

## MAHENDRA LAWOTI

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June 2012

### ACADEMIC POSITIONS

- 2011- Professor, Department of Political Science, Western Michigan University (WMU), Kalamazoo, MI 49008
- 2008-2011 Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, WMU
- 2005-2008 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, WMU
- 2004-05 Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Wake Forest University, Winston Salem, NC 27106
- 2003-04 Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, WMU
- 2003 Spring Adjunct Professor, GSPIA, University of Pittsburgh
- 2002-03 Post Doctoral Fellow and Coordinator, Program on Ethics and Accountability, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs (GSPIA), University of Pittsburgh, PA 15260

### OTHER POSITIONS

- 2006-2012 Associate Fellow, Asia Society, New York; second term, 2009-2012
- 2006-2010 President, the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies (ANHS), two terms
- 2008- Columnist, The Kathmandu Post, national English daily, Nepal
- 2005-08 Principal Researcher, Nepal Study Group, *Internal Conflicts and State Building Challenges in Asia*, the East-West Center Washington
- 2008- Advisor, the Center for Ethnic and Alternative Development Studies, Nepal
- 2008- Advisor, *Dalit Solidarity: Global Campaign to Combat Discrimination and Poverty*
- 2009-2010 Advisor, Federation of Indigenous Peoples of Nepal in America
- 2009-2010 Advisor, NRN National Coordination Council of USA

### EDUCATION

- 2002 Ph.D., GSPIA, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260  
DISSERTATION: *Exclusionary Democratization: Multicultural Society and Political Institutions in Nepal*; Advisors: Mitchell A Seligson, Iris M Young, Louis A Picard, John Markoff, and Siddharth Chandra  
Nominated for the NASPAA Dissertation Award, 2003
- 1999 Advanced Certificate in Asian Studies, Asian Studies Program, University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh
- 1997 Master in Urban and Regional Planning, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, HI 96822
- 1997 Master's Certificate in Cross-cultural Understanding, East-West Center, HI 96848
- 1990 Bachelor in Technology (Architectural Engineering), Regional Engineering College, Calicut, Calicut University, Kerala, India

## TEACHING AND RESEARCH INTERESTS

Comparative Politics, International Development, Democratization, State Building, Ethnic Politics and Violent Conflicts, Nepal and South Asia

## AWARDS, GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIP

- 2011 International Education Faculty Development Fund, \$1,200.00, WMU
- 2011 "International Conference on Changing Dynamics in Nepali Politics and Society," Kathmandu, August 17-19, with Deepak Thapa (Social Science Baha) and David Holmberg (Cornell University), \$ 46,500.00 from the Open Society Institute and the Embassy of Switzerland, Kathmandu, Nepal
- 2011 Support for Faculty Scholarly Award, WMU, "Democracy in Divided Societies: Exclusion/Inclusion in South Asia," \$1,970.00
- 2011 Department of Political Science, WMU, "Democracy, Developing Countries and Democracy: Institutions and Democratic Breakdown and Consolidation in South Asia," \$3000.00
- 2010 Instructional Development Grant, WMU, "Democracy and Difference," Teaching Workshop and Public Presentation, Kathmandu, Nepal, \$2,980.00
- 2009 International Education Faculty Development Fund, \$1,000.00
- 2008 Support for Faculty Scholarly Award, WMU, "Democracy, Insurgency, Autocracy and Political Reforms: The Exclusion/Inclusion Dimension in Nepal," \$2,000.00
- 2007 Instructional Development Grant, WMU, "Inclusive and Accountable Political Institutions in Nepal," presentations in Nepal, \$3,200.00
- 2007 Research Development Award, WMU, "Developing an Inclusive Democracy Index," \$2,500.00
- 2007 International Education Faculty Development Fund, WMU, "Democratic State Building in Nepal," \$750.00
- 2006 Faculty Research and Creative Activities Support Fund, WMU, "The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal," \$4,890.00
- 2005 Arts and Sciences Research and Teaching Award, WMU
- 2003 The NASPAA (National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration) Dissertation Award Nomination
- 2002 The Best Paper Award Nomination, 34<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of Northeastern Political Science Association, Providence, RI, November 7-9
- 1998-2001 Professional Development Award, GSPIA, University of Pittsburgh, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001
- 1997-1999 Graduate Scholarship, GSPIA, University of Pittsburgh
- 1997 Distinguished Service Award, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii
- 1995-97 East-West Center Graduate Fellowship, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii
- 1983-84 President, Society of Ex-Budhanilkatha Students (SEBS), Nepal
- 1984 The King's Scout (highest award), Nepal Boys Scouts

## PUBLICATIONS

### BOOKS, MONOGRAPHS AND JOURNAL EDITING

- Preparation *Democracy and Exclusion: Nepal in a Comparative Perspective*, all ten chapters complete as published articles (3), book chapters (2), conference papers (3) and draft chapters (2). Need to edit, revise and weave together into a book form.
- Preparation *Society and Politics in Nepal: A Reader*, Sage Publications, editor
- Forthcoming *Government and Politics in South Asia*, seventh edition, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2012, co-author
- Forthcoming *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal: Identities and Mobilization after 1990*, London: Routledge), co-edited with Susan Hangen, August 2012, in press
- 2010 *Ethnicity, Inequality and Politics in Nepal*, guest editor, *Himalaya* 28 (1&2)  
Reprinted as a book, as co-editor with Arjun Guneratne, Kathmandu: ANHS, Social Science Baha and Himal Books, November
- 2010 *The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Revolution in the Twenty-first Century*, author and co-editor with Anup Pahari, London: Routledge Publications, \$150.00 hardback; Special Nepal edition paperback, 2010; paperback January 2012
- 2009 *Federal State-building: Challenges in Framing the Nepali Constitution*, Kathmandu: Bhrikuti Academic Publications (reprint of the East-West Center Washington monograph and other articles with minor revisions and a new introduction); hard and paperback
- 2008 *Government and Politics in South Asia*, sixth edition, co-author with Yogendra Malik, Robert C. Oberst, Charles H Kennedy, Ashok Kapur and Syedur Rahman, Boulder, CO: Westview Press
- 2007 *Looking Back, Looking Forward: Centralization, Multiple Conflicts, and Democratic State Building in Nepal*, Washington, D.C.: East-West Center, \$ 10.00; paperback
- 2007 Editor and author, *Contentious Politics and Democratization in Nepal*, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, and Singapore: SAGE Publications, \$49.95; Hardback
- 2007 *Samabesi Sambidhan Sabha ra Rajyako Punsamrachana*, in Nepali (Inclusive Constituent Assembly and the Restructuring of the State), Kathmandu: NISP
- 2005 *Towards a Democratic Nepal: Inclusive Political Institutions for a Multicultural Society*. SAGE Publications, paper and hard copy (Fifth Reprint 2008); paperback (\$29.95) and hardback (\$80.00)  
Translated into Nepali, 2007 (Kathmandu: NISP)  
Chapter 4 reprinted as "Constitution as Source of Exclusion: An Overview of the 1990 Constitution," chapter one in *Democratic Constitution Making*:

*Experiences from Nepal, Kenya, South Africa, Sri Lanka*, edited by Hari P. Bhattarai and Jhalak Subedi, Kathmandu: Nepal South Asia Center

- 2003 *Minority Protection in South Asia*, co-author with Amena Mohsin, Bishnu N. Mohapatra, Jayadeva Uyangoda and Ahmad Salim, New Delhi: UBSPD and ICES

JOURNAL ARTICLES

- Forthcoming "Nepalma Rajya, Rastra ra Rastriyata ko Rupantaran," *Rupantaran*
- 2010 "State Consolidation and Marginalization: Historical Roots of Contemporary Exclusion in Nepal," *Studies in Nepali History and Society*, 15 (1): 73-110
- 2010 "Introduction: Ethnicity, Exclusion and Democracy in Nepal," *Himalaya* 28 (1&2): 9-16
- 2010 "Informal Institutions and Exclusion in Democratic Nepal," *Himalaya* 28 (1&2): 17-32
- 2010 "Nepal and Bhutan in 2009: Transition Travails," *Asian Survey* 50 (1): 64-72, January/February
- 2008 "Exclusionary Democratization in Nepal, 1990-2002," *Democratization*, 15 (2): 363-385
- 2007 "Political Exclusion and the Lack of Democratisation: Cross-national Evaluation of Nepali Institutions using Majoritarian-Consensus Framework," *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 45 (1): 57-77
- 2003 "The Maoists and Minorities: Overlap of Interests or a Case of Exploitation?" *Studies in Nepali History and Society*, 8 (1): 67-97
- 2003 "Centralizing Politics and the Growth of the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal," *Himalaya: The Journal of Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, 23 (1): 49-58
- 2002 "Defining Minorities in Nepal," *Nepali Journal of Contemporary Studies* 2(2): 22-52
- 2001 "Nepali Chapama Utpidit Alpasankhyak Samudayako Mudda" (Minority Issues in the Nepali Print Media), with Kumar Yatru, 2057 v.s. *Janajati: Journal of Nationalities of Nepal*, 2 (3): 32-64, in Nepali

BOOK CHAPTERS

- Forthcoming "Comparing Affirmative Action Policies across Time and Groups: Testing Claims and Counter Claims with the Case of Nepal," in *Affirmative Action Policy: Comparative Inquiries*, edited by Ashok Acharya and Neera Chandhoke, New Delhi: Oxford University Press

- Forthcoming “Mobilization Dynamics: Varied Trajectory of Dalit, Indigenous Nationalities, and Madhesi Movements,” in *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal: Identities and Mobilization after 1990*, edited by Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen, London: Routledge, in press, 2012
- Forthcoming “Transforming ethnic politics, transforming the Nepali polity: From peaceful nationalist mobilization to the rise of armed separatist groups,” in *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal: Identities and Mobilization after 1990*, edited by Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen, London: Routledge, in press, 2012
- Forthcoming “Introduction: Ethnicity and Nationalism in Nepal,” with Susan Hangen, in *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal: Identities and Mobilization after 1990*, edited by Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen, London: Routledge, in press, 2012
- Forthcoming “Rhetoric of Inclusion versus Reality: Ethnic Politics in Post 2006 Regime Change in Nepal,” in *Memory, Violence and the State: Towards Coexistence in a Pluralistic South Asia*, edited by Charan Rainford and Radhika Chopra, revision submitted to the editors
- 2012 Making Federalism Work: Promoting societal and institutional congruence and balancing centripetal and centrifugal tendencies, *Ethnicity and Federalisation in Nepal*, editors Chaitanya Mishra and Om Gurung, Kathmandu: Central Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Tribhuvan University, p. 166-181
- 2012 “Ethnic Politics and the Building of an Inclusive State,” in *Nepal in Transition: From People’s War to Fragile Peace*, edited by David M. Malone, Sebastian von Einsiedel, and Suman Pradhan, Cambridge University Press, p. 129-152
- 2011 “Sanghiyata lai kasari kamkaji banaune,” *Jatiyata ra Sanghiyakaran Sambandhi Brihat Gosthiko Sansanchep*, Kathmandu: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, p.65-68. Longer English version submitted to the editors
- 2010 “Federalism, the Right to Self-determination, and National Security,” in *Emerging Security Challenges of Nepal*, edited by Rajan Bhattarai and Geja Sharma Wagle, Kathmandu: Nepal Institute for Policy Studies, English (165-218) and Nepali (155-204)
- 2010 “Inclusion and Accountability for a ‘New’ Democratic Nepal,” in *States in Conflicts with Minorities: Challenges to Minority Rights in South Asia*, edited by Rita Manchanda, London and New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 282-309
- 2009 “Evolution and Growth of the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal,” chapter one in *The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Revolution in the Twenty-first Century*, edited by Mahendra Lawoti and Anup K. Pahari, London: Routledge, p. 3-30
- 2009 “Ethnic Dimension of the Maoist Insurgencies: Indigenous Groups Participation and Insurgency Trajectories in Nepal, India and Peru,” chapter seven in *The Maoist*

- Insurgency in Nepal: Revolution in the Twenty-first Century*, edited by Mahendra Lawoti and Anup K. Pahari, London: Routledge, p.135-155
- 2009 “Military Dimension of People’s War: Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Nepal,” co-authored with Ashok K. Mehta, chapter nine in *The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Revolution in the Twenty-first Century*, edited by Mahendra Lawoti and Anup K. Pahari, London: Routledge, p. 175-194
- 2009 “Bullets, Ballots, and Bounty: Maoist Electoral Victory in Nepal,” chapter fourteen in *The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Revolution in the Twenty-first Century*, edited by Mahendra Lawoti and Anup K. Pahari, London: Routledge, p. 287-303
- 2009 “Violent Conflict and Change: Costs and Benefits of Maoist Rebellion in Nepal,” co-authored with Anup K. Pahari, chapter fifteen in *The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Revolution in the Twenty-first Century*, edited by Mahendra Lawoti and Anup K. Pahari, London: Routledge, 304-326
- 2009 “Whither Constitution-making, Federalism, Peace Building, and Democracy?” chapter one in *Federal State-building: Challenges in Framing the Nepali Constitution*, Kathmandu: Bhrikuti Academic Publications, p. 9-18 (new chapter in a collected volume)
- 2009 “Nepal” (article length entry), in *Encyclopedia of Human Rights, Volume 4*, edited by David P. Forsythe, New York: Oxford University Press, p. 65-75
- 2009 “Sanghiyata ra Nepalka Dalit” (Federalism and Nepal’s Dalit) in *Sanghiyatama Dalit*, edited by Man Bahadur B. K. and Chakraman B. K., Kathmandu: Dalit Welfare Organization, p. 1-8
- 2008 “Minority Rights,” encyclopedia entry, *Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Society, Volume 2*, edited by Richard T. Schaefer, Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, p. 907-910
- 2007 “Contentious Politics in Democratizing Nepal,” chapter one in *Contentious Politics and Democratization in Nepal*, edited by Mahendra Lawoti, SAGE Publications, pp. 17-47
- 2007 “Democracy, Domination, and Exclusionary Engineering Process in Nepal, 1990” chapter two in *Contentious Politics and Democratization in Nepal*, edited by Mahendra Lawoti, SAGE Publications, pp. 48-72
- 2007 “Democratization Promoting and Democratization Hindering Contentious Politics: Lessons from Nepal,” chapter thirteen in *Contentious Politics and Democratization in Nepal*, edited by Mahendra Lawoti, SAGE Publications, pp. 322-336
- 2005 “Rajyako Punasamrachanako Sawal ra Samabesi Prajatantra,” (The Issue of Restructuring of the State and Inclusive Democracy), in *Nepalko Sandarbhama*

- Rajyako Punarsamrachana*, edited by Sitaram Tamang, Kathmandu: Samana Prakashan, p. 229-248, in Nepali, an expanded version of article published in *Mulyankan Monthly*; a slightly different version published in *Swabhimani*, 2006 (Sawan 2063), "Naya Sambidhanma Rajyako Punarsamrachana," in Nepali, (Restructuring of the State in the New Constitution), p. 43-53
- 2004 "Samaaweshi Prajatantra-ka-lagi Raajnaitik Sangstha-haru" (Political Institutions for Inclusive Democracy), in *Samasweshi Loktantra-ka-Aadhaar-haru*, ed., Mohan Mainali, Lalitpur: Social Science Baha, pp. 50-74, in Nepali
- 2003 "Managing Conflict between Civil Society and the State: Explorations into Class and Identity Issues in Nepal," in *Nepal Tomorrow: Voices and Visions*, edited by D B Gurung. Kathmandu: Koselee Prakashan, pp. 63-85
- 2003 "Sambidhan Sansodhan wa Paribartanko Sandharvama Adibasi/Janajatiharu kehi Abadharana" (Some Perspectives of Indigenous Peoples/Nationalities in the Context of Constitution Amendment or Change), conference proceedings, *Biswa Adibasi Diwas August 9, 2001 Pratibedan*, Kathmandu: Nepal Janajati Mahasangh, pp. 57-71, in Nepali
- 2002 "Adibasi/Janajati prati Jatiya Bhedbhav" (Racial Discrimination toward the Indigenous Peoples/Nationalities), in *Durban Ghosana ra Karyayojana tatha Nepalma Jatiya Bibhed*, eds. Malla K. Sundar and Padama Lal Biswakarma, Kathmandu: National Coalition Against Racial Discrimination (NCARD), pp. 124-144, in Nepali, short translation of alternate NGO report prepared for the United Nation's Third World Conference Against Racism, 2001
- 1996 "Non-Agricultural Employment in the Hills and Mountains of Nepal: A Case of Mechi Zone." Hawaii: East-West Center Conference Proceedings. 197-205

BOOK/MONOGRAPH AND ARTICLES UNDER PROGRESS

"Growth and Evolution of the Maoist Movement in Nepal," a peer-reviewed commentary article commissioned for the *Journal of Asian Studies*

"Spheres of Exclusion in New Democracies: Nepal in the Nineties," final draft February 2010, book chapter

"Democracy in Divided Societies: Political Exclusion/Inclusion in India, Nepal and Sri Lanka," first preparation April 2010, book chapter

"Democracy without Defenders: Tolerant but Alienated Elite in Nepal," first preparation 2003, second revision April 2005, book chapter

"Democracy, Pluralism and Small Ethnic Groups: Dhimals in 1973 and 2004," first preparation 2007

Diversity, Developing Countries, Institutions and Democracy in South Asia, a comparative research project

Exclusion/Inclusion in Democracies, a cross-national project to investigate political exclusion under development, under preparation

RESEARCH NOTES/MAGAZINE ARTICLES

Forthcoming "Resources, Federalism, and Development," *Adibasi Janajati Awaj*,

- 2012 "Sanghiyata ra Muldharka Media," The Ethnic Voice, Vol. 1(2): 19-20, January
- 2011/2012 "Living together based on the right to Self-determination: Fostering Equality, Justice and Peace in a Democracy," Tanchhoppa Monthly, 16 (12): 1 and 4, December/January
- 2011 "Desh tukrin nadina Atmanirnayako Adhikar," The Ethnic Voice, 1(1): 2-3, December
- 2010 "Has Nepali State become Inclusive? An Assessment of Representation after 2006 Regime Change," in *Sanghiya Masik*, 1(1): 16-22
- 2009 "The Myth of Non-ethnic Federalism," Democracy Day Supplement, The Kathmandu Post, February 18, reprinted in *Sanghiya*, 2009
- 2008 "Janmukhi Sanghiyatako Sanyantra" (People Centric Federal Mechanism), *Himal Khabarpatrika*, 18(10), September 1-16
- 2008 "Chunab Bisleshan: Paribartanko Chahana ra Dhamki-Trash" (Election Analysis: Vote for Change and Intimidation and Fear), Himal Khabarpatrika, April 28-May 13
- 2007 "Nepalko lagi Upayukta Bahujatiya Sanghiyata," (Multiethnic federalism is preferable in Nepal) Mulyankan Monthly, Kartik 2064, No 153, p. 42-46
- 2007 "Sanghiyata: Prithaktabadiko Aushadhi," (Federalism: Medicine for Separatism) Mulyankan Monthly, Sawan 2064, No 153, p. 31-33
- 2007 "Gantho Phukaune Tarika," (Way to Untangle a Knot) Nepali Shikhar, 1(6), February
- 2007 "Nepalma Jatiya ki Prasashanik Sanghiyata?" (Ethnic or Administrative Federalism in Nepal?), *Semi Phaktanglung*, 5 (7)
- 2004 "Rajyako Punarsamrachana ra Samabeshi Prajatantra" (Restructuring the State and Inclusive Democracy), Kathmandu, Mulyankan Monthly, 22: 123, Asoj (September-October), pp. 24-29, in Nepali; Republished in online journal *Development Nepal*, 2004: 3, July-September, [www.developmentnepal.com](http://www.developmentnepal.com)



- 2004 A Proposal for Semi Proportional Electoral Method, Nepal Weekly, Bhadra 31-Sarwan 6 (August 15-22), pp. 16-17, in Nepali
- 2002 "Minority Movements in a Communal Polity: The Case of Dalit in Nepal." Liberal Times, New Delhi, India, X (3): 34-39.
- 2001 "Nepal: Breakdown of Democracy," Economic and Political Weekly, India, 36(50): 4623-4626; reprinted in Aastha, published by SEBS, 2002, pp. 28-35 and [www.sebsonline.org](http://www.sebsonline.org) (2002) as "Breakdown of Democracy: The Maoist Insurgency and the Declaration of the State of Emergency in Nepal."
- 2001 "Arakchyan Niti ra Yogyata Sambandhi Bhram" (Reservation Policy and the Myth of Merit), in Chaapama Janajati, 488-491, edited by Pratyoush Onta, Kumar Yatru and Bhaskar Gautam, Kathmandu: Ekata Books; an expanded translation of an article published in 2000 in Kathmandu Post, in Nepali.
- 2001 "Political Parties and Backward Groups," Mechi-kali, in Nepali
- 2000 "Inclusive Democracy and Governance Structures," EkChhin August: 3-7; Nepali translation published in Chaapama Janajati, 400-408, edited by P. Onta, K. Yatru and B. Gautam. Kathmandu: Ekata, 2001

BOOK REVIEWS

- 2000 Demystifying Democracy, The Kathmandu Post, December 31
- 2000 The Unresolved National (Jatiya) Question, The Kathmandu Post, April 9
- 1999 Models of Democracy, The Kathmandu Post

SELECTED OPINION AND EDITORIAL PIECES/ARTICLES

- 2012 "Democratic deficit," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, June 1
- 2012 "Identity, mobilization and the state," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, May 25
- 2012 "Bahun leadership and federalism," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, April 27
- 2012 "Charter of rights," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, April 6
- 2012 "Viability fallacies," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, March 2
- 2012 "The way it's done in Germany," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, January 27
- 2012 "Structure and Stability," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, January 20
- 2011 "Living with Self-determination," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, December 16
- 2011 "Progressive necessity," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, November 19
- 2011 "Analyzing affirmative action," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, October 21
- 2011 "The waning right," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, September

- 30
- 2011 "Post-August 31 options," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, August 26
- 2011 "Conflict patterns, violent trends," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, August 5
- 2011 "Limits of proportionality," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, July 1
- 2011 "Muddling up," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, June 3
- 2011 "Ethnic predilections," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, May 6
- 2011 "Weighing federal options," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, April 22
- 2011 "Co-optation and alienation," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, March 18
- 2011 "Scope of violence," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, February 25
- 2011 "Democracy, inclusion, and ethnic political parties," Democracy Day Supplement, The Kathmandu Post, February 19
- 2011 "Halfway there," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, January 28
- 2010 "Democracy for the long haul," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, December 24
- 2010 "Multinational statehood," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, November 26
- 2010 "European impressions," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, October 29
- 2010 "The rise of identity politics," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, September 3
- 2010 "The real experts," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, August 6
- 2010 "Non-territorial federalism," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, July 10
- 2010 "Limits of formalism," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, June 11
- 2010 "Banda on the run," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, May 14
- 2010 "Why countries disintegrate," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, April 16
- 2010 "Ethnic politics," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, March 19
- 2010 "It ain't so," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, February 19
- 2010 "Regional rights," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, January 22
- 2009 "Lessons from India," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, December 25
- 2009 "Hope, outside Kathmandu," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, November 27
- 2009 "Media and conflict," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, October 27
- 2009 "Binding the country together," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, September 25
- 2009 "Challenges to peace building," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, August 21
- 2009 "The resource question," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, July 24
- 2009 "Popular initiatives," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, June 26
- 2009 "Managing territorial claims," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post,

- May 29
- 2009 "Nation building or destroying," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, May 1
- 2009 "Dissecting inclusion," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, April 3
- 2009 "Constitutional court," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, March 13
- 2009 "Democratic corporatism," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, February 6
- 2009 "Ensuring accountability," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, January 9
- 2008 "Desiring a strong centre," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, December 5
- 2008 "Realignment in Nepali politics," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, November 21
- 2008 "Cognitive dissonance and surprise over Maoist win," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, November 7
- 2008 "Problems in knowledge generation," Knowledge and Power, The Kathmandu Post, October 24
- 2007 The Politics of Intolerance: Threat to Fledgling Democracy, the Himalayan Times, July 17
- 2007 Separatism in South Asia: Lessons for Nepal, the Himalayan Times, July 9
- 2007 Power Structure: Federalism versus Unitary, the Himalayan Times, January 29
- 2007 Flawed Electoral Method, the Kathmandu Post, January 20
- 2006 Autonomy: An Effective Tool for Conflict Management, in Nepali, Himal Khabarpatrika Fortnightly, September 1
- 2006 Inclusive Constituent Assembly, in Nepali, Nepal Weekly, August 20
- 2004 Theoretical Rationale for the Restructuring of the State, in Nepali, Nepal Weekly, Asoj 10, 2061 (September 19)
- 2004 Political Exclusion: A Method for Arriving at Inclusive Institutions, The Himalayan Times, February 26; Reprinted in Kirat Yakthung Chumlung Bulletin, 2004
- 2004 Federalism for Nepal. The Telegraph Weekly, January 28
- 2001 Individual and Group Rights. The Kathmandu Post, July 21
- 2001 Global Conference against Racial Discrimination and Government's Attitude, in Nepali, Nepal Fortnightly. Sawan 16-32, 2058 v.s. (July)
- 2001 Inclusion and Exclusion, and the Electoral Method in Democratizing Nepal, The Telegraph Weekly, March
- 2001 Discrimination against Groups in the Constitution. In Nepali, Himal Khabarpatrika Fortnightly, March 14-28
- 2000 Formal and Informal Reservations. The Kathmandu Post. September 28
- 2000 Federalism and Fear of Secession. The Kathmandu Post. April 14
- 2000 Insurgency Theories and the Maobadi Movement. The Kathmandu Post. April 6
- 2000 How Democratic is Nepal? The Kathmandu Post. February 27
- 2000 Reservation Policy and the Myth of Merit. The Kathmandu Post. February 18; Reprinted in Yukpho Monthly Newsletter, 1(1): 2, September/October 2004
- 1995 Suitable Cost Effective Homes. The Rising Nepal. March 17,
- 1994 Building Bridges, The Kathmandu Post
- Articles have also appeared in Nava-Prabaha Weekly and Rastra-Vandana Weekly

## CONSULTATION AND REPORTS

- 2012 Research on Social Inclusion Atlas and Ethnographic Profile, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tribuvan University, Kathmandu
- 2012 Press Freedom in Nepal and Bhutan, Freedom House
- 2011-12 Countries at the Crossroads, Freedom House, Country report on Nepal
- 2011 International expert, "Constitution with the perspective of excluded groups," National Coalition against Racial Discrimination, Kathmandu, Nepal, January and February
- 2010 "Nepal: Peace Process and the non-Maoist Political Parties," Centra Technology
- 2007 "Ensuring Excluded Communities' Representation in Constitution Building and Democratization Process," monitoring of activities in Jhapa and Tehrathum districts, National Coalition Against Racial Discrimination, Nepal
- 2001 "Racial Discrimination toward the Indigenous Peoples in Nepal," an alternate report prepared for the National Preparatory Committee of NGOs-Nepal for the third World Conference Against Racism-2001, and presented at the National Conference in Kathmandu on April 26. Available at <http://www.nepalnews.com.np/nepaldemocracy/democracy.htm>
- 2000 *Domination and Exclusion: Continued Marginalization of Minorities in Democratizing Nepal*, Nepal country paper, a part of South Asia Minority Protection Study, submitted to International Center for Ethnic Studies (ICES), Colombo, Sri Lanka on behalf of Nepal South Asia Center (NESAC), Nepal
- Various years Reports on the situation in Nepal on asylum seeking cases (paid and pro bono) for law firms

## CONFERENCE PAPERS AND PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS

- 2012 "Neither Exclusionary nor Inclusive: Political Elite's Attitudes and Behavior in Democratizing Multi-ethnic Nepal," *Conference on Nepal and Himalaya*, jointly organized by the Association of Nepal and Himalayan Studies, British-Nepal Academic Council, and Social Science Baha, July 21
- 2012 "Affirmative Action and Political Representation across Time, Groups, and States: Testing claims for and against with cases of India, Nepal and Sri Lanka," paper to be presented at an international conference on *Inequality and Affirmative Action: Situating Nepal in a Global Debates*, Kathmandu, Nepal, July 18-20
- 2012 "Current Political Crises and Federalism in Nepal," Federation of Indigenous Nationalities of Nepal in United Arab Emirates, Everest International Hotel, BurDubai, July 13
- 2012 "Political Crisis in Nepal and Future of Federalism," Federation of Indigenous Peoples' of Nepal in America, New York, June 10
- 2012 "Racism, Political Tolerance and Elite Attitudes: Consequences for Exclusion/Inclusion in a Multi-ethnic New Democracy," 70<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of Mid-west Political Science Association, Chicago, April 15
- 2012 "Developing an Exclusion/Inclusion Index for Nepal: Incorporating Cultural, Social, Political and Economic Dimensions," *Nepal: Perspectives and Measures on*

- Social Inclusion*, April 9-10, 2012, Kathmandu, organized by the Central Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tribhuvan University, Nepal
- 2012 "What is Federalism? Demystifying Myths, Misinformation, and Misunderstanding in Nepal," Federal Systems for Nepal: A perspective from halfway around the world, organized by The Himalayan Concerns Group, Boston, MA, via skype, March 25
- 2012 "Federalism, Limbuwan: Challenges and Opportunities," Kirat Yakthung Chumlung, USA, New York, February 17
- 2011 "Constitution Making and Challenges and Consequences of Accommodating or Ignoring Diversity," The Kanchanjanga Hotel, Dharan, organized by the National Coalition Against Racial Discrimination and the Centre for Ethnic and Alternative Development Studies, Dec 28
- 2011 "Conceptual Framework and International Practice of Division of Power through Autonomous Regions," The Grand Hotel, Red Cross Rd, Kalimati, organized by UNDP Nepal, Dec 27
- 2011 "Media and the Restructuring of the State," Jagaran Nepal, Anam Nagar, organized by Ethnic Media Foundation, Dec 26
- 2011 "Reconciling Contested Issues in the Draft Constitution: The Right to Self-determination, Autonomy, Federalism and Form of Governance," Hotel Malla, organized by the Indigenous Peoples Constituent Assembly Caucus, Dec 25
- 2011 "Affirmative Action Policy Across Time and Groups: Testing Claims and Counter Claims with the Case of Nepal, Centre for Ethnic and Alternative Development Studies, Dharan, Nepal, December 15
- 2011 "Exercizing the Ritht to Self-determination, Autonomy and Self-governance in a new Federalized Nepal," Kirat Yakthung Chumlung and Lawyers' Association for Human Rights of Nepalese Indigenous Peoples, Kathmandu, December 14
- 2011 "From mono-ethnic state to poly-ethnic polity: Exclusion/Inclusion and Democracy in Nepal," ANHS conference on 'Rethinking the Himalaya: The Indo-Tibetan Interface and Beyond,' October 28-30, St. Paul, MN
- 2011 "Mono-ethnic to Multination state and Nationalism: Redefinition through Grassroots Challenges in Nepal," 40th Annual Conference on South Asia, Madison, October 20-23
- 2011 "Comparing affirmative action policy across time and groups," International Conference on 'Protective Discrimination: Comparative Inquiries,' October 14-15, Delhi University, New Delhi
- 2011 "Democracy in Divided Societies: Political Exclusion/Inclusion in India, Nepal and Sri Lanka," 9th Annual International Conference on Politics and International Affairs, Athens, Greece, June 20-23 and the Fifth Facing East/Facing West Conference, WMU, June 10-11
- 2011 "Making Federalism Work," International Conference on Ethnicization and

- Federalization, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tribhuwan University, April 22-24
- 2011 "Federalism and Constitution-making Challenges in Nepal," School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, March 9
- 2011 "Federalism and Dalits in Nepal," Federation of Dalit NGOs, Kathmandu, February 13
- 2011 "Federalism and Muslims in Nepal," Caucus of Muslim Constituent Assembly Members and Centre for Constitutional Dialogue, Kathmandu, February 12
- 2010 "Federalism and Constitution Making Challenges," Nepal Academy, November 2
- 2010 "Mobilization Dynamics: Understanding Varied Trajectories of Dalit, Indigenous Nationalities and Madhesi Mobilization," Martin Chautari, Kathmandu, November 1
- 2010 "Mobilization Dynamics: Understanding Varied Trajectories of Dalit, Indigenous Nationalities and Madhesi Mobilization," Nepa School, Kathmandu, October 29
- 2010 "Nepal: Peace Process and the non-Maoist Political Parties," The Chatham House, London, October 19
- 2010 "The Evolution and Growth of the Maoist Movement," University of Oxford, October 18
- 2010 "Ethnic Politics in Nepal: From Mono-ethnic State to Poly-ethnic Polity," University of Bielefeld, October 13
- 2010 "Constitution making and Democracy in Nepal: Inclusion and Accountability Challenges," University of Copenhagen, October 12
- 2010 "Ethnic Politics in Nepal: From Mono-ethnic State to Poly-ethnic Polity," University of Vienna, October 8
- 2010 "Ethnic Politics in Nepal: From Mono-ethnic State to Poly-ethnic Polity," The Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, October 4
- 2010 "Federalism: Rationale and Alternate Models," Federal Nepal TV Program, July 29 (Illam), July 30 (Damak), July 31 (Dharan), August 1 (Gaighat), August 2 (Lahan), and August 3 (Janakpur), Nepal
- 2010 "Mono-ethnic state, Poly-ethnic Polity, Constitution Making and Non-territorial Federalism for Dalit in Nepal," Envisioning New Nepal: Dynamics of Caste, Identity and Inclusion of Dalit, International Conference, Kathmandu, June 20-22
- 2010 "Maoist Movement and its Impact on Future of Nepali Politics," Centre for Ethnic and Alternative Studies, July 15
- 2010 "Tamsaling: A Broader Perspective," Centre for Constitutional Dialogue, July 2
- 2010 "The Evolution and Growth of the Maoist Insurgency," Department of Conflict, Peace and Development Studies, Tribhuvan University, June 27
- 2010 "Democracy in Divided Societies: Political Exclusion/Inclusion in India, Nepal and Sri Lanka," the Midwest Political Science Association, April 22-25

- 2010 "Federalism and Challenges," Federation of Indigenous Peoples of Nepal in America, New York, February 20
- 2009 "Federalism in Nepal and the New Constitution," Federation of Indigenous Peoples of Nepal in America, New York, November 6, live broadcast <http://www.ustream.tv/channel/fipna-interaction-with-dr-mahendra-lawoti-on-federalism>
- 2009 "Ethnic Politics in Post-Peace Settlement Nepal: How Inclusive has the State Become?" New York University, New York, November 4-5
- 2009 "Political Exclusion/Inclusion and Democracy in Nepal, India, and Sri Lanka," the Annual South Asia Conference, Madison, October 24
- 2009 "Imperialism within States: Political Exclusion and Democracy in Nepal, India and Sri Lanka," Third Critical Studies Conference, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, Kolkata, India, September 11-12
- 2009 "Critical Analysis of Recommendations of Five Sub-committees of the Constituent Assembly," Center for Constitutional Dialogue, Kathmandu, September 7
- 2009 "Federalism and the Limbuwan," September 5, Limbuwan Student Forum, Kathmandu
- 2009 "Indigenous Nationalities and the New Constitution," Caucus of the Indigenous Nationalities Constituent Assembly Members and the Nepal Federation of the Indigenous Nationalities, Kathmandu, September 1
- 2009 "Federalism and Separatism in South Asia: Lessons for Nepal," The Center for Development and Population Activities, Kathmandu, August 16 and NEFIN Panchthar District, Phidim, August 28
- 2009 "State Consolidation and Marginalization: Historical Roots of Contemporary Exclusion in Nepal," Centre for Social Research and Development, Martin Chautari, Kathmandu, Nepal, August 11
- 2009 "The Maoist Movement: Growth and Trajectories," Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, July 31; South Asia Brown Bag, May 29, Western Michigan University
- 2009 "Non-Hegemonic Federalism for Nepal," New School University, New York, April 11 and Federalism in Nepal, The Coalition of Advancing the Rights of Marginalized Groups in Nepal, New York, April 12
- 2008 "Path Dependence, State Consolidation and Marginalization in Nepal: Historical Roots of Contemporary Exclusion," the 37<sup>th</sup> Annual South Asia Conference, Madison, October 17
- 2008 "The Maoist Electoral Victory in the Constituent Assembly: Intimidation or Desire for Change?" 3rd Himalayan Policy Conference, Madison, October 16
- 2008 "Accountability, Democracy and New Nepal," Social Science Baha, Kathmandu, August 21
- 2008 "Mechanisms for Arriving at a Federal Structure: Peaceful and People-Centered Approach," Center for Ethnic and Alternative Development Studies, Kathmandu, August 15
- 2008 "Insurgency, Democracy and Political Reforms: The Exclusion/Inclusion Dimension," Martin Chautari and ANHS, Kathmandu, August 13

- 2008 "Whither Minority Rights in Nepal?" presented at the International Conference on *In Pursuit of Peace: Looking Back at 25 Years of ICES*, Colombo, Sri Lanka, August 7-8<sup>th</sup>
- 2008 "Democracy, Exclusion and Informal Institutions in Nepal," *the annual Midwest Political Science Association Meeting*, Chicago, April 5
- 2008 "Democratic State Building in Nepal," the State Department, Washington D.C., March 28
- 2008 "Nepal: Is the Transition Floundering," George Washington University, March 27
- 2008 "Recent Developments in Nepal and Research Agenda for the Future," the East-West Center, Washington, D.C., March 25
- 2008 "Spheres of Exclusion in a New Democracy: Nepal during 1992-2002," Western Michigan University, February 19
- 2007 "Democracy, Exclusion and Informal Institutions," *the 2nd Himalayan Policy Research Conference*, Madison, October 11
- 2007 "Democratization from Non-Democratic Moves: The Maoist Insurgency, Royal Coup, and Political Reforms in Nepal," *American Political Science Association Annual Meeting*, August 30-September 2, Chicago, IL and Annual South Asia Conference, Madison, October 12
- 2007 "Federalism and Dalits in Nepal," Tulsipur, Dang, Nepal, August 13
- 2007 "Federalism in Nepal: Inclusive Methodology and Structure," Law Associates of Nepal, Kathmandu, June 30 - July 1; different versions presented at international experience sharing workshops organized by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) and National Coalition Against Racial Discrimination (NCARD) in Pokhara (July 13) and Dharan (July 17); at a workshop organized by IDEA International and Working Women Journalists Association in Lalitpur (July 17); a workshop organized by NCARD and Kirat Yakthung Chumlung in Myanglung, Teharathum (July 19); a conference organized by Limbuwan Autonomy State Council in Birtamod, Jhapa (July 25); a seminar organized by National Foundation for Development of Nationalities (NFDN) in Kathmandu (August 2-3); a political conference organized by the Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFIN) in Butwal, Rupendehi (August 8); and a workshop organized by Media Initiative for Rights, Equality and Social Transformation (MIREST)/Nepal and Agenda Economic Magazine in Lalitpur (August 16)
- 2007 "Political Parties in Nepal: Agenda for Reform," Law Associates of Nepal, Kathmandu, July 9
- 2007 "Spheres of Exclusion in Nepal," a workshop organized by IDEA International and NCARD in Lalitpur, June 29
- 2007 "Democratic State Building in Nepal," Martin Chautari, Kathmandu, June 26
- 2007 "Nepal Today: Challenges for Inclusive Democracy," panelist, New School University, May 19
- 2007 "Democracy, Pluralism and Small Ethnic Groups: Dhimals in 1973 and 2004," *the International Conference on Democracy and Pluralism in South Asia*, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, May 1 and 2



- 2007 "The Ethnic Dimension of the Maoist Insurgencies: Indigenous Groups Participation in Peru, Nepal, and India," *the 65<sup>th</sup> Annual Mid-West Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, April 12-15*
- 2007 "Visions for Democracy in Nepal," panelist, the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University, Washington, D.C., April 4 (The Role of Ethnic, Linguistic and Regional Minorities in an Inclusive Democracy)
- 2007 "Ethnic Minorities and Socio-Political Exclusion in Democratic Nepal," panelist, University of Akron, Akron, Ohio, February 17
- 2007 "Nepal in Transition: The Terai Question," panelist, the New School University, New York, February 10
- 2006 "The Centralized Polity and Multiple Conflicts and Crisis in Democratizing Nepal: Inclusion and Accountability to Address the Maoist Insurgency, Ethnic Exclusion and Governance Crisis," Cornell University, Ithaca, November 13
- 2006 "Assessing Democratic Experience in Nepal, 1990-2002: What went Wrong, What Worked, and What should be Done?" *the 35<sup>th</sup> Annual South Asia Conference, Madison, October 21*
- 2006 "Spheres of Exclusion in Democratizing Nepal, 1990-2002," *the First Annual Himalayan Policy Conference, a pre-conference at the 35<sup>th</sup> Annual South Asia Conference in Madison, October 19*
- 2006 "Inclusive and Accountable Political Institutions for Nepal," National Democratic Party, Kathmandu, August 21
- 2006 "Federalism in Nepal: Why, Which, and How," in Nepali, Mahendra Narayan Nidhi Pratishthan and Nepali Congress (Democratic), Kathmandu, August 19; National Democratic Youth Association, Kathmandu, August 18; the Center for Investigative Journalism, Himal Association, Lalitpur, August 17
- 2006 "Inclusive Representative Constituent Assembly," paper in Nepali, The National Foundation for the Development of Indigenous Nationalities Institutional Strengthening Project, Lalitpur, August 9
- 2006 "The 1831 Treaty and Limbuwan," in Nepali, panelist, Limbu Student Association, Kathmandu, August 8
- 2006 "The Restructuring of the State and Federalism," in Nepali, panelist, Federation of Indigenous Nationalities Students, Lalitpur, August 7
- 2006 "Restructuring of the State and Magar's Role," in Nepali, panelist, Nepal Magar Student Association, Tansen, Nepal, July 29
- 2006 "Towards a Democratic Nepal: Discussion on the book's significance for the Constituent Assembly and the Restructuring of the Nepali State," in Nepali, panel with Susan Hangen, Martin Chautari, Kathmandu, July 16
- 2006 "Limbu's Autonomy in the Constituent Assembly and Restructuring of the State," in Nepali, Kirat Yakthung Chumlung (KYC), July 15
- 2006 "Making the Constituent Assembly Inclusive: Criteria and Strategies," in Nepali, Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities, Lalitpur, July 14
- 2006 "Democratic State Building in Nepal: Addressing Ethnic Exclusion, the Maoist Insurgency, and Governance Crisis," *East-West Center Washington Workshop on State Building Challenges in Asia, Kathmandu, July 17-19*
- 2006 "Mobilizing Marginalized Groups, Social Movements and Political Parties in Nepal: A Proposal for Establishing an Inclusive Political Party," *the First*

- Roundtable on Nepalese Indigenous Peoples' Issues, the Nepal-US Indigenous Peoples Forum and the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University, May 22
- 2006 "Indigenous Peoples and Minority Rights in Nepal," a panel with Om Gurung, New School for Social Research, New York, May 20
- 2006 "Endgame in Nepal: Crisis Averted?" The Asia Society, New York City, a panel with Samuel Tamrat and Kanak Mani Dixit, May 18
- 2006 "Democracy without Defenders: Tolerant but Alienated Elite in Nepal," *the 64<sup>th</sup> Annual Mid Western Political Science Association Meeting*, Chicago, April 22
- 2006 "The Ethnic Dimension of the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Indigenous Groups' Participation in a Comparative Perspective," invited paper for the symposium on *Divided States and Contested Territories in South Asia*, Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, March 18
- 2005 "Multiple Conflicts in Nepal," panelist with Prakash Chandra Lohani and Susan Hangen, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C., November 3
- 2005 "The Maoist and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal: A Discussion Agenda," Workshop on *State Building Challenges in Asia*, East-West Center Washington, Washington D.C., October 31-November 3, 2005
- 2005 "The Ethnic Dimension of the Maoist Insurgencies: Comparative Study of Peru, Nepal, and India," *the 34<sup>th</sup> Annual South Asia Conference*, Madison, October 7-9
- 2005 "The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: The Inequality Dimension," *the 54<sup>th</sup> Annual Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs*, Lansing, Michigan, September 24
- 2005 "The Maoists, Monarchy, and Democracy: Reform Agenda for Settling Conflict and Democratization in Nepal," the Annual Convention of Association of Nepal in America (ANA) in Dallas, Texas, July 2-4
- 2005 "The Maoists, Monarchy, and Democracy: Reform Agenda for Settling Conflict and Democratization in Nepal," George Mason University, May 14
- 2005 "The Maoists, Monarchy, and Democracy: Reform Agenda for Settling Conflict and Democratization in Nepal," Emory University, May 4
- 2005 "The Ethnic Basis of the Maoist Insurgencies: Comparative Study of Peru, Nepal, and India," *46<sup>th</sup> Annual International Studies Association (ISA) Convention*, Honolulu, March 1-5
- 2004 "Inclusive Restructuring of the State," *the World Indigenous Peoples Week Celebration Conference*, jointly organized by NEFIN and KYC, Hotel Himalaya, Lalitpur, Nepal, August 7
- 2004 "Restructuring the State: An Indigenous Perspective," *Restructuring the State and the Indigenous Peoples*, Newa Dey Dabu (Newar's National Forum) at Hotel Shanker, Kathmandu, August 6
- 2004 "Inclusive and Accountable Restructuring of the State," the workshop on *Inclusive and Participatory Constitution Making Process* organized by Nepal South Asia Center (NESAC), the Collective Campaign for Peace (COCAP), and IDEA International, Nagarkot, Kathmandu, August 3; at COCAP, Kathmandu, July 15
- 2004 "Restructuring the State: Inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities," KYC, Kathmandu, July 18

- 2004 "Exclusionary Democratization in Multicultural Nepal: Political Institutions and Elite Attitudes in Comparative Perspective," *Social Science Baha Lecture Series*, Kathmandu, July 2
- 2004 "Political Institutions and Exclusion in a New Democracy: Cross-national Evaluation of Nepali Institutions using a Majoritarian and Consensus Framework," *the 62<sup>nd</sup> Annual Mid West Political Science Association Meeting*, April
- 2004 "Exclusionary Democratization in Multicultural Nepal: Political Institutions and Elite Attitudes in Comparative Perspective," Institute of Government and Politics, Western Michigan University, February 12
- 2003 "Inclusive Democratic Political Institutions for Nepal," the Nepal Federation of Nationalities (NEFEN), a panel with Krishna B. Bhattachan, April 27
- 2003 "Inclusive Democratic Political Institutions for Nepal," *International Conference on Transformation Agenda: Inclusion in Nepali Democracy*, Kathmandu, April 24-26
- 2003 "Democracy without Defenders: Tolerant but Alienated Elite in Nepal," Martin Chautari, Kathmandu, April 22
- 2003 "Making Indigenous Peoples-Janajati Movement more Effective: Some Organizational and Strategic Considerations," NEFEN, Kathmandu, April 21
- 2003 "Democracy without Defenders: Tolerant but Alienated Elite in Nepal," the *Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting*, Denver, March 27-29
- 2003 "Political Institutions and Exclusion in a New Democracy: Cross-national Evaluations of Nepali Institutions Using Majoritarian and Consensus Framework," GSPIA, University of Pittsburgh, January 31; Asian Studies Program, University of Pittsburgh, November 15
- 2002 "Inclusive Democratic Norms for Multicultural Societies," *the 34<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association and International Studies Association - Northeastern*, Providence, RI, November 7-9
- 2002 "The Centralized Polity and the Growth of the Maoist Insurgency," the *War on Terrorism: Terrorism as War*, a pre-conference panel, the *31st Annual Conference on South Asia*, University of Wisconsin, Madison, October 10
- 2002 "Roundtable Discussion of ANHS 2002 Pre-Conference on the Maoist Rebellion in Nepal," with Arjun Guneratne, Mary Des Chene, Kanak Dixit, John Metz, et al., published in *Himalaya*, XIII (1): 61-74, October 10
- 2002 "The Constitution as an Exclusionary Tool: Political Institutions and Political Exclusion in Nepal," *the 31st Annual Conference on South Asia*, University of Wisconsin, Madison, October 12
- 2002 "Exclusionary Democratization: Multicultural Society, Majoritarian Institutions, and Political Exclusion in Nepal," GSPIA, University of Pittsburgh, June 25
- 2002 "Exclusion from the Excluded: Minority Women and Women's Movement in Nepal," Conference on *Transcending Boundaries: Uniting in the face of Adversity*, University of Pittsburgh, March 28-29
- 2002 "Breakdown of Democracy: The Maoist Insurgency and the State of Emergency Declaration in Nepal," the Asia-Pacific Seminar Series, University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh
- 2001 "Sambidhan Sansodhan wa Paribartanko Sandharvama Adibasi/Janajatilai Sametne Abadharana," (Concepts for Inclusion of Indigenous Peoples/ Nationalities in the Context of Constitution Amendment or Change), *the World Indigenous Peoples Day Seminar*, Kathmandu, August 8

- 2001 Panelist in a Roundtable "Panchayatko Shradh," Martin Chautari, Kathmandu with Dr. Meena Acharya, Padam Thakurathi, and Dirgharaj Prasain, March
- 2001 "Cultural Imperialism: An Overarching Framework of Domination in Nepal," a paper presented at Martin Chautari, Kathmandu, March
- 2001 "Exclusionary Democratization: The Politics of Minority Domination in Nepal," NEFEN, Kathmandu, April 8
- 2001 "Exclusionary Democratization: The Politics of Minority Domination in Nepal," *Workshop on Visions for Grassroots Democracy in South Asia*, the Center for Studies of Developing Societies, Delhi, March 19-21; *International Conference on Dialogue on Democracy and Pluralism in South Asia*, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, March 14-17
- 2000 Invited Participant, International IDEA Democracy Forum 2000, *Democracy and Poverty: A Missing Link?* Stockholm, Sweden, summer
- 1999 "Democracy in the Doldrums? Evaluating a Decade of Democratic Experience in Nepal," Asia-Pacific Seminar Series, Asian Studies Program, University of Pittsburgh, October 27
- 1999 "Inappropriate Choice? Majoritarian Model of Democracy in a Multicultural Nation-State," Martin Chautari, Kathmandu, December
- 1999 "Democracy at Risk? Majoritarian Model of Democracy in a Multicultural Nation-State," the Annual Ph.D. Colloquium, GSPIA, University of Pittsburgh
- 1998 "Addressing Ethnic Minority Rights through Federalism in Nepal," the Annual Ph.D. Colloquium, GSPIA, March 27
- 1997 "Rains Always Follow the Forest: An Assessment of the Hawaii Tropical Forest Recovery Action Plan 1994," East-West Center, Honolulu, February 24

#### MEDIA APPEARANCES

Numerous interviews in print, TV, radio, and online outlets in Nepal (Kathmandu and outside), the USA, India, Australia, Portugal, and Iraq

#### **REVIEWS**

*American Journal of Sociology*, *Himalaya: The Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Journal of Rural Studies*, SNV Nepal, East-West Center Washington, International IDEA, Oxford University Press, United Nations Development Fund; External Tenure Reviewer

#### **PROFESSIONAL SERVICES**

- 2012 Chair, Conference Committee, The Association of Nepal and Himalayan Studies Second Conference, September 21-23, at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI
- 2005-2013 Council Member, ANHS
- 2011 Organizing a panel on "Nepali Nationalism at the Crossroads," 40th Annual South Asia Conference, Madison, October 20-23
- 2011 Lead organizer of "Dynamics of Changes in Nepali Society and Politics," an International Conference in Kathmandu, August 17-19

- 2009 Organized a panel at the 38<sup>th</sup> Annual South Asia Conference, "Rise of Ethnic Politics in Nepal"
- 2008 Co-organized three panels at the 37<sup>th</sup> Annual South Asia Conference, Madison with Susan Hangen on Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal, October 16-19
- 2007 Organized two panels at the 36<sup>th</sup> Annual South Asia Conference, "Identity Politics in Nepal" and "2006 Transition: Method, Consequences, and Challenges"
- 2006 Organized a panel at the 35<sup>th</sup> Annual South Asia Conference, 2006, "Assessing Democratic Experience in Nepal, 1990-2002," chair of the panel
- 2005 Organized four panels on Contentious Politics and Democratization in Nepal during the Annual South Asia Conference, Madison, Wisconsin, October 7-9
- 2005-08 Discussant and Chair of various panels

**MEMBERSHIP OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS**

American Political Science Association (APSA); Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA); Association of Nepal and Himalayan Studies (ANHS); Nepal Engineers Association (NEA), life member

**SERVICES AND MEMBERSHIP IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS**

Nepal Red Cross Society and Society of Ex-Budhanilkantha Students (SEBS), life member

**COURSES TAUGHT**

*Graduate:* Development Administration Seminar; Administration in Developing Countries; The Political Environment of Public Administration; Political Development in the Third World; Ethics in Public and International Affairs; Seminar in Rural Development

*Undergraduate:* Introduction to Comparative Politics; International Politics; Politics and Government in South Asia; Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict; Social Movements and Violent Conflict; International Development; Governmental Framework

**OTHER LEADERSHIP POSITIONS**

- MEMBER OF THE AD-HOC COMMITTEE, Indigenous Nationalities Civil Society Forum, Nepal, 2006
- COORDINATOR, Indigenous Peoples Subcommittee, National Preparation Committee of NGOs for the World Conference against Racism (WCAR) 2001- Nepal, 2000-2001
- FOUNDING MEMBER, South Asians for Human Rights (SAHR), Rajasthan, India, 2000
- STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE, Doctoral Committee, GSPIA, 1998/1999
- CHAIRPERSON, Monday Noon Seminar Series, East-West Center, Honolulu, 1996/1997
- MEMBER, Center-Wide Education Council (CWEC), East-West Center, 1996/1997
- BOARD MEMBER, University Students of Urban and Regional Planning, UHM, 1996/1997
- MEMBER, Monday Noon Seminar Series, East-West Center, Honolulu, 1995/1996
- TREASURER, East-West Center Nepali Society, East-West Center, 1995/1996
- ACADEMIC SECRETARY, Foreign Students Association, Calicut University, India, 1989/1990
- GENERAL SECRETARY, VICE PRESIDENT, and FOUNDER, Society of Ex-Budhanilkantha Students (SEBS), Nepal, 1982-1983
- SCOUT INSTRUCTOR, 1979-1981, Budhanilkantha School, Kathmandu, Nepal

**LANGUAGES** *Nepali and English*, fluent; *Hindi*, good command; *Limbu*, basic understanding