

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background:

Nepal is one of the unique countries in the world which is characterized by a complex mixture of various religious, cultural, linguistic and caste/ethnic groups. According to the population census of 2001, there are 100 caste/ethnic groups and among them 59 are identified as Indigenous Nationalities by the National Foundation of Development of Indigenous Nationalities. Although the Nepalese society is comprised of various caste/ ethnic groups, we don't see such composition in the mechanisms of the state. The state mechanism whether it is legislative, judiciary or executive, each one is dominated by the so-called high castes Brahmins and Chhetris and Indigenous Nationalities along with Dalits, Madhesi and Women are excluded from it. Political parties are the key actors in democracy. However, in Nepal democracy is exclusionary as meaningful participation is limited to people belonging to a certain race, caste, sex, language, religion, region and class (Bhattachan, 2001). Research shows that hill Brahmins which consists only 12.7 percent of the total population of Nepal, have larger representation (50 percent) in all three major political parties (NC, CPN-UML and CPN- Maoist). The next dominant groups are Chhetris and Newars which constitute 17 percent and 5.5 percent of the total population respectively and occupy 13 and 7 percent respectively. The above mentioned three groups, which constitute only 35 percent of the total population in the country, have obtained 70 percent in the central committee's members in the three major political parties, while only 30 percent of the central committee member posts go to the 65 percent of the population. Similarly, Women who consists more than 50 percent of the total population obtained only 8 percent of party posts is pitiful in terms of their population of the Nepal. Madhesi representation obtained only 7 percent in party posts when their population consists of 33 percent, Janajati constitutes 37.2 of the total population but occupies only 13 percent of central committee of the major three political parties. However, Dalits comprised 12.9 percent of the total population of the Nepal and has only 3 percent representations (Yadhav, 2006).

Many Indigenous Nationalities participate in political parties as leaders, cadres, followers and sympathizers. If we look at the data of such representation, there is not proportional representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the committee of the parties, either the committee is of local or central level. Indigenous Nationalities, although being the son of land don't have access to the policy and decision making level. By nature they are simple and straight- forward and they do not have culture of active participation in politics. Moreover, the state and the political parties have not forwarded the appropriate policies to bring them in the mainstream of politics.

Nowadays, inclusion in the present context of Nepal has become a hot issue. Social inclusion can be defined as a process of promoting equitable access to both economic and social benefits of development without any discrimination of caste, descent, gender, religion, ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation, opinion or other characteristics (Tamrakar, 2006). In a democratic system, political party occupies a major role. So, for building an inclusive state first of all it is necessary to make the political parties inclusive. But the condition of the political parties of the Nepal is not inclusive. Actually a national party should represent the whole nation. That party is called as national party which reflect the picture of nation (Yatru, 2058:383). Analyzing the national conference of Nepali Congress held in Pokhara, Kumar Yatru had made a comment that Nepali Congress can not be considered as a national party though it is the largest party leading the government. In that conference, among 1404 representatives, 57.83 % khas/Arya, 19.94% Madhesi, 7.12% Newar, 0.15% dalits and 14.60% Janajati were present. The central committee members elected from that conference were 18 in number among which 16 were high castes khas/Arya. (for data, Yatru, 2058: 384-385). The case is similar in case of other parties too. Thus, there is less representation of Dalits, Madhesi, Indigenous Nationalities and Women in the organization of political parties. After the April revolution of 2006, the issue of inclusion is highly sounded in every field. In this context, the political parties have also shown concern about the inclusion of excluded groups in their parties. However they have not yet adopted appropriate policy and their approach is also not adequate. Indigenous Nationalities which comprises 37.2% of total population of Nepal is also excluded from the leadership of the political parties. So, it is significant to have an academic discourse on inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties.

Politics and society are very intimately related. The political phenomena influence and get influenced by the rest of the social structure and culture. Political sociology seeks to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision making authorities and conflicting social forces and interests. It is the study of interaction and linkages between politics and society, between a political system and its social, economic and cultural environment. It is concerned with problems regarding the management of conflict, the articulation of interests and issues, and political integration and organization (Ashraf & Sharma, 2001: 1). The issue of inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties can be studied under this branch of sociology.

1.2 Statement of the Problem:

Kaski district is inhabited by many Indigenous Nationalities mainly Gurung, Magar, Newar, Tamang and Thakali in a significant number. But their representation in the political parties is nominal. Most of them are engaged in their traditional works and many others are far away from their land for foreign employment. Their participation in the political activities is very low and thus excluded from the leadership of the parties. With the change in time they have also started to participate in the political activities but they have not got remarkable achievement. It is necessary to know the causes for the poor representation of the Indigenous Nationalities and the methods to represent them inclusively.

This study is based on the following research questions:

- i. What is the condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties?
- ii. What are the factors responsible for the poor representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties?
- iii. What is the attitude of Indigenous Nationalities towards political participation and inclusive representation in the political parties?
- iv. What is the attitude of different political parties for inclusive representation in their parties?
- v. What would be the role of social organizations of Indigenous Nationalities and political parties for inclusive representation?
- vi. How could the Indigenous Nationalities be inclusively represented in political parties?

1.3 Objectives of the Study:

The general objective of this study is to study about the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- i. To study the condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities in political parties of Kaski District.
- ii. To study the role of Indigenous Nationalities and political parties for inclusive representation.
- iii. To suggest about the methods with which the Indigenous Nationalities could be inclusively represented in political parties.

1.4. Definition of Terms:

- a. Indigenous Nationality:

A tribe or community who has its own mother tongue and traditional culture and yet does not fall under the conventional fourfold VARNA of HINDU VARNA system or the Hindu hierarchical caste structure.

- b. Political Party:

"A political party is an organized group of citizens who profess to share the same political views and who, by acting as a political unit, try to control the government". Communist party of Nepal (Unified Marxist Leninist), Nepali Congress, Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and Rastriya Prajatantra Party are the major political parties of Kaski district.

- c. Political Participation:

The term "Political Participation" refers to those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and, directly or indirectly, in the formation of the public policy. It is the involvement of groups and individuals at various levels in the political system.

- d. Inclusive Representation in the Political Parties :

Inclusive representation in the political parties refers to the representation of all caste/ethnic, gender, linguistic, religious, cultural, and regional groups in the committee of the political parties both at local and central level in an adequate number.

1.5 Rationale of the Study:

In a country like Nepal where various ethnic, linguistic, gender, religious, and regional groups are out of the mainstream of politics, the subject of inclusion is of great significance. Along with other excluded group Indigenous Nationalities have been raising voice for their inclusion in all the mechanisms of the state since a long time. Now, this voice is highly sounded after the revolution of April 2006. They have sought for their space in "New Nepal" and it has been an important agenda on the national discourse.

The continuation of pervasive ethnic/caste discrimination and inequality and the growing awareness about them could turn violent if the state and the dominant group ignore the problem. If Nepal wants to avoid the possibilities of violent conflict, it has to address the underling causes of such conflicts. The state and the society have to eliminate discrimination along ethnic/caste lines and include different socio-cultural groups in the governance of the country (Lawoti, 2005).

Many scholars have written a lot about the issue of inclusion of excluded groups in the state. However, without the inclusion of excluded groups in the political parties, inclusion in the other mechanisms of the state can not be imagined. So, this study is expected to address about the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties. Political party is the base through which inclusion can be started and the Indigenous Nationalities along with other excluded groups could be brought in the mainstream of the state. The present study will focus on the causes of exclusion of Indigenous Nationalities from the political parties and the ways with which they could be inclusively represented in the parties. With the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties, inclusive state can be formed. Thus, the study is oriented towards the formation of inclusive state where no one has to be excluded in the name of caste/ethnicity.

1.6 Limitations of the Study:

This study is an academic research which has been undertaken with in boundary of certain time and budget. This study is about the Indigenous Nationalities of Kaski district. As there are different groups of Indigenous Nationalities in different places of Nepal, the findings and conclusion of the study may not be widely generalized exactly in the same manner for other group of Indigenous Nationalities of

other places. This study is about the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties at district level. So, the findings and the conclusion may not be generalized at national level. This study only covers four political parties viz. Nepal Congress, Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist Leninist), Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and Rastriya Prajatantra Party as they are the major political parties of Kaski district and other political parties are not taken in account.

1.7 Conceptual Framework:

Figure 1.1 : Conceptual Framework on Inclusive Representation of Indigenous Nationalities.

The main focus of the study is the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties. To fulfill it the researcher had drawn the above conceptual frame work.

Indigenous Nationalities is a major component of the society. They have political participation but due to lack of political awareness, lack of education, priority for foreign employment and high caste domination, their representation is low. Political parties and social organizations of Indigenous Nationalities also lack appropriate policy for the inclusive representation. If they bring appropriate policy and play an effective role, they can contribute for the inclusive representation. The methods such as promoting active participation, reservation and proportional representation will lead to the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities.

1.8 Organization of the Study:

This thesis consists of eight chapters according to the nature of the study. It begins with the introduction and ends with the summary, conclusion and recommendation. The first chapter deals with background of the study along with the statement of the problem, research objectives, its limitations, definitions of terms, rationale of the study and conceptual frame work. The second chapter includes the theoretical overview and review of related literature. The third chapter includes the methods adopted in this study and the fourth chapter includes the political–social and demographic background of the study area.

Similarly, chapter five deals about the condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities in political parties. It makes a comparative study of the four political parties and deals about the low representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties. The sixth deals with the role of Indigenous Nationalities and political parties for inclusive representation and the seventh chapter deals about the methods for inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities. In the last chapter, the summary, conclusion and recommendation are presented.

CHAPTER - II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical Overview:

a. Political Sociology:

Ever since the time of Aristotle, thinkers have been making systematic study of concrete political phenomena. They have been observing how political phenomena influence and get influenced by the rest of the social structure and culture. In this regard, Aristotle's 'politics' may be taken as a work of political sociology. Ferguson, Montesquieu, and Tocqueville were all engaged in what today would be called political sociology. The classical sociologists like Weber (his essay 'Politics as Vocation') and Pareto (his work 'The mind and Society') were pioneers in including a political sociology in their work. Further, Karl Marx in Germany, Mosco in Italy and Graham Wallas in England advanced so essentially sociological theories of political elites and of the processes of consensus and dissent. Also Andre Siegfried of pre-1914 France made a detailed study of this social group and interests in voting behaviors. The phrase 'Political sociology' to describe this tradition only came into general use after 1945.

Ever since the birth of sociology, the analysis of political processes and institution has been one of its most important concerns. Sociologists argue and many political scientists agree that it is difficult to study political process except as special cases of more general psychological and sociological relationships. The term "Political Sociology" has come to be accepted both within sociology and political science as encompassing the overlap between the two sciences. However, the political scientist is primarily concerned with the dimension of power and the factors affecting its distribution. The sociologist, on the other hand, is more concerned with social control, with the way in which the values and norms of a society regulate relations. His emphasis is on social ties, rather than on formal structures and legal definitions.

As Smelser N.J. says, "Political Sociology can be defined as the study of the interrelationship between society and polity, between social structures and political institutions." Political sociology is not solely the study of the social factors that condition the political order.

Political sociology employs the methods of sociological research, including those of attitude research to investigate the content of political behaviour. It treats political institutions, both formal or constitutional and informal, as parts of the social system. It has concentrated attention on 'elites' and their membership, on the expression and regulation of conflict, on formal pressure groups, on the formation of political opinion. Political sociologists have been concerned with political parties as social institutions and with the phenomena of despotic and totalitarian regimes. It is an integral part of sociology which has progressively transformed political science in the direction of a wider attention to empirical reality (Rao, 2004: 33-34).

Political sociology seeks to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision making authorities and conflicting social forces and interests. It is the study of interactions and linkages between politics and society; between a political system and its social, economic and cultural environment. It is concerned with problems regarding the management of conflict, the articulation of interests and issues, and political integration and organization. The focal point in all these concerns is the interdependence and the interplay of socio-cultural, economic and political elements.

The task of the political sociologist is to study the political process as a continuum of interactions between society and its decision makers and between the decision making institutions and social forces.

Two groups of scholars have discussed the scope of political sociology in two different ways. According to Greer and Orleans, political sociology is concerned with the structure of the state; the nature and conditions of legitimacy; the nature of the monopoly of force and its use by the state; and the nature of the sub units and their relation with the state. They treat political sociology in terms of consensus and legitimacy, participation and representation, and the relationship between economic development and political change. By implication, whatever is related to the state is alone held as the subject matter of political sociology. Andreu Effrat takes a broader view of the picture and suggests that political sociology is concerned with the causes, patterns, and consequences of the distribution and process of the power and authority in all social systems. Among social systems he includes small groups and families, educational and religious groups, as well as governmental or political institutions.

Lipset and Bendix suggest a more representative catalogue of topics when they describe the main areas of interest to political sociologists, as voting behaviour;

concentration of economic power and political decision making; ideologies of political movements and interest groups, political parties, voluntary associations, the problems of oligarchy and psychological correlates of political behavior; and the problem of bureaucracy. To Dowse and Hughes, one area of substantive concern for the political sociologist is the problem of social order and political obedience.

Richard G. Braungart has pointed out that political sociologists are concerned with the dynamic association among and between (a) the social origins of politics, (b) the structure of politics or the political process, and (c) the effects of politics on the surrounding society and culture. We would suggest that political sociology should include five areas: political structures (social class/caste, elite, interest groups, bureaucracy, political parties and factions); political life (electoral process, political communication, opinion formation and so on); political leadership (bases, types and operation of community power structure); and political development (concept and indices of its measurement, its social bases and prerequisites and its relationship to social change and modernization). To illustrate, we may point out that on the one hand, sociologists focus their attention on the sub areas of the social system, and political scientists concentrate on the study of law, local, state and national governments, comparative government, political systems, public administration, and international relations. On the other hand, political sociologists ought to be concerned with topics of social stratification and political power; socio-economic systems and political regimes, interest groups, political parties, bureaucracy, political socialization, electoral behaviour, social movements and political mobilization.

The conflict goes on between political scientists and sociologists who reflect different orientations and approaches. While a sociologist generally emphasizes the primacy of social forces, a political scientist stresses the autonomy and creative role of politics. But ideological commitment of the scholars in question also intrude into the controversy. The Marxist scholars treat economic or social variables as determinants of political phenomena. They find it difficult to accept politics as an autonomous and interdependent (or independent) function. They don't appreciate the autonomy of politics because they believe in the dogma that politics is the superstructure, the character of which is totally conditioned by the modes and relations of production, and it can't but reflect the dominant class interest in a society.

Political sociology must develop as a theoretical and methodological bridge between the two disciplines of political science and sociology. A political sociologist

studies political behaviour within sociological perspective. But while doing so, he must pay due attention to political questions and political parameters (Ashraf and Sharma, 2001: 7-11).

b. Sociology of Political Parties:

The Communist view of a party as the representation of class has inspired studies into the sociology of political parties. Behavioural enquiries have also been made concerning the relationship of the individuals' standard of living, his profession and his education with his political affiliation. This school attributes the essence of the political party to the social composition of the rank-and-file membership that is to their affiliation with identifiable social or economic classes in the population. Thus the Whig Party in the England in 17th and 18th centuries was connected with the great financial and mercantile interest, while the Tory Party stood for the landed nobility, the country squires and the established church. In the United States, the Federalist Party was largely composed of bankers, businessmen, large capitalistic planters, and members of the professions, while the Democratic Republican party of Jefferson represented the small farmers, inhabitants of back-country areas, city workers and skilled artisans.

The tendency to treat parties as reflection of a particular class has been widespread in modern times. The approach has also been extended to tracing the influence of factors such as caste, ethnicity, nationality, race or religion, on political affiliation. This approach is based on the consideration that ideological and doctrinal beliefs are 'determined' by material factors or group affiliations. However, Avery Leiserson, among others, rightly argues that in many situations, the converse can be true. Many party leaders and personalities profess doctrinal beliefs and act in policy controversies squarely in contradiction with their class or caste situation and thus deliberately attempt to declass and decaste themselves. How do we explain such individuals' behaviour if we are to regard all behaviour as group behaviour? Moreover this approach neglects or minimizes the structural aspect, internal organization and external governmental relationships of the party and influences of leadership behaviour. It can not explain deviations of party policy from the professed norms of group belief except on grounds of moral deficiency or political expediency. We must also appreciate that parties and party system not only reflect society, but also seek to change and mould it (Ashraf and Sharma, 2001: 90-91).

c. Concept of Indigenous Nationalities:

Before talking about Indigenous Nationalities, first of all it is necessary to be clear about ethnic group. There is a wide divergence among scholars regarding meaning and interpretation of the term 'ethnic group' or 'ethnic community'. For some it refers to a small community with archaic characteristics. For others the term refers to both small and large communities not only in backward societies but also in advanced industrialized ones. Due to this confusion over meaning and interpretation working definition refers to an ethnic group as either a large or small group of people, in either backward or advanced societies, who are united by a common inherited culture (including language, music, food, dress, and customs and practices), social similarity, common religion and belief in common history and ancestry and who exhibit a strong psychological sentiment of belonging to the group (Ganguli & Ray; 1989:9).

According to David I. Siils, "An ethnic group is a distinct category of the population in a larger society whose culture is usually different from its own. The members of such a group are, or feel themselves or one thought to be, bound together by common ties of race or nationality or culture."(1972: 167).

In the same way, "An ethnic group is generally conceived to be one whose members share a distinctive social and cultural tradition, maintained with in the group from generation to generation, whether as part of a more complex society or in isolation. This mode of social differentiation has it own distinguishing characteristics" (Maciver and Page; 1996: 386).

Despite the considerable amount of attention devoted to the subject, scholars have not reached a consensus on the precise meaning of ethnicity. Since ethnicity is such a complex concept, many scholars have chosen to identify ethnic groups as those groups characterized by some of the following fourteen features; common geographical origins; migratory status; race; language or dialect; religious faith or faiths; ties that transcend kinship, neighborhood, and community boundaries; shared traditions, values and symbols; literature; folklore and music; food preferences; settlement and employment patterns; special interests in regard to politics; institutions that specifically serve and maintain the group; and internal sense of distinctiveness; and an external perception of distinctiveness (Magil, 2003: 473).

Indigenous people are descendants of the original inhabitants of many lands, strikingly varied in their cultural, religious and pattern of social and economic

organization.....all Indigenous peoples retain a strong sense of their distinct cultures, the most salient features of which is special relationship to the land (UNO draft declaration; cited at Chhapama Janajati; 2001:35).

The National Foundation of Development of Indigenous Nationalities defines Indigenous Nationalities according to the National Foundation of Development of Indigenous Nationalities Act, 2002 as "a tribe or community who has its own mother tongue and traditional culture and yet does not fall under the conventional fourfold VARNA of HINDU VARNA system or the Hindu hierarchical caste structure."

Each Indigenous nationality has the following characteristics:

-) A distinct collective identity.
-) Own language, religion, tradition, culture and civilization.
-) Own traditional egalitarian social structure.
-) Traditional home land or geographical area.
-) Written or oral history.
-) Having we feeling.
-) Has had no decisive role in the politics and government of modern Nepal.
-) Who are the Indigenous or native people of Nepal and
-) Who declares itself as "Janajati".

The National Foundation of Development of Indigenous Nationalities recognized 59 Indigenous Nationalities. They are:

Table 2.1 : Indigenous Nationalities of Nepal

Mountain Region:		Hilly Region:		Inner Terai:	Terrai:
1. Wallung	2. Topkegola	19.Limbu	20.Lepcha	43. Majhi	49.Meche
3. Thudam	4. Sherpa	21.Yakha	22.Rai	44. Danuwar	50.Kisan
5. Larke	6. Siyar	23.Sunuwar	24.Hayu	45. Bote	51.Satar(Santhal)
7. Barah Gaule	8. Tangbe	25.Jirel	26.Thami	46. Darai	52.Rajbanshi
9. Thakali	10. Chhαιrotan	27.Surel	28.Tamang	47. Kumal	53.Tajpuria
11. Dolpo	12. Lhopa	29.Hyolmo	30.Pahari	48. Raji	54.Dhimal
13. Mugali	14. Bhote	31.Newar	32.Bankariya		55.Ganagai
15. Byansi.		33.Chepang	34.Free		56.Jhangad
16. Marphali Thakali		35.Baramo	36.Kusunda		57.Dhanuk
17. Tin Gaule Thakali		37.Bhujel	38.Gurung		(Rajbansi)
18. Lhomi (Shingsawa)		39.Dura	40.Chhantyal		58.Tharu
		41.Magar	42.Raute		59.Kuswadiya.

Source: National Foundation of Development of Indigenous Nationalities (www.nfdin.gov.np)

In a context when words like ethnic/ethnicity, nationality, native and indigenous have become loaded terms bound to have long term implications, another attempt at classification read thus;

A Janajati means a group that is not divided into castes while adibasi or indigenous means earlier inhabitants. In the Nepali context, janajati means a group with its own particular homeland, language, religious ceremony and culture, while caste means a group divided into high/low varnashram and speaking an Indo-Aryan language and following Hindu religion and culture. Another difference is that most janajatis are mongal/kirot while all castes belong to the Caucasoid/Khasa race. From the perspective of time, most janajatis of Nepal are the indigenous people of the country, with the exception of some janajatis of the mountains (Bhot) and of eastern terai who came later. And although most of the thread-wearing (tagadhari) castes and dalits came later, the alcohol drinking (matuwali) Khasa of karnali are the indigenous people of the country.

However, despite differences in meaning between janajati and adibasi or indigenous, both these groups in Nepal share considerable similarities in practical aspects. The commonalities between these two groups are their own habitat and language, animism and ancestor worship, traditional culture, not divided into castes, and devoid of power and resources. The encroachment on the territories of these two groups, expansion of the Nepali language, Hinduisation of their religion and culture, and economic/political exploitation are the realities of modern Nepali history. As a result, most Janajatis in Nepal are economically and politically backward. (Gurung et. al. 2000, cited at Serchan, 2001: 76).

Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Rai, Limbu, Thakali, Sherpa, Bhote, Raute, Chepang, Tharu, Majhi, Rajbansi, Dhimal, etc. which are considered as Janajati in Nepal are called by some as tribe, by some as ethnic groups, by some as indigenous people or by some as minority people. Although the characteristics which are found in these words are more or less similar to the Janajati of Nepal, these English words have not been translated in real Nepali meaning in the way it incorporate the overall aspects of Janajati of Nepal. So, all these words are limited as terminological subterfuge. UN, in the year 1993, while celebrating the international year of Indigenous people defined 'Janajati' as the Indigenous people. But the word Indigenous is more related with the time and geographical aspect than the other different aspect of janajati. So, the word nationality has been used as synonym of Janajati. The word Nationalities can

represent the overall aspects of Janajati in comparison to other words and the national-international economic, political and historical process has played an important role in the development of the word 'Nationalities'. So in the context of Nepal it is more relevant to use 'Nationalities', as a better word to define 'Janajati'. Nationalities means the independent and sovereign people's community which lives in a definite geographical area, having its own language and culture, having the right of self determination and can have relation to each other through economic activities. The NEFIN (Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities) has defined Janajati of Nepal as Indigenous Nationalities (Gurung, 2063: 359-360).

d. Social Exclusion and Inclusion:

The terms social inclusion and social exclusion originated in Europe in response to the crisis of the welfare state and the fear of social disintegration caused by social and economic crisis, but have now gained wide currency worldwide, including in Nepal, especially in the literature on development and social policy and perhaps to some extent in popular discourse (Pradhan, 2006).

Social Exclusion:

As summarized by de Haan (1998: 12-13), especially from development and social policy perspectives, the characteristics of social exclusion are:

-) Social exclusion is defined as the opposite to social integration, which reflects the perceived importance of being part of society, being integrated.
-) It is multi-dimensional concept. It refers to exclusion (deprivation) in the economics, social and political sphere. It goes beyond the analysis of resource allocation mechanisms, and includes power relations, agency, culture and identity.
-) Social exclusion can refer to a state or situation, but it often refers to processes, to the mechanisms by which people are excluded. The focus is on the institutions that enable and constrain human interaction.

Another definition that of a European Commission report uses T.H. Marshall's notion of social citizenship, emphasizing rights." Here we define social exclusion first and foremost in relation to the social rights of citizens....."(Rome et al. 1992:14, cited in Hillary 1994-6:566). This view is elaborated by Bhalla and Lapeyre (1997:415) who comment that:

The European Commission emphasizes the idea that each citizen has the right to a certain basic standard of living and a right to participate in the major social and occupational institutions of the society-employment, housing, health care, education and so on. Social exclusion occurs when citizens suffer from disadvantage and are unable to secure these social rights.

It is further argued in another EU document that "complete social exclusion is the final culmination of a series of specific exclusions from basic rights" (de Haan n.d:26, fn.8). Citizens have rights to the products and values of a society and to be integrated (or participate fully in the society) (de Haan n: d: 38).

In a policy paper on social exclusion and conflict, Frances Stewart (2006) quoting Beall & Piron (2004), states that social exclusion consists of "exclusion from social, political and economic institutions resulting from a complex and dynamic set of processes and relationships that prevent individuals or groups from accessing resources, participating in society and asserting their rights" (Beall & Piron 2004, quoted in Stewart 2006:4).

Stewart then lists several key aspects of social exclusion including the fact that it is multidimensional, that exclusion is a process and that agency is involved ("the behaviour of particular agents and institutions leads to the exclusion of certain groups"); that it is a feature of groups rather than individuals (groups are distinguished by their culture, religion, colour, gender, nationality, migration status, caste and so on); that it is relational in that its definition depends on what is normal in that particular society. Stewart also makes the point, not always made so directly by many authors that "lack of power, or unequal power relations, is at the root of every type of exclusion" (Stewart 2006: 4, cited in Pradhan 2006:5-7).

Dimensions of social exclusion:

Dimension

Indicators

Economic

- Long-term unemployment
- Casualization and job insecurity.
- Workless households.
- Income poverty

Social

- Breakdown of traditional households.
- Unwanted tennage pregnancies
- Homelessness
- Crime
- Disaffected youth

Political	Disempowerment Lack of political rights Low registration of voters Low voter turnout Low levels of community activity Alienation/lack of confidence in political processes Social disturbance/disorder
Neighbourhood	Environmental degradation Decaying housing stock With drawl of local services Collapse of support networks
Individual	Mental and physical ill health Educational underachievement/low skills Loss of self-esteem/confidence
Spatial	Concentration/marginalization of vulnerable groups
Group	Concentration of above characteristics in particular groups: elderly, disabled, ethnic minorities. (Percy - Smith, 2000: 9)

Social exclusion is often described as the process by which individuals and groups are deprived from participation in their society, as a consequence of low income and constricted access to employment, social benefits and services, and to various aspects of cultural and community life. Equally, it is a multi-dimensional concept, involving economic, social, political, and cultural aspects of disadvantage and deprivation. Generally, Nepal's Hindu-dominated society has excluded four groups of people from the contemporary development process either through political exclusion (decentralized efforts of development, basic citizenship rights, etc.) or through economic exclusion (concentrated urban market centers) or through social exclusion (socio-cultural attributes—a legacy of age old culture, etc.). These four groups are: i) Dalits or lower caste people, ii) Indigenous people or Janajati, iii) Madhesi or Terai inhabitants and iv) Women. (SIRF, 2006: ix).

In analyzing the problems of exclusion faced by the marginalized socio-cultural groups in Nepal, three core reasons for exclusion stand out. First, the lack of socio-cultural-political autonomy has hindered the development of many socio-cultural groups. The absence of such autonomy has meant that these groups have not been able to decide on matters relating to their culture, lifestyles and other issues that affect them. When people can not decide about matters that affect them, they face disadvantages. People themselves are the best judge of what is good for them. When this autonomy is constrained, it is a curb on their abilities, opportunities and growth. The unitary structure of the state, which does not provide group autonomy, is responsible for depriving many socio-cultural groups of autonomy. Second, the state institutions favour the dominant group and discriminate against the marginalized socio-cultural groups. For instance, conducting government business in Khas-Nepali language means that the non-native speakers of the language, who are more than a majority in Nepal, will be disadvantaged. It is not surprising that no khas-Nepali native speakers do not perform well in the civil service exam conducted in the Khas Nepali language. Third, the lack of minority rights has disadvantaged the socio-cultural groups. In the absence of any constraints on majoritarianism, the marginalized socio-cultural groups are facing the tyranny of the majority in various aspects of their everyday life. The adoption of the dominant language as the only language for government business is an example of such a tyranny. The adoption of the dominant religion as the state religion is another good example of this problem (Lawoti, 2005:25-26).

Social Inclusion:

The intuitive core of the idea of inclusion looks simple enough. It is the idea that every member of a society should participate fully in it. The social idea that inclusion expresses is an ideal of common membership: no one is denied access to activities and practice that are central in life of society. An inclusionary society is a cohesive society (Gray, 2000:23).

The DFID/ World Bank report defines social inclusion as "the removal of institutional barriers and the enhancement of incentives to increase the access of diverse individuals and groups to development opportunities" (DFID/World Bank 2005:5).

Young (2000:11) points out that there may be grounds for the critics of (political) inclusion to argue that inclusion may presuppose "an already given set of

procedures, institutions, and the terms of the public discourse into which those excluded or marginalized are incorporated without change." The critics fear that inclusion can be under adverse terms in that the excluded are included or incorporated on the condition that they accept or at least conform to the hegemonic norms and discourses of the dominant groups. The aim of promoting inclusion in Europe is social cohesion, that is, to fit the excluded groups ('misfits') into the dominant norms and institutions.

The ideal type of inclusive society seeks to illuminate the conditions of and possibilities for social inclusion: here inclusion is specified primarily in terms of meaningful participation in process of deliberative democracy. Here, political projects seeking to maximize social inclusion necessarily implicate a social compact, emphasizing the pursuit of common purposes and the sharing of collective rights and obligations. To that end, the type proposes a political praxis of social justice as the necessary complement of such relations of compact: the social realization of these relations depends upon a chronic pursuit of a comprehensive equality of opportunity to participate in collective determinations of social outcomes. This involves the recognition that a politics of inequality remain central to projects of social inclusion in two ways: first in relation to the way in which diverse inequalities, such as class, gender and/or ethnicity, can be demonstrated to present obstacles to practical participation in substantive process of deliberate democracy and, secondly, in relation to the way in which inequalities of power such as those of capital and state domination, necessarily provide important items for any democratic political agenda (Stewart, 2000:65-66).

'Social inclusion can be defined as a process of promoting equitable access to both economic and social benefits of development without any discrimination of caste, descent, gender, religion, ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation, opinion or other characteristics (Tamrakar,2006).

e. The Extent of Exclusion and the Necessity of Inclusion:

Our country Nepal which lies between two big countries China and India is considered as a rich and unique country from cultural point of view. Prithivi Narayan Shah, the unifier and founder of modern Nepal has described Nepal as a garden of four 'Varnas' and thirty- six castes. Similarly, Tony Hegen after a long and deep study of Nepali society and culture has called Nepal as the best mosaic of ethnic groups and culture of Asia. The country with geographical and biological diversity encompasses

various caste/ethnic groups, language/ dialects, cultures and religions. According to the population census of 2001, there are 100 identified caste/ethnic groups, 92 language groups and more than a dozen of religious groups. Although Nepali society is characterized by such diversity we do not see these diverse representations in the state mechanism whether it is legislative, executive or judiciary. The state mechanisms are very exclusive in nature.

The following tables show the condition of representation of various caste/ethnic groups in the mechanisms of the state.

Table 2.2: Caste/Ethnic Representation in the House of Representative:

Caste/ Ethnicity	Popula tion (%)	2015		2048		2051		2056	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Khas/Arya high castes	30.89	64	58.71	114	55.61	129	62.93	122	59.51
Madhesi high castes	13.68	18	16.51	18	8.78	22	10.73	29	14.14
Indigenous Nationalities									
a. Pahadi	21.93	17	15.59	34	16.58	24	11.71	28	13.66
b. Madhesi	9.81	4	3.66	19	9.27	14	6.83	10	4.88
c. Newar	5.48	4	3.66	14	6.83	12	5.85	14	6.83
Dalits									
a. Pahadi	7.87			1	0.49				
b. Madhesi	5.02								
Muslims & Sikhs	4.30	2	1.83	5	2.44	4	1.95	2	0.98
Unidentified	1.02								
Total	100	109	100	205	100	205	100	205	100
Male		108	99.08	198	96.6	198	96.6	193	94.15
Female		1	0.02	7	3.4	7	3.4	12	5.85

Source: For the data of 2015, Nepal Rastriya Darpan and for the data of 2048, 2051 and 2056, the results of election published by Election commission, cited in Shrestha, 2006.

From the above table it is clear that high castes Khas/Arya have occupied double percentage of seats than the total percentage of their population. High castes Madhesi and Newars have sometime occupied more and sometime less seats but in general they have occupied equivalent percentage of seats with the percentage of their population. The Indigenous Nationalities (Pahadi & Madhesi) have less representation and the condition of Muslims and Shiks is the same as well. The condition of

representation of Dalits is very miserable. They have no representation at all in the house of representative in 2015, 2051 and 2056 and have got just one seat in 2048. The condition of representation of women shows that they are still marginalized although their representation have increased from 0.02% (2015) to 5.85% (2056).

Table .2.3: Caste/Ethnic Representation in Maha Sava /Rastriya Sava :

Caste/Ethnicity	2015		2048		2052		2058	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
High castes Khas/Arya	21	58.33	33	55	33	55	36	60
High castes Madhesi	2	5.56	6	10	7	11.67	4	6.67
Indigenous Nationalities								
a. Pahadi	5	13.89	8	13.33	5	8.33	9	15
b. Madhesi			2	3.33	3	5	1	1.67
c. Newar	7	19.44	8	13.33	9	15	5	8.33
Dalits								
a. Pahadi			2	3.33	3	5	3	5
b. Madhesi							1	1.67
Muslim& Sikhs	1	2.78	1	1.67			1	1.67
Total	36	100	60	100	60	100	60	100
Male	35	97.22	57	95	55	91.67	52	86.67
Female	1	2.78	3	5	5	8.33	8	13.32

Source: For the data of 2015, Nepal Rastriya Darpan and for the data of 2048, 2052 and 2058, the results of election published by Election commission, cited in Shrestha, 2006.

The House of Representative is the institution which represents the people. The elected persons from the people works as the representative of the people. But Rastriya Sava is not directly elected from the people. It is believed that it should depict the diversity of the state. But the above table shows that the condition of caste/ethnic representation of Rastriya Sava is also same as that of House of Representative. High castes Khas/Arya and Madhesi and Newar are in advantage while Indigenous Nationalities (Pahadi and Madhesi) have not got representation proportionate to their population. Although Dalits have got some chances to represent and their representation is more than the House of Representative but it is not sufficient. The condition of representation of women seems improving but still it is not sufficient if we account the population of women.

Table 2.4: Caste/Ethnic Representation in the Council of Ministry:

Caste/ Ethnicity	2007		2015		2048		2051		2058		2062	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
High castes Khas/Arya	8	80	10	52.63	10	66.67	11	73.33	20	62.5	13	52
High castes Madhesi	1	10	2	10.53	1	6.67			2	6.25	2	8
Indigenous Nationalities												
a. Pahadi			5	26.32	1	6.67	2	13.33	5	15.63	4	16
b. Madhesi			1	5.26					3	9.37		
c. Newar	1	10	1	5.26	2	13.33	1	6.67	2	6.25	4	16
Dalits												
a. Pahadi											1	4
b. Madhesi												
Muslim & Sikhs					1	6.67	1	6.67			1	4
Total	10	100	19	100	15	100	15	100	32	100	25	100
Male	10	100	18	94.74	14	93.33	15	100	30	94.75	23	92
Female			1	5.26	1	6.67			2	6.25	2	8

Source : For the data of 2007 & 2015, Nepal Rastriya Darpan and for others, the secretariat of council of ministry, cited in Shrestha, 2006.

The above table makes it clear that there is domination of Khas/Arya in the council of ministry since 2015B.S. The percentage of representation of Newar in the council is double than the percentage of their population in three cases while have got proportionate representation in other three cases. High castes Madhesi, Muslims and Pahadi Indigenous Nationalities have no representation equal to the proportion of their population.

Similarly, the representation of Women and Madhesi Indigenous Nationalities is very low and the Dalits have just nominal representation in the council of ministry.

Table 2.5: Secretaries and Special Class Officials:

Caste/Ethnicity	2009		2016		2048		2051		2058		2062	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
High castes Khas/Arya	8	80	7	63.64	27	72.97	40	80	34	68	47	87.04
High castes Madhesi			1	9.09	3	8.11	1	2	2	4	1	1.85
Indigenous Nationalities												
a. Pahadi					1	2.70	1	2	1	2	2	3.70
b. Madhesi												
c. Newar	2	20	3	27.27	6	16.22	8	16	13	26	4	7.41
Dalits												
a. Pahadi												
b. Madhesi												
Muslims & Sikhs												
Total	10	100	11	100	37	100	50	100	50	100	54	100
Male	10	100	11	100	37	100	49	98	49	98	54	100
Female							1	2	1	2		

Source : For the data of 2009 and 2016, Nepal Rastriya Darpan and for others, secretariat of the council of Ministry cited in Shrestha, 2006.

From the above table it is clear that there is also high domination of Khas/Arya in the bureaucracy. These groups occupy more than 60% of the total secretaries and special class official posts. The percentage is even higher i.e 87% in the year 2062. Being the Indigenous people of kathmandu valley, the centre of administration, Newar have occupied remarkable position in the bureaucracy but other Indigenous Nationalities have very less representation. The other group dalits have no representation at all in the post of secretaries and special class officials. The women have got just one representative in the year 2051 & 2058 and no representation at all in other years. Thus, the bureaucracy of Nepal is very exclusive in nature.

Table 2.6: Judges in Supreme Court:

Caste/Ethni city	2009		2016		2048		2051		2058		2062	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
High castes Khas/Arya	3	60	8	80	9	60	11	61.11	15	71.43	14	77.78
High castes Madhesi	1	20	1	10	3	20	4	22.22	2	9.52	1	5.55
Indigenous Nationalities												
a. Pahadi												
b. Madhesi												
c. Newar	1	20	1	10	3	20	3	16.67	4	19.05	3	16.67
Dalits												
a. Pahadi												
b. Madhesi												
Muslim & shiks												
Total	5	100	10	100	15	100	18	100	21	100	18	100
Male	5	100	10	100	15	100	18	100	20	95.24	16	88.89
Female									1	4.76	2	11.11

Source : "Annual Reports of Supreme Court," cited in Shrestha 2006.

If we look at the above table it is clear that there is also domination of high castes khas/Arya in the judiciary. The representation of high castes Khas/Arya is the highest in the Supreme Court. After them, Newar and high castes Madhesi occupies 2nd and 3rd place respectively. Besides these three groups there is no representation of any other groups in the judiciary of Supreme Court. The representation of women is just nominal Thus, the judiciary in Nepal is also exclusive.

**Table 2.7: Caste/ Ethnic Representation in Interim
Parliament/ Legislative 2062:**

S.N	Parties	Brahmin	Chhetri	Newar	Madhesi	Janajati	Dalit	Male	Female	Total
1.	N.C	39	14	6	15	10	1	78	7	85
	%	45.9	17	7.1	17.5	11.8	1	91.8	8.2	100
2.	CPN (UML)	32	13	6	14	16	2	69	14	83
	%	38.6	16	7.2	16.9	19.3	2	83.1	16.9	100
3.	CPN (Maoist)	15	8	8	21	19	12	52	31	83
	%	18.1	9.6	9.6	25.3	22.9	14.5	62.7	37.3	100
4.	NC (D)	13	16	3	11	5	0	45	3	48
	%	27.1	33	6.3	22.9	10.4	0	93.8	6.3	100
5.	NSP(A)	0	0	0	5	0	0	4	1	5
	%	0	0	0	100	0	0	80	20	100
6.	NSP(K)	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
	%	0	0	0	100	0	0	100	0	100
7.	NMKP	0	1	3	0	0	0	4	0	4
	%	0	25	75	0	0	0	100	0	100
8.	RPP	0	3	1	3	0	0	6	1	7
	%	0	42.9	14	42.9	0	0	85.7	14.3	100
9.	RJP	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	%	0	100	0	0	0	0	100	0	100
10.	JMN-KC	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
	%	66.7	33.3	0	0	0	0	100	0	100
11.	SBMN	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
	%	66.7	33.33	0	0	0	0	100	0	100
12.	SJMN-A	1	0	1	1	1	0	3	1	4
	%	25	0	25	25	25	0	75	25	100
13.	SJN-P	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
	%	50	50	0	0	0	0	100	0	100
	Total	105	59	28	71	51	15	271	58	329
	%	31.9	17.9	8.5	21.6	15.5	4.6	82.4	17.6	100

Source: Yadav, 2006, "Inclusive Democracy and political parties in post-April 2006 period", Nepal telegraph.

The above table shows that the representation of excluded groups: Women, Madhesi, Indigenous Nationalities and Dalits in the current Interim parliament/ Legislative is dismally low. Out of 329 members of the Interim parliament/ legislative, the Women, Madhesi, Indigenous Nationalities and Dalits occupy 17.6, 21.6, 15.5 and 4.6 respectively. CPN -Maoist has given adequate representation that is 37.3 percent to Women, 25.3 percent to Madhesi, 22.9 percent to Indigenous Nationalities and 14.5 percent to Dalit which is comparatively better than other parties. Moreover, if there was no representation of CPN-maoist in the interim parliament, the inclusion of the excluded groups in the interim parliament would have been even more piteous that what it is now.

Table 2.8 : Caste/Ethnic Representation in the Council of the Ministry of Interim Government, 2063:

Caste/Ethnicity	Number	Percentage
High castes Khas/Arya	11	47.82
High castes Madeshi	4	17.39
Indigenous Nationalities		
a. Pahadi	4	17.39
b. Madeshi		
c. Newar	2	8.69
Dalits		
a. Pahadi	2	8.69
b. Madeshi		
Total	23	100
Male	21	91.30
Female	2	8.69

Source : Secretariat of the Council of Ministry

The above table makes it clear that there is domination of high castes Khas/Arya in the council of ministry of interim government 2063 too. Newar has a respectable representation but other Indigenous Nationalities have very less representation with respect to their population. Madhesi has the representation of 17.39% but all the representatives of Madhesi belong to high castes. No madhesi from the community of Indigenous Nationalities and dalits have representation in the council of ministry. Dalits and Women have the same 8.69% of representation which is very low if we consider their total population. Thus, the Council of Ministry of Interim Government is also exclusive in nature. The Interim government was formed after the revolution of April 2006 in which the agenda of inclusion was highly sounded. But the structure of the ministry shows that in implementation the political leadership of Nepal is still far away from the agenda of inclusion.

The above tables and their analysis depicts that there is exclusion of Women, Madhesi, Indigenous Nationalities and Dalits to a great extent. If such exclusion continues for a long time then various problems many arise. Such type of exclusion is also against the norms and values of democracy. If people are excluded, democracy

will have no meaning for them as they may not be able to access the various benefits of a democratic system. Furthermore, some of the practices in such polities might in fact harm them, as these excluded groups are unable to influence the decision making process. Thus, many democratic scholars consider inclusion as a primary definition of democracy (Dahl 1971; Lewis 1965; Lijphart 1977). Democratic scholars argue that for any decision to become binding on a person, he/she or their representative has to participate in the decision making process (Dahl 1989; Pateman 1970; Young 2000). As a democracy is a method or a process for arriving at decision in a fair and acceptable manner, the process becomes meaningless if some people do not have a say in it. Hence, one of the main aims of democratization is to extend democratic rights to more people and groups in a society or to make the polity more inclusive (Markoff 1994: cited at Lawoti, 2005: 154). Thus, inclusion of different socio-cultural groups is an important aspect of democracy.

In a country like Nepal where various socio-cultural groups are extremely excluded there is necessity of inclusion for the following reasons as argued by Mahendra Lawoti :

- i. To prevent violent Ethnic conflicts.
 - ii. To prevent Disintegration
 - iii. To promote equality and justice
 - iv. To provide group rights and equality
 - v. For the consolidation and deepening of democracy
 - vi. For the economic development
- i. To prevent violent ethnic conflicts:

In multicultural societies, conflicts have higher chances of turning violent if the perceived imbalances in the distribution of economic, social and political resources coincide along identity differences (Gurr 2000; Harris and Reilly 1998). When the ruling group ignores the aspirations and demands of others for inclusion, the excluded groups may become alienated and resort to violence, especially if they feel that this exclusion and discrimination will continue. Such a scenario exists in Nepal as the socio culturally oppressed groups like the Indigenous Nationalities, Dalits, Madhesi and Muslims, who are fare poorly in accessing resources, have faced exclusion for long periods and many of them are pessimistic about the regime's aim to include them.

Violent ethnic conflicts can be prevented through inclusion and accommodation. Inclusion can ensure that the voices and demands of the underprivileged socio-cultural groups are heard. When people are heard, some of their demands are addressed while others may get recognition. Engagement and dialogue often clarifies the misunderstanding between groups in conflicts. When a critical mass is included, they can influence the decision making process to formulate favourable policies. Further, the interactions among members of different groups, which will be facilitated by an inclusive process, can motivate participants in political debate to transform their claims from mere expressions of self-regarding interests to appeals of justice (Young, 2000). Such a transformation of claims will help in bridging differences and building trust. In these circumstances, the demands and aspirations of the disadvantaged groups have a greater chance of being addressed because of which they may not feel a strong need for resorting to violent conflicts (Lawoti, 2005:153-157).

ii. To prevent disintegration:

Nepal may be pushed toward disintegration should large- scale violent ethnic conflicts occur. The possibilities of disintegration cannot be ruled out because Nepal, though united geographically, is yet to be united socio- culturally and economically (Gurung, 2003). The wide ethnic/caste disparities along cultural and economic lines demonstrate the lack of emotional unity. A country united solely through the power of the state may not be durable, as the break up of the superpower USSR has demonstrated. Socio cultural unification is necessary to reduce the possible threats of disintegration.

The repression of socio-cultural aspirations is not a solution in democracies because it further fuels alienation and protests. Thus, the safest way to prevent disintegration is to unite the country socio- culturally and emotionally, for which the inclusion of socio cultural groups in the polity and society is necessity (ibid).

iii. To promote equality and justice:

Inequality among socio cultural group occurs when groups are excluded. When people or their representatives are not present in the decision making process, their interests, needs and aspirations will not get equal considerations during the deliberations. Their issues may not even become an agenda for deliberation. Such a situation will perpetuate injustice and inequality.

When differences among groups exist, the equal treatment of all groups does not translate into political equality because different groups' varying conditions needs,

aspirations and challenges cannot be addressed by similar treatment. In fact, sometimes it suppresses differences (Young 1990). True equality requires not identical treatment, but rather equivalent treatment in order to accommodate differential needs. 'By ignoring cultural differences, however, the idea of formal equality treats unequals equally' (Mahajan 1998a:7). Treating all people as equal may mean not recognizing differences that exists between individuals and groups (Mahajan 1998b; Taylor 1994; Young 1990). The denial of differences hurts people because it does not recognize differential identities, needs and aspirations (Taylor 1994; Young 1990:164-65). Hence, equal individual rights are not enough for extending equal rights to members of different cultural and social groups. This does not mean that different groups require totally different sets of rights. It only means that for specific differences and particularities, different groups require particular rights (Kymlicka 1995; Young 1990). Such a goal can be achieved not by eliminating group differences, but rather by ensuring equality among different groups. Inclusion and accommodation of different groups, which means recognizing and providing group rights, is essential to ensure equality and justice to them (ibid).

iv. To provide group rights and equality:

Individual norms and rights often do not ensure the inclusion of diverse socio-cultural groups in governance because the individual rights are often defined according to the dominant values and norms. The familiarity with the standards and norms, because they are based on dominant values, advantage the dominant group members in everyday interactions and competitions, whereas, the lack of familiarity with them disadvantages the socio- cultural groups. Thus, the supposedly neutral and merit based norms, standards and institutions end up favouring the dominant group (Kymlicka 1995, Young 1990).

It is essential to provide group rights to dominated groups in multicultural societies to counter the effects of the group rights of the dominant group, which are protected by the state institutions and standards that are imbued with the dominant norms and values (Brass 1991; Kymlicka 2001; Taylor 1998). The disadvantaged groups have to be provided with group rights to compensate for the disadvantages they face.

Group representation is also justified to combat systematic discrimination in the political system and the society because discrimination is targeted towards groups. Thus, political and social institutions that recognize group differences and group

rights have to be designed to promote equality between group and group members (Bickford 1999). Group differentiated rights-such as territorial autonomy, veto powers, guaranteed representation in political institutions, land claims, cultural autonomy and language rights are some common examples (Kymlicka 1995; Lijphart 1977). Without these group rights, equality and justice will not be extended to members of the diverse socio-cultural groups in a multicultural society (ibid).

v. For the consolidation and deepening of democracy:

When significant socio-cultural groups are excluded in a polity, the chances for democracy to consolidate are low. If groups are not included in a polity, they may become alienated, which may divert the attractions of such groups to anti system activities and groups. They might work to undermine the polities that exclude them, as demonstrated by the global history of the groups left out, who launched political and social movement to reform or overthrow the exclusionary regimes (Markoff 1994). Polities fraught with regular anti- systemic activities are not stable. The attraction of a large number of the members of the oppressed sociocultural groups in Nepal to the Maoist insurgency is an example of the consequences of exclusion. In such circumstances, democracy will hardly consolidate, let alone deepen. Thus, the inclusion of different groups is essential to consolidate democracies in culturally plural democracies.

The inclusion of minorities will ensure their effective participation, which in turn may lead to the hearing and deliberation of their needs, interests and aspirations in the decision making processes. The effective participation of disadvantaged groups has a higher possibility of abrogating discrimination and formulating egalitarian and just policies, which ensure freedom and promote equality among different cultural groups to deepen democracy (Kymlicka 1995; Young 2000).

Different ideas, experiences, perspectives, lifestyles and cultures that enrich people and society help to deepen democracy. Inclusion is essential to promote and preserve difference and deepen democracy (ibid).

vi. For the economic development:

Economic development, a national aspiration of Nepal, cannot be achieved by excluding a majority of the population. Human resource development is one of the most important factors in the development of a country. The economic development of countries without abundant natural resource such as Switzerland, Japan, Korea, Tiawan and others and their reliance on human resources for their development attest

to the importance of human resources for economic development. Nobel laureate Amartya Sen blames the elitist (or exclusionary) education system for the underdevelopment of South Asia (due to traditional systems that limited education to Brahmin and Mullahs in the Hindu and Muslims dominated societies). He argues that one of the reasons the economic boom of East Asia did not cross over to South Asia was the lack of a skilled labour force in the latter region (because of an elitist education system), whereas the former countries had a skilled labour force due a mass based education system. This example shows that the development of human resources, including literate citizenry, in the case of Nepal, is essential to attract foreign as well as domestic investment to promote economic development. Without inclusion, it is hardly possible to develop human resources in Nepal because the exclusionary policies of the state are responsible for the illiteracy and underdevelopment of various sociocultural communities and their members. Thus, if Nepal wants to achieve economic development it is high time that it includes its large segment of the excluded population (ibid).

f. Concept of Inclusive Representation in Political Parties:

The NC, CPN-UML, and CPN-Maoist are major political parties and they can play significant role for the inclusion of DAGS in the decision making process in the polity. These parties have insignificant number of representation of DAGS in the central committee. However, these DAGS are continuously raising their voices for inclusion. They think that inclusion is an important aspect in democratic theory and practice. The past 13 years in Nepal have also showed that violence was and still associated with exclusion of the DAGS. The role of these DAGS and marginalized groups in peace, democratization and development is emerging as the main agenda of the day because none of these processes can become sustainable in a real sense without including them. But one critical prerequisite to such inclusion is the question of inner party democracy or their inclusive representation among the political parties, which is emerging as another major agenda after Jana Andolan II. Further analysis suggests, the status of inclusiveness within these parties is far from adequate. These parties are exclusionary in terms of the representation of Women, Madhesi, Adibasi Janajati, and Dalit. These DAGS are being traced back mainly to the domination of the Hindu elites in the evolution of the Nepali state and their hegemony role in existing power structure and the patriarchal culture of Nepali society. In any democratic political set-up the even participation of all linguistic, socio-cultural,

ethnic, regional, and religious minorities and groups are must. The goal of stabilization of the democratic values can not be realized until and unless the political parties themselves encourage inclusive democratic values within their organizational network and activities (Yadav, 2006). The practice of including marginalized groups in the political sector was started since the revolution of 1950 A.D. After the revolution of 1950 certain persons from the community of Indigenous Nationalities were included in the council of ministry. As the panchayati system started king Mahendra started the train to nominate some people as the representative of different ethnic, linguistic and regional groups. Representatives of Limbu, Rai, Newar, Gurung, Magar and Kami and likewise representatives of certain caste and class from terai were made. However, such type of representation neither could contribute towards the development of the ethnic group nor it worked for the development of language nor for the regional development. It also could not brought change in the social and economic sphere of the society in which they stand. It was just the symbolic representation. Symbolic representation gives birth to the ruler, one more "Brahminist". If we look at the life style of the person who were symbolically represented we can find that there is no difference in the behaviour and political activities of any higher caste Brahmin leader (Roka, 2003). So, symbolic representation can not work for the welfare of excluded groups. The representation of the excluded groups should be in adequate number. Then, only it would be inclusive.

Actually, inclusive representation in the political parties refers to the representation of all caste/ethnic, gender, linguistic, religions, cultural and regional groups in the committees of the political parties both at local and central level in an adequate number.

2.2 Review of the Previous Studies:

In the book "Towards a Democratic Nepal", Mahendra Lawoti has discussed about the inclusive political institutions that are appropriate for a multicultural society like Nepal. He has stressed that if Nepal wants to avoid the possibilities of violent ethnic conflicts, it has to address the underlying causes of such conflicts. He talks about the exclusive nature of the state and advocate for the necessity of inclusion. According to him, in culturally plural societies federalism has been used to provide autonomy to different ethnic groups. He has advocated for providing autonomy to its

diverse ethnic/cultural/regional groups. He has also made several important recommendations for the construction of an inclusive and democratic Nepal. These include:–

-) Federalism,
-) An elected powerful house of Nationalities,
-) A proportional electoral system,
-) Affirmative action policies and reservations,
-) Declaration of a secular state,
-) A centralized judicial review,
-) A constitutional protection of minority.

The study of Nepali politics has not focused much on the area of political party. In this context, Krishna Hachhethu (2002) has made a great contribution in his book "Party Building in Nepal". He attempts to assess the whole gamut of party building efforts made by the NC and the CPN-UML in the post-1990 Jana Andolan period on the basis of four variables- expansion, system, harmony, and dynamism - as indicator of the party building process in Nepal. He explores the origin and development of political parties, emergence and struggle for leadership, candidacy and elections, relationship between higher and lower level organizations, relationship between organizational and elected wings, conflict generation and its management, party-people relations, patronage distribution etc and other issues pertaining to party building activities of the NC and the CPN-UML. Talking about the representation of socio-cultural groups in the leadership of the parties Hachhethu describes that the privileged strata of the society- educated, rich, elite, family background, and hill high caste had greater representation at central level than at lower levels of both the NC and CPN-UML's leadership structure. So, he concludes, the leadership of both parties at the bottom level was broader based and representative of diverse social elements, whereas the leadership structure at upper layers of both parties appeared more elitist.

Baral, Hachhethu and Sharma (2003) in their book "Leadership in Nepal" points out that the ascendancy of the hill caste groups over other ethnic communities in Nepali politics has remained unchanged, irrespective of fundamental changes in political system of the country. They state that the high caste groups dominate all layers of party organization, while the representation of ethnic and oppressed communities is marginal.

Dr. Harka Gurung (2006), proposed the agenda of inclusion to enable the Indigenous Nationalities a rightful participation in a fully democratic set-up as follows:

Problem of exclusion	Agenda for inclusion
Cultural	
i. religion	i. secular state
ii. linguistic discrimination	ii. official status of Janajati language.
Economic	
iii. low literacy	iii. education targeting
iv. unemployment	iv. affirmative action
Political	
v. poor representation	v. proportional representation
vi. subjugated in governance	vi. ethnic autonomy.

The book, "Chapama Janajati" edited by Patyus Ont, Kumar Yatru and Bhaskar Gautam, depicts the different culture, customs and tradition of Indigenous Nationalities. The book also presents the political issues of Indigenous Nationalities. Similarly, in the book, "Nepal ko Sandarvama Rajyako Punarsamrachana" edited by Sita Ram Tamang, various scholars have described about the issues of inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities.

Yadav (2006) in his research article "Inclusive Democracy and Political Parties in Post-April 2006 Period" shows the actual position of the representation of the marginalized groups; women, adhibasi janajati, and dalits, and other smaller groups in the political parties. He states that for addressing the issue of inclusion the political parties need to expand the scope of inclusive representation in some important aspects; to improve the number of representation in party apparatus at both local and central level, the political parties should declare the agenda of the excluded group and review the role of the political parties in the parliaments/legislation in terms of their accountability, responsibility and responsiveness. He recommends that the political parties have to demonstrate a democratic culture in their attitude and behaviour so that the concept of inclusive democracy is better realized.

Roka (2003) argues the political parties should be redefined in the context of inclusive democracy. He says that the political parties have not yet institutionalized themselves as they lack the three fundamental necessities. First, they are not clear

about their destination. Second, they are not clear about the class that they target to work in their welfare and third that they have not been able to manage internal affairs. Roka further makes it clear that the present organizational structure of the political parties is exclusive in nature and it can not address the socio-cultural diversity of Nepal. So, the organizational structure should be made inclusive. But in the name of inclusion, symbolic representation is meaningless as it can not work for the welfare of excluded groups. It only gives birth to ruler, one more "Brahminist". He also argues that while addressing the issue of ethnic groups, language, religion, culture and region, class analysis is also necessary.

The survey study made by Jagaran Nepal (2007) about the participation of women found that patriarchal structure of the society is the main reason for the low representation of women in the decision making level of the political parties. Baral and Parajuli (1994) have studied about the nature and trends of political participation in Kaski regarding the mid-term election of 1994.

Pradhan (1995) in his study "Population Pluralism and Political Representation" stated that the pattern of relationship between the political representation and cast/ethnic population in general was found to be with some groups with preponderant political representation, whereas others were either under-represented or not represented at all. It was found that the higher caste groups had more dominant political representation than other groups (ethnic groups and occupational castes).

Serchan (2001) in his study "Political Awakening and Socio-cultural Pluralism: A Political Sociological Inquiry in a Democratizing Nepal" studied about the socio-cultural implications of democracy in a heterogeneous society as Nepal in relation to the Indigenous- janajatis. He stated that from the perspective of the Indigenous janajatis it can be said that the 1990's was a decade of reorganization or even reconstruction. The decade gone by saw the Indigenous-janajatis succeed to some extent, in having their demands recognized by the Nepali state and society. However, the political, economic and social domination of high caste Hindus has been retained in the multicultural society following 1990. The constitution, after over a half a century of struggle, has come to guarantee political pluralism but yet it has to give due regard to the cultural pluralism.

Gurung (2009) has studied about Gurung Ethno-politics in Pokhara. In the study, he has analysed the nature of political participation of Gurungs. The study found the representation of Gurung in the political parties and the local government

very low. This is so, according to the study, because the Gurungs are less educated and they give more priority to the foreign employment than any other political activities.

There have been some studies about Indigenous Nationalities in relation to politics. Most of the above studies show that there is domination of so-called high caste groups in the politics of Nepal and Indigenous Nationalities are excluded from it. The caste groups have higher representation and Indigenous Nationalities have less representation. It has been argued that the parties have been failed to maintain internal inclusive democracy within their organization. The necessity of inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities along with other excluded group have been realized. But these studies still have not focused on the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities within party. Without the inclusion in the party's organizational structure, inclusion in other mechanisms of the state is not possible. So, in this study, the researcher has tried to describe about the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in political parties.

CHAPTER - III

RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Rationale of the Selection of the Study Area:

Kaski district is selected as the study area for the research because this district is densely populated with the Indigenous Nationalities like Gurung, Magar, Newar, Tamang and Thakali. Reviews of the district level party structures shows that the extent of representation of these groups in the political parties is very low. Due to this the political parties have realized that the adequate representation of these people should be ensured at least at the district level. Since the researcher of this study is very much familiar with the political situation of the district, it has provided a strong base to identify and interact the respondents of the research study.

3.2 Research Design:

The research study is descriptive as well as exploratory in nature. It is used to describe the existing situation about participation and representation of the Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties. Similarly, this design is used to explore factors responsible for poor representation of the Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties. The analysis of these results, at the end, has helped to suggest the methods for inclusive representation of the above Indigenous Nationalities in the district committees of the political parties.

3.3 Nature and Sources of Data:

The nature of the data is both qualitative and quantitative. These data have been collected from both primary and secondary sources. However, more emphasis have been given in the collection of primary data. The primary data have been collected using the data collection techniques such as questionnaire and interview.

Secondary data have been collected from the reviews of the relevant literature such as books, journals, articles, dissertation papers, census reports, newspapers, and reports of the election commission and the documents of the political parties.

3.4 Universe and Sampling Procedure:

3.4.1 Sampling frame:

Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist Leninist), Nepali Congress, Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and Rastriya Prajatantra Party are the major political parties in Kaski district. The universe of the study includes the total number of Indigenous Nationalities who are in the district committees of the above-mentioned parties and their four sister organizations (student, youth, woman and peasants organizations). According to the party office source of these four parties, there are 95 persons (Indigenous Nationalities) in the district committees of the four parties and their sister organizations. Thus, the universe of the study is 95.

3.4.2 Sample size determination:

It is important to note that sample is a spoon of water, which carries all basic characteristics of the ocean. In our case also it should be conscious that our universe should be properly represented with certain number of sample carrying all basic characteristics. To ensure this the Krejcie and Morgan frame of sample selection was used. Out of 95 persons (Indigenous Nationalities), 76 persons (Indigenous Nationalities) i.e. 80% were sampled as informants. The percentage of sample is based on Krejcie and Morgan's frame of sample selection of small population at the level of 5 percent confidence level. The total universe was divided into four groups with each party in one group and each group consists of two sub-group: one of the party district committee and the other of the four sister organizations. Then, the sample were calculated from each sub group based on the sample size% determined previously using Krejcie and Morgan's frame of sample selection.

3.4.3 Sample selection process:

There were altogether four groups of the study population with two sub-groups in each group and corresponding sample sizes were selected from each sub-group. From each subgroup, particular persons were selected following simple random method.

Table 3.1: Sampling Frame and Sample Size

Political Parties & their sister organizations	Number of Indigenous Nationalities	Sample	Sample Size%
1. CPN (UML)			
i. Party district committee	11	9	81.8%
ii. Its four sister organizations	12	10	83.3%
2. NC			
i. Party district committee	14	11	78.6%
ii. Its four sister organizations	22	18	81.8%
3. CPN (M)			
i. Party district committee	8	6	75%
ii. Its four sister organizations	13	10	76.9%
4. RPP			
i. Party district committee	6	5	83.3%
ii. Its three sister organizations*	9	7	77.8%
Total	95	76	80%

Note : *The data of peasant organization of RPP was not available

3.5 Data Collection Tools :

Primary data was collected from two different types of respondents. The first was the committee members (Indigenous Nationalities) of the four political parties and their four sister organizations, and the second was the chief of the district committees of the four parties and the chief of the social organization dealing with the Indigenous Nationalities such as Tamu Dhi, Nepal Magar Sangh, Tamang Ghedung, Newa Khala & Thakali Sewa Samiti which are active at local level.

A semi-structured questionnaire was used to collect data from the first type of respondents. Both close-ended and open-ended questions were used but mostly close-ended questions were used. The instrument was designed to explore information on the extent of representation of the Indigenous people, reasons for their low representations, perceived problems and suggestions for their inclusion in the committees of the political parties. Similarly, the second type of respondents were individually interviewed using a simple checklist, which included questions about policies of the concerned parties or organization of Indigenous Nationalities and their views perceptions and suggestions. Unstructured or open interview method was used.

Both of these data collection instruments were pre-tested in a non-sample area before their use in the actual survey.

3.6 Problems of Fieldwork:

During the fieldwork, the researcher faced a lot of problems. Although the number of respondents was not so large it took a long time and it was difficult to meet them as they live in different parts of the district. It was also a hot political time and all the political activists were busy in their scheduled programme for the preparation of CA election. It also created difficulties in managing time to meet them. Taking key informant interviews with key persons were relatively easier job but it became very difficult to deal with other respondents. Some of them hesitated to respond as they suspected that if the researcher was trying to know the secrecy of their party. Some of them told that they need permission from their party leadership to respond the questions. The tussles which took place among the political parties during the field work also created some serious difficulties in collecting data.

3.7 Reliability:

The questions that were found irrelevant and complex during the pretest have been identified and corrected. Necessary cross checks and verifications have been made during analysis and report writing.

3.8 Method of Data Analysis:

The data collected have been analyzed qualitatively as well as quantitatively. Since the information received from the second type of respondents is more qualitative, they have been analyzed manually. But as for those collected from the first type of respondents, computer programme SPSS has been used. Few simple statistical tools like frequency and percentage have been used during the analysis. Moreover, tabulation and graphic presentation have been made to make the presentation more meaningful. To avoid the data error the data collected from different sources have been cross-compared and edited. As the data set are edited, the results have been interpreted, and based on this, conclusion have been drawn.

CHAPTER – IV

POLITICAL-SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA:

Nepal is a country decorated with natural beauties and cultural diversities. Within it, Kaski district lies in the western development region, which is considered as an important district from the geographical, social and economic point of view. Its natural scenes and cultural diversities is not only famous within the country but in other countries of the world too. So, through the tourism industry it has contributed a lot in the national economy. The total area of this district is 201700 hectares and it lies at the height in between 450 to 7939 m above the sea level. According to the geographical report, kaski district lies with in 28°6' to 28°36' northern longitude and 83° 40' to 84° 12' eastern latitude (District Development Plan, 57-58: 1).

4.1 Political Background:

The role of Kaski district has been significant in the national politics of Nepal. The people of this district have a high contribution in the revolution of 2007 B.S. After that event the political consciousness of the people started to rise. As a first political party Nepali Congress was established and similarly, Communist Party was established under the leadership of Sunder Mani Parajuli in 2013 B.S. Although many people sacrificed for the establishment of democracy, it could not sustain for a long time. The Royal take over of 2017 Poush 1 dismissed the democratic process and all the parties were banned. The political parties took sometime to reorganize and they started their under ground activities in a slow motion. Although the speed of activities of the political parties was slow, the political activities of the students increased inside the Prithvi Narayan Campus after 2023 B.S. "The effect of election of student union of Prithvi Narayan Campus was not limited to Kaski but also had great significance all over the country. At the time of election the leaders of different political parties used to gather in Pokhara. For all the groups the subject matter of politics was of high concern. Although the parties were underground they wanted the publicity of their ideology and the election of student union was the only means of it. It was like the compulsion. When all the pro-people institutions were banned the election of student union was the great medium for the publicity of political ideology all over the

Western Development Region" (Adhikari 'Pyasi', 2061: 28-29). Thus, P.N. Campus occupies an important place in the political history of Kaski district. The historical student movement of 2036 B.S. was also successfully carried out in Kaski. As a result of student movement, king Birendra was compelled to announce 'referendum' in 2037 B.S. But the democratic force could not win the referendum and hence the panchayat system continued for a long time.

The people of Kaski district significantly contributed in the people's movement of 2046 B.S. This historical people's movement re-established democracy in Nepal. After that there has been election to choose the representatives of the people as a democratic practice. In the election of 2048 B.S. for the House of Representatives, CPN (UML) got two seats and Nepali Congress got one seat. Likewise, in the election of 2051, CPN (UML) got two seats and Nepali Congress got one seat. But in the election of 2056, Nepali Congress got victory over all the three seats. In the local election of 2049, Nepali Congress got a leading position while CPN (UML) got the leading position in the local election of 2054.

The former pro-panchayat people were organized in Rastriya Prajatantra Party. But they have not been able in achieving a grand success besides some seats in the local election. This district was not also far away from the effect of Maoist insurgency that started from 2052 B.S. At the initial stage the effect of insurgency was not so high but later on it flourished over all the parts of the district. According to the Western Regional office of INSEC, altogether 107 people lost their life during insurgency both by the Maoist & the state. King Gyanendra's steps of 2059 Aswin 18 and 2061 Magh 19 further disturbed the democratic process. Against such regressive acts of the king the political parties of Kaski district led the continuous struggles. During the historical revolution of 2062/063 kaski district played a vital role. The first Martyr of the revolution Bhimsen Dahal was from Kaski district. With the success of the revolution the twelve years insurgency has been ended. Now, the Maoist is in the mainstream of politics and leading the government after the election of Constituent Assembly. Among the four constituency for CA election, CPN (M) got victory over three and CPN(UML) got victory in one constituency.

4.2 Social Structure:

4.2.1 Caste/Ethnic Composition:

Kaski district is not only rich in natural beauty but it is also decorated by the cultural diversities. Brahmins, Gurungs, Chhetri, Kami, Magar, Newar, Damai, Sarki, Tamang etc. are the major caste/ ethnic groups of Kaski district. Table 4.1 shows the population of Kaski by caste/ ethnic groups.

Table 4.1: Population of Kaski by Caste/Ethnic Groups:

S.N.	Caste/Ethnic group	Population	%
1.	Brahman (Hill)	114889	30.19
2.	Gurung	69038	18.14
3.	Chhetri	55918	14.69
4.	Kami	26280	6.91
5.	Magar	23522	6.18
6.	Newar	20117	5.29
7.	Damai/Dholi	14864	3.19
8.	Sarki	9315	2.45
9.	Tamang	7983	2.10
10.	Unidentified Dalit	5022	1.32
11.	Gharti/Bhujel	4794	1.26
12.	Thakuri	4785	1.26

Source: *District Development Profile of Nepal- 2004.*

4.2.2 Ethnic Composition of the Respondents:

There is diverse ethnic composition among the respondents dominated by Gurung (63.2%), followed by Newar (15.8%) and then others Magar (13.2%), Tamang (3.9%) and Thakali (3.9%). Table 4.2 shows the ethnic composition of the respondents more clearly.

Table 4.2: Ethnic Composition of the Respondents:

Ethnicity	Frequency	Percent
Gurung	48	63.2
Magar	10	13.2
Newar	12	15.8
Tamang	3	3.9
Thakali	3	3.9
Total	76	100.0

Source : *Field Survey, 2008*

Gurung is the most dominant ethnic group of kaski district. It comprises 18.14% of the total population of the kaski district. Magar and Newar are other major ethnic groups while Tamang and Thakali are the other ethnic groups with smaller population.

4.2.3 Religion and Language:

Kaski district is comprised of various religious groups. Hinduism and Buddhism are the major two religions. Table 4.3 shows the distribution of population by religion.

Table 4.3: Distribution of Population of Kaski by Religion:

S.N.	Religion	Population	Percentage (%)
1.	Hindu	310946	81.71
2.	Buddhist	60435	15.88
3.	Islam	2620	0.69
4.	Kirati	160	0.04
5.	Jain	36	0.1
6.	Christian	3016	0.79
7.	Sikh	82	0.02
8.	Others	3232	0.85
	Total	380527	100

Source: District Development Profile of Nepal- 2004.

Kaski district is comprised of various linguistic groups. Nepali is the main language used by the people of Kaski as the means of communication and Gurung, Newar, Magar & Tamang are the other important language used in the district as mother tongue. Table 4.4 shows the distribution of population of kaski by mother tongue.

Table 4.4: Distribution of Population of Kaski by Mother Tongue:

S.N	Mother Tongue	Population	%
1.	Nepali	292212	76.79
2.	Gurung	56236	14.78
3.	Newar	11888	3.12
4.	Magar	6331	1.66
5.	Tamang	5330	1.40
6.	Hindi	1918	0.50
7.	Thakali	1241	0.33
8.	Unknown Language	1154	0.30

Source: District Development Profile of Nepal- 2004.

4.2.4 Religious Composition of the Respondents:

Table 4.5 shows the religious composition of the respondents. 50% of the respondents followed Buddhism, 26.3% of them followed Hinduism, 18.42% of them were secular, 1.3% christian, 1.3% Bon and 2.6% of them did not respond any.

Table 4.5 Religious Composition of the Respondents:

Religion	Frequency	Percent (%)
Buddhism	38	50
Hinduism	20	26.3
Secularism	14	18.42
Bon	1	1.3
Christian	1	1.3
No response	2	2.6
Total	76	100

Source : Field Survey 2008

Most of the Indigenous Nationalities of Nepal follow Buddhism as their religion. As all the respondents are Indigenous Nationalities there is dominance of Buddhism. There is also effect of "Hinduization" among the Indigenous Nationalities of Nepal. Few of them have also inclined towards Christian religion while other few of them have been following 'Bon' as their religion. The leftists have been guided by the ideology of Marx and they believe that religion is like opium as said by Marx. So, they are secular as religion is concerned.

4.2.5 Education:

Education is an important aspect of human civilization. It is also considered as an agent of social change and development.

The following box shows the current status of literacy in Nepal.

Current Status of Literacy	
Literacy Rate of Men	Literacy Rate of women
Both read and write = 65.5%	Both read and write = 42.5%
Read only = 6.0%	Read only = 5.8%
Source : CBS 2002, Women in Nepal: Statistical Facts (Cited in FWLD 2003)	

Fig. 4.1 reveals that the education level of the respondent was higher than the national level. 34% of the respondents have obtained Intermediate level, 28% of the respondents have obtained High School education, 21% of them were Graduates, 16%

of them were just literate and only 1% of them have obtained Master's degree. Political activists are the leading persons of society. So, their education level is higher than the average people but still it is not enough than what it ought to be.

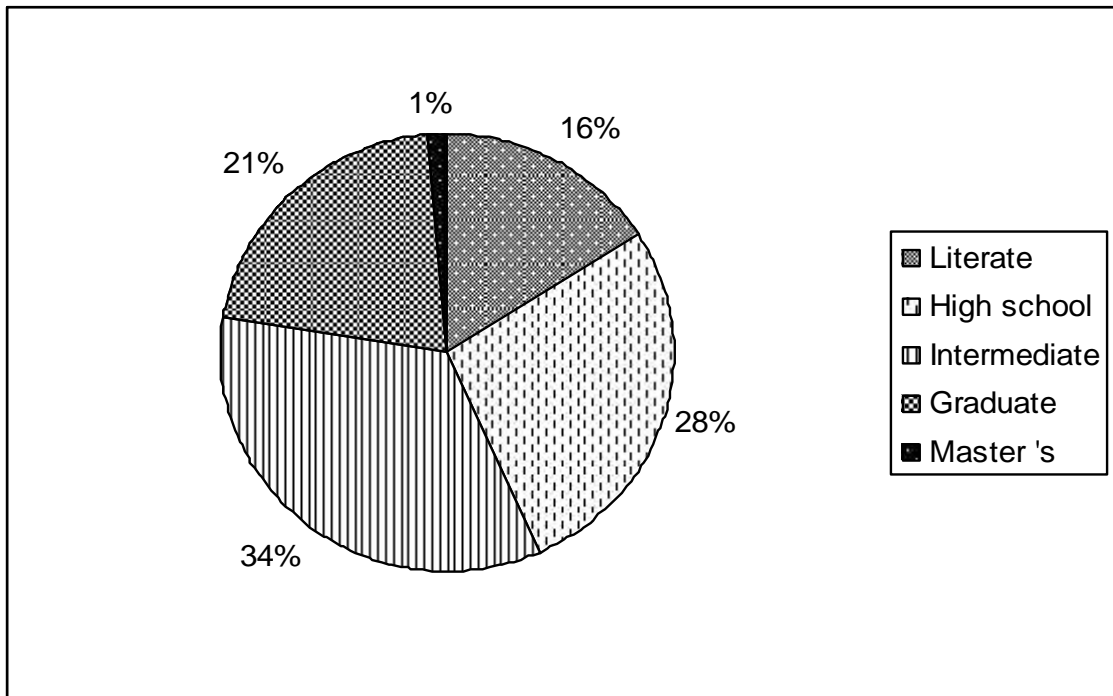


Figure 4.1: Education Level of the Respondents:

Source : Field Survey, 2008

Table 4.6 shows the education level of the respondents by gender. Although the political activists are the leading persons of changing society, they are also effected by the traditional norms and values prevalent in the society. Women occupies higher percentages 33.3% and 18.2% in high school level and literate level respectively while men occupies higher percentages 23.3% and 39.5% in graduate and intermediate level respectively. Thus, women have less access in higher education. Due to gender discrimination most of the women have been deprived of higher educational opportunities. In spite of this background, 3% of women have obtained Master's degree which no man have obtained. So, it can be taken as a sign of positive change towards the access of women in higher education.

Table 4.6: Education Level of the Respondents by Gender:

Education	Gender		Total
	Men	Women	
Literate	6 (14.0%)	6 (18.2%)	12 (15.8%)
High school	10 (23.3%)	11 (33.3%)	21 (27.6%)
Intermediate	17 (39.5%)	9 (27.3%)	26 (34.2%)
Graduate	10 (23.3%)	6 (18.2%)	16 (21.1%)
Master 's	0 (.0%)	1 (3.0%)	1 (1.3%)
Total	43 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)	76 (100.0%)

* Figures in Parentheses are percentage based on gender

Source : Field Survey, 2008

4.2.6 Occupational Structure:

Table 4.7 shows the occupational status of the respondents. 18.42% of the respondents are engaged in business/trade, 17.10% of them are the whole timer politician, 14.47% of them are engaged in agriculture, 13.16% of them are housewife & 11.84% of them are students. The other 9.21% of them are in service, 6.58% of them are social worker and remaining 9.21% of them are engaged in different kinds of other occupation.

Table 4.7: Occupational Status of the Respondents:

S.N.	Occupation	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1.	Agriculture	11	14.47
2.	Business/ Trade	14	18.42
3.	Service	7	9.21
4.	Students	9	11.84
5.	House wife	10	13.16
6.	Whole timer politician	13	17.10
7.	Social Worker	5	6.58
8.	Others	7	9.21
	Total	76	100

Source : Field Survey 2008

4.3 Demographic Structure:

4.3.1 Age and Gender Composition:

Figure 4.2 indicates that majority of the respondents (28%) ranged from 25-35 years, one fourth (25%) were of the age groups 36-45 years and 24% of the respondents were of the age groups 46-55 years. Similarly, the lowest percent of the respondents 16% and 7% were from the age group of under 25 years and over 55 years respectively.

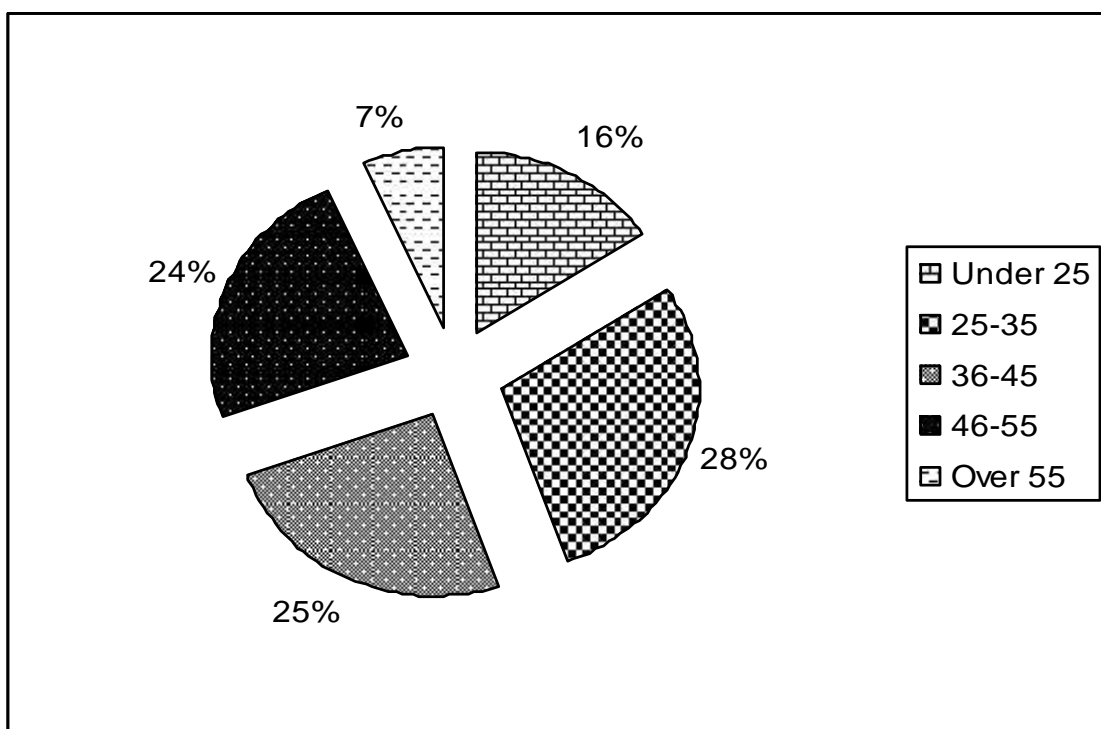


Figure 4.2: Age of the Respondents:

Source : Field Survey, 2008

Table 4.8 presents the general information about the age of respondents by gender. The largest percentage of the respondents (28.9%) was found in the age group 25-35 years. Among them 20.9% were men and 39.4% were women. This table further suggests that the involvement of women of age group under 25 and above 35 years in political parties is less than that of men. 18.6% of men were of age group under 25yrs while only 12.1% of women were of that age group. Similarly, 60.5% of men were of age group above 35 yrs while 48.4% of women were of that age group.

Table 4.8: Age of the Respondents by Gender:

Age of the respondents	Gender of the respondents		Total
	Men	Women	
Under 25	8	4	12
	18.6%	12.1%	15.8%
25-35	9	13	22
	20.9%	39.4%	28.9%
36-45	11	8	19
	25.6%	24.2%	25.0%
46-55	11	7	18
	25.6%	21.2%	23.7%
Over 55	4	1	5
	9.3%	3.0%	6.6%
Total	43	33	76
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* Figures in Parentheses are percentage based on gender

Source : Field Survey, 2008

Figure 4.3 shows that majority of the respondents (57%) were men and 43% of the respondents were women. Participation of men is higher in politics than that of women.

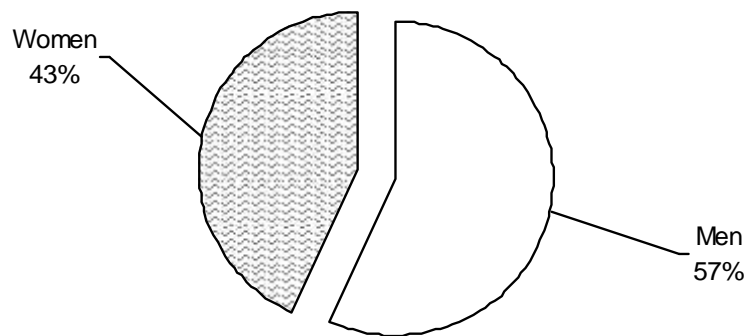


Figure 4.3: Gender of the Respondents:

Source: Field Survey, 2008

4.3.2 Marital Status:

Figure 4.4 shows the marital status of the respondents. Majority of the respondents (77%) were married, 22% of them were unmarried and 1% of them were window/widower.

Figure 4.4: Marital Status of the Respondents:

Source : Field Survey, 2008

All the above discussion and collected facts give the clear glimpse of political social and demographic background of the study site. Kaski district, the study area, occupies an important place in the national politics. It consists of various caste/ethnic groups. Gurung is the most dominant ethnic group and Magar and Newar are other major ethnic groups. The collected fact states most of the people (81.71%) follow Hinduism and Buddhism is the most dominant religion among Indigenous Nationalities. The educational level of the respondents is higher than the average of the nation. Majority of the respondents are men and most of the respondents are of the age group 25-55 years. The vast majority (77%) of the respondents are married.

CHAPTER – V

THE CONDITION OF REPRESENTATION OF INDIGENOUS NATIONALITIES IN POLITICAL PARTIES:

One of the main objective of the study was to study the condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties. So, this chapter deals with this objective of the research. It also presents the condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities among different parties in a comparative way. Further it presents the attitude of the Indigenous Nationalities about their representation.

5.1 Condition of Representation of Indigenous Nationalities:

Political parties are comprised up of the leading persons of a society. Since Indigenous Nationalities in also a major component of the society, they are also involved in political parties. Different political parties represent different Indigenous Nationalities in a different proportion. The study is limited in the study of four major political parties viz NC, CPN (UML), CPN (M) and RPP.

5.1.1 Representation of Indigenous Nationalities in Nepali Congress:

Table 5.1 shows the condition of representation of different caste/ethnic groups in the district committee of NC and its four sister organizations (Youth, Student, Women and Peasant).

Table 5.1: Representation of Various Caste/Ethnic Groups in the District Committee of NC and its Four Sister Organizations:

S.N	DC of	Brahmin	Chhetri	Gurung	Magar	Newar	Thakali	Tamang	Dalits	Others	Total
1.	NC	26	4	8		5	1		5	6	55
	%	47.27	7.27	14.55		9.09	1.82		9.09	10.9	100
2.	SO of NC										
i.	Youth	14	4	7	1	3	1		3	6	39
	%	35.89	10.26	17.95	2.56	7.69	2.56		7.69	15.38	100
ii.	Student	25	4	2							31
	%	80.65	12.90	6.45							100
iii.	Women	15		4		2			2	1	24
	%	62.5		16.67		8.33			8.33	4.16	100
iv.	Peasant	35	2	2							39
	%	89.74	5.13	5.13							100

Source: District Party Office, NC, Kaski

According to the above table, Barahmin occupies the higher percentage in the district committee of Nepali Congress and its four sister organizations. It occupies 47.27%, 35.89%, 80.65%, 62.5% and 89.74% in the party district committee, youth, students, women and peasant organizations respectively. The other group Chhetri occupies 7.27%, 10.26%, 12.90% and 5.13% in the party district committee, youth, student, and peasant organization respectively. Dalits, the most suppressed group occupies 9.9%, 7.69% and 8.33% in the party district committee, youth and women organizations respectively. There is no representation of dalits in student and peasant organization of Nepali Congress. The other remaining groups occupies 10.9%, 15.38%, and 4.16% in the party district committee, youth and women organization respectively.

Gurung, Magar, Newar, Thankali and Tamangs are the main Indigenous Nationalities of kaski district. Gurung occupies only 14.55%, 17.95%, 6.45%, 16.67% and 5.13% in the party district committee, youth, student, women and peasant organizations respectively. There is only 2.56% of representation of Magar in the youth organization and no representation at all in the party committee and other sister organizations. Newar occupies 9.09%, 7.69% and 8.33% in the party district committee, youth and women organization respectively. The other group Thakali occupies only 1.82% and 2.56 in the party district committee and youth organization respectively. There is no representation of Tamang at all in the party district committee and any of the sister organizations of Nepali Congress. The representation of Indigenous Nationalities seems low in the party district committee and sister organizations too. Mostly Brahmins have dominated the district committee of Nepali Congress and its sister organizations.

5.1.2 Representation of Indigenous Nationalities in Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist Leninist)

Table 5.2 shows the condition of representation of different caste/ ethnic groups in the district committee of CPN (UML) and its four sister organizations (Youth, Student, Women and Peasant).

Table 5.2: Representation of Various Caste/Ethnic Groups in the District Committee of CPN (UML) and its Four Sister Organizations:

S.N.	DC of CPN	Brahmin	Chhetri	Gurung	Magar	Newar	Thakali	Tamang	Dalits	Others	Total
1.	(UML)	31	2	7	1	2	1		5		49
	%	63.26	4.08	14.28	2.04	4.08	2.04		10.20		100
2.	SO of CPN (UML)										
i.	Youth	15	3	1		1		2	2	1	25
	%	60	12	4		4		8	8	4	100
ii.	Student	20	1	2					1	1	25
	%	80	4	8					4	4	100
iii.	Women	17		4					1	2	24
	%	70.83		16.67					4.17	8.33	100
iv.	Peasant	17	1	2					1	1	22
	%	77.27	4.54	9.09					4.54	4.54	100

Source : District Party Office, CPN (UML), Kaski

According to the above table, Brahmin occupies the highest percentage in the district committee of CPN (UML) and its four sister organization too. It occupies 63.26%, 60%, 80%, 70.83% and 77.27% in the party district committee, youth, student, women and peasant organizations respectively. The other group Chhetri occupies 4.08%, 12%, 4% and 4.54% in the party district committees, youth, student and peasant organizations respectively. There is no representation of Chhetri in women organization. Dalits occupies 10.20%, 8%, 4%, 4.17% and 4.54% in the party district committee, youth, student, women and peasant organizations respectively. The representation of Dalits is low with respect to their population. The other groups occupies 4%, 4%, 8.33% and 4.54% in the youth, students, women and peasant organizations respectively.

The table further illustrates that the representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the party district committee and its sister organizations of CPN (UML) is poor. Gurung occupies only 14.28%, 4%, 8%, 16.67% and 9.09% in the party district committee, youth, student, women and peasant organizations respectively. There is only 2.04% of representation of Magar in the party district committee and no representation at all in the other sister organizations. Newar occupies 4.08% and 4% in the party district committee and youth organization. Thakali occupies only 2.04% in the party district committee and Tamang occupies 8% in the youth organization. In comparison to other groups, Brahmins highly dominates the organization of CPN (UML).

5.1.3 Representation of Indigenous Nationalities in Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist):

Table 5.3 shows the condition of representation of different caste/ethnic groups in the district committee of CPN (M) and its four sister organizations (Youth, Student, Women and Peasant).

Table 5.3: Representation of Various Caste/ Ethnic Groups in the District Committee of CPN (M) and its Four Sister Organizations:

S.N	DC of	Brahmin	Chhetri	Gurung	Magar	Newar	Thakali	Tamang	Dalits	Others	Total
1.	CPN (M)	11		4	4				3	3	25
	%	44		16	16				12	12	100
2.	SO of CPN (M)										
i.	Youth	10	7	2	3				5	2	29
	%	34.48	24.14	6.89	10.34				17.24	6.89	100
ii.	Student	14	2	2				1	2	1	22
	%	63.64	9.09	9.09				4.55	9.09	4.55	100
iii.	Women	7	2	1	2	1			2	2	17
	%	41.18	11.76	5.88	11.76	5.88			11.76	11.76	100
iv.	Peasant	15	1	1					2		19
	%	78.95	5.26	5.26					10.52		100

Source : District Party Office, CPN (M), Kaski

The above table shows that Brahmin occupies the higher percentage in the district committee of CPN (M) and its four sister organizations. It occupies 44%, 34.48%, 63.64%, 41.18% and 78.95% in the party district committee, youth, student, women and peasant organizations respectively. There is no representation of Chhetri in the district committee of CPN (M). It occupies 24.14%, 9.09%, 11.76% and 5.26% in the youth, student, women and peasant organizations respectively. Dalits occupies somewhat satisfactory position in CPN (M). It occupies 12%, 17.24%, 9.09%, 11.76% and 10.52% in the party district committee, youth, student, women and peasant organizations respectively. The other group occupies 12%, 6.89%, 4.55% and 11.76% in the party district committee, youth, student and women organizations respectively.

The representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the party district committee of CPN (M) is somewhat better but the condition is poor in case of its four sister organizations. Gurung occupies 16%, 6.89%, 9.09%, 5.88% and 5.26% in the party

district committee, youth, student, women and peasant organizations respectively. The other group Magar occupies 16%, 10.34% and 11.76% in the party district committee, youth and women organizations respectively. Newar occupies 5.88% in the women organization only. There is no representation of Thakali at all and Tamang occupies 4.55% only in the student organization. It can be concluded that there is domination of Brahmin in case of Maoists too.

5.1.4 Representation of Indigenous Nationalities in Rastriya Prajatantra Party:

Table 5.4 shows the condition of representation of different caste/ethnic groups in the district committee of RPP and its three sister organizations (youth, students and women).

Table 5.4: Representation of Various Caste/ Ethnic Group in the District Committee of RPP and its Three Sister Organizations:

S.N	DC of	Brahmin	Chhetri	Gurung	Magar	Newar	Thakali	Tamang	Dalits	Others	Total
1.	RPP	5	5	5		1			1	2	19
	%	26.31	26.31	26.31		5.26			5.26	10.52	100
2.	SO of RPP										
i.	Youth	5	3	1					1	2	12
	%	41.67	25	8.33					8.33	16.67	100
ii.	Student	8	3						2	1	14
	%	57.14	21.43						14.28	7.14	100
iii.	Women	2	2	6	2				2		14
	%	14.28	14.28	42.85	14.28				14.28		100

Source: District Party Office, RPP, Kaski

The above table shows that Brahmin occupies 26.31%, 41.67%, 57.14% and 14.28% in the party district committee, youth, student and women organizations respectively. The other group Chhetri occupies 26.31%, 25%, 21.43% and 14.28% in the party district committee, youth, student and women organizations respectively. Dalits, the most suppressed group, occupies 5.26%, 8.33%, 14.28% and 14.28% in the party district committee, youth, student and women organizations respectively. The other groups occupy 10.52%, 16.67% and 7.14% in the party district committee, youth and students organizations respectively.

The table further illustrates that the representation of Gurungs is quite good in the party district committee and women organization but the condition of

representation of other groups of Indigenous Nationalities is very poor. Gurung occupies 26.31%, 8.33% and 42.85% in the party district committee, youth and women organization. There is no representation of Gurung in the student organization. Magar occupies 14.28% in women organization only and Newar occupies 5.26% in party district committee only. There is no representation of Thakali and Tamangs at all.

5.2 Comparison of Four Political Parties About the Representation of Indigenous Nationalities:

Nepali Congress, CPN (UML), CPN (M) and RPP which are taken as the major four political parties for the study purpose have the representation of Indigenous Nationalities in different proportion. Table 5.5 shows the condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities in these parties and their sister organizations in a comparative way.

Table 5.5: Representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the Four Political Parties and Their Sister Organizations:

S.N.	Party/ Sister organizations	% of Indigenous Nationalities in NC	% of Indigenous Nationalities in CPN (UML)	% of Indigenous Nationalities in CPN (M)	% of Indigenous Nationalities in RPP
1.	Party District Committee	25.45	22.45	32	31.58
2.	Youth	30.76	16	17.24	8.33
3.	Student	6.45	8	13.64	0
4.	Women	25	16.67	23.53	57.14
5.	Peasant	5.13	9.09	5.26	Not available

Source : District Party Offices of the Concerned Political Parties.

According to the above table, there is higher percentage of representation (i.e.32%) of Indigenous Nationalities in the party district committee of CPN (M). The second higher percentage of representation (i.e.31.58%) of Indigenous Nationalities is in the party district committee of RPP, followed by 25.45% in NC and 22.45 % in CPN (UML). The youth organization of NC leads other in representing Indigenous Nationalities. The representation of Indigenous Nationalities is 30.76% in it while the

youth organizations of CPN (UML), CPN (M) and RPP have 16%, 17.24% and 8.33% of representation of Indigenous Nationalities respectively. In case of student organization, CPN (M) student's organization have highest % of representation (i.e. 13.64%) of Indigenous Nationalities followed by 8% in CPN (UML)'s and 6.45% in NC's student's organizations respectively. The women organization of RPP have 57.14% Indigenous Nationalities in its committee which is the highest percentage of representation of Indigenous Nationalities. There is representation of 25%, 23.53% and 16.67% Indigenous Nationalities in the women organization of NC, CPN (M) and CPN (UML) respectively. The condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities is comparatively low in case of peasant organization. The percentage of representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the peasants' organization of CPN (UML), CPN (M) and NC are 9.09%, 5.26% and 5.13% respectively.

5.3 Position of Indigenous Nationalities in the Political Parties and their Sister Organizations:

The condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties is not so good which is already discussed. So far as their position in the party/ sister organizations is concerned it is also very poor. Table 5.6 shows the position of the Indigenous Nationalities in their party and sister organizations. Majority of them (89.47%) are just the district committee members. Only 4.21% of them have got the post of chairperson, only 3.16% of them have got the post of vice-chairperson and only 1.05% of them have got the post of secretary. Similarly, 1.05% of them have got the post of joint secretary and the same 1.05% of them has got the post of treasurer. The table clearly illustrates that most of the Indigenous Nationalities are limited just as district committee members and they have very less access to the vital posts.

Table 5.6: Position of Indigenous Nationalities in the Political Parties and their Sister Organizations:

S.N.	Position	Count	Percentage
1.	District Member	85	89.47
2.	Chairperson	4	4.21
3.	Vice-Chairperson	3	3.16
4.	Secretary	1	1.05
5.	Joint secretary	1	1.05
6.	Treasurer	1	1.05
	Total	95	100

Source : District Party Offices of the four Political parties.

5.4 Involved Time and Type of Time in Politics:

The period of time spent in political activities is one of the basis of evaluating one's contribution in politics. Longer the period of time, there will be higher the chances of obtaining party leadership. Table 5.7 shows the involved time of the respondents in politics.

Table 5.7: Involved Time in Politics:

Time	Frequency	Percent
Recently	2	2.6
2-5 years	18	23.7
5-10 years	20	26.3
10-20 years	23	30.3
Over 20 years	13	17.1
Total	76	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2008

According to the above table, 30.3% of the respondents were involved in politics since 10-20 yrs, 26.3% of them were involved since 5-10 yrs, 23.7% of them were involved since 2-5 yrs, 17.1% of them were involved since over 20 yrs and only 2.6% of them were involved recently. The table illustrates that most of the respondents are matured in politics.

The type of time spent in political activities is another basis of evaluating one's contribution in politics. More time, more is the chances of obtaining party leadership. Table 5.8 shows the type of time involved in politics.

Table 5.8: Type of Time:

Time	Frequency	Percent
Utilize the leisure time	22	28.9
Fulltime daily	20	26.3
About half time daily	23	30.3
Give necessary time when invited by the party/organization	11	14.5
Total	76	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2008

According to the above table, 30.3% of the respondents spent about half time of a day daily and 28.9% of them utilize leisure time. 26.3% of them spent full time daily. They are the whole timer political activists and only 14.5% of them give necessary time when invited by the party/organization. The table illustrates that most of the respondents have been giving enough time in political activities.

5.5 Previous Profession and Current Status:

Table 5.9 shows the profession of the respondents before involving in politics. Majority of the respondents (44.7%) were students, 23.7% of them were in service, 13.2% of them were engaged in agriculture, 9.2% of them were in business/trade 3.9% of them were in foreign employment, 2.6% of them were wage labours and the same 2.6% of them were house wife.

Table 5.9: Profession before Involving in Politics:

S.N.	Profession	Frequency	Percent
1.	Agriculture	10	13.2
2.	Business/Trade	7	9.2
3.	Service	18	23.7
4.	Students	34	44.7
5.	Foreign Employment	3	3.9
6.	Wage labor	2	2.6
7.	Housewife	2	2.6
	Total	76	100

Source: Field Survey, 2008

Figure 5.1 shows the current status of the respondents. Majority of the respondent (59%) are not still engaged in the previous profession and 41% of them are still in the previous profession.

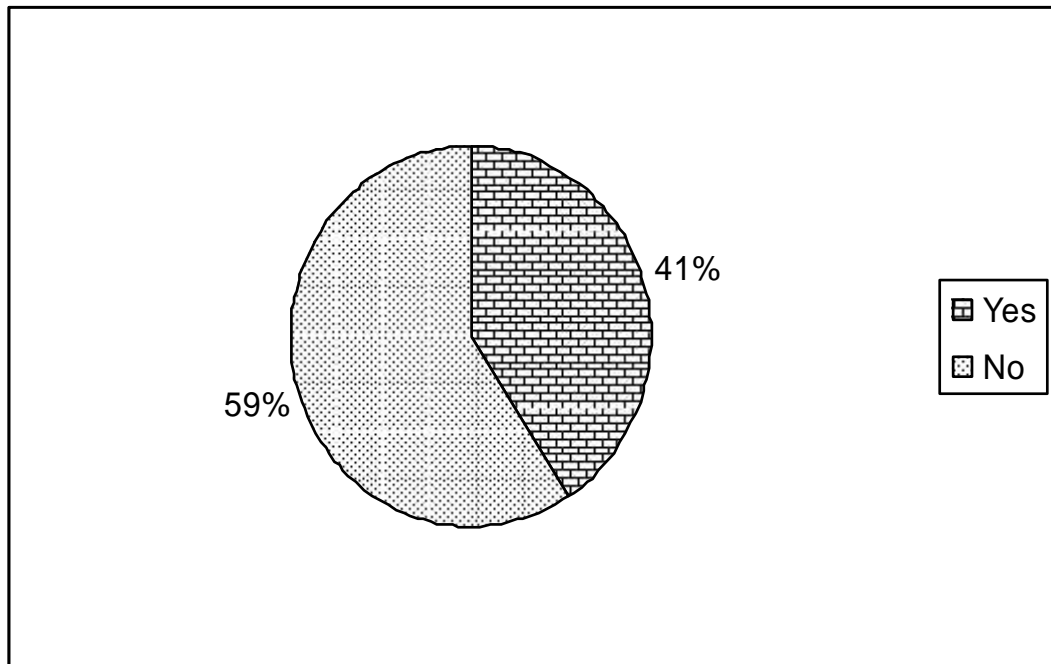


Figure 5.1: Engaged in Previous Profession

Source: Field Survey, 2008

5.6 State of Satisfaction:

Figure 5.2 shows the state satisfaction of the respondents about the condition of the representation of Indigenous Nationalities. 32% of them were somewhat satisfied, the same 32% of them were satisfied, 28% of them were not satisfied and only 8% of them were very satisfied. Although the condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities is not so good the sound of unsatisfaction is low among respondents.

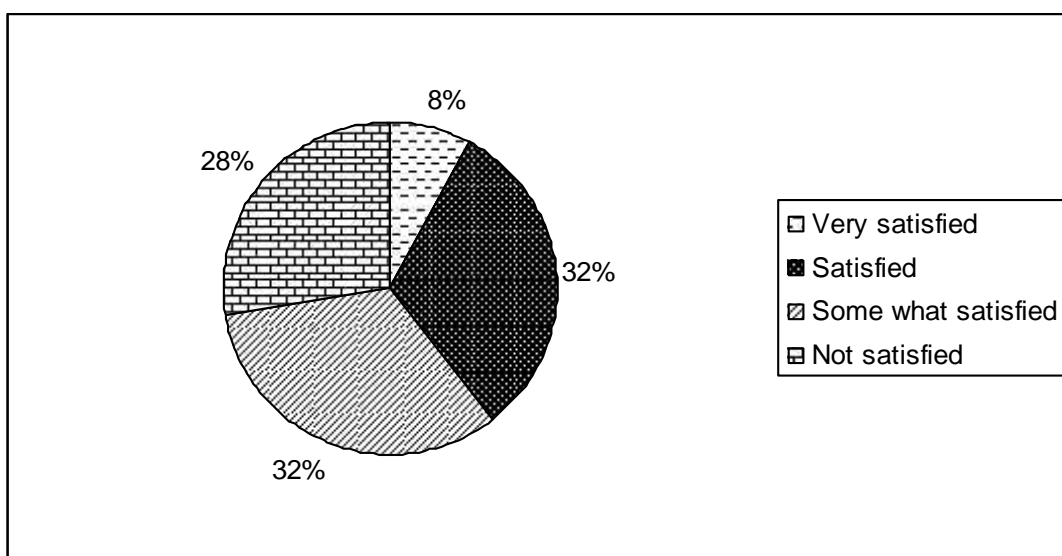


Figure 5.2: State of Satisfaction:

Source: Field Survey, 2008

5.7 Reasons for Poor Representation of Indigenous Nationalities:

After studying the condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities in different four political parties it is clear that the state of representation is poor. The researcher has attempted to find out the responsible reasons for the poor representation of Indigenous Nationalities.

Table 5.10 deals about the responsible reasons for the poor representation of Indigenous Nationalities.

Table 5.10: Reasons for Poor Representation:

S.N.	Reason	Count	Percent
1.	Lack of political awareness	25	32.9*
2.	Lack of education	9	11.8
3.	Priority for foreign employment	32	42.1
4.	So-called high castes domination in the parties	8	10.5
5.	All of above	1	1.3
6.	Not applicable	5	6.6

*Percentage based on Multiple responses of 76 cases

Source : Field Survey, 2008

As the table above illustrates, lack of political awareness, lack of education, priority for foreign employment and high castes domination are the major reasons for poor representation of Indigenous Nationalities. Majority (42.1%) of the respondents believe that priority for foreign employment is the main reason of poor representation, 32.9% of them believe that lack of political awareness, 11.8% of them believe that lack of education and 10.5% of them believe that high castes domination is the main cause of poor representation of Indigenous Nationalities 1.3% of them believe all these reasons are responsible for poor representation and 6.6% of them think that the question is not applicable to them as they think that the representation of Indigenous Nationalities in their party/ sister organization is not so poor.

The researcher has also talked with the key persons of political parties and social organizations of Indigenous Nationalities about the responsible reasons for poor representation of Indigenous Nationalities. Most of the key informants stated that the discriminative policy of the state is responsible for it. One of them sharply commented that the main reason is the unitary structure of the state which is favouring only a certain caste group since a long time of one and half century. Some of them

stated that it is because of lack of appropriate policy among political parties to uplift the Indigenous Nationalities. They said that the leadership of the political parties is dominated by the persons of certain caste group. Some of them stated that foreign employment is also one of the main reasons. After the establishment of "Gorkha Bharti Kendra", most of the youths of Indigenous Nationalities were recruited in British and Indian Army. Thus, they were excluded from politics in the name of foreign employment. Some of them also stated that lack of political awareness and unity among Indigenous Nationalities are also the reasons responsible for poor representation of Indigenous Nationalities.

CHAPTER - VI

ROLE OF INDIGENOUS NATIONALITIES AND POLITICAL PARTIES FOR INCLUSIVE REPRESENTATION

As mentioned in the heading, this chapter deals about the role of Indigenous Nationalities and political parties for inclusive representation. Their role will be very important in representing Indigenous Nationalities inclusively. This chapter comprises the description of social organization of Indigenous Nationalities, attitude of Indigenous Nationalities and discuss about their role for inclusive representation. It also comprises the description of major political parties, their policies in the context of representing Indigenous Nationalities and their role for inclusive representation in their parties.

6.1 Responsible for Low Representation of Indigenous

Nationalities:

In the previous chapter, it has already been discussed that there is low representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties. Now, it is necessary to know who is more responsible for low representation of Indigenous Nationalities. When it was asked to the respondents, the highest percent (42.1%) of the respondents stated that both of the Indigenous Nationalities and political parties are responsible, 34.2% of them stated that Indigenous Nationalities themselves are responsible, 15.8% of them think that political parties are responsible and 1.3% of them stated that other factors are responsible while 6.6% of them think that the question is not applicable to them. Table 6.1 illustrates more about it.

Table 6.1: Responsible for Low Representation of Indigenous Nationalities:

	Frequency	Percent
Indigenous Nationalities themselves	26	34.2
Political Parties	12	15.8
Both	32	42.1
Not applicable	5	6.6
Other	1	1.3
Total	76	100.0

Source : Field Survey, 2008

6.2 Responsible for Inclusive Representation of Indigenous Nationalities:

The necessity of inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities along with other excluded groups have been greatly realized. The concerned organizations and individuals should take initiatives for it. Figure 6.1 shows that who should be more responsible for the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities. Majority of the respondents (55%) think that political parties should be more responsible, 41% of them think that cadres and leaders of Indigenous Nationalities within the party should be more responsible, 1% of them think that social organizations of Indigenous Nationalities should be more responsible and 3% of them think that all of above should be responsible for inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities.

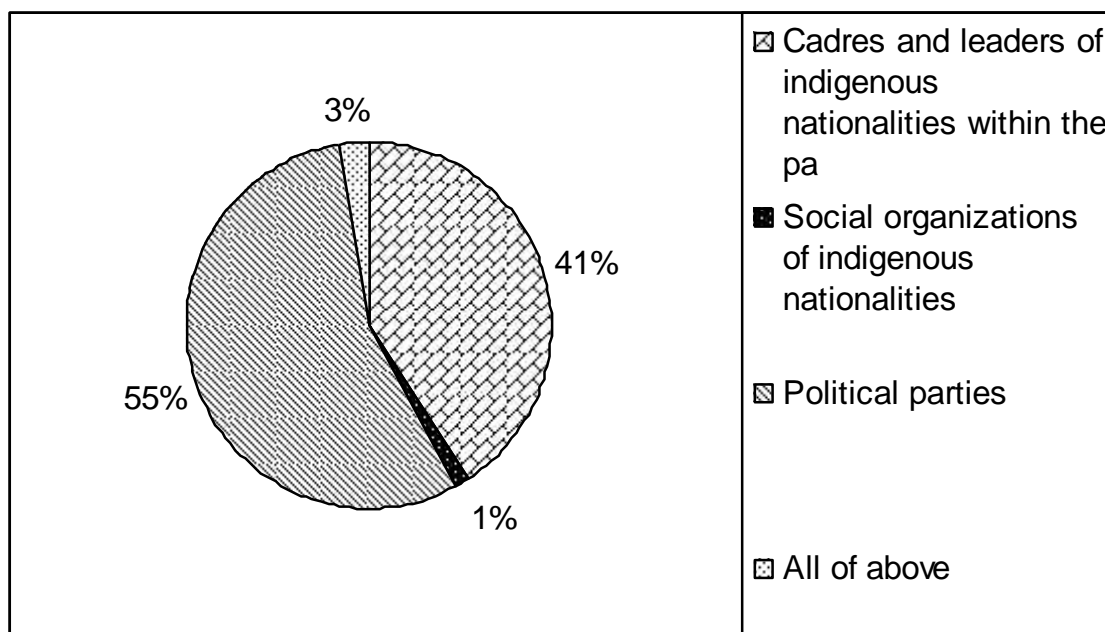


Figure 6.1: Responsible for Inclusive Representation of Indigenous Nationalities:

Source : Field Survey, 2008

6.3 Role of Indigenous Nationalities in National Politics:

Indigenous Nationalities is one of the major component of the Nepalese society. They have been contributing in the national politics in their own way. Now, the time has come to discuss about their role and include them in an appropriate position of national politics. Talking about the role of Indigenous Nationalities in the national politics, majority (76%) of the respondents believe that there has been normal

role, 21% of them believe that there has been dominant role and 3% of them believe that there has been ineffective role of Indigenous Nationalities in the national politics. Figure 6.2 illustrates more about it.

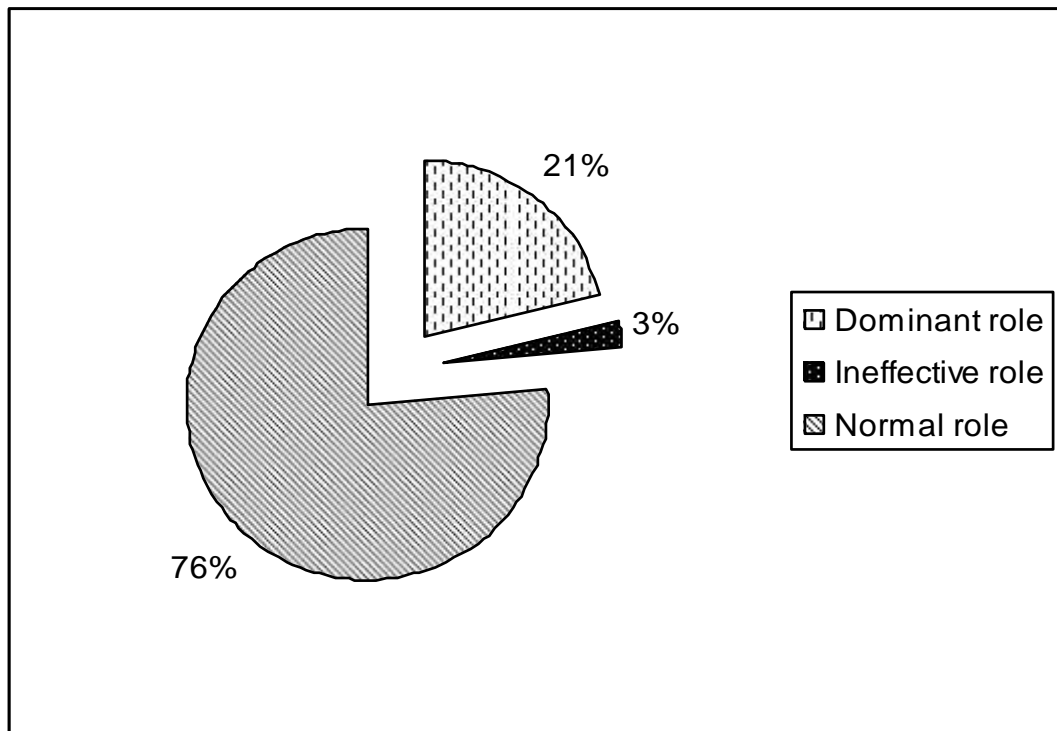


Figure 6.2 : Role of Indigenous Nationalities:

Source : Field Survey, 2008

6.4 Social Organizations of Indigenous Nationalities:

The re-inauguration of multiparty democracy in 1990 was seen by one observer as the beginning of the janajati yug (the age of the janajatis), in place of the previous partyless Panchayat yug or age (Des Chene, 1996). The downfall of the Rana regime and "the decade of extroversion" of the 1950s had seen the establishment of an organization for backward communities. The Pichadieko Barga Sangathan, established in 1956, included the Gurung Kalyan Sangh, Tharu Kalyankari Sabha, Kirat League and Dalit Sangh. The relatively open atmosphere following the referendum of 1980 also gave rise to ethnic expressions. The Newari bhituna (New year) processions in urban area like Kathmandu and publications like Tharu Sanskriti (Tharu), Tamun (Gurung), Khanglo (Thakali), Paru-hang (Kirat), Kongpi (Kirat), Kairan (various ethnic groups) and Chahara (various ethnic groups) can be cited in this regard. Two organizations with a federal character were established during the

period. They were the Nepal Sarbajatiya Manch (Nepal All peoples Forum), which was to later evolve into the Nepal Janajati Mahasangh (Nepal Federation of Nationalities), in 1982 and the Udpidit Jatiya Utthan Manch (Oppressed People's Upliftment Forum) for uniting the artisan castes in 1987 (Gurung, 1998;cited in Serchan, 2001: 74).

The post -1990 periods has provided further impetus to Indigenous-janajati stirrings. The period marks attempts by non- Hindu ethnic groups to create their own discourse in the form of janajati, in place of the Brahmanical jat (caste), thus breaking free from the confines of Hinduism. The primary distinction between jat and janajati is the vertical hierarchy (social) of the former and horizontal differentiation (spatial) of the latter (ibid).

With the evolution of NEFIN, as an umbrella organization of all Indigenous Nationalities, the movement of Indigenous Nationalities has taken a height. It has attempted to unite non Hindu Indigenous Nationalities of the country under its umbrella. In the post April 2006 period, the discussion about the rights of excluded groups has occupied an important place in the national politics. NEFIN, have been launching various protest programmes to secure the rights of Indigenous Nationalities.

Various social organizations of Indigenous Nationalities are also active in Kaski district. Some of the important organizations among them are as follows:

6.4.1 Tamu Dhi, Kaski:

Tamu Dhi, Kaski is the main umbrella organization of all the Gurungs of Kaski. 36 Gurung organizations of local level are organized under Tamu Dhi. It was established in 5 Jestha 2042 B.S but was formally registered only in 2052 B.S. It has been working for the preservation of language, culture and religion of Gurungs. It has also been working for the prosperity of Gurungs. Likewise, it has also been fighting for the rights of Gurungs including the ethnic authnomy. This organization is chaired by Mrs. Karma Tamu since its establishment.

6.4.2 Nepal Magar Sangh, Kaski:

Nepal Magar Sangh, Kaski was established in 2039 B.S. It is a district branch of Nepal Magar Sangh central committee. It works for the preservation of language, culture and religion of Magars. It has also been struggling to secure the rights of Magars. It is chaired by Capt. Krishna Bahadur Thapa.

6.4.3 Newa Khala, Kaski :

Newa Khala, Kaski was established in 2050 B.S. This organization is a branch of Newa Khala, central committee. It is chaired by Mr. Prakash Man Palikhe. It has been working for the preservation of language, script, culture and religion of Newars. It has also been working for the unity and co-operation among Newars.

6.4.4 Nepal Tamang Ghedung , Kaski.

Nepal Tamang Ghedung, Kaski was established in 2052 B.S. It has its central committee which unites all the Tamangs all over the country. It has been working for the preservation of culture, language and religion of Tamangs. It is chaired by Deepak Tamang.

6.4.5 Thakali Sewa Samiti, Kaski:

Thakalis are migrated to pokhara from Mustang. They were organized in 2011 B.S. as "Thakali Samaj" which later on turned into "Thakali Sewa Samiti, Kaski". It has also its central committee. It has been working for the preservation of language, religion and culture of Thakalis.

6.5 State of Satisfaction about the Role of Social Organizations of Indigenous Nationalities.

Table 6.2 shows the state of satisfaction about the role of social organizations of Indigenous Nationalities for the inclusive representation. The highest percent (43.4%) of the respondents think that the role is somewhat satisfactory, 31.6% of them think that the role is not satisfactory, 22.4% of them think that the role is satisfactory and only 2.6% of them think that the role is very satisfactory.

Table 6.2: Sate of Satisfaction about the Role of Social Organizations of Indigenous Nationalities:

Role	Frequency	Percent
Very Satisfactory	2	2.6
Satisfactory	17	22.4
Somewhat satisfactory	33	43.4
Not satisfactory	24	31.6
Total	76	100.0

Source : Field Survey, 2008

6.6 So-called High Caste Domination in the Political Parties:

The so-called high caste groups have been playing a vital role in the political parties. Majority of the respondents (58%) think that there is so-called high castes domination in their party/organizations while 42% of the respondents think that there is no such domination in their party/organization. Figure 6.3 illustrate more about it.

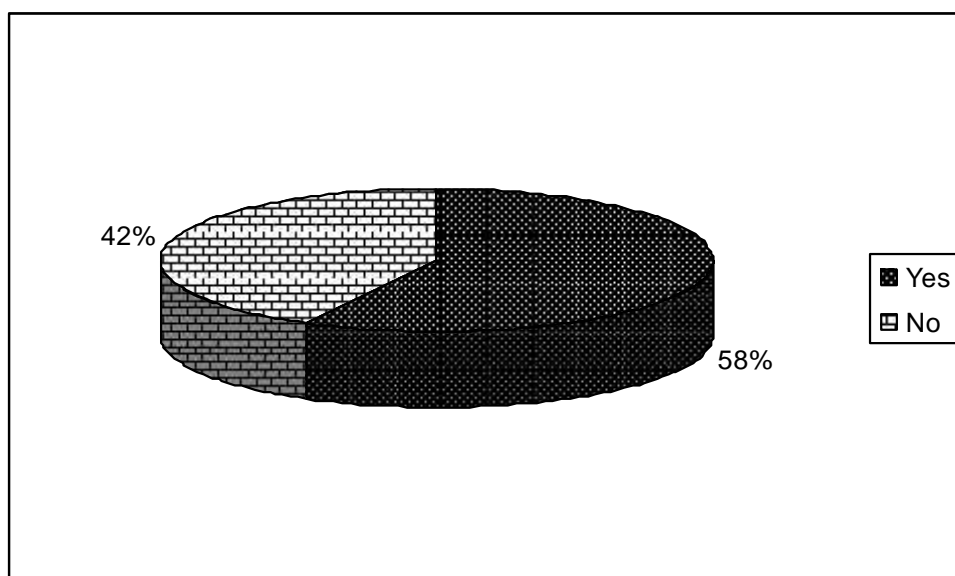


Figure 6.3: So-called High Caste Domination in the Political Parties:

Source : Field Survey, 2008

From the above discussion it is clear that majority of the respondent think that there is so-called high castes domination in their political parties/ organizations. Vast majority (82%) of the respondents think that they would struggle against such domination while 18% of them think that they would deal against such domination in other ways and no one of the respondents think that they would tolerate such domination. Figure 6.4 illustrates more about it.

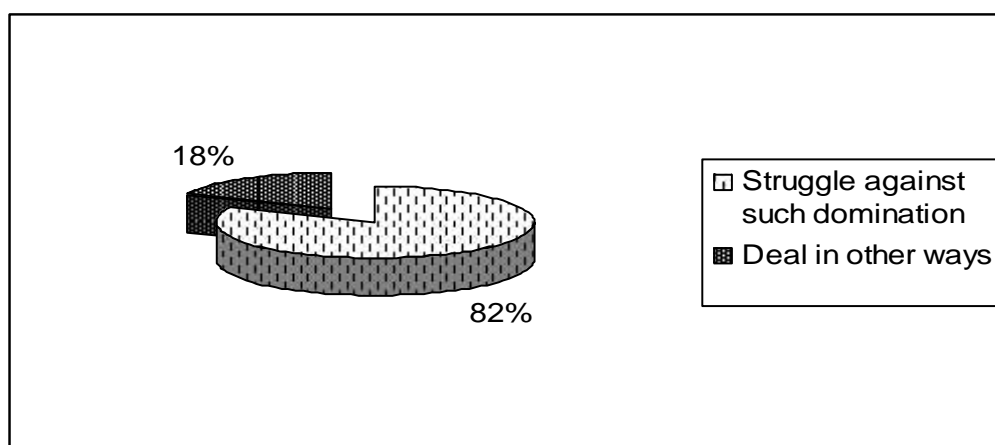


Figure 6.4: Reaction Against so-called High-Caste Domination:

Source : Field Survey, 2008

6.7 Perception towards Raising an Ethnic Issue:

Nowadays, ethnic issue has been a hot subject of discussion among political parties. The ethnic groups along with other excluded groups have sought for their inclusive representation. Sometimes ethnic issue have occupied important place than other national issue. Such issues have also created some debates with in the political parties. So, there has been debate whether it is right to raise an ethnic issue within the party. Majority of the respondents (53%) think that it is not right to raise an ethnic issue and 47% of the respondents think that it is right to raise an ethnic issue within the party. Figure 6.5 illustrates more about it.

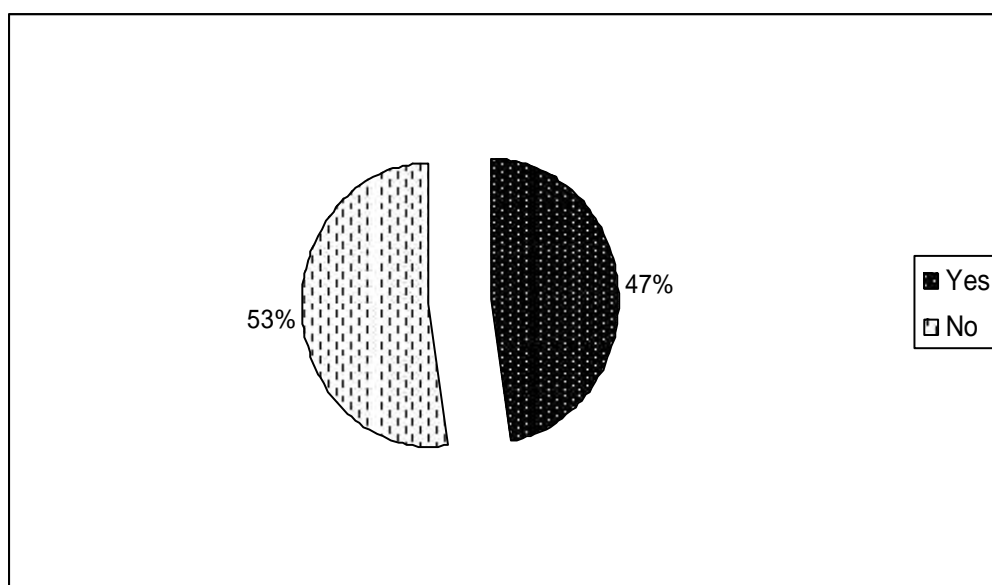


Figure 6.5 : Right to Raise an Ethnic Issue:

Source : Field Survey, 2008

6.8 Difficulties Faced Being an Indigenous Nationality:

One has to face many difficulties in politics. As Indigenous Nationalities is an excluded group the researcher wanted to know whether difficulties arise being an Indigenous Nationality. The vast majority (76%) of the respondents have not felt difficulties and 24% of them have felt difficulties while involving in politics being an Indigenous Nationality. It is more illustrated by the following figure.

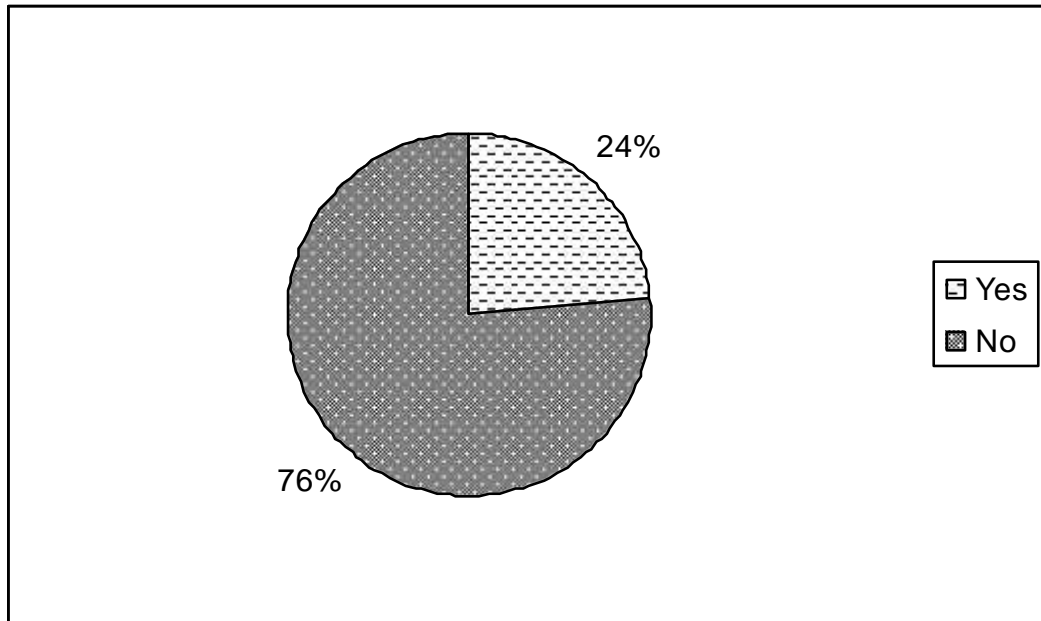


Figure 6.6 : Difficulties Faced being an Indigenous Nationality.

Source : Field Survey, 2008

There are different types of difficulties faced by the respondents being an Indigenous Nationality. Some of them said that they are facing many problems due to lack of political consciousness within Indigenous Nationalities. They are not getting enough family support for involving in politics. They have to encounter social pressure while involving in politics. As a result, the political activists from the community of Indigenous Nationalities are not sustainable in politics. They are compelled to quit it in short time. Likewise, some of them said that due to low representation the voice of Indigenous Nationalities has been low. So, they have not been able to raise their issues strongly. Some of them also stated that they are facing language problem too. They have not been able to deliver their speech sharply in Nepali language which is not their mother tongue. The other said that as there is Brahmin domination and nepotism practice, Indigenous Nationalities have not been able to take leadership in their parties/organizations.

6.9 Confidence of Overcoming other Caste Groups:

Internal competition within the party occurs to take the leadership. The researcher wanted to know whether the respondents are confident for overcoming other caste groups during the internal competition. The vast majority (96%) of the respondents think that they could overcome other caste groups while only 4% of the

respondents think that they could not overcome the other caste groups. Figure 6.7 depicts the state of confidence of the respondents more clearly.

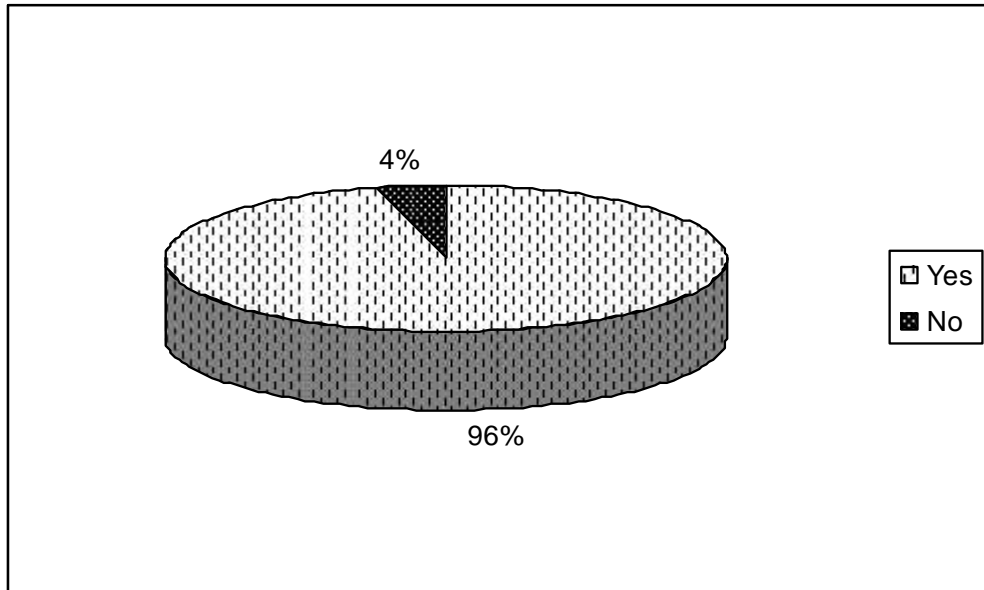


Figure 6.7: Overcome Other Caste Groups:

Source : Field Survey, 2008

The vast majority of the respondents are not just confident about overcoming other caste groups but they have also clear vision for this purpose. Some of them stated that they would focus more on building up their personal skill and capacity. They have thought to take the necessary political knowledge. They have also thought to be obedient and well-disciplined. Some of them said that they would work continuously in a responsible way. They have thought to be more active and give more time. They also said that they would not hesitate to take the leadership. They have thought to move ahead always to take leadership. Likewise, some other has said that they would be committed to party's principle, policy and programmes. The most important thing for overcoming other caste groups, which they have thought is the unity among Indigenous Nationalities. They have thought to fight against caste/ethnic discrimination in a united way.

The small portion of the respondents are not confident about overcoming other caste groups. They think that it is so because they do not have enough time to devote in the political activities.

6.10 Necessity of Street Demonstration:

In the democratic practice of Nepal street demonstration has been an effective means for fulfilling one's demands. The excluded groups along with Indigenous Nationalities have been protesting in the streets with different kinds of demands in various period of time. NEFIN, the umbrella organization of Indigenous Nationalities have launched several street demonstrations regarding the rights of Indigenous Nationalities. Majority (62%) of the respondents thinks that street demonstration is necessary to fulfill their demand of inclusive representation while 38% of the respondents think that street demonstration is not necessary. The following figure illustrates it more clearly.

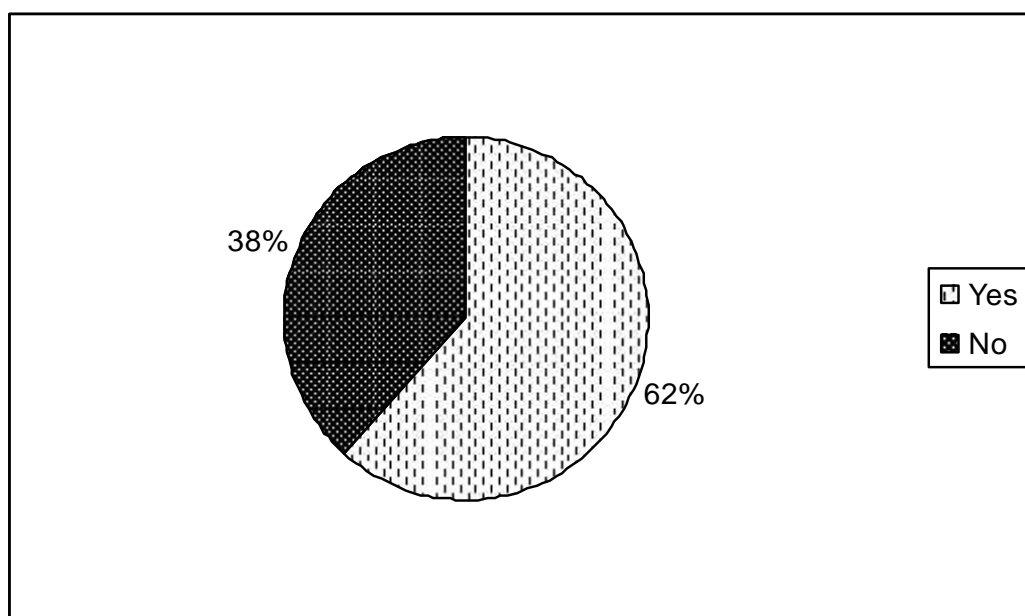


Figure 6.8 : Necessity of Street Demonstration:

Source : Field Survey, 2008

6.11 Role of Social Organizations of Indigenous Nationalities:

Social organizations of Indigenous Nationalities are the leading, authentic and common organization of the respective Indigenous Nationalities. So, they have an important role in dealing with any issue of Indigenous Nationalities. They can play a vital role for the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties. The chief of the district committee of these organizations were interviewed to explore their role for the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities. As these social organizations are non-partisan, so they argued that they have good relations

with all the political parties. They have been organizing various discussion and interactions programmes with the leaders of different political parties. In such programmes they would discuss how to have inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties. They have been giving suggestion to the political parties to make their parties inclusive. They have also been giving pressure to the political parties for the inclusive representation. They have been appealing all the Indigenous Nationalities to be conscious politically and launching various types of awareness programmes to make them politically conscious. They have also appealed their community to get organized in any political parties of their choice and try to take the leadership of the party. Likewise, they have also been encouraging the political activists of Indigenous Nationalities. Along with all above activities, they have also been involving in the movement led by NEFIN for the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in every sector of the state. Thus, these social organizations have been performing their best role for the inclusive representation in the political parties.

6.12 Political Parties:

Nepal's Political parties originated in the 1930 s and 40s in opposition to the century-old oligarchic Rana regime (1846-1951) (Hachhethu, 2006:5). They have been playing a leading role in the democratic movement. In the political history of Nepal, political parties have been facing various difficulties and barriers. The evolutionary process of parties and the party system was disturbed when the then king Mahendra, through a royal coup in December 1960, banned all political parties. Only few parties, the NC and some splinter groups of the CPN, survived during the Panchayat period. But after the restoration of democracy in 1990, mushrooming of the parties occurred, among which only few are functioning in a well manner. Throughout the history there has been always conflict between the political parties and monarchy of Nepal. But after the revolution of April 2006 and the decision of the first meeting of Constituent Assembly of 28 may, 2008 the monarchy of Nepal has been abolished and now the political parties have got all the responsibilities to lead the country.

In a New democratic republic Nepal, the political parties have to work for the prosperity of the country. They need to solve the problems of the people and lead the country in the path of development. All kinds of discrimination on the basis of caste/ethnicity, gender, language, religion and region should be eliminated and the

state should be inclusive. Thus, the political parties have to address the issue of inclusion. A short description of the major political parties of Kaski district are as follows.

6.12.1 Nepali Congress:

Nepali Congress was formed in India in 1946 as a result of merge of Nepali National Congress and Nepal Democratic Party. Since its establishment the party has been in the forefront of political struggle in the cause of democracy, pluralism, human rights and rule of law (www.nepalicongress.org).

The first national convention of Nepali Congress was held in 1946. From that convention, Tanka Prasad Acharya, who was in Jail for life-imprisonment, became president and Bisweswor Prasad Koirala became the acting president. NC's greatest asset has been its history associated with its struggle for democracy. Founded against a backdrop of democratic awareness and movement in the 1940s, NC led the 1950-51 anti- Rana revolution and consequently gained a two-third majority in the 1959 parliamentary elections, forming a government under Bisweswor Prasad Koirala. Its democratic credentials remained intact after the ban on political parties in December 1960 as its exerted both violent (i.e armed insurgency in early 1960s and 1970s) and peaceful opposition against the partyless Panchayt regime. An NC leader, late Ganesh Man Singh, was the commander of the successful Jana Andolan in 1990. The primacy of the NC in the post 1990 politics became evident as it gained and regained majority of the seats in parliament in 1991 and 1999 general elections, despite a setback in the 1994 midterm polls. The NC has been in power for substantial periods in the post 1990 period (Hachhethu, 2006:6). Like other parties, NC also faced a split in 4th Ashad, 2059 B.S. Shere Bahadur Deuba led a separate party named Nepali Congress (Democratic). The splited groups reunited in 8 Aswin 2064 after five years.

Democratic socialism is the party's ideology. But the party leaders and workers have been socialised primarily to the philosophy of liberal democracy rather than to the economic principle of socialism (Hachhethu, 2006:7). The party is conscious of its ongoing struggle against the destabilizing forces of extreme left and right (www.nepalicongress.com).

Nepali Congress is a major and the oldest party of the Kaski District. It has been active since the revolution of 2007 B.S. The organizational network which was passive after the event of 2017 B.S, revived when the district committee was formed under the leadership of Dhir Bahadur Gurung. The party has been playing an important role in the democratic movement of the country. Nepali Congress won one

seat out of three in the parliamentary election of both 2048 and 2051. It won all three seats in the election of 2056 B.S. and lost all four seats in the Constituent Assembly election of 2064 B.S.

6.12.2 Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist Leninist)

The Communist Party of Nepal was founded on 22nd April 1949 during the people's struggle against the autocratic feudal Rana regime. The CPN was founded by the revolutionaries to wage people's struggle and establish new democratic system in the country. Comrade Puspa Lal Shrestha was the founder leader of the party, who continually fought for democracy till his last breath in 1978 while in exile in India. In its early years, the party gave clarion call for the establishment of the new democracy to liberate the country from feudal and imperialist exploitation and to preserve the independence of the country (www.cpunml.org). The evolutionary process of CPN is marked with many splits in different periods of time. Among many splinter groups of the CPN, the "Jhapali Group" came into existence in 1971, which was impressed by the Cultural Revolution in China and the Naxalite uprising in India. The Jhapali Group, latter on, emerged as CPN (Marxist Leninist) and they were known to be as an ultra-left group. At the time of its inception, the "Jhapali Group" adopted the Maoist ideology of "Naulo Janabad" and followed the Naxalite line of class annihilation. But the growth of the party, mainly through the amalgamation of several splinter communist groups and expansion of front organizations involved in open politics in the post-1980 referendum period, pushed it towards ideological moderation and modification. The constant revisions of the party's ideology manifested in its dumping the Naxalite line of liquidation of class enemies in 1982, abandoning of Maoism in 1989 and ultimately participation in the 1990 democracy movement (Hachhethu, 2006:8). The CPN (ML) and the CPN (Marxist), a descendant of the old CPN, unified in January 1991 and the unified party adopted the name CPN (UML). The party was in the role of major opposition in the first parliament (1991-1994), lead a minority government of its own and served as a partner in two coalition governments in the second parliament (1994-1999). The party faced a severe split in 2054 B.S. and the splited group CPN (ML), again reunited in 2058 B.S. The party upholds the principle of socialism and pursues the road of People's Multi Party Democracy which is a creative application of Marxism and Leninism in the Nepalese Context. Consolidation of democracy, strengthening peoples Sovereign rights, change the socio-economic relation and acceleration of the economic development in the country are the major

concerns of the party. Periodical election and the government of the majority, pluralism, rule of law, human rights are other important elements of the People's Multi Party Democracy.

CPN (UML) is one of the major political party of Kaski district. It has its own glorious history in the district. Along with the split of CPN, various fractions of communist party were active in Kaski district. Among them CPN (ML) emerged as the largest and the effective group. It conducted its first district convention in 8 and 9 of Bhadra 2047 B.S. The convention elected Sharada Prasad Subedi as the secretary. After its unification with CPN (Marxist) it took the form of CPN (UML) and Khagaraj Adhikari became the district secretary of unified party. The party won 2 seats out of 3 in the parliamentary election of both 2048 and 2051 B.S. and lost all three seats in the parliamentary election of 2056 B.S. Likewise in the Constituent Assembly Election of 2064 B.S. it won only one seat out of four.

6.12.3 Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist):

Among the various splinter groups of communist party the idea of Maoist model of new democracy was first articulated by CPN (Fourth Convention). The realignment of the leftist forces in the post-1990 period led to the formation of the CPN (Unity Centre), which consisted of several splinter groups of the erstwhile CPN (Fourth Convention). The party contested the 1991 parliamentary elections and 1992 local elections through its political wing, the United People's Front (UPF), in order to, in their own words, 'expose the sham of parliamentary democracy'. The party, under the leadership of General Secretary Puspha Kamal Dahal (popularly known as Prachanda), then upheld its faith in armed revolution against the prevailing system of monarchy and democracy. A split in the Unity Center over the question of translating the idea of armed struggle into action led to the formation of the CPN (Maoist) as a separate group in February 1995 (Hachhethu, 2006:10). The party led an armed struggle for about twelve years. During the insurgency more than 12000 people have lost their lives. After the April revolution of 2006, the insurgency is in the process of peaceful settlement. The party is in the open politics and it has got a great achievement in the Constituent Assembly election of 2064 B.S. Now, CPN (M) is the largest party in the Constituent Assembly. As opposed to its earlier ideological stance for a one-party people's democracy, they have now made provisions for competitive party politics in their newly proposed 'New Model of democracy'. The Maoist's proposal for state restructuring includes components such as popular sovereignty, secularism, federalism, inclusive democracy and retention of the multiparty competitive system (ibid).

CPN (M) is a leading party of Kaski district. Previously it has not much effect in the district but gradually the party expanded its organization all over the district. During the insurgency there was not so huge war in the district. However, there were frequent small attacks and counter attacks in which many people lost their lives. The former secretaries Raj Bikram Bhurtel and Bijay Dhakal also lost their lives during the insurgency. Like other parts of the country, CPN (M) emerged as the biggest party of the district in the Constituent Assembly election of 2064 B.S. The party won three seats out of four in the election.

6.12.4 Rastriya Prajatantra Party:

The Rastriya Prajatantra (RPP) came into being in 1992 following the merger of two separate parties of the same name having identical backgrounds and ideologies. Both the RPPs were formed following the restoration of democracy in 1990 and were led by former Panchayat Prime Ministers, Surya Bahadur Thapa and Lokendra Bahadur Chand. Though the party's image was closely associated with the background of its leaders and workers as well as their reputation as ardent advocates of an active monarchy and the partyless Panchayat regime, the party assimilated quite easily itself into the changing political context and declared its faith in the new system based on constitutional monarchy and parliamentary democracy (Hachhethu, 2006:12). The three ideological pillars of Nationalism, Democracy and Liberalism form the ideological base of the party (www.rppnepal.org).

In the parliamentary election of 2048 B.S. the RPP managed to win only four seats. In 2051, it won 20 seats. Taking an advantage of hung parliament, the party led two successive coalition governments: One led by PM Lokendra Bahadur Chand in alliance with the CPN (UML) in 2054 B.S. and the other led by PM Surya Bahadur Thapa in alliance with the NC in 2055 B.S. In the post -October 2002 period also, both Chand and Thapa received opportunities to lead governments nominated by the king.

In the last four years, following its third general convention, which elected Mr. Pashupati Shumsher J.B. Rana as the chairman, the party has taken all increasingly pro-democratic stance (www.rppnepal.org). The party has been facing many splits in different periods of time.

RPP is one of the major political party of Kaski district. The party of former 'Panchas' has not been able to build up strong organization. So, it has not achieved a grand success in any election besides winning few wards and village development committee in the local elections.

6.13 Process of Formation of District Committee:

6.13.1 Nepali Congress:

According to the article (10) of the constitution of Nepali Congress, the process of formation of district committee is as follow:

- i. The district convention comprises of elected representatives of each constituency for convention of each constituency, presidents of village and municipality committee, president of ward committees of municipality, elected MPs or candidates of MPs in the latest election and the nominated persons by the district president according to the sub article (3).
- ii. The district convention elects a president from the representative of national convention who have regular active membership for 10 years. In the election, one should get more than 50% of the casted votes to be the president. Otherwise, there should be re-election between the two persons who obtains the maximum votes than the others and the one who obtains highest votes will be the president. In the case of only two candidates, the candidate who obtains the highest votes will get victory at once.
- iii. The elected district president can nominate the members for the district convention from the active members as mentioned below:
 - 3 members from the district having one constituency.
 - 4 members from the district having two constituencies.
 - 5 members from the district having three constituencies.
 - 6 members from the district having four constituencies.
 - 7 members from the district having five constituencies.
 - 8 members from the district having six constituencies.
 - 9 members from the district having seven constituencies.

While nomination, priority should be given to the backward caste/ethnic groups, women and the persons involved in the movement of establishing and re-establishing democracy.

- iv. The elected president of district committee can nominate 16 persons as the members of district committee from the members of district convention. The nominees should be from each constituency.
- v. The district committee comprises of the following members:

- a. The elected president according to the sub article (ii) of article 10.
- b. The elected members for the district committee according to the sub-article (ii) of article 8.
- c. The nominated members according to sub-article (iv) of article 10.
- d. The presidents of each constituency are the members of district committee by the post.
- e. The president nominates vice-president, secretary, joint-secretary and treasurer from the members of the district committee.

6.13.2 Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist Leninist)

According to the constitution of CPN (UML), the formation of district committee is as follows:

- i. The district committee is formed by district convention which takes place in every three years.
- ii. The criteria for the representatives of the district convention is according as determined by the district committee. The representatives are from all over the district representing their cell committee.
- iii. The members for district committee are elected from their respective area and free competition. The number of district committee is as follows:
 - a. One from each administrative area.
 - b. One from labour area committee.
 - c. One from intellectual area committee.
 - d. One from student area committee.
 - e. One from women representative.
 - f. One from municipality.
 - g. Maximum up to 8 from free competition.
- iv. The elected committee elects its secretary and vice-secretary.
- v. The elected committee can nominate some members not exceeding one third of its committee members.

As the demands of inclusion of various groups were highly sounded during the movement of April 2006, the political parties have realized the need on inclusion of these excluded groups. CPN (UML) has concluded that without standing political parties in an inclusive form it is impossible to establish inclusive democracy in the society. Thus, from the 12th meeting of central committee CPN (UML) has made

some amendment in its constitution. The new policy was applicable after 2064-2-16 B.S. The party has focused to prepare a concrete plan to increase the party membership of Women, Dalits, Indigenous Nationalities, Madhesi and people of backward region in proportion to their population. The criteria to obtain party membership and responsibility in different committee has been made flexible in case of excluded groups. After amendment in the constitution, the district committee of the party is formed as follow:

- i. One from each administrative area
- ii. One from labour area committee
- iii. One from intellectual area committee
- iv. One from student area committee
- v. One from municipality and two from metropolis/sub-metropolis.
- vi. Three from Dalits members of the party.
- vii. Other 15 members from free competition.
- viii. Compulsion of 33% women representation in the committee.
- ix. Dalits, Indigenous Nationalities and Madhesi should be represented in proportion to their population of the concerned district.

6.13.3 Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist):

As CPN (M) was engaged in a protracted people's war for 12 years, they do not have systematic process for the formation of district committee. The party committee was especially designed in favour of people's war. So, they have not been conducting convention for the election of party committee. The district committee of CPN (M) is formed by the process of nomination by the upper authority. The nominees are according to the need of the party for that district. The secretary of the committee is also nominated in the same manner.

6.13.4 Rastriya Prajatantra Party:

According to the constitution of RPP, the district council elects the district executive committee of RPP.

In a district council following will be the members:

- i. All the designated and non-designated members of district executive committee.
- ii. All the designated and non-designated members of regional executive committee.

- iii. Party parliament members and district representatives to central executive committee.
- iv. Chairman of village and municipal executive committees.
- v. Representative member making one forth of the total ward numbers selected by the municipality executive committee.

The organization of the district executive committees will be as follow:

- a. This committee will accommodate 15 to 27 persons consisting of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer, assistant secretary and members. In specifying the committee members there will be 15 in a district of one constituency and each 2 more from each additional constituency.
- b. Including a chairman, 50% of members for the district executive committee will be elected by the district council and the rest 50% will be nominated and designated by the chairman.
- c. Elected parliament members of that district will be ex-officio members of this committee.
- d. Regional Executive Committee Chairman will be a ex-officio member.
- e. All the Chairman of the district level class organizations will remain as the observers in this body but they won't have the right to vote nor to run for election.
- f. The relevant district representative to the party central committee will be as invited guests.

The district committee of the political parties is elected either by the district convention or council. But in case of CPN (M) the district committee is formed by the process of nomination as it was involved in armed revolution for twelve years. The provision of including Indigenous Nationalities in district committee differ from party to party. If we look at the process of formation of district committee of Nepali Congress there is no special provisions for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities. Every delegates of the district convention should compete in an equal manner. There will be only chances of being nominated members if the president gives priority to nominate Indigenous Nationalities including other excluded groups. In case of CPN (UML), previously there were also no special provisions for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities in party committee. But after the movement of April 2006, it has brought the new policies for the inclusion of excluded groups. It has adopted the

policies of minimum 33% of women representation and the representation of Dalits, Indigenous Nationalities and Madhesi in proportion to their population of the concerned district. Although CPN (M) do not have systematic process for the formation of district committee it has included more number of Indigenous Nationalities in their committee. It seems that they have given high priority to Indigenous Nationalities and other excluded groups while nominating for the members of their committee. And in case of RPP there is also no special provision of including Indigenous Nationalities in their committee. However, the party has been concerned to include Indigenous Nationalities in nominating its members.

6.14 Appropriateness of the Present Party Policy:

The policy for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities differ from party to party. The parties seem to have taken care in inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities while forming their committee. However, Indigenous Nationalities are excluded from the main stream of political leadership. In this context, there has been debate about the appropriateness of the present party policy for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities. Figure 6.9 makes us clear about the respondents views towards the appropriateness of the present party policy. The vast majority (85%) of the respondents think that the present policy of the party is appropriate while 15% of the respondents think that it is not appropriate for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities.

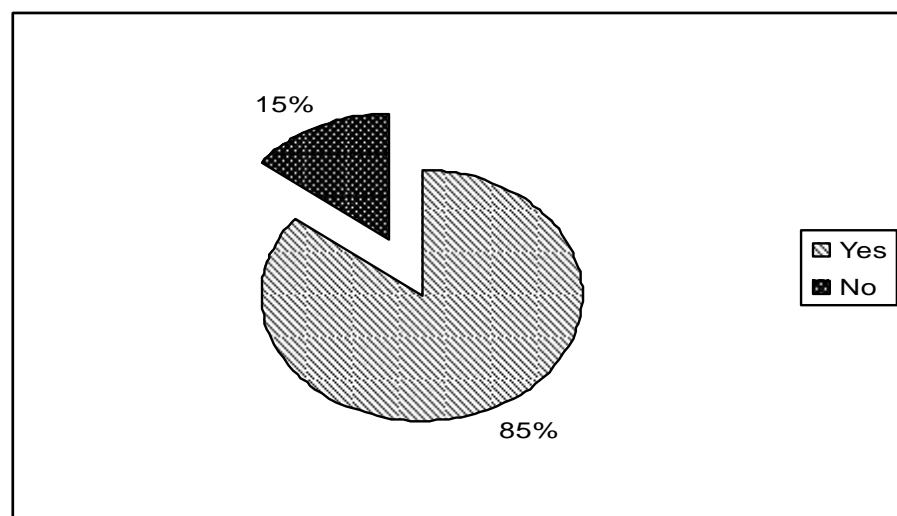


Figure 6.9: Policy Appropriate:

Source : Field Survey, 2008

6.15 Condition in which the Policy of the Party Change

Although most of the respondents think that present policy of the party is appropriate, it has not been effective and complete enough for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities. Some of the political parties have also made some changes in their policy to address this issue. Indigenous Nationalities have raised their voice to change the present policy and bring an appropriate policy for their inclusion. However, some of the parties are still rigid in their policy. Thus, it is necessary to know in which condition the policy of the party change. The largest percent (40.8%) of the respondents think that increment in the number of Indigenous Nationalities as the party cadres, 36.8% of the respondents think that realization of the need of inclusion by the party, 14.5% of the respondents think that pressure of Indigenous Nationalities within the party and 2.6% of the respondents think that pressure of social organizations of Indigenous Nationalities is the condition at which the policy of the party will change for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities. The remaining 1.3% of the respondents think that all of them are the necessary condition and 3.9% of them think that there are other conditions. Here, other conditions include ethnic autonomy with the right of self determination and equal access of all caste/ethnic groups in all sector of the state. Table 6.3 illustrates more about it.

Table 6.3: Condition in which the Policy of the Party Change for Inclusion:

Condition	Frequency	Percent
Pressure of Indigenous Nationalities within the party	11	14.5
Pressure of the social organizations of the Indigenous Nationalities	2	2.6
Increment in the number of Indigenous Nationalities as the Party Cadres	31	40.8
Realization of the need of the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities by Political Parties	28	36.8
All of above	1	1.3
Other	3	3.9
Total	76	100.0

Source : Field Survey, 2008

6.16 Organization of Indigenous Nationalities as a Wing

Organization of the Party:

Political parties have different sister organizations which includes the organizations of women, youth, student, peasant, labour, dalits, professionals etc. During the late period the political parties have also organized Indigenous Nationalities in a separate political wing of the party. CPN (M) was the first party to have organizations of Indigenous Nationalities. It comprises many liberation fronts of various ethnic groups such as Tamu Liberation Front, Magarat Liberation Front, Newa Liberation Front, Tamang Liberation Front, Kirat Liberation Front, Tharu Liberation Front etc. CPN (UML) has established Nepal Democratic Federation of Indigenous Nationalities which comprises the democratic unions of various Indigenous Nationalities such as Nepal Democratic Tamu Union, Nepal Democratic Magar Union, Nepal Democratic Newar Union, Nepal Democratic Tamang Union, Nepal Democratic Rai Union, Nepal Democratic Limbu Union, Nepal Democratic Tharu Union etc. Similarly, NC has Nepal Adibashi Janajati Sangh and RPP has Rastriya Prajatantrik Adibashi Janajati Sanghthan as the organizations of Indigenous Nationalities.

Although political parties have established the organizations of Indigenous Nationalities, sometimes there arise questions about the significance of such organization. The researcher attempted to know whether the organization of the Indigenous Nationalities as a political wing is necessary. The vast majority (87%) of the respondents thinks that it is necessary while 13% thinks that it is not necessary. Figure 6.10 illustrates it more clearly.

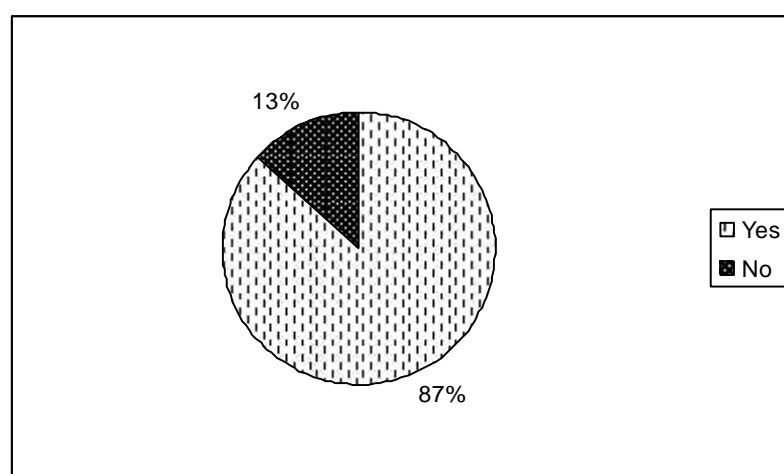


Figure 6.10: Necessity of Organizations of Indigenous Nationalities:

Source : Field Survey, 2008

These organizations work in the sector of Indigenous Nationalities for the interest of party. Besides the party's interest they also work for the rights and promotion of their community. The researcher wanted to know whether these organizations contribute for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities. The vast majority (84%) of the respondents think that such organization can contribute while 16% of them think that such organizations can not contribute for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities. It is illustrated more in the figure 6.11

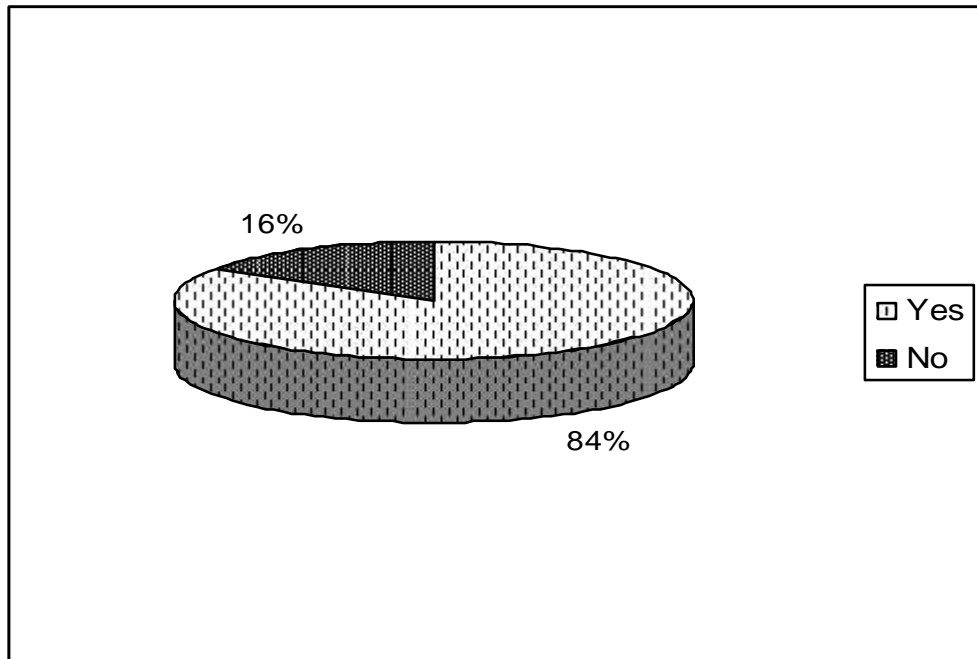


Figure 6.11: Organizations of Indigenous Nationalities Contribute for Inclusion:

Source : Field Survey, 2008

These organizations of Indigenous Nationalities contribute in various ways for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities. The largest percent (42.2%) of the respondents thinks that by organizing more Indigenous Nationalities in the party, the same 42.2% of the respondents think that by pressurizing the party to bring appropriate policy, 12.5% of them think that by fighting against caste/ethnic discrimination and 3.1% of them think that by all of the above ways the organizations can contribute for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities. It is illustrated in the following table.

Table 6.4: Ways with which the Organizations of Indigenous Nationalities Contribute:

Ways	Frequency	Percent
By organizing more Indigenous Nationalities in the party	27	42.2
By fighting against the caste/ethnic discrimination with in the party	8	12.5
By pressurizing the party to bring appropriate policy for inclusive representation	27	42.2
All of above	2	3.1
Total	64	100.0

Source : Field Survey, 2008

6.17 Role of the Political Parties:

Political parties can play the main role for the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities. If they are serious about this issue they can address it in a right way. The present policy and constitution of the political parties are insufficient for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities. So, it is necessary to make some changes in their policy and constitution so that every person of all caste/ ethnicity, gender, religion, region & language can equally participate and represent in the parties. The party works in the sector of Indigenous Nationalities is less in comparison to other caste groups. They need to maximize it. The number of party members among Indigenous Nationalities needs to be increased. Today, Nepal is in the process of making new constitution. Political parties are the main constructors of new constitution. So, they can play vital role to secure the rights of Indigenous Nationalities. The inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities along with other marginalized groups in every sector have to be guaranteed by the constitution. Nepal is also undergoing in the process of restructuring. The political parties have to be sensitive in making such a structure where every caste/ ethnic groups, gender, language, religion and regional groups are inclusively represented.

CHAPTER -VII

INCLUSIVE REPRESENTATION OF INDIGENOUS NATIONALITIES:

This study was aimed to suggest about the methods with which the Indigenous Nationalities could be inclusively represented in political parties. So, this chapter deals with this objective of the research.

7.1 Inclusive Representation in Political Parties:

Our country Nepal consists of the people of different caste/ ethnic groups, gender, language, religion and regional groups. In such a country, a political party will be considered as inclusive party if it has representation of all these diversified groups in an adequate number. Indigenous Nationalities is also a major component of Nepalese society. The need and necessity of their inclusion have been highly realized which is already discussed in the earlier chapters.

The issue of inclusion of excluded groups in every mechanisms of the state was high sounded in peoples' movement of April 2006. Then, more or less the practice of inclusion of excluded groups was applied in Nepalese politics. The researcher wanted to know about the state of progress. Table 7.1 deals more about it.

Table 7.1 : State of Progress:

State of Progress	Frequency	Percent
There has been a lot of progress	9	11.8
There has been some progress	34	44.7
No progress at all	1	1.3
The issue has been discussed much but not implemented in practice	32	42.1
Total	76	100

Source : Field Survey, 2008

As the above table illustrates, the highest percentage of the respondents (i.e.44.7%) stated that there has been some progress, followed by 42.1% of respondents stated that the issue has been discussed much but not implemented in

practice, 11.8% of the respondents stated that there has been a lot of progress and only 1.3% of them stated that there was no progress at all.

Inclusion of excluded groups is a sensitive issue in a country like Nepal where every mechanisms of the state is highly dominated by so called high caste groups. Sometimes when these issues are raised they have been encountering and opposing it. The researcher wanted to know what was the view of other caste groups felt by the respondents when they raise their issue of inclusion. Figure 7.1 depicts about the views of other caste groups. The majority of the respondents (i.e.66%) stated that they have found the positive view of other caste groups, 18% of them stated that they have found that the other caste groups were neutral in the case and 16% of them stated that the other caste groups were negative about it.

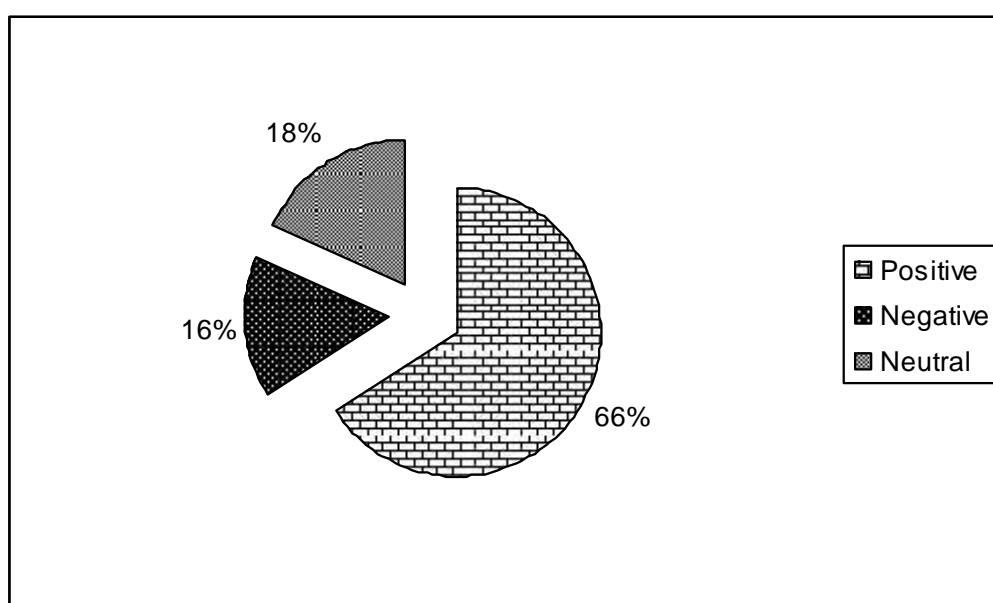


Figure 7.1: Views of Other Caste Groups:

Source : Field Survey, 2008

7.2 Methods for the Inclusive Representation of Indigenous Nationalities:

Indigenous Nationalities which comprises 37.2% of total population of Nepal is excluded from the political leadership. The researcher has tried to suggest the methods with which Indigenous Nationalities could be inclusively represented in the committees of the political parties. Table 7.2 illustrates the methods for inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities as suggested by the respondents.

Table 7.2: Method for Inclusive Representation:

Method	Frequency	Percent
Promoting the active participation	22	28.9
Certain reservation	10	13.2
Proportional representation	44	57.9
Total	76	100

Source : Field Survey, 2008

As the above table illustrates majority of the respondents i.e. 57.9% of them stated that proportional representation of Indigenous Nationalities, 28.9% of them stated that promoting active participation of Indigenous Nationalities and 13.2% of them stated that certain reservation for Indigenous Nationalities would be the best method for inclusive representation.

The researcher has also talked with the chief of the social organizations of Indigenous Nationalities and the chief of the district committees of the political parties. Most of the key-informants belonging to the social organizations stated that proportional representation would be the best method for inclusive representation. One of them added that besides proportional representation they should be serious about increasing political consciousness among Indigenous Nationalities and the other suggested that there should be the system of reservation for the Indigenous Nationalities that are in minority. The key-informants belonging to the political parties did not give a clear cut visions. Most of them agreed about the proportional representation of Indigenous Nationalities in other mechanisms of the state but they seemed indifferent in case of their party committees. They said that they would bring the policy of inclusive representation after the convention of their parties. One of them suggested the proportional representation on the basis of the population of the concerned Indigenous Nationalities in the concerned district. Further, he added that the party members should be increased among Indigenous Nationalities. The other key-informant stated that there should be special provision in the party's constitution for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities. He also added that priority should be given to Indigenous Nationalities in the party's position as they were back warded since centuries.

CHAPTER - VIII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Summary and Findings:

The Nepalese society is a diversified society which consists of a complex mixture of various religious, cultural, linguistic and caste/ethnic groups. But there is domination of certain group in the mechanisms of the state. So, the other excluded groups are raising the voice of inclusion. Thus, inclusion has been a hot agenda of Nepali politics. In this context, this study has centrally focused on the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties. The study has the general objective of studying about the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties, while following are its specific objectives:

-) To study the condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities in political parties of Kaski district.
-) To study the role of Indigenous Nationalities and political parties for inclusive representation.
-) To suggest about the methods with which Indigenous Nationalities could be inclusively represented in political parties.

This study is basically an academic study but it has yielded important information which are very useful in formulating various policies regarding the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities and other excluded groups too. The study has mainly focused on the reasons for low representation of Indigenous Nationalities and the methods with which they could be inclusively represented in the political parties. It has studied the condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the four political parties of Kaski district viz. NC, CPN (UML), CPN (M) and RPP. The policies and procedures of these parties in formation of their committees and their perspective towards inclusive representation have also been studied. The study is carried out under the branch of political sociology. During the study, literature on social inclusion and political issues of Indigenous Nationalities and the documents of the various political parties have been reviewed.

As the study was undertaken within boundary of certain time and budget, it only covered four major political parties of Kaski district viz. NC, CPN (UML), CPN (M) and RPP.

According to the party office source of these four parties, there are 95 persons from the community of Indigenous Nationalities in the district committees of the four parties and their sister organizations. Thus, the universe of the study was 95, out of which 76 persons i.e 80% were selected as sample following simple random method.

The research study is descriptive as well as exploratory in nature. The nature of the data is both qualitative and quantitative. These data have been collected from both primary and secondary sources. Questionnaire and interview are the data collection techniques used in the study. Both of these data collection instruments were pre-tested in a non-sample area before their use in the actual survey. The data collected have been analyzed by using computer programme SPSS while qualitative data have been analyzed manually. Result of the quantitative data analysis has been shown by using various tables, charts and diagrams.

The condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities is comparatively low than other caste groups in all the four political parties. Priority for foreign employment, lack of political awareness, lack of education and so-called high castes dominations are the main reasons for low representation. The discriminative policy of the state and lack of appropriate policy among the political parties are also other important reasons.

The social organizations which are working for the welfare of Indigenous Nationalities can play important role in increasing the representation of Indigenous Nationalities. They can launch various awareness programme to make them politically conscious and put pressure on political parties to bring appropriate policy for the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities. Similarly, political parties can play the main role for the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities. They need to make changes in their policy and constitution so that every person of all caste/ethnicity, gender, religion, region and language has inclusive representation in the parties.

As the necessity of inclusion of excluded groups is highly sounded all over the country, it has been realized by the concerned bodies. Thus, there has been some progress but still there is much to be implemented in practice. Proportion representation will be the best method for inclusive representation of Indigenous

Nationalities in the political parties. It ensures the representation of every person of all caste/ ethnicity, gender, religion, regions and language.

The study has explained and explored a lot about the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in political parties. Among them, the important findings are as follow:

- i. Kaski district occupies an important place in national politics. It is inhabited by many Indigenous Nationalities among which Gurung is the most dominant one. The majority of the respondents are Gurung (63.2%) followed by Newar (15.8%) and then others Magar (13.2%), Tamang (3.9%) and Thakali (3.9%).
- ii. The representation of Indigenous Nationalities is less in the four political parties and their sister organizations.
- iii. Comparatively CPN (M) and RPP have more representation of Indigenous Nationalities than other parties in the district committee. In case of youth organization, NC has more representation of Indigenous Nationalities while CPN (M) has more representation of Indigenous Nationalities in case of student organization. Similarly, in case of women organization RPP has the more representation of Indigenous Nationalities and CPN (UML) has more representation of Indigenous Nationalities so far as the peasant organization is concerned.
- iv. Indigenous Nationalities have less access to the vital posts. Majority of the respondents (89.47%) are just the district committee members. Only 4.21% of them have got the post of chair person, only 3.16% of them have got the post of vice-chair person and only 1.05% of them have got the post of secretary. Similarly, only 1.05% of them have got the post of joint-secretary and the same 1.05% of them has got the post of treasurer.
- v. Majority (42.1%) of the respondents believe that priority for foreign employment, 32.9% of them believe that lack of political awareness, 11.8% of them believe that lack of education and 10.5% of them believe that so-called high castes domination is the main cause of poor representation of Indigenous Nationalities.
- vi. After the establishment of "Gorkha Bharti Kendra," the youths of Indigenous Nationalities started to recruit in British and Indian Army. Then, the exclusion started in the name of foreign employment.

- vii. Lack of appropriate policy among political parties is also the important reason for low representation of Indigenous Nationalities.
- viii. There are many social organizations such as Tamu Dhi, Nepal Magar Sangh, Newa Khala, Nepal Tamang Ghedung and Thakali Sewa Samiti working for the welfare of respective Indigenous Nationalities. These organizations have an important role in increasing the representation of Indigenous Nationalities. They have been organizing various programmes to increase political consciousness and political skills of Indigenous Nationalities. Further, they have been putting pressure on the concerned bodies for their inclusive representation.
- ix. Majority of the respondents (57.9%) think that there is so-called high castes domination in their party/organization while 42.1 % of them think that there is not such kind of domination.
- x. There is no appropriate policy among political parties for the inclusive representation of excluded groups. It is necessary to change the party's policy and constitution for the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities and other excluded groups.
- xi. After the people's movement of April 2006, the practice of inclusion of excluded groups have been started. There has been some progress.
- xii. Majority of the respondents (i.e 65.8%) stated that they have found the positive view, 18.4% of them have found neutral view and 15.8% of them stated that they have found negative view of the other caste groups about inclusive representation.
- xiii. Majority of the respondents i.e. 57.9% of them stated that proportional representation of Indigenous Nationalities, 28.9% of them stated that active participation of Indigenous Nationalities and 13.2% of them stated that certain reservation for Indigenous Nationalities would be the best method for inclusive representation.

8.2 Conclusion:

Political parties are the representatives of the people. In a country like Nepal which is comprised of people of various caste/ethnicity, language, religion, cultural and regional groups, they should have representation of all these divers groups. But the study shows that the representation is not in balance. It is highly dominated by Brahmins and other groups such as Indigenous Nationalities, Dalits and Madhesi are excluded from it. Until and unless the political parties are inclusive, the state cannot

be inclusive. If the exclusive nature of the state prevails for a long time, neither Nepal could attain sustainable peace nor it could develop properly. So, it should not be too late to make our political parties and the state inclusive. Different social organizations of Indigenous Nationalities have been working to increase the representation of Indigenous Nationalities. As the issue of inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities has been intensely raised all over the country, political parties seem sensitive to address the issue. But they lack the policy and programmes for the inclusive representation. So, it is necessary to make changes on the constitution of the party. Those parties which will address this issue will gain popularity but which ignores the problem will disappear soon from the political scenario of Nepal. There are various methods to assure the representation of all the diverse groups. Among them, proportional representation would be the best as it assures the representation of diverse groups equal to the proportion of their population. Along with the representation, Indigenous Nationalities should also be aware to develop leadership skill and capacity. Thus, inclusiveness in the party could be attained which ultimately helps to form inclusive state - "The New Nepal."

8.3 Recommendations/Suggestions:

-) There is no trend of active participation in politics among Indigenous Nationalities. So, they have to be encouraged for active participation in politics.
-) Various awareness programmes have to be launched to increase the political consciousness of Indigenous Nationalities.
-) The social organizations of Indigenous Nationalities, GOs, NGos and INGOs should provide necessary training to develop the leadership skills of Indigenous Nationalities.
-) "Lahure Culture" among Indigenous Nationalities should be discouraged. Instead, the community should encourage their children for attaining higher education.
-) Indigenous Nationalities must develop unity among themselves while fighting for their rights.
-) NEFIN, the umbrella organization of Indigenous Nationalities, needs to make its movement effective.
-) Political parties need to focus on organizing Indigenous Nationalities. The number of party members should be increased as much as possible among Indigenous Nationalities.
-) Political parties should bring appropriate policies for the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities.

References:

- Abraham, M. Francis, 2004. *Modern Sociological Theory: An Introduction*. Oxford University Press
- Ashraf, Ali and L.N. Sharma, 2001. *Political Sociology: a new grammar of politics*. University Press (India) Ltd.
- Askonas, Peter and Angus Stewart, 2000. *Social Inclusion: Possibilities and Tensions*. Macmillan Press Ltd. Great Britain.
- Baker, L. Therese, 1999. *Doing Social Research*. Mc Graw Hill
- Baral, Tara and B.K. Parajuli, 1994. *Nature and Trends of Political Participation in Kaski: A Case Study of Mid-term Election 1994*. P.N. Campus
- Baral, Lok Raj, Krishan Hachhethu and Hari Sharma, 2001. *Leadership in Nepal*. New Delhi. Adroid publishers.
- Bhattachan, K.B, 2003. *Expected Model and Process of Inclusive Democracy in Nepal*. Paper presented at the seminar "The Agenda of Social Transformation: Inclusion in Nepali Democracy" organized by Social Science Baha, Kathmandu: 24-26 April 2003.
- Bhattachan, K.B, 2003. *Nepal: From absolute monarchy to democracy and back- The need for inclusive democracy*. A seminar paper.
- Bhattachan, Yasso Kanti, 2005. *Consultation and participation of Indigenous peoples in Decision-making in Nepal*. Paper presented at National Dialogue Conference on promotion of ILO Convention No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal peoples and peace Building in Nepal.
- CBS, 2062. *Kaski : Bastugat Bibaran*. Branch office of Statistics, Kaski
Constitution of CPN (UML)
available at <http://www.cpnml.org>
- Constitution of Nepali Congress*
available of <http://www.nepalicongress.com>
- Constitution of RPP*
available at <http://www.rppnepal.org>
- Desen and Onta (ed.), 2004. *Nepal ko Sandarvama Samaj Sastriya Chintan*. Social Science Baha
- Election Manifesto of CPN (M)*
available at <http://www.cpnm.org>
- Election Manifesto of CPN (UML)*
available at <http://www.cpnml.org>
- Election Manifesto of NC*
available at <http://www.nepalicongress.com>.

- Election Manifesto of RPP*
available at <http://www.rppnepal.org>
- FWLD, 2003. *Special Measures for Women and Their Impact*. Publication Number 62. Kathmandu: FWLD
- Ganguly, Rajat and Tara Ray, 1998. *Ethnic Conflict: The International Dimension*. New York Westey Longman.
- Gautam, Ram Prasad, Shishir Vaidya and Hari Bhakta Sharma, 2004. *District Development Profile of Nepal*. Informal Sector Research and Study Centre, Kathamdu.
- Gurung, Bhuwan Singh, 2059. *The Nature of Political Participation: A Case Study of Gurung Ethnopolitics in Pokhara*. M.A thesis submitted to the Department of Political Science, P.N. Campus
- Gurung, Harka, 1998. *Nepal: Social Demography and Expressions*. New Era, Kathmadu.
- Gurung, Harka, 2006. *From Exclusion to Inclusion: Socio-political agenda for Nepal*. Social Inclusion Research Fund, SNV, Nepal.
- Gurung, OM, 2063, *Nepal ma Janajati Samashaya Ra Swayata Sashan ko Prashna*. In Tamang, Sita Ram (ed) "Nepal ko Sandarvama Rajya ko Punasamrachana" Samana Prakashan, Nepal.
- Hachhethu, Krishna, 2002. *Party Building In Nepal: Organization, Leadership and People*. Mandala Book point, Kathmandu.
- Hachhethu, Krishana, 2006. *Political Parties of Nepal*. Social Science Baha, Lalitpur.
- Jagran Nepal. 2007. *The State of Women Participation in Politics: A Survey Report*. Jagaran Nepal, Kathmandu
- Johari, J.C, 1992. *Principles of Modern Political Science*. New Delhi, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
- Lawoti, Mahendra, 2005. *Towards a Democratic Nepal: Inclusive Political Institutions for a Multicultural Society*. Sage Publication.
- Maciver, R.M and Charles H. Page, 2000. *Society: An Introductory Analysis*. Macmillan India Ltd.
- Magil, Frank N. (ed.), 2003. *International Encyclopedia of Sociology*. Vol. I, Bhavana Books & Prints, New Delhi
- Onta, Patyus, Kumar Yatru and Bhaskar Gautam, 2058. *Chapama Janajati*. Ekta Books, Kathmandu
- Percy-Smith, Janie, 2000. *Policy Responses to Social Exclusion towards Inclusion*. Open University Press, Buckingham Philadelphia
- Phadnis, Urmila and Rajat Ganguly, 2001. *Ethnicity and Nation Building in South Asia*. Sage Publication, New Delhi

- Pradhan, Kishor, 1995. *Population Pluralism and Political Representation: A Case Study of relationship between the political representations of caste/ethnic groups in the House of Representatives formed after 1994 general election, and majority caste/ethnic group population in a demarcated area*. M.A. Thesis submitted to the central Department of Sociology/ Anthropology, Tribhuwan University, Kirtipur.
- Pradhan, Rajendra, 2006. *Understanding Social Exclusion and Social Inclusion in the Nepalese Context: Some Preliminary Remarks*. Social Science Baha
- Pyasi, S.N, 2061. *Kaski Jila ko Bigat Ra Bartaman Rajnitik Sthiti*. "Ghosana" Vol. VI, CPN(UML), Kaski
- Rao, C.N. Shankar, 2004. *Sociology: Primary principles*. S.Chand & Company Ltd.
- Roka, Hari, 2003. *Towards a politics of inclusion: Redefining parties for Democratisation in Nepal*. A paper presented in the seminar, "The Agenda of Transformation: Inclusion in Nepali Democracy," Social Science Baha.
- Regmi, Padmasaran, 2061. *Nepali Congress Kaski Ko Sanchipta Parchaya*. "Smarika", NC, Kaski
- Serchan, Sanjay, 2001. *Political Awakening and Socio-cultural Pluralism: A Political Sociological Inquiry in a Democratising Nepal*. M.A. Thesis submitted to the central Department of Sociology/A Anthropology, Tribhuwan University, Kirtipur.
- Shrestha, Rajendra, 2006. *Rajya ko Punasamrachana Ra Samabeshi Loktantra Ka Adharharu*. In Tamang, Sita Ram (ed.) "Nepal Ko Sandarvama Rajyako Punasamrachana," Samana Praksaha, Nepal.
- Sills, David I., 1972. *Inter Encyclopedia of Social Science*, Vol. XII. New York, The Macmillian Company and the free press.
- SIRF, 2006. *Social Inclusion and Nation Building in Nepal*. SNV, Nepal
- Tamang, Sita Ram (ed), 2063. *Nepal Ko Sandarvam Rajya ko Punasamrachana*. Samana Prakashan, Nepal.
- Tamrakar, Tek, 2006. *Issues on Social Inclusion with Dalit Perspective*. SIRF secretariat, SNV Nepal.
- Wolff, Howard K. and Prem Pant, 2003. *Social Science Research and Thesis Writing*. Buddha Academic Publishers & Distributor Pvt. Ltd, Kathmandu
- Yadhav, Lal Babu, 2006. *Inclusive Democracy and Political Parties in post- April 2006 Period*.
available at <http://www.telegraphnepal.com/news-det.php?news-id=1068>

APPENDIX - 1

Inclusive Representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the Political Parties: A Sociological Study of Kaski District

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Sir/Madam

Being a student of M.A Sociology, I have been carrying out a research entitled "Inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties : A sociological study of Kaski district" for the partial fulfillment of the requirement for Master's degree in Sociology, under the supervision of department of sociology/ anthropology, Tribhuvan University, P.N Campus. The research aims to study the condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties , study the role of Indigenous Nationalities and the political parties for inclusive representation and suggest the methods with which the Indigenous Nationalities be inclusively represented in the political parties.

Although some of the required information has been obtained through secondary sources, this questionnaire is prepared to directly know the opinions from the individual concerned. Your answer will have significant contribution to meet the objectives of the research. So, I would like to request you for your valuable time for filling the given questionnaire and returning it back to me. I hope that you will be able to help me.

Most of the questions are closed-ended where one tick mark is necessary among different optional answers whereas few questions are open-ended too. Please , do not hesitate to add detailed comments and suggestions which you feel may be relevant to the objective of this study. Some of the questions are sensitive in nature. So, the questionnaire is anonymous so that your name will not be asked. I, assure that I will maintain the confidentiality of your personal information.

Thank for your kind information

Shibaji Gurung

Please tick [] the appropriate answer.

1. Name of the party/organization you are affiliated with.
.....
2. What is our position in your party/organization?
.....
3. How long it has been that you have been involved in politics?
 - a) recently
 - b) 2-5 years
 - c) 5-10 years
 - d) 10-20 years
 - e) over 20 years
4. What was your previous profession before involving in politics?
.....
5. Are you still in your profession?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
6. What sort of time do you spent in the political activities?
 - a) Utilize the leisure time
 - b) Fulltime daily
 - c) About halftime daily
 - d) Partly involved when invited
by the party/organization
 - e) I am just organized in the party/
organization but have not given any time to it
7. What is the number of Indigenous Nationalities in the committee of your party/organization?
.....
8. Are you satisfied with the condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities in your committee?
 - a) Very satisfied
 - b) Satisfied
 - c) Somewhat satisfied
 - d) Not satisfied

9. Whom do you think that is responsible for the low representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties?

- a) Indigenous Nationalities themselves
- b) Political parties
- c) Both

10. Which of the following factors do you think is more responsible for the poor representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties?

- a) Lack of political awareness
- b) Lack of education
- c) Priority for foreign employment
- d) So-called high castes domination in the parties
- e) Others

11. Do you think that the present policy of your party/organization appropriate for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities?

- a) Yes
- b) No

12. In what condition the policy of the party would be changed for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities?

- a) Pressure of Indigenous Nationalities within the party
- b) Pressure of the social organizations of the Indigenous Nationalities
- c) Increment in the number of Indigenous Nationalities as a party cadres
- d) Realization of the need of the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities by the party

13. Do you think that there is so-called high castes domination in your party / Organization?

- a) Yes
- b) No

If yes, what would you do against such domination?

- a) Tolerate such domination
- b) Struggle against such domination
- c) Others.

14. In your opinion, who should be more concerned for the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties?

- a) Cadres and leaders of Indigenous Nationalities within the parties
- b) Social organizations of Indigenous Nationalities
- c) Political parties

15. In your opinion, what has been the role of Indigenous Nationalities in the national politics?

- a) Dominant role
- b) Ineffective role
- c) Normal role

16. What do you think about the role of social organizations of Indigenous Nationalities for the inclusive representation in the political parties?

- a) Very satisfactory
- b) Satisfactory
- c) Somewhat satisfactory
- d) Not satisfactory

17. Do you think that it is right to raise an ethnic issue with in the party?

- a) Yes
- b) No

18. Have you felt any difficulties during the involvement in the political activities being an Indigenous nationality?

- a) Yes
- b) N o

If yes, what are such difficulties? Please list below

19. Do you think that you could overcome other caste groups during political competition?

- a) Yes
- b) No

If Yes, how? Please mention below:

.....

If No, why? Please list the reasons below:

.....

.....

20. Which policy do you think would be better for the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties?

- a) Promoting the active participation of Indigenous Nationalities in politics
- b) Certain reservation for Indigenous Nationalities in the committees of the party/organization
- c) Proportional representation of the Indigenous Nationalities
- d) Others.....

21. Do you think that the organization of the Indigenous Nationalities as a political wing of the party necessary?

- a) Yes
- b) No

22. Do you think that such organizations contribute for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities in the party?

- c) Yes
- d) No

If yes, how could they contribute for the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities in the political party?

- a) By organizing more Indigenous Nationalities in the party
- b) By fighting against the caste/ethnic discrimination with in the party
- c) By pressurizing the party to bring appropriate policy for the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities
- d) Others

23. Do you think that the Indigenous Nationalities should come to the street to fulfill their demand of inclusion in various organs of the state?

- a) Yes
- b) No

24. What has been the view of other castes groups of your party/organization about the inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities?

- a) Positive
- b) Negative
- c) Neutral

25. Do you think that there has been any progress in the post-April 2006 period for the inclusion of excluded groups including Indigenous Nationalities?

- a) There has been a lot of progress
- b) There has been some progress
- c) No progress at all
- d) The issue has been discussed much but not implemented in practice

26. Do you have to say any more on this topic?

.....
.....
.....

27. Personal information:

Please tick the appropriate category:

Age :	Education:	Sex:	Marital Status:
<input type="checkbox"/> Under 25	<input type="checkbox"/> Literate	<input type="checkbox"/> Male	<input type="checkbox"/> Married
<input type="checkbox"/> 25-35	<input type="checkbox"/> High school	<input type="checkbox"/> Female	<input type="checkbox"/> Single
<input type="checkbox"/> 36-45	<input type="checkbox"/> Intermediate		<input type="checkbox"/> Divorced
<input type="checkbox"/> 46-55	<input type="checkbox"/> Graduate		<input type="checkbox"/> Widow/Widower
<input type="checkbox"/> Over 55	<input type="checkbox"/> Master's		

Please fill the following blanks:

Ethnicity.....

Religion.....

Address.....

Occupation.....

Thank You!

APPENDIX - II

Check List for Key Informant Interview:

- I. For the chief of the party district committee:
 - a. How have you evaluated about the participation of Indigenous Nationalities in politics?
 - b. What is your view about the inclusion of Indigenous Nationalities?
 - c. What are the reasons for low representation of Indigenous Nationalities in political parties?
 - d. What will be the role of your party for inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in political parties?
 - e. Which method will be the best for inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties?
- II. For the chief of the social organizations of Indigenous Nationalities:
 - a. How have you evaluated about the participation of Indigenous Nationalities in politics?
 - b. How has your organization been dealing with the issue of inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities?
 - c. Are you satisfied with the condition of representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties? What are the reasons for low representation?
 - d. What will be the role of your organization for inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in political parties?
 - e. Which method will be the best for inclusive representation of Indigenous Nationalities in the political parties?

APPENDIX - III

Name list of the key informants

S.N.	Name of People	Institutions	Designation
1.	Mr. Yagya Bahadur Thapa	Nepali Congress, District Committee Kaski	President
2.	Mr. Rabindra Adhikari	CPN (UML), District Committee Kaski	Secretary
3.	Mr. Bakhan Singh Gurung	CPN (Maosists), District Committee, Kaski	Secretary
4.	Mr. Jabar Bdr. Kunwar	Rastriya Prajatantra Partys, District Committee Kaski	Chairman
5.	Mrs. Karma Gurung	Tamu Dhi, Kaski	Chairman
6.	Mr. Deepak Tamang	Nepal Tamang Ghedhung, Kaski	Chairman
7.	Capt. Krishna Bahadur Thapa Magar	Nepal Magar Sangh, Kaski	Chairman
8.	Amar Tulachan	Thakali Sewa Samiti, Kaski	Vice- Chairman
9.	Prakash Man Palikhe	Newa Khala, Kaski	Chairman

APPENDIX - IV

Population of Kaski by caste/ethnic groups:

S.N.	Caste/ethnic group	Population
1.	Chhetri	55918
2.	Brahmin	114899
3.	Magar	23522
4.	Tharu	917
5.	Tamang	7983
6.	Newar	20117
7.	Muslim	2642
8.	Kami	26280
9.	Yadhav	258
10.	Rai	1838
11.	Gurung	69038
12.	Damai	14864
13.	Limbu	264
14.	Thakuri	4785
15.	Sharki	9315
16.	Teli	326
17.	Chamar	92
18.	Khoiri	116
19.	Kurmi	23
20.	Shanyasi	3773
21.	Dhanuk	7
22.	Mushar	6
23.	Paswan	6
24.	Shaerpa	605
25.	Sonar	4384
26.	Kewat	55
27.	Terai Brahmin	395
28.	Baniya	484
29.	Gharti/Bhujel	4794
30.	Mallaha	21
31.	Kalwar	248
32.	Kumal	1764
33.	Hajam/ Thakur	197
34.	Kanu	40
35.	Rajbanshi	13
36.	Sunuwar	86
37.	Sudhi	25
38.	Lohar	13
39.	Dhobi	26

40.	Majhi	265
41.	Kumhar	19
42.	Danuwar	9
43.	Chepang	18
44.	Haluwai	12
45.	Rajput	59
46.	Kayastha	86
47.	Bade	10
48.	Marwadi	68
49.	Satar	1
50.	Jhagar	6
51.	Kahar	12
52.	Gangai	93
53.	Rajbhar	18
54.	Thami	7
55.	Dhimal	32
56.	Bhote	55
57.	Binda	3
58.	Bhediya	8
59.	Nurang	98
60.	Darai	18
61.	Thakali	1997
62.	Chidimar	7
63.	Mali	4
64.	Bangali	49
65.	Chantyal	136
66.	Kamar	16
67.	Bote	22
68.	Bramu	2
69.	Gyane	505
70.	Jirel	11
71.	Other Indigenous Nationalities	5
72.	Dura	209
73.	Badi	5
74.	Meche	3
75.	Lepcha	6
76.	Sikh	5
77.	Other Dalits	5022
78.	Others	1487
	Total	380527

Source: CBS, 2001