



the south asianist

**Social inequality in the civil service and a review of affirmative action
in Nepal**

Tek Bahadur Dong

Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 119-142 | ISSN 2050-487X | www.southasianist.ed.ac.uk

Social inequality in the civil service and a review of affirmative action in Nepal

TEK BAHADUR DONG, *Tribhuvan University*

This article is a study of the disadvantaged groups in Nepal, namely Janajatis, Madhesis, Dalits, and women; groups that have experienced exclusion in the state's apparatus since the mid-18th century unification period. By analysing the representation of caste and minority status in the Ministry of General Administration, the Judicial Service, the Nepal Police, and the Nepal Army personnel, this paper demonstrates recent social inequalities in Nepal. Significantly, the historical 'People's Movement of 2006' paved the way towards a Nepal that is more inclusive, by providing quotas for disadvantaged groups in civil service. However, the issue of reservations is still ardently debated among local communities, academics, government officials, and activists. This paper aims to focus these debates and reviews on the implementation of reservation (quota) seats by analysing empirical data from the personnel records of the Nepal Police and Armed Police Force since 2007. The main argument of this paper is that all qualified candidates should receive equal opportunities in recruitment and promotion in their posts without ethnic, gender, and regional prejudices. By avoiding discriminatory social and cultural values, efforts should be focused on fostering a 'culture of respect' in organisations, institutions, and associations. This is achieved through cultural recognition and acknowledgment, while enabling broader public response to vacancy announcements, thus promoting public ownership of the state. Nepal, which is one of the great examples of multiculturalism, is now debating how to address its cultural diversities. Therefore, this research contributes to the efforts among government officials, policy makers, and INGOs toward promoting greater social inclusion in Nepal.

The 'People's Movement II' of April 2006 was historic not only for overthrowing King Gyanendra Shah and declaring Nepal a Federal Democratic Republic by the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly on 28 May 2008, but also as a foundation for several inclusive policies. In building an inclusive nation, affirmative action is one frequently debated issue among citizens, academics, political leaders, government officials, and activists alike.

The history of affirmative action in Nepal shows back to the date of 1995 on which date the government categorised oppressed class and allocated some budget. To create an inclusive civil service, the government announced the reservation policy for women, Janajatis, and Dalits; however, it could not take the direction because of the government instability, and now this reservation policy is legislated by the interim constitution of Nepal in 2007 and provides quotas for various disadvantaged groups in civil service. Here, the aim of this paper is to narrow the debates on reservation policy and understand affirmative action better within the Nepali context. This paper will review the history of social exclusion, examine social inequality among the different social groups, and present empirical data to demonstrate how these groups are employed through the reservation policy.

Social exclusion

Social exclusion was originated in France in 1974 to address inequalities of social resources (Pfaff-Czarnecka, Stokke and Manandhar 2009: 1) and from there it evolved traveled to other countries. Social exclusion is a process through which individuals or communities are prevented by dominant groups from accessing social and cultural rights, opportunities, employment, democratic participation, and resources. The UK Department for International Development (DFID) indicates that such disadvantaged groups may be excluded on the basis of caste, gender, ethnicity, race, religion, sexual orientation, age, disability, HIV status, or migrant status (DFID 2005: 3). This paper next discusses the history of social exclusion and scrutinizes the Nepali civil service in this context.

The general history of social exclusion in Nepal is traced back to the 14th century where King Jayashiti Malla introduced 64 vertical occupational caste groups among the Newar community. However, implementing such hierarchies among the indigenous people was against their traditions and customs because they were not belonging to caste system (Bhattachan 2009: 17). Influenced by this caste hierarchical system, King Prithivi Narayan Shah adopted a paradoxical policy in mid-18th century because on the one hand, he declared Nepal as a garden of four varnas and 36 castes while on the other hand he aspired to make Nepal 'Asali Hindustan' (a pure Hindu state).

Social exclusion appeared overtly and was nurtured in Nepali society during the Rana rule (1846 to 1951) in which period, Nepal's first National Legal Code of 1854 was officially classified the population into four hierarchical orders based on the caste system

and tied people in a single Hindu legal caste system. This system of rule was introduced by the Prime Minister Jung Bahadur Rana¹ and institutionalised by the next Rana Prime Ministers by reducing King's power to a figurehead and practicing against the modern social reforms and political parties. Höfer explains that this civil code was a powerful instrument to assimilate people into the ruling culture based on Hindu caste hierarchical system (Höfer 1979). Anyone who disobeyed the code was punished. Exclusion was also practiced in relation to ethnic groups' language. Chandra Shamsheer Rana, who was one of the hereditary of 10 prime ministers, he further promoted social exclusion in 1920 in a way that non-Nepali languages written for Tamsuk and Varpai (indenture/written agreement) could not be submitted as evidence in court. This example clearly shows that only Nepali language was the government official language in Nepal and this language was one of the powerful instruments of assimilation to Hindu norms, rules and values, since it had official status and was the only medium of education (Hachhethu 2009: 39-40).

During the Panchayat era (1960 to 1990), the state forcefully tried to create a homogenous national identity by promoting Hindu religion, Hindu monarchy, and Nepali language as the signifiers of national community. For instance, the slogan 'our king, our country' and 'one language, one dress, and one culture' disregarded non-Hindu cultures. Those social groups who disobeyed the system received penalties from the state. Tamang writes that the government suppressed those groups who sought education on the basis of their mother tongue (Tamang 2006:27). Indigenous communities including Limbu, Tamang, Gurung, and Newar revolted against the state policies as they disregarded non-Hindu cultures, and had a humiliating effect on people. Indigenous political organisations were banned and revolutionaries were deemed as anti-nationalist. As a result, active members of these were compelled to flee from the state. Some Buddhist monks were sentenced to exile and some were given the death sentence (Holmberg 1989: x-xi). The death sentences and exile of such leaders illustrates how indigenous culture was pushed towards the verge of disappearance (Pfaff-Czarnecka, Stokke, and Manandhar 2009: 3). The 1990 constitution ushered in a more inclusive society by declaring the country to be 'multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and democratic' which permitted all communities the right to preserve and promote their languages, scripts, and culture. This constitution also created the opportunity to establish various political parties; however, the representation of various marginalised groups –Janajatis (the ethnic groups), Madheshi (the plain dwellers), Dalits (socially lower caste groups), and women– were not significant in various sectors of government such as upper house parliament, lower

¹ The National Legal Code sought to integrate the diversity of Nepali society. Its categories from the top down were: twice born (Bahun and Chhetri), liquor-drinking (Baishya), water-unacceptable (Muslim and foreigners) and untouchable (Sudra). Indigenous people did not belong to Hindu caste system but they were also kept in the second position. They were further divided into 'unenslavable' and 'enslavable'. Tamang, Bhote, Chepang, Gharti, Hayu, Majhi, Danuwar, Kumal, Tharu, Meche and Pahari were placed in the 'enslavable' category.

house parliament, and in civil service. For instance, women never gained more than six percent of the seats in the lower and upper house of representatives, though women were also sometime directly appointed by the King in his favour (DFID and the World Bank 2006: 30). Neupane (2000) gives concrete examples of various social groups' representation in government and administration which is dominated by Hindu Bahun and Chhetri men. This example shows that the marginalised communities were neither received a significant position in legislative power nor in the administration.

Prince Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev became King after the royal massacre in June 2001; however, Nepal's political situation turned into unpleasant. In 2005, King Gyanendra dissolved parliament in order to gain control over the Maoist's insurgency². Thus the King took over political and administrative power ruling through autocracy, while the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) [CPN (Maoist)] insurgency was escalating. Neither political parties nor CPN (Maoist) alone could overthrow the tyrannical rule of the monarch. The monarchy became a common opponent for both the political parties and CPN (Maoist). On the 22nd November 2005 a Seven Party Alliance (SPA)³ met and decided to strongly support the CPN (Maoist)'s Twelve Points Agreement—the foundation of the People's Movement II. This led to the political agitation of 2006 against the direct and undemocratic rule of King Gyanendra. Thousands of people came to the street in different district headquarters, while millions of people fully participated in the Kathmandu valley holding banners of not only supporters of political parties but also different associations, civil rights, and indigenous organisations. The major demands written in the banners were to end the autocratic rule of King Gyanendra and to establish inclusive democracy by declaring a secular state. After a 19-day-long peaceful street movement, the SPA eventually forced the King to accept that sovereignty belonged to the Nepali people. King Gyanendra reinstated the old Nepal House of Representatives on the 24th April 2006 with an address to the SPA, giving them the responsibility of taking the nation towards unity and prosperity. After the Interim Government was formed, Nepal was declared a secular state. This declaration satisfied those indigenous communities who experienced discrimination based on Hindu socio-cultural values. However, the concept of caste still existed practically that affects social behaviour of people. Before discussing this issue, it will be worthwhile to review the history of exclusion in civil service.

Exclusion in the civil service

This section reviews the historical background of the exclusion of indigenous communities since the formation of Nepal as a state. King Prithivi Narayan Shah adopted

² CPN (Maoist) started their People's War on 13 February 1996 with the aim of overthrowing the constitutional monarchy and establishing a 'People's Republic.

³ SPA are including Nepali Congress, Nepali Congress (Democratic), Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist), Nepal Workers and Peasants Party, Nepal Goodwill Party (Anandi Devi), United Left Front, and People's Front.

the policy that only certain caste group families should be given administrative employment namely: Panta, Bohora, Khanal, Aryal, Pandey, and Rana– the first four are Bahuns and the last two are Chhetris (Bishwakarma 2008: 44-45) which reveals that Janajatis, Madhesis, and Dalits were excluded from the state apparatus. In addition, during his Nepal unification period, King Prithivi Narayan Shah captured the communal lands of many indigenous peoples that further contributed to their economic deprivation. Therefore, many indigenous nationalities including Tamang, Rai, and Gurung demonstrated resistance as their land was seized (Gurung 2008).

During the Rana rule, civil service and military posts in administration were only opened for Ranas (Agrawal 1976). The Public Service Commission (PSC) was first introduced in 1951 that aimed to select meritorious candidates required by government in vacant posts. Nevertheless, with the emergence of a party-less Panchayat system in 1960, civil service was affected by practices of nepotism which were deeply rooted and which ran along caste lines. This also affected Nepal's development process (Bista 1991).⁴

The issue of reservations in the civil service was not introduced even after the restoration of democracy in 1990. The largest political parties also ignored the issue of reservations within their political organisations. However, inclusion and reservation issues were introduced into public debate with the initiation of Maoist's People War in 1996. Since then the discourse of inclusion entered into politics and was taken up by government, academicians, and aid agencies. With bringing the poverty alleviation as a sole objective, the Tenth Plan (2002-2007) states that affirmative action will adopt to increase the women's participation in the civil service. This guiding principle clearly shows that there is no any policy for other disadvantaged groups in civil service; however, there is a principle under the theme of 'targeted programmes' which aim to empower disadvantaged group while addressing social exclusion (National Planning Commission 2003). Presenting his paper on international conference in Nepal, Pradhan (2003) notes that Social Science Baha helped to bring the concept of inclusive democracy and it become popular discourse in Nepal; however, Bhattachan (2009) claims that such issues were raised even before. He writes that he has been writing exclusion issue since the 1995 and now several scholars are contributing significantly both in conference and academic writings (See details page from 23 to 32). Accordingly, the Social Inclusion Research Fund (SIRF) brought huge research project for professional and student researchers to understand and enhance knowledge on social exclusion and inclusion in Nepal. The research started from 2006 to 2011 which produced different thematic issues on social exclusion and inclusion. The People Movement of 2006 opened the door to build an inclusive nation; however, some very important issues such as identity and

⁴ According to Bista, priests are high caste Hindus who advise Hindu norms and rules to local, regional, and national leaders. These norms and rules appear to be guided by Hindu religious terms, which discourage hard work, responsible utilisation of precious time, and in turn effect societal development.

inclusion in the state organ remained unchanged despite the fact of socio-political transformation in the history. Therefore, two different movements were reorganized through protest and mass demonstration in 2007 lead by Janajatis and Madheshis which further contributed to a discourse of inclusion (Ajit 2008: 2-3).

Social inequality in general administration

The Civil Service is one of the largest employers in Nepal. However inequalities can be seen among the many caste and ethnic groups.⁵ Table 1 illustrates higher level civil service position that except the Newar Janajati, all marginalised groups including Janajatis, Madhesis, Dalits, and women are underrepresented compared to their national population ratio. The Bahuns, whose national population is 12.74%, hold almost sixth times (72%) in civil service. Accordingly, the Newars account for the second position (7.14%) and the Chhetris comprise the third position (15.89%) in civil service which is slightly up contrast to national population ratio. The representation of remaining caste and ethnic group in this prestigious position is almost negligible.

Table 1: Percentage of caste/ethnic group representation in special and gazette class⁶

S.N.	Caste/Ethnicity	Population	Representation
1	Bahuns	12.74	72.00
2	Chhetris	15.80	15.89
3	Newar Janajatis	5.48	7.14
4	Non-Newar Janajatis ⁷	30.83	1.64
5	Madheshis	12.32	1.17
6	Dalits	14.99	0.67
7	Muslims	4.27	0.1
8	Others	3.57	1.39
Total		100	100

Employment and promotion in the civil service are markers of social prestige in Nepal. Everyone wishes to achieve such status, but the above table shows that a large number of marginalised groups are underemployed in the higher post of civil service. Many scholars and marginalised leaders argue that these discrepancies are because of the Hindu caste system, fatalism, and patriarchic values (Dangal 2005: 96), exclusionary educational policy and programmes, exclusionary selection criteria, low pool of potential indigenous nationality recruits, lack of 'source and force', and low salary scales (Bhattachan 2005: 99), state's dominant norms and values (Lawoti 2005: 108). There may

⁵ According to Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) 2001, there are recorded 103 castes/ethnicities, 92 languages, and 8 religions in Nepal.

⁶ Source: Ministry of General Administration: Department of Civil Personnel Records, 2010

⁷ In 2002, the Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities has classified the 59 indigenous groups based on their distinct languages, cultures, beliefs and knowledge systems. Newar is one those Janajatis who significantly represents in the state organs compare to other Janajatis.

accordingly, be several reasons for social exclusion in the civil service, as discussed below.

The first is perhaps lack of fair competition in recruitment and promotion of applicants. This is due to two factors: first, when people are living below the poverty line, they may choose to earn money to sustain their daily lives. As described earlier, many indigenous people were deprived of their communal lands during the period of state formation, they remained in poverty. In such a situation, people have limited access to education which affects on the national literacy status as well. For example, Tamang people who have been living throughout the centuries surrounding capital of Nepal, their literacy rate are only 27.8% in 1991 and 51.8% in 2001 which is below the average literacy rate (Gurung 2004:54). The literacy rate might also affect by the state's one-language policy institutionalised in Panchayat democracy (1960 to 1990) and might affect by the dropout the school. DFID and The World Bank summary report outlines that the major cause of such dropout among the Janajati and Tarai people are the absence of a curriculum representative of Nepal's ethno-linguistic composition and only few teachers speak local language to assist children to understand the lessons toughed in Nepali. The report further argues that 52 percent of Nepalis do not speak Nepali as their mother tongue which puts non-Nepali speakers at a disadvantage in terms of access to education (DFID and The World Bank 2006: 80). Therefore, low literacy rate directly or indirectly affects on the number of applicants and eventually hindering in employment opportunities.

Limbu (2009), a researcher for Social Inclusion Research Fund, identifies two reasons for a low number of applicants in a civil service. One is a weakness of the government and the other is an internal weakness within the indigenous community. The former one includes interface/internal colonisation of Hindu based culture/linguistic, curriculum, and questionnaires, lack of political access, centralise examination system, and ignorance to an inclusive policy while latter one reasons include; a lack of information, low education, less interest in public service commission but interested and attracted to join foreign military services (i.e. British and Indian Army), lack of confidence, and felling of shyness. Second, it is often heard and said that promotion in the civil service is effected through social networks (Bista 1991; Dangal 2005; Nepal 2007; and Pokhrel 2007), in which poor people hold little social capital and in this social network, as defined Bourdieu, resources are accrued by virtue of membership in a group (Wacquant 2008: 268). In social networks, Bista particularly uses the words 'Afno Manche' or one's own people, to discriminate on the basis of family and relatives, caste, and social relations which produce social exclusion for outside people and benefit only privileged members of the community. Similarly, Dangal frequently refers to Bista's words in his dissertation and extends this by using bribery, political connections, and influence through personal position (Dangal 2005: 55-60). The authors, Nepal and Pokhrel, both are government officers who also silently speak that the bureaucracy of Nepal under the serious pressures of political climate to represent political executives and use civil service to accomplish

their goals (Nepal 2007 95-96; Pokhrel 2007 155). To avoid such practice, Pokhrel recommends for separate organisational arrangements to protect civil service from nepotism and favouritism. Similarly, the next reason for fewer applicants in the vacancy of civil service is due the less interested in applying due to lack of guidance and uneducated parents. They may even fear that they have fewer chances to pass the PSC examination, and therefore seek other sources of income. Members of some groups with histories of army recruitment like Gurung, Magar, Rai, and Limbu are also more interested to join the British, Indian, and Singapore Armies. Further, Gurung (2007: 13) argues that the state itself introduced lahure culture or recruited in British army because British Government was influenced with the performance of the Gurkhas in First and Second World War.

Table 2 presents that out of the total civil service population of 73,004, the percentage of women is only 8544 (11.70%). It is lowest in the Gazetted Special Class with only 45 (2.22%) and the highest in Non-Gazetted Third Class with 2821 (33.66 %) which reveals that the males occupy the post of director general who have delegate or all the power conferred by the Act. Overall, the below Table shows that women's participation in the civil service does not reveal an encouraging trend as women have limited chances of promotion to the decision making level. It is perhaps because they have to compete with large number of their male-counterparts for limited number of positions, and the promotion system depends upon their performance evaluation in postings to different geographical regions. This might be problematic for women as they have fewer chances to go to such regions due to conventional Hindu/patriarchal cultural values that limit women's mobility. Women are not limited to only fulfilling domestic and parental roles. However, they are limited insofar as they are systematically treated as junior members in the society. Further, if women are outside of their family for a number of days, society raises questions on her moral ethics. These all reflect the dominance of males over the power structures, thus creating an unjust social system.

Table 2: Gender and post wise representation in civil service⁸

Post Level	Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female %	Total %
Gazetted	8195	434	8629	94.97	5.03	11.82
Special Class	44	1	45	97.78	2.22	0.06
Gazetted First	306	11	317	96.53	3.47	0.43
Gazetted Second	1849	66	1915	96.55	3.45	2.62
Gazetted Third	5996	356	6352	94.40	5.60	8.70
Non-Gazetted	35200	6686	41886	84.04	15.96	57.37
Non Gazetted First	12548	1485	14033	89.42	10.58	19.22
Non Gazetted Second	15940	2334	18274	87.23	12.77	25.03
Non Gazetted Third	5559	2821	8380	66.34	33.66	11.48

⁸ Source: Ministry of General Administration, Department of civil personnel records, 2009.

Non Gazetted Forth	1153	46	1199	96.16	3.84	1.64
Class Less	21065	1424	22489	93.67	6.33	30.81
Grand Total	64460	8544	73004	88.30	11.70	100.00

Social inequality in the judicial service

There are three courts in Nepal: Supreme, Appellate, and District. Table 3 illustrates the unequal representation of judges of various caste and disadvantaged groups in court apexes.

Table 3: Caste/ethnic/gender representation in judicial service⁹

Caste	Supreme Court		Appellate Court		District Court	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Bahun	9	1	64	3	91	2
Chhetris	3	1	21	1	18	0
Newars	2	0	5	1	7	1
Janajatis	1	0	4	0	6	0
Madhesis	2	0	8	0	5	0
Dalits	0	0	1	0	0	0
Muslims	1	0	1	0	1	0
Others	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	18	2	104	5	128	3

This table highlights two major inequalities within caste groups and between men and women. There are 18 judges in the Supreme Court. 90% are male and 50% of total judges are Bahuns. These trends of male judges are even higher in the appellate courts (95.41%) and district courts (97.78%). The presence of Dalits and Muslims are almost entirely absent in judicial service. Similarly, there are only 10%, 4.58%, and 2.29% female judges in Supreme Court, Appellate Court and District Court respectively, which is a paltry number reflecting gender hierarchy in social status. Such an enormous inequality in the courts might contribute to reproducing traditional gender roles; patriarchal social norms, rules, and values; and stereotypes about women which further women and their issues pushed into social exclusion.

Social inequality in the Nepal Army

Table 4 and 5 illustrate the representation of caste, ethnicity, and Dalits in the organisation of Nepal Army. Table 4 shows that Chhetris have occupied 40.92% of positions in the Nepal Army. The second largest groups are Magars, Newars, Thakuris, and Gurungs which account for 10.26%, 6.19%, 4.21, and 3.52% respectively. Interestingly, the Bahuns, who are otherwise predominant in all state sectors, have relatively low representation in the Nepal Army compared to their national population.

⁹ Source: Annual report of Supreme Court 2009

The Dalits and other Janajatis excluding Newars, Magars, and Gurung are also underrepresented. Overall, Chhetri and Thakuri, who are also belong to Chhetri category, were prioritised in the national army historically, perhaps since the civil code of 1854 categorises Chhetris as warriors.

While reviewing Table 4, the cause of exclusion might be the state’s guiding policy as these communities revolted against Gorkha state expansion. Tamang people did not aid Gorkha soldiers during the war between China and the Gorkha state in 1791-1792 and the state also did not receive help from the Madheshi community during the war between Nepal and the British East India Company in 1816. Since then, the Madhesis were labeled ‘followers of British and adversary of Nepali’ and were not recruited into the army (Gaige 1975).

Table 4: Cast/ethnic group representation in Nepalese Army¹⁰

S.N.	Caste/ethnicity	Number	Percentage
1	Chhetris	37157	40.92
2	Janajatis (excluding Magars, Newars, and Gurung)	13925	15.33
3	Bahun	10527	11.59
4	Magars	9316	10.26
5	Newars	5623	6.19
6	Gurungs	3198	3.52
7	Dalits	5983	6.59
8	Thakuries	3819	4.21
9	Other	1260	1.39
Total		90808	100.00

Table 5 illustrates the representation of specific Dalit groups at the National level and within the Dalit community. This table can be summarised as follows: although a few Dalit groups including B. K. (37.26%), Damai (35.13%), and Sarki (16.85%) have significant representation, their national level representation is very nominal in proportional terms. The rest of the Dalits are almost absent in the Nepal army which show the inequalities within Dalit communities. This raises important questions about how to include Dalits at the national level in Nepal army.

Table 5: Dalits’ representation in the Nepalese Army¹¹

S.N.	Caste	Number	National level (%)	within Dalits (%)
1	B.K. (Metal worker)	2229	2.45	37.26
2	Damai (Tailor-Musician)	2102	2.31	35.13

¹⁰ Source: Nepal Army Headquarter 2010

¹¹ Source: Nepal Army Headquarter 2010

3	Sarki (Leather worker)	1008	1.11	16.85
4	Chyame/Ponde (Sweeper)	300	0.33	5.01
5	Nau	269	0.3	4.5
6	Badi (Music and Dance)	18	0.02	0.3
7	Kasai (Butcher)	20	0.02	0.33
8	Gandarva (Minstrel, Metal worker)	14	0.02	0.23
9	Dhobi (Washer Man)	13	0.01	0.22
10	Paswan (Alcohol Fermenter)	9	0.01	0.15
11	Raj Dhob	1	0	0.02
Total	5983	6.59	100	100

Social inequality in Nepal Police

The Nepal Police have a crucial role in maintaining law and order as well as providing security in the country. However, they have been criticised for succumbing to pressure from power centres such as political leaders, elites, and bureaucrats. In addition, the Nepal Police often exhibits prejudicial behaviour towards the Janajatis, Dalits, and Madhesis in comparison to high caste people (Rai 2008). Therefore, it is relevant to raise question for restructuring of the Nepal Police through affirmative action. Below Table 6 and 7 shows inequality in the Nepal Police both within caste/ethnic groups and sex differences.

Table 6: Caste and gender representation in Nepal Police¹²

S.N.	Caste/ethnic/gender	Number	Percentage
1	Bahun and Chhetris	21832	38.93
2	Janajatis	15941	28.43
3	Madhesis	9987	17.81
4	Dalits	4072	7.26
5	Women	3169	5.65
6	Others	1076	1.92
Total		56077	100.00

Table 7: Women representation in Nepal Police¹³

S.N.	Caste/ethnic groups	Number	Percentage
1	Bahun and Chhetris	1567	49.45
2	Janajatis	803	25.34
3	Madhesis	163	5.14
4	Dalits	213	6.72
5	Others	423	13.35
Total		3169	100.00

¹² Source: Nepal Police Headquarter 2010

¹³ Source: Nepal Police Headquarter 2010

The above two Tables show the representation of seven caste/ethnic/gender groups. This data illustrates that Bahun and Chhetri males and females are predominant in the Nepal Police. Although female representation (5.65%) is lower than male in general, Bahun/Chhetri women occupy a greater position (49.45%) compared to the women from disadvantaged groups. While Dalits make up about 15% of the total population, they maintain only 7.26% of police posts, and Dalit women only 6.72% of female posts. We can therefore see how the caste system is embedded not only in social and cultural practices, but also in the Nepali governance system. In informal chatting, many Dalits argue that they are still categorised as 'lower caste' and 'polluted', and that marrying with Dalits is still viewed as problematic both by indigenous communities and Bahun/Chhetri society¹⁴ and Dalits are still discriminated at present time based on their caste [Bhattachan, Sunar and Bhattachan (Gauchan) 2009] although caste-based untouchability was eliminated in National Code of 1963 and the sub-Article 4 of 1990 constitution stated that no one shall be discriminated on the basis of caste and creed in public, and in the use of public properties; indeed violators shall be punishable by law. The above table, however, also shows that Madeshis' inclusion is increasing in the security sector, as their share of 17.81% of posts which demonstrate overrepresentation in comparison to their total population. This shows the positive development of Madeshis community which might have contributed from the inclusive slogan of People's Movement 2006 and as stated earlier and the Madhesh protest of 2007.

Affirmative action and policy implementation

Affirmative action is one of the frameworks to address structural inequalities and ensure that all qualified applicants are equally employed without discrimination in terms of caste, ethnicity, religion, colour, and gender. DFID and The World Bank (2006) state that 'affirmative action seeks to correct historical disadvantages and unfair discrimination by enabling access to full opportunity and benefits to the groups that have been excluded' (DFID and The World Bank 2006: 91). This definition highlights on the two meanings: one which addresses the past injustice and other focuses on opportunity for advantage which are important initiation in social inclusion for marginalised communities.

The concept of affirmative action was first introduced by Lyndon Johnson in June 1965 to provide equal opportunity for African Americans. The current trend shows that affirmative action has become an important concern in South Asian countries to provide equal opportunities to all. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2003) reports that in South Asia we find educational reservations for women

¹⁴ The government of Nepal initiated a policy in July 2009 to reduce caste discrimination by offering 1,00,000 NRS to newly-wed inter-caste couples. However, cases from Dailekh, Myagdi and Salyan districts prove that there was still discrimination since newly-wed couples were still stigmatised and did not receive the promised incentive, despite their pleas to the police and administration.

in Bangladesh, 33% government quota open up the political space to women in Pakistan, and reservations for women, Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes in India.

In Nepal, as stated at the beginning, affirmative action was first introduced in the Communist government's budget speech of July 1995 that categorised 16 social groups as 'oppressed classes' including 11 low castes. The government budget referred to 12 'oppressed groups' of which 8 were low castes (Gurung 2005: 6). In 2003, Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa announced reservations for women (20%), Dalits (10%) and Janajatis (5%) in the civil service. To develop the mechanism of reservation policy, a committee was formed under the chairmanship of Finance Minister Prakash Chandra Lohani in 2004; however, it was not successful due to political and government instability. The government formed after the 'People's Movement of 2006' decided to launch affirmative action by providing quotas for vacant posts.¹⁵

Affirmative action: A mechanism for equal opportunity

Affirmative action facilitates compensation for past injustice. In addition, it is a framework which promotes equal opportunities by implementing policies such as reservations and quotas. The Civil Service Act (second amendment) 2007 provides 45% reservation to disadvantaged groups, while 55% of applicants are to be selected through open competition.¹⁶ It is worthwhile to note here that the Civil Service Act also got responsibility to consult appointment and promotion of the Military Service, Armed Police Service, and Police Service. In the past, Military service was completely separated from the PSC authority and recruitment and selection process of police service were separate provisions as per the police regulations (Dikshit 2007:128; 131).

The PSC advertised their first inclusive civil service vacancy announcement on 12 December 2007 in the Gorkhapatra daily news paper.¹⁷ The table below presents the number of different disadvantaged groups recommended 206 in 2010 and 329 in 2011. Although these applicants were only recommended from central office who participated for their final interview in Kathmandu, this implication of reservation policy impacts on Nepal's nation building process significantly. The inclusion of such candidates in Nepal's civil service is not just consist of various caste and ethnic groups but more importantly they represent the Nepal's cultural diversity who have distinct language, religion, culture, and knowledge. While reviewing the annual reports of PSC, there were no inclusive result

¹⁵ While reviewing Gorkhapatra Daily Newspaper, it shows that quotas have not only been announced in the civil service, but also opened in several government and public-private organisation bodies around the same time. Nevertheless, I found no reservation advertisements were found for private industries.

¹⁶ The reservation seats of 45 % is classified for various social and regional groups. This is further categorizes 33% for women, followed by indigenous communities 27%, Madeshi 22 %, Dalits, 9% disabled people 5%, and the backward regions (people from economically and socially backward zone) 4% (Bhatta 2009; PSC reports).

¹⁷ This advertisement announced 280 vacant posts for various caste and social groups namely: women (45), Janajatis, (29), Madhesis (20), Dalits (11), Backward Zone (2), Disable (2), Non-technical (29) and open competition (142).

was published in 2008 and 2009; however, there were numbers of vacancy announced for the inclusive groups. Annual reports show that 928 were opened in the reservation seat in 2008 and 365 seats were in 2009 respectively. These vacancy posts were increased by 1431 in 2010 and 1086 in 2011 which show the direction of inclusive nation in Nepal's bureaucracy. The PSC's annual report also reveals that women's applications were significantly increased every year after the implication of civil service Act. In 2006 and 2007, women applicants were only 22.82% and 23.32% while their applications numbers in 2008, 2009, 2010, and 2011 were 38.51%, 37.67%, 47%, and 44% respectively.

Table 8: Recommendation of disadvantaged groups in civil service¹⁸

Disadvantaged groups	2010		2011	
	Final result	Percentage	Final result	Percentage
Women	86	41.75	114	34.65
Janajati	59	28.64	94	28.57
Madhesis	36	17.48	76	23.10
Dalits	10	4.85	17	5.17
Disable person	9	4.37	14	4.26
Backward Zone	6	2.91	14	4.26
Total	206	100.00	329	100.00

Similarly, the Armed Police Force opened its first inclusive vacancy on 8 January 2008 and the Nepal Police made its announcement on 12 January 2008 respectively. These advertisements were a great opportunity for representation from various social and caste groups in Nepal's civil service, police and armed police forces. Table 9 illustrates the inclusion of various caste/ethnic groups in the Nepal Police through the implementation of affirmative action.

Table 9: Assistant Sub-Inspector post recruitment in Nepal Police¹⁹

S.N.	Disadvantaged Groups	Reservation Seats		Passed Applicants in examination	Final Result
		Total Applicants	Required Seats		
1	Women	292	11	4	4
2	Janajatis	485	19	22	22
3	Madhesis	392	16	11	11
4	Dalits	132	9	11	11

¹⁸ Source: Public Service Commission Reports

¹⁹ Source: Police Headquarter: Department of human resource development; Recruitment and selection unit. Kathmandu: Naxal, April 2010

5	Backward Zones	43	3	5	5
6	Open	3075	72	96	81 ²⁰
Total		4419	130	149	134

After the reservation act was legislated by the government, the Armed Police Force, the Department of Human Resource Development, held three exams for the post of Followers, Constables, Sub-Inspectors and Inspector until 2010. Table 10 highlights the Constable post as an example of recruitment status of women, Janajatis, Madhesis, Dalits and people from Backward Zones.²¹

Table 10: Caste/ethnic groups recruitment in Armed Police Force²²

Disadvantaged Group	Total Applicant	Required Applicant	Accepted Applicant
Women	2895	144	144
Janajatis	740	230	215
Madhesis	835	202	202
Dalits	451	108	98
Backward Zone	56	36	34
Total	4977	720	693

Tables 9 and 10 illustrate the inclusion of various social/caste/ethnic groups in the security forces. This is a relatively positive outcome not only for representation, but to ensure that the security forces control riots and mass movements in a peaceful way and providing service to the public. For example, if a riot occurred in the Madhes community, the Madhesi security forces may address and understand the problem differently in contrast to non-Madhese security forces. Despite this significant improvement of inclusion in civil service, there are many remaining issues surrounding affirmative action in Nepal.

Debates and discussions

Affirmative action does not only encourage diverse applicants in different types of professions, but also increases their chances of employment. It creates an environment for new opportunities for historically disadvantaged groups and tries to address past

²⁰ According to the department of human resource development, 12 disadvantaged groups namely Janajati (Newar 3 and non-Newar 4), Madhesi (1), Dalits (3), and backward zone (1) were also passed in the written examination of open competition; however, 3 of them did not participate in the final interview.

²¹ It is an important to note that reservation groups work principally based on women at the first chance and subsequently goes to Janajatis, Madhesis, Dalits and backward zones in case any applicant fails in the interview. For example, Dalits were only passed by 98 applicants where required number is 108, thus first chance goes to the women.

²² Source: Armed Police Force 2010. Department of human resource development, recruitment and selection unit, Kathmandu

injustice. Through this policy, a country can represent greater diversity in the governance structure. However, the reservation policy is limited and lack of meaningful participation because there is no reservation provision in special class and higher level post in civil service and security forces. Special and higher level posts are important because it has important roles in decision making, implementing government's plans and policy, and closely tie up with the government Ministers who have also significant roles to change the society. Table 1 and 2 remind us that important posts are hold by Bahuns, Chhetris, Newars, and male civil servants; therefore, affirmative action need to be brought the qualitative changes in their various post. Although Table 8, 9, and 10 illustrate the encouraging trend of reservation policy, it might not be to accept as significant change of affirmative action. Therefore, along with the numbers of representation, the roles of various disadvantaged groups also receive the key posts in their designation. Nonetheless, affirmative action remains a controversial issue among the different scholars in Nepal.

Tamang (2008) outlines that although affirmative action has been initiated, there is still a lack of transparency since the clause remains that 'No question shall be raised in any court as to whether provisions contained in this Part are implemented or not' (Tamang 2008: 138; UNDP 2008: 92). It is my reflections that while I visited PSC in order to collect the information of applicants, few PSC (officers) seemed to be ignorant of the issue of inclusion in the civil service. When officers themselves disregard the issue of inclusion, it might affect on nation building process while all Nepali are debating to create New Nepal.

The next debate is about reservation policy, which ensures 45% to the disadvantaged groups and 55% goes to open competition. It would be more benefit if the government first selected candidates from the open competition and then determined the quotas. If remains the same clause, the first priority is given to reservation seats which seems as if the 55% is reserved for Bahun/Chhetri candidates (Bishwakarma 2008: 48) which makes slow process of social inclusion. These two scholars have suggested that current reservation policy be reformed along these lines, while others believe that reservation policy is overwhelmingly problematic in Nepal (Khanal 2007; Toffin 2007; Middleton and Shneiderman 2008; and Lohani and Baidya 2009).

As illustrated above in Table 8, 9, and 10, the reservation policy contributed to recruit various disadvantaged groups through which Nepal is creating more inclusive in the state's apparatus and the state's policy is distributing benefit sharing among the Nepali citizens. Despite this fact, the reservation policy is under critique in several ways as it may destroy the merit based system in civil service (Khanal 2007), highlighting the issue of economic class, and all the disadvantaged groups put into a single homogenous category. The class issue is an important in reservation policy because the elite applicants of the disadvantaged group might more benefit which create dominant class within ethnic communities. Toffin (2007) suggests that quotas should not only be in caste and tribe categories but also focus on economic criteria. Bringing the lessons learned from France

and India, he argues that the poorest, who holds most disadvantaged groups, have to benefit from reservation policy and not the creamy layers' from so-called backward groups. Creamy layers, according to Deshpande (2011), they are the more advanced backward castes who are grown up in cosmopolitan setting than rural countryside and their parents are economically and educationally better off. They took advantage from reservation policy as it was based on the caste identity. This experience of India suggests that caste is not only one factor for reservation policy. Similarly, Middleton and Shneiderman (2008) highlight that although affirmative action is an absolute necessity in Nepal, the benefit of this policy should focus on the long-term interest of the marginalised communities and the nation state as a whole. Since apparatus of India's welfare state suffer under the demands of its own reservations system, Nepal also think carefully about its own infrastructural limitations when implementing affirmative action.

Lohani and Baidya (2009) recommend that those group who possess a Human Development Index (HDI) indicator over the average level, should not hope for reservations and quotas, rather they should participate in the competition.²³ Such kinds of issues have not been addressed by affirmative action in Nepal. But this argument also does not address all people who live in poverty. For instance, Newars may hold the highest aggregate HDI, but low-caste Newars such as Chamars would not be acknowledged by this metric. Therefore, affirmative action policy should also address economic and social variation within each group.

Another critique of affirmative action questions the implementation of reservations based on caste/ethnic and backward zones. This may create inequalities among people and within the reservation groups. Experiences of affirmative action in India suggest that it has failed to respond to structural discrimination, rather creating social stratification within the OBCs, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and promoting social inequality. Teltumbde (2010) argues that that the issue of land rights has been neglected, with most attention given to education and public employment. As a result, reservation policy has failed to fully address the Dalit issue in India.²⁴ A similar situation might occur in Nepal creating and recreating middle classes within each group if affirmative action does not serve the neediest people. Since reservations are implemented based on the merit system, it might be more beneficial to those who come from elite groups, including educated families, political leaders, and rich families, within the "disadvantaged" group. Many candidates emerge from private education, but economically poor students do not have access to obtain such quality education. Good education should be provided for all in order to create equal opportunities.

²³ The Human Development Report 2009 shows that there is unequal human development index (HDI) among the various caste groups. The Newar has hold a highest position (0.616), followed by Bahuns/Chhetris 0.552, indigenous nationalities 0.494, Madhesi 0.448, Dalits 0.424 and Muslim 0.401 (UNDP 2009:44).

²⁴ Anand Teltumbde, an independent Indian researcher, presented his paper at JNU, India in September 9-11, 2010 entitled '*Reservations within Reservations: A Case Study of Sub-Castes*'.

Similarly, some people argue that disadvantaged groups themselves do not participate in civil service competitions. Obviously, this is true but it is also necessary to review which social caste groups and genders were able to obtain education. The history of social exclusion reveals that many disadvantaged groups were not able to send their children to school due to poverty; and many students dropped out due to language barriers. This resulted in a low number of marginalised groups attending civil service exams, since many of them were not aware of civil service opportunities.

There are also questions about poor Bahuns and Chhetris²⁵ concerning why reservations are only provided for disadvantaged groups. Here, it should be understood that reservations are provided as compensation for those groups who were excluded historically, socially, culturally, economically, politically, and regionally. In addition, giving reservation to disadvantaged groups denote the social justice for those communities. Denying such social justice is creating a new form of social inequality which contributes for social exclusion. For example, it might presume that giving reservation in the lower post and involve politics and nepotism in promoting higher level of post for Bahun/Chhetri in civil service. Fraser (2005: 73) explains parity of participation as a social justice through social arrangements which permit all to participate as peers in social life. For her, injustice denotes institutional obstacle that prevent from social interaction which eventually create misrecognition. It might say that social interactions are necessary for social justices which are inseparable from each other. In this sense, interacting diverse views of different people in civil service also signify the social justice. However, there is also concern about poverty and economic class in the society, but the most important fact is that even poverty is reduced or eradicated through state policy; there is still discriminatory behaviour towards disadvantaged groups although caste discrimination act was formulated nearly 50 years ago. With this caste of mind which affect in the civil service in condition that a Dalit candidate has a lower chance for promotion in the same post because of the untouchability concept, a Buddhist Janajati candidate may have less respect while working in the same office because of their different religion, and a woman may not be nominated for promotion because of existing patriarchal thought. The paper also argues that giving reservation in government vacancy posts is not only a foundation for economic class in near future but also include all caste, ethnic, religious, and minorities in the government's plans and programmes through civil service. This way, they feel ownership of the state, social justice, and demonstration of good governance. Further, UNESCO's doctrine awakes us that prejudice relating to human diversity is the main cause of war. The doctrine states that 'Ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war' (Stoczkowski 1945: 2). It also highlights that only economic develop-

²⁵ Khas Chhetires are also demanding to government to enlist in indigenous category.

ment is insufficient to address the human diversity because economic development is threat for culture survival. This suggests us to preserve cultural heritage through which a new humanity can be developed. Therefore, if affirmative action is for ensuring equal status, respect caste and ethnic diversity, then individuals must view equally all caste, religion, culture, gender, regional, and minority groups.

Conclusion and recommendation

The central argument of this paper is that all qualified candidates should get an equal opportunity while recruiting for new posts through affirmative action and assessing promotions in government jobs without any ethnic/gender/regional prejudices because, as discussed earlier, there are still chances to select someone favour's candidate while promoting their posts and giving interviews for a new job in civil service. Moreover, there is needed to be brought the inclusive provision in the senior level of posts in all government's apparatus so that we can create a just society. Giving only reservation in the junior posts does not reflect the full meaning of inclusion policy. When we practice inclusion policy in all aspects, this helps for national unity because everyone feels ownership from the state.

Another important aspect of affirmative action is creating a social respect which must be developed in private and public spheres by avoiding discriminatory social and cultural values. We can expand social respect in couple of ways. First, state should review all existing unfair cultural practices and revise laws and policies by ensuring social solidarity in which community they are living. Second, there are significant roles of school institutions where students interact directly with schools' curriculums based on the state's policies; therefore, school lessons should include the feature of cultural diversities which reflect the real picture of Nepal. Third, our behavioural actions are based on what we learned from our society or state's policy. Ignoring someone based on the caste, ethnicity, religion, class, region, and gender express the form of humiliation and misrecognition which people put into social exclusion. Further, misrecognition or non-recognition can be harm and injustice, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being (Taylor 1994). Therefore, respecting other or respect to elder and love to junior, which we are also socialised in schools, and acknowledging cultural diversity itself create the environment to respect other's personality. Finally, we are also responsible for addressing social respect because we produce social or anthropological knowledge which should come from the daily practices of the people. If such knowledge produces a dilemma among the people, and does not address cultural diversity, the behavioural practices affect their everyday lives, the place where they work, and their future careers as well. Therefore, affirmative action is not only about providing quotas and reservations according to laws and policies to reduce significant inequalities between caste and disadvantaged groups; it is also about how we develop a 'culture of respect' towards each other in organisations, institutions, and associations, enabling a diverse range of

people to respond to each vacancy announcement independently. To make an inclusive society, this paper presents the following recommendations: Firstly, disadvantaged groups living in poverty should receive a free higher education or scholarship reservation because education enables a person to act rationally in competitive environments for future opportunities. In addition, the government should provide for basic human needs such as health and food so that disadvantaged groups from economically poor communities can spend their money on children's education. Along with education, teachers should teach social and cultural attitudes in a gender friendly environment from the primary school level. Although people are highly educated, they continue to reproduce traditional norms, rules, belief systems and discriminatory cultural thoughts. These values often restrict women's mobility outside the family and Janajatis, Madhesis, and Dalits are treated as 'other'. Therefore, these kinds of prejudicial social rules need to be ended, while promoting affirmative action. If we fail to provide a sense of social dignity and remove bigotry from the public and private spheres, group distinctions will be reproduced and people will continue to question who benefits from affirmative action.

Secondly, several programmes such as awareness, motivation, inspiration, and capacity-building should be brought to those groups who are still underrepresented in the civil service. These programmes might be introduced by the Ministry of Women, Children and Social Welfare, Civil Society, concerned organisations of disadvantaged groups, and INGOs. These kinds of trainings can help candidates to extend their confidence levels in competing for the civil service.

Thirdly, there should be a liberal policy towards language for Janajatis and Madhesis. In doing so, marginalised social and caste groups may have more chances to be represented in the civil service.

Finally, reservation seats should be given to those disadvantaged groups that hold a HDI below the average, and those that hold above the average level should participate in open competitions. There should be at least a district-wise assessment of HDI of different caste and ethnic groups, on the basis of which reservations should be implemented from the district level. Further, affirmative action should not be practiced forever, but continue only until Nepal's various groups are proportionally represented in the country's civil service because the future goal of affirmative need to focus on every individual rights to participate in the civil service. 🙏

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Dr Sara Shneiderman and Dr Mukta Singh Lama for their invaluable suggestions, encouragement, and guidance supervisors while writing this paper. This article was originally prepared with the support of the British Academy partnership project, 'Inequality and Affirmative Action in South Asia: Current Experiences and Future Agendas in India and Nepal', through which I worked as a research fellow.

REFERENCES

- Agrawal, H. N. (1976), *The Administrative System of Nepal*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.
- Ajit, A. (2008), 'Samabeshikaranko Bahas Ra Prakriya' (Debates and Process of Inclusion), in A. Ajit, (ed.), *Samabeshikaran: Rajnitik dal, rajya ra media* (Inclusion: Political party, state and media), Kathmandu: Martin Chautari: 1-10
- Bhatta, B. (2009), 'Samabeshikaranko Baikalpik Upayaharu' (Alternative Way for Inclusion), *Gorkhaptra*, 17 August, p. 6
- Bista, D. B. (1991), *Fatalism and Development*, Delhi: Orient Longman
- Bishwakarma, H. (2008), 'Nijamati Shewama Samabeshikaran' (Inclusion in Civil Service), in A. Ajit (ed.), *Samabeshikaran: Rajnitik dal, rajya ra media* (Inclusion: Political party, state and media), Kathmandu: Martin Chautari: 41-69
- Bhattachan, Y. (2005), *ILO Convention 169 and Peace Building in Nepal*, in Sarah Webster and Om Gurung (eds.), *ILO Convention 169 and Peace Building in Nepal*, Kathmandu: Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFIN) and International Labour Office (ILO) Nepal
- Bhattachan, K. B. (2009), *Discourse on Social Exclusion and Inclusion in Nepal: Old wine in a new bottle: Social exclusion and inclusion in Nepal*, Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point and Social Inclusion Research Fund
- Bhattachan, K. B., Sunar, T. B., and Bhattachan (Gauchan), Y. K. (2009), *Cased-based Discrimination in Nepal*, in Thorat, S. and Jodhka, S. S. (eds.) *New Delhi: Indian Institute of Dalit Studies*, 3 (8)
- Center Bureau of Statistics (2007), *Statistical Year Book of Nepal 2007*, Kathmandu: National Planning Commission Secretariat, Center Bureau of Statistics
- Dangal, R. (2005), *Administrative Culture in Nepal: Does it reflect the dominant socio-cultural values of Nepal?* M. Phil thesis, Bergen: Department of Administration and Organisation Theory, University of Bergen
- Department for International Development (DFID) (2005), *Reducing poverty by tackling social exclusion: A DFID Policy Paper*. Department for International Development
- Deshpande, A. (2011), *The Grammar of Caste: Economic discrimination in contemporary India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press
- DFID & The World Bank (2006), *Unequal Citizens: Gender, caste and ethnic exclusion in Nepal*, Kathmandu: DFID and The World Bank
- Fraser, N. (2005), *Reframing Justice in a Globalizing World*, *New Left Review*, Vol. 36: 69-88.
- Gaige, F. (1975), *Regionalism and National Unity in Nepal*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press
- Gurung, H. (2004), *Social Demography of Nepal: Census 2001*, Lalitpur: Himal Books
- Gurung, H. (2005), 'The Dalit Context' in C. Ram Bahadur, B. Krishna Bahadur, and P. Binod (eds.), *Ocasional papers in sociology and anthropology*, Kathmandu: Central Department of Sociology and Anthropology, T.U., Kirtipur (9): 1-21
- Gurung, G. M. (2007), 'Curriculum of Public Service Commission: Inclusive or as it is?', *Kathamndu: Public Service Commission* 28 (2): 9-17
- Gurung, O. (2008), *Janajati Aandolan, Sambidhansabhako Nirbachan ra Tyasko Parinam* (Indigenous Nationalities Movement, Constitution Assembly Election and its result'), Accessed at http://www.nefin.org.np/component/docman/cat_view/101-articles/120-dr-om-gurung.html/ on 17 August 2010
- His Majesty's Government (2003). *National Planning Commission Nepal*. Kathmandu: His Majesty's Government

- Hachhethu, K. (2009), *State Building in Nepal: Creating a functional state*, Lalitpur: Enabling State Program
- Hofer, A. (2004, second edition), *The Caste Hierarchy and the State in Nepal: A study of the muluki ain of 1854*, Kathmandu: Himal Book
- Holmberg, D. H. (1989), *Order in Paradox: Myth, ritual, and exchange among Nepal's Tamang*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2003), *The Implementation of Quotas: Asian experience* (Quota Workshop Report Series. Jakarta, Indonesia 25 September 2002). Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
- Khanal, S. P. (2007), *The Role of The Public Service Commission in the Present Nepalese Scenario*, Kathmandu: Public Service Commission 28 (2): 174-198
- Lawoti, M. (2008), *Towards a Democratic Nepal: Inclusive political institutions for a multicultural society*, New Delhi: Sage Publication
- Limbu, P. (2009), *Inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities in Civil Service*, Gorkhapatra, 18 August, p.7
- Lohani, P. and Balagopal B. (2009), 'Samabeshikaran Garinuparne Samudayko Pahichan' (Identity of community to be enlisted in inclusion). *The Kantipur*, 11 August, p. 7
- Middleton, C. T. and Shneiderman, S. (2008), *Reservations, federalism and the politics of recognition in Nepal*. *Economic and Political Weekly* 43(19): 39-45
- Ministry of General Administration (2010), *Department of Civil Personnel Records*, Lalitpur: Government of Nepal, Ministry of General Administration
- Neupane, G. (2000), *Nepalko Jatiya Prashna: Samajik banot ra sajhedariko sambhawana* (Nepal's National Question: Social composition and possibilities of accommodation). Kathmandu: Center for Development Studies
- Nepal, B. R. (2007), *Revitalizing Nepalese Bureaucracy: Is public service commission ready to address new challenges?*, Kathmandu: Public Service Commission 28 (2): 82-109
- Nepal Police Headquarter (2010), *Department of Human Resource Development; Recruitment and Selection Unit*. Kathmandu: Naxal
- Pfaff-Czarnecka, J., Kristian, S. and Das, D. M. (2009), 'Introduction' in *Identity and society: Social exclusion and inclusion in Nepal*, Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point and Social Inclusion Research Fund: 1-10
- Pokhrel, L. M. (2007), *Redefining the Role of Public Service Commission in the Change Context in Nepal*, Kathmandu: Public Service Commission 28 (2): 153-166
- Rai, T. (2008), *Nepal Praharima Samabeshikarn* (Inclusion in Nepal Police), A. Ajit, (ed.), *Samabeshikaran: Rajnitik dal, rajya ra media* (Inclusion: Political party, state and media), Kathmandu: Martin Chautari: 71-94
- Stoczkowski, W. (2009), *UNESCO's Doctrine of Human Diversity "in Anthropology Today*, 25 (3): 7-11
- Tamang, M. S. (2008), 'Samanta, Sanghiyata ra Bahusanshkritik Rastrabad' (Equality, federalism and multiculturalism nationalism) in *Rajya punarsharachana'*, rajnitik, aarthik and sanshkritik dristikon (State restructure, political, economic and cultural perspective). Kathmandu: Martin Chautari (49): 105-158
- Tamang, P. (2006), *Tamang Jaati: Naya sahashrabdi bikas agenda* (Tamang nation: New millennium development), Kathmandu: Nepal Tamang Ghedung and Durga Bahadur Tamang Smriti Pratishtan
- Taylor, C. (1994), *The Politics of Recognition*, in Amy Gutmann, (ed.), *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 25-73

Teltumbde, A. (2010), 'Reservations within Reservations: A Case Study of Sub-Castes', paper presented in September 9-11 at JNU, India

United Nation Development Programme (2008), The Interim Constitution of Nepal 2063 (2007): As amended by the first to sixth amendments, Kathmandu: United Nation Development Programme

United Nation Development Programme (2009), Nepal Human Development Report 2009: State Transformation and Human Development, Kathmandu: United Nation Development Programme

Wacquant, L. (2008, second edition), Pierre Bourdieu. In Rob S., (ed.), Key Sociological Thinkers, New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 261-277
