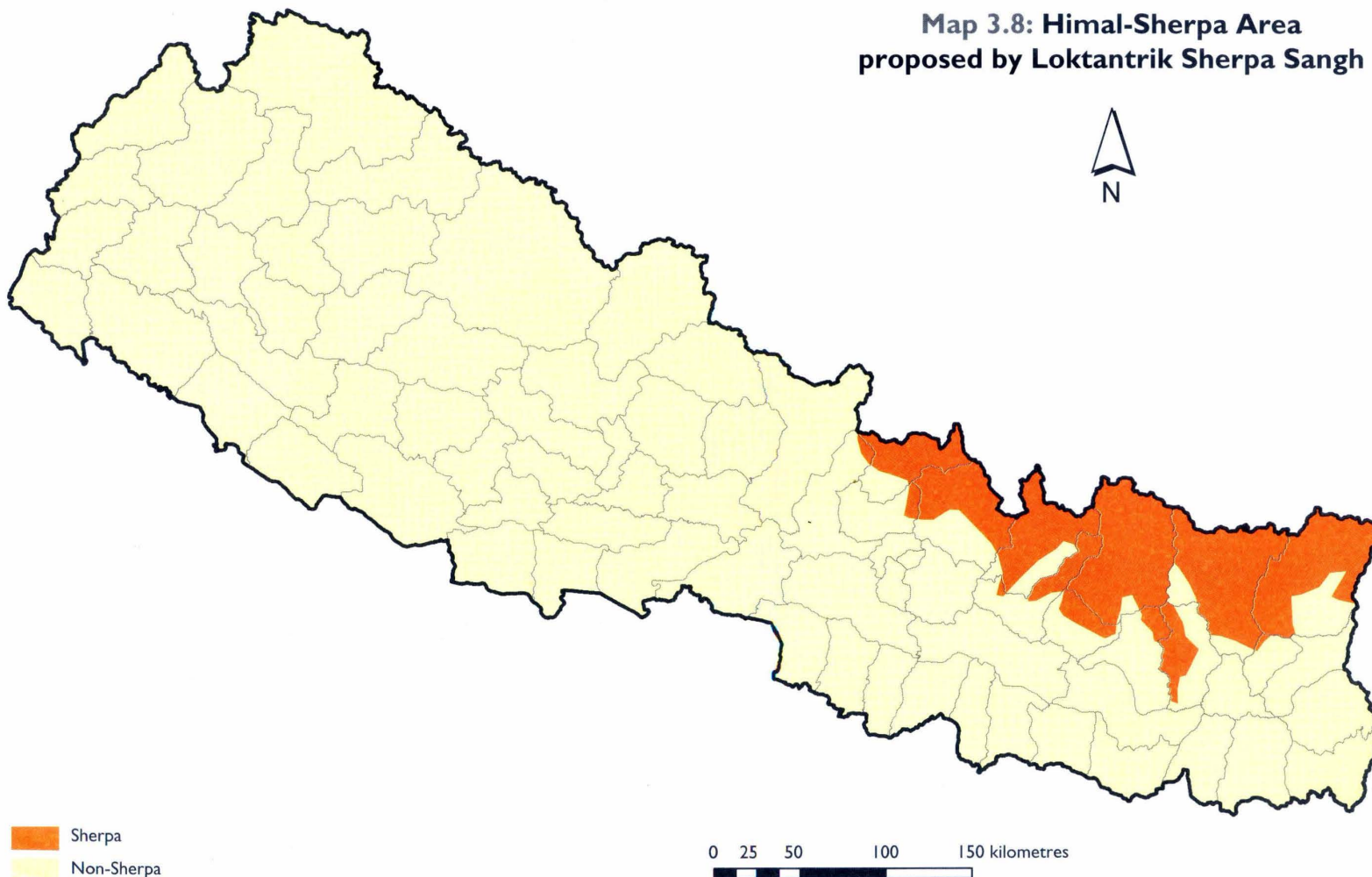
**Map 3.6: Tamsaling proposed by Kumar Yongong Tamang
(on behalf of Nepal Tamang Ghedung)**



**Map 3.7: Chepang Autonomous Area
proposed by Nepal Chepang Sangh**



**Map 3.8: Himal-Sherpa Area
proposed by Loktantrik Sherpa Sangh**



Born in Phalebas Khanigaun in Parbat District in 1947, Pitamber Sharma has a PhD in urban and regional planning from Cornell University. He has an MA in geography from Tribhuvan University, and an MSc in urban design and regional planning from the University of Edinburgh. He was a Professor of Geography at Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, and also worked as Regional Planner with the International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD) for over a decade. His last assignment was to serve as the Vice-Chairman of the National Planning Commission. The main areas of his professional interest include urbanisation and migration, mountain tourism and development, and economic and environmental planning. Among his publications are *Urbanization in Nepal* (1989), *Tourism as Development* (2000), and *Market Towns in the Hindu Kush-Himalayas* (2001).

Narendra Raj Khanal is Professor at the Central Department of Geography, Tribhuvan University. He received a PhD in geography from Tribhuvan University. He has been actively involved in teaching and research activities and has published several books and articles. His areas of interest include spatial analysis, natural resource management and disaster risk reduction.

Subhash Chaudhary Tharu has worked as a researcher in a number of areas. He completed his MA in English from Tribhuvan University. He has written stories and articles in the Tharu language for magazines such as *Bihan* and *Hamar Pahura*.

