ETHNICITY AND INEQUALITY:
DISTRIBUTION OF CAPABILITY, EMPLOYMENT AND OWNERSHIP

A CONTRIBUTION TO ETHNIC DEBATE IN NEPAL

A Dissertation
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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

We certify that this dissertation entitled **ETHNICITY AND INEQUALITY: DISTRIBUTION OF CAPABILITY, EMPLOYMENT AND OWNERSHIP: A CONTRIBUTION TO ETHNIC DEBATE IN NEPAL** was prepared by **Mr. Tika Ram Gautam** under our supervision and guidance. We hereby recommend this dissertation for final examination by the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in SOCIOLOGY.

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This dissertation entitled "**ETHNICITY AND INEQUALITY: DISTRIBUTION OF CAPABILITY, EMPLOYMENT AND OWNERSHIP: A CONTRIBUTION TO ETHNIC DEBATE IN NEPAL**" was submitted by **Mr. Tika Ram Gautam** for final examination by the research committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in SOCIOLOGY. I hereby certify that the research committee of the Faculty has found this dissertation satisfactory in scope and quality and has therefore accepted it for the degree.

December 31, 2013

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Ph.D. dissertation entitled "**Ethnicity and Inequality: Distribution of Capability, Employment and Ownership: A Contribution to Ethnic Debate in Nepal"** is submitted by me to the office of the Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan Univeristy, Nepal is an entirely original work prepared under the supervision and guidance of supervisor Prof. Dr. Chaitanya Mishra and co-supervisor Prof. Dr. Tulsi Ram Pandey. I have made due acknowledgements to all ideas and information borrowed from different sources in the course of wirting this dissertation. The result presented in this dissertation has not ever presented or submitted anywhere else for the award of any degree or for any other purposes. No part of the contents of this dissertation has ever been published in the form or a part of any book. I am solely responsible if any evidence is found against my declaration.

Tika Ram Gautam

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ABSTRACT

The study **Ethnicity and Inequality: Distribution of Capability, Employment and Ownership: A Contribution to Ethnic Debate in Nepal** is a focus on the theoretical concepts of and perspectives on ethnicity. It is both an examination of the distribution of access to resources and opportunities that relates to capability, employment and ownership across various ethnic groups and an exploration of inter- and intra- group inequality in Nepal.

The research problem of the study is theoretical identification of the key dimensions of inequality and an empirical exploration of inter- and intra-group inequalities across ethnic groups in Nepal.

Following the research problem, the study primarily examines the pattern of distribution of access to resources and opportunities specific to capability, employment and ownership across ethnic groups, and based on that explores inter- and intra- group inequality prevailing in Nepal.

Therefore**,** to meet these objectives, raw data sets were obtained from NLSS, 2011, available at CBS and NDHS, 2011, available at New ERA. After careful observation of the data sets, the variables defined under each of the objectives were identified. The independent and their subsequent dependent variables, in terms of distribution across ethnic groups, were: capability, which relates to education-literacy, educational status, type of schooling, level of education, health-illness, health status and nutrition of children; employment, which pertains to employment, underemployment and unemployment status, major sectors of employment; and ownership, which relates to various types of agricultural land, livestock, agricultural equipment, non-agricultural enterprises, house, size of dwelling unit and housing plot. The study has categorized hundred plus caste/ethnic groups recorded in both NLSS and NDHS data sets. They have been recoded into eight major categories and labeled as major ethnic groups. They include Chhetri, Brahman, Hill/Mountain Janajati, Tarai Janajati, Madhesi, Dalit, Newar and others. The data were put into the major statistical techniques of mean comparison, t-test, F-test and coefficient of variation.

Ethnicity, a highly debatable issue in Nepal, is a socio-historically constructed phenomenon in a particular historical context. The debate surrounding the issue gained currency, particularly, after the political changes of 1990 and 2006, which provided various platforms for people to be organized and demand for various rights, as is argued by Mishra, Wimmer and others. Concurrent to these claims of ethnicity and demands for rights, there have emerged various ethnicities like, Janajati, Madhesi, Dalit, Pahadiya, Brahman Samaj, and Chhetri Samaj in Nepal.

Capability, employment and ownership are important dimensions of inequality prevailing in all societies of the world and Nepal is no exception to this. Inequality, therefore, is the unequal distribution of access to resources and opportunities such as capability, employment and ownership. Primarily, access to opportunities, which enhances capability, has been unequally distributed across all ethnic groups of Nepal indicating strong intra-group differences with high coefficient of variation. There is variation among all ethnic groups in terms of access to different capability related variables such as educational level and type of schooling and health status. This variation can also be seen across inter- and intra-group situations indicating that the distribution does not follow a particular ethnic line. This only results into a difference in capability among individuals. Novel prize laureate Amartya Sen also has arrived at similar explanation.

Employment is another important dimension of inequality. Access to employment opportunities as it pertains to its types and sectors is also unequally distributed across all ethnic groups, and this unequal distribution is also reflected in both inter- and intra-group situations. All ethnic groups include individuals engaged in almost all sectors of employment. None of the ethnic groups has domination over all sectors of employment which indicates that distribution of access to resources also does not follow a particular ethnic line. Even Dalit and Tarai Janajati are represented in various employment sectors. For instance, the ratio of proportion of population engaged in officer level job to the proportion of eligible candidates is lowest among Brahman i.e. 1:3, which reveals a different picture as opposed to what is believed in contemporary Nepal. At the same time, this ratio among Newar, Madhesi and Chhetri is 1:2 and among H/M Janajati and Dalit, it is 3:4 which is higher compared to that of Brahman. It shows that the individuals have unequal access to employment, which provides them different social status. This is a phenomenon which Max Weber had pointed out long back.

Ownership is another important dimension of inequality, which includes here ownership of agricultural land, livestock, agricultural equipment, non-agricultural enterprise and house. Distribution of access to such productive resources and assets is also unequally made across ethnic groups in Nepal, because it varies from one variable to another and one ethnic group to another. Such unequal phenomenon across all ethnic groups has created significant differences between them and strong intra-ethnic inequality with high coefficient of variation. This has resulted into a division of Nepali people/households into two classes of haves and haves not, a process which has received significant space in Karl Marx.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADB	= Asian Development Bank
ANOVA	= Analysis of Variance
CA	= Constituent Assembly
CBS	= Central Bureau of Statistics
CDSA	= Central Department of Sociology/Anthropology
CNAS	= Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies
CV	= Coefficient of Variation
DADO	= District Agricultural Development Officer
DFID	= Department for International Development
DoE	= Department of Education
GDP	= Gross Domestic Production
H/M	= Hill/Mountain
HDI	= Human Development Index
HHs	= Households
JTAs	= Junior Technical Assistants
LFPR	= Labour Force Participation Rate
MOHP	= Ministry of Health and Population
MoE	= Ministry of Education
NDHS	= Nepal Demographic and Health Survey
NEFIN	= Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities
NESAC	= Nepal South Asia Centre
NHDR	= Nepal Human Development Report
NLSS	= Nepal Living Standard Survey
PFW	= Permanent Farm Workers
SD	= Standard Deviation
SHEP	= Second Higher Education Project
SIRF	= Social Inclusion Research Fund
SPSS	= Statistical Packages for Social Sciences
TU	=Tribhuvan University
UM	= Unweighted Mean
UNDP	= United Nations Development Programme

UNICEF	= United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	= United States Agency for International Development
WB	= World Bank
WHDR	= World Human Development Report
WHO	= World Health Organization
WM	= Weighted Mean

CHAPTER ONE

ETHNICITY AND ETHNIC DEBATE, AND CAPABILITY, EMPLOYMENT AND OWNERSHIP

Ethnicity and inequality, as two important issues, are at the core of current intellectual, political, economic and developmental discourses in Nepal. Ethnicity appears with wide variation in the construction of arguments, in the prevailing discourses. The discourses neither take into consideration inter- and intra-ethnic inequalities, nor are based on strong empirical evidences. The study, therefore, examines the distribution of access to resources and opportunities such as capability, employment and ownership among major ethnic groups of Nepal so as to delve into inter- and intra-group inequalities. Finally, it concludes that there is unequal distribution of access to resources and opportunities such as capability, employment and ownership between and within major ethnic groups depicting strong inequalities and differences with high coefficient of variation in Nepal. It highlights the fact that distribution of access to resources and opportunities does not follow a particular ethnic line.

Ethnicity[1] has remained at the core of intellectual and political inquiries in Nepal during the last two decades. It was one important discourse after the people's movement of 1990 (*Janaandolan* I) and, it took a new turn after the people's movement of 2006 (*Janaandolan* II). The debate over ethnicity received intensification from the election of first Constituent Assembly (CA) until its demise. With the constitution writing process, ethnicity was evoked in both constitutional provisions and state restructuring or federalization issues. Various ethnic groups including indigenous nationalities continuously put pressure on the first CA for constitutional provisions favouring their particular group rights such as

[1] The word ethnicity comes from the ancient Greek ethnos, which seems to have referred to a range of situations in which a collectivity of humans lived and acted together, and which is typically translated today as 'people' or 'nation (Jenkins, 2008, p. 10). Recently ethnicity has been taken as a matter of 'peoplehood' (Jenkins, 2008, p. 10). Ethnicity, however, is a term still obscure to the great majority of ordinary native speakers of English, and either justification or apology for its use is therefore suggested (Hutchinson & Anthony, 2009, p. 19). It is also a term that invites endless and fruitless definitional argument among those professional intellectuals who think that they know, or ought to know, what it means (Hutchinson & Anthony, 2009, p. 19).

priority rights, which would be exercised by a specific ethnic group rather than all citizens within their own ethnic provinces. The central focus of the ethnicity debate was over the bases (naming and provisions) of federalization. Since the issue of federalization is not the point here, the discussion continues with focus on ethnicity. Nonetheless, at the end of the day, the first CA members' debates and discussions boiled down to two models of federalization tied up with ethnicity: mono-ethnic and multi-ethnic/non-ethnic. The mono-ethnic model argues for single-ethnic identity based federal units or provinces like *Limbuwan, Tamuwan, Tamsaling,* and *Magarat.* The model essentializes ethnicity and evokes the structure of single-ethnic federalization. The multi-ethnic model argues for multi-ethnic identity-based federalization with reasons that the problems of inequality, discrimination, injustice, and exclusion can only be addressed with federalization based on availability of resources and opportunities. However, the former mono-ethnic model of federalization drew considerable attention of all ethnic communities in Nepal. And the debate ultimately gave rise to new ethnicities like *Brahman, Chhetri, Dasanami* and *Sanyasi.* The CBS census lists of ethnic groups—103 in 2001 and 125 in 2011—can best serve its evidence.

However, despite discussions and debates at length, both the models paid least attention to the issues of inequality, poverty, discrimination and injustice, which are the key dimensions of livelihood generating strategies such as ownership, employment, and capability. The socioeconomic reality demands these strategies to be made the fundamental bases for the emergence of ethnicity in Nepal. Hence, priority to the issues of ethnicity and inequality in the study specific to patterns of distribution of capability, employment and ownership rather than the issue of mono-ethnic federalization.

Ethnicity has not only become a matter of discussion, but also an issue of contestation in Nepal. It is contentious in the sense that there is no single agreed upon explanation pertaining to the conceptual, theoretical and empirical significance of the concept. Ethnicity, as discussed in Nepal's context, is geared more to the issue of ethnic identity and less to that of inequality specific to the sources of livelihood generation such as capability, employment and ownership. It is these sources, which, in fact, are the major concerns of people in their everyday life. Such inequality could

be, as explained by Frances Stewart (2000), mostly between individuals within an otherwise homogenous population. According to him, vertical inequalities focus on individuals, whereas horizontal inequalities refer to groups. Horizontal inequalities are multidimensional and encompass economic, social, cultural and political dimensions. According to Tiwari (2010), the economic dimension includes inequalities in ownership of assets, income and employment. The social dimension covers inequalities in access to a range of services and in their human development outcomes including education, health and nutrition. It is in this light that the analysis of distribution of access to resources and opportunities in terms of ethnicity does contribute to the current ethnic debate in Nepal because it shows clear picture of inter- and intra-ethnic inequalities prevailing in Nepal. Therefore, this study begins with the concept of ethnicity and ends with generalization of facts and figures distributed across major ethnic groups specific to capability, employment and ownership.

1.1 Ethnicity: Concepts and Perspectives

According to Wimmer (2008), ethnicity is "a subjectively felt sense of belonging based on the belief in shared culture and common ancestry" (p. 973). He further writes that "this belief refers to cultural practices perceived as "typical" for the community, to myths of a common historical origin, or to phenotypical similarities" (p. 973). Ethnicity in this sense can be understood as a common sense of belongingness perceived in terms of identical physical features or cultural affinity. Ethnicity understood as being synonymous with the physical features alone, of any group, is close to racial conception. Therefore, the concepts of ethnicity in terms of physical and cultural features are akin to the concepts of race and culture respectively.

The notion that highlights the physical features of any individual or group is racial rather than cultural. Race denotes physical features of individuals and therefore it is phenotypical in nature. People with similar physical characteristics come into the same race. Whereas, ethnicity is collective, we-feeling of individuals in a group formed on any bases like caste, class, region, religion and so on. There could also be other bases of uniting people in a common sense of belongingness. One such example could be territory or region. Territory or region has become one of the important bases of uniting people living in certain region of Nepal into a common sense of belongingness, such as *Madhesi* and *Pahadiya*. Definitely this is more territorial

rather than physical or cultural. One can easily find many such cases of ethnicity constructed through territorial feeling in Nepal as well as in the world. For example, concepts like *Baglunge* or *Parbate* or *Kaskeli* or *Syanjali* or *Jhapali* and so on do not only represent district as territorial boundary, but also some sort of belongingness attached to certain districts of Nepal; and *Galkote* or *Bihunkote* in terms of certain territory within a particular district (Baglung in this case) at micro level. Such type of spatial connectedness can also be observed at international level. American, Bhutanese, British, Chinese, Indian, Nepalese and so on are some such feelings at macro level in the global context. Oommen (2012) writes that nationalism is also a form of ethnicity. Therefore, at a broader level the concept of ethnicity can also be understood as common feeling of people towards a nation to which, we call nationalism (for further details see Oomen, 2012, as the researcher do not deal with the notion of nation and nationalism here). Whatever the notion of ethnicity, the fact is it differs across time and space.

Wimmer, quoting Barth (1969), discusses the differing notions of ethnicity across time and space. As Wimmer notes, "Barth pioneered what later became known as "constructivism:" the claim that ethnicity is the product of a social process rather than a cultural given, made and remade rather than taken for granted, chosen depending on circumstances rather than ascribed through birth." Obviously, Barthian view was a pioneering perspective on ethnicity. However, Wimmer's writing shows that there were other views on ethnicity during Barth's time as well, which pointed to the fact that ethnicity had been a contentious issue for long. Here, is a quote from Wimmer (2008) that further elaborates his ideas on ethnicity:

> In the following two decades after Barth, prolonged battles emerged between the devotees of the constructivist perspective and adherents to older views that were more in the line with Herderian notions of the binding power of ethnicity and culture. This debate has often been framed in dichotomous terms: 'primordialism,' which underlined that ethnic membership was acquired through birth and thus represented a 'given' characteristic of the social world, was pitted against 'instrumentalism,' which maintained that individuals choose between various identities according to self-interest. 'Essentialism' was opposed to 'situationalism,' the former privileging the transcontextual stability provided by ethnic cultures while the latter showed how individuals identify with different ethnic categories depending on the logic of the

situation. 'Modernists' attributed the salience of ethnicity to the rise of the modern nation-state, while 'perennialists' insisted that ethnicity represented one of the most stable principles of social organization in human history. Scholars who insisted on the subjectively felt reality and deeply rooted character of ethnic 'identity' argued against those for whom ethnic distinctions were primarily driven by the changing 'interests' of individual or collective actors (p. 971).

Wimmer presents here two distinct lines of argument, which can be summarized as below (Table 1.1):

Table 1.1

Two Juxtaposing Lines of Argument on Ethnicity

Instrumentalism	Primordialism
Situationalism	Essentialism
Modernism	Perennialism
Constructivism	Herderianism

The juxtaposition of the two lines of argument presents a bipolar construction of constructivism as opposed to essentialism. The constructivist argument sees ethnicity as instrumentalist, circumstantialist-interest-centric, that is as individual-need/interest-centric. The essentialist argument sees ethnicity as primordialist-perennialist-collective identity centric, that is as collective- identity- feeling-centric. But Mishra (2012) treats ethnicity as constructed phenomenon and his argument is not psychological but historical and structural. The point to be highlighted here is that identification of ethnic categories depends on the logic of situation. As it is situational, it changes according to the changing context. The current ethnicity debate in Nepal is situational, because there was no such debate in the past, even two decades ago, although, the ethnic groups were then too. This has emerged only after the democratic movement of 1990, in a particular historical context. This development argues that ethnicity is the result of logic of situation. So, constructivist argument is likely to appear closer to Nepal's social reality. Nonetheless, critical examination of the issue of ethnicity is important from theoretical as well as empirical perspectives.

As ethnicity is a collective of we-feeling of members of any group, sometimes it is taken as collective identity. According to Cerulo (1997, p. 385), collective

identity is a concept grounded in classic sociological constructs: Durkheim's "collective conscience," Marx's "class consciousness," Weber's verstehen, and Tonnies' Gemeinschaft. He further writes the notion addresses the "we-ness" of a group, stressing the similarities of shared attributes around which group members coalesce. Early literatures approached these attributes as "natural" or "essential" characteristics--qualities emerging from physiological traits, psychological predispositions, regional features, or the properties of structural locations. The collective's members were believed to internalize these qualities, suggesting a unified, singular social experience, a single canvas against which social actors constructed a sense of self. He writes the recent treatments of collective identity question essentialism of collective attributes and images. Anti-essentialist inquiries promote social construction of identity as a more viable basis for the collective self. Other works stress the problems inherent in collective categorization presenting a postmodern challenge to arguments of unified group experiences (pp. 386-87). Ethnicity, then, is neither physical feature nor cultural identity, but a common belief of a group constructed in a particular socio-historical context.

There are two broad perspectives on ethnicity in sociology, captured in the shorthand phrases of 'primordialists' and 'instrumentalists' as contended by Smaje (1996). For primordialists, ethnicity is a powerful shaper of people's identity, organizing their whole orientation to the world, and being the key to their identity. White (2002) writes that the instrumentalists argue that, on the contrary, ethnicity is a political resource, which can be mobilized to advance social, political and economic interests of specific groups (White, 2002, p. 155). He further writes that sociologically useful concept of ethnicity must capture the dualism of individual identity and structured patterning of access to resources based on ethnicity. Moreover, in his view, ethnicity develops in a historically specific situation as a form of dominance of one group over another. It is a structural feature of society, which differentially distributes access to economic goods, the labour market and social status (p. 156). However, ethnicity is not always the result of dominance of one group over another. It can also be formed in the course of mutual reciprocity and interaction between individual and groups in a particular socio-cultural as well as historical context. Baglung Sewa Samaj and Chitwan Samparka Samaj, for example, are two different forms of ethnicity, which emerged only after the migration of people from Baglung to

Kathmandu and Chitwan to Kathmandu respectively. People from different parts of both Baglung and Chitwan came to Kathmandu and they started to interact with each other. After continuous mutual interaction that took place among them in a particular socio-cultural and historical context, a region-based ethnicity was formed. The new socio-cultural context of Kathmandu encouraged people from Baglung to come together, likewise it brought together those from Chitwan also. During the process, for both the people from Baglung and Chitwan, there was an intensification of interaction, which resulted in the formation of ethnicities like Baglunge and Chitwane. Therefore, ethnicity can be understood as a constructed phenomenon--logic of situation.

Mishra (2012, p. 2) critically analyzes the concept of ethnicity from both primordialist and essentialist perspectives, but positions himself in the historical, substantivist and constructivist line. He argues that primordialists highlight ethnicity as rigid, permanent, ascribed, and unchangeable identity of a particular ethnic group or community, whereas, instrumentalists examine ethnicity as fluid, temporary, achieved, and changeable identity of any group or community. Ethnicity, in this sense, is not a permanent identity associated with people of a particular group or community that remains unchanged forever; rather it is fluid, changeable, and constructed at a particular historical context, under particular condition. Providing examples of *pahariya* and *parbatiya*, Gellner (1997) writes that ethnic feelings develop in very specific contexts of opposition and competition (p. 9). New ethnicities like Dalit, Madhesi, Brahman, Chhetri and so on emerged in Nepal due to the process of competition geared towards increasing their access to limited resources and opportunities.

Dalit and Madhesi

The term *Dalit* is a product of an ongoing political struggle of occupational groups, who were declared untouchables in Nepal by the State in the past. During the Malla period, for example, Jayasthi Malla (1382-1395) famously ordered a ranking of sixty-four different strata among the Newars of Kathmandu valley (Riaz and Basu 2010, p. 80). But the term Dalit, which has been used to denote the so called low castes in Hindu caste system, is a recent phenomenon as such and it is in the process of being

defined and explained. However, there are some definitions on it (see the methodology section).

The term Madhes refers to Madhyadesh, which originally meant central realm in terms of the Hindu political canons of Nepal but generally it came to refer to plain land, i.e., India. Thus, Madhes had connotations of being different from Pahad Desh (or Hill country) in the everyday language of people (Riaz and Basu, 2010, p. 84). However, leaders from Madheshi people claim that Madhesh is a community rather than a geographical entity or region. The group of people united by being the inhabitants of a territory such as Madhes is simply called Madhesi. However, there are various explanations about the use of this new concept called Madhesi. In fact, if Madhesi refers to the group of people living in Madhes and united by Madhesi feeling or sentiment then it is also a kind of ethnicity. Therefore, Mishra (2011) says Madhesi is also an ethnicity and the researcher also agrees with this notion of ethnicity because ethnicity forms when people unite together with common feeling formed on any basis like caste, class, region and religion and so on.

Both these concepts are formed on the basis of social and territorial notions. The first concept Dalit is formed on a social basis and the second concept Madhesi is formed on a territorial or regional basis. There are also other bases of dividing people of Nepal and they are socially segmented along the lines of caste, sub-caste and ethnic and sub-ethnic groups. The number of such groups cannot be stated with sufficient precision, partly, because it is dependent on the definition employed. The caste system lies fundamentally rooted in Hindu religion, the mutual cultural isolation of communities and the pre-1962 State which not only upheld the caste system but also occasionally redefined caste/ethnic belongingness (of individuals, households, clans) through the implementation of specific laws and directives. The sub-ethnic and inter-ethnic categories may contain elements of hierarchy, but the predominant feature of the ethnic world is differentiation. The caste frame, on the other hand is primarily hierarchical (NESAC, 1998, p. 8). The hierarchy and differentiation often exist within sub-caste/ethnic groups (e.g. Newars, Dalits and Janajatis) as well, which have not been explored in any literature mentioned above.

The debate of Brahmanism vs. non-Brahmanism is one example of such ethnicity, which has emerged in the context of competition. It is thus clear that

ethnicity is a constructed phenomenon. As defined by Chhetri (2012), ethnicity is constructed and negotiated, and therefore it is fluid. Likewise, arguing that ethnic identity is fluid, Fisher (2001), in his monograph *Fluid Boundaries : Forming and Transforming Identity in Nepal* writes that the identity of Thakali, as perceived by themselves in the sense of searching their 'true' culture and history, on the one hand and as perceived by scholars as outsiders on the other, is continuously changing in the process of interaction with other communities in their surroundings as well as outside world in the process of mobility and migration over the period of time.

Perspectives on ethnicity emphasize that ethnic identity is constantly shaped and reshaped as groups interact with each other (Hein, 1977, pp. 282-83). An ethnic group is maintained "not only by once-and-for-all recruitment but by continual expression and validation," as well as "by ways of signaling membership and exclusion" (Barth, 1969). Ethnic organizations are the most visible ways in which ethnic groups give form to their identity. Kanbur and others (2011, p. 147) note that ethnicity is an effect of broader social, political, and economic processes and the way in which these create particular types of group dynamic. Sociological and anthropological approaches to ethnicity have, particularly, since the work of Barth (1969), begun with the assumption that ethnic groups exist in relation to other groups. Ethnicity, its existence or degree of force, is not realized in the possession and perpetuation of distinct cultural characteristics by a particular group. Ethnic identity and difference are created and become culturally and politically meaningful in terms of how they inter-relates to other groups and to broader social, political, and economic processes. Thus ethnic boundaries, for both sociology and anthropology, tend to be the outcome of social action (Malesevic, 2004) carried out in a particular historical context.

Sociological Understanding of Ethnicity: Classical and Modern Perspectives

Classical sociologists like Marx, Weber, Durkheim, and Simmel do not discuss ethnicity directly, because it was not the core issue on debate then. However, some writers believe that some relevant ideas on the matter can be explored from their writing, though, in a manner, they may be different from the current literature. As argued by Malesevic (2004, p. 14), Marx's theory of ethnicity developed on: a) the primacy of the economic base over the cultural and thus ethnic superstructure, b)

ethnic particularity as an obstacle to the universal progress of humanity as a whole and c) historical ascendancy of class over ethnic identity. He further writes that the impact of cultural difference has roots in the economic system and is determined by the nature of capitalist production. Ethnic hostilities in a capitalist society present an objective problem but only because of capitalism's alienating structure. Therefore, the source of ethnic enmity is not in the cultural differences of groups but in the nature of capitalist modes of production and the inherent inequalities that it produces. For Marx, class consciousness remains a potent force of social change, while ethnic identities are no more than an epiphenomenon, a second order reality, which will be transcended once a genuine communist society is established. Marx emphasizes class and class consciousness. Collective conscience of both capitalists (owners) and workers may give rise to two distinct ethnicities. Ethnicity unites capitalists on the basis of common we-feeling, as being capitalists, and so is the case with the worker class. Depending upon the base in the Marxian sense, people tend to unite to form some sort of ethnicity, which also differs across time and space.

Max Weber (1968, p. 389) defines ethnic groups as 'those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities in physical type or customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists' (Malesevic, 2004, p. 25). So what is crucial here is, firstly, that ethnicity exists only on the basis of a particular group belief if there is no shared belief, there will be no ethnic group. Secondly, ethnicity is rooted in a single but omnipotent beliefthe belief in common descent. And, finally, although this belief in common ancestry is for most part fictional, it is reinforced and reconfirmed on grounds of cultural or physical similarity or on the basis of shared or collective memory. However, regardless of how powerful this belief might be in itself, it is not sufficient to create ethnicity: ethnic group formation is dependent on concrete social and political action (Malesevic, 2004, p. 25). In essence, Malesevic writes that Weberian concept on ethnicity is built around a form of status group, mechanism of monopolistic social closure, multiplicity of ethnic forms of social organization and ethnicity and political mobilization. For Weber, crucial point is that ethnicity exists only as a particular group belief that may be a belief in common descent, shared or

collective memory or physical similarity. Therefore, ethnicity is constructed and may also change with the changing bases of group belief.

According to Durkheim (1986, p. 202), with the advent of modernization, the bonds of ethnic communities gradually decline and they evolve into complex and culturally heterogeneous societies. However, this cultural diversity is built upon the common universal goals and values of the society as a whole ('collective conscience'), meaning that ethnic loyalties are first transformed into a devotion to the nation ('patriotism') and then into a devotion to entire humanity ('world patriotism') (Malesevic, 2004, p. 19). In Durkheim's words: "as we advance in evolution, we see the ideals men pursue breaking free of the local or ethnic conditions obtaining in a certain region of the world or a certain human group, and rising above all that is particular and so approaching the universal" (Malesevic, 2004, p. 19). Malesevic (2004, p. 18) writes that Durkheim's theory of ethnic relations is focused mostly on three interrelated sets of topics: the decline of ethnicity with the arrival of modernity; the nature of (ethnic) group solidarity; and the perception of an ethnic group as a form of moral community.

Simmel's theory of ethnic relations is focused on three thematic blocks; ethnicity as a form of sociation, the nature of social (and thus ethnic) interaction, and the decline of ethnicity through social differentiation (1971, p. 21). Simmel defines sociation as 'the form (realized in innumerably different ways) in which individuals grow together into a unity and within which their interests are realized' (p. 24). Thus, the concept of ethnicity is very broad and very close to Jenkins (2008, p. 42), who summarizes ethnicity as a whole made up of four elements which are as follows:

- in ethnicity the emphasis falls on cultural differentiation (although identification is always a dialectic between similarity and difference);
- ethnicity is based in shared meanings- 'culture'- but is produced and reproduced during interaction;
- ethnicity, rather being fixed or unchanging, is, depending on situation and context, to some extent variable and manipulable; and

- ethnicity, as identification, is both collective and individual, externalized and internalized.

The essence of Jenkin's above mentioned points is that ethnicity is constructed phenomenon, which emerges in a particular historical context and continuously changes over time as per changing situation. Jenkins (2008) therefore says that ethnicity is situational.

The "situationalist" approach, developed by anthropologists working in complex, "plural" societies, offers a straightforward answer: the salience of the various level of differentiation depends on the logic of situation and characteristics of person interacting (Wimmer, 2008, p. 977). Kanbur and others (2011, p. 148) focused on groups formed out of commonalities of race, language, religion, or combinations thereof, at different locations, for example, Hindus and Muslims in Ahmedabad were two such groups, as were the Yoruba and Hausa in Nigeria which they refer to as "ethnic groups." Cerulo (1997, p. 387) writes that in connection with theories of WI Thomas, Peter Berger, Erving Goffman, Howard Becker, and others, the social constructionist approach to identity rejects any category that sets forward essential or core features as the unique property of a collective's members. From this perspective, every collective becomes a social artifact-an entity molded, refabricated, and mobilized in accord with reigning cultural scripts and centers of power. Hence, ethnicity as identity is also a construct of a particular historical context.

In case of Nepal, ethnic phenomenon is constructed through a group forming processes. Historical trend of group formation indicates that it began from Tharu Kalyankarini Sabha (Tharu society) in the beginning which later expanded into larger group of indigeneous nationalities. Each ethnic group included within indigenous nationalities also formed their small groups, Tamu Hyula Chhojadhi (society of Gurung), for example. After the CA election new groups like Brahman, Chhetri, Dasanami, Churebhawar and so on were formed indicating the emergence of new ethnicities through group forming process.

Gray (2012) conceptualizes ethnicity as a form of social grouping (p. 129). He highlights the features that dwell upon the subjective experience of ethnicity stating that such experience is the basis of the 'essentialist' or 'primordial' definition of

ethnicity. Nevertheless, his perspective is that ethnicity is changeable or temporary as it is formed on the basis of social grouping through experience and consciousness. Giddens (2006), talking about the changing nature of ethnicity, writes that "the concept of ethnicity is an idea that is purely social in meaning and it refers to the cultural practices and outlooks of a given community of people that set them apart from other groups in a society, and are seen themselves as culturally distinct from other groups in a society, and are seen by those other groups to be so in return" (p. 487). His emphasis is on the fact that there is nothing innate about ethnicity; it is a purely social phenomenon that is produced and reproduced over time. Various social processes that take place in society play a vital role in the production and reproduction of ethnicity. As mentioned by Kanbur and others (2011) ethnicity is an effect of broader social, political, and economic processes and the way in which these create particular types of group dynamic.

The ethnic politics of Nepal in the 1990s seems to have elements conforming to both the primordialist and the instumentalist models. However, ethnic politics in Nepal first surfaced in the year leading to the referendum of 1980 (Sharma, 1997, p. 483) and it has been continuing till date. In concurring with the constructivist notion of ethnicity in general, and with that of sociologist Mishra, in particularly, the researcher argues that ethnicity is a collective 'we-feeling' associated with a particular group or community formed on the basis of anything like caste, class, culture, religion, region, language, ideology, and objectives. Such bases of ethnicity are invoked only in relation to others or other differing groups. Ethnicity, as perceived as an issue of identity in Nepal, has been continuously constructed historically, but it gained prominence only after the restoration of democracy in the 1990s. Ethnicity, as defined here, can be felt only when compared to other ethnicity or ethnicities. For instance, if *Gurung* is one ethnicity then *Brahman* is another because both *Gurung* and *Brahman* are different from each other. Likewise if *Madhesi* is one ethnic identity then *Pahadiya* is another ethnic identity, which is only invoked in relation to others. However, there are different perspectives on ethnicity in Nepal. These varying perspectives have their own arguments, thus, it would be better to discuss such ethnic debate in the context of Nepal in detail.

1.2 Ethnic Debate in Nepal

Many authors have highlighted on ethnic issues that have remained at the core of debate in Nepal since the last two decades. Sharma (2006) elaborately discusses the context of emergence of ethnicity relating it particularly to political context. He writes that ethnic issues have acquired a new sensitiveness as never before and, hence, a new urgency to solve them. According to him, ethnic issues arise, no less, due to the kind of popular politics we have come to live with and practice in our times, i.e. the politics of the ballot box- elections, popular representations, and political parties. All of these are our new political norms, which have replaced the old traditional type of polity everywhere (p. 204). However, these political norms have not been fully implemented due to political deadlock facing the country, time and again as is evident in the political history of Nepal. Various ethnic groups in Nepal have taken this issue of ethnicity coinciding with the rise of new political norms, for it is seen as an opening to voice their rights and privileges. This happened in Nepal particularly, after the political change of 1990. Therefore, there might have been various socio-economic and cultural causes lying behind ethnic movements and ethnicity in Nepal. In this light, Mishra (2011) avers that "The 'rise of ethnicity' in Nepal, as such, can and must be explained by exclusively referring to processes 'internal' to Nepal" (p. 8). One can understand ethnic issue as a process internal to Nepal looking at the list of ethnic groups listed by Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), a formal government authority of Nepal, in each census. Government of Nepal did not only recognize the name of a particular ethnic group listed in census, but also provided specific privileges to such groups; inclusion and reservation policies, for example. Therefore, ethnic leaders, entrepreneurs and groups would like to enlist their name so that they would get the privileges. Because of such legal and policy related provisions, new ethnic groups are emerging in the contemporary Nepal.

CBS listed hundred plus caste/ethnic groups in 2001 census, and in 2011 census, the list further increased to 125 groups. However, ethnic organizations in Nepal challenged CBS on its latest census report, and even put it on fire in front of its office recently, expressing their discontent on the listing of ethnic groups. This event raises some important questions. The main question here is why is that the ethnic communities are still discontent with the census result so much so that that they

protested by burning the Census Report? Why is the number of ethnic groups increasing in each census report? It would not be farfetched to argue that new ethnic communities are emerging and new groups would like to enlist their names as separate ethnic groups because enlisting of such new ethnic groups in CBS report would then grant them social benefits. For instance, the Government of Nepal allocated a certain proportion of seats to certain ethnic groups under its reservation policy. Therefore, access to opportunities and resources is somehow determined by ethnic affiliation. The important point here is ethnic groups can benefit from state policies and provisions only when they are registered and recognized by the government by listing them as representing a certain ethnic group. This ultimately becomes a basis for them to bargain for their rights with the State. From these evidences, we can understand ethnicity emerging as ethnic group or community in the process of demanding for enlisting group name in the list of indigeneous nationalities whether they possess distinct original or newly constructed socio-cultural identity or not. In the name of ethnicity, different groups or communities are demanding for ethnic identity, secured rights and privileges through direct state laws and policies resulting into ethnic politicization. For instance, as mentioned above, the number of indigenous nationalities, as enlisted in the report of the task force formed by the government[2] of Nepal to revise and enlist indigenous nationalities, is increasing with each revision. This increase in number is due to the emergence of new groups claiming to enlist themselves as a new ethnic group. Obviously, these are indicators of politicization of ethnicity. So, what can be argued is that ethnicity is a result of specific historical events that took place in Nepal's political history. As such, it has not only become a social and cultural issue but also a political one. When ethnicity becomes a political issue, then it must have some political implications. Mishra (2012), in the context of ethnicity and politics in Nepal, writes:

> In addition, such polities will force ethnicity on people. Such polity will neither tolerate non-ethnic-ness nor pluri-ethnicness. Nor is it certain how it will classify and valorize 'mixed descents,' which, while not explicitly acknowledged, has a very large presence in Nepal. The blood-and-semen framework may well come to be elaborated

[2] There were 61 indigenous nationalities in the report prepared by the task force led by late Dr. Harka Gurung in 1996 on the basis of certain criteria and 81 indigenous nationalities in the report prepared by the task force led by Prof. Dr. Om Gurung in 2008 which has followed the same criteria as before but number of nationslities increased.

> to a very fine degree as it was in racist states and as it currently is in fundamentalist states. It is not without a foundation that Kuper smelled 'Nuremberg' in the recent search for indigeneity (review of Kuper, 2003).

Gellner (1997), one of the scholars writing about ethnicity in Nepal, perceives ethnicity as political rather than cultural phenomenon. He writes, "Ethnicity is thus basically a political and not a cultural phenomenon, and it operates with contemporary political contexts and is not an archaic survival arrangement carried over into the present by a conservative people" (p. 12). However, ethnicity has also been regarded as cultural phenomenon by some scholars. Peel (1989, p. 201) suggests that in the Yoruba case "the further we go back, the more . . . ethnicity was a cultural project before it was political" (Gellner, 1997). Therefore, it can be both political and cultural phenomenon. Whatever, Gellner (1997) further writes whether ethnicity is primarily cultural or primarily political, the important point is that it has to be created. It is not an essential and universal aspect of the human condition (p. 12).

Ethnicity thus emerges in a particular historical context. This historical context varies and it has both temporal and spatial contexts. The contexts may be, for example, social, political, economic, and cultural. And sometimes, the context of emergence of ethnicity may also go beyond any of these areas. For Kievelitz (1996, p. 11), a European sociologist, ethnic identity formation might go beyond the purely symbolic level and try to enter more strongly the public political arena in the contest for claims on limited resources. It thus indicates that ethnic forms may also be used to make claims on available limited resources in a country. It is therefore dynamic in nature and is produced in a particular historical context. Ethnicity in Nepal is also formed in the process of claiming the limited resources, through group rights particularly after reestablishment of Multiparty Democracy in 1990. Comparative litterateur Simon Gautam finds the ever emerging ethnic groups in Nepal working on ethnicity and identity along the model of "ethno-purity," which "…has a single-truth, totalitarian, divisive and monolithic tendency" (2013_a, pp. 35-36).

To the researcher's view, observing various ethnicities that emerged in Nepal particularly after 1990, ethnicity is associated not only with a particular ethnic group, but also other factors such as region, religion, language, and culture. For example, *Madhesi* and *Pahadiya*, are also ethnicities, as they are produced as common sense of

regional we-feeling or integrity. According to Kievelitz (1996, p. 12), this concept of ethnicity, as practiced in Nepal, emerged when people were divided into several social categories in terms of existing or newly constructed ethnic identity for demanding rights and privileges with the government claiming re-compensation of historical exploitation after the unification of Nepal. He further writes that in fact, this is also what seems to have happened since 1990, as many ethnic groups—mostly those of non-Indian/Hindu origin—have started to establish their own political or 'cultural' organizations to put forward their claims. To some extent, it is realistic to say that ethnicity in Nepal began with the formation of grouping or group consciousness of ethnic groups such as Tharu Kalyankarini Sabha of Tharu ethnic group. But, it does not mean that ethnicity is formed only on the basis of social grouping or common consciousness of ethnicity. It can also be formed on other bases as well. Religion, region and language are some examples. The reality is that ethnicity emerges in the process of group formation based on some sort of common feeling, experience and consciousness that unites individuals into a group of we-feeling. It occurs basically during the time of putting their demands to the government for their rights by being organized into various groups. In Nepal, this process started from late Panchayat period and it accelerated after *Janaandolan I* of 1990 and even more so, after *Janaandolan II* of 2006/07, when the issue of ethnic federalization of state gained currency to be instituted in the new constitution.

Ethnicity in Nepal, as discussed here, in the past few years, has been focused on fixed or permanent identity of a particular ethnic group keeping issues like the political and economic ones aside. In the researcher's view, ethnicity and identity are different phenomena that emerged in a particular socio-historical context. But both are changeable, fluid and temporary in nature. In the context of emerging new ethnicities in Nepal, Mishra (2012a) writes that people would always like to see or join new jobs with higher wage rate. Individual joins job forming new identity in new space. Identity thus formed or ethnic identity as such does not remain unchanged forever. The differences between Brahman grandparent and their grandchildren and Limbu grandparent and their grandchildren are not one and the same thing, which brings to the fore the changing nature of ethnicity. Current ethnic upsurge, as stated by Mishra, is a result of current economic-political processes, which is leading to a transition in livelihood strategy. Hence, ethnicity again, is an identity constructed in a particular

historical context of Nepal, which does not always remain the same for it varies across time and space.

In the researcher's observation, ethnicities as seen in Nepal are given a veneer of culture so as to mask its real political and economic implications. For instance, ethnic groups, in order to show that their claims are cultural, rather than political and economic, emphasize more on language as their identity. Comparatist Simon Gautam, in a study of contemporary multicultural Nepali poetry finds language and identity to have been identified with the concept of "nations" in Nepal (2013, p. 152). To some extent it is political because they are claiming for ancesteral homelands. However, in essence, they are both political and economic. In short, emphasis is given on ethnic identity rather than on social, cultural, political and economic processes both existent and emergent in Nepal. Major concern of the people is to sustain their livelihood in terms of fulfillment of their basic needs and that the present republic State should guarantee their just delivery. The current debate on ethnicity is thus much more politicized and that has kept the fundamental rights of people at bay. I would here again like to quote what Mishra (2012a) writes about modern socio-political system, as a democratic republic, and the status of a citizen of Nepal.

> Modern state system is Capitalist Democratic System. It is formed on the basis of citizenship, not on the basis of serf or ethnicity. Caste, gender, ethnicity etc. are only the ways of division of society. Modern state recognizes them all as citizen and treats them accordingly. Yes, we have some differences, but the issue is how to include those differences in democracy. Positive discrimination for marginalized and backwarded citizens is required for equality. Major concern is how to target the lowest people at the bottom (p. 25).

The root causes of ethnicity as movement in Nepal are class based inequalities among people in terms of capability, employment and ownership. All individuals and groups are therefore willing to increase their access to resources and opportunities to improve their standard of living. However, Horowitz (1985) argues that class is different from ethnicity because movements across class boundaries are relatively more common. But, in contrast, sociologist like Stephen Steinberg (2001) continues to argue that those traits commonly recognized as ethnic may be class-based: he argues that many cultural attributes attributed to ethnicity may be rooted in class difference.

But some scholars (Bhattachan, 1995, 2009; Gurung, 1997; Lawoti, 2005; Kisan, 2009), who also would like to be known as ethnic activists, are contributing to the field of ethnic debate by giving their thoughts focusing on ethnicity and ethnic identity rather than on inequality in terms of access to resources and opportunities. They highlight the fact that Janajati, Madhesi and Dalit communities have been socially, culturally, economically and politically suppressed and exploited by the State for a long period of time in Nepalese history and that exploitation and discrimination of the past should be re-compensated now through the provisions of separate homelands and right to self determination. There is no doubt that Janajati, Madhesi and Dalit were relatively deprived of more in terms of access to opportunities and resources in the past, but it does not mean that re-compensation of that deprivation of the past should be done and is possible to do so by depriving other groups. Instead, what can be argued is that it is possible to bring them into the mainstream by increasing their access to resources and opportunities because today's problem related to ethnic groups is a problem of inequality. Therefore, major concern of the ethnic debate that is going on in Nepal is of inequality rather than that of identity. Since identity is not the focus of the study, it is kept limited to only a passing reference here.

The ongoing debate on ethnicity in Nepal often raises the issues of three "ja," i.e. *'jal', 'jamin' ra 'jungle'* (water, land and forest) in terms of access, ownership and right to self-determination. All these three natural resources are very important for the livelihood of people particularly in an agricultural country like Nepal, where almost 64 percent employed people in Nepal are engaged in agriculture (NLSS, 2011). Agricultural activities are associated with water, land and forest. Furthermore, some people sustain their livelihood from the income generated from *jal* (water) only, fishery for example; almost all people rely on *jamin* (land) only, agriculture for example; and some others on *jungle* (forest) only, firewood and fodder collectors and sellers, for example. However, these three resources are interrelated. They supplement each other to support people's livelihood. In the context of Nepal, people heavily rely on land and forest resources to continue their livelihood through agriculture. There is no doubt that land has remained as one of the most important livelihood generating resources from the past until now. There are also other new opportunities for livelihood, but the "three-ja" line of argument less highlights them. And also it does not show any picture of distribution of "three-ja" across ethnic groups. Therefore,

another line of debate that can be initiated is the issue of access to opportunities such as employment and capability that can determine the people's level of earning. This line of argument highlights the inequality of access to employment opportunities and capability that influences the level of earning as well as other aspects of the lives of people. Obviously, unequal access to opportunities, ultimately, creates inequality in the living standard of people. Such inequalities existing among people force individuals to be united to form a group for making claims in their favour. Ethnicity claim that has currently emerged in Nepal is the result of such inequalities. This line of argument emphasizes the unequal access of people to available resources and opportunities in a country, which the researcher calls multi-ethnic or non-ethnic or integrationist. It is discussed in detail in the following section.

1.2.1 Multi-ethnic or Integrationist, 'Secular' Side Debate

The socio-political history of Nepal in the 18th century consisted of a string of petty states and principalities dotting its hills from east to west, each ruled by a king of its own. All historians agree with the view that the present political entity of Nepal is the result of a process of unification started by Prithvi Narayan Shah (1722-1775), king of Gorkha, in the 18th century (Sharma 2006, p. 10). The territorial expansion of the Kingdom of Gorkha, which led to the unification of a number of petty principalities and the establishment of the present Kingdom of Nepal, was the consequence of complex social, political and economic factors. The general view is that the establishment of the Kingdom of Nepal was due primarily to the "nationalist" spirit of Prithvi Narayan Shah, for whom conquest was "the aim of life," and who believed that the country's progress and security would be assured if it was kept free from the influences of European colonialists" (Regmi, 1999, p. 8).

Most importantly, the two main historical streams contributing to the evolution of a unified Nepali culture from the 18th century onwards have consisted of the Newar, based in the Nepal Valley, and the *Parbate* of the more rugged hills. Starting from two different points in time and space, they seem like two streams converged into a single broad river, flowing together ever since into an enlarged and stronger nation after 1769. In the process, if one stream has given the new country its hallowed name, the other stream has given it its lingua franca, the Nepali language, which is today its single most important integrating factor (Sharma, 2006, p. 19).

However, the contribution made by Prithvi Narayan Shah is rated differently by his successors in terms of his national integration measures. However, there are some important aspects and remarks: the Gorkhali army, which had a multi-ethnic character, comprised hill castes and tribal groups (Sharma, 1997, p. 477); Magars and Gurungs were among the ruling elite of the Gorkha House (Whelpton, 1997, p. 43, Pfaff-Czarnecka, 1999, p. 430); "I (Prithvi Narayan Shah) am the King of Magarant" (quoted in Gurung, 2001, p. 19); "Prithvi Narayan Shah gave internal autonomy to Limbu" (Bhattachan, 1995, p. 137); and King respected the customs of a country in the tenurial administration of his possessions (Burghardt, 1996, p. 238).

In modern history, after the unification and particularly after 1950s, national integration was the emotional unity of different ethnic groups, irrespective of religion, language, dress, place of residence, and communities. It was also a condition where the feeling of "security" prevailed among them and extended mutual respect to each other's language, culture, religion, tradition and way of life and rendered equal status in the society. Some people even expressed the view that national integration of different caste/ethnic groups, language, and religion into a single strong thread of Nepali nationhood was made in terms of broader national level ethnicity.

Since then, national ethnicity in terms of Nepali nationality and nationhood has become very strong. People from different parts of the country and social categories (e.g. caste/ethnicity, class, and gender) identified and realized that poverty, illiteracy, hunger and diseases were common problems of Nepali people. The situation remained so throughout 1950s. Development remained at the core of the social, cultural, economic and political processes since 1950s. To begin with, both ideas and practices entered the country's political and bureaucratic arena together in the early 1950s, when the Rana regime fell and development was projected as an important objective of the State (Pandey, 2011, p. 7). Formal development initiative was undertaken under the Tribhuvan Village Development Program. The five year development planning initiated during the 1950s could be taken as a systematic formal process of development in Nepal.

Poverty was identified as the major problem in Nepal in the past. The identification of poverty was a very tough exercise, because it was the aggregation of a set of basic things. The most common route to identification is through specifying a

set of ‘basic’ – or ‘minimum’ – needs, and regarding the inability to fulfill these needs as the test of poverty (Sen & Dreze, 1995, p. 24). National Planning Commission (NPC) initiated five year plan to alleviate poverty, eliminate illiteracy, hunger and diseases that prevailed in Nepal from a very long time. The then, Government of Nepal emphasized national integrity and started national planning in such a way that development was impossible without national integration. Commenting on this context, Bhattachan (1997, p. 108) writes, "the notions/concepts of "People" and "Community" are homogeneous concepts that should not be divided in terms of caste/ethnicity, class and gender. If the issue of poverty is adequately addressed, it would automatically take care of problems related to caste/ethnicity, class and gender." Considering the issue, centralized national planning continued for about four decades and hoped that it significantly had contributed to the improvement of living standard of all Nepali people.

However, centralized planning since 1950s could not contribute significantly to the targeted areas of poverty, illiteracy and disease. The disparity among people in different regions further increased. Government did not have any justification against such disparities. People felt discriminated and exploited by the State. Political parties realized that it was an appropriate time to go to people and convince them against Panchayat system, and as a result, people’s movement of 1990s took place against Panchayat system, and multiparty democracy was restored.

After 1990s, there emerged multiple actors of development. State, market, international nongovernmental organization (I/NGO), people and community-centered approaches became the major development strategies for different actors. State, private sector and nongovernmental organizations prominently started their activities. Community/people began to realize their rights and roles at the local level. All this provided a context for the emergence of different social categories based on ethnicity, religion, region, and class, which started to work on rights-based approach demanding the state various rights and privileges. Emotional attachments among the members of these categories gradually changed into ethnicity. World Bank (WB) and Department for International Development (DFID) (2006, p. 7) mention that the post-1990 period witnessed the dismantling of the old projection of a “single Nepali culture” based on that of upper-caste Parbatiyas. Self-chosen terms like Janajati and

Dalit emerged to replace the corresponding terms like “tribal,” Matwali and “sano jat” (“low caste”) that were used to describe ethnic and “low caste” groups. Now there have emerged new concepts like Madhesi, Pahadiya, and Dalit forming new identities in the process. Meanwhile governmental and non-governmental organizations including international organizations like WB, DFID, and Asian Development Bank (ADB), and some scholars have begun to examine increased disparity among people in their own framework. New Era (2004) studied liberalization policy and concluded that it had surely helped enhance the length and breadth of financial institution, but withdrawal of subsidies, wage freeze, deregulation of administered prices, and the upward revision of price of goods and services had an adverse effect on the situation of poverty. Apart from these, the increasing level of joblessness, fear of job insecurity, reduction of real wages and high rate of inflation made the distribution of income more unequal and skewed in favour of rich, which is the effect of liberal and open market economy that directly had a bearing on the social exclusionary process. In the same way, some reports (WB & DFID, 2006 & NHDR, 2009) have focused on caste/ethnicity and gender-based inequalities which further gave rise to issues like ethnicity in Nepal.

The multi-ethnic side of ethnic debate focuses on inequality among people as the major cause of emergence of ethnicity in Nepal. Various ethnic groups formed in the process of demanding government their group-based rights were later transformed into ethnicity. This line of argument believes that it is not ethnicity but individual level inequalities that remained at the core of emergence of ethnicity. This concludes that inequality among people is not because of affiliation of individuals with a particular ethnic group but is due to unequal access to resources and opportunities, which is against mono-ethnic or non-integrationist line of argument that emphasizes caste/ethnicity-based inequality as the cause of emergence of ethnicity. The following section deals with this mono-ethnic side debate.

1.2.2 Mono-ethnic or Non-Integrationist Side Debate

The mono-ethnic or non-integrationist side debate begins with the argument that territorial unification of Nepal by Prithvi Narayan Shah was an imperialist, expansionist and colonial campaign. Pandey (2012) writes that there is a sizable group of scholars which observes the territorial unification process under a critical stand. He

further writes that this group of scholars observes this event in the form of colonial enterprise. The group argues that it was a political process launched to impose the wills of Gorkhali rulers on other groups by suppressing their culture and economic independence (Bhattachan, 1995, 2009; Gurung, 1997; Lawoti, 2005; Whelpton, 2005; Kisan, 2009). Pfaff-Czarnecka (1997) elaborates on the process of nation building in Nepal into three models: a) empire model during Shah-Rana rule (1769-1951), b) nationalistic model of the Panchayat era (1962-90), and c) patchwork of minorities model post-1990 restoration of democracy (see Pfaff-Czarnecka, 1997: Chapter 13). Gellner (1997) reports in the same line and says, "The cultural concomitant of this 'unification,' as Nepali nationalists call it, was a gradual process of Hinduization: the festivals, the values, and many of the social practices of the Parbatiyas have been adopted along with the Nepali language by other hill Nepalis" (p. 36). Similarly, Gurung (2012) writtes that Prithvi Narayan Shah established Bahun and Chhetri as the backbone of the caste structure and started the process of Hindu domination over indigenous groups through the adoption of Khas Language as the lingua franca and by asking non-Hindu indigenous people to adopt the Hindu religion, culture and other Hindu norms, values and customary practices. The territorial unification and subsequent processes of political consolidation over the centuries allowed *sanskritization* of indigenous peoples in a progressive manner (p. 194). However, the fact is that Prithvi Narayan Shah unified petty states of past Nepal into a single nation that we call Nepal today. The process is, no doubt, unification, but different scholars judge it differently.

Although Prithvi Narayan Shah contributed to the unification of Nepal, Gurung (1997) writes that the territorial expansion was achieved through diplomacy, deceit, and conquest. He further writes that the Gorkhalis resorted to various measures to deal with the vanquished people. The measures ranged from induction as followers (Magar, Gurung), accommodation with *kipat* concession (Limbu, Rai), labour exploitation (Tamang), and vengeance (Kirtipur Newars) (pp. 505-6). He further says that the policy and society of Nepal was indeed devised in the image of Hinduism. To begin with, the etymology of the place-name Gorkha itself was rationalized as *goraksa* (cow protection), symbolic of the sanctity of the cow for Hindus (p. 504). According to him, political conquest was followed by the imposition of the Hindu social order on the subjects. Hindu influence was more palpable among ethnic elites

since where two culture groups impinge, the privileged tend to associate with the powerful (p. 506). But this is how the old world moved everywhere. In fact there was collective contribution of Gurungs, Magars and also others and Prithvi Narayan Shah to establish a single Nepali state.

The 1990 political change, of course, was the historical change that provided opportunities to all people to be organized themselves into various groups of their own kind. One such opportunity was the rise of ethnicity. This was so because "the new political situation had radical consequences for ethnic awareness and mobilization as well. Prior to this, issues of ethnicity and cultural disadvantage could only be alluded to indirectly, now they could be addressed openly, publicly, and officially. *Janajatis* said that a great weight had been lifted from their shoulders. From a standing and tentative start in 1990, throughout the 1990s ethnic activism made rapid strides, both in organizational reach and in political influence" (Whelpton et al., 1997, p. xvii). "Activists had always been concerned about the fact that upper-caste Parbatiyas enjoyed disproportionate access to employment and state resources. However, in 1990, ethnic demands appeared to focus more on issues of cultural symbolism" (Whelpton et al., 1997, p. ix).

The ethnic campaign gradually expanded its links at national and international levels. "During the 1990s, ethnic activists continued to organize, to forge international links, and to encourage those Janajati groups that did not yet have representative national bodies to create them" (Whelpton et al., 1997, p. xxii). Such ethnic activisms ultimately led to the establishment of Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFIN), which started to emphasize various issues of *Janajatis* including the claim that all Janajati groups are indigenous to Nepal. Although, NEFIN seems united as an umbrella organization of all indigenous nationalities at the centre, yet it is not so at the local level. There they are divided not only in terms of their ethnic difference, but also within the groups, according to class. It was correctly anticipated in the 1990s that demands from local groups would be aggregated by multi-ethnic parties rather than by ethnic or regional parties (Whelpton et al., 1997, p. xxix). Decentralization could be achieved by division purely on geographical lines but in the most publicized models, including the Maoist one already outlined, some at least of the units proposed have been ethnic ones (Whelpton et al., 1997, p. xxxiv). Ethnic autonomy might

perhaps be better served by devolution to small blocks of villages or, as suggested by political scientist, Mahendra Lawoti, by a system of 'non-territorial' or 'cultural' autonomy (Whelpton et al., 1997, p. xxxv). Om Gurung, head of NEFIN, said NEFIN wanted only 'internal autonomy because granting full self-determination would lead to the disintegration of a country in Nepal's geo-political situation (Whelpton et al., 1997, p. xxxv). It was the beginning of ethnic side debate on the history of Nepal that stands against integrationist 'secular side' debate.

The democratic government of Nepal was expected to expand its schemes to benefit the economically most backward ethnic communities (Sharma, 1997, p. 489) after restoration of democracy. However, it was not only expected in backward ethnic community but also in any backward community of Nepal. But, in real practice it did not happen so. In this context, the leaders of ethnic organizations in Nepal have shown a preference for presenting their case in terms of two sets of opposing ideas, cultures, values, or situations, or even, unfortunately, in racial terms. This can be seen in the use of contrasts such as Hindu versus Janajati, indigenous versus non-indigenous, Pahari (i.e. of the hills) versus Madhesi (of the plains), Mongol versus Aryan, or the pointed nose versus the flat nose. There seems to be a constant implication of 'them' versus 'us' (Bhattachan, 1995). These contrasting categories have been formed very recently in the history of Nepal. Some of the categories mentioned above such as 'the pointed nose versus flat nose' are not any realistic categories that exist in any society, rather they are meaningless derogative terminologies used to denote certain group of population while explaining inequality.

Sharma (1997, p. 490) writes that the domination of Brahmans in the political parties, in the national parliament, and in government today is a reality which cannot be denied. This is cited as an example of the much publicized term *bahunbad* (Brahmanism), which is the subject of Bista's much publicized critique (Bista, 1991). In the general socio-economic and political life of post-1990 Nepal, with increasing emphasis on ethnic politics, the image of the Brahman has suffered the most. In this context, the word in most common use in political vocabulary is *bahunbad* (Sharma, 1997, p. 490), although there is not any theoretical standing to argue in line of Bahunbad.

Ethnic activists have increasingly claimed that Nepalese society has undergone a process of differentiation, with the bulk of the ethnic population confined to peripheries-- be it in the sense of not having access to welfare, or lacking a political voice. In this process, old grievances were coming into the open such as resentment over the abolition of the *kipat* system (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 1997, p. 442). Of course, democracy and republic gave much more open political space for people, so that they could unite together to form a group. It also inspired people to put forth their demands for their rights, which became one of the important bases for uniting people together. Ethnicities that have emerged in contemporary Nepal are also the product of the same situation. Whatever scholars and activists argue about ethnicity, it is a historical construct and the issue is one of inequality in terms of access to resources and opportunities rather than individual or group identity.

Thus, there are two distinct lines of argument, integrationist and non-integrationist, associated with the issue of ethnicity. Integrationist line of argument believes that there is inequality among individuals and groups: Chhetri, Brahman, Janajati, Madhesi, Dalit and Newar, and argues that such inequality is not because of affiliation to a particular ethnic group, but because of unequal distribution of access to resources and opportunities available. The argument goes that this inequality could be reduced and ultimately eliminated through increasing access to resources and opportunities by particularly focusing on those sections of population which have no or very little access to opportunities.

Non-integrationist line of argument believes that inequality, between and among individuals and groups, is because of historical discrimination and exploitation of particular ethnic groups: Janajati, Madhesi, Dalit and Muslim for example by so called high caste Hindu group: Brahman, Chhetri and Thakuri, for example. The non-integrationists argue that high caste Hindu group ruled the country for more than 240 years and exploited non-Hindu groups. They argue that inequality is caused by affiliation of individuals to a particular ethnic group. They claim that inequality is caused by historical exploitation which can only be reduced and eliminated through special provision including ethno-federalization favouring certain ethnic groups and ethnicity.

To a large extent, there is hunch agreement on the 'past' and 'present' ethnic exclusion in the integrationist and integrationists' points of view. The difference is with reference to future, with reference to resolution. Oneside favours inclusion, the other 'self determination-mono-ethnic federalization, indegeinity and exclusionness. The main question here is if Janajatis as a whole suffered under Bahun-Chhetri domination why form multiple and separate ethnic provinces? Why not form one single Janajati State? Therefore main concern is to resolve the issue of both inter- and intra-ethnic inequality in terms of access to resources and opportunities such as capability, employment and ownership as they have direct implication to people's life.

Surprisingly, some scholars (Bhattachan, 1995, 2009; Gurung, 1997; Lawoti, 2005) who have argued from the ethnic line of debate have neither emphasized the importance of access to resources and opportunity in people's livelihood nor made any attempt to examine the inequalities among people in terms of access to resources and opportunities. Thus, keeping people's basic livelihood concern aside ethnic issues are concentrated on ethnic identity, which has no role in people's livelihood. Identity as such does not directly support people's livelihood. Distribution of access to resources and opportunities is very much important for people's livelihood generation. Ethnic debate does not highlight the issue of livelihood which is the basic concern of marginalized and poor people in the country. Inequality among people, explained so far, is mostly confined to the government jobs (bureaucracy), army, police and armed forces in the context of Nepal. Even these analyses do not dig out the realistic scenario of possible representation in terms of capabilities.

There are other important dimensions of livelihood generating resources on the basis of which inequalities can be explained, such as ownership of agricultural land, livestock, agricultural equipment, house and housing plot, employment opportunity in both wage and self in both agricultural and non-agriculture sectors and human capabilities such as education, health and nutrition. Surprisingly, these fundamental dimensions have never been explained, while talking about ethnicity and inequality, either by any political parties or ethnic groups, in Nepal. This is the basic foundation of the problem of this thesis. Basic thrust of this thesis is, therefore, to examine how far ethnicity is influencing access to resources and opportunity such as capability, employment and ownership in terms of livelihood generating resources.

Ethnicist outlook could have both intellectual and political implications. This outlook neither shows realistic picture of inequality prevailed between and within ethnic groups in terms of access to resources and opportunities regarding the livelinood concern of people from intellectual point of view nor provide any basis for developing reliable model to resolve the problem of inequality from political point of view. Therefore this research contributes identifying major dimensions of inequality as well as livelihood generating resources and opportunities and examining the distribution of access to resources and opportunities between and within ethnic groups.

The common point in both mono-ethnic and pluri-ethnic lines of argument is that there is inequality between and among ethnic groups in Nepal. They also argue that ethnicity is the result of inequality between individual and groups in Nepal. The only difference between these two lines of argument is in the dimensions and causes of inequality between individuals and groups and the ways through which such inequality can be reduced and eliminated ultimately. The fundamental questions here are what are the basic dimensions of inequality? How is inequality created? How can it be reduced and eliminated ultimately? Does it have any relationship to ethnicity or not? These are the crucial issues on inequality, which are discussed under dimensions and theories of inequality in the following section.

1.3. Inequality: Dimensions and Theories

On horizontal and vertical classification of individuals, households and societies, inequality may be found horizontal and vertical. Such bases of classification are called dimensions of inequality. Scholars also have their own perspectives looking at dimensions, nature and forms of inequality particularly as stratification and differentiation.

1.3.1 Dimensions of Inequality: Stratification and Differentiation

Stratification and differentiation both signify inequality. We mostly speak about division of labour or occupation or both while talking about differentiation. But all kinds of pluralism are differentiation. Horizontal inequality is differentiation and vertical inequality is stratification. Vertical stratification is also called hierarchies in general. In both stratification and differentiation there exists heterogeneity. Defining

heterogeneity and inequality Abe (2010, p. 35) writes that social structure is differentiated according to some parameters.[3] According to him, heterogeneity refers to a horizontal differentiation that involves the distribution of a population among groups based on a nominal parameter. On the other hand, inequality as vertical differentiation refers to status distribution in terms of a graduated parameter. Thus, a system of social stratification then implies differentiation among one or more features in such a fashion that they can be grouped along a common axis. But, as stratification speaks not only of differentiation but differentiation grouped along such axes, the factor that is common indicates the nature of stratification (Gupta, 2003). Clarifying stratification he further writes that social stratification is the ordering of social differences with the help of a set of criteria or just a single criterion (which is generally the case) which ties the differentiated strata into a system.

Stratification spontaneously signifies a multi-layered phenomenon, much like the earth's crust (Beteille, 1977, p. 129). But Gupta (2003, p. 5) argues that the geological metaphor can be misleading in the case of social stratification in so much as it might figuratively persuade one to believe that stratification always implies layers that are vertically or hierarchically arranged. Social stratification then deals with the ways in which the human population is socially differentiated, i.e. differentiated publicly and demonstrably. The criterion for stratification may be one but the social display of differentiation usually includes a host of factors (Gupta, 2003, p. 2). Therefore, Gupta (2003) says, “Social stratification is the ordering of social differences with the help of a set of criteria or just a single criterion (which is generally the case) which ties the differentiated strata into a system” (p. 8). Hence, stratification can be of different kinds. Hierarchy is only one kind of stratification where the strata are arranged vertically. This is appropriate only when this vertical arrangement is along a variable that can be measured on a continuous scale, as in the case of numbers (Gupta, 2003, p. 8). In this sense, hierarchy implies the regular ordering of a phenomenon on a continuous scale 'such that elements of the whole are

[3] Abe (2010, p. 35), referring to Blau (1997, p. 8), has mentioned two types of parameters of social structure in his article. In which, nominal parameters include sex, race, religion, ethnic affiliation, clan, occupation, and place of work, place of residence, industry, marital status, political affiliation, national origin and language. Similarly, graduated parameters include education, income, wealth, prestige, power, socioeconomic origin, age, administrative authority and intelligence. Major difference between nominal and graduated parameters is that nominal are just categorized or measured in nominal scale and not ranked, while graduated parameters are measured in ordinal scale and are ranked.

ranked in relation to the whole' (Dumont, 1988, p. 66). Referring to hierarchy, Oommen (2010, p. 11) notes that hierarchy is specific to South Asia, whereas social stratification is a universal phenomenon. He further states that both hierarchy and racism share certain common features and yet they are basically different in that hierarchy is legitimized by ideology of Hindu caste system. Therefore, stratification exists everywhere but its types and levels may differ across time and space.

Social scientists are not in complete agreement on the most useful typology or method of comparing types of social stratification based on production systems that have existed throughout history, but five general types are most commonly described: *primitive communal, slavery, caste, estate or feudal,* and *class systems* (Kerbo, 2000, p.47). This is unilinear vertical ranking or social stratification based on an historical development of mode of production in human society. These five categories of societies are leveled into different strata and are very different when compared to each other. Within each stratum, human beings are found stratified into different categories. For instance, lords and peasants, slaves and serfs, capitalists and workers are some categories of people at different levels of society from primitive communism to modern capitalist society. Therefore, Tumin (1999, p. 1) believes that in all societies in the past and in all societies today, people at different levels receive unequal amounts of three (property, power and prestige)[4] classes of good things. It indicates some sort of global inequality.

Beteille (1993, p. 7) writes, "When we talk about inequality among men we mean various things. We mean in one sense that human beings are unequally placed, that they have unequal opportunities and that they are unequally rewarded; this kind of inequality is easily recognized and can easily be shown to exist in any society, simple or complex, past or present." Therefore, Kerbo (2000, p. 47) says 'at the outset it must be clear that what follows is only a general outline of this history of inequality. Inequality is not a characteristic feature of Hindu or caste based society only. Tumin (1999) further writes:

> For Weber, as for Marx, control over property was a basic fact in the determination of the life-chances of an individual or a class. In contrast to Marx, however, Weber

[4] Three of the good things in life that are everywhere both scarce and desired are property, or rights over goods and services; power, or the ability to secure one's way in life even against opposition; and prestige, or social honour (Tumin, 1999).

> added to the economic dimensions of stratification two other dimensions, power and prestige. Weber saw property, power, and prestige as three separate though interacting bases on which hierarchies are created in any society. Property differences generate classes; power differences generate political parties; and prestige differences generate status groupings or strata. (pp. 12-13)

The authors above have emphasized stratification based on inequality rather than on differentiation. In Nepali context, as is seen today, there is manifestation of various kinds of differentiations in terms of caste, class, and gender. It is therefore necessary to be clear what the notions of differentiation and stratification are as they relate to inequality.

It is important to reiterate that there can be separate classes of stratification, or strata, without there necessarily being any inequality (whether of wealth, power or prestige) between them. The assumption is that inequality pervades all forms of social differentiation (Gupta, 2003). Social differentiation that separates inequality is not always appreciable. This is why an awareness of one's prejudices as well as those of others is so essential to the study of social stratification. Humankind, unfortunately, has not yet developed to a stage where we can all indulge in and celebrate our differences. Differences in language, religion, race or sex are differences that in themselves do not contain the property of inequality (Gupta, 2003).

Individuals, positions and groups are differentiated based on specific criteria in a given society. For functionalists like Tumin, "social stratification is an arrangement of any social group or society into a hierarchy of positions that are unequal with regard to power, property, social evaluation, and/or psychic gratification." And "normally, power, property (class) and social evaluation (status and prestige) are considered the most important bases of determination of position in a given society." In the classic work *Capital* (vol. III) Marx writes: "The owners merely of labour power, owners of capital, and landowners, whose respective sources of income are wages, profit, and ground-rent, in other words, wage labourers, capitalists, and land owners constitute the three big classes of modern society based on the capitalist mode of production" (p. 19). According to him, stratification is determined by the system of relations of production, and "status" of a man is determined by his position in this very system in terms of ownership and non-

ownership of the means of production (p. 67). Max Weber, on the other hand, refers to “class, status and party” as three important “orders” of society, namely economic, social and political in allocation of positions, duties and responsibilities (p. 15). Pierre Bourdieu mentions three different forms of capital: 1) economic capital (material wealth-money, stocks and shares, property); 2) cultural capital (knowledge, skills, cultural acquisitions); and 3) symbolic capital (accumulated prestige and honour) (p. 87) on the basis of which social stratification can also take place in any society.

Thus, historically developed, the fundamental bases of inequality, in the world are property, power and prestige in general. Whether the society is caste based or not, inequality prevails. Obviously, stratification and inequality among people in Nepal are not new phenomena. . It is a historical process such that stratification and inequality persist across time and space. In the following section, a brief discussion is made on the history of inequality that may helps us to understand the historical context of inequality both at world and Nepalese contexts.

1.3.2 Historical Context of Inequality: World and Nepal

Various thinkers and philosophers have their own views about the historical context of inequality, which is discussed here in brief. Tumin (1999, p. 9) writes that Plato obviously proposed a highly stratified society in which, total equality of opportunity, total elimination of private property, and single-minded concern for the common welfare were the distinguishing features of the ruling class.

Examining the different forms of commercial opportunities, Adhikari (2004, p. 118) writes, namely the Weberian-Marxian question of whether socio-cultural forms determine economic forms or vice versa. Marx, in Tucker (1978, p. 42), on the Jewish Question writes about rights of man and citizen. The rights are: equality, liberty, security, and property. He further explains:

> Liberty is the power which man has to do everything which does not harm the right of others. Liberty is, therefore, the right to do everything which does not harm others. The limits within which each individual can act without harming others are determined by law, just as the boundary between two fields is marked by a stake. The right of property is that which belongs to every citizen of enjoying and disposing as he will of his goods and revenues, of the fruits of his work and industry. The right of

> property is, therefore, the right to enjoy one's fortune and to dispose of it as one will; without regard for other men and independently of society. The term equality has here no political significance. It is only the equal right to liberty as defined above, namely that every man is equally regarded as a self-sufficient monad. Equality consists in the fact that the law is the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. Security consists in the protection afforded by society to each of its members for the preservation of his person, his rights, and his property. Security is the supreme social concept of civil society; the concept of police. The whole society exists only in order to guarantee for each of its members the preservation of his person, his rights and his property. It is in this sense that Hegel calls civil society "the state of need and of reason."(pp. 42-43)

However, inequality among people in Nepal was prevailed in terms of old caste/ethnic system, untouchability, gender hierarchy, Pahadi/Madhesi hierarchy, class hierarchy etc. since the past. In this study inequality is mainly confined to modern development achievements including landownership. The output of modern development was different for different individuals, groups and regions. As noted by Pandey (2012) depending upon the ability of individuals to afford modern facilities, they can now enjoy the luxuries of imported goods and advanced types of medical, educational and other social and infrastructural services available in the market. For those who had a regular income through engagement in the state, donor agencies, non-governmental institutions, or private business enterprises, such facilities in the market might have contributed to enhance the comfort of their domestic units. There is evidence that those who were capable of buying those facilities might have been able to transform their social and economic status (Liechty, 2003). Thus, inequality between individuals and households has gradually increased, which varies from region to region and location to location in Nepal. This inequality in Nepal is, largely, the consequence of modern development processes after 1951, which was initiated to promote living standard of people residing in different regions. Different scholars have their own perspectives on development implications in Nepal.

As noted in Bongartz and Dahal (1996), development economist Michael Todaro thinks that income difference between urban and rural areas leads to the migration of people from low economies to high economies. This migration balances out the economy of scarcity, the urban demand for more labour and rural demand for better income and employment (p. 7). On the basis of the experiences of economic

growth in many developing countries, they further indicate that "economic growth policies have led to a dual economy, which provides considerable benefits for a sizable part of the population—civil servants, favored farmers, and industrial workers—but allows the underprivileged majority to share very little (if at all) in the new prosperity" (Grant, 1973, p. 43). Policies followed by the state remained unsuccessful to reduce inequality between and within groups, on the one hand and eradication of poverty on the other.

Bongartz and Dahal (1996, p. 8) further note that the notion of cumulative causation invented by Mydral (1970) reveals that market forces promote inequalities between regions of the same economy where factor of production from slow growing areas flows to high growing areas producing 'backwash' effects thereby limiting 'spread' effects. This theory explains the vicious circle of poverty, inequality, discrimination, poor health, low education, and unemployment. Myrdal's belief that foreign aid from the developed to the developing countries does not suit the latter's long term interests (Wesel 1986, pp. 636-639). As the application of the theory shows, the vicious circle of problems fundamentally causing inequality has remained the same, only causing further inequality between and within groups, thus, giving rise to issues like ethnicity.

Based on the review of literature, some basic conclusions can be derived as follows: first, ethnicity is temporary, fluid and a changeable phenomenon, which is dynamic in nature and is constructed in a particular historical context. This context may be political, social, economic, and cultural. In Nepal, as noted by Mishra (2012) 'the origin of Ethnicist Movement I, at a certain phase of history, as of any other movement, must have been tied to a particular mode of organizing production and division of labour, marriage, descent and kinship, and of ensuring intra-group and overall solidarity' (p. 66). Therefore there was ethnicity in Nepal before 1990 as well. However, the context for speeding up the construction of ethnicity is the politico-economic change of 1990 and 2006. Second, here, ethnicity is the result of prevailing inequalities between and among individuals and households of various ethnic groups. Almost all literatures reviewed, particularly, at global and national levels including non-ethnic side debate, focus on inequality as the major cause of construction of ethnicity. Ethnic side debate also attests to the argument that ethnicity is the result of

inequality. Third, the ethnic line of the debate believes in ethnicity as the major cause of inequality. But, none of the literatures regarding ethnicity and inequality deals with ethnicity-based inequality. Instead, the non-ethnic line of the debate highlights class as the major basis of inequality. Such inequality in Nepal is related to access to resources and opportunities. Unequal access to resources and opportunities of individuals and groups is the cause of inequality between and among ethnicities. In Nepal's context, access to resources and opportunities can be assessed in terms of capability, employment and ownership. Distribution patterns of capability, employment and ownership provide a strong foundation to understand inequality between and among ethnic groups.

Ethnicity and inequality have thus been one of the most crucial issues of current debate in Nepal and there are different lines explaining them. As mentioned earlier, two basic lines: mono-ethnic and multi-ethnic are the two basic arguments on ethnicity and inequality in Nepal. It is true that there is inequality among people of all caste and ethnic groups, but what can be argued is the debate over ethnicity is about those bases of creating inequality on the one hand and intra-ethnic inequality on the other. Mono-ethnic line of debate highlights inequality within and between ethnic groups in terms of identity rather than access to resources and opportunities. Likewise, multi-ethnic line of debate highlights inequality created on the basis of access to resources and opportunities, such as capability, employment and ownership. The latter one directly influences the livelihood strategies of people. Ethnicity as it has emerged and formed in Nepal raises the issue of inequality, but this issue of inequality is not explained in terms of access to resources and opportunities. Therefore, this study examines inter- and intra-ethnic inequality in terms of access to resources and opportunities by raising question like how is access to resources distributed among ethnic groups? Whether inequality between ethnic groups follows a particular ethnic line or not? These are the fundamental research gaps which are taken as the background of research problems of the present study.

Level and type of capability, employment and ownership differ from households to households, caste and ethnic groups as well as societies including region to region in Nepal. This difference in capability, employment and ownership results in inequalities among and within social categories, for instance, ethnicity,

region, households and so on within a country. Such inequalities ultimately produce hierarchical strata in a group, society or State. Moreover, these upper and lower strata may usually be found within all social categories, for instance, ethnic groups (*Janajatis*), *Madhesi* people, *Dalits* and even the so-called high caste group (*Brahman/Chhetri*) that this study attempts to explore. Discussions over such issues of inequality within social categories such as Dalit, Madhesi, Janajati and even within Brahman and Chhetri is of great importance in contemporary Nepal.

1.4. Capability

Capability is a new approach to looking at development at present. According to Dreze and Sen (1999), capability[5] is a broad concept, and it incorporates the concerns that are associated with what is often called the 'standard of living,' but goes beyond it. Living standards relate specifically to the richness of the person's own life, whereas a person may value his or her capability also to be socially useful and influential (going well beyond the pursuit of his or her own living standards) (p. 12). Capability refers to having the necessary ability or quality to do something. In this sense, being capable means to be able to do something and to achieve what needs to be done. So, capability is the ability of individual to perform actions. But it has also been conceptualized differently in different studies and reports done by different scholars, institutions and organizations.

The Human Development Index (HDI) has been conceptualized by the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP's) annual (1990-97) Human Development Reports (HDRs) as a composite construct comprised the unweighted average value of a set of three different categories of human capabilities: longevity, as a proxy for health-related capabilities; education, as a proxy for information and knowledge-related capabilities to acquire; and income, as a proxy for capabilities to acquire a particular level of living (NHDR, 1998, p. 33).

The concept of human development foregrounds the key notions of capability and deprivation. Indeed, the HDI is a measure of capabilities and its obverse deprivation of peoples located in particular spaces, whether physical, e.g., district, country, world; social, e.g., men and women, income-poor and income-rich, high

[5] Dictionary meaning of capability is 'the power or ability to do something' (Oxford, 2011, p. 106).

caste-low caste; or temporal, e.g., past and present (NHDR, 1998, p. 33). The frame of human development emphasizes not only the enhancement of capabilities but also the use of such capabilities. Creation and reorientation of political, economic and cultural structures and processes conducive to the use of enhanced capabilities at various organizational levels, i.e., from the household to the global level, therefore, is of central concern to the discourse of human development. Capabilities, which cannot be used productively, not only demean the possessor but also harm the society by being put to unproductive or anti-social use. In addition, achieved capabilities, i.e., functional, which remain unused, depreciate with time. Public policies, which lead to an appropriate use of the existing capabilities, if enhanced, are of key significance. In other words, public policies must be sensitive to both the processes of enhancement of capabilities and the use of capabilities (NHDR, 1998, p. 31).

Thus human capability and human capital are different things. Human capital includes means to attain ends. Human capability includes both means and ends. 'Capability includes lifespan, education, income, health and so on. It includes both endsIndeed, HDI is a measure of capabilities-- and its obverse, deprivation--of peoples located in particular spaces, whether physical, e.g., district, country, world; social e.g., men and women, income-poor and income-rich, high caste-low caste; or temporal, e.g., past and present' (NHDR, 1998, p. 31). Capability is, thus, related to individual as well as group attributes but group capability is ultimately the composite of individual capability.

Enhancement of capability is necessary to increase access of individual or group to resources and power. In this light, Mishra (2007) mentions;

> Capability enhancement and empowerment, in turn, draws [draw] attention to relative distancing or dis-attachment of an individual from the family, kinship group and other primary relationships and form anchors of ascription. It also draws attention to the enhancement of capability of an individual to perform tasks related to the non-household public world both for private and public benefit. It draws attention to the constitution, identity and empowerment of an individual as a public person. (p. 17)

As mentioned earlier, the contemporary discourse on human development is framed around the twin notions of capability and deprivation. NHDR (1998), based on Nussbaum (1995a, p. 5), clarifies the notion of capability as:

> 'What are the people of the country in question actually able to do and to be?' This focus on capabilities... unlike a focus on opulence (say, NGP per capita), asks about the distribution of resources and opportunities-for... the approach asks how all the groups in the population are doing, and insists on comparing...one group...to another. Unlike an approach that focuses on utility [emphasis supplied], where utility is construed as the satisfaction of subjective preferences, the capability approach maintains that preferences are not always reliable indicators of life quality, since they may be deformed in various ways by oppression and deprivation of resources [emphasis supplied] the capability approach maintains that resources have no value in themselves, apart from their role in promoting human functioning [i.e., what people do and what they are or, in short, "doings and beings:" emphasis supplied]. It therefore directs the planner to inquire into the varying needs individuals [and groups] have for resources, if they are to become capable of an equal level of functioning. (p. 30)

Furthermore, based on Nussbaum (1995b, p. 87), NHDR (1998) notes:

> ... the central goal of public planning should be [to enhance] the capabilities of citizens to perform various important functions. The questions that should be asked... are: 'How well have the people of the country been enabled to perform the central human functions?' and, 'Have they been put in a position or mere human subsistence with respect to the functions, or have they been enabled to live well?' (p. 30)

Capability is not an attribute developed in an individual by birth. A number of things enhance individual capability. Education is one of the important factors that enhances individual capability. Education plays an important role in the socialization of children. Most importantly, for Durkheim, through education, and particularly, by learning history, children gain an understanding of the common values in society, uniting a multitude of separate individuals (Giddens, 2006, p. 686), which helps individuals to achieve new livelihood opportunity with new status in society.

In this study, capability refers to education (literacy and other various levels of schooling include type of school currently attending) and health status (present health status-excellent, good, fair and poor, illness and nutrition of children) of individuals. In the present context of Nepal, education and health have become very important components for human capability. They have also been the priority areas of investment of people and access to education and health repeatedly come along with

the explanation of ethnic-side or non-ethnic side debates as well as in the discussion of capability. Therefore, the following section discusses these two components: education and health.

1.4.1. Education

Concept of education is related to knowledge and skill as education aims to enhance both of them in an individual. 'Knowledge--broadly defined and including attitudes and skill--is one of the fundamental capabilities that a person needs to make sense of oneself and of the world one is living in. It enables one to comprehend, compare, analyze, communicate, relate to, act upon and assess the self, the nature and fellow human beings. It also enables one to establish linkages between the past, present and future, between the public and the private and between the self and the world' (Mills 1959). It helps one to re-learn, re-assess, re-act and to change oneself and one's world (NHDR, 1998, p. 75). It elaborately writes:

> Knowledge is fundamental to the functioning of a society. That is why all societies develop multiple structures and agencies for the generation, validation and transmission, including inter-generational transmission, of knowledge-systems, knowledge, attitudes and skills. In modern societies, formal schooling and schools have emerged as the prime structures and agencies for the transmission of knowledge. Literacy is a singularly significant human capability. It opens up access to printed (and audio and visual) world (and word) and to the preservation, systematization, manipulation and transmission of symbols in a way which would not be possible within the oral tradition. Literacy opens up communication beyond the primary group (p. 75).

NHDR (1998) points out the social significance of education as: 1) intrinsic importance, instrumental personal roles, instrumental social roles, instrumental process roles and empowerment and distribute roles (for detail see NHDR, 1998, p. 76, Box 5.1) (p. 76). No doubt, education opens up various doors for an individual by granting access to opportunities and resources. In order to explain inequality among ethnic groups in terms of capability it requires examination of distribution of educational status across ethnic groups of Nepal.

Education plays a vital role in enhancing individual capability as well as it increases individual access to resources and opportunities. It enables individuals to work efficiently. It enhances individual's capability so that their access to resources and opportunities increases soon after people become educated. Therefore education dimension of capability has been selected for this study. However, there are some other dimensions including health that are related to human capability. So, here follows a brief discussion on health.

1.4.2. Health

Health is fundamental aspect of human capability that plays a vital role in the way of maintain human life. NHDR (1998) reports the importance of health as:

> Good health is fundamentally and intrinsically important to living worthwhile human life. Good health, by itself, is an end of all human endeavours. In addition, access to all other human developmental opportunities and use and enhancement of all other human capabilities are fundamentally contingent on continued survival and maintenance of good health. Ill health inhibits access to opportunities in education, work, income earning, political and cultural participation and other salient and valued dimensions of human life. Ill health increases dependence and diminishes self-respect and self-worth. It inhibits individuals and collectivities from enriching their lives and from realizing their potential contributions to the larger society. The status of health is often described and assessed in relation to life expectancy, infant, child and maternal mortality, morbidity and disability (p. 56).

Therefore, health is regarded as one of the important variables of human capabilities. In the present study also health has also been treated as one of the important variables that encompasses illness, present health status and nutrition of children.

Good health status actually influences the living standard of people. Physically fit people can work hard and earn more money than those who do not have good health. Good earning or more money means better living standard. Unequal health status thus, ultimately, yields inequality in the living standards of people. Therefore, health is also one of the important variables of capability inequality. Good health is a necessary precondition of better living standards of people. Thus, health status also creates inequality among people.

1.5. Employment

Indeed, for some observers, work forms the most important aspect in a person's life, linking as it does with social class, self worth, independence, self realization and so on. But, we must be careful to distinguish between work and employment on the one hand, and unemployment and leisure on the other, for work is much more than employment. We distinguish work and employment because most people in Nepal are self-employed, not employed by others. Work means own work, enjoyable work and employment means work for others, for payment. Millions of people, almost all of them women, are engaged in work for which they receive no payment. Employment which used to mean payment for work on a contractual basis over a long period is changing in nature and is becoming increasingly short-term, and insecure, as companies seek to lower the costs of permanent employees (Moore, 1995, p. 167).

In our practice, employment[6] refers to a state of being engaged in some work or occupation. However, Giddens (2006, pp. 741-742) distinguishes between work and occupation. According to him, work, whether paid or unpaid, as being the carrying out of tasks requiring the expenditure of mental and physical effort, which has as its objective, the production of goods and services that cater to human needs. An occupation, or job, is a work that is done in exchange for regular wage or salary. Basically, employment begins from a contract between two parties, one being the employer and the other being the employee. An employee may be defined as: "A person in the service of another under any contract of hire, express or implied, oral or written, where the employer has the power or right to control and direct the employee in the material details of how the work is to be performed" (Giddens, 2006, p. 742). Sociologically, employment is socially recognized relationship (contract) between employer and employee based on interaction in the form of bargaining and negotiation for wages/salaries.

As defined in NLSS (2011), activity status relates to household members aged 5 years and above, where a person may be in the situation of "currently employed" or "currently unemployed"[7] if he or she is "currently active[8] or he or she is "currently

[6] Employment, as defined in dictionary, is the state of having paid work or a person's work or profession (Oxford Dictionary, 2011, p. 223).

[7] A person is defined as "currently employed" if he or she is either employed for at least one hour during the previous seven days, or has a job attachment if temporarily absent from work, or is

inactive.[9] Thus, employment becomes an issue for those who are currently active. Employment and work are important factors that contribute to increase the access of people to resources and opportunities. Moreover, they increase individual capacity necessary to approach services and facilities available. In modern societies, having a job is important for maintaining self-esteem. As explained by Giddens (2006, p. 777), even where work conditions are relatively unpleasant, and the tasks dull, work tends to be a structuring element in people's psychological make-up and the cycle of their daily activities. Employment and work are important because they have social significance. Giddens (2006, p. 777) further notes that money, activity level, variety, temporal structure, social contacts and personal identity as being major social significance of employment or work. Employment or work gives money in the form of a wage or salary, which is the main resource that many people depend on, to meet their needs. Work--at activity level-provides a basis for the acquisition and exercise of skills and capacities. It also provides access to contexts that contrast with domestic surroundings which are varied. As temporal structure, for people in regular employment, the day is usually organized around the rhythm of work. The work environment, as social contact, often provides friendship and opportunities to participate in shared activities with others. As such, work is usually valued for the sense of social identity it offers.

According to NHDR (1998), work and employment are highly salient components of human development. It elaborates:

> All human beings, almost all, through their adult life, are engaged in work/employment. People who do not find work and those who do not find their work worthwhile are busy looking for (alternative) work. Much of childhood socialization, schooling, training, and health care, are geared towards the world of work, and work does not cease even after "retirement." Work ceases to be an important component of human life only under extremely serious conditions of

available to work if work could be found. On the other hand, a person is "currently unemployed" if he or she did not work during the last seven days but was looking for work, or was waiting to hear from a perspective employer or to start a new job or could not find work or did not know how to look for work (NLSS, 2011, p. 50).

[8] A person is defined as "currently active" in the following situations-he/she is either employed for at least one hour during previous seven days, or has a job attachment if temporarily absent from work, or is available for work (if work could be found) (NLSS, 2011, p. 50).

[9] Others who did not work in the past seven days or did not look for work for reasons other than listed above are classified as "currently inactive" (NLSS, 2011, p. 50).

> physical, mental and/or social impairment. Largely, it is work that connects adult human beings to other fellow beings, whether family members, co-workers or employers. Human societies have historically been structured to value work as well as such a human person, whether as an individual or as a collective being, to a large extent, finds his/her worth and self respect in the world of work. (p. 98).

Further:

> Work is fundamentally connected to the twin notions of capability and deprivation--point of departure of the human development frame as well. Work does not only lead to the use of the existing stock of capability but is also of fundamental significance for the enhancement of capabilities, particularly on the knowledge/skill front. As reported in NHDR (2009), lack of work, on the other hand, limits and deprives human beings of human developmental opportunities. Work is also very closely connected to other issues and processes of human development; work is an arena in which participation and empowerment can be durably structured; equity is an issue that arguably needs to be engineered, in the first instance, in the work settings; work is intimately connected to production and productivity. Freedom from lack of work must thus be seen as a fundamental political freedom (p. 98).

Thus, the nature, growth and distribution of work and employment opportunities are fundamental in relation to capabilities and deprivations (including in relation to access to a descent level of living) and thus, to human development. The following sections describe and analyze these issues in case of Nepal.

As self-employment is the dominant component of the total employment structure, improvement in income of this component depends more on the development of skills, introduction of new technology and managerial innovations rather than on the wage structure per se. The emphasis of the employment strategy should, therefore, be on supporting self-employment through macro-economic measures, transfer of technology and investment in human development (NHDR, 198, p. 101).

As noted earlier, the status and conditions of employment of the work force does not only determine the opportunity to earn income but also affects development of personality, social status and quality of life. As mentioned in NHDR (1998), an unemployed person faces severe deprivation. Irrespective of whether or not he/she is

living an income-adequate life, lack of employment deprives a person of worthwhile individual and collective life (p. 102).

Thus work and employment are most important parts of our lives than any other single type of activity. In modern societies, having a job is important for maintain self-esteem and other many things. Work and employment have therefore much social significance. According to Giddens (1977, p. 777) a wage or salary is the main resource many people depend on to meet their needs which is possible from work. Work often provides a basis for the acquisition and exercise of skills and capacities. It also provides access to contexts that contrast with domestic surroundings. For people in regular employment, the day is usually organized around the rhythm of work and the work environment often provides friendships and opportunities to participate in shared activities with others. It usually valued for the sense of stable social identity it offers (Giddens, 2006, p. 777). Inequality in work and employment, thus, can be regarded as important dimension of inequality among people. In this thesis the researcher seek to dig out the level of inequality in work and employment among ethnic groups.

Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the term employment has been used to refer to work or activity performed by an individual, hich includes both wage employment and self employment, in both agriculture and non-agriculture sectors within and outside the country. In a job done for wage employment, an employee receives wages and salaries for the time worked. The remuneration may be in cash or kind (such as payment in food and clothings) or both. Wage employment jobs are those which provide remuneration not directly dependent on the revenue of the unit for which the person works (NLSS, 2011), but dependent on the condition of contract of payment.

1.6. Ownership

Simply speaking, ownership is the right of people to use property, consume, control or mobilize property. Ownership is thus related to property owned by individual or household. It would be better to know about property in order to internalize the concept of ownership. Apropos ownership, Marx (1978, p. 186) writes that the first form of property, in the ancient world as in the Middle Ages, is tribal property which

appears as State property, and the right of the individual to it as mere “possession” which, however, like tribal property as a whole, is confined to landed property only’ (p. 186).

Marx further argues that in case of the nations which grew out of the Middle Ages, tribal property evolved through various stages—feudal landed property, corporative movable property, capital invested in manufacture—to modern capital, determined by big industry and universal competition, i.e., pure private property, which has cast off all semblance of a communal institution and has shut out the State from any influence on the development of property. To this modern private property corresponds the modern State, which purchased gradually by the owners of property by means of taxation, has fallen entirely into their hands through the national debt, and its existence has become wholly dependent on the commercial credit, which the owners of property, the bourgeoisie, extend to it, as reflected in the rise and fall of State funds on the stock exchange (pp. 186-87).

In the same context, Marx notes that the modern French, English and American writers all express the opinion that the State exists only for the sake of private property, and this fact has penetrated into the consciousness of the normal man (p. 187). Marx further says labour produces not only commodities, it produces itself and the worker as a commodity, and does so in the proportion in which it produces commodities generally (p. 71).

The researcher would also like to continue the discussion on ownership with a quote from Veblen (1998) that simplifies the notion of ownership. Veblen writes that in the accepted economic theories the ground of ownership is commonly conceived to be the productive labor of the owner. This is taken, without reflection or question, to be the legitimate basis of property; he who has produced a useful thing should possess and enjoy it (p. 352). But one can use labour power (efforts) of others to enhance one’s property.

It tells us that ownership simply implies control over things (both physical and abstract) that individual or group possesses. Such possessions could be land, labour, house, housing plot, livestock, profit, inheritance and rent. However, this study

incorporates only land, livestock, enterprises, house and housing plot as these variables are available in NLSS data set.

Although, ownership has become popular and important today, its concept and practice associated with it have developed gradually. The form of ownership in primitive communal society was different from slave owning society and slave owning was different from feudal and so on. Veblen (1998) further writes:

> As regards this common stock, no concept of ownership, either communal or individual, applies in the primitive community. The idea of a communal ownership is of relatively late growth, and must by psychological necessity have been preceded by the idea of individual ownership. Ownership is an accredited discretionary power over an object on the ground of a conventional claim; it implies that the owner is a personal agent who takes thought for the disposal of the object owned. A personal agent is an individual, and it is only by an eventual refinement—of the nature of a legal fiction—that any group of men is conceived to exercise a corporate discretion over objects. Ownership implies an individual owner. It is only by reflection, and by extending the scope of a concept which is already familiar, that a quasi-personal corporate discretion and control of this kind comes to be imputed to a group of persons. Corporate ownership is quasi-ownership only; it is therefore necessarily a derivative concept, and cannot have preceded the concept of the individual ownership of which it is a counterfeit (p. 358).

Moreover, inequality is often regarded as the consequence of unequal property. Property is often used in explaining what people own. But Mckee (1974) reported that most people commonly mistake when conceptualizing property, such that they think of it as a material object - land or tools - but the fact of the matter is that the property is ownership of an object, not the object itself. Ownership means the right to use, consume, or have access to and control of an object--private ownership--personal goods--from clothes and household goods to automobiles and television sets. This sort of ownership does not distinguish one social system from another. But ownership of the means of production of land and natural resources, of tools, machinery and factories - is what defines a society as one of private or socialized property (p. 363). For any kind, private or social, of property ownership is essential.

Tumin (1999, pp. 48-49) mentions seven different functions of property. The first function, at all level of well being, is simply to ensure physical survival. Second, property serves to provide comfort and sometimes luxury. Third, it provides security against the possible hazards and costs of illness, unemployment, infirmity, or old age. The fourth is to acquire more property. Fifth is as a source of honour. Sixth is a major source of power. Seventh is to provide ego gratification from its sheer possession. Since inequalities in property result in other inequalities, the ways in which property is distributed is a crucial concern in all societies. The result is that in all known societies there are codes and norms that govern the ownership and distribution of property.

Ownership over property depends upon accessibility and opportunity to gain it through competition in most cases, but ascribed in some cases, parental property for example. Capable individuals and households own large property with higher level of ownership through the process of competition. This form and level of ownership may therefore differ from individuals to individuals, households to households, communities to communities, regions to regions, nations to nations from local to international levels. Mostly, ownership is practiced at individual and household levels. Distribution of overall ownership patterns among individuals and households of Nepal as is seen resembles both symmetrical and asymmetrical patterns.

Ownership is a form of relationship between an individual and means of production as well as goods and services that the owner could use, consume, control or mobilize. In the sense of labour, ownership is related to one who owns capacity to contribute labour (Mishra, 2007, p. 19). Thus, depending upon capability, individuals own labour and property and they maintain control over it and also mobilize it as per their individual interest. However, what is also seen is that ownership is also explained in different ways and in different forms.

In this study, ownership is regarded in a broad sense explained in terms of entitlements by Dreze and Sen (1999) which I quoted in long what they say:

> In each social structure, given the prevailing legal, political, and economic arrangements, a person can establish command over some alternative commodity bundles (any one bundle of which he or she can choose to consume). These bundles could be extensive, or very limited, and what person can consume will be directly

> dependent on what these bundles are. The set of alternative bundles of commodities over which a person can establish such command will be referred to as this person's 'entitlements.' (p. 9)

In order to understand the problems of society, for instance starvation, hunger and others, which are indicators of poverty, it is, therefore, necessary to go into the structure of ownership. Sen and Dreze (1995) state that "ownership relations are one kind of entitlement relations. An entitlement relation applied to ownership connects one set of ownership to another through certain rules of legitimacy. It is a recursive relation and the process of connecting can be repeated." They further write:

> Let us consider a private ownership of market: I own a car. Why is this ownership accepted? It is accepted because, I got it through exchange by paying some money I had in my possession. Why is that the ownership of my money is accepted? It is accepted because I got it by selling an apple packet owned by me. Why is that the ownership of apple packet is accepted? It is accepted because, I produced apple packet using my own labour in my own land. Why is that the ownership of land is accepted? It is so since, I inherited it from my father. And so on (p. 1).

Thus, there is a chain of ownership relations and this legitimizes one set of ownership by another.

Sen and Dreze (1995) have mentioned four major types of entitlement relations in a private ownership market economy: trade-based entitlement, production-based entitlement, own-labour based entitlement and inheritance and transfer entitlement. Everywhere, ownership of any kind exists or sometimes all kinds exist (p. 2). Therefore, ownership has been taken as one of the important variables in this study, which refers to ownership of land, livestock, agricultural equipment, and non-farm enterprises based on available in NLSS data set.

Ownership of productive assets and income is a very important part in explaining inequality. Agricultural land, the main natural resource of the country, is the major determinant of economic activities and the nation's socio-political identity. It is also, Nepal's principal productive resource. It is, nevertheless, both an extremely limited and unevenly distributed resources. Disparities in the distribution of productive assets (particularly land), income earning opportunities have significantly

influenced income distribution (NHDR, 1998, p. 10, p. 14). Ownership of resources is important because disparity in distribution of both assets and income, in turn, influences access to education, health, nutrition, and standard of living. Any effort to enhance human development, therefore, must facilitate asset and income redistribution, in addition to enhancing productivity (NHDR, 1998, p. 14).

NLSS includes various forms of ownership over assets. They are ownership over agricultural land, livestock, agricultural equipment, non-agricultural enterprises, house, housing plot which have been selected for the purpose of this study.

Thus, ownership status may have different types of implications in everyday practice. Primarily, individuals and households having prior ownership over assets or property can have access to resources and opportunities even now. Secondly, disparities in the distribution of income earning opportunities ultimately influence the ownership status of individual and households. Income earning opportunities provide individual chances of earning more which then can be used to purchase any kind of possible assets in the form of property.

Thus, the gap identified in the overall literatures reviewed above is that none of the literatures deals with intra-group, i.e. intra-ethnic inequality in terms of access to resources and opportunities prevailing in Nepal on various categories. Eco-development region (across five development regions and three ecological belts) based division is an example of such categories. Access to resources and opportunities varies from one eco-development region to another. People living in fifteen eco-development regions have different levels of living standards. NHDR (2009) clearly shows the variation in the level of development measured in terms of human development index, irrespective of caste/ethnicity and gender. Furthermore, the rural urban differences that are important while talking about the issue of ethnicity and inequality in Nepal have yet to be explored logically. In addition to that exploration of inter- and intra-ethnic inequality in terms of access to resources and opportunities is more relevant to the current debate of ethnicity in Nepal which done in this thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH PROBLEM AND OBJECTIVE

Apropos the research gap identified in the literature review at the end of chapter one, the second chapter highlights the research problem, objective and hypothesis of the study.

2.1 Research Problem

As discussed earlier, ethnicity and inequality lie at the core of current social, economic as well as political debate in Nepal. The concept of ethnicity is a relatively new one compared to that of inequality. The term inequality invariably comes simultaneously while we discuss ethnicity. However, the concept of inequality is universally used while explaining living standards and livelihood of people throughout human history, from classical Marxism to neo-liberal development today. Different approaches have been found in explaining inequality and its dimensions. Currently, ethnicity has become one of the major dimensions of explaining inequality, which has also been the most contentious issue and is often used to highlight the issue of inequalities among people in Nepal in recent years.

Inequalities among people in Nepal have been discussed in various ways. One of the important ways is spatial inequality that is inequalities based on geographical differences varying from one region to another and one urban centre to another. Midwestern and far-western mountain and hill regions in particular, have a significantly higher incidence of poverty compared to other regions and sub-regions (NESAC 1998, p. 128). Further, like in the case of inter-household income inequality, regional inequalities also have increased progressively (Mishra, 2007, p. 108). However, inequalities among people of Nepal have been discussed in different ways.

WB & DFID (2006), in "Unequal Citizens,"examine gender, caste and ethnicity as three intertwined institutions or “rules of the game” that determine individual and group access to assets, capabilities and voice in Nepal. The study further argues that in Nepal political and economic power was linked to Hindu caste system whereby the priestly Brahman category was on top of the ritual order, with the Kshetri category (i.e. kings and warriors) just beneath them and in command of

the political order; next came the Vaishya category (merchants), and the Sudra category (peasants and labourers). Beneath everyone were the occupational groups, those considered "impure," and "untouchable" (locally called "acchut"). Thus, the report highlights the issue of caste/ethnicity-based inequality emphasizing the fact of inequality as if ethnicity were the major cause or determining factor for inequality. This description speaks of the cultural symbolic, not political, economic inequality across the categories.

But, on the contrary, on the basis of two important reports (NHDR, 1998 & UNDP, 2002), Mishra (2007) discusses some important facts sabout income inequalities that prevail in Nepal. He writes:

> In particular, income inequality between the rural and urban areas is very high and widening. The district headquarters, the larger India-Nepal border towns, a few other market towns—mostly along the East-West Highway and, above all, the Kathmandu Valley—have witnessed a boom in household income during the last three decades. These areas have benefited from a host of sources: disproportionate public and private investment, expansion and centralization of public and governmental services, remittance from workers abroad who seek to invest in real estate as well as other more productive sectors, wholesale and retail trading, banking etc. (pp. 106-7).

Of course, rural areas have lower level of investment in all sectors such as education, health, business and so on. One of the causes is that most of the households rely on subsistence agriculture. Dealing with rural and urban investment scenario, particularly of urban market centres of Nepal, Mishra (2007) further writes:

> While a few other towns have begun to serve as centers of investment in the last three decades, the preeminence of the Kathmandu Valley remains undisputed. Investment in these towns and cities, however, remains largely united with agricultural production and productivity—and crafts and other industrial products—the main-stay of the vast impoverished, underemployment and politically unorganized and weak rural "hinterlands." Urban economic growth, in essence, remains largely unarticulated with the rural economy. (p. 107)

Rural-urban disparity is very important while discussing inequality among people in Nepal. Most of the country's resources have been invested in urban centres and urban people have benefitted more from State resources and opportunities. But

another report (WB & DFID, 2006), based on NLSS data, highlights ethnic inequality and provides average per capita consumption for Brahmin/Chhetri households at NRs. 19,105, whereas for Dalit, Janajati and Muslim households the figures at NRs. 10,207, NRs. 12,331, and NRs. 10,909 respectively. However, it is possible that some of these differentials are due to other factors than the effects of caste/ethnicity. Possible factors may be large household size or larger proportion of dependent children or disadvantaged remote area, which are not discussed in the report. For instance, the average household size ranges from 4.56 persons in Kathmandu valley to 5.94 persons in Far Western Development Region (FWDR), and dependency ratio of urban and rural area is 62.7 percent and 94.9 percent respectively (NLSS, 2004). These facts are, in fact, useful to examine the situation of inequality in Nepal.

If we go through NHDR (2009), HDI throughout the country varies widely in terms of urban-rural division, ecological belt, development region and sub-regions including ethnicities. On an average, urban dwellers have much higher human development index rather than their rural counterparts: 0.630 vs. 0.482 (urban HDI is 30 percent higher compared to rural HDI); those who live in the hills enjoy the highest standards, while those in the mountains the lowest. Among the development regions, Mid-Western Development Region (MWDR) has the lowest level of development, and of the 13 sub-regions, it is the lowest in 'Western Mountain' region that consists of three sub-regions: Western, Mid-Western, and Far-Western Mountain. Similarly, as Mishra (2007) argues income inequality between the rural and urban areas is very high and widening. The district headquarters, the larger Nepal-India border towns, a few other markets towns—mostly along the East-West Highway and, above all, the Kathmandu Valley—have witnessed a boom in household income during the last three decades. These areas have benefited from a host of sources: disproportionate public and private investment, expansion and centralization of public and governmental services, remittance from workers abroad who seek to invest in real estate as well as other more productive sectors, wholesale and retail trading, and banking (Mishra 2007, pp. 106-7). Furthermore, like in the case of inter-household income inequality, regional inequalities have increased progressively (Mishra, 2007, pp. 108). There are other indicators which show regional, rural urban and eco-belt based inequality prevailed in Nepal (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1

Mean Household and Per-Capita Income across Various Dimensions

Dimensions	**Mean Household Income (NRs.)***
Farwestern Development Regin	66,294
Central Development Region	91,693
Mountain	62,374
Hill	89,932
Rural	65,107
Urban	157,550
Dimensions	**Mean nominal household income (NRs.)****
Rural	171,950
Urban	318,167
Mountain	169,990
Hill	209,301
Tarai	200,092
Dimensions	**Per capita mean income (NRs.)****
Mountain	34,633
Hill	46,224
Tarai	38549

Source: NLSS, 2004 & ** NLSS, 2011*

Mean household income was highest in central development region, mountain belt and urban areas in 2004. Likewise, mean nominal household income was also higher in urban area and hill belt and per capita mean income was also higher in hill belt in 2011 as well. Thus, socio-economic characteristics of households vary widely across rural-urban areas, development regions and eco-development regions in Nepal.

Differences in these features, together with deep-seated socioeconomic and cultural discrimination, mah have given rise to disparate human development outcomes across different geographical areas, along with differing caste and ethnic groups (NHDR, 2009, p. 31). Therefore, inequalities among different human groups have also been mostly determined by geographical regions; access to power, health

and educational facilities; employment opportunities in Nepal as HDI highly varies from region to region.

Moreover, NHDR (2009) gives some other interesting and important information on HDI. One of them, for instance, is when Kathmandu is excluded, the HDI value for Nepal drops to 0.494 from 0.509, and Hill and CDR move from the top to lower positions. This surprising rise and fall in HDI as per different combination raises some important questions. One important question is why HDI of central development region goes down when Kathmandu is excluded. If this fact is linked to the issue of ethnic composition Kathmandu it yields important result. The population of Kathmandu is the composite of Newar, Brahmin, Chhetri, Tamang, Dalit and others. Since the population composition does not indicate that population of Kathmandu is dominated by hill high caste, higher HDI of Kathmandu is not due to hill high caste. This implies a higher disparity between the people of Kathmandu Valley and those outside it. Murshed and Gates (2005) also found that the extent of relative deprivation of the people in the remote rural districts of the hills and mountains is very high, and argue that the lack of development in these areas fuelled the Maoist insurgency.

There are also other facts regarding the development process in Nepal, primarily, much more focus on urban centres since the 1960s. With regard to the distribution of benefits of development initiatives, as Blaikie and others (2002) found:

> …the major part of the achievements of process of development in Nepal have been confined to Kathmandu valley, some areas of East and Central Tarai, Hetauda, Pokhara, Butwal, and Bhairawa. Even in these areas, the majority of the population has not benefitted. The fruits of development have been achieved mainly by big and middle class businessmen, landowners, contractors for construction and supply, some intelligentsia in certain technical and administrative fields, doctors, lawyers, some opportunist journalists and auditors, owners of hotels and restaurants and those administrators who have helped these in private sector and the affluent to evade regulations and the law. (p. 20)

This phenomenon clearly indicates that development efforts in Nepal have been historically centered in the urban centers from where the city dwellers have benefitted more compared to village dwellers, resulting in disparity among people of

various regions. Mishra (2012) reported that 'the Kathmandu Valley and most other urban locations were centers not only of the commodity market, but also seats of administration and, in several instances, important sites of religious activity. The urban centers also housed much of the modern social facilities and services, e.g. educational and medical establishments, transportation and communications facilities'. Lawoti (2012) also has similar observation, particularly in terms of allocation of resources, saying that if we take the Karnali Zone, for example, in a unitary Nepal when all the resources of the country were 'shared,' rural areas like Karnali had to face utter neglect, including malnutrition, hunger and starvation (p. 171). These facts indicate that rural areas are poorer compared to urban centers and they were neglected in the past in terms of allocation of resources including financial budget. Therefore the point is whether inter-ethnic difference is due to regional features, including rural urban which is not explored statistically yet.

Surprisingly, two important reports (*Unequal Citizens* and *Nepal Human Development Report*) have two distinct views on inequality in Nepal. These reports have primarily focused their analyses on dimensions excluding the urban and rural dimensions. They also do not make any efforts in examining inter- and intra-ethnic inequality with respect to the dimensions they dealt with. *Unequal Citizens* examines inequality highlighting caste/ethnicity and gender. It ranks the social categories of castes/ethnic groups in caste hierarchy and concludes that ethnic domination and discrimination are the major causes of inequality between and among social categories (Brahman/Chhetri, Janajati, Madhesi and Dalit people) which have also been a major issue of ethnic debate in Nepal. In contrast, NHDR (2009) analyzes inequalities across eco-development regions of the country. Moreover, it ranks population of various eco-development regions and concludes that people of different regions have unequal access to resources, opportunities, services and facilities that has been the major cause of inequality among people. But before that NHDR (1998) has did both-regional as well as caste/ethnic analysis. This NHDR (1998) was the first to use NLSS I data of 1995. Particularly, the low HDI of MWDR and FWDR is because of, most possibly, the lack of access to resources and opportunities.

Although there are some interesting results and facts in these two different reports regarding inequalities among people in terms of various social and spatial

dimensions, such as gender, caste, ethnicity, and eco-development regions, which give rise to theoretical, political as well as sociological problems. *Unequal Citizens* does not discuss about whether there is variation within and between caste/ethnicity and gender across eco-development regions in Nepal; whether it has some relations with nature of household or not; and whether ethnicity is the key factor responsible for inequality or not. Similarly, NHDR (2009) discusses the differences in HDI across regions. It analyzes HDI across eco-development regions and shows HDI varying from region to region. But it does not explain whether the high HDI in central region is due to dominance of high caste Brahmin/Chhetri in the region or it is because of something else or there are other reasons; whether the lowest HDI (of MWDR and FWDR, and the hills and the mountains) is attributable to caste and ethnicity or not; whether there are variations in HDI within Brahmin/chhetri, Janajati, Madhesi, and Dalit or not; whether all the households under a common social category (caste/ethnicity) can possess the same features so that they can be placed under the same rigid single caste/ethnic category or not. These are some important questions that have remained unexplained in both reports even though they have their own basis for explaining inequality. The analytical criteria used in these reports are mostly superior-inferior, privileged-marginalized, and higher-lower related to caste/ethnicity and gender as practiced in Nepal. But, in practice, there are some important questions to take into account while categorizing people: why do people feel proud to say, "I am from Kathmandu rather than from Karnali"? Which people have more access to resources and facilities? Who are those that are likely to have higher level of living standard with access to capability, employment and ownership? We therefore need to identify issues like, which one—ethnicity/caste or class/income or region/estate based—is comparatively an appropriate basis of stratifying population into different social categories or human groupings in Nepal; and what is the relationship of capability, employment and ownership with ethnicity and region based population categories?

Most important issue here is about the nature of homogeneity and heterogeneity between and within various groups. Various social categories are formed on the basis of caste/ethnicity, gender and region. The key question to be raised here is to what extent all these categories formed on any basis are homogeneous? or are they heterogeneous? Further these literatures which discuss

caste/ethnic, gender and region based inequality just report overall proportion and its composition. Just mean based or proportion based explanations are not adequate to examine inter- and intra-ethnic inequality because differences in proportion/mean may not be statistically significant. Both reports (*Unequal Citizens* and *Nepal Human Development Report*) simply provide unequal distribution in terms of differences in percentage which lacks statistical tests including analysis of variance. The simple distribution of proportion across ethnic groups is not adequate to explain inter-ethnic inequality. For this statistical test like t-test is required. In order to explore inter-ethnic inequality analysis of variance (F-test) is the key statistical tool which is also not done in both reports. Further, in order to explain intra-group inequality it is necessary to compute coefficient of variation which is also not done in both reports. These all facts show that inter- and intra-ethnic inequality in Nepal is yet to be explored.

The literature until now, argue that there is inequality between and among various caste/ethnic groups or sections of population, but analysis on inequality is done in a way where it treats each ethnic category, for instance, Brahman, Chhetri, Janajati, Madhesi, Dalit, and Newar, as a homogeneous category in terms of whatever criteria followed to explain inequality. However, Dahal (2012), to a very little extent, can be taken as an entry point, where he argues that the broad generalization about Madhesi people that they are the excluded groups is only partially true. According to him, till date, most information on Madhesi people is based on macro level generalization and vertical explanation, without understanding the complexity and diversity of socio-economic status of people among them. Similarly, Mishra (2012) has clearly mentioned that Dalit were the most excluded of all. Excluded, also, were most members of the 'high caste' group who lived in 'remote' locations and mid-western and far-western i hills in particular. It should be emphasized that human development and other indices of capability and development for these hills, which are primarily a 'high-caste-region,' are significantly lower than for the most 'ethnic regions' (p. 68). These facts provide a strong foundation for raising some important questions, such that: are all ethnic categories such as Brahman, Chhetri, Janajati, Madhesi, Dalit and Newar homogenous within themselves? or is there any kind of intra-group variation so that none of the groups can be treated as a homogeneous one?

Keeping all households and individuals under a common social category (caste/ethnicity) and argue about restriction of job opportunities for certain group would not do justice because each household/individual has its own specific characteristics in terms of capability, employment and ownership. Regarding the issue of job opportunities for a particular ethnic group, Whelpton (1997) writes:

> …restriction of job opportunities for Chhetris or Newars as groups would raise even greater problems of equity. Especially in far western Nepal, where the non-Parbatiya proportion of the population is very small, there are many Chhetris amongst the 'have-nots'. Within Kathmandu Valley, upper-caste Newars count amongst the elite, but very few members of the Jyapu cultivator caste and certainly not Newar Untouchables. Rather than allowing the best-placed individuals within each group to turn caste and ethnicity into political and economic resources for intra-elite competition, and in so doing harden presently flexible inter-ethnic boundaries, 'affirmative action' would be better focused directly on backward regions and on individuals with income or landholding below a prescribed limit (pp. 66-67).

Such reality can be found among other social groups as well. Discussing about the issue of inclusion/exclusion of Madhesi people, Dahal (2012) writes:

> Little disaggregated socio-economic and political information on these various caste/ethnic groups is available for detailed analysis. Because of this, it is difficult to identify clearly who are really the socially excluded groups or the level of inclusion/exclusion among these various groups of people in the arai in Nepal in general and Madhesi groups in particular. He further writes, in Madhesi groups, there is a clear hierarchy in social structure among them and the socio-economic condition of various groups of people differs from one group to another (pp. 3-4).

Pandey (2010, pp. 132-33), on the other hand, highlights the fact of difference that exists among people even within the context of each caste, ethnic, gender, region and religion-based social units. He also makes discussion focusing on issues of differences related to access to productive resources, performance of economic activities, experience of life chances and control of power as well as distribution of related privileges. However, he provides neither any details of the distribution of access to resources and opportunities such as capability, employment and ownership in terms of ethnicity nor of variance among ethnic groups in the respective sectors.

Thus, none of the scholars and organizations (particularly WB and DFID) have analyzed and explored inter- and intra-group variation in terms of capability, employment and ownership while discussing ethnicity and inequality in their writings and reports respectively. Both reports (*Unequal Citizens* and *Nepal Human Development Report*), which have contributed analyzing inter-ethnic inequality, have explored neither inter-group variation nor intra-group variation in terms of distribution of access to resources and opportunities using statistical techniques. It is essential to identify major dimensions of inequality and to analyze inter- and intra-group variation (inequality within Brahman, Chhetri, Janajati, Madhesi, Dalit and Newar for example) in order to understand the realistic picture of inequality existing in Nepal. Therefore, identifying key dimensions (capability, employment and ownership) of inequality and exploring inter- and intra-group inequality in terms of distribution of access to resources and opportunities (capability, employment and ownership) was the major research problem of this study.

In line with the research problem under consideration, a few attempts have been made. The first attempt has been made here in identifying the key dimensions of inequality prevailed between and within ethnic groups of Nepal which were identified as access to resources and opportunities as they relate to capability, employment and ownership. The second attempt is focused in analyzing inter- and intra-group variations by delving into the distribution of capability, employment and ownership across ethnic groups to identify whether there is significant differences between ethnic groups in the distribution of those variables across ethnic groups and whether a particular ethnic group is homogeneous unit or not. Likewise, analysis of variance between and within ethnic groups made here contributes to the debate of ethnicity and inequality exploring both inter- and intra-ethnic inequality in terms of access to resources and opportunities. Digging out both inter- and intra-ethnic inequality in terms of empirical evidences on access to resources and opportunities it ultimately contributes debates on federalization of Nepal like ethno-territorial claims of federal states, on the basis of following research questions:

1. How is access to resources and opportunities such as capability, employment and ownership distributed across ethnic groups in Nepal?

2. To what extent ethnic groups are homogenous in terms of capability, employment and ownership?

3. Why does difference in terms of access to resources and opportunities occur between (inter) and within (intra) ethnic groups?

4. Which of the ethnic groups is more heterogeneous/diverse or homogeneous/uniform in terms of distribution of capability, employment and ownership?

Based on the above research questions, an attempt has been made to explore inter- and intra-group inequality prevailing in Nepal. In so doing, this study contributes at two different levels. At first level, from empirical perspective, this study has used high quality survey data sets, both NLSS and NDHS, to examine distribution of capability, employment and ownership between and within ethnic groups of Nepal. Empirical data have been disaggregated at the level of major ethnic groups. These disaggregated data have been analyzed statistically. Major statistical techniques used in data analysis in this thesis are mean comparison, t-test, F-test and coefficient of variation. This study, thus, provides real picture of access to resources and opportunities of various ethnic groups based on empirical data. This is of first order of importance for the ongoing ethnic debate.

At second level, it provides a new theoretical basis for analyzing inter and intra-group inequality. Since theoretical framework developed for this thesis to analyze inequality, in terms of distribution of capability, employment and ownership, is synthesized form of perspectives of Marx, Weber and Sen, it is a new theoretical contribution to the sociology. Therefore, theoretically, it explores various concepts and perspectives on ethnicity on the basis of which people can be categorized into different groups such as advantageous and disadvantageous, deprived and privileged and so forth.

Thus this study contributes to the current debate of ethnicity and inequaality including federalization of state in Nepal by providing theoretical lenses and empirical facts on access to resources and opportunities in terms of capability, employment and ownership across ethnic groups. It also claims to provide an appropriate new theoretical perspective on analyzing ethnicity, social stratification

and inequality in contexts of Nepal as well as the world, because three perspectives: Sen's capability, Weber's class, status and power as employment and Marx's ownership have been collectively used to examine inequality prevailed in Nepal. However, there are some components overlapping in the perspectives of both Marx and Weber. It further gives empirically realistic picture of intra-group inequality across ethnic groups in terms of capability, employment and ownership which could be useful, particularly for political leaders, parties and organizations that have made ethnicity based inequality as one of the key political agendas at present, and it also helps to understand the current situation of inequality in Nepal. However, there are different intellectual debates over the position, leadership, and access to power of various caste/ethnic groups in Nepal. Therefore, the study focuses on some specific issues raised on research questions formulating general and specific objectives.

2.2 Objective

The general objective of the study is to examine the distribution of access to resources and opportunities across various ethnic groups in terms of capability, employment and ownership in Nepal.

The specific objectives of the study are:

i) to describe the distribution of access to resources and opportunities such as capability, employment and ownership among major ethnic groups;

ii) to explain inter- and intra-group differences in the distribution of capability, employment and ownership between and within major ethnic groups; and

iii) to explore the theoretical basis of analyzing inter- and intra-group variations on the basis of empirical evidences and theoretical arguments on inequality.

On the basis of literature review, four crucial variables: capability, employment, ownership and ethnicity have been identified to analyze inequality across ethnic groups in Nepal. The variables are further defined as dependent and independent variables. Ethnicity in terms of ethnic groups of Nepal is regarded as

independent variable and other three variables: capability, employment and ownership are regarded as mutually separate dependent variables throughout this thesis. In order to explain the relationship between dependent and independent variables, three fundamental premises have been formulated.

Distribution of access to opportunities enhancing capability, such as health status, education and nutrition of child; employment opportunities, such as the type and the nature of job, employment, underemployment and unemployment; resources, such as ownership of land, house, housing plot, livestock and agricultural equipment does not follow a particular ethnic line.

2.3 Rationale of the Study

There are some rationales behind the selection of this study area. The first rationale is that ethnicity has remained as one of the most contentious issues in the arena of politics, academia as well as public discourse since the last two decades in Nepal. One can find various explanations regarding ethnicity. Most of the explanations have highlighted inequality while discussing about ethnicity. But what is important and has yet to be explored is the question of what the most important aspects are on the basis of which inequality can be explained in the context of Nepal. There are various dimensions (i.e. social, economic, cultural, political and so on) of looking at inequality. Furthermore, some others too have not done any analyisis on disaggregated data to examine inequality based on theoretical literatures. The most basic dimensions causing inequality among people are found in terms of capability, employment and ownership which have not also been examined in any literatures reviewed throughout this thesis. These dimensions have been important because these are the major sources of maintaining livelihood status of households, including those belonging to various ethnic groups. Analysis of these three dimensions can enable us to measure inequality among ethnic groups that contributes to the ethnic debate of Nepal.

Second rationale of selecting this topic is that the broad ethnic groups such as Chhetri, Brahman, Janajati, Madhesi and Dalit are major ethnic categories of present day Nepal. Some of them, such as Dalit and Madhesi, are emerged very recently. All of the ethnicity is evoked and often highlighted while explaining inequality in Nepal.

In addition, scholars, activists, political leaders, planners, policy makers and others have been treating these social categories as homogeneous categories and assumped that there is no intra-group variation in terms of access to resources and opportunities. Analysis of inter and intra-group inequality across social categories in terms of ownership of productive resources and access to employment opportunity and education and health facilities including nutrition of children, however, is fundamentally important while discussing the inequality across ethnic groups.

The third rationale of selecting this topic is related to the availability and quality of data set. The data used in this thesis are derived from the raw data set on Nepal Living Standard Survey (NLSS), 2011, provided by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) and Nepal Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS), 2011 by New ERA. Both of these data sets are high quality nationally representative data sets. The data sets are of adequate sample size and allow us to disaggregate data in terms of major ethnic categories of Nepal. They key variables we use, i.e. ethnicity, capability, employment and ownership, are also available in the data set. These data sets provided adequate and important information on variables that this thesis aims to examine.

The study focuses on these premises as its guiding principles which are based on some fundamental concepts and theories that explain distribution of access to resources and opportunities. The concepts used in this thesis are operationalized and the relationships among variables have been explained through theoretical framework.

2.4. Conceptualization and Theoretical Framework

There are some concepts used in both conceptualization and theoretical frameworks developed in the thesis. The common concepts and variables are capability, employment, ownership and ethnicity. The concepts have been operationalized elaborately and the relationship between variables is also shown in diagrammatic form as theoretical framework. They are discussed separately in the following sections.

2.4.1. Conceptualization

Ethnicity, inequality, variation, capability, employment and ownership are some of the major concepts used in the thesis. Some other concepts such as independent

variables, dependent variables, variance, and coefficient of variation have also been used throughout the thesis. Among all, inequality, capability, employment, ownership and ethnicity have been treated as both concepts and variables. There are also some concepts related to various approaches on development and inequality. Human development is one of the latest approaches of development used to measure level of development of a country, which currently followed by many countries in the world. Human Development Index (HDI) is a key measure of human development. HDI does not only indicate the level of development but also shows inequality in development. It is, therefore, regarded as one of the key concepts used in the study.

Human Development Report (1997), published by UNDP, states that assets reduce vulnerability and build resilience against poverty. Here, the term 'assets' not only refers to economic resources, but also a broader range of tangible and non-tangible resources—economic, social, environmental and personal. Economic assets include land, livestock, house, housing plot, labour and financial capital, which provide a basis for generating income and production. Except for labour, these assets are often absent or scarcely available to poor people. Social and political assets mean people's ability to draw on relationship with other people, for example family, kinship and community help, group formation for collective power, and democratic governance. Environmental assets include both natural resources and physical and social infrastructures, such as line roads, transport, health, information and educational facilities, which are important to secure livelihood. Personal assets include physical and social well-being, such as good health, toughness, skills, talents and education. This broad definition of assets and the improvement of such assets of poor households certainly aim at releasing some of the forces or pressures described in undermining the root causes of vulnerable (Adhikari, 2008, pp. 51-52). However, in this study, access to resources and opportunities is defined as assets because it is fundamental to the livelihood of people.

In order to compare ethnic groups in terms of inter- and intra-group variation the variables regarding capability, employment and ownership have been narrowed down to two key concepts associated with assets: economic assets (land, livestock, house and housing plot, enterprises and agricultural equipment) and personal assets (good health and education including employment status). Information available on

the structure of economic activities and the patterns of distribution of productive resources, political power and other opportunities of life in society suggests that caste, ethnicity, gender, region and religion-based social units are not fully homogeneous types of social categories. The industrial distribution of economically active population provides the evidence that there is no uniformity of tasks performed by people even within the level of each caste, ethnic and regional categories (Pandey, 2010, p. 133). Thus, regional comparison across ethnic groups provides a clearer picture of inequality among ethnic groups of Nepal.

This study attempts to compare characteristics of households and individuals across ethnic groups in particular. Therefore, for purpose of the study, both household and individual have been made the fundamental units of analysis. Household is regarded as unit of analysis in the analysis of distribution of ownership and individual is regarded as unit of analysis in the analysis of employment and capability. Key[10] features of capability, employment and ownership are dealt with statistically. Such features are variables within the key dimensional variables that have been measured in different scales of measurement[11]. Based on the nature of measurement, different statistical techniques[12] have been used to compare the level of capability, employment and ownership across ethnic groups. Proportion, ratio, mean, standard deviation, variance, coefficient of variation and analysis of variance are some key statistical tools used in data analysis. These analytical tools are noted as comparison of mean and variation, i.e. t-test[13] and F-test respectively in the conceptualization of the study.

2.4.2. Theoretical Framework

In the study, theories on inequalities have been reviewed (discussed in literature review section earlier) and some specific theories have been followed to explain the dimensions of inequalities at household and individual levels pertaining to capability,

[10] Literacy status and level of education within education; illness, present health status and nutrition of children within health; employment, underemployment, under-employment and sector of employment within employment; agricultural land, livestock, agricultural equipment, non-agricultural enterprises, house and housing plot within ownership have been selected as key features/characteristics as defined by objectives (see methodology section for details).

[11] Ratio scale and nominal scale (categorical-binary) (see methodology section for details).

[12] Mean comparison, t-test, F-test and coefficient of variation (see methodology section for details).

[13] While doing statistical tests manually in the past t-test and z-test were defined and used in different ways: t-test was only for small (<30) samples and z-test was only for large (>30) samples. But today due to statistical packages like SPSS there is no different in t-test and z-test and both test are usually known as t-test and also done t-test.

employment and ownership. Among the theories reviewed, to a great extent, the study follows the theoretical approaches of Marx, Weber and Amartya Sen while identifying key dimensions. Specifically, it follows Marx's view on ownership, Weber's multidimensional notion of status and finally the capability approach of Amartya Sen. However, there is overlapping on the views of Marx and Weber on ownership and employment. Marx's view is applied to particularly ownership, Weber's multidimensional notion of status is applied to particularly employment status and Amartya Sen's capability approach is applied to education, health and nutrition of children. Weber stresses a multidimensional aspect of social stratification, more specifically, the dimensions of class, status, and party (or power) (Kerbo, 1983, p. 98). Basically, the study follows Marx's ownership as class, Weber' employment as class and status and Amartya Sen's capability. Bringing views of Marx, Weber and Sen together regarding dimensions of inequality between households and individuals, ownership, employment and capability are regarded as key dimensions of inequality summarized under the framework of this study.

For Marx, the relative status of ownership over means of production is the basic criterion to define class-based position of individuals, as well as households. It may be true that the owners of means of production differ among themselves in terms of type and amount of resources available under their disposition. Marx has the opinion that the owners and non-owners of productive resources are the important divisions of people between two major class categories (Pandey, 2010, p. 108). Therefore, access to ownership determines the class status of people.

Weber agrees with Marx that there are economic levels of differences among people. There are owners of means of production and also those who are deprived of control over those means. He argues that the owners of the means of production differ among themselves in terms of type, amount, quality and market value of resources available under their control. Those who sell labour are also different and are of different categories. There are manual labourers, technical workers, managerial personnel having different levels of skills and qualities. All these qualities may intersect among different types of individuals that there may be the possibility for formation of a multitude of economic class categories (Weber, 1946). Weberian conception of the structure and role of class has found an important place in many practical purposes. Particularly, those who are interested to implement social policies

have found it useful to mark a division among people on the basis of some economic indicators and locate the type of groups in which they want to intervene (Pandey, 2010, p. 109). However, there are other concepts that are used to identify and explain different categories in terms of level of development and those categories formed can also be treated as class categories. One of the important concepts currently used is human development on the basis of which people are categorized into various classes with different levels of HDI.

For Sen, human capability is the important factor that determines status of an individual in society. It also classifies individuals into different categories based on the level of human development as human capability. Human development, as a new concept, measures the level of human development and human capability across countries and social categories based on HDI. It (HDI) indicates various levels of capability based on which people can be placed into different categories. Such categories ultimately denote some sort of class categories. They are educated and uneducated, healthy and unhealthy are two distinct categories formed in terms of education and health status. Modern development process has created several such categories in terms of capability, employment and ownership.

According to 'modernizationists' and 'melting pot' theorists, ethnicity is associated with pre-modern stages of development and with primordial and pre-rational sentiments. The premise on which these theorists built their arguments was that such cultural, linguistic and ethnic affinities leading to ethno-national problems would 'melt' away with the completion of the modernization processes (Upadhyaha, 2012, p. 61). Nepal is under the process of modernization and the issue of ethnicity has emerged during this process of modernization in recent years. In fact, modernization process in Nepal includes availability of modern facilities like off farm employment opportunities, facilities of education, health and so on, which has created overt inequalities between and among individuals and social groups rather than through caste/ethnic relations. Improvement in the economic status of people generates changes in other aspects of social life of people. For example, regarding the problem of untouchability in case of Dalits, Dahal (2010, p. 81) writes that the people of local community "accept water" from them today because of their improved economic status. So the upward mobility of a group becomes easier if the economic condition of the groups is improved. He uses "discordance" as a conflict model

suggesting antagonistic ideas or interests or values that result in divisiveness and lack of socioeconomic development within the given populations.

In the study, multidimensional approaches of gauging inequality between and within groups have been followed. Beginning with the perspective of Marx that inequality between people can be explained in terms of the notion of class in which one class is "haves" and another is "haves not." The class haves, as explained by Marx, consists of those groups or sections of population that owns some sort of means of production including consumption materials. Here, ownership is taken as one of the key variables that include agricultural land, livestock, agricultural equipment, house and housing plot.

However, Weber's critique on Marxism gives another important dimension, different from Marx, on inequality, i.e. prestige. But, the problem is that it is difficult to define what exactly prestige is and how to measure it accurately. In this research, employment is regarded as prestige because employment is not only the source of income but also that of individual's social status. Therefore, people who have access to opportunity such as employment clearly fall under the category of 'haves' in terms of both class and prestige and those who do not have any access to opportunity fall under 'haves not' category.

Finally, the study follows the capability approach developed by Amartya Sen, which is one of the approaches to development. There are various approaches to gauzing human development and one of the current approaches is capability approach. An attempt has been made to analyze human capability that includes mainly, education, health and nutrition of children. Therefore, the study follows multidimensional approaches to analyzing inter- and intra-group inequality in terms of ethnicity in Nepal.

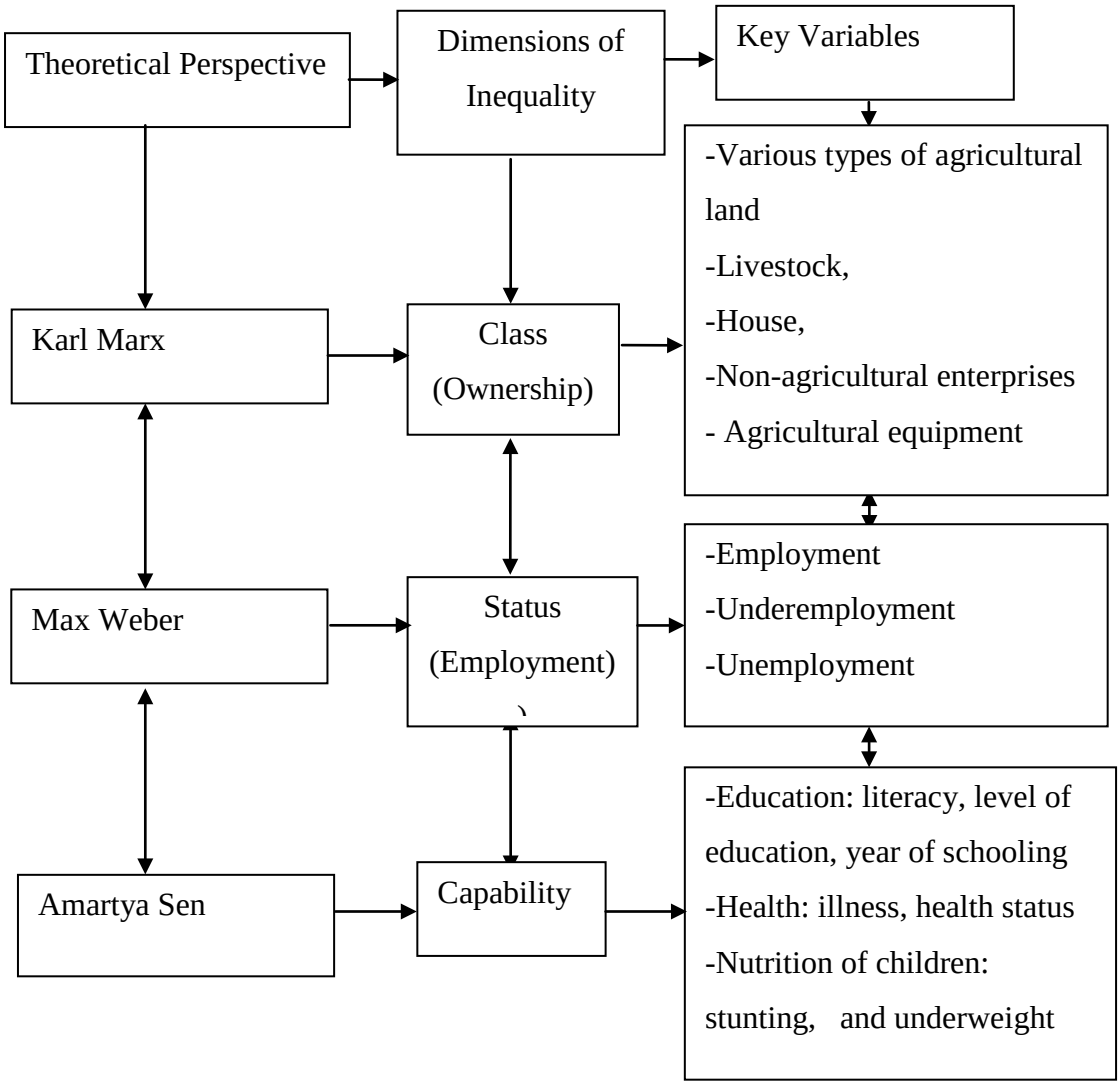
In order to arrive at a theoretical conclusion by developing a theoretical framework for the thesis, the researcher would like to quote Weber's view on prestige as being "a person's position in a stratification structure being determined by his/her life chances, or a person's power to obtain a supply of goods, external living conditions and personal life experiences." He further writes that our life chances are determined by the interrelationship of class and status and a third factor, power

(Moore, 1995, p. 72). Based on this argument, the theoretical framework followed in this study is that the life chances of household/individual are determined by household/individual's access to resources and opportunities, such as capability, employment and ownership. The individuals and households with greater access to resources and opportunities maintain higher living standards and the individuals and households with lower access or no access to resources and opportunities have a low standard of living. Therefore, access to resources and opportunities is one of the key determinants of livelihood of people. In order to examine these key determinants of livelihood of people, the researcher has integrated the theoretical contributions put forth by Marx, Weber and Sen in the study.

Capability, employment and ownership are thus key variables defined in this thesis, which were objectively selected. Each of the variables includes other specific sub-variables. The first variable ownership includes ownership of various types of agricultural land, livestock, agricultural equipment, house, housing plot and non-agricultural enterprises. Similarly, second variable employment includes employment and underemployment status, sector of employment including remittance receiving households as foreign employment. The third variable capability is defined in terms of education and health. Education includes literacy status, educational background, level of education, type of school currently attending and health variable includes illness and present health status including nutrition of children. Each specific variable has been regarded as dependent variable and ethnicity as independent variable. Theoretical dimensions of inequality identified for the purpose of this thesis are presented in Fig. 2.1.

Figure 2.1

Theoretical Perspectives and Identification of Dimensiosn of Inequality

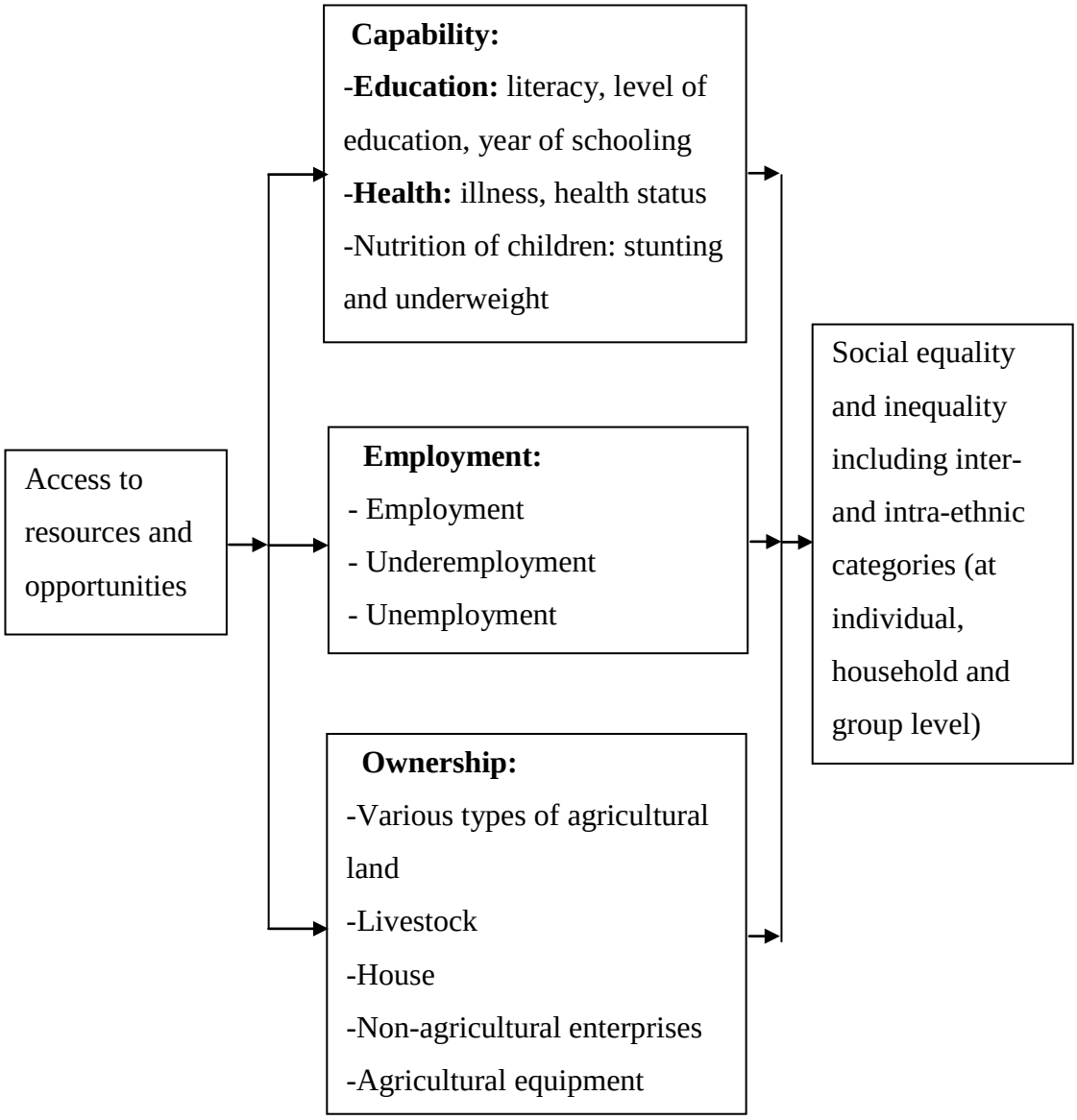


Views of Sen, Weber and Marx do not directly guide us about how to measure inequality between and within ethnic groups. However, their views, at least, highlight the selected dimensions of inequality (i.e. capability-mainly Sen, employment-Weber and Marx and ownership-Marx and Weber). In fact, the theoretical framework which could have been important but not here is that one which is about inter- and intra-ethnic inequality. This is something neither of the three authors addresses, but a synthesized and interrelated form of key dimensions identified from three key authors. Unequal access to resources and opportunities; as they relate to capability,

employment and ownership, causes inter- and intra-ethnic inequality at household and individual level which can be summarized as in figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2

Theoretical Framework



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Before entering the discussion on methodology adopted in the study, it is proper to reveal two important points about the nature of the study and sources of data sets used. First, the study is predominantly quantitative in nature. The quantitative data used in the study are from *The Nepal Living Standard Survey* (NLSS) and *The Nepal Demographic and Health Survey* (NDHS). Second, the empirical component of the study is completely based on secondary sources—CBS and New ERA. However, the methodology of the study picks up their raw data sets and begins to work from there. The key quantitative techniques used in the study are proportion, mean, variance, coefficient of variation, t-test and variance test (F-test), which are discussed here in detail. The discussion on methodology below begins with data sets, survey methodology and variables.

3.1 Data Set, Survey Methodology and Variables

Two important raw data sets have been used in the study. The raw data sets of NLSS, 2011, and NDHS, 2011 were obtained from CBS and New ERA respectively.

The survey methodology followed by CBS was drawn from the Living Standard Measurement Survey (LSMS) of which the NLSS is a component. The LSMS design was developed by the World Bank (WB)[14]. Three rounds of NLSS have been carried out as of now, which include the NLSS I, NLSS II and NLSS III and they were carried out in 1995/96, 2003/04 and 2010/11 respectively. Table 3.1 presents a summary introduction of the NLSS data set.

[14] The Living Standards Measurement Study (LSMS) was established by the Development Economics Research Group (DECRG) of the World Bank to explore ways of improving the type and quality of household data collected by statistical offices in developing countries. Its goal is to foster increased use of household data as a basis for policy decision making. Specifically, the LSMS is working to develop new methods to monitor progress in raising levels of living, to identify the consequences for households of past and proposed government policies, and to improve communications between survey statisticians, analysts, and policy makers. It had been used in 34 countries till the end of 2009.

Table 3.1

Description of NLSS Data Set

Description	Nepal Living Standard Survey I, II and III		
	1995/96*	**2003/04***	**2010/11****
Survey methodology followed	LSMS	LSMS	NLSS
Sampling procedure used	Two-stage stratified	Two-stage stratified	Three-stage stratified
Number of Primary Sampling Units (PSUs[a]) (and households) selected	275(3388)	434(5240)	599(7020)
Cross-section[b]	275(3388)	334(4008)	499(5988)
Panel[c]	-	100(1232)	100(1032)
Number of PSUs (and households) enumerated	274(3373)	421(5072)	599(7020)
Cross-section	274(3373)	326(3912)	499(5988)
Panel	-	95(1160)	100 (1032)
Urban PSUs (and households) enumerated	59(716)	97(1164)	168(2016)
Rural PSUs (and households) enumerated	215(2657)	229(2748)	332(3984)
Survey period	June1995-June 1996	April 2003-April 2004	February 2010-February 2011

*Source: *NLSS II, 2003/04 & **NLSS III, 2010/11.*

Note: LSMS= living standard measurement survey; PSU = primary sampling unit.

[a] The primary sampling unit or cluster, which is a well delineated area that includes characteristics found in the entire population. The initial frame for the NLSS-III survey was based on the frame prepared for the 2008 Nepal Labour Force Survey (NLFS). The PSUs for the NLFS-II were either individual wards or sub-wards or groups of contiguous wards in the same VDC. A group of wards was considered as single PSU, to ensure that each unit consisted of at least 30 households.

[b] Crosssection refers to the households from which data were generated at fixed point in time of the year (2003/04 or 2010/11).

[c] Panel refers to the same households enumerated at least twice over a period of time (eg. in 2003/04 and 2010/11).

CBS has prepared separate raw data files for the data obtained from each NLSS. Therefore, there are three different data sets, i.e. NLSS I, II and III

respectively.[15] However, in the study, only NLSS III cross sectional data sets have been analyzed. On the basis of raw data files of NLSS III, ten different analytical categories (ethnic groups) were first classified by recoding the ethnic groups. They were Dalit (hill Dalit and Tarai Dalit), Madhesi, Newar, Janajati, (hill/mountain Janajati and Tarai Janajati), Chhetri, Brahman, Muslim and Others and other Dalit (see Annex A for details of ethnic categorization and groupings). Subsequently, these ten categories were again recoded into eight major social categories (Chhetri, Brahman, H/M Janajati, Tarai Janajati, Madhesi, Newar, Dalit and others), which were found to be more relevant for comparision so as to elucidate the current ethnic debate in Nepal. In this line, Tarai Dalit and hill Dalit were lumped into single Dalit category afterwards. The Muslim category was lumped into other category, which is not included in the analytical domain of the study.

For NDHS, 2011, a total of 11,353 households were selected, out of which 10,888 were found to be occupied during data collection. Interviews were made for 10,826 of these existing households, yielding a response rate of 99 percent (for further details about samples, see NDHS, 2011, p. 11, (Table 1.2).

Information on nutrition of children[16] was derived from the NDHS data set. According to the NDHS 2011, the nutritional status of children under 5 is an important measure of children's health. The anthropometric data on height and weight collected in the 2011 NDHS permit the measurement and evaluation of the nutritional status of young children in Nepal. This evaluation allows identification of subgroups of the child population, which is at increased risk of faltered growth, disease, impaired mental development, and death. The NDHS 2011 collected data on the nutritional status of children by measuring height and weight of all children under 5 among the selected households, which allowed the calculation of three indices: weight-for-age, height-for-age, and weight-for-height (NDHS, 2011).

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[15] These data sets include both cross sectional and panel data. In the cross sectional data file, there are raw data for 3373 HHs in NLSS I, 3912 HHs in NLSS II and 5988 HHs in NLSS III. Similarly, the data sets include panel data as well. From 3373 households in NLSS I, 962 HHs were enumerated in 1st panel and 961 HHs in 2nd panel, whereas 1032 HHs were included in the 3rd panel.

[16] In case of nutrition of children, the information available in NDHS was analyzed under the given threshold as new WHO reference for all three variables; stunting, underweight and wasting. The percentage of malnourished children explained in the thesis is therefore unweighted mean (UM) as it is computed from the absolute number of children reported in NDHS data set simply as frequency distribution.

Indicators of the nutritional status of children were calculated using new growth standards published by the World Health Organization (WHO) in 2006. These new growth standards were generated through data collected in the WHO Multicenter Growth Reference Study (WHO, 2006). The findings of the study, which sampled 8,440 children in six countries (Brazil, Ghana, India, Norway, Oman, and the United States), describe how the children should grow under optimal conditions. The WHO child growth standards can, therefore, be used to assess children all over the world, regardless of ethnicity, social and economic influences, and feeding practices. The new growth standards replace the previously used NCHS/CDC/WHO reference standards (See NDHS, 2011, for further detail).

Measurements of height and weight were obtained for all children born in the five years preceding the survey among the sub-sample of households selected for the survey and listed in the Household Questionnaire as well. Children who were not biological children of the women interviewed in the survey were also included. Each team of interviewers carried a scale and measuring board. Measurements were made using lightweight SECA scales (with digital screens) designed and manufactured under the authority of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The measuring boards employed were specially produced by Shorr Productions for use in survey settings. Children under 2 or less than 85 cm were measured lying down on the board (recumbent length), and standing height was measured for all other children (NDHS, 2011, p. 165).

3.2 Rationale for Selecting the Data Set

NLSS data sets were chosen for a number of reasons. First, the researcher agrees with Rusley (1994, p. 336), who asserts, "I see no reason to collect new data in the field if there are documentary resources already available that address some of your research questions." The NLSS data set is, in fact, a large set of data that includes a number of variables applicable to specific kind of research. Second, the credibility of the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) and World Bank (WB) is undoubtedly high. Third, NLSS has an adequate sample size, which is a national scale survey that represents the population of Nepal in general and major caste/ethnic groups in particular. Fourth, it has adequate sample across ethnic categories. Fifth, it follows scientific survey methods by mobilizing the trained staffs of the CBS as well as provides necessary

exercise to upgrade the quality of survey and data. Finally, NDHS also has similar advantage, regarding the quality of data. Furthermore, data obtained from NLSS and NDHS were also used by various research institutions as well as individual researchers within and outside Nepal. This is enough to justify the selection of the data sets for the study.

3.3 Analysis and Interpretation of Data

Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) and Stata were two major statistical packages used for data analysis in the thesis. Weighted mean[17], computed through both SPSS and Stata simultaneously, was the key tool of data analysis. Other analytical tools were t-test, F-test and coefficient of variation. Following paragraphs discuss the tools in detail.

Mean

By far, the most commonly used measure of central tendency, the arithmetic mean x-bar, was obtained by adding up a set of scores and dividing it by the number of scores, i.e. mean is the sum of a set of scores divided by the total number of scores in the set (Levin and Fox, 2012, p. 99). By formula, x-bar = $\sum x/N$, where, x-bar = arithmetic mean, $\sum$ = sum (expressed as the Greek capital letter sigma), x = raw score in a set scores, N = total number of scores in a set. However, the mean computed for each ethnic group and overall population is weighted mean.[18] Therefore, mean computed here is population mean (μ) rather than sample mean (x-bar).

t-test

The t-test or t-ratio is a statistical technique that indicates the direction and degree a sample mean difference falls from zero on a scale of standard error units (Levin and

[17] Since NLSS was based on three stages stratified sampling, the design effect was adjusted by using svyset (survey design dataset) command available in Stata to compute weighted mean (WM). Similarly, weight cases (by both household weight and individual weight as per need) command was used in SPSS while estimating mean and variance so that the result obtained is explained in terms of population difference. However, in some cases, there are some unweighted mean (UM), particularly the proportion of malnourished children in terms of stunting, underweight and wasting.

[18] The weighted mean is calculated by first multiplying each group mean by its respective N before summing the products, and then dividing by the total number in all groups (Levin and Fox, 2012: 100).

Fox, 2012). The t-value or t-ratio was obtained by dividing the difference of mean by standard error (Std. Err.) of the difference between means.[19] By formula, $t = (x_1-x_2)/\sqrt{(\sigma x_1^2+ \sigma x_2^2)}$, where, t = t-test, x_1= mean of first group, x_2 = mean of second group, σx_1 = standard error of mean of first group, and σx_2 = standard error of mean of second group. In order to test the difference between means t-test (t-value, t-ratio or t-distribution) of significance was done as test of significance[20] to establish whether the obtained sample difference was statistically significant—the result of a real population difference—and not just a sampling error.[21] A level of significance,[22] which is usually denoted by the Greek letter α (alpha), as threshold of test of significance, was set up to test p-value (probability of rejecting null hypothesis). But, here t-value is taken as test of significance in the same threshold. The α (alpha) was set at 95% level of confidence.

F-test

F-test as analysis of variance (ANOVA)[23] was another important statistical technique used to explore inter-group variation in terms of variables related to key dimensions: capability, employment and ownership.To conduct an analysis of variance, we treat the total variance in a set of scores as being divisible into two components: the distance or deviation of raw scores from their group mean, known as variation within

[19] An estimate of the standard deviation of the sampling distribution of differences based on the standard deviations of two random samples is called standard error of the difference between means (Levin and Fox, 2012).

[20] Test of significance is a statistical test, on the basis of which null hypothesis can be rejected with confidence and the research hypothesis can be accepted with confidence.

[21] The inevitable difference between a random sample and its population based on chance alone is called standard error (Levin and Fox, 2012).

[22] A level of probability at which the null hypothesis can be rejected and the research hypothesis can be accepted is called level of significance. The alpha value is the level of probability at which the null hypothesis can be rejected with confidence and the research hypothesis can be accepted with confidence. Accordingly, we decide to reject null hypothesis if the probability is very small (for example, less than 5 chances out of 100) that the sample difference is a product of sampling error. Conventionally, we symbolize this small probability by $p < .05$. In this paper, $\alpha = .05$ was considered as level of significance which is a matter of convention as well. The t-value represents a distance of plus or minus 1.96 standard deviations from a mean difference of zero. In this case (with an $\alpha = .05$ level of significance), the t-values 1.96 & -1.96 are called critical values; if we obtain t-value that exceeds 1.96 (that is, $t > 1.96$ or $t < -1.96$), it is called statistically significant (Levin and Fox, 2012).

[23] The mean of the squared deviations from the mean of a distribution is known as variance. It is a measure of variability in a distribution. A statistical test that makes a single overall decision as to whether a significant difference is present among three or more sample means is called analysis of variance. F ratio is the result of an analysis of variance, a statistical technique that indicates the size of the between-groups mean square relative to the size of the within-groups mean square (Levin and Fox, 2012).

groups, and the distance or deviation of group means from one another, referred to as variation between groups (Levin and Fox, 2012, p. 284). In the thesis, overall variance (variation between populations of Nepal) noted as S_1^2 is regarded as between-group variance and the variance within each ethnic group was regarded as within-group variance noted as S_2^2. F-test is the ratio of between group variance to within group variance. By formula, $F = S_1^2/S_2^2$.

Coefficient of a Variation

Coefficient of variation (CV)[24] is another key technique used to examine intra-group variation (as it shows whether the group is homogeneous or not). The relative CV is simply the ratio between the standard deviation of any distribution and the mean of the same distribution. By formula, CV = δ/x-bar, where, δ is standard deviation and x-bar = mean. The function of CV is to measure within group variation in terms of given distribution. It simply tells us whether the distribution within group is heterogenous, i.e. basically, higher the CV, higher the intra-group variation and vice versa.

A summary of dimensions, variables/indicators, scales of measurement, computed statistic and utility in terms of capability, employment and ownership is shown in Table 3.1, Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 respectively.

[24] Coefficient of variation explains how far the value is deviated from the mean.

Table 3.1

Summary of Capability Related Variables/Indicators of Inequality, Scales of Measurement, Statistic Computed and Utility

Dimension	Sub-dimension	Variables/ Indicators	Scales of measurement	Statistic computed	Utility/ Purpose
Capability	Education	Literacy rate	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Year of schooling	Ratio	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Never attended school	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Currently attending	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Attending private school/college	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Literate and primary level education	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Lower secondary and secondary level education	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		SLC and intermediate level education	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Bachelor and master level education	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
	Health	Excellent health status	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test,	Compare mean and inter- and

				and CV	intra-group variances
		Good health status	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Chronic illness	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Acute illness	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Stunted children	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Underweight children	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances

Table 3.2

Summary of Employment Related Variables/Indicators of Inequality, Scales of Measurement, Statistic Computed and Utility

Dimension	Sub-dimension	Variables/ Indicators	Scales of measurement	Statistic computed	Utility/ Purpose
Employment	Employment	Employment status	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Unemployment rate	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Underemployment rate	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
	Sector of employment	Wage in agriculture	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Wage in non-agriculture	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Self in agriculture	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Self in non-agriculture	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
	Remittance	Remittance receiving households	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances

Table 3.3

Summary of Ownership Related Variables/Indicators of Inequality, Scales of Measurement, Statistic Computed and Utility

Dimension	Sub-dimension	Variables/ Indicators	Scales of measurement	Statistic computed	Utility/ Purpose
Ownership	Land	Own farmland	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Sharecropped/rented/ mortaged out farmland	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Sharecropped/rented/ mortgaged in farmland	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
	PFW	Hiring permanent farm workers	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
	Livestock and other assets	Own livestock	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Own agricultural equipment	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Own non-agricultural enterprise	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances
		Having own dwelling unit (house)	Nominal/ Binary	Mean, t-test, F-test, and CV	Compare mean and inter- and intra-group variances

CHAPTER FOUR

ETHNICITY AND CAPABILITY

Capability analysis is one of the new approaches to development, offered by Amartya Sen in order to gauge inequality and poverty. The notion of capability emphasizes capability deprivation and enhancement in being poor and non-poor as it directly influences the life chances of individuals. Capable individuals can identify and grasp the opportunities available at their disposal. Identifying and grasping opportunities are the most important aspects of human livelihood. Only capable individuals can make it possible. Individuals who use their capability to do something can bring changes in their life. Thus, capability plays a vital role in shaping inequality among individuals. The chapter basically focuses on some empirical aspects of capability emphasizing inter- and intra-ethnic inequalities linking them with evidences in other countries in the world in general and those in Nepal in particular.

The first part of the chapter introduces the concept of capability in general with an emphasis on its empirical aspects. It mainly highlights two important aspects of capability enhanced through education and health status. Access to opportunities related to education and health enhances human capability. Therefore unequal access to such opportunities results in unequal human capability. This unequal human capability ultimately leads to inequality in other aspects of human life such as job and employment status. Inequality in capability enhancement, contributes to unequal capability and it ultimately leads to unequal wellbeing or living standard. As argued by Sen, capability deprivation leads to poverty. Current debate on ethnicity in Nepal is mostly focused on inequality among groups rather than households and individuals, highlighting ethnic identity rather than concern for access to resources and opportunities required for livelihood as households and individuals. This chapter further explores empirical facts of inequality by looking at capability among individuals, which is shaped by access to opportunity that enhances capability across and within ethnic groups.

Access to opportunity enhancing capability varies across ethnic groups in Nepal. However, such type of inequality does not only exist between groups, but also within a group and a household. Individuals and households within all ethnic groups

do not have equal access to opportunities of enhancing capability. Therefore, capabilities such as literacy, education background, and type of school attended, level of education, illness, health status and nutrition of child vary from household to household and individual to individual. The chapter, thus, examines the patterns of distribution of capability between and within groups and concludes the existence of incidence of unequal distribution of access to capability both between and within households and groups. This unequal pattern of distribution of access to capability enhancing opportunities applies to all ethnic groups. Based on empirical evidences from other countries in the world as well as from Nepal, the chapter concludes that ethnic affiliation of any individual has no relation to access to opportunities enhancing capability such as health and education.

4.1 Capability

Human development, a current measure of development, foregrounds the key notions of capability and deprivation. Indeed, the human development index (HDI) is a measure of capabilities—and its obverse, deprivation—of peoples located in particular spaces, whether physical, e.g., district, country, world; social, e.g., men and women, income-poor and income-rich, high caste-low caste; or temporal, e.g., past and present (NHDR, 1998: 41). It can also be used to measure a key dimension of inequality, i.e. capability, among ethnic groups. Although, capability enhancement is at the core of human development, its framework emphasizes not only the enhancement of capabilities but also the use of such capabilities. Enhancement and use of human capabilities add value and give important meaning to the lives of people. Therefore, HDI has become an important tool for measuring development today.

UNDP conceptualizes HDI in its annual HDRs as a composite construct comprising f the unweighted average value of a set of three different categories of human capabilities: longevity, as a proxy for health related capabilities; education, as a proxy for information-and knowledge-related capabilities; and income, as a proxy for capabilities to acquire a particular level of living (NHDR, 1998, p. 33). However, in the chapter a discussion takes place on the distribution of important capability related indicators such as education and health among and within ethnic groups.

Development of a country depends upon the capability of its citizens. Each country emphasizes creating opportunities that enhance capability of people. A right based approach, one of the approaches of development, focuses on capability enhancement of people. It contributes to sustainable development in two major ways. First, it reduces social and political risks by enhancing social justice and focuses on inclusion and non-discrimination. Second, it creates stronger and more equitable institutions, not only state-owned but also civil and community ones (Moser and Norton, 2001). Enhancing social justice is to provide opportunities to people so that they can be included in the mainstream development process. Such opportunities may not only be state-owned but also civil/community-owned. Whether the facilities are government, non-government, public or private, important thing is the guarantee of social security by the state to all citizens. As Gacitua-Mario (2009) succinctly puts:

> A social guarantees approach to social policy can help protect a country's ability to meet citizens' needs and develop their capabilities. In other words, social guarantees give concrete operational meaning to economic and social rights. Policies that follow the social guarantees approach are the expression of a nondiscriminatory agreement based on the principles of equal opportunity and respect. In turn, those policies help elevate standards of social justice and reduce political and social risks that hamper democracy and growth. Social guarantees are safeguards that society provides to all its members, ensuring those members' access to essential opportunities and sources of well-being (p. 24).

Of course, access to opportunities enhancing human capabilities makes people able to look for and grasp new opportunities to generate income sources for their livelihood. Individuals who participate in capability enhancing opportunities available in society they live in attain full membership of the society. Sen's work on capabilities and entitlements (1981) stresses that what counts is not what (poor) people possess, but what it enables them to do. A concept of relative deprivation measures relative standards, inequality, whereas capabilities are absolute requirements for full membership of a society (Haan, 1999, p. 9). Education and health opportunities enhance capability of members of any society.

4.2 Education

Education related capability is fundamentally important to every individual's life. Education is not only valuable to attain other goals like job but an end itself. One of the longest running issues in sociology has been the extent to which the educational

system allows young people to develop their abilities to the full, regardless of their background, and critics who have linked educational success to other social factors such as social class, gender or ethnic background (Moore, 1995, p. 154). Whatever ethnic background, any individual come from education plays an important role in his/her life. It empowers people, enhances capabilities, and makes people capable to look for work to support their livelihood. However, it could be a basis of both creating and reducing inequality among people. Therefore, education is important as means and ends in human life.

It is also an important determinant of individuals' income, health (and that of their children), and capacity to interact and communicate with others. Inequalities in education, thus, contribute to inequalities in other important dimensions of well-being (WDR, 2006, p. 34). Therefore, measurement of education-related capabilities is important to explain inequalities between individuals and groups.

However, measuring inequality in education is not easy. Census and survey data in most countries can generally yield statistics on, for example, years of schooling. But, such information does not capture adequately the quality of education and how that might vary across individuals. Nor is it easy to compare years of schooling across countries or social groups, because those years might mean something quite different across countries and societies (WDR, 2006). But, comparison is required to examine inter- and intra-group inequalities in terms of education. It is also necessary to make standard criteria to explain the current educational system in any country including Nepal as it is connected to other variables as well.

Education is correlated with many social attributes as both cause and effect. About educational background and its attainment, Moore (1995) writes:

> The first statement we can make is that all the evidences do point to the statement that social class is directly related to educational success or failure, so that the higher the child's parents are in the social structure, the more likely he/she is to succeed in the education system. Halsey et al (cited in Moore, 1995) undertook one of the most comprehensive studies of education, social class and social mobility, as an important attempt in Britain. He looked at the educational and home backgrounds of more than 8,500 men, and then followed their careers. Halsey attempted to disentangle the effects of material deprivation and cultural deprivation in the home, in order to see which was more important. The researchers, therefore, quantified the level of family

> income, and examined the cultural background of the parents. What Halsey discovered was that cultural background and in particular, the values of the parents were most important up to the age of 11, at which point, material factors took over and there was a direct relationship between parental income and success. This reflects the additional costs of keeping children at school, purchasing books, paying for school trips, etc. Furthermore, Halsey argued that material circumstances significantly affected the type of secondary school attended and the decision whether to stay into the sixth form or not (p. 155).

Thus, there might be a number of factors including culture, which directly and indirectly influences educational attainment of individuals. Moore (1995) further writes:

> The Swann Report (Education for All) in the U.K. in 1985 found significant differences between the academic qualifications obtained by those of Afro-Caribbean origin and whites. The disparity emerged most clearly in the figures for A-level passes and university entrance. During that time, only 5 percent of students of Afro-Caribbean origin obtained an A-level, and less than one percent went to university. These figures have since improved significantly, but the difference remains. However, not all ethnic minorities do suffer from such lack of success in education. For example, those of Asian origin had similar success levels to whites, although those of Bangladeshi origin had the worst performance of all groups in the education system. On the other hand, Asian girls were the single most successful group in the British state education sector (p. 162).

We can also find debate about the problem of race and gender issues regarding educational attainment. Moore (1995) explains that although, children of Afro-Caribbean origin do relatively less well than the White and Asian children, it is not a sociological law that it should happen so. Referring to Tizzard, Moore (1995) further reports:

> Tizzard (*Young Children at School in the Inter City*) studied 343 primary school children (171 black, 10 white). The study took place over 3 years in 30 schools, and she concluded that white and black parents of primary school children were equally likely to support their children and to read to them at home. Driver studied pupils in five inner-city comprehensives. His conclusion was that black girls were more successful than either white girls or boys, whereas black male pupils performed worse. Both these studies show that factors of race and gender are quite distinct in their influence on educational performance (pp. 162-63).

From the perspective of cultural deprivation, it is argued that certain groups in society may be 'cut off' from the mainstream values of the society. This lack of culture can influence children's ability to benefit from school, as the work there does not reinforce knowledge learned at home (Moore, 1995, p. 156). About the values of school, Moore (1995) clearly writes:

> The values of school are those of the middle and upper classes and the function of schools is to reproduce those values ensuring they pass from one generation to another. This means that those who come from the appropriate backgrounds have an advantage as their home and the educational values mutually support one another. In contrast, the working-class pupils have much further to go to achieve these values. Bourdieu calls this advantage of the middle and upper classes cultural capital, drawing parallel with financial capital. Working class boys, aware of their inevitable failure, cope with the boredom and irrelevance of school to their lives, by 'mucking about' (pp. 156-57).

Socio-cultural background is one thing that influences the level of educational attainment and it is more important whether, for all individuals, there is access to opportunity of attaining education or not. Using all-India data on rural households, Borooah and Lyer (2005) found that along with household income, the presence of a school and other government services in the village, literacy of parents and parents' occupation played a significant role in explaining school enrollment, and likelihood of continuing in school once enrolled. In addition, boys were more likely to be enrolled and continue at school than girls while children from Dalit, tribal and Muslim households were less likely to be enrolled than children from other households. Thus, socio-economic and cultural background of children is very much important for a child to be enrolled, to continue at school and to attain higher level education.

These factors make measurement of education difficult. Despite such difficulties in measuring education, in this section, educational inequalities have been examined in terms of literacy,[25] educational status,[26] types of schooling,[27] mean year of schooling[28] and level of education[29] between and within broad ethnic groups in Nepal.

[25] People who can read and write is called literate.
[26] Educational status refers to never attended school/college, ever attended in the past and currently attending school/college.
[27] Type of schooling means type of school/college (government/community, private and other) individual attending currently.
[28] Mean year of schooling is the average year of grade completed (year attended at school/college).

4.2.1 Ethnicity and Education

NLSS, 2011 defines literacy as the ability to read and write. A literate person is one who can both read and write short, simple statement in any language of his or her everyday life. Literacy is perhaps the most important single means of attaining social and economic development, and opening for the individual, the door to innovative ideas and actions (Manandhar, 1995, p. 375). To be literate, for an individual, therefore, means having a kind of ability to grasp information useful to bring the required changes in their lives. Access to information and knowledge increases with the changing educational status of an individual. Literacy status is a primary step to proceed ahead to educational attainment.

Literacy Rate

Overall, in Nepal, literacy rate of people 6 and above is 61 percent. However, the rate varies across various categories of population. It is substantially higher in urban areas (77 percent) than in rural areas (57 percent). Similarly, regional disparities also exist, with the highest literacy rate in the western development region (66 percent), and the lowest rate in the central development region (57 percent). Among ecological belts, the hills belt has the highest overall literacy rate (69 percent). There is also variation in literacy rate across consumption quintiles. Seventy nine percent of the population in the richest quintile is literate while only 45 percent is literate in the poorest quintile (NLSS, 2011: 80). Therefore, disparity in literacy rate is important in terms of rural urban divide, region, belt, and consumption quintile. In addition, there is disparity in literacy rate across and within ethnicity as well (Table 4.1).

In terms of ethnicity, literacy rate among Chhetris (68.8 percent) is significantly higher when compared to national proportion (61 percent). This rate among Brahmans (78.6 percent) is also significantly higher at the same level of confidence. The proportion of literate people among H/M Janajatis (62.1 percent) is neither significantly higher nor lower in comparison to national proportion. In contrast, literacy rate is significantly lower among Tarai Janajatis (55.8 percent). Among Madhesi (44.3 percent) too it is significantly lower. Likewise, literacy rate among Dalits (48.8 percent) is significantly lower compared to national proportion. In contrast, the literacy rate among Newars (75.3 percent) is significantly higher compared to national proportion.

[29] Educational status refers to the level of education attained by any individual. It ranges from primary to master's level.

Observing F-test of variation (Table 4.1), we can see no significant difference between the national level inequality and group level inequality regarding all ethnic groups. Since F-value is not significant to all ethnic groups, the distribution of literacy rate among all ethnic groups is similar. No sifnificant difference between national variance and within group variance indicates that nature of acces to literacy status within all ethnic groups is quite similar. This also signifies that national level variance is not only caused by inter-group variance but also by intra-group variance.

Table 4.1

Literacy Rate by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	68.81	66.61	71.02	.215	5.91**	1.11	67.32
Brahman	78.62	76.67	80.57	.168	14.37**	1.42	52.15
H/M Janajati	62.16	59.64	64.69	.235	0.85	1.01	78.01
Tarai Janajati	55.80	51.23	60.36	.247	-2.10*	0.97	89.01
Madhesi	44.38	40.65	48.11	.247	-8.12**	0.96	111.95
Dalit	48.85	46.09	51.61	.250	-7.61**	0.95	102.33
Newar	75.34	71.49	79.19	.186	6.90**	1.28	57.22
Other	46.13	39.77	52.48	.249	-4.46**	0.96	108.07
Nepal	60.91	59.47	62.34	.238	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	80.12

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.
[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.
* $p < .05$, two tailed;
** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

In terms of intra-group inequality, coefficient of variation (Table 4.1) also shows that there is strong intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups in terms of literacy rate. Since the coefficient of variation ranges from 52.1 within Brahmans to 111.9 within Madhesi, it is clear that intra-ethnic inequality is wide. This suggests that distribution of literacy rate is unequally distributed among Chhetri, Brahman, H/M Janajati, Tarai Janajati, Madhesi, Dalit and Newar. Intra-group inequality is higher even within Brahman and Newar. However, it is highest among Dalits (108.07). Such

intra-group variation can also be verified from the variation across rural, urban and eco-development regions. Among the Brahmans living in urban area, 86 percent is literate and the literacy rate in rural area is 73 percent. Whereas, the literacy rate of Brahman of Far-western hill region is 56 percent only which is lowest among the Brahmans of all other regions. Smilarly, literacy rate of Newar in rural area is 73 percent. Within Newars also, the literacy rate is the lowest in Mid-western Tarai region, i.e. only 64 percent.

Thus, Brahman and Newar are also heterogeneous groups in terms of literacy status. The literacy rate within Dalit is 48.8 percent which is higher than that of Madhesi (44.3 percent) but significantly lower compared to national average (61 percent). Higher percentage of literacy rate among Dalit, compared to Madhesi, may be due to grouping both Hill Dalit and Tarai Dalit together into one Dalit category because literacy rate among Tarai Dalit is even lower than that of the Hill Dalit as reported in other literatures. With respect to the literacy rate of Tarai Dalit, Pandey (2010) presents the fact that it is the lowest among Tarai Dalit. The proportion of those who have not found opportunity to attend schools is therefore highest among the Dalits of the Tarai region. However, the proportion of population lacking opportunity to attend the schools is very large even among the Tarai middle caste and the Muslim community (pp. 128-129). This information further indicates that there is variation in literacy rate within all ethnic groups including Dalit. The proportion of literate people within Dalit is lower, but intra-group variation within Dalit is also biggest compared to other groups. As discussed in some literatures (Kisan, 2012 & Deulyan, 2012), exclusion is explained in such a way where Dalit is defined as a homogeneous category and excluded as a group. It is true in the sense that literacy rate among Dalit, particularly, Tarai Dalit, is the lowest of all. As noted by Dahal (2010:82), Dalit per se is also not a homogeneous group and their heterogeneity extends across language, religion and culture. But, to the researcher, heterogeneity goes beyond these dimensions and there is inequality among people in capability, employment and health related variables. They are discussed below.

Mean Year of Schooling

Mean year of schooling is one of the important aspects of measuring access to educational attainment. Higher level of educational attainment (excluding failed year)

by an individual yields higher the mean year of schooling. According to NLSS, 2011, the mean year of schooling is 8.1 years for the adults of Nepal. There is no significant gender gap in mean year of schooling. It is 8.2 and 8.0 for male and female respectively. However, disparities across urban and rural areas are wide. Urban areas have relatively higher mean year of schooling than the rural areas (9.6 versus 7.5 years). Access to educational opportunity is higher in urban areas compared to rural areas. Besides, disparities in terms of mean year of schooling can also be observed across broad ethnic groups (Table 4.2) as well.

Table 4.2

Mean Year of Schooling of Population 15 years and above by Ethnic Group (Who ever Attended School)

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	8.54	8.34	8.75	11.002	3.48**	1.10	38.83
Brahman	9.76	9.58	9.95	10.005	14.55**	1.21	32.40
H/M Janajati	7.26	7.02	7.49	11.043	-6.50**	1.09	45.79
Tarai Janajati	7.94	7.56	8.32	10.121	-0.93	1.19	40.06
Madhesi	7.43	7.10	7.76	10.821	-3.93**	1.12	44.28
Dalit	6.40	6.12	6.68	10.333	-11.14**	1.17	50.24
Newar	9.25	8.92	9.59	12.876	6.22**	0.94	38.77
Other	7.25	6.75	7.75	10.971	-3.37**	1.10	45.69
Nepal	8.13	8.01	8.24	12.067	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	42.75

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

Distribution of mean year of schooling shows that Chhetri (8.54 years) and Brahman (9.7 years) are significantly higher as compared to national average (8.1 years). H/M Janajatis (7.2 years) have also significantly lower mean year of schooling compared to the same national proportion. Tarai Janajatis (7.9 years) have neither significantly lower nor higher mean year of schooling. Among Madhesi too mean year of schooling (7.4 years) is significantly lower compared to national reference. Dalits (6.4 years) too have significantly lower mean year of schooling. Interesting

point is that mean year of schooling among Dalits is the lowest among all ethnic groups. In contrast, Newars (9.2 years) have significantly higher mean year of schooling compared to national average and it is the highest among all ethnic categories as well.

Significantly higher mean year of schooling among Brahmans and Newars do not mean that all individuals within them have equal access to educational opportunities and equal mean year of schooling. Some Brahmans and Newars have higher mean year of schooling compared to other individuals of the same category in other areas. Within Newars, the mean year of schooling in urban area is 10 years and in the rural area, it is 7.9 years, which clearly indicates that there is rural urban disparity in terms of level of educational attainment.

Deprivation of Dalit of the opportunity to attain higher education may be a kind of discrimination in access to educational opportunities. Although Dalits seem to be discriminated category, as a group, there is disparity within it as well. The first thing is that there is rural and urban disparity (7.1 versus 6.0 years). F-test of variance and coefficient of variation further indicates that there is also heterogeneity within Dalits.

Observing the facts about inter-group variation in the distribution of mean year of schooling, F-test of significance indicates that there is no significant difference between overall variance and variance within any of the ethnic group. Variance within all ethnic groups—Chhetri, Brahman, H/M Janajati, Tarai Janajati, Madhesi, Dalit and Newar—is neither higher nor lower with reference to national variance. Both at national and group level inequalities; in terms of mean year of schooling, is quite similar to each other. Therefore, overall variance is not larger than intra-group variance. It implies that some sections of the population have better access to educational opportunity compared to the remaining sections in the same group, which ultimately results in disparities in level of educational attainment within the group.

Distribution of mean year of schooling within a group also widely varies from individual to individual. Coefficient of variation of all ethnic groups indicates that there is strong disparity within all ethnic groups in terms of mean year of schooling.

However, disparity is the highest among Dalits (50.2), H/M Janajatis (45.7) and Madhesi (44.2), whereas it is relatively lower within Brahman and Chhetri. It raises an important question, whether all the individuals among Dalit, H/M Janajati and Madhesi have equal level of educational attainment. The straightforward answer is no because all the individuals within all groups do not have equal access to educational opportunities. Higher variance occurs because of the extreme difference between higher access level and lower access level. This inequality in access to opportunity might have been caused by the difference in availability and affordability of educational opportunities. Whatever the reasons, there is an intra-group variation within these groups and that the population is not homogeneous regarding the educational attainment or capability.

Educational Status

NLSS, 2011 survey has categorized educational status into a) never attended school (34 percent), b) attended school in the past (28 percent), and c) currently attending school (38 percent). Overall, the proportion of "never attended" school population of 6 and above is larger than the "ever attended," but is smaller than the "currently attending" categories. The distribution of educational status of individual varies across rural and urban, eco-development region and ethnic groups in Nepal.

Never Attended School

Distribution of individuals never attended school widely varies across ethnic groups. Overall, 34.4 percent individuals of 6 and above are unequally distributed among all ethnic groups (see Annex B, Table 3). Among Chhetris, this proportion is 29.5 percent, which is significantly lower compared to overall proportion. But, the proportion of individuals under this category among Brahmans is 22.9 percent, which is also significantly higher at the same confidence level. Among all individuals belonging to H/M Janajatis, the proportion of "never attended" school is 36.0 percent which is neither significantly higher nor lower. The proportion of "never attended" among Tarai Janajatis (37.9 percent), Madhesi (41.7 percent) and Dalit (42.5 percent) is significantly higher compared to national proportion. But, the proportion of "never attended" individuals among Newar (24.2 percent) is significantly lower in comparison to reference.

Analysis of variance, i.e. F-test of significance (see Annex B, Table 3) shows that there is no significant difference between the overall variance and intra-group variance in terms of population "never attended" school across all ethnic groups. Simply, it tells us that there is no significant difference inter-group inequality and intra-group inequality regarding population never attending school. It justifies the presence of a section of population which did not get opportunities to attend school within each ethnic group.

In terms of intra-group inquality, coefficient of variation (see Annex B, Table 3) shows that there is strong inequality within all ethnic groups regarding population never attended school. However, the variation between ever attended school and never attended school among Brahmans and Newars is higher and that among Madhesi and Dalits is lower.

There are various reasons for not attending school. Among these never-attendees, 30 percent reported, "parent did not want" as the primary reason, followed by other reasons – "had to work at home" (25.5 percent), "not willing to attend" (17.2 percent). Other reasons included "too young," (7.2 percent), "too expensive" (7.3 percent), "disability" (3.4 percent) and "school far away" (3.1 percent) (NLSS, 2011). The responses clearly showed that there were no reasons that directly linked ethnic background or ethnic discrimination to educational opportunity. So, it could only indirectly be linked to ethnicity. Thus, the higher proportion of the "never attended" school among Dalit and Madhesi is not because of ethnic affiliation alone, but there were a number of other reasons, behind it as reported in the NLSS of 2011.

Obviously, individuals who did not get any opportunity for attending school in the past are now either illiterate or simply literate. Those people who did not get any opportunity to receive formal education in the past are now found to have been automatically excluded from the mainstream educational opportunities. Even if they had any such opportunity, formal or informal, it may have been the basic level of education, such as literacy training. Therefore, exclusion of individuals from educational opportunity in the past has caused exclusionary status at present. If they are excluded from the educational opportunity at present, it will automatically cause exclusion in various sectors in future as well. Unless and until the access to educational opportunity is increased through various measures, such manner of

exclusion would continue because there are various sectors that mandatorily require a certain level of educational attainment. Thus, exclusion in educational opportunity at present will again induce exclusion in various sectors in future as well.

The proportion of individuals never attending school is significantly lower among Brahman and Chhetri groups compared to those among other ethnic groups. However, this reveals some important information. Despite the fact that many individuals in both these groups had the opportunity to attend school, a significant percentabge of them did not have such opportunity, and they were mostly from rural areas, 19 percent as against only 4 percent from urban areas. Obviously, chances of educational opportunities are higher in urban areas than in rural areas, which ultimately create inequality in access to educational attainment. Proportion of "never attended" school among Newars is 24.1 percent, which is very low compared to that among other ethnic groups. However, this proportion in rural areas is 15.2 percent and in urban areas, it is 8.9 percent.

Attended School in the Past

Distribution of population of "attended school" in the past across ethnicities, i.e. ethnic groups, is also important to examine inequality between and within ethnic groups. Overall, proportion of individuals who attended school in the past is 28.1 percent. This population is again distributed among all ethnic groups in various proportions (see Annex B, Table 4). Among Chhetris, 28.4 percent of six and above population has attended school in the past, which is neither significantly lower nor higher in comparison to national proportion. In Brahman population, the proportion of attended school was 37.3 percent which is significantly higher, compared to national proportion. Among H/M Janajati groups (27.4 percent), proportion of this population is neither significantly higher nor lower. But the proportion of attended school in the past among Tarai Janajati groups was significantly lower (21.1 percent). Likewise, among Madhesi groups this proportion was 26.0 percent which is also neither significantly higher nor lower. In contrast, proportion of this category of population is 21.4 percent which is significantly lower compared to the national proportion. However, in Newar population, the proportion of attended school was is significantly higher (40.2 percent). This proportion is also higher among all ethnic groups.

Distribution of population that attended school in the past across ethnic groups varied significantly. F-test of variance shows that the overall variation in terms of attended school in the past was not significantly different between inter-group inequality and intra-group inequality. Though there is variation in terms of distribution of population of attended school across all ethnic groups, there is no such difference between both inter- and intra-ethnic inequality. All ethnic groups comprise a section of population within them, which has attended school in the past and such distribution has been found to be similar among all ethnic groups.

Although there is no significant difference between inter- and intra-group inequalities, the coefficient of variation (see Annex B, Table 4) shows that there is strong inequality within all ethnic groups. However, intra-group inequality is highest among Tarai Janajatis and Dalits and lowest among Newars and Brahmans. Thus all ethnic groups are heterogeneous in terms of population of attended school in the past.

To a large extent, the current educational status is the result of access to educational opportunity in the past as mentioned earlier. Newars, usually located in urban areas with businesses as their primary profession, could have relatively higher chances of getting educational opportunity of attending school in the past as well as in the present. In addition, there is also a rural-urban difference, i.e. 13 percent and 26 percent in rural and urban areas respectively, the urban score being double the rural score. Obviously, people residing in urban centres, even within Newar group, get more advantages in terms of educational facilities available there. The second highest proportion of individuals attending school in the past is that of Chhetri (28.3 percent). Interestingly, the rural-urban disparity among Chhetri group is significantly higher, 21 percent in urban areas and quite low of 8 percent in rural areas, which is lower than that of the Dalit group (21.4 percent) which is the lowest among all. However, the scenario is changing now. Educational facilities are increassing in recent days. Even in rural areas, in Mid and Far Western rural hills, 87.18 percent households have access to primary schools and the distance to these primary schools is less than half an hour moderate walk. This has helped influence the proportion of population currently attending school within all ethnic groups.

Currently Attending School

Overall proportion of individuals currently attending school is 37.5 percent. This proportion is also distributed across all ethnic groups (Table 4.3). Among Chhetri population of 6 and above, 42.1 percent is currently attending school, which is significantly higher compared to national proportion. Similar is the case among the Brahmans (39.9 percent), i.e. it is significantly higher. Among H/M Janajatis, this proportion is 36.6, which is neither higher nor lower compared to national statistics. More importantly, it is 40.9 percent among Tarai Janajatis which is also significantly higher than the national average. The proportion of currently attending school among Madhesi groups is 32.3 percent, which is significantly lower. Thus, within Madhesi community, the currently attending population is still lower compared to all ethnic groups as well as national proportion. Among Dalits, this proportion is 36.1, which is neither significantly higher nor lower than the national average. The proportion of currently attending among Newars (35.6 percent) is also neither higher nor lower than the national proportion.

F-test of variance (Table 4.3) shows that within-group variance among all ethnic groups is not significantly different from the overall between-group variance. Inter-group inequality in terms of population currently attending school is neither significantly higher nor lower than the intra-group inequality. Within all ethnic groups, the variance among all ethnic groups is not significantly different from that between group variance.

Coefficient of variation of distribution of population currently attending school among all ethnic groups shows strong intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups. However, intra-group inequality is higher among Madhesi, Newar, Dalit and H/M Janajati and lower among Chhetri, Tarai Janajati and Brahman. Thus, all ethnic groups are heterogenous in terms of distribution of population currently attending school. Distribution of proportion of individuals within currently attending school category is therefore important (Table 4.3) to explore the current educational scenario across ethnic groups.

Table 4.3

Population Currently Attending School by Ethnic Group (6+ years)

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	42.12	40.56	43.69	.244	5.24**	0.96	117.22
Brahman	39.86	38.06	41.67	.240	2.40*	0.98	122.82
H/M Janajati	36.59	35.04	38.13	.232	-1.00	1.01	131.65
Tarai Janajati	40.91	37.63	44.19	.242	2.01*	0.97	120.19
Madhesi	32.34	29.85	34.83	.219	-3.85**	1.07	144.64
Dalit	36.11	34.14	38.07	.231	-1.26	1.02	133.03
Newar	35.64	33.39	37.89	.229	-1.50	1.02	134.37
Other	33.77	30.09	37.44	.224	-1.93	1.05	140.06
Nepal	37.46	36.68	38.24	.234	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	129.20

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

Dalit families are also sending their kids to school these days. It is interesting to note that the proportion of currently attending school among Dalits is higher in the rural areas (31 percent) than in the urban areas (5 percent). The rural-urban disparity is mainly due to unequal access to educational opportunity. In Urban Kathmandu Valley, 100 percent household has access to primary school within the distance of less than half an hour walk, whereas, this proportion in eastern rural hills is 86.23 percent.

Type of School/College currently attending

Status of individuals in currently attending school[30] or college[31] can be observed in three different types of schools/colleges in Nepal. They are government/community,[32]

[30] School refers to the institution, which offers education of grade 10 or level 10 (not counting ten years of education).

[31] College/Campus refers to educational institution, which offers education of grade 11 or more than 11 (this definition may, however, differ from current definition if +2 education is counted in school education).

institutional/private[33] and other schools/colleges.[34] Among the individuals currently attending school/college, 71.9 percent attends government/community school/college, 26.6 percent attends institutional/private school/college and the remaining 1.2 percent attends other school/college. Among these three types of currently attending, institutional/private school occupies importance from the perspective of access to better educational opportunities.

Institutional/Private School

Access to institutional/private school is regarded as better access to education in the context of Nepal. Distribution of currently attending institutional/private school is widely distributed across ethnic groups in Nepal (Table 4.4). Overall, 27 percent of students is currently attending institutional/private school. Among Chhetris, this proportion is 24.6, which is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to overall proportion. The highest proportion of currently attending students in institutional/private school/college is among Brahmans (39.6 percent), which is significantly higher compared to overall proportion. Among H/M Janajatis, this proportion is 19.1 percent and it is significantly lower. Among Tarai Janajatis, the proportion of currently attending institutional/private school is 19.4, which is significantly lower. However, within Madhesi groups, the proportion of attending institutional/private school is 34.9 percnet, which is significantly higher. However, among Dalits, the proportion of attending institutional/private school (11.5 percent) is significantly lower than the reference (26.05 percent). Among Newars, the proportion of currently attending institutional/private school/college is 48.3 percent. This proportion is significantly higher than national proportion and also it is highest among all ethnic groups.

[32]Government colleges are those school/colleges, which are run through full government aid and management. Community school/colleges are those, which are run through part of government aid and rest of community fund and management.

[33] Institutional/private school/colleges are those schools/colleges, which are run through private investment and management.

[34] Other school/college refers to informal educational institutions such as Madarsha, Guthi, Vidhyashram and so on.

Table 4.4

Population Currently Attending Institutional/ Private School by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	24.58	21.13	28.04	.185	-0.74	1.04	175.16
Brahman	39.58	35.00	44.16	.239	5.41**	0.81	123.56
H/M Janajati	19.13	15.95	22.30	.155	-3.73**	1.25	205.61
Tarai Janajati	19.42	14.23	24.61	.156	-2.38*	1.23	203.73
Madhesi	34.93	29.10	40.76	.227	2.86**	0.85	136.48
Dalit	11.52	8.60	14.44	.102	-8.35**	1.89*	277.14
Newar	48.25	40.71	55.80	.250	5.63**	0.77	103.56
Other	27.51	20.72	34.30	.199	0.41	0.97	162.33
Nepal	26.05	24.27	27.83	.193	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	168.49

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

Distribution of currently attending institutional/private school/college is distributed unevenly not only across ethnic groups but also within ethnic groups. F-test of variance (Table 4.4) shows that there is no significant difference between the two group variance and within group variance. The pattern of overall distribution across the country is similar to distribution within group as well. Since none of the comparisons of between group and within group variance is significant inter- and intra-ethnic inequality is quite similar.

Coefficient of variation (Table 4.4) further clarifies that there is strong intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups including Brahman and Dalit. Among Brahmans, 38 percent household sending the kids to private school is from the non poor households and only 1.6 percent which sends the kids to private school is from the poor households. As mentioned in case of Dalit, within Brahman too, only well-off families are educating their kids in institutional/private school/college. Among Madhesis, the proportion of children currently attending institutional/private

school/college is 34.9 in which 25.9 percent is from rural areas and 8.8 percent from urban areas. Thus, there is significant variation in terms of attending institutional/private school/college by rural - urban and poor - non poor categories rather than by ethnicity. The coefficient of variation ranges from 103.5 within Newar to 277.1 within Dalit indicating wider intra-ethnic disparity.

There is also wide variation in the distribution of individuals, studying at government/community school/college (see Annex B Table 6). Overall, 72.7 percent students, 5 year and above, currently attending school is studying at government/community school/college. First, among Newar, 50.8 percent studies at government/community school/college and 48.3 percent at institutional/private school/college. Among them, 32.1 percent is from urban areas and only 16.2 percent from rural areas. Based on these statistics, it can be said that about half the households among Newar are capable of educating their children at private school.

Similarly, by development regions, the mid-west and the far-west have much lower private school participation rates (16 percent and 17 percent respectively). In urban area, enrollment rate in private school is double the rural enrollment rate (56 percent versus 20 percent). About 60 percent of the students from the richest quintile is currently attending private schools while such figure from the poorest quintile is only 6 percent. In urban areas, more than half the students attend private schools, while in the rural areas only 20 percent attended such schools (NLSS, 2011:83). Thus, there is strong disparity between rural - urban divide, and by development region, besides the occurrence of inter-ethnic inequality.

An important aspect of it is that 88.2 percent of the children currently attending school among Dalits is accessed to government/community school/college. Obviously, this speaks that most of the Dalit are economically poor and therefore, not able to send their children to private school. The figure for Dalit households sending their children to the private school/college is only 11.5 percent, of which about 9 percent is from non-poor category and only two percent is from poor category. This shows only better off households send their kids to institutional/private school/college, and even in this, there is rural - urban disparity with no exception to

Dalit community. . About 7 percent of Dalit children going to institutional/private school/college in rural areas and only 4 percent to such institutions in urban areas indicates the presence of better off Dalit households in rural areas as well.

Only a small proportion (1.3) of students, 5 year and above, attends other school/college (see Annex B, Table 8). This proportion is also unequally distributed across all ethnic groups. It is interesting to note that all ethnic groups, except the other category (mostly Muslims), have significantly lower proportion of students attending the other category of school/college.

Level of Education

Attainment of the level of education such as literate, primary, lower secondary, secondary, SLC, intermediate/+2, bachelor and master level is intrinsically important in human life. As the level of education is one of the important parameters to explain inequality among caste/ethnic groups in Nepal, its distribution across ethnic groups is necessary to examine if we want to have an informed discussion on ethnicity. All educational levels, from literate to master, are categorized into four broad levels: literate and primary, lower secondary and secondary, SLC and intermediate, and bachelor and master. These four broad levels are dealt with here separately.

Literate and Primary Level

Among all literate people, 37.8 percent has attained literacy and primary level education. This proportion is distributed unequally among all ethnic groups (Table 4.5). Among Chhetris, the proportion of individuals who have attained literacy and primary level of education is 35.17 percent which is significantly lower than the national average. Among Brahmans, proportion of such population is 22.6, which is also significantly lower than the reference proportion. Within H/M Janajatis, proportion of this type of population is 45.1, i.e. significantly higer. But, among Tarai Janajatis and Madhesis, proportions of such population are 37.8 and 40.6 respectively, which are neither significantly lower nor higher compared to the national reference

Table 4.5

Population Attaining Literacy and Primary Level of Education by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	35.17	32.83	37.51	.228	-2.39*	1.04	135.77
Brahman	22.61	20.74	24.48	.175	-13.63**	1.35	185.01
H/M Janajati	45.19	42.66	47.72	.248	4.66**	0.96	110.13
Tarai Janajati	37.83	33.24	42.41	.235	-0.25	1.01	128.21
Madhesi	40.61	37.16	44.07	.241	1.16	0.98	120.93
Dalit	55.26	51.97	58.56	.247	9.33**	0.96	89.97
Newar	28.05	24.51	31.58	.202	-5.41**	1.17	160.17
Other	51.46	46.39	56.53	.250	4.89**	0.95	97.12
Nepal	38.44	37.13	39.74	.237	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	126.56

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

In case of Dalits, proportion of population with literacy and primary level of education is 55.2 percent. This percent is also significantly higher than the national reference. In contrast, among Newars, this proportion is 28.05, i.e. significantly lower than the overall proportion (38.4 percent). Thus literate and primary level education attained people are unequally distributed across all ethnic groups.

Although there is difference between proportions of population that have attained literacy and primary of level education, F-test of variance (Table 4.5) shows that there is no significant difference between the two variances; between-group and within-group variances, i.e. the overall inequality is similar to intra-group inequality.

However, coefficient of variation (Table 4.5) further verifies that there is strong intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups in terms of attaining literacy and primary level of education. Since the coefficient of variation ranges from 89.9 within Dalit to 185.01 within Brahman, none of the ethnic groups is homogeneous regarding the attainment of literacy and primary level of education.

Lower Secondary and Secondary Level Education

Overall, 37 percent of literate people has attained lower secondary and secondary level of education. This proportion is also widely distributed among all ethnic groups reflecting difference between means and both inter- and intra-group inequality (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6

Population Attaining Lower Secondary and Secondary Level of Education by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	38.62	36.64	40.59	.237	1.79	0.98	126.07
Brahman	35.72	33.67	37.78	.230	-0.78	1.01	134.14
H/M Janajati	36.23	34.23	38.23	.231	-0.34	1.00	132.67
Tarai Janajati	41.06	37.61	44.51	.242	2.44**	0.96	119.81
Madhesi	41.17	38.01	44.33	.242	2.71**	0.96	119.54
Dalit	33.35	30.55	36.14	.222	-2.18**	1.04	141.38
Newar	30.98	28.38	33.59	.214	-3.98**	1.09	149.25
Other	35.99	32.22	39.76	.230	-0.32	1.01	133.36
Nepal	36.62	35.66	37.58	.232	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	131.56

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.
[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.
* $p < .05$, two tailed;
** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

Among Chhetris, Brahmans and H/M Janajatis, of all literate people, 38.6 percent, 35.7 peercent, 36.2 percent respectively, have attained lower secondary and secondary level of education, which is neither significantly higher nor lower than the national reference of 36.6 percent. But, within Tarai Janajati and Madhesis, proportions of such population are 41.1 percent and 41.2 percent respectively, which are significantly higher than the national reference. In contrast, within Dalits and

Newars, percentages of such population are 33.3 and 31.0, which are significantly lower than the national percentage.

In terms of inter-group inequality, F-test of variance (Table 4.6) shows that there is no significant difference between national level inequality and group level inequality. In this regard, inter-ethnic inequality is similar to intra-ethnic inequality.

Coefficient of variation (Table 4.6) further verifies that there is strong intra-group inequality in terms of attainment of lower secondary and secondary levels of education, because the variation ranges from 119.5 in Madhesi to 149.2 in Newar.

SLC and intermediate level education

In terms of distribution of SLC and intermediate levels of educational attainment, there is inequality between and within all ethnic groups. Overall, 15.4 percent population within literate population has attained SLC and intermediate levels of education. This percentage is distributed across all ethic groups indicating both inter- and intra-group inequality (Table 4.7).

Among Chhetris, the proportion of population with SLC and intermediate levels of education is 16.9 percent, which is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to national average as reference value. Within Brahmans, the proportion of this population is 24.4 which is significanty higher, but that within H/M Janajatis, it is lower (10.7 percent). Among Tarai Janajatis, this proportion is 13.5, which is neither significantly lower nor higher. This proportion among Maehsis is 13.5 percent. Among Dalits too, the proportion (6.2) of population with SLC and intermediate levels of education is significantly lower. But, among Newars, this proportion is 24.3 percent, which is significantly higher.

Table 4.7

Population Attaining SLC and Intermediate Levels of Education by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	16.88	15.17	18.59	.140	1.65	0.92	221.92
Brahman	24.36	22.40	26.32	.184	8.34**	0.70	176.22
H/M Janajati	10.73	9.34	12.12	.096	-5.47**	1.35	288.47
Tarai Janajati	13.46	10.25	16.66	.116	-1.07	1.11	253.60
Madhesi	13.49	11.31	15.67	.117	-1.50	1.11	253.26
Dalit	6.22	4.72	7.72	.058	-10.30**	2.22	388.26
Newar	24.31	21.31	27.32	.184	5.69**	0.70	176.43
Other	9.57	6.59	12.54	.087	-3.62**	1.50	307.46
Nepal	15.27	14.42	16.12	.129	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	235.56

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

Comparison of variance (Table 4.7) gives us important information. No doubt, there is variation between ethnic groups. Also, there is variation within group. F-test of variance gives clear picture of no difference between two variances: national variance and within group variance. Since F-value is not significant to all ethnic groups, except Dalits, inter-group inequality is similar to intra-group inequality regarding SLC and intermediate educational attainment.

Coefficient of variation (Table 4.7) further supports the fact that there is strong intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups in terms of attainment of SLC and intermediate levels of education. There is a section of population within all ethic groups that attained SLC and intermediate levels of educatin. Also, there is another section which did not have access to these levels of education. Thus, all ethnic groups are heterogeneous in terms of attainment of SLC and intermediate levels of education.

Bachelor and Master Levels Education

Higher level of education could certainly have some implication on an individual's life. Attainment of bachelor and master levels of education is therefore more important. Although the proportion of population that attained bachelor and master levels education is very small (5.2 percent), it is distributed across all ethnic groups (Table 4.8). Distribution of this overall 5.2 percent population varies widely across ethnic groups. For example, among Chhetris, it is 4.9 percent, which is, neither higher nor lower significantly compared to overall proportion as reference value. Among Brahmans, this proportion is 12.2 percent, which is significantly higher than the reference value. In contrast, within H/M Janajati (1.8 percent), Tarai Janajati (2.5 percent), Dalit (1.2), and even within Madhesi (3.1 percent), the proportion of graduates is only significantly lower than the overall proportion. Conversely, within Newar (12.2 percent), it is significantly higher.

Table 4.8

Population Attaining Bachelor and Master Levels of Education by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	4.86	3.88	5.84	.046	-0.54	1.06	442.49
Brahman	12.23	10.49	13.98	.107	7.68**	0.46	267.89
H/M Janajati	1.84	1.36	2.32	.018	-9.63**	2.71**	730.33
Tarai Janajati	2.51	1.37	3.64	.024	-4.23**	2.00**	623.49
Madhesi	3.08	1.88	4.28	.030	-3.17**	1.64	561.00
Dalit	1.18	0.52	1.84	.012	-9.61**	4.20**	915.37
Newar	12.17	9.75	14.60	.107	5.58**	0.46	268.62
Other	2.06	0.90	3.21	.020	-4.86**	2.43**	689.75
Nepal	5.16	4.68	5.64	.049	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	428.82

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

In terms of between-group variance and within-group variance, F-test of variance (Table 4.8) shows that between-group variance is similar to the within-group variance among Chhetri, Brahman, and Newar. But, the within-group variance within H/M Janajatis, Tarai Janajatis, Madhesi and Dalits is significantly lower. In this case, larger between-group variance is caused by larger inter-grouup inequality. Higher between-group variance is due to significantly higher proportions of graduates among Brahman and Newar and lower among rest of the ethnic groups.

However, coefficient of variation (Table 4.8) shows that there is intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups regarding the proportion of graduates. Higher level of inequality is again among Brahmans and Newars, which is higher than the national level disparity. Thus, none of the ethnic groups is homogeneous in terms of attainment of bachelor and master levels of education.

Most importantly, access to higher level of education, particularly bachelor and master levels varies widely across ethnic groups. The proportion of individuals attaining bachelor and master levels is significantly higher among Brahman and Newar and lower among rest of the ethnic groups, except Chhetri compared to the national level percentage. This proportion is lower even within Chhetri and this is an important point, because individuals who are deprived of access to higher level of education would automatically be deprived of other employment opportunities that require higher level of educational qualification. However, deprivation of access to opportunities is not confined to any particular group as such, because there is one section of population in each ethnic group, which is deprived of higher level of educational opportunity.

4.3 Health Status

Health is generally regarded as an individual and biological phenomenon--a person is ill because of an infection, accident or perhaps because he/she has inherited some problem. If this were the case, one would expect that illness would be randomly distributed across population virtually with everyone having a similar chance of being ill. But, this is not the case when we look at social class, for lower the social class, greater the chance of illness (or morbidity, as it should be known) and lower the age of death (permanent mortality) (Moore, 1995, p. 284). Moore further writes that illness is claimed not to be an individual, random occurrence, but something that is distributed among people relative to the distribution of power and wealth—the

poorest and the least powerful comprise the sick and disabled, and these states of poverty and disability are actually caused by poverty, they are not its result (p. 279). However, power and wealth may not be the only causes that influence individual's health status. They may be social and cultural causes as well.

For sociologists, the experience of sickness and disease is an outcome of the organization of society. For example, poor living and working conditions make people sicker, and the poorer people die earlier, than do the richer people at the top of the social system. Even when there are improved living conditions and medical practices, if inequalities based on class, gender and ethnicity are not tackled, the differences between the rich and the poor persist and widen. Disease and inequality are intimately linked. The outcome of the unequal distribution of political, economic and social resources necessary for healthy life is the social gradient of health. Those at the top of the social system are healthier and live longer while those at the bottom are sick, do not live as long, and die more from preventable disease and accidents (White, 2002, p. 1). Regarding the relationship between health, illness and social class as well as level of development of any country Moore (1995), quoting research reports, writes:

> Two major pieces of research *The Black Report* and Whitehead's *The Health Divide* both found a close relationship between levels of illness, age at death, and social class. Those who are physically fit are likely to be successful in life, and be socially upwardly mobile. On the contrary, a person is chronically ill, or disabled in some way, it is difficult for them to obtain a well paid job, or have a career (p. 286). Illnesses which are relatively minor in the industrialized nations, such as measles are mortal diseases in Africa, and there are many other killer diseases which are not common at all in the industrialized nations, including cholera and filiariasis, (known as elephantiasis now unknown in Europe and the United States (p. 291).

Health, according to Marxists, can be most easily defined as the state at which one can contribute to work efficiently (Moore, 1995, p. 283). Efficient work plays an important role in the livelihood of people. People who can work efficiently can generate income required to sustain their livelihood and those who are unable to work efficiently suffer in maintaining their livelihood. Therefore, health, as defined by Marxists, plays an important role in making life and livelihood either better or worse.

Given the importance of health as a dimension of welfare, poor health can directly influence an individual's opportunities – his or her earning capacity, performance at school, ability to care for children, participation in community activities, and so on. This important instrumental function of health implies that inequalities in health often translate into inequalities in other dimensions of welfare and these inequalities are reproduced over time (WDR, 2006). Thus, health is very basic for individual's life that influences various dimensions of livelihood and human development. Therefore, health is important for wellbeing, welfare, livelihood and income of an individual.

Thus, the most important thing in individual's life is to be physically fit so that he/she can contribute efficiently in his/her work to generate necessary income to maintain livelihood and ultimately gain good health. Income is directly associated with the consumption of food because individuals try to maintain balance food in their everyday lives when income is sufficient for livelihood. Only balanced diet maintains good health, which is a capability of an individual. Therefore, good health is a basic capability of an individual that influences state of human development. Here, health status receives focus, because it directly influences individual's life standard through earnings, and also nutrition status of children as it plays a vital role to maintain child's good health. Promotion of children's health is essential for it is said that children are the future of society and nation.

Individuals who are physically fit can at least contribute to their living standards through earning. Physically fit people can perform both physical and mental work efficiently, which gives them income required for livelihood. Physical fitness or good health is a must for earning, which in the end supports livelihood.

4.3.1 Ethnicity and Health Status

In general, any person is said to be suffering from chronic illness if he/she suffers continuously from any kind of disease for a long time. NLSS (2011) defines chronic illness as a long-term suffering and includes the following: cancer, asthma, heart disease, diabetes, kidney problem, epilepsy, respiratory problem, cirrhosis of liver, H/L blood pressure, drug abuse, occupational illness (disability to do any kind of work caused by spine or leg fracture that occurred while in work). Chronic illness, in fact, is a state of being unhealthy that any individual bears for a long time. In effect, it makes people lose money, terminate job, weaken social network, and add burden to family. Being ill or not being ill and being chronically ill or not being so have

important meanings. Therefore, it is necessary to disaggregate health related variable, individuals suffering from chronic illness, in order to understand the present health status of people across various ethnic groups.

Present Health Status

According to NLSS, 2011, present health status is categorized into four major types: excellent, good, fair and poor and their proportion at national level is 58.2, 39.5, 2.2 and 0.1 percent respectively. However, here only excellent and good health status are put to detail analysis.

Excellent Health Status

Overall, 58 percent of all individuals reported excellent health status. There is unequal distribution of this overall proportion across all ethnic groups (Table 4.9). Among Chhetris, the proportion of reporting excellent health status is 51.3 percent which is significantly lower compared to national proportion as a reference. The proportion of individuals with excellent health status within Brahman is 59.7, which is neither significantly higher nor lower in comparison to the reference.

Table 4.9

Distribution of Population Having Excellent Health Status by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	51.38	46.93	55.83	.250	-2.51**	0.98	97.28
Brahman	59.78	55.20	64.37	.240	0.76	1.01	82.02
H/M Janajati	63.76	59.49	68.03	.231	2.41**	1.06	75.39
Tarai Janajati	58.02	49.45	66.59	.244	0.05	1.00	85.06
Madhesi	59.66	54.05	65.27	.241	0.61	1.01	82.22
Dalit	53.34	48.82	57.86	.249	-1.72	0.98	93.54
Newar	52.81	47.89	57.73	.249	-1.80	0.98	94.53
Other	61.97	53.70	70.23	.236	0.96	1.04	78.34
Nepal	57.79	55.45	60.12	.244	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	85.47

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

The proportion of individuals having excellent health status is significantly higher among H/M janajatis (63.7 percent). The proportion of this type of population within Tarai Janajatis, Madhesi, Dalits, and Newars is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the reference figure. There is no sifnificant difference between national average and proportion of population with these ethnic groups in terms of excellent health status.

Variation in terms of between and within group difference is important to examine inequality among ethnic groups. F-test of variance (Table 4.9) shows that there is no significance difference between two variances: between group and within group variance. This draws our attention to the fact that national level inequality in terms of excellent health status is not sifnificantly different from group level inequality. Thus inter-group variance and intra-group variance is similar in case of excellent health status.

Important point to be noted here is that even in case of excellent health status, coefficient of variation (Table 4.9) shows that there is strong inequality within all ethnic groups. Coefficient of variation ranges from 75 within Brahman to 97 within Chhetri indicating strong intra-group inequality. Thus, all ethnic groups are heterogenous in terms of excellent health status.

Good Health Status

Distribution of population with good health status at present widely varies across ethnic groups. Overall, 39.2 percent of population having good health status is distributed among all ethnic groups unequally (Table, 4.10). In Chhetri, this proportion is 45.4 percent, which is significantly higher compard to national figure as reference value. In Brahman the figure (37.2 percent) is neither significantly higher nor lower than the reference value. But in H/M Janajatis (33.2 percent), the figure is significantly lower in terms of reference value. In case of Tarai Janajati (40.2 percent), Madhesi (37.1 percent), Dalit (43.7 percent) and Newar (44 percent) the proportion of individuals with good health status is neither significantly higher nor lower in comparison to the reference value.

In terms of inter- and intra-group inequality, F-test of variance (Table 4.10) shows that there is no significant difference between national level inequality and

group level inequality. This tells us that there is no difference in the distribution pattern of individuals with good health among all ethnic groups and overall in the country. Since there is no significant difference between the two variances that between group and within group, the distribution follows the similar pattern among all ethnic groups without following a particular ethnic line.

Table 4.10

Population Having Good Health Status by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	45.39	40.92	49.85	.248	2.40*	0.96	109.69
Brahman	37.24	32.84	41.65	.234	-0.79	1.02	129.81
H/M Janajati	33.21	28.97	37.44	.222	-2.46*	1.07	141.82
Tarai Janajati	40.17	31.68	48.66	.240	0.21	0.99	122.05
Madhesi	37.19	31.84	42.55	.234	-0.69	1.02	129.94
Dalit	43.73	39.25	48.21	.246	1.75	0.97	113.43
Newar	44.04	39.22	48.86	.246	1.77	0.97	112.72
Other	35.25	27.16	43.34	.228	-0.93	1.04	135.53
Nepal	39.24	36.93	41.55	.238	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	124.44

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.
[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.
* $p < .05$, two tailed;
** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

Coefficient of variation (Table 4.10) further justifies that there is strong inequality within all ethnic groups in terms of distribution of individuals with good health status. Since coefficient of variation ranges from 112.7 within Newars to 141.8 within H/M Janajatis, there is unequal distribution of individuals with good health status within all ethnic groups. Thus, all ethnic groups are heterogeneous in terms of distribution of individuals with good health status.

Chronic Illness

Chronic illness or illness, it is the negative attribute of health status. While explaining health status of individuals in terms of illness, the proportion is usually reported

subtracting the proportion of illness from 100. Overall, 11.7 percent of people suffering from chronic illnesses are distributed across all ethnic groups unequally (Table 4.11). The proportion of people suffering from chronic illness within Chhetri is 12.5 percent, which is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the national reference fighre. However, the proportion of people with chronic illness is significantly higher among Brahmans (15.3 percent). The proportion of chronically ill people among H/M Janajatis is neither significantly higher nor lower in comparison to the reference value. Within Tarai Janajati (9.4 percent) and Madhesi (9.7 percent), the proportion of chronically ill people is significantly lower than the national reference. Among Dalits, (11.8 percent) it is neither significantly higher nor lower than the national reference. It is interesting that the proportion of chronically ill people within Newars is 13.9 percent and it is significantly higher when compared to the reference value. Thus, people suffering from chronic illness are also distributed across all ethnic groups.

There are also both inter- and intra-group variances in terms of distribution of chronically ill population. The distribution also shows that there is wider variation both between and within group (Table 4.11). F-test of variance shows that there is no significant difference between inter- and intra-group variance among all ethnic groups. It tells us that pattern of distribution at national level is similar to that in group level, so that there is no significant difference between both inter- and intra-group variance. In F-test, it is observed that national level variation in terms of chronic illness applies separately to all ethnic groups. All ethnic groups have individuals both who suffer from chronic illness and who do not suffer from it, which clearly shows intra-group inequality in terms of chronic illness. This intra-group inequality is neither significantly higher nor lower when compared to country level inequality.

Coefficient of variation (Table 4.11) further illustrates that there is strong inequality within all ethnic groups in terms of distribution of chronically ill people. Since coefficient of variation ranges from 235.4 within Brahmans to 309.6 within Tarai Janajatis, all ethnic groups are heterogeneous in terms of distribution of chronic ill people.

Table 4.11

Population Suffering from Chronic Illness by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	12.51	11.22	13.79	.109	1.17	0.94	264.50
Brahman	15.28	13.65	16.92	.129	4.09**	0.80	235.46
H/M Janajati	10.61	9.55	11.66	.095	-1.72	1.09	290.32
Tarai Janajati	9.44	7.62	11.26	.086	-2.28*	1.20	309.68
Madhesi	9.74	8.42	11.07	.088	-2.60**	1.17	304.35
Dalit	11.79	10.40	13.18	.104	0.16	0.99	273.55
Newar	13.94	12.20	15.68	.120	2.44*	0.86	248.46
Other	9.30	7.35	11.25	.084	-2.28*	1.22	312.31
Nepal	11.66	11.07	12.25	.103	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	275.22

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

The proportions of individuals without chronic illness, i.e. normally healthy people, within Brahman and Newar groups is lower, 84.9 percent and 86.1 percent respectively. Brahman group, so called high caste, is often touted as being highly educated, wealthiest, and dominating group in many spheres of life here in Nepal. To some extent, as mentioned in this and coming chapter, the proportion of Brahman in some dimensions of education, employment and ownership is found higher compared to other ethnic groups. Thus, this proportion of individuals with chronic illness draws attention to the generalization that all individuals within Brahman have better health status. However, the health status of all Brahman does not remain equal in all respect, because health status is usually determined by environmental factors, including access to health facilities and socio-economic background of individuals. Therefore, it does not matter whatever the caste/ethnic background of an individual is, he/she may suffer from chronic illness. Distribution of people suffering from chronic illness across ethnic groups gives a clear picture of the distfribution of health status of the multicultural people of Nepal (Table 4.11).

The proportion of individuals suffering from chronic illness is found significantly lower among Tarai Janajati (9.4 percent) and Madhesi (9.7 percent). In general, the proportion of individuals who are not chronically ill is highest among them. Theoretically, if individuals are not suffering from any chronic illness, they are supposed to have better health status. Here, the case of Tarai Janajati and Madhesi, to some extent, shows that more people do have better health status. However, it does not mean that they have better access to health services and nutrition facilities compared to the rest of the ethnic groups. There are also people suffering from chronic illness within all ethnic groups. Thus, distribution of individuals with chronic illness across ethnic groups indicates that any individual, irrespective of caste/ethnic background, may suffer from chronic or acute illness.

Acute Illness

Acute illness and injuries are defined as sickness (other than chronic illness) in NLSS (2011) survey. According to the survey report, of the total population, 20 percent is reported sick or injured within the last 30 days in the country. Cold/fever is by far the most common (31 percent) acute illness followed by fever (24 percent). Disaggregating the proportion of acute illness across and within ethnic groups, the proportion varies from group to group (Table 4.12). Acute illness is also a negative factor but it is unlike chronic illness. Health status is normally understood subtracting the proportion of acute illness from 100. This gives the proportion of individuals without acute illness. Acute illness also influences both present health status as well as other dimensions of livelihood of people. It is therefore important to examine distribution of individuals who suffer from acute illness.

Overall, 20.1 percent of population suffering from acute illness is widely distributed among all ethnic groups indicating both inter- and intra-group inequality (Table 4.12). Among Chhetris, the proportion of individuals with acute illness is 19.1 percent. This proportion is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the national proportion as reference value. Within Brahman, this proportion is 19.1 percent, which is also neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the reference value. Among H/M Janajatis (19.1 percent), Tarai Janajatis (18.1 percent) and Madhesi (22.5 percent), the proportions of individuals who suffered from acute illness

are also neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the reference value. But, among Dalits (22.9 percent),

Table 4.12

Population Suffering from Acute Illness by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	19.06	17.46	20.66	.154	-1.08	1.04	206.06
Brahman	19.11	16.93	21.29	.155	-0.81	1.04	205.74
H/M Janajati	19.11	17.49	20.73	.155	-1.02	1.04	205.73
Tarai Janajati	18.07	15.05	21.08	.148	-1.26	1.08	212.95
Madhesi	22.53	19.86	25.21	.175	1.70	0.92	185.42
Dalit	22.85	20.75	24.95	.176	2.37*	0.91	183.74
Newar	18.73	16.11	21.35	.152	-0.96	1.05	208.32
Other	20.10	16.57	23.62	.161	0.01	1.00	199.40
Nepal	20.08	19.16	21.00	.160	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	199.49

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.
[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.
* $p < .05$, two tailed;
** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

proportion of such population is significantly higher in comparison to the reference value, whereas, within Madhesi (18.7 percent), this proportion is neither significantly higher nor lower than the reference value. Thus, the distribution of individuals suffering from acute illness among all ethnic groups is also unequal.

However, F-test of significance (Table 4.12) shows that there is no significant difference between inter- and intra-group inequlity. Since F-value of none of the groups is significant, it suggests that country level inequality and group level inequality are similar in nature. Coefficient of variation further signifies that there is strong intra-group inequality in terms of distribution of individuals who have suffered from acute illness.

To sum up the facts on ethnicity and health status, it is found that the proportion of individuals suffering from chronic illness is lower among Dalit. It

generally indicates that most of the Dalit people have better health status. But, the disaggregated proportion in current health status does not support this fact. The proportion of individuals having good health status among Dalit is the lowest of all, which simply means that not having chronic illness does not indicate excellent health status as observed in the case of Dalit. Similarly, the proportion of people suffering from chronic illness is highest among Brahman, but the proportion of individuals with good health status is the second highest after H/M Janajati. It is interesting to note that Newar have the highest proportion of acute illness and lowest proportion of excellent health status among themselves even though most Newars reside in urban centres. Having excellent health status has no direct relationship with rural and urban differences. Within the proportion of good health status, Newar and Dalit have the highest proportion, 44.6 percent and 44 percent respectively. The proportion of individuals with fair health status is too small among all ethnic groups (see Anenx B, Table 21). Likewise, the proportion of individuals with poor health status is also negligible among all ethnic groups (see Annex B, Table 22). Thus, distribution of individuals in terms of illness and health status across ethnic groups explicitly shows none of the ethnic groups is homogeneous in terms of health status. There are people suffering from chronic and acute illness within all groups. Also, there are people with various health status: excellent, good, fair and poor within all ethnic categories. Based on this analysis, it can be said that having excellent health status or suffering from illness has no relationship to ethnic background. People may suffer from illness or may have excellent health status irrespective of caste/ethnicity.

4.3.2 Ethnicity and Nutrition of Children

Good nutrition is the basis for health and development of children. Well-nourished children grow into healthy adults and perform better in their life. Undernourished children, on the other hand, are more vulnerable to diseases like diarrhea and respiratory ailments (NLSS, 2011). Information on weight and height of children under five is available in NLSS (2011). However, the information on nutrition of children (stunting, underweight and wasting) is generated here on the basis of NHDS (2011) data set (see methodology section for detail).

The nutrition status of a child[35] is assessed by relating their height and weight to their age. The key indicators for monitoring the nutritional status of a child are underweight (weight-for-age), stunting (height-for-age) and wasting (weight-for-height). These indicators are computed by obtaining the height or length and weight of the child along with the age in months.

NDHS (2011, p. 164) reported that the height-for-age index provides an indicator of linear growth retardation and cumulative growth deficits in children. Children whose height-for-age Z-score is below minus two standard deviations (-2 SD) from the median of the WHO reference population are considered short for their age (stunted), or chronically malnourished. Children who are below minus three standard deviations (-3 SD) are considered severely stunted. Stunting reflects failure to receive adequate nutrition over a long period of time, and is affected by recurrent and chronic illness. Height-for-age, therefore, represents the long-term effects of malnutrition in a population and is not sensitive to recent, short-term changes in dietary intake.

The weight-for-height index measures body mass in relation to body height or length and describes current nutritional status. Children with Z-scores below minus two standard deviations (-2 SD) are considered thin (wasted) or acutely malnourished. Wasting represents the failure to receive adequate nutrition in the period immediately preceding the survey and may be the result of inadequate food intake or a recent episode of illness causing loss of weight and the onset of malnutrition. Children with a weight-for-height index below minus three standard deviations (-3 SD) are considered severely wasted (NDHS, 2011, p. 164).The weight-for-height index also provides data on overweight and obesity. Children more than two standard deviations (+2 SD) above the median weight-for-height are considered overweight or obese (NDHS, 2011, pp. 164-65).

[35] Indicators of the nutrition status of children were calculated using new growth standards published by the World Health Organization (WHO) in 2006. These new growth standards were generated through data collected in the WHO Multicenter Growth Reference Study (WHO, 2006). The findings of that study, which sampled 8,440 children in six countries (Brazil, Ghana, India, Norway, Oman, and the United States), describe how children should grow under optimal conditions. The WHO child growth standards can therefore be used to assess children all over the world, regardless of ethnicity, social and economic influences, and feeding practices. The new growth standards replace the previously used NCHS/CDC/WHO reference standards. It should be noted that the new WHO child growth standards are not comparable with those based on the previously used NCHS/CDC/WHO standards (NDHS, 2011, p. 164).

Weight-for-age is a composite index of height-for-age and weight-for-height. It takes into account both chronic and acute malnutrition. Children whose weight-for-age is below minus two standard deviations (-2 SD) are classified as underweight. Children whose weight-for-age is below minus three standard deviations (-3 SD) are considered severely underweight (NDHS, 2011, p. 165).

Stunting refers to the proportion of children under five that fall below minus two and below minus three standard deviations from median height-for-age, and according to WHO reference, these populations are classified as stunting and severely stunting respectively. Likewise, underweight is the proportion of children under five that falls below minus two and below minus three standard deviations from median weight-for-age, and according to WHO reference, these population are considered as being underweight and severely underweight respectively. Similarly, wasting is the proportion of children under five that falls below minus two and minus three standard deviations from median weight-for-height and as per WHO reference, these populations are taken as wasting and severely wasting respectively (NLSS, 2011, pp. 119-120). In order to save children from health related problems, various nutrition programs have been implemented in many underdeveloped countries including Nepal. Nutrition program designed for school children is one such program carried out in Nepal.

Complementary nutrition programs are just one of many mechanisms for guaranteeing services linked to the right to food; the same right can be supported through cash transfers or subsistence programs. There is a wide range of possible programs that relate to the realization of a right (Gacitua-Mario and Norton, 2009, p. 25). Guaranteeing right to nutritive food is therefore prominent to maintain good health of children irrespective of caste and ethnicity. But in practice what we observe is that child's health is generally explained by relating it to caste/ethnicity, which does not have any scientific logic and evidence. However, socio-cultural background might influence child's health status. But, it is also difficult to identify what exactly the socio-cultural background is and how it influences health status.

The relationship between health and ethnicity is very complex. Different ethnic groups have different social customs, which are reflected in the patterns of health. Asians are less likely to drink alcohol, and therefore, alcohol related deaths

and illness are lower. However, infant mortality and infant abnormality are extremely high to mothers born on the Asian sub-continent. This can be explained partly by poverty, but other factors such as late age for bearing children and the close proximity between births are more important (Moore, 1995, p. 290). Most important thing is that there are great differences between the life expectancy of those living in the First and Third Worlds. Infant mortality in less developed nations is six times higher than in affluent societies and the chances of death in the poorest countries of Africa are so high that babies are more likely to die than to live (p. 291). Thus to a large extent, cultural background of child and level of development of a country are factors influencing the health status of child. Here, however, attempt has been made to explore inter- and intra-group inequalities in terms of underweight and stunting of under five years children across ethnic groups.

Children who do not have enough nutritious food to eat everyday usually become malnourished. This malnourishment of children is because of lack of nutritious food for children every day. Malnourishment, as explained above, is measured in terms of stunting (height for age), underweight (weight for age) and wasting (weight for height). Distribution of malnourished children across ethnic groups widely varies from one group to another in terms of stunting, underweight and wasting. Distribution of malnourished children under these three different types of malnourishment is examined here one by one.

Stunting

Overall, 41 percent of children is malnourished in terms of stunting in Nepal. This proportion is distributed across all ethnic groups in different proportions (Table 4.12). The proportion of stunted children among Chhetri is 43.9 percent, which is neither significantly higher nor lower than the national figure as reference. But the proportion of stunted children in Brahmans (31.3 percent) is significantly lower compared to the national reference. Population of children under this category is neither significantly higher nor lower among H/M Janajatis (42.8 percent). However, this proportion is significantly lower among Tarai Janajatis (30.8 percent).

Table 4.13

Malnourished (Stunted) Children by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	43.9	40.1	47.7	0.247	1.1	0.98	113.21
Brahman	31.3	25.2	37.3	0.216	-3.14**	1.12	148.56
H/M Janajati	42.8	38.4	47.1	0.245	0.54	0.99	115.65
Tarai Janajati	30.8	24.5	37.1	0.214	-3.18**	1.13	150.32
Madhesi	38.1	31.2	45.0	0.237	-0.92	1.02	127.82
Dalit	52.0	47.4	56.6	0.25	4.11**	0.97	96.15
Newar	30.6	19.1	42.2	0.216	-1.81	1.12	151.96
Other	30.0	21.0	39.0	0.212	-2.43*	1.14	153.67
Nepal	40.5	39.5	43.4	0.243	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	118.80

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

Within Madhesi people, the proportion of stunted children (38.1 percent) is neither significantly higher nor lower in comparison to the reference value. The proportion of stunted children among Dalits (52 percent) is significantly higher compared to the national reference. In contrast, the proportion of stunted children within Newars (30.6 percent) is significantly lower than the reference value. This shows that stunted children in Nepal are distributed across all ethnic groups.

In terms of inter-group inequality in distribution of stunted children, F-test of variance shows (Table 4.12) that intra-group variance in each ethnic group is neither significantly higher nor lower than the overall national variance. This suggests the fact that the pattern of distribution of stunted children across all ethnic groups is similar to the distribution pattern within each ethnic group.

Coefficient of variation (Table 4.12) further indicates that there is strong intra-ethnic inequality in terms of distribution of stunted children. Since, the coefficient of variation ranges from 95.1 within Dalits to 151.9 within Newars, strong intra-group is

obvious within all ethnic groups. Thus, none of the ethnic groups is homogeneous in terms of distribution of stunted children.

Severely Stunting

Overall, in Nepal, 7.7 percent of the children under five is severely stunted, and this is distributed across all ethnic groups including Brahman and Chhetri indicating both inter- and intra-ethnic inequality (Table 4.13). Among Chhetris, the proportion of severely stunted children is 16.7 percent, which is not significantly different from the national reference (7.7 percent); but that among Brahman, it is only 0.6 percent, which is significantly lower than the reference value. Among H/M Jajanatis, this proportion is 15.8 percent, which is also not significantly different from the national reference. However, the proportion of children within Tarai Janajati (8.7 percent) is significantly lower. Within Madhesi people, proportion of severely stunted children (18.5 percent) is neither significantly higher nor lower than the national reference. In contrast, among Dalits (22.5 percent), it is significantly higher. Among Newars, this proportion (9.7 percent) is also neither significantly lower nor higher than the national reference. Thus, there is inter-group inequality in terms of distribution of severely stunted children in comparison to the national average.

Table 4.14

Malnourished (Severely Stunted) Children by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	16.7	13.8	19.6	0.139	0.44	0.96	223.35
Brahman	10.6	6.6	14.6	0.095	-2.48*	1.41	290.57
H/M Janajati	15.8	12.7	19.0	0.134	-0.07	1.00	231.01
Tarai Janajati	8.7	4.8	12.5	0.079	-3.50**	1.69	324.14
Madhesi	18.5	13.0	24.1	0.152	0.87	0.89	210.27
Dalit	22.5	18.6	26.3	0.175	3.10	0.77	185.78
Newar	9.7	2.3	17.1	0.089	-1.63	1.51	307.22
Other	9.0	3.4	14.6	0.083	-2.35*	1.62	320.00
Nepal	16.2	14.5	17.4	0.134	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	228.75

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

The distribution of severely stunted children shows that there is difference between the proportions across all ethnic groups. However, F-test of variance (Table 4.13) shows that there is no significant difference between inter- and intra-group variance in the distribution of severely stunted children. Similarly, the percentage of severely stunted children among H/M Janajati is 15.8, which is slightly lower than the national figure. Interestingly, the proportion of severely stunted children in Tarai Janajati is lower compared to that in Dalit, H/M Janajati and Madhesi. This figure is significantly lower than national figure and even than that of Brahman.

Underweight

Underweight is another dimension of measuring nutrition status of children. Underweight as measured in terms of weight and age variables as per new WHO definition is such that the proportion of underweight children in Nepal is 29 percent. Distribution of this proportion across major ethnic groups in Nepal also varies widely (Table 14). The proportion of malnourished children measured as underweight among Chhetris is 28.6 percent. This proportion is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to national figure as reference value. It is important to note that the proportions of underweight children among Brahmans (18.1 percent) and H/M Janajatis (24.6 percent) are significantly lower compared to the reference value. Within Tarai Janajatis (30.3 percent), it is neither significantly higher nor lower. However, among Madhesi (37.6 percent) and Dalits (38.8 percent), the proportions of underweignt children are significantly higher than the reference value. In contrast, among Newars, this proportion is 16.1 percent. It is significantly lower than the national average as reference value.

Table 4.15

Malnourished (Underweight) Children by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	28.6	25.1	32.1	0.204	-0.33	1.01	158.04
Brahman	18.1	13.0	23.1	0.149	-4.11**	1.39	213.26
H/M Janajati	24.6	20.8	28.3	0.186	-2.21*	1.12	175.20
Tarai Janajati	30.3	24.0	36.6	0.212	0.31	0.98	152.15
Madhesi	37.6	30.6	44.5	0.236	2.27*	0.88	129.26
Dalit	38.8	34.3	43.3	0.238	3.85**	0.87	125.77
Newar	16.1	6.9	25.4	0.137	-2.74**	1.51	230.43
Other	30.0	21.0	39.0	0.212	0.16	0.98	153.67
Nepal	29.3	27.4	31.1	0.207	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	155.29

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

In terms of between and within group variances, F-test of variance (Table 4.14) shows that there is no significant difference between inter- and intra-group variances. Inequality at national level is reflected on each ethnic group. Since F-test is not significant to any of the ethnic group, intra-ethnic variance is as big as inter-ethnic variance. Thus, distribution of underweight children between and within all ethnic groups follows similar pattern. It is clear that distribution does not follow a particular ethnic line.

Coefficient of variation (Table 4.14) further illustrates the pattern of distribution of underweight children. It suggests that all ethnic groups are strongly unequal within themselves. Some children within all ethnic groups are malnourished in terms of underweight. Since coefficient of variation ranges from 125.7 within Dalits to 230.4 within Newars, it shows strong intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups. Thus, all ethnic groups are highly unequal in terms of distribution of underweight children.

Severely Underweight

Looking at the distribution of severely underweight children across ethnic groups of Nepal, one can easily observe that there are both inter- and intra-group inequalities. Overall, 7.8 percent children are severely underweight and they are distributed across all ethnic groups. The distribution also yields strong inter- and intra-group variation (Table 4.15). Among Chhetris and Brahmans the proportions of underweith children are 7.1 and 6.6 percents respectively. These proportions are neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the national figure as reference value. Important point to highlight here is that the proportion of severely underweight children among H/M Janajatis (3.8 percent) is significantly lower than the reference value. Among Tarai Janajatis, proportion of severely underweight children is 7.7 percent. It is neither significantly higher nor lower than the reference value. The point to be highlighted here is that the proportion of underweight children among Madhesi (14.3 percent) and Dalit (12.1 percent) is significantly higher than the reference value. In contrast, among Newars, proportion of severely underweight children is 1.6 percent only. This proportion is significantly lower than the reference value. Thus, underweight children are distributed across all ethnic groups including Brahman, and Chhetri.

Table 4.16

Malnourished (Severely Underweight) Children by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	7.1	5.1	9.1	0.066	-0.58	1.08	361.97
Brahman	6.6	3.4	9.8	0.062	-0.67	1.16	377.27
H/M Janajati	3.8	2.1	5.4	0.036	-3.98**	1.98**	500.00
Tarai Janajati	7.7	4.1	11.3	0.071	-0.04	1.01	346.75
Madhesi	14.3	9.3	19.3	0.123	2.49*	0.58	245.45
Dalit	12.1	9.1	15.1	0.107	2.67**	0.67	270.25
Newar	1.6	-1.5	4.8	0.016	-3.62**	4.45**	793.75
Other	7.0	2.0	12.0	0.066	-0.3	1.09	365.71
Nepal	7.8	6.7	8.8	0.072	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	343.59

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

Distributon of underweight children is not only unequal between ethnic groups but also within many ethnic groups except H/M Janajati and Newar. F-test of variance (Table 4.15) shows that the between group variance does not significantly differ from within group variance across Chhetri, Brahman, Tarai Janajati, Madhesi and Dalit groups. However, distribution of severely underweight children within H/M Janajati and Newar tells us that within group variance is significantly lower than between group variance. Therefore, there are very few underweight children within both H/M Janajati and Newar in comparison to the national figure.

However, intra-group inequality is strong within all ethnic groups. Coefficient of variation (Table 4.15) shows that all ethnic groups are not uniform in terms of distribution of severely underweight children. Since coefficient of variation ranges from 245.4 within Madhesi to 793.7 within Newar, all ethnic groups are highly heterogeneous in terms of distribution of severely underweight children.

The proportion of children who are severely underweight is highest among Madhesi, which is about double the national figure. Even Dalits have lower proportion of severely underweight children compared to that of Madhesi group. This does not mean that Dalit children do have better access to nutrition than do the Madhesi children. However, it simply indicates that there are some households in Dalit group as well, which feed their children with nutritious food. Also, there is a small section of children under five, which suffers from malnutrition, because it is severely underweight. So is the case in other ethnic groups as well. Therefore, none of the ethnic groups is homogeneous in case of malnourished children who are underweight.

Wasting

Wasting is another important aspect of measuring nutrition of children less than five in any population. Distribution of wasted children is found across all ethnic groups (see Annex B, Table 27). In Nepal, the proportion of children with wasting is about 11 percent. The proportion of wasted children under five is significantly higher (17.4 percent) among Madhesi people. In Brahman and Dalit groups, the proportion of wasted children is about 11 percent each. The proportion of severely wasted children in Nepal is only 2.6 percent distributed across all ethnic groups (see Annex B, Table

28). However, this proportion is slightly higher among Madhesi (5.2 percent) followed by H/M Janajati (3.8 percent). Interestingly, the proportion of wasted children among Newar is negligible. Brahman, Chhetri and Dalit categories include about equal proportions (around two percent) of children who are severely wasted.

Distribution of empirical observations of nutrition status of children in Nepal shows that the proportion of malnourished children in different ethnic groups varies in different aspects. Stunted, underweight and wasted as well as severely stunted, severely underweight and severely wasted children are distributed across all ethnic groups. The intra-group distribution reflects that none of the ethnic groups is homogeneous in terms of nutrition of child. All ethnic groups have malnourished children. The only difference is that the level of proportion is different from one group to another. This is the evidence that accepts null hypothesis that ethnicity has no relationship with nutrition of children as children's capability.

As defined by NHDR (1998), education is a proxy for information and knowledge related capabilities, while longevity is a proxy for health related capabilities. Education provides various types of information that make people aware of everything around them. Indeed, access to opportunities such as education enhances human capabilities that ultimately determine overall livelihood of people. Observing distribution of literacy rate, year of schooling, educational status and type of schooling across various ethnic groups in Nepal, some important conclusions can be drawn.

4.4 Conclusion

Primarily, all indicators from literacy rate to bachelor and master levels of education are found distributed at different levels among all ethnic groups in Nepal. Most individuals in all ethnic groups have access to educational opportunity. However, coefficient of variation of all ethnic groups clearly shows that there is wide inequality in educational attainment. Such inequality does not occur only within a particular ethnic group but there is wider variation in access to educational opportunities between and within ethnic groups. The intra-group variation in literacy rate is lowest (52.1) in Brahman and Newar groups (57.2). It indicates that there is wider variation between literate and illiterate people within Brahman. Similarly intra-group variation

is highest among Madhesi (102.3). Therefore, some sections of population within all ethnic groups have access to educational opportunities so that each group has certain proportion of literate people and mean year of schooling. However, people of various parts of the country including far western region have been still demanding easy access to education from the State. It is very important because Moser and Nortion (2001) say that rights approach reduces social and political risks by enhancing social justice and focuses on inclusion and non-discrimination. Enhancing social justice requires providing opportunities to people so that they are included in the mainstream development process. Comparing literacy, mean year of schooling, educational status and level of education among ethnic groups, some important conclusions can be drawn.

State plays a vital role to increase people's access to opportunity to enhance individual capability. Varying access to opportunity ultimately contributes to varying educational level and capability. Variance test (F-test), where national variance is taken as reference in this study, suggests that none of the ethnic groups has neither higher nor lower levels of inter- and intra-group inequalities. F-test of significance gives no significant results accepting fundamental premise that ethnicity has no relationship with educational status of people. None of the ethnic groups is homogeneous. Access to educational opportunity is an important factor that influences level of education of an individual. Therefore, policy adopted by any country regarding access to educational opportunity of any individual is an important precondition for educational attainment. The variation in educational status of individuals is due to the variation in access to opportunity, not because of ethnicity. Gacitua-Mario (2009) agrees with this fact and writes that a social guarantee approach to social policy can help protect a country's ability to meet citizens' needs and develop their abilities.

As written by Haan (1999), capabilities are absolute requirements for full membership of society. For an individual, to be a full member of a society he/she lives in, he/she has to get opportunity to enhance capability. Therefore, Sen's work emphasizes capabilities and what counts is not what (poor) people possess, but what it enables them to do. Capable people can do something by themselves using their capability, and capable people are found in all ethnic groups. Capability deprivation

prevents people from obtaining other various things, and this deprivation is common to all ethnic groups. Thus, access to opportunity is the only precondition for people to acquire full membership of society or to live an independent dignified life. Thus, *inequality in access to opportunity rather than ethnic difference creates inequality in human capability and prevents individuals from a full membership status in society.*

Of course, inequalities in education contribute to inequalities in other important dimensions of well being (WDR 2006). Education enhances individual capability and individuals can use this capability in some productive work that contributes to their wellbeing. Enhancement of educational capability is possible for all individuals belonging to any ethnic group. Coefficient of variation in all education related variables across all ethnic groups indicates that intra-group variation exists within them. It is because all individual do not get equal opportunity to education, and inequality in access to educational opportunity creates inequality in educational attainment, which ultimately influences other dimensions of individual's life. At present, young people can avail of more educational opportunities. This availability of opportunities applies to all ethnic groups including Dalit and Madhesi. Moore (1995) says that educational system allows young people to develop their abilities to their fullest regardless of their background. However, *development of capability among young individuals also differs from individual to individual depending upon their access to educational opportunities irrespective of their ethnic group.* Individual capability regarding education may also differ as per the health status of individual.

Health is important for individual as well as family life. It is a kind of capability of an individual since healthy people can work hard to support their livelihood and unhealthy people can do nothing by themselves. As mentioned by WDR (2006) the important instrumental function of health implies that inequalities in health often translate into inequalities in other dimensions of welfare. Empirical information on people's health status shows that it varies from individual to individual irrespective of their ethnic group. All ethnic groups include individuals suffering from chronic illness and acute illness. There are people also with excellent, good, fair and poor health status within all ethnic groups indicating that health status of individuals is influenced by some other factors than ethnicity itself. Even among Dalit, Janajati and Madhesi, there are more people with excellent and good health status compared to

Brahman and Chhetri, but this does not mean that Dalit, Janajati and Madhesi people have better access to health facility and nutritious food. Nonetheless, *what it clarifies is that health status of people does not have any association with their ethnicity.*

Variance test (F-test) further proves that health status of individuals among all ethnic groups does not significantly differ from national figures. Figures regarding health of individual among all ethnic groups reflect national level scenario. This also suggests that intra group inequality in terms of illness and health status of people exist in a way that is similar to national level.

Nutrition of children has been regarded as one of the main components of health status as capability of individual. Nutrition of children measured in terms of wasting, underweight and stunting, in this study, gives important message regarding ethnic issue. All three categories of children are distributed across all ethnic groups. But, the proportion is the highest among Dalit, may be due to the fact that Dalit children are deprived of nutritious food. However, the proportion of Chhetri children under stunting is also the second highest among all ethnic groups. *The point to be noted here is that stunting, wasting and underweight are not a phenomena prevailing in a particular ethnic group.* For example, the proportion of underweight is highest in Tarai Janajati and Madhesi; stunting is highest in Dalit and Chhetri; and wasting is highest in Tarai Janajati and Madhesi suggesting that problem of malnutrition is more common to Madhes region.

Distribution of opportunities enhancing capability, education and health has been found unequal between and within ethnic groups in Nepal. In terms of education, Brahman, Newar and Chhetri have significantly higher level of access and Madhesi and Dalit have significantly lower literacy rate. There is no significant difference between the national averages of literacy rate and the literacy rate of rest of the ethnic groups. In contrast, the proportion of never attended school is significantly higher in Dalit and Madhesi groups and lower in Brahman, Newar and Chhetri groups. Conversely, the proportion of Brahman, Newar and Chhetri's access to higher level education is significantly higher and in Dalit, Madhesi and Janajati groups, it is lower. Also, there is an unequal access to education within each ethnic group. The coefficient of variation indicates that there is wide gap even within Brahman, Chhetri

and Newar groups including Dalit, Madhesi and Tarai Dalit groups. Therefore, access to education differs from individual to individual and household to household.

Access to health facilities and nutrition of child, in terms of present health status and malnutrition respectively, differ from one group to another reflecting both inter- and intra-ethnic inequalities. Pointing out the differences, the proportions of individuals having excellent and good health status is significantly higher in Dalit and Madhesi groups and lower within Brahman and Newar groups. However, it does not mean that Dalit and Madhesi have better access to health facilities. Rather, it simply signifies better health status. In contrast, access to nutritious food to children is unequally distributed across ethnic groups in which the proportions of malnourished children is significantly higher within Dalit and Madhesi communities and lower in Brahman and Newar communities compared to the national figure.

Thus, distribution of opportunities enhancing capability is unequal between and within ethnic groups. The unequal distribution of capability between and within all ethnic groups shows that distribution of access to opportunities enhancing capability does not follow a particular ethnic line. On the basis of this finding, null hypothesis that distribution of access to opportunities enhancing capability does not follow a particular ethnic line, formulated under this study, is accepted. Therefore, there is inter- and intra-ethnic inequality in terms of access to opportunities enhancing capability as well as human capability regarding education and health.

CHAPTER FIVE

ETHNICITY AND EMPLOYMENT

Employment plays a very important role in an individual's life as a base for their social and economic status that helps produce positive benefits. Employed people not merely earn money but also are equipped with the capability to make friends, develop a sense of status and self worth at work place, which helps build a kind of conducive socio-economic environment. On the other hand, unemployed individuals have limited horizon for socio-economic status succumbing to negative consequences. This chapter highlights the nature of employment status and its importance.

The study analyzes the empirical aspects of employment status by categorizing it into three different types; employment, underemployment and unemployment. Furthermore, it explores the distribution patterns of employment status across various ethnic groups in Nepal. The datasets show wide variation in the distribution pattern of employment status across eco-development regions, and rural urban divide, in general, and ethnic groups, in particular. Also, the data indicate the existence of unequal distribution of employment status across ethnic groups. Such unequal distribution or inequality obtains in both cases, i.e. between and within ethnic groups. In addition, the chapter attempts to explore whether such intra-group variation follows a particular ethnic line or not. Last but not the least, the chapter concludes that there is both inter-group and intra-group variation in terms of unequal distribution of employment status across ethnic groups based on the analysis of variance and coefficient of variation.

5.1. Employment, Unemployment and Underemployment

Employment status generally refers to employed, unemployed or not active status. For majority of those between the ages of 20 and 60, employment or the lack of employment is a major preoccupation. Employment is a central social factor in most working people's lives, and it is not just simply a way of earning an income. Various surveys show that people make friends at work, develop a sense of status and self worth (or a lack of them) depending upon their job title, and can enjoy a particular style of life and leisure as a result of their employment (Moore, 1995, p.167).

Employment, therefore, is a source of social networks, social status and livelihood of an individual.

Though there are different ways of defining employment status, this study follows the definition proposed by the NLSS survey (1996), according to which, a person is classified as "employed" if he or she worked at least one hour during the seven days prior to the interview. Activities such as working in the fields and tending livestock are considered; activities such as housework, gathering firewood, fetching water, and making mats, baskets, etc. for home use are excluded.

A person was classified as "unemployed" if he or she did not work during the previous seven days, and was available and looked for work, or did not look, for the following reasons: awaiting reply from an agency, waiting to start a new job, "don't know how to look." Thus, definition of unemployment includes those transitionally unemployed as well as those who were discouraged (NLSS, 1996). However, for Moore (1995) unemployment means lack of paid work for those who want it, while leisure refers to time that is wanted free from work. However, leisure also increasingly implies more than just time, it also requires money, as spare-time activities are commercialized (pp. 167-68). All others who did not work during the previous week and did not look for work for any reasons other than those listed above were considered "inactive" (NLSS, 1996). Therefore, assessment of employed, unemployed and inactive status of an individual is important from social, economic and cultural perspective. In other words, whatever the employment status is, whether employed or unemployed, it is important socially, economically and culturally.

In order to assess the status of employment and underemployment, NLSS (2011) has categorized it on the basis of the number of hours worked, i.e. 1 to 19 hours, 20 to 39 hours and more than 40 hours over the previous seven days period. Underemployment is defined as the state of an individual working less than 40 hours and looking for additional work.

Employment, basically, means an engagement of individual or group in some kind of income generating activities that support life and make it better. Being employed or unemployed has a significant meaning in society as it is directly connected with many positive/negative consequences in human lives. It generates

monetary income depending upon the sector of work and level of qualification and position. The income is used in purchasing daily consumption materials as well as to pay for education and health facilities.

On the contrary, unemployed individuals usually go through various negative consequences. As argued by Sen (2000, p. 18-22) the evil effects of unemployment are not confined only to the lowness of income with which jobless may be associated. In order to compensate the loss of income (or more accurately, for a part of the lost income) it does not do away with the other losses that also result from the persistence of unemployment. Unemployment involves wasting of productive power, since a part of the potential national output is not realized because of unemployment. Unemployment may generate loss of cognitive abilities as a result of the unemployed person's loss of confidence and sense of control. The nature of the deprivation of the unemployed includes the loss of freedom as a result of joblessness. Unemployment can play havoc with the lives of the jobless, and cause intense suffering and mental agony. Empirical studies of unemployment have shown how serious this effect can be. Indeed, high unemployment is often associated even with elevated rates of suicide somewhere, which is an indicator of the perception of unbearability that the victims experience. The effect of prolonged joblessness can be especially damaging for the morale. Unemployment can also lead to clinically identifiable illnesses and to higher rates of mortality (not) just through more suicide. Unemployment can be very disruptive of social relations and of family life. The discouragement induced by unemployment can lead to a weakening of motivations and can make the long-term unemployed very dejected and passive. Unemployment can also be a significant causal influence in heightening ethnic tensions as well as gender divisions. When jobs are scarce, the groups most affected are often the minorities, especially parts of the immigrant communities.

Moreover, effects of unemployment are more severe among the poorer section of the population who are compelled to go through multiple troubles, i.e. social and economic problems simultaneously compared to other sections of population. In addition, it is relevant to quote Saith (2001, p. 8), who asserts "in rural economies, seasonally determined irregular employment as well as casual employment may well be considered the norm. It is not clear that such individuals although classified by

Western standards, as unemployed or underemployed, could be considered as being excluded from the usual activities of the society they live in and therefore, as being 'socially excluded.'" It is true in case of Nepal too, where the unemployed status of any individual is regarded as an exclusionary phenomenon. In addition, the rise of the issue of ethnicity in Nepal has also emphasized unemployment as exclusionary phenomenon only for particular caste/ethnicity such as Janajati, Madhesi, Dalit and women. . However, this can be argued that, if unemployment status is exclusion of individuals from employment opportunity, it is exclusion of all unemployed individuals irrespective of caste and ethnicity.

Unemployment as social exclusion and employment as inclusion produce multiple effects at local level for the people of all caste/ethnic groups. Adhikari (2008, p. 23) writes that labouring jobs within the village was the main source of income for Dalit households. It contributed to about 48 percent to their household income. But Dahal (2010) writes that there were other means of livelihood such as the traditional caste occupations—blacksmithy, gold smithy, sewing clothes, leather work, and so on and wage labour (p. 88). However, nowadays, one of the main sources of cash income in the village is outside earning, which plays an important role in the village life, as it is needed to buy goods and services not produced locally. Therefore, people would like to be employed to support their life economically.

Employment, as service sector, has become one of the important areas for academician, politician, and particularly for ethnic activists who talk about social exclusion and inclusion in Nepal. Scholars also take references of bureaucracy and other government and non-government organizations to discuss the status of inclusion/exclusion in employment in terms of caste/ethnic groups. Pandey (2010) reported that the composition of state elite in various types of governmental institutions makes it evident that the high castes and Newars have historically taken a dominant share in this circle of society for a long period of time. Overwhelming majority of leadership positions in executive, administrative bodies, major political parties and civil society organizations are occupied by this category (pp. 116-17). This explanation follows Moore (1995, p. 175) who writes, "Marxist writers argue that there still is a ruling class that takes the senior position (managers and owners) in

society and through that maintains economic and political power." However, he is speaking of owners and managers mainly outside of government.

Caste/ethnic composition of bureaucracy in terms of employment opportunities also varies across ethnic groups. Distribution pattern of employment opportunities clearly shows that Brahman and Newar are the dominant groups in bureaucracy in terms of absolute number. In terms of overall proportion, it is true because proportion of individuals from other ethnic groups is very small compared to Brahman and Newar. Obviously, it seems that Nepalese bureaucracy is captured by high caste hill Brahman and Chhetri groups. What is also a common refrain is that Janajati, Madhesi and Dalit have been historically excluded and exploited by Brahman and Chhetri groups (Gurung, 2012; Bhattachan, 2012; Tamang, 2010; Mabuhang, 2012). The lower proportion of representation of Janajati, Madhesi and Dalit may be because of a number of factors including deprivation from access to opportunities such as schooling, which will be discussed in detail in the coming section of the chapter. However, in the past, individuals from other ethnic groups, excluding Brahman and Chhetri, were also recruited in different job sectors, and their number is increasing.

"The high proportion of indigenous recruits from certain groups, in the national armed forces reflects an attempt to break out of the cycle of poverty" (Gurung, 2005, p. 7). The distribution of jobs in foreign countries and in Nepal shows a different proportional pattern. Even though a large proportion of foreign jobs were taken by Brahmans, it was comparatively less than their proportion in the distribution of population. Ethnic and caste groups who took proportionately more foreign jobs (in comparison to their share in distribution of population) included Gurung and Magar (ethnic groups) and Chhetri (caste group) (Adhikari, 2008, p. 29). The scenario has not only changed in service sector but also in representation. The scenario of representation has now been changed, because it does not always remain the same across time and space. It can be clearly understood from what Pandey (2010) writes:

> In the case of legislative organ of the state, there has been a change in the caste/ethnic composition of elite. Particularly in the Constituent Assembly (CA) formed in 2008, the presence of hill high caste elite has declined significantly. The presence of Bahun and Chhetri elite has remained just over 32 percent of the total elite who comprise

> this legislative body. With this decline of the share of high and Dalit elite in this legislative body, participation of Madhesi, Janajati and Dalit elite has increased significantly (p. 119). Despite these achievements, current debates have not yet provided an adequate space to explore the relationship among themselves between these communities. As a result, most of the discussions on social inequalities in Nepal are confined to treat all these ethnic categories as the single unit and contrast their collective identity of the "ethnic category" against high caste Hindus of society (p. 125) which is not realistic in fact.

Most of the explanations on ethnicity and inequality in Nepal highlight the particular case of representation in bureaucracy including school and university teaching occupation. But, in order to approach the realistic scenario of access to opportunity, such as employment, an attempt should be made to examine the distribution of employment, unemployment, and underemployment status across broad ethnic categories, which is very important in the discussion of ethnicity in contemporary Nepal. Focusing on this issue the following section discusses the major dimensions of employment such as employed, unemployed, not active, unemployment rate, and underemployment status in terms of broad ethnic groups.

5.2. Ethnicity and Employment, Unemployment and Underemployment

According NLSS (2011), 78 percent of 10 years and above individuals is currently employed, 2 percent unemployed and 20 percent economically inactive. The current labour force participation rate (LFPR) is 80 percent, while unemployment rate is about 2 percent. Between urban and rural areas, urban area has much lower LFPR (67 percent versus 84 percent) and much higher unemployment rate (5 percent versus 2 percent) compared to rural area. Distribution of employed, unemployed and underemployed individuals varies widely across all ethnic groups. The matter is discussed here separate and in detail.

Employment Rate

The category of employed includes individuals working at least one hour or more than one hour in the past seven days as defined by NLSS survey. Based on this set criterion, the proportion of employed individual is 78.3 percent, and this is distributed across all ethnic groups yielding inter- and intra-group inequalities (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1

Employment Rate by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	80.10	78.17	82.03	.159	1.59	1.07	49.84
Brahman	75.16	72.55	77.76	.187	-2.20*	0.91	57.49
H/M Janajati	82.06	80.34	83.77	.147	3.64**	1.15	46.76
Tarai Janajati	81.96	78.94	84.97	.148	2.24*	1.15	46.92
Madhesi	73.43	70.74	76.11	.195	-3.32**	0.87	60.16
Dalit	83.56	81.81	85.31	.137	5.02**	1.24	44.36
Newar	70.50	66.73	74.26	.208	-3.92**	0.82	64.69
Other	67.69	62.47	72.91	.219	-3.92**	0.78	69.09
Nepal	78.32	77.25	79.38	.170	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	52.62

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

The proportion of employed individuals among Chhetris is 80.1 percent. This percentage is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the national figure as reference value. Among Brahmans, this proportion is 75.2 percent which is significantly lower in comparison to the reference value. In contrast, the proportions of employed individuals within H/M Janajatis (82.1 percent) and Tarai Janajatis (82 percent) are significantly higher than the reference value. The employment rate within Madhesi (73.4 percent) is significantly lower compared to the reference value. Conversely, the proportion of similar population within Dalit (83.6 percent) is significantly higher. Among Newars, the proportion of employed individuals is 70.5 percent, which is significantly lower compared to the reference value. Thus, access to employment opportunities is distributed across all ethnic groups.

In terms of inter-and intra-group variance in the distribution of employed individuals, F-test of variance (Table 5.1) shows that between groups variance does not significantly differ from within group variance. This tells us that inter-group inequality regarding access to employment opportunities is similar to intra-group

inequality. Therefore, there is unequal distribution of employment opportunities both between groups and within a group across all ethnic groups.

Coefficient of variation (Table 5.1) further justifies that there is strong intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups in terms of distribution of access to employment opportunities. One section of population within all ethnic groups does have access to employment and another section does not. This applies to all ethnic groups since coefficient of variation ranges from 44.3 within Dalit to 64.6 within Newar. Thus, all ethnic groups are heterogeneous in terms of access to employment opportunities.

Underemployment Rate

Overall, unemployment rate of Nepal is 2.2 percent. This percentage is distributed across all ethnic groups unequally. Distribution is unequal both between groups and within group among all ethnic groups (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2

Unemployment Rate by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	1.65	1.15	2.16	.017	-3.81**	1.34	794.95
Brahman	2.48	1.67	3.29	.024	1.46	0.95	630.96
H/M Janajati	2.25	1.69	2.80	.023	-0.02	1.03	667.72
Tarai Janajati	1.60	0.77	2.44	.016	-4.12**	1.47	783.05
Madhesi	2.27	1.46	3.09	.023	0.14	1.02	664.83
Dalit	1.56	0.95	2.17	.016	-4.41**	1.45	809.24
Newar	3.33	2.34	4.32	.033	6.92**	0.70	546.35
Other	5.61	2.99	8.23	.064	21.47**	0.36	452.20
Nepal	2.25	1.94	2.56	.023	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	676.36

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

Among Chhetris, unemployment rate is 1.7 percent, which is significantly lower compared to the national figure as reference value. But, the unemployment rate within Brahman (2.5 percent) is significantly higher compared to the reference value. Among H/M Janjatis (2.2 percent), Tarai Janajatis (1.6 percent) and Madhesi (2.3 percent), unemployment rates are neither significantly higher nor lower in comparison to the reference value. Within Dalits, the rate of unemployment is 1.6 percent, which is significantly lower than the reference value. In contrast, unemployment rate among Newars (3.3 percent) is significantly higher compared to the reference value. Thus, unemployment is distributed across all ethnic groups indicating that there are unemployed individuals within all ethnic groups.

Unemployed individuals are thus unequally distributed across all ethnic groups regardless of their ethnicity, which indicates that being employed or unemployed is not determined by ethnic affiliation alone because all ethnic groups include unemployed people in different proportions.

Distribution of unemployment rate is unequal both between and within ethnic groups. F-test of variance (Table 5.2) shows that there is no significance difference between inter-group variance and intra-group variance. Therefore, national level inequality scenario is similar to group level inequality in terms of distribution of unemployment rate. Thus, distribution of unemployment among all ethnic groups follows a similar pattern.

In terms of intra-group variation regarding unemployment rate, the coefficient of variation (Table 5.2) justifies that there is also strong inequality within all ethnic groups. Since coefficient of variation ranges from 546.3 within Newar to 783.0 within Tarai Janajati and Dalit, there is wide disparity within each ethnic group. Therefore, all ethnic groups are heterogeneous in terms of unemployment rate.

Underemployment Rate

Underemployment status across ethnicity is that the proportion of employed working less than 40 hours decreases slightly with an increase in the level of consumption quintile (NLSS, 2011, p. 51). Obviously, this shows the class based variation within all ethnic categories in terms of underemployment status, which accepts null

hypothesis that there is no association between ethnicity and underemployment, and employment or ethnic affiliation has no effect in unemployment status.

Interestingly, there is inequality within all ethnic groups in terms of underemployment status because all ethnic groups include people working less than 40 hours. Overall, 53.8 percent underemployment rate is distributed across all ethnic groups (Table 5.3). However, underemployment rate among all ethnic groups except Newar is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to national figure as reference value. Among Newar, the proportion is 44.0 percent, which is significantly lower than the reference value.

Table 5.3

Underemployment Rate by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	53.86	50.85	56.86	.249	0.03	1.00	92.56
Brahman	54.89	51.73	58.06	.248	0.61	1.00	90.65
H/M Janajati	53.08	50.46	55.70	.249	-0.48	1.00	94.02
Tarai Janajati	58.62	53.22	64.02	.243	1.69	1.02	84.01
Madhesi	51.90	48.14	55.66	.250	-0.93	1.00	96.27
Dalit	55.82	52.85	58.80	.247	1.19	1.01	88.96
Newar	44.05	40.27	47.82	.246	-4.75**	1.01	112.71
Other	58.92	53.63	64.21	.242	1.83	1.03	83.50
Nepal	53.81	52.36	55.26	.249	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	92.65

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

F-test of variance (Table 5.3) shows that there is no significant difference between inter- and intra-group variance in terms of distribution of underemployed individuals across all ethnic groups. This tells us that national level inequality and group level inequality are similar. Unemployment prevails within all ethnic groups. Therefore distribution of underemployed individuals also does not follow a particular ethnic line.

Coefficient of variation (Table 5.3) shows that there is strong inequality within each ethnic group. This gives a clear message that within each group variation in terms of underemployment rate is similar to national level variation. Whatever the level of intra-group variation within all ethnic groups, all groups are heterogeneous and stratified in terms of underemployment. Thus, none of the ethnic groups is uniform in this regard and includes unemployed people.

Among the overall 53.8 percent underemployed population, 31.7 percent is underemployed working 1-49 hours and the rest 22.1 percent is underemployed working 2-39 hours a week. Distribution of both these underemployed categories of population is also unequally distributed across all ethnic groups (see Annex C, Table 5 and Table 6). There are also both inter- and intra-group variations in the distribution of both categories of underemployed population. Proportions of unemployed (1.8 percent) and economically inactive (19.9 percent) population of 10 years and above are also distributed across all ethnic groups (see Annex C, Table 2 and Table 4). There are also both inter- and intra-group inequalities in the distribution of both unemployed and economically inactive population among all ethnic groups.

Overall, distribution of employment, unemployment and underemployment status of individuals in Nepal in terms of ethnicity gives two important messages. First, all sorts of employment statuses are unequally distributed across all ethnic groups. Only the proportion for different employment statuses is different. Secondly, all ethnic groups are themselves heterogeneous in terms of various employment statuses. Therefore, there is inequality not only across all ethnic groups but also between and within groups in terms of access to employment opportunities in Nepal.

5.3. Ethnicity and Sector of Employment

Sector of employment may differ from country to country. Talking about the formal economy of Britain, Moore (1995, p. 170) mentions three distinct sectors. The first of these was the primary sector, which referred to the extraction of natural products from land or sea, such as mining for coal or farming the land. The secondary or manufacturing sector includes the entire range of industries, which construct and make goods for sale. Finally, the tertiary or service sector includes all activities such as insurance, banking or retailing, which do not produce anything but offer service.

In case of Nepal, according to NLSS survey, the individuals surveyed were frequently engaged in more than one activity in the previous year, and often, even for the previous seven days. To deal with such situation, a time-based criterion was used to classify individuals by main sector of employment. The activity in which a person spent the most hours during the previous seven days was defined as "main activity." If an individual spends the same number of hours in the past seven days, the activity in which individual spends the highest number of hours is regarded as main activity (i. e. eight-hour day) during the previous year was selected as the main activity. If an individual reported the same number of hours and full days, the first activity listed was chosen. The sector in which the main activity took place was defined as "main sector of employment" (NLSS, 2011).[36] Whatever criteria are set to define sector of employment distribution of the employed individuals in various sectors is important to understand the situation of sectoral employment.

Considering agricultural and non-agricultural areas as the main sectors of employment in Nepal, the proportion of wage earners in non-agricultural sector was 65 percent in 2010, while it was 63 percent in 2003. The proportion of share of non-agricultural sector is increasing, although, the change is not so big in terms of percentage point. Non-agricultural sector of employment also includes various sub-sectors. Industrial sector is one of them. Among non-agricultural industries, concentration of wage earners remains on manufacturing, construction and personal services (NLSS, 2011). Thus, individuals 15 and above are engaged in different sectors of employment in different proportion.

Wage Employment in Agriculture

Overall, 3.5 percent individuals, 15 years and above, are engaged in agriculture as wage employees. This proportion is distributed across all ethnic groups indicating both inter- and intra-ethnic inequalities (Table 5.4). Among both Chhetris and Brahmans, the proportion of employed individuals in wage in agriculture sector is 0.5 percent each. This proportion is significantly lower compared to the national figure as reference value. Also, the proportion of individuals engaged in wage in agriculture among H/M Janajatis (1.8 percent) is significantly lower in comparison to the

[36] NLSS 2011 reported the distribution of employed 10 years and above in terms of sector of employment. However, in this thesis, employed population in terms of sectors of employmen refers to 15 years and older population. I did so considering population 14 years and below as children.

reference value. However, among Tarai Janajatis (5.7 percent) and Madhesi (4.6 percent), the proportion of individuals engaged in this sector is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the reference value. In contrast, among Dalits, the proportion of wage in agriculture is 10.7 percent. This proportion is significantly higher compared to the reference value. But, within Newars, proportion of employed population in wage in agriculture is only 0.5 percent which is significantly lower than the reference value. Thus employed individuals in wage in agriculture sector is distributed across all ethnic groups indicating that there is a section of population which is surviving with income from wage in agriculture. However, the distribution is unequal.

Table 5.4

People Engaged in Wage in Agriculture Sector by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	0.49	0.11	0.87	.005	-8.35**	6.94	1431.10
Brahman	0.46	-0.08	0.99	.005	-7.43**	7.40	1477.92
H/M Janajati	1.82	1.04	2.61	.018	-3.31**	1.88	733.74
Tarai Janajati	5.73	3.28	8.17	.054	1.76	0.62	405.69
Madhesi	4.56	2.92	6.20	.044	1.22	0.77	457.33
Dalit	10.75	8.12	13.38	.096	5.30**	0.35	288.15
Newar	0.48	0.05	0.91	.005	-8.04**	7.06	1443.60
Other	8.39	4.76	12.02	.077	2.62	0.44	330.41
Nepal	3.48	2.89	4.07	.034	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	526.75

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

In terms of inter-group inequality in the distribution of individuals engaged in wage in agriculture sector, F-test of variance (Table 5.4) shows that there is significant difference between inter-group variance and intra-group variance among Chhetris, Brahmans and H/M Janajatis. Between-groups variation is higher among them. In contrast, there is no significant difference between inter- and intra-group variance among Tarai Janajatis, Madhesi and Dalits. In case of Newar, there is

significant difference. Among those who have significant difference in between-group and within group variances, the national level inequality is higher than the group level inequality. The number of individuals engaged in wage in agriculture is significantly lower within some ethnic groups such as Chhetri, Brahman, H/M Janajati and Newar and higher within Tarai Janajatis, Madhesi and Dalits compared to the national reference.

However, coefficient of variation (Table 5.4) shows that there is strong intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups. Intra-group inequality in terms of distribution of individuals engaged in wage in agriculture is higher among Brahmans, Chhetris, and Newars including H/M Janajatis and lower within the rest of ethnic groups. It is interesting to note that many Dalit people depend on wage in agriculture to maintain their livelihood.

The daily practice too shows that Dalit group survives on wage earned from agriculture. The practice of wage earning in agriculture among Brahman, Chhetri, H/M Janajati and Newar is significantly lower when compared to national proportion. Interestingly, such practice is significantly lower even within H/M Janajati (1.8 percent). The highest proportion of Dalit in wage labouring in agriculture is also due to the higher proportion of Tarai Dalit (about 19 percent) who are involved as wage labourers in agriculture. However, wage labouring in agriculture seems to be declining (from 12.2 percent to 2.8 percent) over a period of 15 years. Whatever the size of wage labouring in agriculture, people are shifting from agriculture to non-agriculture sector, and individuals from all ethnic groups are involved in the process of shifting their employment sector. Despite these facts, the employment opportunity in agriculture is still higher in Tarai region, particularly, among Tarai Janajati and Madhesi, where the practice of wage earning still prevails at higher proportion.

Wage Employment in Non-agriculture

Wage employment in non-agriculture is another important sector of employment, which is increasing every year in Nepal. About 13 percent of employed individuals, 15 years aodn above, is involved as wage earners in non-agriculture sector. Distribution of individuals involved in wage earning activities in non-agriculture sector across major ethnic groups in Nepal yields important results (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5

People Engaged in Wage in Non-agriculture Sector by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	11.14	9.54	12.73	.099	-1.80	1.13	282.45
Brahman	16.07	13.66	18.48	.135	2.42*	0.83	228.55
H/M Janajati	9.60	8.17	11.04	.087	-3.67**	1.29	306.82
Tarai Janajati	11.41	8.64	14.19	.101	-0.96	1.11	278.59
Madhesi	12.00	9.09	14.92	.106	-0.54	1.06	270.74
Dalit	12.98	10.81	15.16	.113	0.10	0.99	258.87
Newar	24.55	20.32	28.78	.185	5.29**	0.60	175.31
Other	14.20	9.55	18.85	.122	0.56	0.92	245.79
Nepal	12.86	11.87	13.84	.112	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	260.33

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

Out of total employed individuals among Chhetris, 11.1 percent is engaged in wage in non-agriculture sector. The proportion is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the national proportion as reference value. Among Brahman, the proportion of individuals engaged in wage in non-agriculture is 16.1 percent which is significantly higher than the reference value. Conversely, the proportion of employed individuals in this sector among H/M Janajatis (9.6 percent) is significantly lower in comparison to the reference value, whereas proportion of such population within Tarai Janajatis (11.4 percent), Madhesi (12.0 percent) and even within Dalits (13.0 percent) is neither significantly higher nor lower. But, among Newars, proportion of individuals engaged in wage in non-agriculture sector is 24.6 percent, which is significantly higher compared to the reference value. Thus, the distribution of employed individuals engaged in wage in non-agriculture is unequal among ethnic groups.

In terms of inter- and intra-group variance, F-test of variance (Table 5.5) shows that there is no significant difference between inter-group variance and intra-group variance. Although there is unequal distribution of individuals engaged in wage

in non-agriculture sector among ethnic groups, F-test shows that the pattern of distribution is similar at both between group and within group levels. This suggests that distribution does not follow a particular ethnic line.

Distribution is also unequal within all ethnic groups. Coefficient of variation (Table 5.5) shows that there is strong intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups in terms of access to employment in wage in non-agriculture sector. Since coefficient of variation ranges from 175.3 within Newars to 306.8 within H/M Janajatis, there is strong disparity within all ethnic groups. Thus, all ethnic groups are heterogeneous in terms of access to employment in wage in non-agriculture sector.

Significantly higher access to employment opportunities in wage in non-agriculture sector among Newars may be due to Newar households' location at urban centres or rural market centres where there is high possibility of getting opportunities in non-agricultural sector. However, there is difference between the proportion of urban (38 percent) and rural (9 percent) within Newar as well. Such type of variation exists within all ethnic groups in terms of various dimensions. The rural urban difference is significant within Brahman and Chhetri too. Among Brahman, about 33 percent in urban areas and only about 9 percent in rural areas are involved as wage earners in non-agriculture sector. The proportion of H/M Janajati in wage earning activities in non-agriculture sector is lower (9.6 percent) compared to those in Brahman, Chhetri and Newar groups. But when it is observed in terms of rural urban difference the proportion is quite interesting among H/M Janajati. About 28 percent of them is employed in urban areas and about only 6 percent of them is employed in rural areas. Thus, access to opportunities in non-agricultural sector is higher among those in urban areas than those in rural areas. Distribution pattern of employed population, according to wage earning activities, in non-agriculture sector across ethnic groups does not signify that access to opportunity in wage earning activities in non-agriculture sector is influenced by ethnic background, that is a particular ethnic line.

Self-employment in Agriculture

Self-employment in agriculture has remained an important and dominant sector of employment in Nepal from the past. Households, which own only agricultural land

and do not have any other employment opportunities other than agriculture, usually involve themselves in agriculture alone. Since, agriculture in Nepal is still subsistence in nature, farmers are involved in this sector just to support their livelihood through agriculture production. It is interesting to note that about 61.5 percent of employed people (15 years and above) is engaged in it. This proportion is distributed across all ethnic groups indicating both inter- and intra- ethnic inequality (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6

People Engaged in Self in Agriculture Sector by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	70.64	67.49	73.79	.207	4.79**	1.14	64.47
Brahman	60.37	56.10	64.63	.239	-0.47	0.99	81.03
H/M Janajati	71.57	68.21	74.93	.203	5.03**	1.16	63.03
Tarai Janajati	63.84	58.04	69.64	.231	0.75	1.03	75.27
Madhesi	51.40	46.13	56.66	.250	-3.51**	0.95	97.24
Dalit	58.05	53.85	62.26	.244	-1.45	0.97	85.01
Newar	38.83	30.87	46.79	.238	-5.42**	1.00	125.51
Other	43.43	34.74	52.13	.246	-3.97**	0.96	114.12
Nepal	61.50	59.46	63.54	.237	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	79.12

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

Among Chhetris, the proportion of employed individuals in self in agriculte sector is 70.6 percent. This proportion is significantly higher compared to the national proportion as reference value (61.5 percent). Proportion of such population within Brahmans (60.4 percent) is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the reference value. In contrast, among H/M Janajati, the self-employed population in agriculture is 71.6 percent, which is significantly higher than the reference value. However, among Tarai Janajati (63.8 percent), it is neither significantly higher nor lower in comparison to the reference value. It is interesting to note that the proportion of self-employed population in agriculture sector is significantly lower within

Madhesi (51.4 percent). In case of Dalit (58.1 percent), the self-employed individuals in agriculture sector is also neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the reference value. But, within Newars (38.8 percent), proportion of self-employed individuals in agriculture sector is significantly lower. Thus, distribution of individuals self-engaged in agriculture is unequal.

The fact on inter-group inequality, F-test of variance (Table 5.6), shows that there is no significant difference between inter-group variance and intra-group variances among all ethnic groups of Nepal. Since F-value is not significant in terms of all ethnic groups, distribution of self-employed individuals in agriculture is similar at both national and group level. Therefore, distribution of access to opportunities in self-employment in agriculture sector is not significantly unequal across ethnic groups.

In terms of intra-group variation, coefficient of variation (Table 5.6) further justifies the fact that there is strong intra-group inequality in the distribution of access to opportunities in self-employment in agriculture sector. Since coefficient of variation ranges from 63.0 within H/M Janajatis to 125.5 within Newar, a wide disparity within all ethnic groups is clear. Thus, all ethnic groups in terms of distribution of access to self-employment opportunity in agriculture is highly unequal.

A large proportion of self-employed individuals in agriculture sector highlights that people are not still willing to give up self-involvement in agriculture. It is because of two important reasons, first, older generations have come doing agriculture throughout their lives, and second, there is no alternative job opportunity in non-agriculture sector. But, very recently, younger generation is getting detached from farm and farm activities. This disappearance of young people from agriculture is common to all ethnic groups. Almost all educated youths from all ethnic groups are looking for better jobs, which pay them better salary. In case of Newar, their engagement in the lowest proportion is because of two main reasons. First, Newar households are located in urban or rural market centres. Second, most Newar HHs do not possess agricultural land. But, in case of Dalit, the second reason is more important. Thus, distribution of employed individuals engaged in self-agriculture sector does not show attachment to a certain ethnic background. Most possibly, it can be influenced by the availability of opportunities of wage earning opportunity in

agriculture, and also, wage earning opportunities in non-agriculture sector. To some extent, it is also influenced by involvement in extended economic work.

Self-employment in Non-agriculture

Self-employment in non-agriculture is another emerging area of employment in Nepal. This employment requires some level of investment in self-employed sector. It may be both industrial enterprises and service sector. Overall, 11.5 percent of employed individuals, 15 years and above, of Nepal are engaged in self-employed non-agriculture sector. Distribution of self-employment in non-agriculture is one of the indicators of capability of self-employment. All ethnic groups do have access to opportunities in self- employment in non-agriculture sector. However, there is variation in the distribution of employed individuals in this sector across ethnic groups (Table 5.7).

Out of total employed individuals within Chhetris, 8.7 percent is engaged in wage in non-agriculture sector. This proportion is significantly lower compared to the national proportion as reference value. Among Brahnans, the proportion of self-employed individuals in in non-agriculture is 12.4 percent. In comparison to the reference value, this proportion is neither significantly higher nor lower. Among H/M Janajatis, only 8.7 percent of self-employed individuals is engaged in non-agriculture sector, which is significantly lower than the reference value. Similarly, among Tarai Janjatis too, only 7.5 percent of self-employed individuals is engaged in non-agriculture. This proportion is also significantly lower compared to the reference value. It is important to note that the proportion of self-employed individuals in non-agriculture sector within Madhesi is 15.1 percent, which is significantly higher compared to the national average and also the largest proportion compared to all other ethnic groups including Brahman. Among Dalits (8.2 percent), it is significantly lower. The most important point here is that among Newars, the proportion of self-employed individuals in non-agriculture is 27.1 percent, which is significantly higher than the reference value. Thus, distribution of access to opportunities in self-employment in non-agriculture sector is not uniform across ethnic groups.

Table 5.7

People Self-engaged in Non-agriculture Sector by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	8.74	6.98	10.50	.080	-2.61**	1.28	323.06
Brahman	12.35	9.98	14.73	.108	0.63	0.94	266.36
H/M Janajati	8.75	6.92	10.58	.080	-2.53*	1.28	322.94
Tarai Janajati	7.53	5.30	9.75	.070	-3.14**	1.46	350.49
Madhesi	15.09	11.40	18.79	.128	1.82	0.79	237.18
Dalit	8.20	6.51	9.88	.075	-3.22**	1.35	334.68
Newar	27.15	21.91	32.39	.198	5.73**	0.52	163.82
Other	18.57	12.45	24.68	.151	2.23*	0.67	209.44
Nepal	11.51	10.39	12.63	.102	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	277.27

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

In terms of inter-group variation, F-test of variance (Table 5.7) shows that there is no significant difference between inter- and intra-group variances. This suggests that inequality across the country is similar to intra-ethnic inequality. Since F-value is not significant to the variance of any of the ethnic groups, it indicates that the distribution of access to self-employment in non-agriculture sector is similar at both country and group levels.

There is also strong intra-group inequality in terms of distribution of self-employment in non-agriculture sector (Table 5.7). Intra-group disparity is obvious from the fact that coefficient of variation ranges from 163.8 within Newar to 350.4 within Tarai Janajati indicating strong disparity. Thus, all ethnic groups are heterogeneous in terms of distribution of access to self-employment opportunities in non-agriculture sector.

There is intra-group variation among Madhesi people across rural urban areas. Among all employed Madhesi, about 36 percent in urban and 10 percent in rural areas are engaged in self-employment in non-agriculture sector reflecting clear rural urban

difference. As in case of Madhesi, within Brahman too, there is rural-urban difference. Among all, 22 percent among urban Brahman individuals and 8 percent among rural Brahman individuals are self-employed in non-agriculture sector. Thus, the rural urban differences exist within all social categories. Whatever the distribution of self- employment in non-agriculture sector, it gives an important message that individuals from all ethnic groups are involved in it. However, the volume of capital investment in self- employment in non-agriculture sector may differ from household to household and individual to individual depending upon the nature of activity and household capability. Not all individuals within all ethnic categories are capable of investing some capital in non-agriculture sector. This indicates that there is no association between ethnic background and self- employment in non-agriculture sector. Also, Pandey (2010, p. 133) writes that "people belonging to all these categories are also involved in non-agricultural types of activities such as manufacturing, construction, transport and communication, business and trade, finance, personal and community services and others. Among Newars, Thakalis and Tarai Brahmins, the proportion of those who are engaged in non-agricultural activities is larger than those which [who] are engaged in agricultural activities."

The facts show that agriculture has remained the major sector of employment engaged by a great majority of population for all ethnic categories. All ethnic groups have access to opportunities in all four major sectors of employment in Nepal. However, nature of job and level of income may differ according to sector of employment. Level of income differs not only according to type of sector but also due to individual capacity to hold a particular position. As explained by Pandey (2010), there is a sharp difference on the level of income among Bahuns and Chhetris of the hill and Tarai origin. The income of Bahuns and Chhetris is almost 1/3 the income of Janajatis in Tarai regions (127). Therefore, ethnic background is not likely to play any significant role in the involvement of individuals in any sector of employment and the level of their earning.

5.4. Ethnicity and another Location/Source of Employment and Income

Foreign labour migration has a long history and historical importance in Nepal. The importance of migration was realized when NLSS (2004) revealed that it was mainly remittance that contributed to poverty reduction. In eight years, from 1994/95 to

2003/04, poverty in Nepal fell by 11 percentage points from 42 percent to 31 percent mainly because of remittance and increase in real wages in agriculture and urbanization (Adhikari, 2010, p. 98). The contribution of remittance further increased in five years period from 2004 to 2010. It further reduced the poverty percentage from 31 percent to 25 percent, by contributing to the income of 17 percent households. There might be other factors contributing to Nepal's poverty reduction, but those of foreign labour migration and associated remittance are increasingly becoming significant for the dynamics f Nepalese socioeconomic life.

Statistics for the last three years show that on an average, 250,000 people are leaving the country annually for employment, and the number is on the rise (Economic Survey, 2010/11). The percentage of households having at least one such employee (absentee) outside the country is 33. There is also internal mobility as well. The percentage of households with at least one absentee within country is 28, while that for households with at least one absentee living currently within or outside the country is 53 (NLSS, 2011). This evidences that employment is shifting from farm activities to non-farm activities day by day.

Similarly, proportion of households receiving remittance has significantly increased from 23 percent in 1995/96 to 56 percent in 2010/11. However, the share of remittance in household income among recipients has increased only slightly from about 27 percent to about 31 percent during the same period (NLSS, 2011). In addition, remittance is playing an important role in shaping the overall living standard of people. Access to remittance of any individual or household is significantly important for the discussion of ethnicity and inequality. Therefore, distribution of households receiving remittance across ethnic groups is important here (Table 5.8).

Overall, 56 percent of households in Nepal receives remittance. Distribution of remittance receiving households across ethnic groups (Table 5.8) shows that there is certain proportion of households within all ethnic groups, which receives remittance. The proportion of households receiving remittance among Chhetris is 55.2 percent, which is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the national average as reference value. However, among Brahmans proportion of remittance receiving households is 61.0 percent and this proportion is significantly higher compared to the reference value. Among H/M Janajatis (53.2 percent), Tarai Janajatis (60.4 percent),

Madhesi (56.2 percent), the proportion of remittance receiving households is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the reference value. Interestingly, here even within Dalits, the proportion of remittance receiving households is 60.7 percent, which is significantly higher compared to the reference value, but within Newars, the proportion of such population is 38.4 percent only, which is significantly lower than the reference value. Thus, there is difference in the proportion of remittance receiving households across ethnic groups.

As remittance receiving households are distributed across all ethnic groups, there is inter-group inequality in terms of mean comparison. But, it is important to say that overall distribution at national level does not significantly vary from the distribution within each ethnic group. F-test of variance (Table 5.8) shows that there is no significant difference between inter- and intra-group variances. This indicates that the pattern of distribution of remittance receiving households across the country is similar to the pattern within each ethnic group. Therefore, distribution of access to location/resource of employment and income does not significantly differ among ethnic groups.

Table 5.8

Households Receiving Remittance by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	55.17	51.08	59.26	.247	-0.25	1.00	90.14
Brahman	61.18	57.15	65.22	.237	2.35*	1.04	79.65
H/M Janajati	53.16	49.43	56.90	.249	-1.20	0.99	93.86
Tarai Janajati	60.42	51.66	69.17	.239	1.02	1.03	80.94
Madhesi	55.99	49.91	62.06	.246	0.07	1.00	88.66
Dalit	60.67	56.25	65.09	.239	1.98*	1.03	80.51
Newar	38.38	32.76	44.01	.237	-5.71**	1.04	126.70
Other	58.22	50.22	66.22	.243	0.58	1.01	84.72
Nepal	55.76	53.71	57.82	.247	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	89.07

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

In terms of intra-group variation, coefficient of variation (Table 5.8) shows that there is strong inequality within all ethnic groups. Since coefficient of variation ranges from 79.6 within Brahman to 126.7 within Newar, we can say that there is deep seated inequality within all ethnic groups. The intra-group inequality varies according to the proportion of remittance receiving households. The coefficient of variation shows that none of the ethnic groups is invariable in terms of share in remittance receiving households within the group. It clearly shows that some people within all groups are mobile in terms of going outside the households, earning cash/kind and sending back home at least whatever cash or kind they earn while staying outside the household. Therefore, ethnic background has no bearing on receiving remittance. What is important here is the reflection of rural urban difference on foreign labour migration and receiving of remittance.

Significantly higher proportion of households receiving remittance among Tarai Janajati and simply higher proportion among Madhesi may be due to two reasons. Firstly, they usually go for wage work or small and medium business work outside their home village within the country. They either send remittance or go home carrying their earnings with them after some months. Secondly, nowadays, the number of foreign employees is also on the rise. It is likely that the lowest proportion of remittance receiving households among Newar is because of their involvement in business and service sector within country. However, certain proportion of individuals from Newar community is also going abroad for job now.

The households, which neither own large size of farm land nor any other income generating source such as tractor, thresher, renting things and so on, but receive remittance, seem prosperous in terms of living standard because of cash in hand. The reasons behind this prosperity or the better living standard of those households could be as follows. First, the direct use of money (cash in hand) on better food, clothes and shelter, and second, the increased access to facilities of education, health and other modern facilities, which rapidly uplift the living standard of people. But, households, which own large size of agricultural land, particularly in villages, do not have any other source of cash income, are now found to have poor living standard, because they cannot afford modern facilities including health and education. Thus, cash, primarily remittance, has become one of the important sources

of income of people of both rural and urban areas. Overall, distribution of proportion of remittance receiving households across ethnic groups does not have any correlate to certain ethnic background, although, Janajati were previously regarded as having a culture of joining Indian and British army. Foreign labour migration has now been a culture of all ethnic groups, but it is a recent phenomenon adopted by individuals of all ethnic groups while accessing to opportunities available in international market.

5.5. Ethnicity and Government/Non-government Officials Including High School and University Teacher

As mentioned in previous chapter, ethnicity has been the most contentious issue, and has remained at the core of debate and discussion in Nepal since the last two decades. While discussing the issue of ethnicity, ethnic activists, political leaders and even scholars are found to have been highlighting the disproportionate representation in bureaucracy, army, police, and school/university teacher and so on by looking at ethnicity. These discussions and debates particularly focus on existing ethnic composition of employees in various service sectors as a whole. Unequal access to government jobs of different ethnic groups is one foundational reality. Another reality is that government jobs are not well distributed across all ethnic groups proportionally in terms of eligible population. This is the matter of identifying appropriate denominator for inter-ethnic comparison. There are some grounded realities, which give rise to disproportionate representation at macro level composition.

Education and training are the basic prerequisites for entry in any government or non-government jobs although there are various criteria including level of education to apply for different positions in government and non-government sectors including private. Level of education may have sometimes direct relationship to the post that one applies to. At least bachelor level qualification is essential to apply for preliminary examination of government officer. This is just a small case. Therefore, without examining the status of higher level of education in terms of ethnic composition, the analysis done on representation as seen in government officials including school/university teacher remains incomplete and meaningless. This section attempts to deal with ethnic issues, particularly ethnic composition regarding representation of officials and school/university teachers.

Gurung (2001), quoting various sources published around 1992, mentions a few ethnically important things regarding the representation of various ethnic groups in government bureaucracy.

> The imbalance is even more pronounced when one looks into government bureaucracy associated with pelf and power. The gazette civil service posts seem virtually the fiefdom of Bahun, Chhetri and Newar. Their dominance at the gazette levels was as follows: secretary 87.6 percent, additional secretary 92.3 percent, deputy secretary 88.9 percent, joint secretary 94.5 percent, and assistant secretary 96.2 percent and section officer 92.6 percent. Bahun dominance ranges from 31.3 percent at secretary level to 62.1 percent at section officer level. The Newar ranges from 21.0 percent at section officer level to 22.5 percent at joint secretary level. The only others with some representation are the Tarai group and Hill Ethnic (p. 100).

The essence of Gurung's long quotation here is that the so called high caste Brahman and Chhetri groups including Newar are dominating the bureaucracy in terms of representation. Seddon (1987) has made similar argument where he writes that throughout the history of modern Nepal, high-caste men have occupied a major proportion of influential positions in the government, the Ministry of Education and schools through the country, and the modern economic setting. But, both Gurung and Seddon do not explore any reason behind the low proportion of other ethnic categories such as H/M Janajati, Tarai Janajati, Madhesi and Dalit. They also do not explore the reason why there is domination of Newar as well, which is also an indigeneous nationality. Limiting the causes to linguistic phenomenon, Lawoti and Guneratne (2010, p. 3) write, "Recruitment to the civil service through exams conducted in the native language of the dominant group contributed in their overwhelming domination of the bureaucracy." However, in the researcher's opinion this cannot be the only cause for the low proportion of representation of Janajati, Madhesi and Dalit groups at Nepal government's gagazzeted positions and secondary schools and universities' teaching positions.

Although, this may be a way of explaining representation, the explanations made by Gurung (2001), Lawoti and Gunaratne (2010) and even Seddon (1987) have raised many questions. First, how can the comparison of the proportion of representation to the proportion of population be made an appropriate way to explain representation? Second, are not there any appropriate alternatives to interpret

representation? Gurung (2001) directly compares bureaucratic composition to the proportion of population considering the whole population as the basis of comparison to calculate representation, but which is not an appropriate way, because such population is not eligible for claiming representation in bureaucracy. Representation in government officials, secondary school teachers and university professors is possible only after gaining higher level of education: obtaining bachelor and master level degrees. Therefore Mishra (2012) writes that the schooling and educational gaps, in particular, have led to a huge gap in access to civil-service and other public and private sectors employment across ethnic groups, because a large number of ethnic groups have to compete with highly educated the 'high-caste' and Newar groups. This is the context behind the factor of disproportionate representation at higher levels in bureaucracy. Surely, a careful examination of the proportion of individuals with higher educational levels and their proportion in higher government officials and school/university teachers/professors gives a realistic picture of inclusion and exclusion across ethnic groups that could be useful to understand the current ethnic debate of Nepal.

Now, let us remember the discussion made earlier in detail about the status of higher education across ethnic groups in Nepal (see Chapter Four, Table 4.8).

Among those who graduated and post-graduated, only 18.8 percent were engaged in government officials, secondary school and university teachers (Table 5.9). This proportion was also distributed across all ethnic groups. Going through the disaggregated data, the proportion of officials within Chhetris is 19.5 percent. It is neithr significantly higher nor lower compared to the national average (18.8 percent) as reference value. Likewise, the proportion of officials among Brahman (16.9 percent), H/M Janajati (17.2 percent), Tarai Janajati (15.9 percent), Madhesi (18.3 percent), Dalits (18.1 percent), and Newars (23.6 percent) which are neither significantly higher nor lower compared to reference value. Thus, distribution of access to officer level jobs including high school and university teacher is distributed across all ethnic groups.

In terms of inter- and intra-group variances, F-test of variance (Table 5.9) shows that there is no significant difference between inter- and intra-group variances among Chhetris, Brahman and even among H/M Janajatis. Likewise, there is no

significant variation in the distribution of access to officer level job among Tarai Janajatis, Madhesis and even among Dalits and among individuals across the country. Thus, distribution of access to officer level job is similar to all ethnic groups.

Table 5.9

Population Engaged in Officer Level Job by Ethnic Group (Among Bachelor and Master Levels of Education)

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	19.53	12.94	26.12	.157	0.21	0.97	202.97
Brahman	16.89	13.09	20.69	.140	-0.79	1.09	221.80
H/M Janajati	17.16	8.76	25.56	.142	-0.36	1.07	219.71
Tarai Janajati	15.93	3.52	28.34	.134	-0.44	1.14	229.70
Madhesi	18.34	6.80	29.88	.150	-0.07	1.02	211.00
Dalit	18.11	4.29	31.93	.148	-0.09	1.03	212.65
Newar	23.63	17.70	29.55	.180	1.47	0.84	179.79
Other	14.60	2.29	26.92	.125	-0.65	1.22	241.83
Nepal	18.76	16.07	21.45	.152	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	208.09

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.
[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.
[*] $p < .05$, two tailed;
[**] $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

In terms of intra-group variation, regarding access to officer level job, there is strong intra-group inequality with high coefficient of variation (Table 5.9) within all ethnic groups. Low proportion of individuals who have graduated has access to officer level job among all ethnic groups.

One most important thing here is that the proportion of individuals getting jobs as officers, secondary school teachers and university professors within Brahman is 16.9 percent of those obtaining higher education. This proportion is lower when compared to H/M Janajati (17.2 percent), Madhesi (18.3 percent) and even Chhetri (19.5 percent), and this factor is very important in the context of ethnic debate in which Brahman group—commonly called the high caste Hindu group—is blamed as dominating the higher officer level jobs in various sectors. The empirical position is the proportion of Brahman who graduated is larger than those of Janajati, Madhesi and Chhetri, and this factor directly influences the proportion and level of their representation. Therefore, examination of participation of individuals from all ethnic

groups in terms of representation in government officials, school teachers, and university professors yields interesting results. The ratio of proportion of job holders to the proportion of eligible population, that is those who have obtained higher level education particularly bachelor and master levels, gives a real picture of inclusion in terms of representation (Table 5.10).

Table 5.10

Population Engaged in Officer Level Job (Among all Literacy and Above Education)

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV	WPE (IP)
		LL	UL					
Chhetri	2.17	1.55	2.80	.021	-0.24	1.04	670.8	44.74 (102.0)
Brahman	3.61	2.70	4.53	.035	2.71**	0.63	516.5	29.25(66.7)]
H/M Janajati	1.41	0.72	2.10	.014	-2.17*	1.59	836.9	76.4(174.4)
Tarai Janajati	1.40	0.27	2.52	.014	-1.44	1.60	839.8	55.73(127.1)
Madhesi	1.36	0.57	2.15	.013	-2.04*	1.64	850.3	48.81(111.3)
Dalit	0.93	0.31	1.54	.009	-3.71**	2.41*	1033.7	78.63(179.3)
Newar	6.25	4.63	7.87	.059	4.72**	0.38	387.3	51.34(117.0)
Other	1.11	0.03	2.18	.011	-2.00*	2.02	944.9	53.79(122.6)
Nepal	2.26	1.91	2.61	.022	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	657.3	43.85[a](100)

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation; WPE= weighted proportion of employed people among eligible population (Table 4.8); IP= inclusive proportion (WPE/national WPE)*100.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

The proportion of representation is the highest (78. 6 percent) among Dalit followed by H/M Janajati (76.4 percent). The ratio of proportion of population getting job to the proportion graduated population is 3:4. This means three out of four graduate people within Dalit and H/M Janajati are employed at officer level job. Whereas among Brahman (29 percent) the ratio is 1:3 i.e. one out three graduated individuals has got officer level job. Among Newars (51 percent) and Chhetris (45 percent), it is about 1:2 that means every one among two graduates is getting officer level job. People who argue in ethnic line saying that Brahman group is dominating all other ethnic groups may not believe this figure, but this is the fact the statistics reveals. The proportion of Dalit individuals who have graduated is very low. Those who have graduated can only grab the opportunities of officer level jobs and school

teacher and university professor jobs. Therefore, the truth is the proportions of Dalit and Janajati yield higher proportions of qualified jobs than do the proportions of Brahman and Chhetri. The representation of Dalit is the highest among all officials, secondary school and university teachers as a whole. But, their representation at university/college level is still almost negligible. However, those who have graduated had the opportunity best suited to their educational level. The case is similar to that of H/M Janajati. Therefore, the focus of inclusion should be on the proportion of eligible population and the proportion in representation across broad ethnic categories rather than the proportion of population as a whole.

Inclusion and exclusion are two key concepts used simultaneously in the debate of ethnicity in Nepal. In the explanations made by some scholars (Gurung, 2012, Bhattachan, 2012, Lawoti, 2010, Mabuhang, 2012), it is argued that Brahman have remained dominant in representation. Also, this argument is used to explain the status of inclusion/exclusion relative to the proportion occupied by a particular ethnic group as a whole. This way of explaining representation completely ignores the very foundation of inclusion/exclusion criteria—a prerequisite for eligibility of individuals for representation. For example, without graduate level education, no individual can apply for and occupy any gazetted officer's post. If we assume educational status as base structure from Marxist perspective, occupying or holding any officer's post is the superstructure. In order to bring change in superstructure, emphasis should be on base structure. Explanations on inclusion/exclusion made till now have ignored the base structure and emphasized only the superstructure (representation). It is possible that, to some extent, traditional practices too might have influenced the the question of representation. Therefore, interpretation of inclusion/exclusion in terms of relationship between base structure (basic capability) and superstructure (representation) is very much important for a healthy discourse on ethnicity in Nepal today (Table 5.10).

Among all, inclusion of Dalit is 179 percent which is about 2 times more than their basic eligible population proportion which may seem unusual to many. But this is the true picture. However, it does not mean that all Dalit are equal and there is no inequality within Dalit as such. There is high level of inequality within Dalits as well. Similarly, the inclusive percentage of H/M Janajati is 174.4 percent and that is also

about two times more than their eligible population. Representation of Madhesi is 111.3 percent, which is equal to their eligible population percentage. The proportion of Brahman (66.7 percent) in terms of eligible population proportion is the lowest among all ethnic groups, which is quite interesting in the current debate of ethnicity. Of course, it could be one of the ways of understanding inclusion/exclusion status in the current debate of ethnicity in Nepal.

5.6. Conclusion

Distribution of employment status of people in Nepal varies across ethnic groups indicating that there is no influence of ethnic background in having or not having access to employment opportunity. All ethnic groups do have individuals engaged in all employment sectors. But, the difference is that some ethnic groups have higher proportion of employed people and some others have lower proportion of employed people in comparison to the national figure. The highest proportions are those of H/M Janajati and Tarai Janajati. In contrast, the coefficient of variation is also highest in H/M Janajati and Tarai Janajati, which indicates that intra-group inequality is highest in them. Thus, issues of employement and unemployement have no relation to a particular ethnicity; rather they are common to all ethnic groups.

Obviously, *there could be some advantages of being employed and disadvantages of not being employed which could be applied to individuals of all ethnic groups.* As mentioned by Moore (1995), for example, employment helps make friends, and develop sense of status. That being true, employed individuals get a social status in society. This applies to individuals of all ethnic groups. If unemployment is regarded as negative phenomenon, it produces some negative consequences. Sen (2000) writes unemployment might have some negative consequences and significant causal influence in heightening ethnic tensions as well as gender divisions. In Nepal, empirical evidences show that *unemployment is not a unique phenomenon to a particular ethnic group.* There are unemployed people in all ethnic groups, and if they are regarded as those excluded, then *there are excluded people within all ethnic groups*. In contrast to what may be called a myth, in Brahman, the rate of unemployment is the highest of all ethnic groups. If we agree with Saith (2001) saying that unemployed and underemployed could be considered as being excluded from the usual activities of the society they live in and therefore being

socially excluded, some section of Brahman could also be pointed out as socially excluded. But, in no way, as has been discussed above, can this be applied to the entire Brahman group. It is only some individuals who are unemployed and may be are looking for job. Therefore, group itself, cannot be excluded. Exclusion depends upon individual capability and it is individual phenomenon, which is clear from the distribution of employment status presented in Table 5.1.

Employment is also an important indicator of social status of individuals which is also distributed across all ethnic groups indicating both inter- and intra-ethnic inequalities. There are individuals in all ethnic groups who are engaged in all employment sectors: they are wage earners and non-wage earners in agriculture, and self-employed both in agriculture and non-agriculture. As mentioned above, if employment provides an opportunity to develop social networks, then individuals from all groups could have this opportunity. Even Dalit people did have employment opportunity, because labour jobs available within the village were their main source of income, which actually provided them social status (Adhikari, 2008). This case applies to all employed individuals irrespective of ethnicity. Also, there have emerged new job areas, for example foreign employment, that have given the individuals a different social status.

Remittance has been one of the attractive areas of income both from financial and social status perspectives, to which individuals from all ethnic groups have an access. It is now regarded as an effective means of livelihood through generation of remittance. Empirical information about remittance receiving households shows that access to foreign employment is phenomenon common to individuals of any ethnic origin or attachment. Therefore, inequality among individuals and households can be observed in terms of remittance receiving households and not receiving households. Thus, foreign employment has emerged as one of the reasons of creating social and economic inequality among individuals and households. Variance test (F-test) on remittance receiving households further clarifies that there is no significant difference between the national figure and group figure. It suggests that there are individuals and households in all ethnic groups, which receive remittance from foreign employment. Also, there are households which do not receive remittance, and interestingly the

intra-group variation is the highest among Brahmans. This communicates that ethnicity has no role in determining access to opportunity of foreign employment.

Bureaucracy including teaching at university and school as the important sector of employment in Nepal is in access to individuals of all ethnic groups, nontheless indicating both inter- and intra-ethnic inequalities or differences. There are individuals from all ethnic groups who represent the bureaucracy, university and school. It is obvious that the proportion regarding the overall ethnic composition is unequal. Overall, proportions of Brahman and Chhetri groups are found higher, but what is more important here is such proportions occur due to the comparisons that are made at the entire ethnic group levels. So, what is to be done here is that the proportion should be compared to the eligible population within each ethnic group, because all ethnic groups do not have equal proportions of eligible candidates who can go for bureaucratic representation. Therefore, proportion of representation varies from one group to another. Observing the empirical evidences, it can be said that all ethnic groups include individuals employed at different levels of bureaucracy. Obviously, Brahman and Newar have the highest proportion (F-test in Table 4.4), because the proportion of eligible individuals is also thehighest among them. If we look at the ratio of eligible population and representation to bureaucracy, the ratio of Brahman is about 1:3 (one out of three graduates), that of Chhetri, Madhesi, Tarai Janajati and Newar groups is about 1:2 (one out of two graduates) and that of H/M Janajati and Dalit is about 3:4 (three out of four graduates). This indicates that H/M Janajati and Dalit have higher representation compared to that of Brahman. *In Nepal, Brahman and Newar, as ethnic categories, are not homogeneous elite categories. Some elites within these categories hold various positions in bureaucracy and other organizations and exercise power over other ethnic categories including those of non-elite Brahman and Newar groups.* Hence, the statistical distribution of employment status confirms that the access to employment opportunity including officer level jobs does not follow a particular ethnic origin or attachment, resulting in the acceptance of the null hypothesis that distribution of access to employment opportunity does not follow a particular ethnic line. In addition, the coefficient of variation of all ethnic groups further clarifies that there is also unequal distribution of access to employment opportunity within all ethnic groups.

CHAPTER SIX

ETHNICITY AND OWNERSHIP

Ownership over assets implies access to productive resources or consumption of goods and services that directly influence livelihood and living standards of people. Individuals/households having ownership over productive resources mobilize the owned assets and resources for sustainable livelihood and better living standards. They consume goods and services they own for the same livelihood purpose. Thus, ownership plays an important role in shaping both livelihood and living standards of people. As the ownership pattern varies livelihood and living standard of people also vary from individuals to individuals and households to households. This chapter deals with patterns of distribution of ownership of various types of assets such as agricultural land, house, housing plot, agricultural equipment and non-agricultural enterprises and their distribution, based on empirical data, across ethnic groups of Nepal.

The first section of this chapter introduces ownership from different perspectives. Perspectives on ownership have emphasized the fact that ownership of assets or access to productive resources directly affects the livelihood patterns of people. However, it differs according to the type of ownership. Highlighting the importance of assets, such as agricultural land, house, housing plot, agricultural equipment and non-agricultural enterprises, in livelihood, the second section of this chapter, examines the patterns of distribution of ownership. Based on the distribution of ownership pattern, the third part, analyzes inter- and intra-group variations across ethnic groups in terms of access to resources. Empirical evidences on distribution of ownership of resources show that there is unequal distribution of ownership across ethnic groups. Such inequality of distribution of ownership of resources does not only occur between ethnic groups but also widely within each ethnic group which is analyzed in detail throughout this chapter. Exploration of inter- and intra group variations in the distribution of ownership, through variance test and coefficient of variation, has remained at the core of analysis in this chapter.

6.1 Ownership

Ownership, simply speaking means possessing material and/or non-material things by any individual or household that holds rights to consume, mobilize or control it. Such ownership may be of property, status, capability or power. Whatever the type of ownership, it contributes to the livelihood of people, which is important to all human beings. However, notion of ownership has become more important with the development of modern capitalism in the world today because individuals who do not have any ownership over any kind of assets or productive resources might become excluded in practice.

Silver (1995) notes a list of things, "a few of the things people may be excluded from" must include: "a livelihood; secure, permanent employment; earnings; property, credit, or land; housing; minimal or prevailing consumption levels; education, skills, and cultural capital; the welfare state; citizenship and legal equality; democratic participation; public goods; the nation or the dominant race; family and sociability; humanity, respect, fulfillment and understanding" (Silver, 1995, p. 541). Thus, ownership of any property or productive asset contributes to continue human lives and livelihood easily. Although, there are various forms of ownership, here, in this chapter, we will discuss the ownership of various types of agricultural land, livestock, house, housing plot and non-agricultural enterprises in detail.

6.2 Ownership of Agricultural Land/Farmland

Land is regarded as one of the most important assets as well as productive resources since the beginning of human society. As agriculture was the major source of livelihood, land had a premium in the past. Also land is still valuable in most parts of the world for it is used as productive resource such as agricultural land, housing plot, and as an economic asset. In urban area, people are converting agricultural land into housing plot so that they can get higher value. This section discusses only the ownership of agricultural land in the context of Nepal.

Agriculture as an economic activity is, a source of growth for national economy, food security, foreign exchange as well as provider of investment opportunities for agro-based industries and rural non-farm economy. As source of livelihood, it provides jobs to a majority of the people, especially the small holders, landless and the poor (Farooq, 2012). Agriculture has well established record as an

instrument for poverty reduction (World Bank, 2007) although it can also sometimes increase poverty, e.g. when agriculture sector remains traditional and subsistence. Although agriculture sector is still supposed to be traditional in Nepal it has been making notable contribution to the national economy and livelihood of people.

"Within agriculture, the government has, since 1960, set up organizations for education and research, horticulture, livestock, fisheries and agricultural extension; the Agricultural Extension Department has posted a District Agricultural Development Officer (DADO) in many districts and a varying number of Junior Technical Assistants (JTAs) in each district" (Blaikie and others, 2000:19) to improve the productivity in agricultural sector as it has been an important sector contributing to national Gross Domestic Production (GDP).

According to Karkee's study (2008, p. 27), agriculture sector contributed to 33 percent share of GDP, 49 percent share of household income, 66 percent of labour force and 79 percent of Nepal's households. However, distribution of main sector of employment indicates that the share of agriculture sector, both in wage and self-employment is decreasing over a period of time. Wage in agriculture has also decreased from 53 percent in 1995 to 35 percent in 2010 and self-employment in agriculture also has decreased from 71 percent in 1995/96 to 53.6 percent in 2010/11. But the share of non-agriculture sector in wage employment has increased from 47 percent in 1995/96 to 65 percent in 2010/11 (NLSS, 1996 and NLSS, 2011). These figures clearly show that people are continuously shifting from agriculture sector to non-agriculture sector for wage and employment purposes. One of the reasons of it is that the non-agriculture sector has higher wage rate compared to agricultural sector. The average daily wage in cash/kind received by wage earners in agriculture sector and non-agricultural sector is 168 (109 in cash and 68 in kind) and 223 (181 in cash and 72 in kind) respectively (NLSS, 2011). Daily wage rate in non-agricultural sector is quite high (55 rupees) compared to agricultural sector. Despite the large scale flow of youths from various parts of the country to overseas employment as well as migration within the country, employment in agriculture and agricultural land is still important in Nepal.

Land is central to the livelihood of many people in developing economies like Nepal. The other major resource in these countries is labour. In absence of opportunities the industrialized societies offer, access to land is considered important

for using labour (Adhikari, 2010, p. 91). Land ownership and landlessness need to be understood in the context of changes in global development. Much literature produced in the last three decades (1970-1990) considered landlessness and scarcity as the main causes and consequences of poverty and underdevelopment in agrarian societies like Nepal (Adhikari, 2010, pp. 91-92). Therefore, land has become one of the important livelihood generating productive assets of people in Nepal.

Land is a key asset for poor people in Nepal. Owning it provides a means of livelihood to many, facilitates access to credit markets, has an insurance value, determines influence on local politics, permits participation in social networks, and influences intra-household dynamics. That is why inequality in the ownership of land has such far-reaching consequences for the distribution of well-being and the organization of society for generations to come (WDR, 2006, p. 162). However, importance of land in the livelihood of people depends upon the mode of land use whether in the form of subsistence agriculture or commercial and professional agriculture.

According to Regmi (1999), Nepal was then, as now, a predominantly agricultural country. Agricultural lands were therefore the most important national resource. The abundance of such lands, both cultivated and cultivable, made the Tarai the most valuable among the territorial acquisitions of the Gorkhali government (p. 15). Land in the hill regions was valuable not only from the viewpoint of agricultural production but also because it yielded minerals, primarily copper, iron and lead. Gold, cinnabar and other minerals were also worked to some extent. Still, out of the total households of Nepal, 74 percent is agricultural owning agricultural land (NLSS, 2011). However, agriculture does not appear to have been an important economic activity in the northern Himalayan region. This was due mainly to adverse climatic and terrain factors. The agricultural crops grown in these areas were restricted to wheat and different varieties of millets (NLSS, 2011, pp. 18-19). No matter what crops were produced in such agricultural land, its ownership supported people's livelihood in different ways.

Ownership of agricultural land, in the present socio-economic set up, is perceived mainly in two ways. Firstly, it is an important source of generation of livelihood as employment opportunity. In Nepalese context, until 2008, two individuals, in every three employed, were engaged in agriculture sector (CBS,

2008), which indicated that agriculture was the main sector of employment from the past. Self- employment in agriculture is still 61 percent (NLSS, 2011). Secondly, land is regarded as an indicator of better socio-economic status as it is one of the important productive assets, on the basis of which, people recognize and rank each other in a status hierarchy in society. Dhakal (2011, p. 1) writes that the land ownership pattern still determines economic prosperity, social status and the political power of any individual or family. Thus, landownership provides both social and economic status to both individual and household.

Households with agricultural land have chances of producing different things at a time required for their livelihood. They yield cereal crops, vegetable, fruits and also cash crops like ginger in their own land. They can survive on all these agricultural products even if they do not have any access to other kinds of market goods. Some other households produce crops, vegetable, fruits and cash crops, as commercial products and sell them in the market for profit purposes. However, not all agricultural land might suffice the livelihood of the households due to small quantity of production. In such case, the households may take loan from institutions or individuals keeping their land as collateral to satisfy their wants.

Land is not only a fixed asset but also the most valued form of the property, since economic, political and symbolic status is tied to it. Independent ownership of land would give its possessor a stronger fallback position and greater economic bargaining power than that available for the landless people (Agrawal, 1994). Land ownership, in our context, therefore, is important as primary source of livelihood.

Here, it would be better to quote Amatya Sen's (2000) idea on land to understand why it is so important for human beings. He says, "Landlessness is similar to an instrumental deprivation. A family without land in a peasant society may be deeply handicapped. Of course, given the age-old value system in peasant societies, landlessness can also have constitutive importance in a world that values a family's special relationship with its land; to be without land may seem like being without a limb of one's own. But whether or not a family attaches direct value to its relation with its own land, landlessness can also help to generate economic and social deprivations. Indeed the alienation of land has been--appropriately enough--a much discussed problem in the development literature" (2000, pp. 13-14). Therefore, land

reform always becomes an important agenda of development and politics in developing countries like Nepal.

Land reform has remained always an important agenda of government as well as of political parties in Nepal as well. Political parties have often raised the issue of land reform when they go to people for votes in different elections. They have mentioned agricultural revolution through land reform as one of the important agenda of development of farmers. They include some provisions of land reform even in their political manifesto. However, none of the governments, of any political party, formed after 1990s did bring any effective land reform program to address the problem related to it. Therefore, various governments formed one after another in Nepal throughout the history, particularly after 1990s, are charged with doing nothing when it comes to land reform. As mentioned by Dhakal (2011) "the political process, which, throughout history, favored a certain class of people, and poorly performed, state led land reform initiatives resulted into unequal, very much skewed land distribution among the land dependent households, institutionalizing the inequalities among the citizens. Therefore, Nepali society, historically, was fragmented, economically very much differentiated, socially hierarchical, and politically divided. The land is probably the most important asset in the rural agrarian economy" (p. 1). The discussion here implies that redistributing land could enhance equity and efficiency because land is still one of the important productive resources in Nepal. Therefore, inequality among the households in Nepal begins from ownership of agricultural land.

Owning agricultural land and being an agricultural household[37] are two different things. Household owning agricultural land relates to ownership of land, whereas, agricultural household is the household operating land for agricultural purposes. Discussion here is focused on distribution of ownership of farmland rather than the size, type and the use of agricultural land because the first thing is to have ownership over farmland.

[37] Agricultural households of Nepal are broadly classified into two categories. They are households owning agricultural land and households not owning agricultural land. It does not matter whether the household operates the owned land itself or not. Households with land are those cultivating (during an agricultural year) at least 0.26 ropanis of land (1458 sq. ft. or 8 dhur) in the Tarai districts or at least 0.25 ropanis (1369 sq. ft. or 4 aana) in the mountain and hill districts (NLSS, 2011, p. 6).

Farmland (agricultural land)

According to NLSS survey 2010/11, out of total households of Nepal, 77 percent owns agricultural land. These households are distributed across all ethnic groups varying in proportion (Table 6.1). Comparing the proportion of households with ownership of farmland among broad ethnic groups, Chhetri (84.8 percent) include significantly higher proportion of households compared to national average as reference value. Among Brahmans, the proportion of households which own farm land is 78.4 percent, which is neither significantly higher nor lower than reference value. H/M Janajati (81.6 percent) have significantly higher proportion of households owning farm land. Within Tarai Janajati, the proportion of households which owns farm land is 78.8 percent, which is also neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the reference value. Also, among Madhesi the, proportion of households which owns farmland is 74.5 percent and this proportion is neither significantly higher nor lower. Even within Dalit, the proportion of households which owns farmland is 73.8 percent, which is also neither significantly higher nor lower. Among Newar (57.8 percent), the proportion of households owning agricultural land is significantly lower than the reference value. Thus, households with ownership of farm land are distributed across all ethnic groups.

Table 6.1

Households Owning Farmland by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	84.78	82.13	87.43	.129	4.74**	1.37	42.37
Brahman	78.44	74.63	82.24	.169	0.63	1.04	52.43
H/M Janajati	81.58	78.42	84.74	.150	2.44*	1.18	47.52
Tarai Janajati	78.76	72.24	85.28	.167	0.49	1.06	51.93
Madhesi	74.53	69.15	79.91	.190	-0.89	0.93	58.46
Dalit	73.78	69.67	77.89	.193	-1.45	0.91	59.62
Newar	57.85	50.32	65.38	.244	-4.88**	0.72	85.36
Other	60.36	52.55	68.16	.239	-4.10**	0.74	81.05
Nepal	77.08	75.31	78.86	.177	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	54.52

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

F-test of equality of variances (Table 6.1) shows that there is no significant difference between inter- and intra-group variances. Inequality among overall households across the country and inequality within the households of each ethnic group are not significantly different. This tells us that pattern of distribution of ownership of farmland is similar to the pattern of distribution of the same land within each ethnic group. Thus, there is equality in terms of both inter- and intra-group variances.

In terms of ownership of farm land, there is strong intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups as indicated by coefficient of variation (Table 6.1). Since coefficient of variation ranges from 42.3 within Chhetri to 85.3 within Newar, there is strong intra-group inequality in terms of ownership of farmland. Among all ethnic groups, there are households which own farm land and those which do not own farm land. There is inequality between and within group inequality. All ethnic groups include both categories of households; those with access and without access to farmland. Thus, all ethnic groups are heterogeneous in terms of ownership of farmland.

Households, among Chhetri and H/M Janajati, are usually located in hill areas of Nepal where agriculture still remains the major subsistence measure of livelihood. And, Newar's proportion is the lowest, because most of them live in urban centres, where households do not use land for agriculture purpose even if its size may be larger. Disaggregating the proportion of households owning agricultural land within Newar into rural and urban categories, we can find almost 87 percent of rural households owning it. However, all the Newar households are not equal in this regard as well.

There is also inequality among Newar in terms of ownership of agricultural land including its size. Some Newar households own relatively larger size of land compared to the rest of others in the group. Similarly, intra-group variation is higher among Dalit, although the proportion of households owning farmland among them is relatively lower (74 percent) compared to all other ethnic categories. This indicates that there are a few households within Dalit which own agricultural land, but the variance or inequality within them in terms of its ownership or lack of ownership is similar to what prevails among all ethnic groups. Therefore, all Dalit households do

not resemble similar attributes in this regard. However, while considering the landholding size, type of house and expenditure patterns, Dalits are the poorest people in Nepal. Dahal (2010) writes that landlessness is quite common among Dalits as a whole and more so among the Tarai Dalits (p. 88).

Although landlessness is quite common among Tarai Dalit, all Dalit households are not landless, because it is not a homogeneous category in terms of landholding status. There are households of both characteristics i.e. owning farmland and not owning of it. . This is the indicator of intra-group inequality. The intra-group variation among Dalit is the evidence of this fact. The case is similar within both Tarai Janajati and Madhesi, because their intra-group variation is relatively higher. The facts in Table 6.1 show that none of the ethnic groups is homogeneous in terms of ownership of agricultural land. Similarly, within-group inequality (variation) also varies from one group to another. Whatever the level of intra-group variation, , either high or low, none of the ethnic groups is homogeneous in terms of ownership of farmland indicating that ethnic affiliations do not influence access to ownership of agricultural land. Thus, none of the ethnic groups can be treated as homogeneous category in case land ownership.

In a study conducted among Madhesi community of Dhanusa district, Dahal (2012) found that all groups were not equal in any respect. Talking about ownership of land, he shows that there were intra-group inequalities within the Madhesi community as well. Regarding economic context and mode of livelihood of Yadav, he writes that they are a relatively better off group in terms of economic condition and quality of life comparaed to rest of the communities in Dhanusa district. There were 3.4 percent Yadav households which owned more than five hectares of land (p. 30). This clearly shows that all communities including Yadav households do not have similar attributes in terms of ownership of land. The case could be similar to ownership of other types of agricultural land as well.

Share-cropped/Rented/Mortgaged out Farmland

Share cropping, renting and mortgaging out farmland are other land use practices prevalent in Nepal. In general, it is supposed that people who own larger size of agricultural land usually go for share-cropping or renting, or mortgaging it out.

Operating or not operating agricultural land by the HH itself does not only matter in terms of land size but also availability of agricultural labour within/outside households and other practical aspects of land use. Households lacking agricultural labour within them, attempt to operate the land by hiring the labour. The households which are unable to operate land themselves even by hiring labour, usually go for share-cropping or renting or mortgaging. In some cases, households owning relatively larger size of agricultural land may give a part of it on sharecropping or renting or mortgaging. Whatever the cause of sharecropping/renting/mortgaging out the land and the form of contractual arrangement may be, it is regarded as a prestigious practice in Nepali context, for the reason that by doing so, the households at would ultimately generate some income to meet their expenses. Therefore, distribution of ownership of the land given on share-crop or rent or mortgage is one of its important aspects in the context of Nepal.

In Nepal, overall, 11.1 percent of households owns share-cropped/rented/mortgaged out farmland. Such households have been distributed across all ethnic groups (Table 6.2). Distribution of households owing such category of farmland varies across ethnic groups. The proportion of households owning sharecropped/rented/ mortgaged out farmland among Chhetri is 13.5 percent, which is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the national average as reference value. Among Brahman, this proportion is 19.5 percent. This proportion is also significantly higher compared to the reference value. In case of H/M Janajati (9.0 percent), it is significantly lower than the reference value. Among Tarai Janajati, and even within Madhesi, the proportions of households sharecropping/renting/mortgaging out farmland is, 10.6 percent and 11.0 percent respectively, which are neither significantly higher nor lower than the reference value. But among Dalit, the proportion households owning such land is only 3.5 percent. This proportion is significantly lower compared to the reference value. One interesting point is among Newars the proportion of households owning such land is 9.9 percent, which is significantly higher compared to the reference value even though households owning farmland within Newar (73.8 percent) is the lowest among all ethnic groups.

Going through the F-test of equality of variance, there is no significant difference between inter- and intra-group variances (Table 6.2) except in the case of Dalit. Only among Dalits within group variance is lower. This suggests that the proportion of Dalits sharecropping/renting/mortgaging out the agricultural land is low in fact. Therefore the inequality between Dalits and other group is higher. However, the F-value among rest of the ethnic groups tells us that distribution of households owning sharecropped/rented/mortgaged out farmland across the country and rest of the ethnic groups is almost similar. There are households within all ethnic groups, which own such categories of farmland. Therefore, all ethnic groups are more or less equal in terms of variances.

Table 6.2

Households Owning Sharecropped/Rented/Mortgaged out Farmland by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	13.46	10.86	16.05	.116	1.62	0.85	253.60
Brahman	19.46	16.39	22.53	.157	5.02**	0.63	203.43
H/M Janajati	8.96	7.17	10.75	.082	-2.06*	1.21	318.72
Tarai Janajati	10.63	6.14	15.11	.095	-0.22	1.04	289.98
Madhesi	10.97	7.61	14.34	.098	-0.10	1.01	284.84
Dalit	3.45	2.05	4.86	.033	-8.57**	2.97**	528.88
Newar	9.94	6.69	13.20	.090	-0.69	1.11	300.95
Other	13.30	8.09	18.51	.115	0.80	0.86	255.29
Nepal	11.15	10.08	12.22	.099	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	282.32

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

Regarding the ownership of sharecropped/rented/mortgaged out farm land, there is strong intra-group variation within all ethnic groups as reflected by coefficient of variation (Table 6.2). The coefficient of variation, ranging from 203.4 within Brahman to 528.8 within Dalit, shows that there is strong intra-group disparity within

all ethnic grops. Therefore, there are very few households within all ethnic groups, which own sharecropped/rented/mortgaged out farmlamd.

It is clear that the proportion of households share-cropping/renting/mortgaging out land is relatively higher among Brahman and Chhetri, but there are households among other ethnic groups as well owning such categories of land, indicating that distribution of access to such land does not follow a particular ethnic line. One important point to be noted here is, although, Dalit are the poorest category in terms of ownership of land, even there are some households, which own such land. However, this proportion is very small there.

Distribution of sharecropped/rented/mortgaged out land clearly shows the heterogeneous characteristics of ethnic groups in terms of ownership of various types of agricultural land and also its distribution, which does not follow a particular ethnic line. Thus access to sharecropped/rented/mortgaged out farm land is not dominated only by a particular ethnic group such as so called high caste Brahman. Even among so called lower caste Dalit there are some households sharecropping/renting/mortgaging out agricultural land. However, the proportion is relatively lower compared to other ethnic groups.

Share-cropped/Rented/Mortgaged in Farmland

Another practice of land use in Nepal is sharecropping/renting/ mortgaging in farmland. General assumption is that households which do not own agricultural land or own very small size of land usually sharecrop/rent/mortgage in agricultural land to maintain their livelihoods from agricultural production. Among all households owning farmland, 24 percent owns sharecropped/rented/mortgaged farmland. We often hear that in Nepal, Brahman and Chhetri give land on sharecrop/rent/mortgage and the rest of the categories take it on sharecrop/rent/mortgage. But empirical reality is different and does not support the assumption. Ownership of land on sharecrop/rent/ mortgage is distributed among all ethnic groups including Brahman and Chhetri (Table 6.3). However, only the proportion differs from one ethnic group to another.

Overall, 23.6 percent of agricultural households owning share-cropping/renting/ mortgaging in farmland is distributed across all ethnic groups.

Among Chhetris is 21.3 percent, which is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the national average as reference value. In Brahman (16.8 percent) and H/M Janajati (24 percent) too the proportions of households owning sharecropped/rented/mortgaged farmland are neither significantly higher nor lower. In case of Tarai Janajati (38.1 percent), this proportion is significantly higher. In Madhesi (23.2 percent), this proportion is neither significantly higher nor lower. But in Dalit (33.3 percent) the proportion of households owning such category of land is significantly higher compared to the reference value. In Newar too, the proportion of this category of households is 15.8 percent and it is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to reference value. Thus, households owning sharecropped/rented/ mortgaged farmland are unequally distributed among all ethnic groups.

Table 6.3

Households Owning Sharecropped/Rented/Mortgaged in Farmland by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	21.33	18.39	24.27	.168	-1.32	1.07	192.06
Brahman	16.82	13.44	20.19	.140	-3.57**	1.29	222.41
H/M Janajati	23.99	20.96	27.01	.182	0.24	0.99	178.01
Tarai Janajati	38.09	31.96	44.21	.236	4.51**	0.76	127.50
Madhesi	23.15	18.66	27.64	.178	-0.17	1.01	182.18
Dalit	33.31	29.13	37.48	.222	4.29**	0.81	141.51
Newar	15.78	11.14	20.41	.133	-3.13**	1.36	231.05
Other	15.09	9.83	20.36	.128	-3.03**	1.41	237.18
Nepal	23.58	22.01	25.15	.180	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	180.05

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

In terms of inter- and intra-group variances, F-test of equality of variance (Table 6.3) shows that there is no significant difference between inequality at national level and group level. This tells us that the distribution of households owning sharecropped/rented/mortgaged farmland across the country as well as across ethnic

groups follows similar pattern. Thus, distribution of such category of households does not follow a particular ethnic line.

There is also strong inequality within all ethnic groups in terms of access to ownership of sharecropped/rented/mortgaged farmland. Coefficient of variation (Table 6.3) shows that there is strong-intra group disparity within all ethnic groups. Since coefficient of variation ranges from 141.5 in Dalit to 231.0 in Newar, it is obvious that there is inequality in terms of distribution of access to ownership of sharecropped/rented/mortgaged farmland within all ethnic groups.

The proportions of households owning sharecropped/rented/mortgaged land are significantly higher in Dalit and Tarai Janajati. There are fewer households in Dalit and Tarai Janajati, which have their own agricultural land (Table 6.1). But, it is interesting to note that the so called high caste Brahman and Chhetri also own sharecropped/rented/mortgaged farmland. Households that are unable to produce sufficient food from their own farmland, obviously, look for this type of land. Therefore, it is not surprising to find some Brahman and Chhetri to own this category of land, simply because in them also, there are households that do not have their own agricultural land. However, this proportion is relatively lower compared to that of other groups including the national proportion. Therefore, sharecropping/renting/mortgaging land is neither dominated nor influenced by a particular ethnic group. But it seems it follows a class line in the sense that poor households within all ethnic groups own this type of land because these households have to indulge in sharecropping/renting/ mortgaging in farmland, at least, to maintain their livelihood.

Even within the Tarai Janajati, all households do not own this category of farmland although landlessness is common to them as discussed earlier. As perceived by people in general that particularly Dalit own such category of land because they do not have their own agricultural land is therefore partially true. This fact is further supported by the fact that even Brahman and Chhetri do own sharecropped/rented/mortgaged land.

The empirical evidences of such land also support this statement. There are some households within all ethnic categories, which have ownership over

sharecropped/rented/mortgaged out and sharecropped/rented/mortgaged in the farmland indicating that such practices in the use of land are not confined to a particular ethnic group. Households owning larger size of agricultural land, within all ethnic categories, give it on sharecrop/rent/mortgage. On the contrary, households owning small size of agricultural land or not owning farmland, take such land on sharecrop/rent/mortgage. Therefore, owning such category of land has association with class rather than ethnicity. Thus, ethnic affiliation alone is not a prime determinant of access to ownership over agricultural land.

Hiring Permanent Farm Workers

Practice of hiring permanent farm workers is another important aspect of agriculture in Nepal. As discussed earlier, those households, which do not own any farm labour or active human resource within them or need more than is available within them usually hire them from outside the household. There are two different natures of hiring farm workers. The first type is hiring farm workers temporarily or seasonally whenever is needed. The second type is hiring farm workers on a permanent basis. Hiring farm workers on temporary basis usually takes place particularly during the time of planting and harvesting crops and in some cases whenever is needed. Whereas hiring permanent farm workers is the practice of keeping farm labours in the household for all seasons so that they can get them all year round or every day or whenever is needed. It is usually done by the households, which own relatively large size of agricultural land, but do not own sufficient farm labour within them and also are capable of affording the labour cost. Thus, keeping permanent farm labour in the household is an indicator of economic prosperity or an indicator of a well off household.

The distribution of households hiring permanent farm workers (PFW) in Nepal is shown in Table 6.4. Overall, only 0.8 percent agricultural household hires PFW which is very low. However, it is very important information to analyze the issue of ethnicity. Households, which hire permanent farm workers, are distributed across all ethnic groups (Table 6.4). Among Chhetri households, only one percent households hires PFW which is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the national proportion as reference value. Even within Brahmans and H/M Janajati, the proportion of households hiring PFW is only 0.6 percent each, which is also neither

significantly higher nor lower compared to the reference value. Likewise, among Tarai Janajati, this proportion is slightly higher (1.1 percent) than that of Chhetri, Brahman and H/M Janajati, but it is also not significantly higher than the reference value. Important point to be highlighted here is that the proportion of households hiring PFW among Madhesis (2.4 percent) is significantly higher and among Dalit, (0.3 percent) it is significantly lower. It is also interesting that none of the Newar households hires PFW. Thus, households hiring PFW are distributed across all ethnic groups unequally.

F-test of equality of variance (Table 6.4) shows that there is no significant difference between inter-group variance and intra-group variance. This tells us that the distribution of households hiring PFW across the country and ethnic groups follows similar pattern yielding equal variances. Therefore, overall inequality across the country is similar to the inequality within all ethnic groups.

Table 6.4

Households Hiring Permanent Farm Workers by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	0.98	0.18	1.78	.010	0.38	0.83	1005.17
Brahman	0.62	0.09	1.15	.006	-0.62	1.31	1262.42
H/M Janajati	0.56	0.11	1.01	.006	-0.94	1.46	1334.37
Tarai Janajati	1.11	-0.14	2.35	.011	0.45	0.74	945.16
Madhesi	2.39	0.98	3.79	.023	2.15**	0.35	639.41
Dalit	0.29	-0.14	0.71	.003	-2.00*	2.83**	1864.74
Newar	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.000	-5.42**	0.00	0.00
Other	0.55	-0.51	1.61	.005	-0.48	1.49	1348.96
Nepal	0.82	0.52	1.11	.008	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	1102.19

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

Inequality in terms of access to hiring PFW prevails within each ethnic group as well. Coefficient of variation (Table 6.4) shows that there is strong intra-ethnic inequality in terms of distribution of households hiring PFW. There are some households within all ethnic groups, which hire PFW and others do not. Therefore, all ethnic groups are heterogeneous in terms of access to hiring PFW.

Among households hiring PFW, the proportion is significantly higher in Madhesi and lower in Dalit. The proportions hiring PFW within the rest of the ethnic groups are neither significantly higher nor lower. Even in the case of so called high caste Brahman, this proportion is relatively lower. Thus, households hiring PFW have been distributed across all ethnic groups including Dalit indicating that ethnic affiliation does not influence the ownership of hiring PFW.

However, the fact is only small proportion of Dalit households own agricultural land. Finally, the proportions of households hiring PFW within Brahman and H/M Janajati are similar. These empirical observations highlight two important points. First, households hiring permanent farm workers are distributed across all ethnic groups. Second, there is wider variation within each group in terms of hiring PFW as well. This indicates that hiring PFW is the attribute of class category, as ownership of land, and does not follow a particular ethnic line alone.

6.3 Ethnicity and Livestock

Livestock is an integral part of Nepali farming system. A majority of agricultural households keeps livestock. Roughly, one half of the agricultural households keep cattle on its holding. Among others, 38 percent agricultural households have buffalo, 52 percent goat or sheep, 44 percent poultry and 10 percent keeps pig. Cattle, goat, sheep are more popular among farmers in the mountains while buffalo and poultry birds are more popular in the hills. Piggeries are more common in the rural eastern hills (NLSS, 2011, p. 9). Whatever type and number of livestock the agricultural households keep, the purpose is to support their livelihood. Here the discussion is held on the livestock in terms of ownership only (Table 6.5).

Overall, 78.0 percent of agricultural households own livestock in Nepal. Distribution of those households owning livestock across major ethnic groups is interesting to note (Table 6.5). Among Chhetri, 80.7 percent households keeps

livestock which is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the national average as reference value. Among Brahman, this proportion is 70.8 percent and it is significantly lower compared to the reference value. In contrast, within H/M Janajati, 83.3 percent households keep livestock, and it is significantly higher than the reference value. Within Tarai Janajati, the proportion of households keeping livestock is 89.1 percent. It is also significantly higher in comparison to the reference value. Among Madhesi, (75.6 percent) this proportion is neither significantly higher nor lower. Within Dalit, significantly higher proportion (86.1 percent) of households keeps livestock. But among Newar, only 48.4 percent households keep livestock which is significantly lower compared to the reference value. Thus, households keeping livestock are unequally distributed across all ethnic groups.

In terms of inter-group variance, F-test of equality of variances (Table 6.5) shows that there is no significant difference between overall and group variances. Inequality across the country is similar to inequality within group, in terms of access to livestock keeping. Therefore, pattern of distribution of households keeping livestock at national and group level, is similar.

Access to ownership of livestock does not only differ from group to group but also differs from household to household. Coefficient of variation (Table 6.5) shows that there is strong inequality within each ethnic group in terms of distribution of households keeping livestock. Since the coefficient of variation ranges from 35 within Tarai Janajati to 103.2 within Newar, the intra-ethnic inequality is obvious. There are some households within all ethnic groups, which have access to livestock keeping, but some others do not have. Therefore, all ethnic groups are heterogeneous in terms of access to ownership of livestock.

Table 6.5

Households Owning Livestock by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	80.69	77.26	84.12	.156	1.36	1.10	48.92
Brahman	70.82	65.88	75.76	.207	-2.66**	0.83	64.19
H/M Janajati	83.30	80.58	86.01	.139	3.17**	1.23	44.78
Tarai Janajati	89.09	84.61	93.56	.097	4.50**	1.77	35.00
Madhesi	75.58	70.35	80.80	.185	-0.85	0.93	56.84
Dalit	86.10	83.29	88.90	.120	4.73**	1.43	40.19
Newar	48.41	39.71	57.12	.250	-6.52**	0.69	103.23
Other	71.42	63.39	79.44	.204	-1.56	0.84	63.27
Nepal	77.97	76.10	79.85	.172	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	53.15

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

The lower proportion households keeping livestock within Newar is because of the concentration of Newar settlements at the urban centres. Looking at urban - rural differences among Newar, 82.7 percent agricultural households in rural area is found keeping livestock. This distribution pattern highlights a few important points. First, there are some households, within all ethnic groups, that keep livestock. Second, there are also some other households within all ethnic groups that do not keep livestock. Third, there is variation in terms of types and number of livestock keeping by household. Fourth, intra-group variation is a salient feature of households within all ethnic groups in terms of keeping livestock. Keeping these facts in mind, what can be said is that there is variation among and within ethnic groups in terms of ownership of livestock. Looking at the disaggregated proportion, intra-group variation is also higher among Tarai Janajati and Dalit as well. The coefficient of variation also shows the same thing that none of the ethnic groups is homogeneous in terms of ownership of livestock. Thus, there is strong inter- and intra-group inequality in the distribution pattern of ownership of livestock, which indicates that the distribution does not follow a particular ethnic line in terms of ownership of livestock.

6.4 Ethnicity and Agricultural Equipment

Majority farmers in Nepal still use locally made agricultural tools. Mechanization of agriculture is at a very low stage. About 52 percent of farmers owns the most basic equipment- a plough or an improved type of plough (*bikase halo*). About 33 percent of farmers uses bins and containers for grain storage. Only one percent of farmers owns tractor or power tiller. Similarly, one percent of farmers owns a thresher. Around 7 percent of farmer households owns a pumping set (NLSS, 2011:8). Distribution of ownership pattern of agricultural equipment across ethnicity is given in Table 6.6.

Almost 80 percent of agricultural households in Nepal owns agricultural equipment. Distribution of these households owning agricultural equipment is also not uniform across and within ethnic groups (Table 6.6). Among Chhetri, the proportion of households owning agricultural equipment is 83.4 percent, which is neither significantly higher nor lower, compared to the national average as reference value. In terms of access to agricultural equipment, among Brahman, 75.4 percent households owns agricultural equipment. This proportion is significantly lower than the reference value. Likewise, within H/M Janajati, the proportion of households owning agricultural equipment is 82.4 percent, which is also neither significantly higher nor lower. In case of Tarai Janajati, this proportion is 87.9 percent and it is significantly higher than the reference value. Among Madhesi, 82.1 percent households owns such equipment which is neither significantly higher nor lower. Among Dalit, 88.3 percent households owns agricultural equipments and it is significantly higher compared to the reference value. However, among Newar, the proportion of households owning agricultural equipment is 53 percent, which is significantly lower than the reference value. Thus, distribution of households with access to ownership of agricultural equipment is unequal across ethnic groups.

Table 6.6

Households Owning Agricultural Equipment by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	83.45	80.42	86.47	.138	1.74	1.14	44.54
Brahman	75.38	70.97	79.80	.186	-2.02**	0.85	57.14
H/M Janajati	82.39	79.19	85.58	.145	1.10	1.09	46.24
Tarai Janajati	87.90	83.34	92.46	.106	3.03**	1.49	37.11
Madhesi	82.10	77.54	86.66	.147	0.71	1.08	46.70
Dalit	88.32	85.78	90.86	.103	5.00**	1.53	36.37
Newar	52.97	44.23	61.72	.249	-6.01**	0.63	94.22
Other	73.27	65.62	80.93	.196	-1.76	0.81	60.40
Nepal	80.31	78.46	82.17	.158	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	49.51

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

In terms of inter-group variation, F-test of equality of variances (Table 6.6) shows that there is no significant difference between inter-group variance and intra-group variance indicating that the pattern of distribution of households with access to agricultural equipment is similar at both national and group levels. Inequality at national level is caused due to overall inequality within all ethnic groups. Since inter-group variance is not significantly higher than intra-group variance, there is no significantly unequal distribution among ethnic groups.

Intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups is strong as reflected by coefficient of variation (Table 6.6). Since the coefficient of variation regarding households owning agricultural equipment ranges from 36.3 percent in Dalit to 94. 2 percent in Newar, there is strong intra-ethnic inequality within all ethnic groups including Brahman and Dalit. Therefore, all ethnic groups are heterogeneous in terms of distribution of access to agricultural equipment.

The proportion of households owning agricultural equipment is found significantly higher among all ethnic groups except Newar. However, this proportion includes very basic agricultural equipment like plough. Even the ownership of such basic equipment such as the plough is not made by all households among all ethnic groups. Interestingly, the proportion of households owning agricultural equipment is the lowest within Newar, which is not surprising because many Newar households do not own agricultural land in urban centres. Therefore, all ethnic groups are heterogeneous in terms of ownership of agricultural equipment indicating that the intra-group variation is higher among Dalit and Tarai Janajati as well.

In agricultural equipments, tractor and thresher are the most important ones the households own today, because they generate income through renting. There is only 0.9 percent agricultural households, which owns tractor. Tractor is usually used in Tarai region, because it needs plain or flat land. Since such land is rare in the hilly topography, the use of tractor is not feasible there. So, what concerns here is not the use of tractor, but the distribution of ownership of tractor across ethnic groups, because it is useful in knowing whether the distribution follows a particular ethnic line or not. Among all, the proportion of households owning tractor among Madhesi and Tarai Janajati, is 3 percent each followed by Newar and Brahman (one percent each). Interestingly, among Dalit households too, 0.2 percent owns tractor although it is the lowest proportion among all groups. However, the proportion of households owning tractor among H/M Janajati is negligible. Important point to be noted here is that even within Dalit households, there are some which are capable of purchasing and owning tractor. Similarly, in terms of thresher, overall 1.1 percent of agricultural households of Nepal owns it. Ownership of thresher also varies across ethnic categories. Madhesi and Tarai Janajati include the highest proportion (3 percent each) households owning thresher, which is followed by Newar and Brahman (one percent each). Looking at Dalit and H/M Janajati, the proportion of households owning thresher is only 0.8 and 0.2 percents respectively, which is low compared to other ethnic groups. Interestingly, the proportion of households owning thresher within Chhetri is also negligible. Important point to be noted here is that Dalit own tractor, but H/M Janajati do not own it, and Dalit and H/M Janajati own thresher, but Chhetri do not own it. Does it mean that all H/M Janajati households are poorer than Dalit households are? And, all Chhetri households are poorer than Dalit households? This is

a genuine question to to address here. . Here ethnicity does not seem so important, because ownership of income generating agricultural equipments such as tractor and thresher are owned by some households in all ethnic groups. Therefore, the generalization that H/M Janajati and Chhetri are poorer than Dalit or Chhetri are poorer than Dalit gives no meaning. But, it gives an important message that neither all the Dalit are rich and nor all Chhetri as well as H/M Janajati are poor. The empirical reality is that some households within Dalit, H/M Janajati and Chhetri are rich and some are poor. So is the case with Brahman, Madhesi and Tarai Janajati. Thus, distribution of ownership of agricultural equipment does not follow a particular ethnic line. What is more important here is the intra-group variation in the ownership of agricultural equipment, which simply indicates that it has relationship to economic class rather than ethnicity.

6.5 Ethnicity and Non-farm (non-agricultural) Enterprises

A household is said to be operating non-farm enterprise if any member reports to be "self employed in a non-agricultural activity" (NLSS, 2011, p. 69). Non-farm economic activities of households have been increasing over a period of 15 years (NLSS, 2011). This is evident from the change in percentage of sample households with enterprises from 24.2 percent in 1995/96 to 34.6 percent in 2010/11. Increase in non-farm activities means that there is an increase in non-farm enterprises.

At national level, 35 percent of sampled households has some kind of non-farm activity. The distribution of enterprises by industry type is as follows: trade (36 percent), manufacturing (14.1 percent), services (17 percent) and other type of industries (12 percent) (NLSS, 2011, p. 69). Non-farm enterprise is another important sub-sector of employment after agriculture. It is important in terms of employment, investment and income. The sector of non-farm enterprise provides employment to many people who seem to have been attracted to it. Also, people with capital can invest in this sector and generate income. Therefore, the sector is important for both investors and wage workers.

Self-employment in non-farm enterprises has been increasing. During the last 15 years, the proportion of manufacturing enterprises has increased from 30 to 35 percent, and services enterprise from 14 to 17 percent (NLSS, 2011). Hopefully, this

proportion goes on increasing with an increase in industry and service sectors. However, the focus here is on ownership of non-agricultural enterprises in terms of their distribution across ethnic groups (Table 6.7).

Distribution of sample households owning non-agricultural enterprises (33.3 percent) widely varies within and across ethnic groups in Nepal (Table 6.7). Among Chhetri households, 26.3 percent owns non-agricultural enterprises. This proportion is significantly lower compared to the proportion of households owning non-agricultural enterprises at national level as reference value. Among Brahman households, this proportion is 32.3 percent, which is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the reference value. Likewise, the proportion of households owning non-agricultural enterprises within H/M Janajati is 36.3 percent that is also neither significantly higher nor lower than the reference value. Among Tarai Janajati (31.2 percent) too, this proportion is neither significantly higher nor lower. Among Madhesi, the proportion of households owning non-agricultural enterprises is 32.7 percent. This proportion also is neither significantly higher nor lower. The proportion of households of this category, among Dalit, is 30.9 percent, which is also neither significantly higher nor lower. But the proportion of households owning non-agricultural enterprises among Newar is 49.9 percent which is significantly higher compared to reference value. Thus, distribution of households with access to non-agricultural enterprises is unequally distributed across all ethnic groups.

In terms of inter-group variance and intra-group variance, F-test of equality of variance (Table 6.7) does not show that there is significant difference between national and group level variances. This informs that the pattern of distribution of households with access to non-agricultural enterprises across the country is similar to the distribution within all ethnic groups. Therefore distribution of households with non-agricultural enterprises across ethnic groups of Nepal does not vary significantly.

Table 6.7

Households Owning Non-agricultural Enterprises by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	26.28	22.93	29.63	.194	-3.60**	1.15	167.48
Brahman	32.31	28.58	36.05	.219	-0.46	1.02	144.74
H/M Janajati	36.28	32.73	39.83	.231	1.47	0.96	132.53
Tarai Janajati	31.21	25.13	37.28	.215	-0.64	1.03	148.47
Madhesi	32.70	27.26	38.15	.220	-0.20	1.01	143.45
Dalit	30.87	27.18	34.56	.213	-1.15	1.04	149.65
Newar	49.94	42.73	57.15	.250	4.40**	0.89	100.12
Other	36.23	28.07	44.39	.231	0.69	0.96	132.67
Nepal	33.29	31.44	35.14	.222	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	141.56

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

In terms of distribution of households with access to non-agricultural enterprises within all ethnic groups is also not homogeneous. Coefficient of variation (Table 6.7) shows that there is strong intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups in terms of distribution of households with access to non-agricultural households. Although proportion of households owning non-agricultural enterprises is different from one ethnic group to another, there is also intense intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups. Thus, all ethnic groups are heterogeneous in terms of distribution of households with access to non-agricultural enterprises.

Distrbution of access to resources like non-agricultural enterprises is important to understand the nature of inequlality between and within ethnic groups. Surprisingly, the proportion of households owning non-agricultural enterprises within Brahman is lower. It raises some fundamental questions regarding households with ownership of non-farm enterprises among Brahman and Chhetri. Are there fewer households among Brahman and Chhetri which are capable of investing in non-farm sector compared to other groups? Do they not have any non-farm enterprises? Before answering these questions, two further questions are important here. They are: what

are the major sectors of investment? And how do people invest in these sectors? Firstly, doing investment in non-farm or business and service sectors was not of Brahman and Chhetri according to the rule of occupational division of labour in the past. Secondly, investment is basically centered in urban centres which were not easily accessible to Brahman in the past as they were residing in hill region. Both these reasons might have influenced Brahman and Chhetri to be in a lower proportion of households in this sector. However, both ethnic groups are now found investing in these sectors. The higher proportion of Newar could therefore be because of above two reasons. More important thing is that involvement of Janajati in non-agricultural enterprises is not a new phenomenon as Czarnecka (2010) writes:

> "Not all members of ethnic groups, however, were confined to the peripheries. Members of several ethnic groups emerged as private entrepreneurs and increasingly established themselves in Kathmandu during the Panchayat Period. Most of them were former Gurkha soldiers (Gurungs, Magars, Rai, Limbu), descendants from former tax collecting families ('Subba') in remote border areas (Thakalis, Sherpas, Manangis), and members of the few ethnic families involved with the government or at officer level in the Nepalese Army. Additionally, members of several ethnic groups who were able to establish durable contacts with foreign donors and foreign entrepreneurs have expanded into new economic sectors. Tibetan refugees have started the booming carpet industry, 'Bhotes', especially the Sherpa, run major tourist enterprises, and Thakalis, Gurungs, and Manangis, along with Parbatiyas and Newars, are very successful in all sorts of import-export business. Among the main resources at the ethnic entrepreneurs' disposal have been capital, Indian and Western partners, as well as (mainly high-caste) patrons with the political and administrative elites (p. 442).

The distribution of those households which have access to non-agricultural enterprises show that none of the ethnic groups is uniform in terms of ownership of non-farm enterprises. The households owning such enterprises have some specific features in terms of investment capability. These features may be at individual or household level. Households own capital to invest and the individuals at the household may be capable to operate non-farm enterprises. Households that possess such features could have chances of owning non-farm enterprises. Thus, the distribution of ownership of non-agricultural enterprises across ethnic groups, on the

one had and intra-group inequality on the other, give a clear message that ownership of non-agricultural enterprises does not have any association to ethnicity.

6.6 Ethnicity and House (Dwelling Unit)

Housing primarily concerns with the accommodation in housing units, their structural characteristics and facilities, which are largely related to the living standards of the population in the country. It is said that well being of the population in general depends on the "quantity and quality of housing available." Quantity refers to the number of houses owned by any household. Basic requirement is at least one house that could serve as dwelling space required for the members of any household. However, some households may own more than one house. The basic infrastructure facilities available to the households determine the quality of life (NLSS, 1996). Whatever the quality of house, the important point here is whether the households have their own houses and housing plots or not. However, the importance of having one's own house is gradually decreasing because people have started living in rented house too. Therefore, occupancy status is the important factor while describing ownership of households today.

Occupancy status refers to the juridical aspects under which the households occupy the residence. In the NLSS survey, housing occupants are broadly categorized into owner, renter, rent-free and others. Occupancy status is one of the important indicators of living standards of people. However, there are other factors such as type of house, material of roof and wall to be considered, while explaining living standards in terms of ownership of house. What is reported in Nepal about the living standards in terms of house is that almost 50 percent of Dalit households have low housing status (plank walls and thatched roof) (Dahal, 2010, p. 88). Whatever type of house any household owns, having its ownership is primarily important to explain the living standards of people.

> During twentieth century certain types of property have become more widely owned. More people own their own houses and possess consumer goods and cars. However, such possessions are property for use. They are important for the lifestyle and life chances of individuals and families, but they do not place individuals in a capitalist class. Capitalists own property for power (Haralambos & Holborn, 1990, pp. 52-53).

Whether any household/individual is capitalist or not, ownership of property like house provides them a better socio-economic status in the context of Nepal. Therefore, people would like to own a house whatever its type. Distribution of ownership pattern of house among ethnic groups of Nepal is shown in Table 6.8.

Around 90 percent households in Nepal have their own housing units (NLSS, 2011). But the distribution of ownership of house varies across ethnic categories giving some interesting results (Table 6.8). Among Chhetri, 88.2 percent households has its own dwelling unit. This proportion is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the national average as reference value. Within Brahman, it is 84.7 percent, which is significantly lower compared to the reference value. Among H/M Janajati, the proportion of households with their own dwelling unit is 88 percent, which is neither significantly higher nor lower. Among Tarai Janajati, this proportion is 94.1 percent and it is significantly higher compared to the reference value. Likewise, among Madhesi (93.0 percent), and Dalit (95.6 percent), this proportion is significantly higher. Among Newar, the proportion of households with their own house is 86.1 percent. This proportion is also neither significantly higher nor lower. Thus, access to ownership over dwelling unit is distributed across all ethnic groups of Nepal.

In terms of distribution of households with their own house across ethnic groups there is no significant difference between inter- group and intra-group variances. F-test of equality of variances (Table 6.8) shows that pattern of distribution of households owning their own house at national level and within all ethnic groups is similar. Therefore, national level distribution is not significantly different from group level distribution in terms of inequality.

Table 6.8

Households with Own House (Dwelling Unit) by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Mean	95% CI		Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
		LL	UL				
Chhetri	88.24	85.92	90.56	.104	-1.06	0.89	36.50
Brahman	84.75	81.45	88.04	.129	-2.75**	0.72	42.43
H/M Janajati	88.02	85.82	90.23	.105	-1.27	0.88	36.88
Tarai Janajati	94.05	91.37	96.74	.056	2.93**	1.66	25.14
Madhesi	92.97	90.63	95.32	.065	2.47**	1.42	27.49
Dalit	95.60	94.20	97.00	.042	6.30**	2.21**	21.44
Newar	86.08	82.44	89.72	.120	-1.83	0.77	40.22
Other	92.32	88.88	95.76	.071	1.44	1.31	28.84
Nepal	89.65	88.44	90.87	.093	Ref.[a]	Ref.[a]	33.97

Note. CI= confidence interval; LL= lower limit, UL= upper limit; CV= coefficient of variation.

[a] Figure of Nepal has been taken as reference value.

* $p < .05$, two tailed;

** $p < .01$, two tailed; t= 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and 2.58 at .01 level of significance; F = 1.75 at .05 level of significance and 2.18 at .01 level of significance respectively.

All ethnic groups are not homogeneous in terms of access to ownership of house. Coefficient of variation (Table 6.8) shows that there is strong inequality within all ethnic groups regarding access to their own dwelling unit. There are both types of households within all ethnic groups; some households have their own dwelling unit and some others do not have it. Therefore, there is strong intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups.

The proportion of households owning one's own dwelling unit is significantly higher within Dalit, Madhesi and Tarai Janajati. However, it does not mean that Dalit, Madhei and Tarai Janajati are richer than the other groups in terms of ownership of house. But, to some extent, having access to ownership over house gives an important meaning in terms of living standard of people. Obviously, it is better to have ownership over house rather than not to have it, for at the least it provides one shelter. Interestingly, the proportion is significantly lower among Brahman. Nevertheless, this does not mean that Brahman, as a single category, is relatively a poor group in terms of ownership of house. However, this fact should be considered while explaining the ownership status of households among Brahman. Lower proportion of households

owning their own house is real because the proportion of Brahman living in rent house is higher compared to that of the other groups.

Disaggregating the proportion of households owning their own house into rural and urban areas, about 92 percent households in rural areas has its own house. Among those who do not own their own house, 75 percent is renter. The proportion of renter within Brahman is the highest (83 percent) followed by Chhetri (79.9 percent). Among others, Madhesis have 73 percent and H/M Janajatis have 70 percent. Households having occupancy status as renter is the lowest (56 percent) among Dalit. Renting status of households means that these households have some income to pay rent. If we regard this fact, Dalit are again the poorest category, in terms of renting status. However, none of the ethnic groups is homogeneous in terms of ownership of house. Some households within all ethnic categories own house and some others do not, which is important from social and economic points of view. Thus, all ethnic groups have households with their own dwelling unit and without their own dwelling unit.

Many countries in the world are facing this problem of homeless households. The presence of homeless people has attracted public attention, and it is recognized as a serious socio-economic problem in Japan as well. From social science perspective, this seems to be attributable to economic depression and malfunctioning policy of social security. So, this suggests the need to enact a welfare policy for these excluded people. Under the prevailing neoliberal ideology of self-choice and self-responsibility, the perceived main cause of the rising number of homeless people is their lack of ability to work (i.e., laziness, undisciplined mentality) (Abe and others, 2010, pp. 18-19). Thus, there might be numerous reasons for being homeless. Whatever the cause of being homeless, it is a problem from social and economic perspectives in the context of Nepal as well.

In order to solve the problem of their homeless people, countries have established their own type of law. Talking about the law in Nepal, Abe and others (2010) have written that the law established the “Shelter for Homeless People” and the “Center for Supporting Homeless People.” Although the aim of the shelter is to provide the basic need, the objective of the center is to help a homeless person get a job and begin a normal life. The basic philosophy of these policies, as often pointed

out in studies on homelessness, is the idea of "workfare" rather than "welfare" (pp. 20-21). Therefore, the basic thing is to provide the homeless people at least shelter. In Nepal too, the state has to take the responsibility of managing homeless people through some specific policies. It can be done through some sort of state policies. In other countries too, the government formulates different inclusive policies to solve the problem of homelessness. For example, the Japanese government and local administrations have tried to cope with problems of social exclusion through policies and institutions. Certainly, their social inclusion policies seem to remedy the socio-economic or socio-political problems caused by social exclusion (p. 24). In Nepali context, homelessness is regarded as one of the exclusionary problems that requires inclusive policy to address it.

6.7. Conclusion

Overall, distribution of ownership of various types of agricultural land, livestock, non-agricultural enterprises, house, housing plot, size of dwelling unit and housing plot across ethnic groups shows that *there is unequal distribution of access to productive resources and assets across ethnic groups indicating both inter- and intra-ethnic inequalities or differences.* Access to all kinds of productive resources and assets is unequally distributed across major ethnic groups. There are both types of households: having ownership and not having ownership over productive resources and assets, within all ethnic groups. For instance, distribution of access to agricultural land shows that the proportion of households owning agricultural land is significantly higher among Chhetri and H/M Janajati and lower among Newar. Whereas the proportion of households sharecropping/renting/mortgaging out agricultural land is significantly higher among Brahman, Newar and Chhetri. Significantly, higher proportion of households sharecropping/renting/mortgaging in agricultural land among Tarai Janajati and Dalit is also interesting. Obviously, Tarai Janajati and Dalit have lower access to productive resources and assets compared to that of the other ethnic groups.

Distribution of access to productive resources and assets within ethnic groups also varies from one group to another indicating strong intra-group inequality. The coefficient of variation shows that there is difference between the households within all ethnic groups. Households within all ethnic group consists of households of both types: those having access to productive resources and assets and those not having

such access. Such inequality does not only occur among Dalit category but also among all ethnic groups including Brahman. This clearly indicates that distribution of access to productive resources and assets does not follow a particular ethnic line accepting the null hypothesis that distribution of access to ownership does not follow a particular ethnic line.

On the basis of the above analysis, the following points can be noted as important about the distribution of access to resources as ownership across ethnic groups of Nepal. Ownership of assets and productive resources is important for the livelihood as well as for well being of individual and household as explained by Marx. Marx (1978) says that the importance of ownership of assets and productive resources is for the well being of individual. The important aspects of ownership in Nepal are landownership, ownership of livestock, agricultural equipment, non-agricultural enterprises, house and housing plot. Distribution of landownership across ethnic groups of Nepal indicates that there are mainly two sections of population. One section owns agricultural land (77 percent at national level) and another section does not own any agricultural land (23 percent at national level). The important thing to remember is that both sections of population are found distributed among all ethnic groups of Nepal including Dalit and Brahman. However, Dalit and Madhesi groups have larger proportions of households, which do not own agricultural land compared to those of other groups.

There is strong intra-group inequality in the ownership of agricultural land within all ethnic groups, which is more important. The coefficient of variation clearly shows that intra-group inequality is highest even within Dalit and Madhesi. Therefore, none of the ethnic groups is homogeneous in terms of ownership of agricultural land. Interestingly, F-test of significance of variation further indicates that none of the ethnic groups has either wide or narrow intra-group variation compared to national figure. Hence, the nature of distribution of agricultural land across all ethnic groups follows the pattern of national level distribution. As land is an important source of generation of livelihood of people, its distribution pattern gives an important message that none of the ethnic groups holds sway over landownership. Therefore, landownership pattern does not follow a particular ethnic line. It follows class line as

explained by Marx. Individuals and households having ownership over assets and productive resources take advantage of the ownership pattern.

The principles that individuals and households owning no assets and productive resources become disadvantageous, poor and deprived, whereas individuals and households owning assets and productive resources become advantageous and prosperous apply to all ethnic groups. As mentioned by Silver (1995), a few things from which people may be excluded are: livelihood, permanent employment, property, and productive assets that may create inequality. Landless households of Nepal, irrespective of ethnicity, are therefore facing many problems including various kinds of deprivations such as barrier in borrowing loan from bank that requires collateral because landlessness is similar to an instrumental deprivation (Sen, 2000). If the case of landless households is like this then there are such households within all ethnic groups of Nepal including Brahman and Dalit which have to face those problems obviously. If households within all ethnic groups posses those characteristics and inequality in the ownership of land, then it has far reaching consequences for the distribution of well-being and organization of society for generations to come (WDR, 2006). In the context of Nepal, value of land is still very much important as mentioned by Dhakal (2011) that land ownership pattern still determines the economic prosperity, social status and the political power of any individual or family. For example, households owning large size of land usually hire farm workers and take benefit of their labour. We can also find households owning permanent farm workers distributed across all ethnic groups. It is further illustrative that prosperous households do not fall in a particular ethnic group. However, the proportion of households owning permanent farm workers, which are regarded as prosperous households, is significantly higher among Madhesi, Tarai Janajati and Brahman.

Distribution of other assets such as house, housing plot and productive resources like non-agricultural enterprises also varies from one ethnic group to another indicating strong intra-ethnic inequality or difference. An important point to be noted here is that all ethnic groups include households owning those assets and productive resources. For example, as mentioned by Czarnecka (2010) involvement of Janajati in non-agricultural enterprises is not a new phenomenon. Since the beginning

of investment in non-agricultural enterprises, some households from Janajati began to invest in i it. However, not all households are equally capable of investing in the sector, which shows that there is strong intra-group inequality within Janajati. . Besides, the high coefficient of variation among Chhetri, Dalit and Tarai Janajati indicates that there is intra-group inequality within them. If it is assumed that only capable households invest in non-agricultural enterprises, then such households are distributed across all ethnic groups. Access to resources as ownership of assets and productive resources including non-agricultural enterprises is unevenly distributed between and within ethnic groups of Nepal. This communicates that no ethnic group in Nepal is homogeneous in terms of access to resources as ownership of assets and productive resources, which indicates that there is no association between ethnicity and ownership. However, we have to still draw some meaningful conclusions based on concepts, perspectives and empirical facts, discussed in detail throughout this thesis, from chapter one to five, on capability, employment and ownership.

CHAPTER SEVEN

REFLECTIONS ON EMPIRICS AND THEORIES

The main objective of this study was to explore how capability, employment and ownership as access to resources and opportunities are distributed across ethnic groups of Nepal. The study began with a conceptual discussion on ethnicity, capability, employment and ownership in chapter one and chapter two followed by methodological discussion in chapter three. Chapters four, five and six analyze data on capability, employment and ownership in terms of their bearing on the distribution pattern of access to opportunities and resources by examining empirical facts from NLSS and NDHS data sets to explore inequality prevailing in Nepal. Based on those conceptual and empirical facts, this chapter draws some conclusions reflecting on pertinent theories and empirics discussed in the previous chapters of the thesis.

7.1 The Empirics

Ethnicity has become an important discourse as well as an issue of contention in the arena of both academia and politics of Nepal since the last two decades. This issue is important since Nepal is a country of diverse ethnic groups, but at the same time, the issue of ethnicity is highly contested, given the fact that there are diverse and contrasting views on ethnicity. In general, the ideas that were put forth while reviewing literature on ethnicity could be classified into two broad categories: primordialists versus instrumentalists, and essentialists versus constructivists. Primordialists and essentialists argue that ethnicity is an unchanging, a rigid and a race like inherited phenomenon. But, instrumentalists and constructivists argue that ethnicity is a changing, fluid and constructed phenomenon arising in a particular historical context. Based on the findings of the literature reviewed I take ethnicity as a socio-historical construction, which puts me in line with pioneering sociologists Mishra (2012), Wimmer (2008), and Gellner (1997). I argue that emergence of ethnicity is a new phenomenon in Nepal, which is constructed in a particular historical context of Nepal. For example, there were Gurung, Tamang, Dalit, Madhesi and other communities in the past in Nepal, but none of the groups was called Janajati, Madhesi, Dalit and so on before 1990. Ethnicities like Janajati, Madhesi, Dalit and others were constructed in a historical context, which got momentum after the

political changes of 1990 and 2006. The important historical contexts were political changes of 1990 and 2006, and the following structural changes giving rise to issues of ethnicity. However, ethnicity as currently discussed in Nepal is highly politicized. The highly debated issue of federalization of Nepal on the basis of ethnic and non-ethnic division can be taken as an important example of this politicization of ethnicity.

As argued by Upadhyaya (2012), according to 'modernizationists' and the 'melting pot' theorists, ethnicity is associated with premodern stages of development and with primordial and prerational sentiments. The premise on which these theorists built upon their arguments was that such cultural, linguistic and ethnic affinities leading to ethnonational problems would 'melt' away with the completion of the modernization processes. But, what has been observed in Nepal is the issue of ethnicity has emerged during the process of modernization, particularly during the expansion of capitalism, if we suppose modernization process started since Nepal opened to the world in 1950s. Marx also argues that ethnicity is produced because of capitalism's alienating structure. Similarly, the issue of ethnicity has also emerged in developed or highly modernized countries like America, Europe, Asia, and Australia.

In the researcher's view, ethnicity emerges in a particular historical context. Such context may be pre-modern, modern or post-modern. Ethnicity is constructed in association with the people's increasing claim-making approach in the process of modernization, and it may or may not end with the completion of the process of modernization. However, it changes over time when inequality among people becomes lower and approaches closer to equality and finally it may disappear with the full appearance of equality. Barry (1998, p. 2) also writes, "Social exclusion tends to become attenuated and eventually disappear in the absence of group economic inequality - unless a distinctive way of life maintains social barriers". New ethnicities emerged in Nepal are therefore the result of inter- and intra-group inequality prevailed in Nepal. Various forms of ethnicity that have currently emerged in Nepal: a) ethnicity based on caste/ethnic groups, such as Brahman, Chhetri, Gurung, Magar, Rai, Limbu, and Tharu; b) ethnicity based on region such as Madhesi, Pahadiya, and Chure Bhawar; c) ethnicity based on religion such as Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, and Kirant, also support this argument. These various forms of ethnicities have been

demanding their social, cultural, economic, religious and political rights and privileges by claiming a distinctive ethnicity.

The debate over ethnicity in Nepal is basically concentrated on the issue of identity rather than the issue of inequality among ethnic categories in terms of access to resources and opportunities. There is no doubt that individual and group might have time-space specific identity, which is fluid rather than fixed as is claimed in Nepal by core indigenists. Nevertheless, what is important here is that unequal access to resources and opportunities among the people has been the prime cause of emergence of ethnicity in Nepal. But, some scholars (Gurung, 2012; Bhattachan, 2012; Tamang, 2010; Mabuhang, 2012; Kisan, 2012; Deulyan, 2012), arguing from an ethnic line, often highlight one particular ethnic category, the so called hill high caste, to be dominantly exploiting the other groups by being over-represented or over-included in the entire state structure and mechanism, and keeping the rest of other groups underrepresented or excluded. While saying so, it is assumed that hill high caste as well as other ethnic groups are considered a homogeneous category in terms of whatever access to resources and opportunities these groups have and are treated as if all individuals and households within each group are quite similar in all respects. It is now necessary to rethink such assumption that Brahman or Janajati or Madhesi or Dalit is a single homogenous category, because it raises some important questions like: are all ethnic groups homogeneous in terms of access to resources and opportunities? What is the picture of micro level ground realities in terms of equality and inequality? In order to explore the nature of inequality between and within ethnic groups, some empirical observations, from NLSS & NDHS data sets, and experiences, from various literatures, regarding ethnicity have been examined. Access to resources and opportunities such as capability, employment and ownership have been identified as major dimensions of inequalities to explore inter- and intra-group variations. Comparison of means and proportions (t-test), coefficient of variation (CV) and variance test (F-test) were the major statistical techniques used in the thesis to explore inter- and intra-group inequalities across ethnic groups of Nepal.

In order to examine inter- and intra-group inequalities we should understand the notions of diversity and inequality, in other words, differentiation and stratification. Diversity is a horizontal difference among groups. Such differences

might be social, cultural, physical, and so on whereas, inequality is a vertical stratum or hierarchy created on any basis like access to resources and opportunities. However, some scholars (Gurung, 2012; Bhattachan, 2012; Tamang, 2010; Mabuhang, 2012) argue that there are social and cultural differences among ethnic groups rather than inequalities among individuals. These scholars call it identity in terms of horizontal diversity or differences and highlight on ethnic exclusion. But identity regards differences rather than inequalities because it is the issue of how one ethnic group is different from the other. And, it is not the issue of how unequal one ethnic group is from the other. Of course, if we regard differences as identity or ethnicity, all ethnic groups are equal in terms of differences. Therefore, the issue of ethnicity in Nepal is important from exclusion/inclusion or inequality point of view rather than identity or diversity because inequality is basically concerned with access to resources and opportunities that directly influences the people's day-to-day livelihood. Thus, inequality in terms of access to resources and opportunities such as capability, employment and ownership within diverse ethnic groups should and must be the most important base of ethnic debate in Nepal.

An analysis of empirical evidence on the distribution pattern of capability, employment and ownership across ethnic groups shows that there is both inter- and intra-group variation. Capability, employment and ownership, identified as dimensions of inequality are the most important stratifying categories as mentioned by Tumin (1999) and Beteille (1993, 1997). Stratification along these dimensions prevails in all societies and is also common to all societies, i.e. ethnic groups in Nepal. Even within the marginalized group Dalit, there are different sections of population in which some sections have greater access to resources and opportunities in terms of capability, employment and ownership and some others do not have. Even within the so called hill high caste elite Brahman considered as an advantageous group, there is wide variation in terms of access to resources and opportunities. Hill high caste people residing in rural areas have poor access to resources and opportunities compared to those residing in urban areas. Within urban areas, too, there is variation among Brahman, and inequality among them across region and quintile is significant. The case is similar to all other ethnic groups, be it H/M Janajati, Tarai Janajati, Madhesi or Newar. This empirical reality reflects that there are distinct strata within each ethnic category. Marx, Weber and Sen also argue, in the form of lowest

common multiple (LCM), that each society is found stratified on the dimensions of capability, employment and ownership.

Inequality in terms of capability, particularly education and health, has been a widely observed phenomenon in Nepal, in recent years. This inequality among individuals is particularly in terms of access to opportunities such as education and health. In many cases, education determines individual's life chances and vice versa. Therefore, life chances differ between people with higher level of education and people with no education. However, sometimes life chances of individuals having equal educational status may also differ. It is again due to difference in access to opportunities. For example, people living closer to urban locations would certainly have greater access to job opportunities compared to those living in villages. Therefore, access to opportunities differs from individual to individual and household to household as mentioned by Moore (1995), in the Swann Report that there was significant difference between the academic qualifications obtained by those of Afro-Caribbean origin and the Whites. Although, children of Afro-Caribbean origin do relatively less well overall than do the Whites and Asians, it is not a sociological law that all children of Afro-Caribbean origin perform worse educationally than the Whites. Here, we can see the difference mainly on two aspects: access to opportunities enhancing capability and access to opportunities for the use of capability.

Unequal access to opportunities may be because of various reasons. Some of them could be difference in socio-cultural background, rural - urban location, and access to facilities like school, college, hospital, road, and so on. However, the difference does not exist among these broad categories only. It occurs even within the individuals who have similar socio-cultural background. Not all Brahman individuals with bachelor level education have access to job as government officer. It would be impossible to have this job for all. However, also among those who have access, there is variation in terms of ecological belt, development region and rural -urban divide. Among the officer level employed, including university teachers, 70 percent is from the hill and 24 percent from Tarai in terms of ecological belt. Similarly, 61 percent is from central development region and 23 percent from western development region in terms of development region. Only the remaining 16 percent is from rest of the

development regions. In terms of rural - urban divide, 72 percent is from urban location and 28 percent from rural location. Therefore, the reasons underlying inequality in educational status and job opportunities are not only due to ethnic affiliation and socio-cultural background, but also due mainly to unequal access to available opportunities.

However, in the context of Nepal, the variation in educational attainment and capability of people across various ethnic groups might have been influenced, to some extent, by ethnic background. In order to address this situation, two important steps are to be taken: a) change in educational requirements, and b) an access to education. Only then can education become more inclusive. In this conterxt, the following views given by Moore (1995) seem more convincing:

> There might be some cultural causes influencing educational performance. A number of explanations have been suggested for the differences between ethnic groups, the first of these is that of social class, the point being that the differences in performance by pupils from different ethnic background may be more the result of social class differences than anything else. Much of the poor performance could be related to the same factors that make the white members of the working class perform relatively poorly. Traditionally, this had been linked to cultural difference. A more positive version of the home background was provided by Driver and Ballard who found that Asian children in their study did particularly well, according to them, because of the strong emphasis of the family on educational success. They argued that the Asian families were prepared to make sacrifices for the success of their children in the system. This fits with the arguments of Halsey et al., which we looked earlier. The Swann Report concluded that the Asian family structure was more tight knit than those of either whites or Afro-Caribbeans, and that 'may be responsible for higher achievement' (p. 163).

These facts suggest that inequality among individuals across various ethnic groups of the world including Nepal may be due to many reasons including socio-cultural and economic background. Such background might be many including family structure and economic statuses. In the context of India, reasons like household income, literacy of parents and parent's occupation also play a significant role in explaining school enrollment and higher level educational attainment of individuals across various ethnic groups as explaind by Borooah and Iyer (2005) are important. .

Cultural background of individuals, to some extent, might influence the educational level of individuals of various ethnic groups in Nepal. Many Brahman parents, from the beginning of childhood, guide and instruct their children towards educational attainment. But, this practice may not have been so effective among other ethnic groups including Dalit in the past and this may have influenced the educational attainment of their children, ultimately resulting into, what is currently called, disparities among ethnic groups. However, the scenario has now changed dramatically, if the past is anything to go by. The proportion of individuals currently attending school across all ethnic groups, including Dalit, has tremendously increased. One of the evidences of it is the literacy rate of Kami (one of the Dalit communities of Nepal). Among Kamis literacy rate was 27 percent in 1995 and 43.2 percent in 2003 (Das and Hattlebakk, 2010). But it has reached to 57.4 percent in 2010 which is tremendous increment.

Nepal has made impressive progress in increasing access to schooling for all school-age children. In terms of the increase in the number of schools (which is the crudest indicator of access), starting from 321 primary and 11 secondary schools in 1951 to 29,835 primary, 10,373 lower secondary and 6,369 secondary schools in 2008 (MoE, 1971; DoE, 2008). Disaggregation of student composition shows that Nepal's primary education has become more equitable in terms of participation by gender, caste and ethnicity (DoE, 2008). The improved participation in schooling is mostly the result of systematic state interventions in the form of scholarships and incentives targeted at various hitherto marginalized groups, Dalit and the disabled in particular (Bhatta, 2009, p. 3). This is also so because educational facilities are now available nearby to the households. The facilities are now getting closer as the distance to the primary, lower secondary, secondary schools is decreasing every year. Furthermore, awareness about the education of children has been raised in the parents, which is another factor for the increment in enrollment rate. Parents would not only like to enroll their children to school but also would be interested more to send them to private schools and colleges thainking that they would provide them better education. Such perception, awareness and practice are now observed in both the ethnic groups and Dalit in Nepal. Consequently, the proportion of individuals studying in private school/college is increasing among all ethnic groups and Dalit.

Overall, the proportion of individuals enrolled in private schools is increasing every year. However, the proportion of students currently attending institutional/private school/college within Dalit is the lowest among all ethnic groups, but this is not because of ethnic background and lack of awareness only. Rather, it is the economic background, which is more prominent in influencing Dalit's education. Only non-poor Dalit are found sending their children to institutional/private school. Barry (1998, p. 13) writes, "of course, poverty is in itself a barrier to equal educational opportunity. A hungry or malnourished child is unlikely to be good at concentrating on school work. The lack of a quiet room in which to study at home (and, increasingly, a computer) makes homework unattractive and difficult". Although, discrimination basically untouchability, against Dalit, was a major responsible factor for low proportion of Dalit children attending school in the past in the context of Nepal, but now the obstacles in access to opportunities of education are their unavailability and unaffordability. Therefore, inequality among Dalit in terms of educational attainment is due mainly to unavailability and unaffordability of access to opportunities. There are other factors such as health, employment and ownership status, which are also responsible for unequal access to educational attainment.

Good health is regarded as an important capability because healthy people can work hard to support their livelihood and unhealthy people can do nothing themselves. As mentioned by WDR (2006), the important instrumental function of health implies that inequalities in health often translate into inequalities in other dimensions of welfare. Empirical facts on health, as we discussed in chapter three, show that health status of people varies from individual to individual irrespective of ethnicity. For example, there are individuals suffering from chronic illness as well as acute illness within all ethnic groups. Also there are people having all four categories of health status: excellent, good, fair and poor within all ethnic groups indicating that health status of individuals is influenced by some other factors rather than ethnicity alone. Even among Dalit, Janajati and Madhesi, there are more people with excellent and good health status compared to Brahman and Chhetri. However, it does not mean that Dalit, Janajati and Madhesi people have better access to health facilities and nutritious food. Nevertheless, it indicates that there is unequal access to health related opportunities that influences health status of people. Variance test (F-test) (see annex

B) proves that health status of individuals among all ethnic groups does not differ significantly from the national level health status. Health features of individual among all ethnic groups reflect the national level scenario. This also suggests that there is a strong intra-group inequality in terms of illness and health status of people with high coefficient of variation.

Nutrition status of children measured in terms of wasting, underweight and stunting, in this study, gives an important message that all three categories of children suffering from malnutrition are distributed across all ethnic groups. The proportion of severely stunted children among Chhetri is 16.7 percent. This proportion is 10.6 percent among Brahman and 15.8 percent among H/M Janajati. Among Tarai Janajati, the proportion of stunted children is 8.7 percent and among Madhesi it is 18.5 percent. Among Dalit this proportion is 22.5 percent and 9.7 percent among Newar. Thus, the proportion of stunted children is significantly higher among Dalit. Similarly, the proportion of underweight and wasted children is also significantly higher among Dalit. Indeed, Dalit children are deprived of many opportunities including availability of nutrition. The proportion of underweight children is significantly higher among Madhesi as well. There are malnourished children within Brahman, Chhetri and Janajati as well. The important point to be noted here is that stunting, wasting and underweight are not a phenomena observed within a particular ethnic group. For example, the proportion of underweight is significantly higher among Madhesi and Dalit, and wasting is significantly higher among Madhesi indicating that problem of malnutrition is common to all ethnic groups. However, it is more common to Madhesi and Dalit community. Malnutrition causes poor health status, which eventually contributes negatively to the well being of individuals or family life because it influences access to employment opportunities and ownership of productive resources.

Distribution of employment status of people in Nepal varies across ethnic groups indicating that ethnic background does not have any role in shaping access to employment opportunities. All ethnic groups possess similar nature of employment status such as employment, underemployment and unemployment. There are individuals among all ethnic groups who belong to either of the three categories; employed, underemployed and unemployed. However, there is variation in terms of

different categories of employment status between and within ethnic groups. Some ethnic groups have larger proportion of employed people, while some others have lower proportion of such people. The proportion of employed people is significantly higher among H/M Janajati, Tarai Janajati and Dalit. In contrast, the coefficient of variation is also the highest among H/M Janajati (46.7), Tarai Janajati (46.9) and Dalit (44.3), which indicates that intra group inequality is strong among them. . Similarly, the unemployment status, except in Newar, in various other ethnic groups, is neither significantly higher nor lower compared to the national level employment rate of 2.2 percent. In Newar, the unemployment rate and the proportion of fully employed, working more than 40 hours a week, is significantly higher. The proportion of non-active population is higher both in Newar and Brahman. The proportion of employed in wage in agriculture is significantly higher among Dalit and wage in non-agriculture is significantly higher among Newar. The proportion of self in agriculture is significantly higher among Chhetri and H/M Janajati and self in non-agriculture is significantly higher among Newar only. Thus, access to employment opportunities is found distributed across all ethnic groups indicating that access to employment opportunities is not influenced by ethnic background of any individual.

There are some advantages and disadvantages of being employed or unemployed for an individual. As mentioned by Moore (1995), for example, to be employed also means to be making friends, developing sense of status, and generating income. If these are the fundamental advantages of employment, then they apply to all individuals of all ethnic groups. However, unemployment status is disadvantageous to all unemployed people. It is negative in the sense that it produces some negative consequences such as heightening ethnic tensions and gender divisions as mentioned by Sen (2000). In Nepal's context, from empirical evidences, we can say that unemployment is not a unique phenomenon to a particular ethnic group. There are unemployed people in all ethnic groups. If unemployed people are regarded as excluded there are excluded people in all ethnic groups. For example, rate of unemployment is the highest among Brahman. If we agree with Saith (2001) saying that unemployed and underemployed could be considered as being excluded from the usual activities of the society they live in and therefore being socially excluded, then Brahman could also be a socially excluded group. But, I think it is not the case. The case is that there are unemployed individuals within all ethnic groups. Therefore,

group itself cannot be excluded, only individuals can be excluded. One of the evidences of this is that even Dalit people are employed in various sectors of employment. As Adhikari (2008) pointed out labour jobs within the village are the main source of income for Dalit, and this provides them social status. Therefore, all individuals irrespective of ethnicity make efforts to be employed in all kinds of employment opportunities including foreign employment.

Foreign employment (remittance) has been one of the most attractive areas of employment from both economic and social points of view. Economically, it provides better earnings and socially the individual achieves new social status. All individuals desire to join such jobs. Actually, individuals from all ethnic groups are now engaged in this new sector of employment. Due to better earning, it is regarded as an effective means of livelihood generating opportunity. It is evidenced by a large amount of remittance—56 percent household receives it. Empirical evidences about remittance receiving households show that it is also a common phenomenon that belongs to all ethnic groups. However, it is significantly higher among Madhesi and lower among Dalit. Among Dalit and Madhesi the proportion of remittance receiving households is 60.7 and 56.2 percents respectively. This shows unequal access to foreign employment as well, thus foreign employment has now been one of the causes of creating social and economic inequality among individuals and households. However, variance test (F-test) of mean of remittance receiving households further indicates that between groups, inequality is not higher as it is within groups, which only points out that there are of similar nature inter- and intra-group inequalities. It suggests that there are individuals and households within all ethnic groups, which receive remittance from any member of the household. Interestingly, the intra-group variation is the highest among Brahman. Therefore, ethnic background alone is not a factor that influences the access to opportunity including foreign employment.

Another important issue often debated in the context of Nepal is of ethnicity and unequal representation of various ethnic groups in bureaucracy. Observing empirical data about officer level jobs including those of university and secondary school teachers, suggests some interesting things. Among the overall literate (61 percent) people of Nepal, the proportion of bachelor and master level population is 5.2 percent only. Similarly, the proportion of employed people at officer level jobs

including those of university and secondary level teachers is 2.2 percent. The proportion of employed to the eligible proportion is 43 percent at national level. Both 5.2 percent bachelor and master level population, and 2.2 percent officer level job holding population include individuals from all ethnic groups. But, the proportions of all ethnic groups in both categories are unequal. Overall, proportions of graduate individuals among Brahman and Newar are significantly higher. However, the proportion of employed population within the eligible population (who have passed bachelor and master level education) is lower compared to rest of the ethnic groups. As a fact, among Brahman, the ratio of employed to eligible is 1:3 i.e. one is employed out of three; the ratio among Madhesi, Newar and Chhetri is 1:2 i.e. one out of two eligible is employed; the ratio among H/M Janajati is 3:4 i.e. three out of four eligible are employed. Therefore, proportion of representation varies from one group to another depending upon the number of eligible candidates. In this regard, proportion of officers from Brahman and Newar communities could obviously be higher among all ethnic groups, because the proportion of graduates from these communities is 12.2 percent. It is significantly higher compared to both the national proportion of 5.2 and the proportion of other ethnic groups. However, as mentioned earlier in proportion to their graduates, their proportions of officers are lower compared to the rest of all ethnic groups, which indicates that ethnic affiliation does not have any role in shaping participation in bureaucracy. Rather, it is the individual capability in terms of attainment of higher level of education that determines this fact.

There is strong intra-group inequality among all ethnic groups with high coefficient of variation in terms of distribution of officer level job holding population, which is important. Only a few individuals from the eligible individuals are getting this job opportunity. There is strong inequality between eligible population and job getting population among all ethnic groups. It is clear that two out of three Brahman, one out of two Madhesi and Chhetri and one out of four H/M Janajati and Dalit are not getting officer level job. It gives an important message that none of the ethnic groups is uniform in terms of access to higher level of education as well as officer level job. The case is similar to access to productive resources and assets.

Going through the empirical data on distribution of ownership of assets and productive resources, shows that the distribution is uneven between and within all

ethnic groups. There is also strong inequality with high coefficient of variation within all ethnic groups in the distribution of agricultural land. Access to ownership of agricultural land is significantly higher among H/M Janajati and Chhetri and lower among Newar. More households among these ethnic categories own agricultural land. However, the coefficient of variation is also the highest among them. There is wider level of inequality in the access to agricultural land within H/M Janajati, and Chhetri. The rest of the ethnic groups have neither significantly higher nor lower proportion of households owning agricultural land compared to national proportion. Therefore, none of the ethnic groups is homogeneous in terms of distribution of ownership of agricultural land. F-test of significance of variance indicates that intra-group variation within all ethnic groups is almost similar when compared to national inequality. Hence, nature of distribution of agricultural land across all ethnic groups follows the pattern of national level distribution. Thus, access to agricultural land is unequally distributed between and within ethnic groups. As land has been an important source of generation of livelihood of people, this distribution pattern gives an important message that no particular ethnic group has a proportionately larger holding of landownership. There are two types of households: those having ownership over agricultural land and those having no ownership over any agricultural land. Therefore, distribution of agricultural land follows class line as explained by Marx rather than ethnic line, which ultimately generates livelihood of people through access to various advantages.

In Nepal, value of land is still very important because individuals and households take various advantages from agricultural and non-agricultural categories of land. Dhakal (2011) writes that land ownership pattern still determines economic prosperity, social status and the political power of any individual or family. For example, households owning agricultural land produce various things such as good grain/cereals, vegetables, fruits etc. Households owning large size of agricultural land usually hire farm workers to cultivate it and take benefit. Households with such characteristics are distributed across all ethnic groups. However, the proportion of households owning permanent farm workers—the indication of being prosperous households—is significantly higher among Madhesi, Tarai Janajati and Brahman. Whatever the nature of distribution of agricultural land across ethnic groups, individuals and households take many advantages from agricultural land they own.

Similarly, individuals and households owning no assets and productive resources like agricultural land become disadvantageous, poor and deprived in terms of getting advantages of various things. Silver (1995) notes that a few things people may be excluded from are livelihood, permanent employment, property, and productive assets that create inequality. Land is an important productive asset in Nepal. Here, landless households, irrespective of ethnicity, therefore, face the problem of deprivation such as barrier in borrowing loan from bank that requires collateral, because landlessness is similar to an instrumental deprivation (Sen, 2000). If the case is that some individuals and households within all ethnic groups of Nepal including Brahman and Dalit possess those characteristics and inequality in the ownership of land, then this will have far reaching consequences for the distribution of well-being and organization of society for generations to come (WDR, 2006) among all ethnic groups and this can apply to all ethnic groups.

Distribution of other assets, such as house, housing plot and productive resources like non-agricultural enterprises, also varies from one ethnic group to another. Important to note here is that all ethnic groups include households owning those assets and productive resources. Even in the case of non-agricultural enterprises, there are households within all ethnic groups that own such enterprises. This case is not new even for Janajati, since, as mentioned by Czarnecka (2010) involvement of Janajati in non-agricultural enterprises is not a new phenomenon. This is due to the fact that when investment began in non-agricultural enterprises some households from Janajati began to invest in this sector. However, all households are not equally capable of investing in this sector so that there is also strong intra-group inequality within Janajati. Besides, the high coefficient of variation among Chhetri, Dalit and Tarai Janajati indicates that there are intra-group inequalities within those ethnic groups as well. If it is true that only capable households invest in non-agricultural enterprises, then such households are found across all ethnic groups.

As none of the ethnic groups is homogeneous in terms of access to resources and opportunities such as capability, employment and ownership, as examined in previous chapters, intra-group inequality within all ethnic groups is the ground reality prevailing in Nepali society. Here are some important facts, mentioned by Pandey (2010) which strongly support the empirical reality explored in this study. He writes:

> Information available from a survey conducted in seven districts of Nepal has suggested that distribution of the rich and the poor population has no ethnic selection. Of course, there is some level of difference in the proportion of their distribution between different types of caste and ethnic categories. It is interesting to note that they are available in all of those categories and there is no uniform pattern of this distribution in all areas. The national level statistics on the distribution of population that remains below poverty line also support the fact that people even within the level of each caste, ethnic and regional categories have remained heterogeneous in their socio-economic standing (p. 139). All these social categories are heterogeneous units and their respective population is internally divided between different types of class-based categories. The problem of domination is, therefore, a problem of relationship among people divided between these classes. (p. 155)

Thus, access to resources and opportunities such as capability, employment and ownership is unevenly distributed between and within ethnic groups of Nepal. None of the ethnic groups of Nepal is homogeneous in terms of access to resources and opportunities with regard to capability, employment and ownership. Therefore, the fundamental issue of ethnicity is related to inequality between and within ethnic groups in terms of capability, employment and ownership. These are the major dimensions of inequality prevailing between individuals and households, irrespective of their ethnic affiliation. Unless and until, the inequality prevailing among people is narrowed down, the issue like ethnicity can keep on emerging. Therefore, based on concepts, perspectives and empirical facts, as discussed in detail throughout this thesis, we can draw some conclusions on the distribution pattern of capability, employment and ownership across ethnic groups.

7.2 Conclusions

Ethnicity, which has been an intellectual, political, and developmental issue is a constructed phenomenon occurring in a particular historical context of Nepal. The notion of ethnicity has been historically constructed but the contexts, after which it gained momentum, were political changes of 1990 and 2006, including fundamental changes in social structure that provided people various platforms to be organized for demanding various rights and to make certain claims, which ultimately gave rise to the issue of ethnicity. Ethnicity as discussed in Nepal is highly politicized now and new forms of ethnicity may still be constructed with the change in historical contexts.

Inter- and intra-ethnic inequalities among people of Nepal are the fundamental roots of emergence of ethnicity, which have been less highlighted in various literatures on ethnicity in Nepal. Although Barry (1998) explores various factors responsible for excluding individuals from mainstream opportunities in the context of Jewish immigrants to Britain two important points are more relevant to understand inequalities among people of Nepal which are as follows:

> The first is that voluntary withdrawal into the comforts of the community is a characteristic response to the experience of hostility and discrimination. The second is that, even where social exclusion has its roots in religious, ethnic or 'racial' differences, the achievement of educational, occupational and economic parity between groups is an important counteracting force (p. 7)

Individuals in any society withdraw themselves to locate them into the comforst of the community. This new location of comfort may be in the same community or new one. This withdrawal sometimes looks like response to discrimination. However, this withdrawal is not due to discrimination, rather it is individuals' choice. Exclusion may be rooted into religious, ethnic or racial differences but inequality appears at the achievement level. These levels could be educational, occupational and economic where we can see parity. Therefore, ethnicity may be rooted at the level of parity in various dimensions.

Thus, issue of ethnicity is not an independent phenomenon. It is the product of inequality, historically developed in terms of access to resources and opportunities, which is the core issue of the ethnic debate in Nepal. However, for those who take it politically emphasize on separate homelands as the solution of all kinds of inequalities. But it is true that inequality between and within ethnic groups of Nepal is also historic. Inequality among people in Nepal is created on the basis of access to capability, employment and ownership as explained by Marx, Weber and Sen respectively.

The disaggregation of capability related data across ethnic groups shows that inequality has persistently occurred in all ethnic groups. All ethnic groups include individuals who have capabilities of all kinds. Capability is important because it enables individuals to work efficiently to sustain their livelihoods. Education and health status of individuals are the most primary form of capabilities. Capability

approach as one of the new approaches of development, developed by Amartya Sen, is emphasized in *Nepal Human Development Report* (1998). Nutrition of children measured through anthropometric measurement is another important capability related indicator. *In terms of nutrition status of children, each ethnic group is heterogeneous in nature.* There are children within all ethnic groups who are suffering from malnutrition in terms of stunting, underweight and wasting. The important thing to be noted here is that there is strong inequality between and within ethnic groups of Nepal. *None of the groups is unvarying in terms of capability.*

Sociologists like Max Weber have focused on the position, social class occupied by an individual in society, which is another important dimension of inequality observed between and within ethnic groups of Nepal. Employment status is regarded as the most important status in terms of prestige as well as access to source of income in the context of Nepal. Following Weber where he regards employment as a form of prestige, *distribution of access to employment opportunities between and within all ethnic groups is unequal indicating that the distribution does not follow a particular ethnic line.* All ethnic groups have four major categories of people: employed, unemployed, underemployed and inactive, in terms of access to employment. There is both inter- and intra-ethnic inequality. None of the ethnic groups is homogeneous in terms of access to any kind of employment opportunities, which points to a very important fact in the context of Nepal. Thus, ethnicity alone is not found detrimental to employment opportunities.

Marxist and neo-Marxist scholars have focused on ownership as one of the fundamental dimensions that creates inequalities between and within individuals, households and groups in all societies. One of the important dimensions of inequality highlighted in Nepal is access to ownership such as agricultural land, house, housing plot, livestock, and agricultural equipment and non-farm enterprises. *Distribution of ownership over various productive resources and assets across ethnic groups of Nepal is uneven in terms of both between and within group distribution, which indicates that they are not uniform in terms of access to ownership.* Within all ethnic groups, there are two sections of population: one that has access to ownership over assets and productive resources such as house, housing plot, agricultural equipment, agricultural land, non-farm enterprises; and the other that has no such access to any

ownership over the assets and resources. Therefore, there is unequal distribution of assets and productive resources between and within the households of all ethnic groups of Nepal. Such distribution also does not follow a particular ethnic line.

Overall, the distribution of capability, employment and ownership as access to resources and opportunities across ethnic groups is very uneven. Explaining this uneven feature, Shrestha (2012) writes, "…while the relative deprivation of non-caste Janajati ethnic groups and of the Dalit caste groups vis-à-vis the Hindu high caste groups, mainly the Brahman and Chhetri, has been widely discussed for many years now, *sufficient attention has not been drawn to the fact that all caste and ethnic groups, including even the Dalits, are indeed stratified communities and are characterized by an uneven distribution of resources, resulting in the existence of an affluent group at the top and a large proportion of the poor at the base"* (p. 48). All ethnic groups include poor and rich quintile within them. Also, there are people with higher access and lower access to opportunities and resources within all ethnic groups. For instance, as one of the evidences of access to opportunities, among H/M Janajati, Tarai Janajati, Madhesi and even among Dalits, the proportion of individuals whose year of schooling is more than 10 years, is 33.6 percent, 37 percent, 33 percent and 21.5 percent respectively, which is higher than national average 8.1 years of Nepal. Thus, there is a section of population within all ethnic groups including Janajati, Madhesi and Dalits as in Brahman that has higher access to resources and opportunities compared to the rest of the sections of population.

It is interesting that *the elites of all ethnic groups do have similar characteristics in terms of access to resources and opportunities including consumption behaviour.* In my experience, they usually come together at different levels: at national, regional, district and local levels, and share common characteristics including consumer behaviour. The scenario is similar to what Shrestha (2012) clearly rerports, "the interpersonal relationship between the creamy elite at the top and the rest of them on the lower levels of the pyramid has generally remained feudalistic in nature. The people on the bottom levels, who generally suffer from such ubiquitous deprivations as land poverty and lack of access to social development opportunities (mainly education and health), generally remain dependent on the former for their regular needs for food and cash credits (with resultant

indebtedness), obtaining land for share-cropping, and other occasional protection from possible predators from hostile quarters in the communities, which are also characterized by mutually competing power centres represented by these feudal elites" (pp. 48-49). In my personal observation and experience, and as empirical evidences reveal, there are some poor households within both Brahman and Dalit families at local level, which can neither send their children to school nor have enough food sufficient even for at least two meals a day. Thus, whatever caste/ethnic affiliation individuals may have, it does not matter for them in their livelihood, but what matters for their livelihood is whether they have an access to resources and opportunities or not.

All ethnic groups are non-uniform stratified heterogeneous groups in which there are individuals and households with diverse socio-economic characteristics. All individuals with higher education and better health status are getting better opportunities in employment sector. Being born within a particular caste/ethnic group, as a member of the household and society is, therefore, neither fortunate nor unfortunate for any individual. But, what is unfortunate is to take birth in a poor family, which does not have any access to resources and opportunities for livelihood. Therefore, highlighting ethnicity as the major determining factor of life chances or access to resources and opportunity ultimately induces ethnic riots and conflicts rather than solution to reducing inequality even though these might have been started by modern development processes.

The process of modern development emphasizes increasing people's access to opportunities and resources to reduce and ultimately eradicate inequality. Almost all countries in the world are doing so. For example, in 1971, following ethnic riots in 1969, the New Economic Policy was introduced in Malasia, with the new aim of securing national unity by a two-pronged approach: 'to reduce and eventually eradicate poverty;' and 'to accelerate the process of restructuring Malaysian society to correct economic imbalance so as to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function (Malaysia, 1971, quoted from Stewart, 2005). A variety of anti-poverty policies were adopted including policies to promote rural development and extend social services. What is important to note here is the evidence suggests that intra-group inequality did not increase during the NEP, but

actually lessened, with Gini for Malay incomes fell from 0.470 to 0.448 in 1979 to 0.428 in 1988, while the Gini for Chinese incomes also became more equal (Shireen Hashim 1997, quoted from Ibid.). Thus *better state policies can definitely address inter- and intra-group inequality in terms of access to resources and opportunities*.

Inter- and intra-group variations are two major issues highlighted while talking about inequality and ethnicity. But, what is happening here in Nepal is that ethnic activists always *highlight the issue of inter-group variation ignoring the intra-group variation* assuming that all Janajati, Dalit, and Madhesi are homogeneous categories. In case of Janajati, Shrestha (2012) writes that in the 1994 NEFIN conference, it was explicitly acknowledged that they may have been "egalitarian" once upon a time, but now they were not so. Therefore, intra-group variation is increasing day by day with the increasing process of modernization. For example, modern education and health institutions created educational and health inequalities between and within groups, which was not so in the past. Therefore, none of the ethnic groups, which emerged in new political context, after 1990 and 2006, is a homogeneous category in terms of access to resources and opportunities, rather it heterogeneous in character.

Relating the theories of inequality to the empirical evidences in the context of Nepal shows *that fundamental bases of inequalities are what individuals or households own/achieve during the course of time.* But not all households and individuals are equally capable of doing that. . This differential in terms of capabilities ultimately creates individual and group inequalities. This inequality begins from individual achievement, because household level achievement is the collection of all individual achievements/earnings. Inequality among individuals and households is because of inequalities in access to resources and opportunities. Observing carefully the distribution of ownership, employment and capabilities across ethnic groups, no inherited relationship between ethnicity and access to resources and opportunities came in evidence. None of the households and individuals has thus ascriptive type of capability, employment and ownership. Also there were certain individuals and households among all ethnic groups which had relatively higher access to resources and opportunities compared to each other. Of course, one thing is true the number of individuals and households capable of having access to resources

and opportunities differs from one group to another. For example, Brahman households and individuals have greater access to employment and capability, whereas Madhesi households have higher access to land and other ownership means. Similarly, Janajati have higher access to recruitment in Indian and British armies. Such group-specific features can be obtained in other ethnic groups as well. Different ethnic groups have different levels of access to resources and opportunities. But, whichever ethnic group may have higher access, in respective sectors, it is confined to only a certain section of population that is rich, politically powerful, employed, educated, and healthy. These are all achieved characteristics of individuals and households. So, what is important to take into consideration is to examine how they were able to achieve the status irrespective of their caste and ethnicity and honestly accept the context that it is due to access to resources and opportunities. Obviously, individuals and households having greater access to resources and opportunities would certainly be rich, powerful, employed, educated and so on. The long-term unemployed individuals, who tended to be older, poor, holding low educational level and in poor health, virtually suffered a decline in their financial resources, and an increase in social isolation. In contrast, those who were employed, had an improved material situation and experienced less social isolation (Sverko, Galit, and Sersic 2006).

The study concludes that access to resources and assets is unequally distributed across individuals and households among all ethnic groups of Nepal. The distribution shows that there are strong inter- and intra-group inequalities/differences indicating the distribution of access to resources and opportunities as capability, employment and ownership does not follow a particular ethnic association. All ethnic groups of Nepal are heterogeneous regarding access to capability, employment and ownership. The important dimensions that help create inequalities among individuals and households in Nepal are capability, employment and ownership and they have come about as the most important stratifying aspects of individuals and households, rather than the rhetoric of ethnic background as the only cause. *Thus social equality and inequality including inter- and intra-ethnic inequality is due to distribution of access to resources and opportunities such as capability, employment and ownership.*

Annexes

Annex A_1: Major Caste/Ethnic Groups of Nepal.

Hill Dalits- Kami (Kami, Sonar, Lohar, Od, Chunura, Parki, Tamata), Sarki (Mijar, Charmakar, Bhool), Damai (Pariyar, Suchikar, Nagarchi, Dholi, Hudke), Gaine, and Badi (Source: UNDP, 2008).

Tarai Dalit-Chamar/Harijan/Ram, Musahar, Dusadh/Paswan/Pasi, Tatma, Khatbe, Dhobi(Rajak), Bantar (sardar), chidimar, dom, Mustor/Halkor, Kuswadiya/Patharkatta, Kakahiya, Kalar, Khatik, Kori, Pasi, and Sarvanga/Sarbariya (Source: UNDP, 2008).

Madhesi-Yadav, Teli, Koiri/Kuswaha, Kurmi, Sonar, Baniya, Kalwar, Thakur/Hazam, Kanu, Sudhi, Kumhar, Haluwai, Badhai, Barai, Bhediyar/Gaderi, Kewat, Mallah, Lohar, Nuniya, Kahar, Lodha, Rajbhar, Bing/Binde, Dhuniya, Kamar, Mali, Worai+**12 New**-Rajdhobi, Saini, Amaat, Kewrat, Barnamale, Jogiya, Beldar, Kalabaj, Bot, Turuha, and Chanai {Madhesi Brahman/Chhetri-Nurang, Rajput and Kayastha (Bhumihar)}(Source: Bennet and Parajuli, 2012).

Hill Mountain Janajati-Magar, Chhantyal, Rai, Sherpa, Bhujel/Gharti, akha, Thakali, Limbu, Lepcha/Rong, Bhote, Bhansi/Sauka, Jirel, Yholmo, Walung, Gurung, Dura, Tamang, Kumal, Sunuwar, Majhi, Danuwar, Thami/Thangmi, Darai, Bote, Baramu, Pahari, Hayu, Kusunda, Chepang, Raji, and Raute (Source: Bennet and Parajuli, 2012).

Tarai Janajati-Tharu, Jhangar/Dhangar, Dhanuk, Rajbansi, Gangai, Santhal/Satar, Dhimal, Tajpuriya, Meche, Koche, Kisan, Munda, Kushadiya/Patharkata, Unidentified, and Adibasi/Janajati (Source: Bennet and Parajuli, 2012).

Brahman- Hill Brahman and Tarai Brahman

Chhetris-Chhetri, Thakuri and Sanyasi (Source: Bennet and Parajuli, 2012).

Muslim-Madhesi Muslim and Hill Muslim (Source: Bennet and Parajuli, 2012).

Other Caste- Marwari, Jain, Bangali, Punjabi/Sikh, and unidentified others (Source: Bennet and Parajuli, 2012)

Annex A_2: Categorization of Sample Households by Broad Ethnic Groups

Ethnic group	CH	BR	H/MJ	TJ	MD	DT	NW	OT	T
Chhetri	1,009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,009
Magar	0	0	396	0	0	0	0	0	396
Tharu	0	0	0	259	0	0	0	0	259
Tamang	0	0	340	0	0	0	0	0	340
Newar	0	0	0	0	0	0	569	0	569
Muslim	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	191	191
Kami	0	0	0	0	0	244	0	0	244
Yadav	0	0	0	0	150	0	0	0	150
Rai	0	0	210	0	0	0	0	0	210
Gurung	0	0	141	0	0	0	0	0	141
Damain/dholi	0	0	0	0	0	131	0	0	131
Limbu	0	0	79	0	0	0	0	0	79
Thakuri	107	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	107
Sarki	0	0	0	0	0	127	0	0	127
Teli	0	0	0	0	60	0	0	0	60
Chamar/harijan/ram	0	0	0	0	0	48	0	0	48
Koiri	0	0	0	0	0	35	0	0	35
Kurmi	0	0	0	0	51	0	0	0	51
Sanyasi	42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	42
Dhanuk	0	0	0	51	0	0	0	0	51
Musahar	0	0	0	0	0	24	0	0	24
Dusadh/Paswan/ Pasi	0	0	0	0	0	42	0	0	42
Sherpa	0	0	30	0	0	0	0	0	30
Sonar	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	13
Kewat	0	0	48	0	0	0	0	0	48
Brahman (Tarai)	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
Baniya	0	0	0	0	25	0	0	0	25
Gharti/bhujel	0	0	39	0	0	0	0	0	39
Mallah	0	0	0	0	19	0	0	0	19
Kalwar	0	0	0	0	28	0	0	0	28

Kumal	0	0	24	0	0	0	0	0	24
Hajam/thakur	0	0	0	0	18	0	0	0	18
Kanu	0	0	0	0	23	0	0	0	23
Rajbansi	0	0	0	0	27	0	0	0	27
Sunuwar	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	14
Sudhi	0	0	0	0	29	0	0	0	29
Lohar	0	0	0	0	0	20	0	0	20
Tatma	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	9
Khatwe	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	12
Dhobi	0	0	0	0	0	16	0	0	16
Majhi	0	0	23	0	0	0	0	0	23
Nuniya	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	6
Kumhar	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	8
Danuwar	0	0	23	0	0	0	0	0	23
Chepang/praja	0	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	17
Haluwai	0	0	0	0	32	0	0	0	32
Rajpur	0	0	0	0	17	0	0	0	17
Kayastha	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	5
Badhae	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	14
Marwadi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	10
Santhal/satar	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Dhagar/jhagar	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Bantar	0	0	0	0	0	17	0	0	17
Barae	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	13
Kahar	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	13
Gangai	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	10
Lodh	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	11
Rajbhar	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	14
Thami	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Dhimal	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Bhote	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Bing/binda	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	5

Bhediyar/gaderi	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Yakkha	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	7
Darai	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Tajpuriya	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Thakali	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Mali	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Bangali	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Chhantal	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
Dom	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	8
Brahmu/baramu	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Gaine	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Lepcha	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Halkhor	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	6
Raji	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Raute	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Other dalit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	10
Other caste	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	36
Total	**1,158**	**945**	**1,415**	**326**	**571**	**754**	**569**	**250**	**5,988**

Note. CH= Chhetri, BR= Brahman, H/MJ= Hill/Mountain Janajati, TJ= Tarai Janajati, MD= Madhesi, DT=Dalit, NW=Newar, OT=Other, T=Total

Annex A_3: Caste/Ethnic Composion of Sampled Households and Individuals

Ethnic group	Households		Individuals	
	N	%	N	%
Chhetri	1,158	19.3	5,373	19.3
Brahman	945	15.8	3,988	15.8
H/M Janajati	1,415	23.6	6,403	23.6
Tarai Janajati	326	5.4	1,691	5.4
Madhesi	571	9.5	3,204	9.5
Dalit	754	12.6	3,832	12.6
Newar	569	9.5	2,545	9.5
Other	250	4.2	1,438	4.2
Total	5,988	100.0	28,474	100.0

Annex B: Distribution of capability (education and health) related variables by ethnic group

Table 1. Distribution of literacy status of individuals by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Literacy rate (N=16106/24942)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.688	0.011	.463	.215	5.91	1.11	67.32
Brahman	0.786	0.010	.410	.168	14.37	1.42	52.15
H/M Janajati	0.622	0.013	.485	.235	0.85	1.01	78.01
Tarai Janajati	0.558	0.023	.497	.247	-2.10	0.97	89.01
Madhesi	0.444	0.019	.497	.247	-8.12	0.96	111.95
Dalit	0.489	0.014	.500	.250	-7.61	0.95	102.33
Newar	0.753	0.020	.431	.186	6.90	1.28	57.22
Other	0.461	0.032	.498	.249	-4.46	0.96	108.07
Nepal	0.609	0.007	.488	.238	Ref.	Ref.	80.12

Table 2. Distribution of year of schooling by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Mean Years of schooling among adults (15 years and above who ever attended school) (N=10800)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	8.54	0.10	3.317	11.002	3.48	1.10	38.83
Brahman	9.76	0.10	3.163	10.005	14.55	1.21	32.40
H/M Janajati	7.26	0.12	3.323	11.043	-6.50	1.09	45.79
Tarai Janajati	7.94	0.19	3.181	10.121	-0.93	1.19	40.06
Madhesi	7.43	0.17	3.289	10.821	-3.93	1.12	44.28
Dalit	6.40	0.14	3.215	10.333	-11.14	1.17	50.24
Newar	9.25	0.17	3.588	12.876	6.22	0.94	38.77
Other	7.25	0.25	3.312	10.971	-3.37	1.10	45.69
Nepal	8.13	0.06	3.474	12.067	Ref.	Ref.	42.75

Table 3. Distribution of individuals never attended school by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Never attended school (6+ years) (N=8036/24942)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.295	0.010	.456	.208	-4.49	1.09	154.55
Brahman	0.229	0.010	.420	.176	-10.38	1.28	183.59
H/M Janajati	0.360	0.010	.480	.230	1.38	0.98	133.37
Tarai Janajati	0.379	0.015	.485	.235	2.23	0.96	127.88
Madhesi	0.417	0.015	.493	.243	4.47	0.93	118.33
Dalit	0.425	0.011	.494	.244	6.40	0.92	116.28
Newar	0.242	0.015	.428	.183	-6.28	1.23	177.18
Other	0.422	0.026	.494	.244	2.93	0.93	117.15
Nepal	0.344	0.005	.475	.226	Ref.	Ref.	137.96

Table 4. Distribution of individuals ever attended school by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Ever attended school in the past (6^+ years) (N=2578/24942)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.284	0.010	.451	.203	0.24	0.99	158.91
Brahman	0.373	0.011	.483	.234	7.85	0.86	129.77
H/M Janajati	0.274	0.008	.446	.199	-0.70	1.01	162.67
Tarai Janajati	0.211	0.013	.408	.167	-5.00	1.21	193.09
Madhesi	0.260	0.012	.439	.192	-1.58	1.05	168.73
Dalit	0.214	0.009	.410	.168	-6.47	1.20	191.76
Newar	0.402	0.018	.490	.240	6.59	0.84	121.97
Other	0.241	0.017	.428	.183	-2.32	1.10	177.54
Nepal	0.281	0.005	.449	.202	Ref.	Ref.	159.98

Table 5. Distribution of individuals currently attending school by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Currently attending school (6^+years) (N=9933/24942)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.421	0.008	.494	.244	5.24	0.96	117.22
Brahman	0.399	0.009	.490	.240	2.40	0.98	122.82
H/M Janajati	0.366	0.008	.482	.232	-1.00	1.01	131.65
Tarai Janajati	0.409	0.017	.492	.242	2.01	0.97	120.19
Madhesi	0.323	0.013	.468	.219	-3.85	1.07	144.64
Dalit	0.361	0.010	.480	.231	-1.26	1.02	133.03
Newar	0.356	0.011	.479	.229	-1.50	1.02	134.37
Other	0.338	0.019	.473	.224	-1.93	1.05	140.06
Nepal	0.375	0.004	.484	.234	Ref.	Ref.	129.20

Table 6. Distribution of individuals currently attending government/community school/college by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Attending gov./comm. school/college (5^+years) (N=6752/9933)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.750	0.017	.433	.187	1.18	1.06	57.72
Brahman	0.600	0.024	.490	.240	-4.99	0.83	81.58
H/M Janajati	0.805	0.016	.397	.157	4.14	1.26	49.29
Tarai Janajati	0.801	0.026	.399	.159	2.66	1.25	49.86
Madhesi	0.643	0.029	.479	.229	-2.71	0.87	74.46
Dalit	0.882	0.015	.322	.104	8.81	1.92	36.49
Newar	0.508	0.039	.500	.250	-5.45	0.79	98.43
Other	0.550	0.045	.497	.247	-3.85	0.80	90.45
Nepal	0.727	0.009	.446	.199	Ref.	Ref.	61.32

Table 7. Distribution of individuals currently attending private/institutional school/college by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Attending inst./pvt. school/college (5^+ years) (N=3056/9933)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.246	0.018	.431	.185	-0.74	1.04	175.16
Brahman	0.396	0.023	.489	.239	5.41	0.81	123.56
H/M Janajati	0.191	0.016	.393	.155	-3.73	1.25	205.61
Tarai Janajati	0.194	0.026	.396	.156	-2.38	1.23	203.73
Madhesi	0.349	0.030	.477	.227	2.86	0.85	136.48
Dalit	0.115	0.015	.319	.102	-8.35	1.89	277.14
Newar	0.483	0.038	.500	.250	5.63	0.77	103.56
Other	0.275	0.035	.447	.199	0.41	0.97	162.33
Nepal	0.260	0.009	.439	.193	Ref.	Ref.	168.49

Table 8. Distribution of individuals currently attending other school/college by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Attending other school/college (5+ years) (N=125/9933)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.004	0.002	.064	.004	-2.97	3.12	1566.24
Brahman	0.004	0.002	.062	.004	-3.10	3.31	1612.62
H/M Janajati	0.004	0.001	.065	.004	-3.03	3.02	1539.77
Tarai Janajati	0.005	0.004	.070	.005	-1.65	2.57	1417.92
Madhesi	0.007	0.004	.085	.007	-1.22	1.74	1164.46
Dalit	0.002	0.001	.048	.002	-3.72	5.46	2074.46
Newar	0.010	0.004	.097	.009	-0.69	1.34	1018.17
Other	0.175	0.040	.380	.144	4.07	0.09	217.22
Nepal	0.013	0.002	.112	.013	Ref.	Ref.	878.282

Table 9. Distribution of individuals with literate and primary level education by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Individuals attaining literate and primary level education (N=7770/16106)				Tests and coefficient of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.352	0.012	.478	.228	-2.39	1.04	135.77
Brahman	0.226	0.010	.418	.175	-13.63	1.35	185.01
H/M Janajati	0.452	0.013	.498	.248	4.66	0.96	110.13
Tarai Janajati	0.378	0.023	.485	.235	-0.25	1.01	128.21
Madhesi	0.406	0.018	.491	.241	1.16	0.98	120.93
Dalit	0.553	0.017	.497	.247	9.33	0.96	89.97
Newar	0.280	0.018	.449	.202	-5.41	1.17	160.17
Other	0.515	0.026	.500	.250	4.89	0.95	97.12
Nepal	0.384	0.007	.486	.237	Ref.	Ref.	126.56

Table 10. Distribution of individuals with lower secondary and secondary level education by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Individuals attaining lower secondary and secondary level education (N=5774/16106)				Tests and coefficient of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.386	0.010	.487	.237	1.79	0.98	126.07
Brahman	0.357	0.010	.479	.230	-0.78	1.01	134.14
H/M Janajati	0.362	0.010	.481	.231	-0.34	1.00	132.67
Tarai Janajati	0.411	0.018	.492	.242	2.44	0.96	119.81
Madhesi	0.412	0.016	.492	.242	2.71	0.96	119.54
Dalit	0.333	0.014	.471	.222	-2.18	1.04	141.38
Newar	0.310	0.013	.462	.214	-3.98	1.09	149.25
Other	0.360	0.019	.480	.230	-0.32	1.01	133.36
Nepal	0.366	0.005	.482	.232	Ref.	Ref.	131.56

Table 11. Distribution of individuals with SLC and Intermediate level education by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Individuals attaining SLC and intermediate level education (N=2757/16106)				Tests and coefficient of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.169	0.009	.375	.140	1.65	0.92	221.92
Brahman	0.244	0.010	.429	.184	8.34	0.70	176.22
H/M Janajati	0.107	0.007	.309	.096	-5.47	1.35	288.47
Tarai Janajati	0.135	0.016	.341	.116	-1.07	1.11	253.60
Madhesi	0.135	0.011	.342	.117	-1.50	1.11	253.26
Dalit	0.062	0.008	.242	.058	-10.30	2.22	388.26
Newar	0.243	0.015	.429	.184	5.69	0.70	176.43
Other	0.096	0.015	.294	.087	-3.62	1.50	307.46
Nepal	0.153	0.004	.360	.129	Ref.	Ref.	235.56

Table 12. Distribution of individuals with Bachelor and Master level education by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Individuals attaining bachelor and master level education (N=1180/16106)				Tests and coefficient of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.049	0.005	.215	.046	-0.54	1.06	442.49
Brahman	0.122	0.009	.328	.107	7.68	0.46	267.89
H/M Janajati	0.018	0.002	.134	.018	-9.63	2.71	730.33
Tarai Janajati	0.025	0.006	.156	.024	-4.23	2.00	623.49
Madhesi	0.031	0.006	.173	.030	-3.17	1.64	561.00
Dalit	0.012	0.003	.108	.012	-9.61	4.20	915.37
Newar	0.122	0.012	.327	.107	5.58	0.46	268.62
Other	0.021	0.006	.142	.020	-4.86	2.43	689.75
Nepal	0.052	0.002	.221	.049	Ref.	Ref.	428.82

Table 13. Distribution of individuals with chronic illness by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Individuals with chronic illness (N=3268/28670)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.125	0.007	.331	.109	1.17	0.94	264.50
Brahman	0.153	0.008	.360	.129	4.09	0.80	235.46
H/M Janajati	0.106	0.005	.308	.095	-1.72	1.09	290.32
Tarai Janajati	0.094	0.009	.292	.086	-2.28	1.20	309.68
Madhesi	0.097	0.007	.297	.088	-2.60	1.17	304.35
Dalit	0.118	0.007	.322	.104	0.16	0.99	273.55
Newar	0.139	0.009	.346	.120	2.44	0.86	248.46
Other	0.093	0.010	.290	.084	-2.28	1.22	312.31
Nepal	0.117	0.003	.321	.103	Ref.	Ref.	275.22

Table 14. Distribution of individuals with acute illness by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Individuals with acute illness (N=5518/28670)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.191	0.008	.393	.154	-1.08	1.04	206.06
Brahman	0.191	0.011	.393	.155	-0.81	1.04	205.74
H/M Janajati	0.191	0.008	.393	.155	-1.02	1.04	205.73
Tarai Janajati	0.181	0.015	.385	.148	-1.26	1.08	212.95
Madhesi	0.225	0.014	.418	.175	1.70	0.92	185.42
Dalit	0.229	0.011	.420	.176	2.37	0.91	183.74
Newar	0.187	0.013	.390	.152	-0.96	1.05	208.32
Other	0.201	0.018	.401	.161	0.01	1.00	199.40
Nepal	0.201	0.005	.401	.160	Ref.	Ref.	199.49

Table 15. Distribution of individuals with excellent health status by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Individuals with excellent health status (N=16359/28670)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.514	0.023	.500	.250	-2.51	0.98	97.28
Brahman	0.598	0.023	.490	.240	0.76	1.01	82.02
H/M Janajati	0.638	0.022	.481	.231	2.41	1.06	75.39
Tarai Janajati	0.580	0.044	.494	.244	0.05	1.00	85.06
Madhesi	0.597	0.029	.491	.241	0.61	1.01	82.22
Dalit	0.533	0.023	.499	.249	-1.72	0.98	93.54
Newar	0.528	0.025	.499	.249	-1.80	0.98	94.53
Other	0.620	0.042	.485	.236	0.96	1.04	78.34
Nepal	0.578	0.012	.494	.244	Ref.	Ref.	85.47

Table 16. Distribution of individuals with good health status by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Individuals with good health status (N=11492/28670)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.454	0.023	.498	.248	2.40	0.96	109.69
Brahman	0.372	0.022	.483	.234	-0.79	1.02	129.81
H/M Janajati	0.332	0.022	.471	.222	-2.46	1.07	141.82
Tarai Janajati	0.402	0.043	.490	.240	0.21	0.99	122.05
Madhesi	0.372	0.027	.483	.234	-0.69	1.02	129.94
Dalit	0.437	0.023	.496	.246	1.75	0.97	113.43
Newar	0.440	0.025	.496	.246	1.77	0.97	112.72
Other	0.352	0.041	.478	.228	-0.93	1.04	135.53
Nepal	0.392	0.012	.488	.238	Ref.	Ref.	124.44

Table 17. Distribution of individuals with fair health status by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Individuals with fair health status (N=595/28670)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.024	0.003	.154	.024	0.83	0.90	632.02
Brahman	0.024	0.003	.154	.024	0.64	0.91	632.52
H/M Janajati	0.022	0.002	.145	.021	-0.21	1.02	674.21
Tarai Janajati	0.014	0.005	.118	.014	-1.53	1.54	833.15
Madhesi	0.022	0.004	.148	.022	0.06	0.99	662.13
Dalit	0.023	0.003	.151	.023	0.41	0.95	647.01
Newar	0.020	0.004	.140	.020	-0.56	1.10	700.95
Other	0.019	0.005	.135	.018	-0.72	1.18	726.89
Nepal	0.022	0.001	.147	.022	Ref.	Ref.	666.07

Table 18. Distribution of individuals with poor health status by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Individuals with poor health status (N=28/28670)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.002	0.001	.042	.002	0.68	0.63	2351.93
Brahman	0.002	0.001	.043	.002	0.92	0.62	2342.94
H/M Janajati	0.001	0.001	.036	.001	0.21	0.89	2807.68
Tarai Janajati	0.001	0.001	.024	.001	-0.91	2.04	4247.95
Madhesi	0.001	0.001	.036	.001	0.11	0.89	2805.77
Dalit	0.000	0.000	0.000	.000	0.00	0.00	0.000
Newar	0.000	0.000	0.000	.000	0.00	0.00	0.000
Other	0.002	0.001	.039	.002	0.33	0.75	2567.31
Nepal	0.001	0.000	.034	.001	Ref.	Ref.	2968.70

Table 19. Distribution of stunted children by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Stunted children (below -2SD) (N=992/2392)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.439	0.02	0.497	0.247	1.1	0.98	113.21
Brahman	0.313	0.031	0.465	0.216	-3.14	1.12	148.56
H/M Janajati	0.428	0.022	0.495	0.245	0.54	0.99	115.65
Tarai Janajati	0.308	0.032	0.463	0.214	-3.18	1.13	150.32
Madhesi	0.381	0.035	0.487	0.237	-0.92	1.02	127.82
Dalit	0.520	0.023	0.500	0.25	4.11	0.97	96.15
Newar	0.306	0.059	0.465	0.216	-1.81	1.12	151.96
Other	0.300	0.046	0.461	0.212	-2.43	1.14	153.67
Nepal	0.415	0.01	0.493	0.243	Ref.	Ref.	118.80

Table 20. Distribution of severely stunted children by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Severely stunted children (below -3SD) (N=382/2392)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.167	0.015	0.373	0.139	0.44	0.96	223.35
Brahman	0.106	0.02	0.308	0.095	-2.48	1.41	290.57
H/M Janajati	0.158	0.016	0.365	0.134	-0.07	1.00	231.01
Tarai Janajati	0.087	0.02	0.282	0.079	-3.5	1.69	324.14
Madhesi	0.185	0.028	0.389	0.152	0.87	0.89	210.27
Dalit	0.225	0.02	0.418	0.175	3.1	0.77	185.78
Newar	0.097	0.038	0.298	0.089	-1.63	1.51	307.22
Other	0.090	0.029	0.288	0.083	-2.35	1.62	320.00
Nepal	0.160	0.007	0.366	0.134	Ref.	Ref.	228.75

Table 21. Distribution of underweight children by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Underweight children (below -2SD) (N=700/2392)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.286	0.018	0.452	0.204	-0.33	1.01	158.04
Brahman	0.181	0.026	0.386	0.149	-4.11	1.39	213.26
H/M Janajati	0.246	0.019	0.431	0.186	-2.21	1.12	175.20
Tarai Janajati	0.303	0.032	0.461	0.212	0.31	0.98	152.15
Madhesi	0.376	0.035	0.486	0.236	2.27	0.88	129.26
Dalit	0.388	0.023	0.488	0.238	3.85	0.87	125.77
Newar	0.161	0.047	0.371	0.137	-2.74	1.51	230.43
Other	0.3	0.046	0.461	0.212	0.16	0.98	153.67
Nepal	0.293	0.009	0.455	0.207	Ref.	Ref.	155.29

Table 22. Distribution of severely underweight children by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Severely underweight children (below -3SD) (N=86/2392)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.071	0.01	0.257	0.066	-0.58	1.08	361.97
Brahman	0.066	0.017	0.249	0.062	-0.67	1.16	377.27
H/M Janajati	0.038	0.008	0.19	0.036	-3.98	1.98	500.00
Tarai Janajati	0.077	0.019	0.267	0.071	-0.04	1.01	346.75
Madhesi	0.143	0.026	0.351	0.123	2.49	0.58	245.45
Dalit	0.121	0.015	0.327	0.107	2.67	0.67	270.25
Newar	0.016	0.016	0.127	0.016	-3.62	4.45	793.75
Other	0.07	0.026	0.256	0.066	-0.3	1.09	365.71
Nepal	0.078	0.005	0.268	0.072	Ref.	Ref.	343.59

Table 23. Distribution of wasted children by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Wasted children (below -2SD) (N=255/2392)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.088	0.011	0.284	0.08	-1.44	1.18	322.73
Brahman	0.11	0.021	0.314	0.098	0.16	0.97	285.45
H/M Janajati	0.081	0.012	0.273	0.075	-1.85	1.27	337.04
Tarai Janajati	0.154	0.025	0.362	0.131	1.83	0.73	235.06
Madhesi	0.175	0.028	0.381	0.145	2.39	0.66	217.71
Dalit	0.119	0.015	0.324	0.105	0.75	0.91	272.27
Newar	0.048	0.027	0.216	0.047	-2.07	2.04	450.00
Other	0.100	0.030	0.302	0.091	-0.21	1.05	302.00
Nepal	0.107	0.006	0.309	0.095	Ref.	Ref.	288.79

Table 24. Distribution of severely wasted children by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Severely wasted children (below -3SD) (N=61/2392)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.022	0.006	0.146	0.021	-0.59	1.17	663.64
Brahman	0.022	0.01	0.147	0.022	-0.34	1.15	668.18
H/M Janajati	0.018	0.006	0.132	0.018	-1.14	1.42	733.33
Tarai Janajati	0.038	0.013	0.193	0.037	0.94	0.67	507.89
Madhesi	0.053	0.016	0.224	0.05	1.65	0.49	422.64
Dalit	0.026	0.008	0.161	0.026	0.11	0.96	619.23
Newar	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	-7.91	0.00	000.00
Other	0.030	0.017	0.171	0.029	0.26	0.85	570.00
Nepal	0.026	0.003	0.158	0.025	Ref.	Ref.	607.69

Annex C: Distribution of employment related variables by ethnic group

Table 1. Distribution of employment status by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Employment status (10^+ years) (N=16807/22167)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.801	0.010	.399	.159	1.59	1.07	49.84
Brahman	0.752	0.013	.432	.187	-2.20	0.91	57.49
H/M Janajati	0.821	0.009	.384	.147	3.64	1.15	46.76
Tarai Janajati	0.820	0.015	.385	.148	2.24	1.15	46.92
Madhesi	0.734	0.014	.442	.195	-3.32	0.87	60.16
Dalit	0.836	0.009	.371	.137	5.02	1.24	44.36
Newar	0.705	0.019	.456	.208	-3.92	0.82	64.69
Other	0.677	0.027	.468	.219	-3.92	0.78	69.09
Nepal	0.783	0.005	.412	.170	Ref.	Ref.	52.62

Table 2. Distribution of unemployment status by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Unemployment status (10^+ years) (N=466/22167)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.013	0.002	.115	.013	-1.91	1.33	855.79
Brahman	0.019	0.003	.137	.019	0.32	0.94	716.56
H/M Janajati	0.019	0.002	.136	.019	0.32	0.96	721.28
Tarai Janajati	0.013	0.003	.115	.013	-1.27	1.34	859.15
Madhesi	0.017	0.003	.130	.017	-0.29	1.06	758.92
Dalit	0.013	0.003	.114	.013	-1.65	1.35	863.21
Newar	0.024	0.003	.154	.024	1.72	0.75	633.50
Other	0.040	0.009	.197	.039	2.39	0.46	488.36
Nepal	0.018	0.001	.133	.018	Ref.	Ref.	738.03

Table 3. Distribution of unemployment rate by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Unemployment rate (10^+ years)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.017	0.003	.131	.017	-3.81	1.34	794.95
Brahman	0.025	0.004	.156	.024	1.46	0.95	630.96
H/M Janajati	0.022	0.003	.150	.023	-0.02	1.03	667.72
Tarai Janajati	0.016	0.004	.126	.016	-4.12	1.47	783.05
Madhesi	0.023	0.004	.151	.023	0.14	1.02	664.83
Dalit	0.016	0.003	.126	.016	-4.41	1.45	809.24
Newar	0.033	0.005	.182	.033	6.92	0.70	546.35
Other	0.056	0.013	.254	.064	21.47	0.36	452.20
Nepal	0.023	0.002	.152	.023	Ref.	Ref.	676.36

Table 4. Distribution of not active population by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Not active population (10^+ years) (N=4894/22167)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.186	0.009	.389	.151	-1.27	1.05	209.52
Brahman	0.229	0.012	.420	.177	2.34	0.90	183.33
H/M Janajati	0.161	0.008	.367	.135	-4.12	1.18	228.65
Tarai Janajati	0.167	0.014	.373	.139	-2.14	1.14	223.29
Madhesi	0.249	0.013	.432	.187	3.55	0.85	173.82
Dalit	0.151	0.009	.358	.128	-4.82	1.24	236.94
Newar	0.271	0.018	.444	.197	3.88	0.81	164.14
Other	0.283	0.023	.450	.203	3.56	0.79	159.23
Nepal	0.199	0.005	.399	.159	Ref.	Ref.	200.74

Table 5. Distribution of underemployed (1-19 hours) population by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Underemployed (1-19 hours) population (N=5841/16807)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.318	0.012	.466	.217	0.07	1.00	146.55
Brahman	0.316	0.014	.465	.216	-0.06	1.00	147.15
H/M Janajati	0.313	0.012	.464	.215	-0.28	1.01	148.14
Tarai Janajati	0.349	0.023	.477	.227	1.36	0.95	136.64
Madhesi	0.300	0.017	.458	.210	-0.94	1.03	152.79
Dalit	0.343	0.012	.475	.225	1.88	0.96	138.41
Newar	0.238	0.016	.426	.181	-4.63	1.19	178.89
Other	0.354	0.027	.478	.229	1.35	0.95	135.10
Nepal	0.317	0.006	.465	.216	Ref.	Ref.	146.87

Table 6. Distribution of underemployed (20-39 hours) population by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Underemployed (20-39 hours) population (N=3605/16807)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.221	0.008	.415	.172	-0.05	1.00	187.82
Brahman	0.233	0.012	.423	.179	0.94	0.96	181.42
H/M Janajati	0.218	0.008	.413	.170	-0.40	1.01	189.52
Tarai Janajati	0.237	0.017	.426	.181	0.93	0.95	179.21
Madhesi	0.219	0.014	.414	.171	-0.15	1.01	188.80
Dalit	0.215	0.011	.411	.169	-0.53	1.02	190.94
Newar	0.202	0.015	.402	.161	-1.20	1.07	198.53
Other	0.235	0.022	.424	.180	0.61	0.96	180.30
Nepal	0.221	0.004	.415	.172	Ref.	Ref.	187.56

Table 7. Distribution of employed (40 and more hours) population by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Employed (40 and more hours) population (N=7967/16807)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.461	0.015	.499	.249	-0.03	1.00	108.04
Brahman	0.451	0.016	.498	.248	-0.61	1.00	110.32
H/M Janajati	0.469	0.013	.499	.249	0.48	1.00	106.36
Tarai Janajati	0.414	0.027	.493	.243	-1.69	1.02	119.03
Madhesi	0.481	0.019	.500	.250	0.93	1.00	103.87
Dalit	0.442	0.015	.497	.247	-1.19	1.01	112.41
Newar	0.560	0.019	.496	.246	4.75	1.01	88.72
Other	0.411	0.027	.492	.242	-1.83	1.03	119.76
Nepal	0.462	0.007	.499	.249	Ref.	Ref.	107.93

Table 8. Distribution of underemployment rate ethnic group

Ethnic group	Underemployment rate (N=8840/16807)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.539	0.015	.499	.249	0.03	1.00	92.56
Brahman	0.549	0.016	.498	.248	0.61	1.00	90.65
H/M Janajati	0.531	0.013	.499	.249	-0.48	1.00	94.02
Tarai Janajati	0.586	0.027	.493	.243	1.69	1.02	84.01
Madhesi	0.519	0.019	.500	.250	-0.93	1.00	96.27
Dalit	0.558	0.015	.497	.247	1.19	1.01	88.96
Newar	0.440	0.019	.496	.246	-4.75	1.01	112.71
Other	0.589	0.027	.492	.242	1.83	1.03	83.50
Nepal	0.538	0.007	.499	.249	Ref.	Ref.	92.65

Table 9. Distribution of population engaged in wage in agriculture by ethnic group 15 years and above

Ethnic group	Population engaged in wage in agriculture (N=389/14638)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.005	0.002	.070	.005	-8.35	6.94	1431.10
Brahman	0.005	0.003	.067	.005	-7.43	7.40	1477.92
H/M Janajati	0.018	0.004	.134	.018	-3.31	1.88	733.74
Tarai Janajati	0.057	0.012	.232	.054	1.76	0.62	405.69
Madhesi	0.046	0.008	.209	.044	1.22	0.77	457.33
Dalit	0.107	0.013	.310	.096	5.30	0.35	288.15
Newar	0.005	0.002	.069	.005	-8.04	7.06	1443.60
Other	0.084	0.018	.277	.077	2.62	0.44	330.41
Nepal	0.035	0.003	.183	.034	Ref.	Ref.	526.75

Table 10. Distribution of population engaged in wage in non-agriculture by ethnic group (15 years and above)

Ethnic group	Population engaged in wage in non-agriculture (N=2362/14638)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.111	0.008	.315	.099	-1.80	1.13	282.45
Brahman	0.161	0.012	.367	.135	2.42	0.83	228.55
H/M Janajati	0.096	0.007	.295	.087	-3.67	1.29	306.82
Tarai Janajati	0.114	0.014	.318	.101	-0.96	1.11	278.59
Madhesi	0.120	0.015	.325	.106	-0.54	1.06	270.74
Dalit	0.130	0.011	.336	.113	0.10	0.99	258.87
Newar	0.246	0.022	.430	.185	5.29	0.60	175.31
Other	0.142	0.024	.349	.122	0.56	0.92	245.79
Nepal	0.129	0.005	.335	.112	Ref.	Ref.	260.33

Table 11. Distribution of population engaged in self in agriculture by ethnic group (15 years and above)

Ethnic group	Population engaged in self in agriculture (N=8304/14638)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.706	0.016	.455	.207	4.79	1.14	64.47
Brahman	0.604	0.022	.489	.239	-0.47	0.99	81.03
H/M Janajati	0.716	0.017	.451	.203	5.03	1.16	63.03
Tarai Janajati	0.638	0.030	.480	.231	0.75	1.03	75.27
Madhesi	0.514	0.027	.500	.250	-3.51	0.95	97.24
Dalit	0.581	0.021	.493	.244	-1.45	0.97	85.01
Newar	0.388	0.040	.487	.238	-5.42	1.00	125.51
Other	0.434	0.044	.496	.246	-3.97	0.96	114.12
Nepal	0.615	0.010	.487	.237	Ref.	Ref.	79.12

Table 12. Distribution of population engaged in self in non-agriculture by ethnic group (15 years and above)

Ethnic group	Population engaged in self in non-agriculture (N=2047/14638)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.087	0.009	.282	.080	-2.61	1.28	323.06
Brahman	0.124	0.012	.329	.108	0.63	0.94	266.36
H/M Janajati	0.087	0.009	.283	.080	-2.53	1.28	322.94
Tarai Janajati	0.075	0.011	.264	.070	-3.14	1.46	350.49
Madhesi	0.151	0.019	.358	.128	1.82	0.79	237.18
Dalit	0.082	0.009	.274	.075	-3.22	1.35	334.68
Newar	0.271	0.027	.445	.198	5.73	0.52	163.82
Other	0.186	0.031	.389	.151	2.23	0.67	209.44
Nepal	0.115	0.006	.319	.102	Ref.	Ref.	277.27

Table 13. Distribution of population with literate and above level education engaged in officer level job by ethnic group (15 years and above)

	Population engaged in officer level job (N=553/16106)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
Ethnic group	**Mean**	**Std. Error of Mean**	**Std. Deviation**	**Variance**	**t-test**	**F-test**	**CV**
Chhetri	0.022	0.003	.146	.021	-0.24	1.04	670.80
Brahman	0.036	0.005	.187	.035	2.71	0.63	516.55
H/M Janajati	0.014	0.004	.118	.014	-2.17	1.59	836.97
Tarai Janajati	0.014	0.006	.117	.014	-1.44	1.60	839.89
Madhesi	0.014	0.004	.116	.013	-2.04	1.64	850.39
Dalit	0.009	0.003	.096	.009	-3.71	2.41	1033.57
Newar	0.063	0.008	.242	.059	4.72	0.38	387.30
Other	0.011	0.005	.105	.011	-2.00	2.02	944.94
Nepal	0.023	0.002	.149	.022	Ref.	Ref.	657.37

Table 14. Distribution of individuals with officer level job among population bachelor and above level education engaged in officer level job by ethnic group

	Population engaged in officer level job (N=553/16106)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
Ethnic group	**Mean**	**Std. Error of Mean**	**Std. Deviation**	**Variance**	**t-test**	**F-test**	**CV**
Chhetri	0.195	0.033	.396	.157	5.83	0.00	202.97
Brahman	0.169	0.019	.375	.140	8.75	0.00	221.80
H/M Janajati	0.172	0.043	.377	.142	4.02	0.00	219.71
Tarai Janajati	0.159	0.063	.366	.134	2.53	0.00	229.70
Madhesi	0.183	0.059	.387	.150	3.13	0.00	211.00
Dalit	0.181	0.070	.385	.148	2.58	0.00	212.65
Newar	0.236	0.030	.425	.180	7.85	0.00	179.79
Other	0.146	0.063	.353	.125	2.34	0.00	241.83
Nepal	0.188	0.014	.390	.152	Ref.	Ref.	208.09

Table 15. Distribution of remittance receiving households by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Households receiving remittance (N=3178/5988)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.552	0.021	.497	.247	-0.25	1.00	90.14
Brahman	0.612	0.021	.487	.237	2.35	1.04	79.65
H/M Janajati	0.532	0.019	.499	.249	-1.20	0.99	93.86
Tarai Janajati	0.604	0.045	.489	.239	1.02	1.03	80.94
Madhesi	0.560	0.031	.496	.246	0.07	1.00	88.66
Dalit	0.607	0.022	.488	.239	1.98	1.03	80.51
Newar	0.384	0.029	.486	.237	-5.71	1.04	126.70
Other	0.582	0.041	.493	.243	0.58	1.01	84.72
Nepal	0.558	0.010	.497	.247	Ref.	Ref.	89.07

Annex D: Distribution of ownership related variables by ethnic group

Table 1. Distribution of households owning agricultural land by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Households owning agricultural land (N=4265/5988)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.848	0.013	.359	.129	4.74	1.37	42.37
Brahman	0.784	0.019	.411	.169	0.63	1.04	52.43
H/M Janajati	0.816	0.016	.388	.150	2.44	1.18	47.52
Tarai Janajati	0.788	0.033	.409	.167	0.49	1.06	51.93
Madhesi	0.745	0.027	.436	.190	-0.89	0.93	58.46
Dalit	0.738	0.021	.440	.193	-1.45	0.91	59.62
Newar	0.578	0.038	.494	.244	-4.88	0.72	85.36
Other	0.604	0.040	.489	.239	-4.10	0.74	81.05
Nepal	0.771	0.009	.420	.177	Ref.	Ref.	54.52

Table 2. Distribution of households owning share/rent/mortgaged out land by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Households owning share/rent/mortgaged out agricultural land (N=693/5988)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.135	0.013	.341	.116	1.62	0.85	253.60
Brahman	0.195	0.016	.396	.157	5.02	0.63	203.43
H/M Janajati	0.090	0.009	.286	.082	-2.06	1.21	318.72
Tarai Janajati	0.106	0.023	.308	.095	-0.22	1.04	289.98
Madhesi	0.110	0.017	.313	.098	-0.10	1.01	284.84
Dalit	0.035	0.007	.183	.033	-8.57	2.97	528.88
Newar	0.099	0.017	.299	.090	-0.69	1.11	300.95
Other	0.133	0.027	.340	.115	0.80	0.86	255.29
Nepal	0.111	0.005	.315	.099	Ref.	Ref.	282.32

Table 3. Distribution of households owning share/rent/mortgaged in land by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Households owning share/rent/mortgaged in agricultural land (N=1261/5988)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.213	0.015	.410	.168	-1.32	1.07	192.06
Brahman	0.168	0.017	.374	.140	-3.57	1.29	222.41
H/M Janajati	0.240	0.015	.427	.182	0.24	0.99	178.01
Tarai Janajati	0.381	0.031	.486	.236	4.51	0.76	127.50
Madhesi	0.232	0.023	.422	.178	-0.17	1.01	182.18
Dalit	0.333	0.021	.471	.222	4.29	0.81	141.51
Newar	0.158	0.024	.365	.133	-3.13	1.36	231.05
Other	0.151	0.027	.358	.128	-3.03	1.41	237.18
Nepal	0.236	0.008	.424	.180	Ref.	Ref.	180.05

Table 4. Distribution of households hiring permanent farm workers by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Households hire permanent farm workers (N=40/5988)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.010	0.004	.099	.010	0.38	0.83	1005.17
Brahman	0.006	0.003	.079	.006	-0.62	1.31	1262.42
H/M Janajati	0.006	0.002	.075	.006	-0.94	1.46	1334.37
Tarai Janajati	0.011	0.006	.105	.011	0.45	0.74	945.16
Madhesi	0.024	0.007	.153	.023	2.15	0.35	639.41
Dalit	0.003	0.002	.053	.003	-2.00	2.83	1864.74
Newar	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	-5.42	0.00	0.00
Other	0.005	0.005	.074	.005	-0.48	1.49	1348.96
Nepal	0.008	0.002	.090	.008	Ref.	Ref.	1102.19

Table 5. Distribution of households owning agricultural equipments by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Households owning agricultural equipment (N=4329/5988)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.834	0.015	.372	.138	1.74	1.14	44.54
Brahman	0.754	0.022	.431	.186	-2.02	0.85	57.14
H/M Janajati	0.824	0.016	.381	.145	1.10	1.09	46.24
Tarai Janajati	0.879	0.023	.326	.106	3.03	1.49	37.11
Madhesi	0.821	0.023	.383	.147	0.71	1.08	46.70
Dalit	0.883	0.013	.321	.103	5.00	1.53	36.37
Newar	0.530	0.045	.499	.249	-6.01	0.63	94.22
Other	0.733	0.039	.443	.196	-1.76	0.81	60.40
Nepal	0.803	0.009	.398	.158	Ref.	Ref.	49.51

Table 6. Distribution of households owning livestock by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Households owning livestock (N=4168/5988)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.807	0.017	.395	.156	1.36	1.10	48.92
Brahman	0.708	0.025	.455	.207	-2.66	0.83	64.19
H/M Janajati	0.833	0.014	.373	.139	3.17	1.23	44.78
Tarai Janajati	0.891	0.023	.312	.097	4.50	1.77	35.00
Madhesi	0.756	0.027	.430	.185	-0.85	0.93	56.84
Dalit	0.861	0.014	.346	.120	4.73	1.43	40.19
Newar	0.484	0.044	.500	.250	-6.52	0.69	103.23
Other	0.714	0.041	.452	.204	-1.56	0.84	63.27
Nepal	0.780	0.010	.414	.172	Ref.	Ref.	53.15

Table 7. Distribution of households owning non-agricultural enterprises by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Households owning non-agricultural enterprises (N=2074/5988)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.263	0.017	.440	.194	-3.60	1.15	167.48
Brahman	0.323	0.019	.468	.219	-0.46	1.02	144.74
H/M Janajati	0.363	0.018	.481	.231	1.47	0.96	132.53
Tarai Janajati	0.312	0.031	.463	.215	-0.64	1.03	148.47
Madhesi	0.327	0.028	.469	.220	-0.20	1.01	143.45
Dalit	0.309	0.019	.462	.213	-1.15	1.04	149.65
Newar	0.499	0.037	.500	.250	4.40	0.89	100.12
Other	0.362	0.042	.481	.231	0.69	0.96	132.67
Nepal	0.333	0.009	.471	.222	Ref.	Ref.	141.56

Table 8. Distribution of households with own dwelling by ethnic group

Ethnic group	Households with own dwelling unit (N=5090/5988)				Tests and coeff. of variation		
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	t-test	F-test	CV
Chhetri	0.882	0.012	.322	.104	-1.06	0.89	36.50
Brahman	0.847	0.017	.360	.129	-2.75	0.72	42.43
H/M Janajati	0.880	0.011	.325	.105	-1.27	0.88	36.88
Tarai Janajati	0.941	0.014	.236	.056	2.93	1.66	25.14
Madhesi	0.930	0.012	.256	.065	2.47	1.42	27.49
Dalit	0.956	0.007	.205	.042	6.30	2.21	21.44
Newar	0.861	0.019	.346	.120	-1.83	0.77	40.22
Other	0.923	0.018	.266	.071	1.44	1.31	28.84
Nepal	0.897	0.006	.305	.093	Ref.	Ref.	33.97

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