

POLITICAL HETEROGENEITY, CASTE/ETHNIC
DIVERSITY AND PARTICIPATION:
A STUDY OF THE NEPAL ELECTIONS 2017



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Abstract

Caste and Ethnic diversity is a prominent feature of Nepalese Society. Elections are connected to every aspect of the polity and it is the process through which to make representation in politics and governance. Political parties represent and lead the society that makes every one voice heard in democracy. This study analyzes multidimensional measures and relationship of caste/ethnicity, gender and political parties in different level of elections in federal Nepal. It aims to offers insights into how political heterogeneity and caste/ethnic diversity interlinked with the result of election and identify the participation of gender and caste/ethnic group in political process through elections. It also try to find out “Have political institutions been a reflection of the diversity in Nepalese society?” This study find that caste/ethnicity diversity and gender identity has been incorporated into political institution and process. Elections and reservation of quotas for Women, Dalits, Madhesi, Muslim and Ethnic minority through proportional representation helps institutionalization the inclusion of caste/ethnic peoples, minorities and gender in political process and makes representation at different position.

Keywords: Nepal, Election, First Past the Post, Proportional Representation, Voting, Political Participation, Caste, Ethnicity, Gender, Inclusion, Federalism, Political Party, Federal Parliament, National Assembly, House of Representatives, Provincial Assembly, Local Government, Election Studies

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Supervisor's Recommendation

I hereby recommend that this dissertation prepared under my supervision by **Mr. Praveen Koirala** entitled “**Political Heterogeneity, Caste/Ethnic Diversity and Participation: A Study of the Nepal Elections 2017**” in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master's Arts in Sociology be processed for the evaluation.

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Abbreviations

CPN-UML Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist Leninist)

CPNMC Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Centre)

F Female

FPTP First Past The Post

HBC Hill Brahmin Chhetri

HJ Hill Janajati

HD Hill Dalit

M Male

NC Nepali Congress

PR Proportional Representation

RJPN Rastriya Janata Party Nepal

SSF-N Sanghiya Samajbadi Forum - Nepal

TD Tarai Dalit

TJ Tarai Janajati

Chapter 1

Introduction

Nepal is home to a mosaic of ethnicities and languages. More than 125 ethnic groups and diverse nationalities reside in the country. Structural inequality has further been compounded by the caste system of the country. Although anti-discrimination provisions are contained in the 1990 Constitution, caste discrimination remains ingrained in Hindu-dominated Nepalese society. Four groups of people are excluded from the contemporary development processes either through political, economic and social exclusion. These four groups are: (Gautam, Subba, Pandey & Luintel 2014)

- Dalits or lower caste people,
- Indigenous people or Janajati
- Madhesi or Terai inhabitants and
- Women

Political parties are founded on particular ideology for which they advance their activities. Ideology and values are the soul of political parties based on which they train their cadres, workers and supporters to achieve their policy goal as well as shape their life style. It is the ideology and values that make a political party distinct and different from others. (Lamsal 2016)

Originally, our political parties, too, were founded on certain ideological ground and the leaders, at least in the initial days, followed these ideals and accordingly shaped their thinking and life styles. However, as the days and years passed and Nepal entered into a new political phase, especially after the 1990 political change, ideals slowly started fading in the politics of Nepal. Ideology, political ideals and morality were replaced by opportunism guided by the motive of power politics. In the name of pragmatism, the political parties and leaders started adjusting their thinking, lifestyle and working procedures to cope with the newer trends brought about by the wave of capitalism, which starkly contrasts with what they preach in their party documents and public speeches. The inherent discrepancy between the theory and practice and between the words and actions is what has contributed to the stemming of contradictions and distortions in our political construct. (Lamsal 2016)

The Constitution of Nepal provides a federal structure with the central powers of government decentralized to states and local-level units. This federal, secular and inclusive structure replaces 240 years of monarchy that ended in 2007. The elections, held on 26 November and 7 December 2017, to the House of Representatives as well as to the seven provincial assemblies represented a key milestone in the implementation of the Constitution promulgated in September 20, 2015. Nepal's local-level elections will be held in two phases. Local elections held on 14 May 2017 and 14 June 2017 were a first step in the realization of the new structure of local, provincial and federal levels of government. The Federal Parliament of Nepal became bicameral following the election of the National Assembly on 7 February 2018. These elections install legislative assemblies for each of the seven states and the lower house of the Federal Parliament, the House of Representatives.

These election makes the being of first step in Nepal's transition to federalism, the local-level elections provide a new opportunity for local participation in government. As the first local elections in 20 years, the election of local representatives will allow for the devolution of power and resources to the local level and will give people a stronger voice in how their communities are governed (IFAS May 10,2017).

This thesis aims to offers insights into how political heterogeneity and caste/ethnic diversity interlinked with the result of election and identify the participation of gender

and caste/ethnic group in political process through election. It also try to find out "Have political institutions been a reflection of the diversity in Nepalese society?"

1.1 Background To The Study

Despite the fact that Nepal has been going through political instability, sustained under development, and specific economic crises, the political changes and reform process has brought some hope in Nepali people. The abolition of autocracy in 1950, the reinstatement of democracy in 1990, and the removal of a 240-year long Monarchy and the declaration of a republic in 2008 are amongst the key political landmarks in this long reform process. These changes were expected to significantly scale down all kinds of inequality and injustices (Hachhethu 2011). Nevertheless, in many respects, the attempts to establish a democratic system did not bring substantial changes, especially for women, ethnic group and highly disadvantaged groups like Madhesi and Dalit, not least because of the tenacity of caste discrimination (Dahal 2011). As evidenced by the parliamentary elections held after the 1990s, that failed to secure even a single Dalit representative in the parliament, despite the implementation of reform measures for Dalit and other minorities, reforms to date have been insufficient. Moreover, despite having legal reforms, caste-based discrimination is still rampant all over the country because of deeply entrenched caste stratification and its multi-dimensional nature.

The recent political changes have brought some hope to the Nepali people. The promulgation of a new constitution has institutionalized a republican federal system. The recent election of local government which was due for almost 20 years, including the election of provincial and central government has aided the implementation of new constitution. The inclusive policy adopted by the new constitution has resulted in increased numbers women, Dalit and other marginalised groups being elected as the representatives at the local level Bishwakarma (2018). The *Local Level Electoral Act 2017* had reserved two seats on each of the nearly 7,000 ward committees for women, one of which is for women of the marginalized Dalit caste. In addition, political parties that present candidates for both the positions

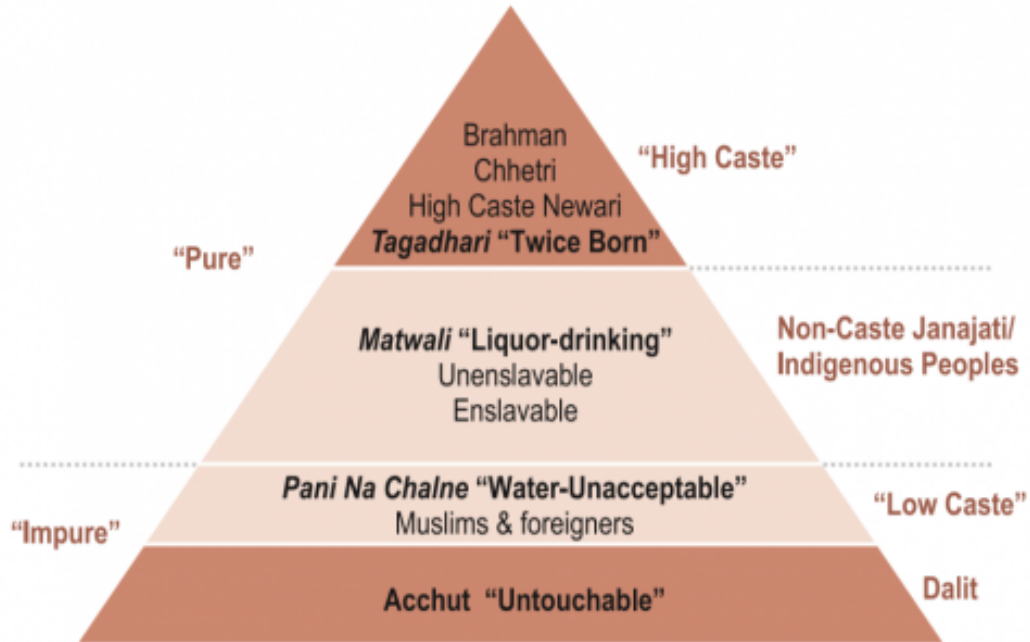


Figure 1.1: The Nepal Caste Pyramid The World Bank (2006)

of Mayor and Deputy Mayor in municipalities, and Village Chairperson and Village Vice Chairperson in rural municipalities, have been mandated to include at least one-woman candidate among the two. This mandatory electoral policy resulted the 14062 women (Municipal Chair 753, Women Member 6742 and Dalit Women 6567) being elected as mayor, deputy mayor, and ward members, including 6567 Dalit women as a ward member in 753 local level government structures in Nepal.

Under the National Code of 1854, introduced by Janga Bahadur Rana, all caste and ethnic groups were incorporated within the fourfold Varna Caste structure and the law, with all forms of life regulated by the division, including legal punishments being based on who belongs to which of the four categories (Ahuti 2010).

The priestly Brahmans were at the top of the caste hierarchy with the Kshatriya (kings and warriors) just beneath them; next came the Vaishya (merchants) and the Sudra (peasants and labourers). (See Figure 1.1.) Beneath everyone were occupational groups, considered impure, and untouchable or acchut. They now call themselves the Dalits (The World Bank 2006).

Nepal held local and national-level elections on 2017, the first under its 2015 constitution. The Constitution states that Nepal is an independent, indivisible, sovereign, secular, inclusive, federal democratic republican state.

Democratic system of governance, the political changes of 1990 and 2008 brought difference to women and caste/ethnic group political participation and access to positions of power, over the long haul. In short term perspective, however, no change has been visible in that regard.

It also supports the development of inclusive political institutions through which people of all caste, religion, gender, language and culture interests can be meaningfully represented.

Rise of ethnicity and regionalism and its impact on contemporary politics and constitution making gained prominence in the most recent political study/research because Nepal, for post-April 2006 Jana Andolan, set inclusive democracy as its national goal. Article 138 of The Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007 states, “To bring an end to discrimination based on class, caste/ethnic, language, gender, culture, religion and region by eliminating the centralized and unitary form of the state, the state shall be made inclusive and restructured into a progressive, democratic federal system.” In pursuance to this article, the Nepali state has taken several policy measures, i. e. declaration of Nepal as a secular state, recognition of multi-language policy, reservation and affirmative actions to the marginalized groups, inclusive electoral representation, and designing federal structure primarily on the basis of ethnic identity. But so far as the subject of inclusion and exclusion is concerned, a study of Nepali politics has its own limitation: There is lack of disaggregated data analysis of each of 125 caste/ethnic groups. Of course, Election Commission, Parliament, political parties’ offices, Ministry of Public Administration could be good sources for getting disaggregated data of power distribution among the 125 caste/ethnic groups in terms of number and ranking of their representation in political and administrative structures. The second limitation is that political study/research has not yet been inclusion/exclusion specific. But several issues directly or indirectly related to political inclusion/exclusion have been dealt with among different titles of research, political participation in particular (Gautam, Subba, Pandey & Luintel 2014).

While it is yet to be seen if the country heads toward the path of political stability and prosperity, Election at all level has brought a number of positive outcomes if seen through the sociological lens. Elections has shown that democratic culture among Nepali people is getting mature.

It is important politically that this election commenced the process of taking federalism - which was otherwise limited to theoretical debates - to the villages, inclusion of people from traditionally marginalized groups including those from the Dalit and other marginalized communities assumes a huge importance from sociological perspective. The existing election laws this time has made it mandatory to field candidacies of women, Dalits and those from the marginalized communities.

In our prevailing social structure, it was rare until recent for the so called higher-caste people to cast their votes for candidates belonging to the lower caste. But in this election, people voted in favor of candidates from Dalit and minority groups, accepting them as their leaders, this can be a promising sign of social change.

It is not only the candidates from Dalit and minority groups but also the number of women candidates, including chiefs and deputy chiefs of municipalities, is increasing significantly. The election laws have made it mandatory for parties to file women candidates for deputy mayor and ward committee members both in open and Dalit and minority categories.

Sociologists argue that this election has also shown change in perception of youths toward politics. The emergence of parties like Bibeksheel and Sajha Party indicates that youths are more interested toward politics.

In Nepal, the emergence of a democratic environment between the end of the dictatorial Panchayati era and the downfall of Hindu monarchy and establishment of Republic in 2008, and the period of eighteen years (1990-2008) allowed new socio-political-economic and liberal constructions to take shape and the emergence of new debates on new forms of inclusive federal governance as envisioned by non-dominant ethnic and caste communities Upadhyay (2013).

The exclusionary nationalism promoted by the state began to be challenged after the polity opened up in 1990. Political parties like the Nepal Sadbhawana Party, Rastriya Janamukti Party, Mongol National Organization and associations of ethnic groups and NGOs of Dalits pointed out the exclusion of the Dalit, indigenous nationalities, and Madhesi from various socio-economic, cultural and political realms and they argued that the previous development and modernization policies had neglected or even discriminated against them. This new form of nationalism that emerged from the society, and is empowering the traditionally marginalized group, sharply contrasts and, in fact, challenges the state led and imposed exclusionary nationalism that had privileged the CHHE (caste hill hindu elite males) as the cost of Dalit, indigenous nationalities, Madhesi and minority religious groups like the Muslims (Lawoti 2010).

Many work pointed out that formal institutions were the causes behind the exclusions. Constitutional articles that discriminated against native languages, minority religions, ethnic, caste and identity groups, the first past the post electoral system, and the unitary state etc. were pointed out as contributing to exclusion. The ongoing political transformation is aimed at replacing many of these formal exclusionary political institutions. The author, suggest that formal political institutional reforms may not be enough to ensure inclusion because exclusion is entrenched deeply beyond the formal political arena (Lawoti 2010).

1.2 Problem Statement

The current Constitution of Nepal incorporates specific provisions to provide some political support to women and ethnic groups. Despite special measures set by the government for women's political participation, women have not been benefited from such measures. It is very rare for women and peoples from ethnic group to make it to senior decision making positions within political parties in Nepal. This Thesis attempt made to analyze status of Nepalese women, ethnic groups in various sphere of socio-political process and institution.

The Nepalese Society is highly patriarchal and male dominated all the way form social, cultural and economic perspective. The representation of women and indigenous people

is still lower in politics and institutions at decision making. With these perspective this research identifies the trend in seat by political parties at different election. It explores the participation of women and ethnic groups in parliament and local administrative unit, the local government. Beside these it analyses about the interlink between political heterogeneity, ethnic politics and patriarchy at the center of political representation through election.

1.3 Research Objective

The main objective of this research is to contribute to provide multidimensional measures and relationship of caste/ethnicity, gender and political parties in different level of elections in federal Nepal. In addition this research aims:

- To identify the vote trend and seats trends of political parties in elections.
- To identify the representation and participation of woman, indigenous group on election process.
- Provide a measure of heterogeneity based on the representation of ethnic groups in local government, Provincial and Federal Assembly.
- Provide a way to measure the magnitude of the division that exists between ethnic and any other type of groups on a dimension that is relevant for political outcomes.

1.4 Organization of the Study

This dissertation is comprised of Six chapters.

Chapter One introduces the context and provides a contextual background to study the ethnic politics and representation of caste and ethnic groups, gender in political process through election in federal Nepal.

Chapter Two begins with an overview of the literature on ethnic politics, caste system, gender participation and political parties of Nepal. I also review about the types and

level Elections in federal Nepal. I included the election observation which explains political Scenario and circumstances at the time of elections in Nepal. The political relation among political parties and alliances at different level among them is explained. I introduce the sociology of gender, caste and ethnicity in context of Nepal. This chapter also provides an overview of election system, process and types of elections held in Nepal. This chapter provides a theoretical linkage of this research with the field of sociology.

Chapter Four describes the methodology used to get data and make findings from it. I start with getting election result data. I introduce the analysis of electoral data, including a description of the political parties, ethnic and caste indicators, and describe the different level and types of elections in Nepal.

Chapter Five provides a multidimensional analysis of elected representative at different level based on caste/ethnicity, gender, political parties and position. The data is analyzed province wise. The data is analyzed jointly and separately for different different variable (caste/ethnicity, gender, parties, position and level of election). I also have analyzed differently by type of election, First Past the Post and Proportional Representation for Province Assembly Combined and Province Wise and National Assembly, the House of Representative.

Chapter Six provides a summary of this dissertation study and its main findings. I conclude with a discussion of the implications of these findings for the study of Nepal electoral politics, and final thoughts for further research on political participation and caste/ethnic heterogeneity and its politics in Nepal.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Democracy was established in Nepal in April 1990. It provided diverse groups space to express their opinions openly and to assert their identities and rights as citizens. However, the dominant order has remained largely confined to male Brahmans (Bahuns) and Kshatriyas (Thakuris and Chhetris) from the traditionally influential Parbatiya or Hill Hindu group, and the urban-based and generally well-educated Newars. The democratic transition also failed to be inclusive mainly because political parties were unable or unwilling to represent and articulate the demands of less powerful Nepalis. Those left out at the margins were women, the formerly untouchable castes who now call themselves Dalits (oppressed, broken or crushed), and the tribal, indigenous ethnic groups, the Adivasi Janajatis or indigenous nationalities. (Bennett 2005)

Societies differ greatly in the extent to which an individuals access to resources and power are determined by their social identity (in terms of gender, ethnicity, language, religion, etc.) rather than personal characteristics (such as strength, intelligence and willingness to work). In almost all countries there is some degree of variation in access to education and social networks associated with the economic, education and social position of ones parents, but in some countries, the state tries to mediate these differences to make access more equitable. In such countries individual and group mobility is high. Others like Nepal remain deeply hierarchical and those at the bottom of the hierarchy face entrenched eco-

Box 1.		
Indigenous Nationalities of Nepal		
MOUNTAIN		
1. Bara Gaunle	7. Lhomi (Shingsawa)	13. Thakali
2. Bhutia	8. Lhopa	14. Thudam
3. Byansi	9. Marphali Thakali	15. Tingaunle Thakali
4. Chhairotan	10. Mugali	16. Topkegola
5. Dolpo	11. Siyar	17. Sherpa
6. Larke	12. Tangbe	18. Wallung
HILL		
1. Bankaria	9. Hayu	17. Newar
2. Baramo	10. Hyolmo	18. Pahari
3. Bhujel/Gharti	11. Jirel	19. Rai
4. Chepang	12. Kushbadia	20. Sunuwar
5. Chhantyal	13. Kusunda	21. Surel
6. Dura	14. Lepcha	22. Tamang
7. Fri	15. Limbu	23. Thami
8. Gurung	16. Magar	24. Yakkha
INNER TARAI		
1. Bote	4. Kumal	7. Raute
2. Danuwar	5. Majhi	
3. Darai	6. Raji	
TERAI		
1. Dhanuk (Rajbanshi)	4. Jhangad	8. Satar/ Santhal
2. Dhimal	5. Kisan	9. Tajpuria
3. Gangai	6. Meche	10. Tharu
	7. Rajbanshi (Koch)	
Source: Nepal Rajpatra (Nepal Gazette), February 7, 2002.		

Figure 2.1: Indigenous Nationalities of Nepal

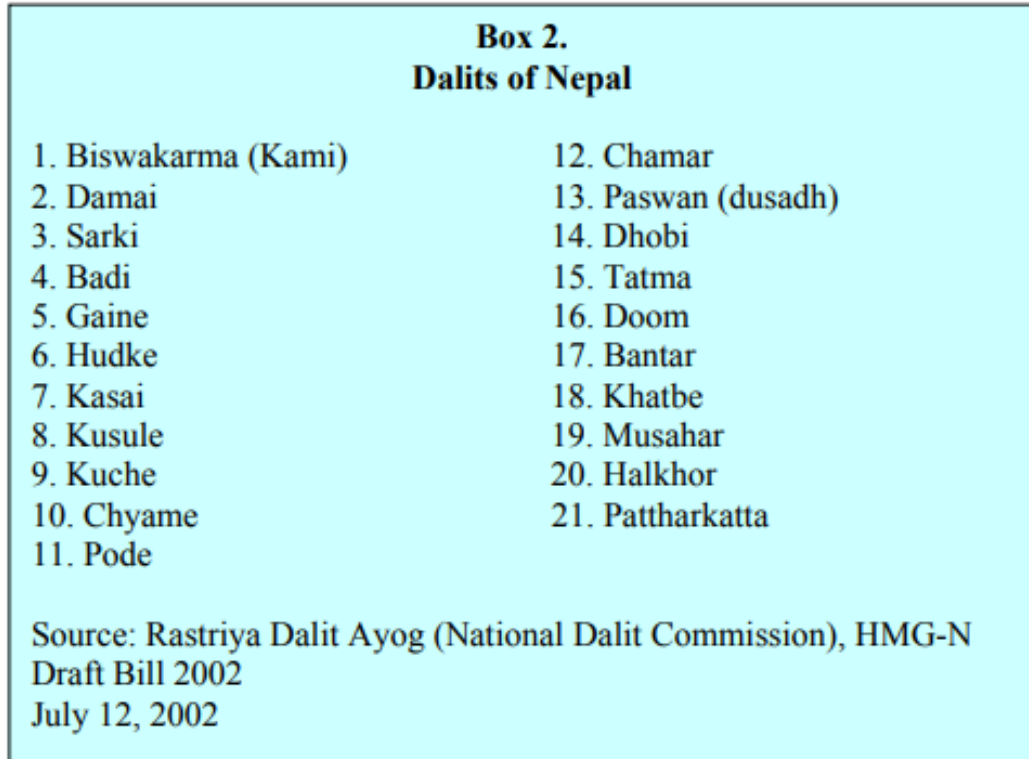


Figure 2.2: Dalits of Nepal

conomic, political and even spiritual and psychological barriers to access, voice and mobility. (Bennett 2005)

Generally, the term *ethnicity* is used in a broader context encompassing race, language, religion and other cultural aspects. This essay subscribes to a narrower definition of ethnicity, that of whether a group is caste or non-caste (ethnic) as identified by its surname designation. The Muslims are an exception as a religious group who do not belong either to the caste or ethnic category. A measure of ethnic participation in electoral politics is attempted for major parties as well as a party with ethnic agenda. (Gurung 1998)

Hierarchy and untouchability are not only practised between Dalits and the upper castes, but also among Dalits themselves as well. Kami is considered superior to the other major Dalits castes, Sarki and Damai, even though the Muluki Ain of 1854 provides Kami and Sarki equal status. These two castes, however, treat each other as untouchables. (BK 2013)

2.1 Elections in Nepal

There are three types of elections in Nepal: elections to the Federal Parliament, elections to the state assemblies and elections to the local government. Within each of these categories there may be by-elections as well as general elections. Currently two electoral systems are used: parallel voting for House of Representatives and provincial assemblies and first past the post for local elections. (Wikipedia contributors 2018)

2.1.1 Legislative Elections

According to Article 84 of the Constitution of Nepal 2015, following the dissolution of parliament all the Members of Parliament forming the House of Representatives of the Federal Parliament of Nepal are elected. The term for the House of Representatives is five years, except when dissolved earlier. When the House of Representatives is dissolved the power of Federal Parliament is carried out by the National Assembly.

Candidates for each constituency are chosen by the political parties or stand as independents. Each constituency elects one MP under the first past the post system of election. Since Nepal uses a parallel voting system, voters cast another ballot to elect MPs through the party-list proportional representation. The current constitution specifies that 165 MPs are elected from the first past the post system and 110 MPs are elected through the party-list proportional representation system. Women should account for one third of total members elected from each party and if one-third percentage are not elected, the party that fails to ensure so shall have to elect one-third of total number as women through the party-list proportional representation.

A party with an overall majority (more seats than all other parties combined) following an election forms the government. If a party has no outright majority, parties can seek to form coalitions. (Wikipedia contributors 2018)

2.1.2 National Assembly Elections

According to Article 86 of the Constitution of Nepal 2015, the members of the National Assembly are elected every six years through an electoral college. In addition to this, one-third of the members are retired every two years for six years by drawing a lottery.

The electoral college consists of members of the provincial assembly and Chairperson/Mayor and Vice Chairperson/Deputy Mayor of the local bodies within the state. Each provincial assembly members vote has a weight of forty eight whereas each Chairperson/Mayor/Vice Chairperson/Deputy Mayor vote has a weight of eighteen. The electoral college elects 56 members to the National Assembly and three members, including one woman, are nominated by the president on the recommendation of the Government of Nepal. (Wikipedia contributors 2018)

2.1.3 Provincial Assembly Elections

According to Article 176 of the Constitution of Nepal 2015, following the dissolution of the provincial assembly all the members forming the Provincial Assembly are elected. The term for the Provincial Assembly is five years, except when dissolved earlier.

Candidates for each constituency are chosen by the political parties or stand as independents. Each constituency elects one member under the first past the post system of election. Since Nepal uses a parallel voting system, voters cast another ballot to elect members through the party-list proportional representation. The current constitution specifies that sixty percent of the members should be elected from the first past the post system and forty percent through the party-list proportional representation system. Women should account for one third of total members elected from each party and if one-third percentage are not elected, the party that fails to ensure so shall have to elect one-third of total number as women through the party-list proportional representation. (Wikipedia contributors 2018)

A party with an overall majority (more seats than all other parties combined) following an election forms the government. If a party has no outright majority, parties can seek to form coalitions.

The first provincial assembly elections in Nepal was held on 7th December 2017.

2.1.4 Local Elections

In local elections, six members are elected forming the local administration of Nepal. Elections are held for municipal assemblies in municipalities and for village assemblies in rural municipalities. The assembly comprises a Mayor (Head in the case of village assemblies) and Deputy Mayor (Deputy Head in village assemblies) as well as a ward chairperson and members from every ward of the municipality. Two ward members must be female, one of whom must belong to the dalit community or a minority group. All elections are held on the basis of first past the post system. The most recent local elections were held in 2017. (Wikipedia contributors 2018)

2.1.5 Election Observation

The elections, held on 26 November and 7 December 2017, to the House of Representatives as well as to the seven provincial assemblies represented a key milestone in the implementation of the Constitution promulgated in September 2015. Local elections, concluded in September 2017, were a first step in the realization of the new structure of local, provincial and federal levels of government. The Federal Parliament of Nepal became bicameral following the election of the National Assembly on 7 February 2018. (European Union 2018)

The new Constitution was promulgated on 20 September 2015, after which the Constituent Assembly turned into a parliament. After the promulgation of the Constitution, the chairman of the CPN-UML, K.P. Oli, became prime minister with the support of the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist Centre (CPN-MC), the Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP), Madhesi parties, and other minor parties. The government was mandated to conduct the first electoral cycle after the promulgation of the new Constitution, including the first local elections in 20 years. Following protests by Madhes-based parties, the local elections were

split into three phases according to provinces, and were concluded in September 2017. (European Union 2018)

For the first time since the establishment of the multiparty system, political parties formed electoral alliances for the House of Representatives and provincial assemblies, and agreed to coordinate the fielding of candidates for the first-past-the post (FPTP) elections. The catalyst for this change was the creation of the left alliance between the CPN-UML and the CPN-MC on 3 October 2017. Following the creation of this alliance, other political parties reacted by forging their own alliances. While the left alliance was a national alliance, the other alliances were based on local seat-allocation agreements. (European Union 2018)

The left alliance emerged as a solid political force in the electoral process. The CPN-MC and the CPN-UML successfully split 163 of the 165 constituencies in a 60:40 ratio in favor of the CPN-UML for the House of Representatives, and established local alliances with the Rastriya Janamorcha in Pyuthan and the Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP) in Jhapa. A similar agreement was made for provincial assembly seats. The CPN-UML and the CPN-MC ran the elections under a common campaign manifesto in alignment with their declared intention to merge into a single party after the elections. (European Union 2018)

The NC presented candidates in 153 of the 165 constituencies for the House of Representatives. The party created a democratic alliance with the two pro-monarchy parties, the Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP) and the Rastriya Prajatantra Party-Prajatantrik (RPP-P), as well as the Naya Shakti (NSPN). The democratic alliance was the result of a seat-allocation agreement applied only in some of the constituencies where the different parties fielded candidates. In the districts where the democratic alliance had an agreement, these parties campaigned together. The RJPN and the SSF-N agreed to split constituencies in the Madhesi stronghold of Province 2 so that only one party presented a candidate in any given constituency. The NC agreed to not put forward candidates in the constituencies where RJPN and SSF-N leaders contested. (European Union 2018)

Of the 275 House of Representatives seats, the CPN-UML won 121, the NC 63, the CPN-MC 53, the RJPN 17 and the SSF-N 16 seats. The Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP), the Naya Shakti (NSPN), the Rastriya Janamorcha and the Nepal Majdur Kisan Party (NMKP)

obtained one seat each. One independent candidate, a member of the CPN-MC politburo, won a seat.

The provincial assembly results reflect those of the House of Representatives, with the two communist parties obtaining the largest number of votes in six out of seven provinces. The CPN-UML received the largest number of votes in all provinces, except Province 2, alone receiving approximately half of the total number of seats. The CPN-MC and the NC obtained the second and third largest number of votes overall. The RJPN and the SSF-N won together in Province 2, but also obtained seats in Provinces 1, 5 and 7. Another eight parties are represented in the different provincial assemblies, with Province 3 being the most politically diverse with eight political parties sharing the 110 seats. (European Union 2018)

2.2 Political Sociology : Parties and Power

Going to the polls on Election Day is not just a political act, but a social act. Regardless of how people vote on issues or candidates, coming together for this important ritual reaffirms a sense of community and purpose, uniting us in the democratic process whether or not we agree on how important matters should be decided. Either way, we are participants in something larger than our individual lives and concerns. (Karen Sternheimer 2012)

For Weber, what we would call social stratification, social class, or social inequality is in the sphere of power, and can be analyzed by examining economic situation, status honor, or parties (organizations formed by people to achieve certain ends). Webers definition of power is as follows:

In general, we understand by "Power" the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the same action.

This is very broad definition of power since it enters into every aspect of social life.

Many sociologists argues that 'political sociology' is the study of power in broadest sense. Thus Dowse and Hughes states that 'politics is about "power", politics occurs when

there are differentials in power'. In term of this definition, any social relationship which involves power differentials is political. The emphasis upon the state and the machinery of government remains important in political sociology, but they are examined in relation to society as a whole rather than in isolation.

Elections provides authority. Authority is that form of power which is accepted as legitimate, that is as right and just, and therefore obeyed on that basis. Thus if members of Society accept that Parliament has the right to make certain decision and they regard those decision as lawful, Parliamentary power may be defined as legitimate authority.

Parsons regards power differentials as necessary for the effective pursuit of collective goals. If member of society pool their efforts and resources, they are more likely to realize their shared goals than if they operate as individuals. Cooperation on the large scale requires organization and direction which necessitates positions of command, Some are therefore granted the power to direct others. This power takes the form of authority. It is generally regarded as legitimate since it is seen to further collective goals. Thus some are granted authority for the benefit of all.

The relationships of class, status, and power tend to exist among the members of the elite in the form of a network. Leadership activity is expressed through the relationships among the leaders and the participants in the community as a social system. High Caste/Ethnic Group and Male (Elites) exercise power in the community to achieve the planned objectives and to maintain group structure in the community through their active roles. (Mohamed 1988)

From a Marxian Perspective, in all stratified society there are two major social groups: a ruling class and a subject class. The power of the ruling class derives from its ownership and control of forces of production. The ruling class exploits and oppresses the subject class. As a result, there is a basic conflict of interest between the two classes. The various instrument os society such as the legal and political system are instrument of ruling class domination and server to further its interest.

Marx believed that political power derives from economic power. The power of the ruling class therefore stems from its ownership and control of the forces of production.

Since the super structure of the society - the major institutions, values and belief system - is seen to be largely shaped by the economic infrastructure, the relation of production will be reproduced in the superstructure.

While class forms one possible basis for group formation, collective action and the acquisition of political power, Weber argues that there are other bases for these activities. In particular, groups form because their members have a similar 'status situation'. Whereas class refers to unequal distribution of economic rewards, status refers to the unequal distribution of 'social honour'. A status group is made up of individuals who are awarded a similar amount of social honor and therefore share the same status situation. Weber argues that status groups reach their most developed form in the caste system of traditional Hindu society (Haralambos & Heald 1990). Castes and sub-castes are formed and distinguished largely in terms of social honor. Weber sees status distinctions as the basis of group formation in caste societies.

Weber defines 'parties' as a groups which are specifically concerned with influencing policies and making decisions in the interest of their membership. In Weber's words parties are concerned with 'the acquisition of social "power"'. Parties include a variety of association and often represent the interests of classes or status groups, but not necessarily.

While Marxian theory argues that relationships to the forces of production divide society into dominant and subordinate groups, elite theory claims that the personal qualities of individuals separate rulers from ruled. The elite owe their position to the superiority of their personal characteristics or attributes. Elite theorist argues that the hierarchical organization of social institutions allows a minority to monopolize power.

Like Pareto, Gaetano Mosca believed that the rule by the minority is an inevitable feature of social life. He bases this belief on the evidence of history claiming that in all societies 'two classes of people appear - a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings whereas as the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first. Like Pareto, Mosca believed that the ruling minority are superior to the mass of population. He claims that they are 'distinguished

form the mass of governed by qualities that give them a certain material, intellectual or even moral superiority' and he provides a sociological explanation for this superiority seeing it as a product of social background of the elite.

From a pluralist perspective, competition between two or more political parties is an essential feature of representative government. Using F.W Riggs's definition, a political party is 'any organization which nominates candidates for election to a legislature.' Pluralists claim that competition for office between political parties provides the electorate with an opportunity to select leaders and a means of influencing government policy. This theory argues, political parties and interest groups are cornerstones of democracy. They are the means by which representative government is possible in large, complex societies. (Haralambos & Heald 1990)

Many pluralists have argued that representative government does not require the active participation of the mass of the population. This would appear to be the case if democracies operate as they suggest, with elites representing the interests of the majority. Also the level of political participation are not uniformly distributed throughout the population. In general the higher an individual's position in the class structure, the greater his degree of participation. Various studies have shown that political participation is directly proportional to the income level, occupational status and educational qualification.

Studies of voting behavior have shown that social class has an important influence on voting patterns. Political parties must reflect the interests of both classes: upper class, the elite and working class in their programs. Arguing from the view point of elite theory, Dye and Zeigler make the following points. Elections are a device to divert and pacify the masses. Elections create the illusion that power rests with the majority. They foster the myth that the masses are directly participation in the political process. They create the impression that the elite represents the interests of the people. In this way elite rule is justified and legitimated. Dye and Zeigler conclude that, 'Elections are primarily a symbolic exercise that helps tie the masses to the established order'. (Haralambos & Heald 1990)

2.3 Political Parties and Identity Politics of Nepal

Party organizations and leaders have played a critical role in the social and political mobilization of hitherto excluded or marginalized communities. First and foremost, throughout the “peoples war”, the Maoist party was instrumental to the mobilization of the lower classes, castes (including Dalits), ethnic minorities (the Janajati), and women. Madhesi parties had similar effects after 2006, in the aftermath of two general strikes in the Madhes region that forced elites in Kathmandu to begin considering longstanding Madhesi grievances. Since then, Madhesi parties have been a critical driver of the federalist agenda. The soon-to-be created Janajati party(ies) will fit within, and further accentuate, the same trend. (Denoeux, Blair, Calavan & Dhakal 2012)

The inclusion dimension is at the heart of the political crisis that has gripped Nepal in the past several years. Ethnic minorities that once were ignored have made their voices heard. Though to a much lesser extent, women have become more active and visible players as well.

2.3.1 The Nepali Congress

Established in 1948, the NC is the oldest democratic party in Nepal. It has been at the forefront of the democratic struggles of the past 60 years, even though, as is true of all other parties, its internal structures and operations leave a lot to be desired from a democratic perspective. Back in the 1950s the NC's social base featured a significant lower-middle class component, the party's membership now comprises predominantly middle class elements, professionals, businessmen, and industrialists. That social base is reflected in the party's left-of-center, social-democratic orientation. It in fact advocates a liberal democratic path and a free market system with a robust safety net for the poor. It presents itself as a staunch defender of property rights and basic personal freedoms and as a necessary counterweight to what it implicitly or explicitly describes as the totalitarian ambitions of the Maoists. (Denoeux et al. 2012)

2.3.2 Communist Party of Nepal-Unified Marxist Leninist

The UML, emerged in the early 1970s (when political parties were still banned) as a small Marxist movement. A few years later, the UML formally renounced violence, but continued to operate underground, progressively expanding its influence. In 1990, the UML collaborated with the NC to demand the establishment of a multiparty democracy. A year later, it took part in the parliamentary elections and became the second largest party after the NC in the National Assembly. At the time, the UML differentiated itself from the NC in two main respects. Politically, it openly advocated the establishment of a secular republic, while the NC remained wedded to the concept of Nepal as a Hindu monarchy. On socioeconomic issues, it was clearly to the left of the NC, advocating for instance a greater level of income redistribution. (Denoeux et al. 2012)

The UML developed a strong base of support among the lower middle class, the working class and Janajati, though the dominant position it had enjoyed among the Janajati was challenged by the Maoists after the latter entered the political scene. From an inclusion perspective in particular with respect to the main trend highlighted in Step One, i.e., the steady broadening of political participation to include an ever broader array of constituencies the UMLs main contribution during the 1980s, and especially during the 1990s, stemmed from the partys success in reaching out to lower-middle and working class elements, particularly long marginalized ethnic minorities, and in bringing them into mainstream politics to a far greater extent than the NC had been able to achieve. (Denoeux et al. 2012)

2.3.3 The Unified Communist Party of Nepal (MAOIST)

On February 4, 1996 the Maoist party launched an insurgency that would last 10 years. Since then, the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has been instrumental in reshaping Nepals political landscape. The party came into the political mainstream in several stages in 2005-2006: by signing the September 2005 12-point agreement with the mainstream Seven-Party Alliance (led by the NC and UML) to form a common front against King Gyanendra; by deciding to suspend its insurgency in May 2006 and by agreeing to

a ceasefire that delivered a durable military truce; and by institutionalizing its decision to enter the peace process and renounce violence by signing the CPA in November 2006, when the party agreed to give up its weapons. The UCPN(M) participated in the elections to the CA in April 2008 and to its surprise and that of most observers and political actors it became the largest force in it with 218 out of 601 seats. (Denoeux et al. 2012) The Maoists main social base reflects that history, and consists of the more economically disadvantaged strata of the populationconstituencies that historically have felt left out and neglected. Of the three main parties, the UCPN(M) has been the most effective at recruiting the Janajati, and it is currently engaged in a desperate effort to prevent an exodus of Janajati activists in its ranks to the Janajati party(ies) that are likely to emerge soon. The UCPN(M) has a nationwide presence and is particularly influential in the hill areas and the Terai. (Denoeux et al. 2012)

2.3.4 Madhesi Parties

The Madhesi consist of an ethno-regional group that lives in the Terai, or Madhes region, which consists of the fertile plain in the lower-third section of Nepal that stretches east to west, along the border with India. Most Madhesi live in the eastern Terai. While the Terai represents only about a quarter of the countrys total land area, it is home to nearly half of the countrys population and constitutes the heart of Nepals economy (with regard to both the industrial and agricultural sectors) (Denoeux et al. 2012). The primary bases for the Madhesis sense of distinct identity lie in the separate, plains-based languages they use; in their broader social and cultural distinctiveness from hills-based people, who historically have dominated Nepals political and governmental spheres and whose cultural norms were long imposed on Madhesi (and other ethnic groups); and most importantly, in the discrimination that historically has targeted Madhesi, who are still viewed by many inhabitants of the hills with a mixture of derision and suspicion. (Denoeux et al. 2012) Madhesi parties are relatively new players in Nepali politics. They came to the fore in 2006-2007, propelled by two general strikes in the Terai that forced elites in Kathmandu to address their grievances. Since then, Madhesi parties have been a primary driver of the federalist agenda in the

country. In fact, it was only after Madhesi demanded federalism that the Maoist embraced that agenda. Thereafter, the Madhesi single-handedly pressured successive coalition governments led by the NC, Maoists, and UML to accept the idea that Nepal should become a federal state. A watershed in that process was the 2008 amendment to the January 2007 interim constitution that relabeled Nepal a “Federal Democratic Republic.” (Denoeux et al. 2012) In the April 2008 CA elections, all Madhesi parties combined secured approximately 90 seats, thus forming the fourth largest political bloc in the CA (after the Maoists, the NC, and the UML). Since then, the Madhesi political landscape has become increasingly fractionalized. (Denoeux et al. 2012)

2.3.5 The Janajati

The term Janajati refers to the mostly hill-based, largely indigenous ethnic minorities that comprise about 37 percent of the population. In recent years, the Janajati have asserted themselves politically. They have displayed a stronger sense of separate collective consciousness, asserted themselves as a community, and in particular, shown a heightened determination to advance their interests independently from the other political forces in the country. They are the most recent newcomers (as a collective) to Nepali national politics, and their impact is just beginning to be felt. (Denoeux et al. 2012) In previous decades, the more politically inclined elements among them had sought to advance issues and grievances most directly related to their respective ethnic communities by joining existing political parties. In both 1960 and 1990-1991 democratic movements, the NC deliberately endeavored to mobilize the Janajati in its confrontation with the monarchy, and it met a degree of success in that effort, especially during the earlier period. By the early- to mid-1990s, the UML had made major inroads among the Janajati, but like other marginalized sections of Nepali society, many Janajati drifted toward the Maoists later on in the decade. Today, the Janajati remain active within the UML, and to a much lesser extent, the NC, but of all existing political forces, it is the Maoists who, thus far, have best been able to capture the allegiance of Janajati. (Denoeux et al. 2012) When elections to the CA were held in April 2008, Janajati leaders ran as members of existing political parties. Once in the CA,

however, Janajati law makers began to mobilize around the call for federalism. The Janajati feel that the state has been consistently insensitive to their grievances and aspirations. They resent that, for over 200 years, their languages, cultures, and distinct identities were suppressed by a central government determined to force ethnic groups to conform to the notion of a single Nepali identity revolving around the institution of the monarchy, the person of the king, a single culture, and a single Nepali language. Janajati activists believe that, left to their own devices, highest-caste elites would persist on that same path, display the same level of cultural intolerance, and continue to engage in political and economic discrimination against minority groups. Their perception that the unitary, centralized state that has existed in Nepal for over 250 years has operated as the key enabler of cultural suppression and systemic discrimination largely accounts for their insistence on ethnic-based federalism with considerable autonomy to constituent states. Those same activists also feel that naming provinces after the dominant ethnic group in each of them represents a form of necessary reparation for all the historical injustices that ethnic minorities were made to suffer at the hands of ruling elites. Specifically, Janajati leaders have urged that each of the main eight ethnic groups in Nepal, those that have strong geographical concentration in different regions, should be granted a province of their own. (Denoeux et al. 2012)

2.3.6 Dalits

The Dalits (the so-called untouchables) have been the most marginalized, oppressed, and discriminated against community in Nepal. They are at the bottom of both the Hindu caste system and the countrys poverty trap. Discrimination based on caste has been illegal since the early 1960s and under the law it is a punishable offense for which one can be fined and receive up to one year in jail. In practice, however, discrimination against Dalits remains rampant and systemic. It is particularly pronounced in rural areas, where nearly 80 percent of Nepals population still resides. In isolated villages and towns, everyone knows everyone else and it is extremely difficult for Dalits to escape the social and economic stigmas associated with their caste standing. Their capacity to mingle freely with people from other communities remains extremely restricted, at best. (Denoeux et al. 2012)

Dalits overall presence in the bureaucracy and political arena is still negligible, and while they represent approximately 15 percent of the total population, they are absent from key decision-making arenas. That situation contributes to the perpetuation of discrimination against them. For instance, Dalits cannot count on the presence of Dalit police officers or judges to help enforce the laws that prevent discrimination against them. Cases of discrimination on grounds of untouchability either don't reach the courts, or, when they do, lawyers and judges do not give those cases proper attention (Denoeux et al. 2012). The advent of multiparty democracy in 1990 opened up space for heightened mobilization by Dalits. Large numbers of Dalits had joined the NC in 1950, and even more rallied behind the UML in the early 1990s. But in both instances, Dalits were disappointed by those parties' failure to articulate, let alone deliver on, a comprehensive agenda of social reform that would have addressed head-on the discrimination targeting their community. Indeed, the mainstream parties showed little interest in addressing more than rhetorically the basic grievances and concerns of Dalits. They opposed the idea of quotas to promote Dalits in public life or any suggestion of reparations for historical wrongs. Discrimination persisted even within those parties, like the UML, that were nominally committed to greater social equality and the elimination of discrimination (Denoeux et al. 2012). Indeed, it was the Maoist-led peoples war that massively mobilized Dalits and brought their issues to the center of the inclusion discourse. A large number of Dalits joined the insurgency because of the Maoists' strong ideological position against caste-based discrimination; their inclusive agenda; the systematic efforts they exerted to reach out to Dalits; and the manner in which they interacted freely with Dalits (Denoeux et al. 2012). The Dalits operate under social, economic, and political constraints that are far greater than those faced by other oppressed and marginalized communities. Dalits are not big advocates of federalism, since being scattered across the national territory they cannot aspire to a contiguous state. In none of the states/provinces that are currently envisioned would Dalits represent even a plurality. On the other hand, since Dalits know that their future depends on maintaining good relations with the communities around them, they can be expected to support federalism in areas where the communities in question strongly favor that option (Denoeux et al. 2012).

2.3.7 Conservatives

The label conservatives is used here to refer to three main parties: the Rashtriya Prajatantra Party (Nepal), or RPP(N), the Rashtriya Prajatantra Party (RPP), and the Rashtriya Janashakti Party (RJP). The right wing also features a small radical fringe made up of Hindu revivalist and militant currents among the Brahmins and Chhettris. All three parties call for a referendum on federalism and secularism. In the past several years, they have appeared to be overtaken by the scope and speed of grassroots mobilization and have been relegated to the sidelines of Nepali politics. Their electoral strength is weak, and their presence in the CA was limited to about 20 members. Different political sensitivities can be found among conservatives: (Denoeux et al. 2012)

- Many conservatives are more concerned with secularism and republicanism than with federalism, and the degree of opposition to secularism in their ranks varies.
- Some Conservatives still advocate a restoration of the monarchy.
- Most conservatives are Brahmins and Chhettris, and some of them are opposed to a meaningful, substantive redistribution of power to benefit other communities, especially historically disadvantaged ones.
- Some conservatives oppose any type of federal formula and insist on a unitary centralized state.

2.4 Participation of Women, Caste/Ethnic Group

Regarding political participation in general, research at the global level reveals a fairly unique distribution of political participation among citizens: the extent of political participation is the highest in those economically developed countries with long democratic traditions, while younger democracies (which are also less economically developed) lag behind them with a substantially lower level of participation. (Fink 2012)

Given the assumption that political participation is related to the democratization process as well as to the processes of modernization or development processes in general, some

of these findings may appear surprising. However, if we consider the last two decades of democratization in Eastern and Southeastern Europe to be the concluding phase of the modernization process, whilst in the same period the old democracies of Western Europe were already heading towards a post-modern phase, then the above findings appear less surprising. Old and young democracies share some benefits of late modernity (the decline of conventional political participation), but at the same time the older democracies are surpassing the younger ones by enjoying the benefits of post-modernity (non-conventional political participation). (Fink 2012)

Owing to the close association between political participation, democratization and socio-economic development in general, the factors of political participation in our model are taken from various models that explain the development of democracy. For example: the legitimacy approach (e.g. institutional trust); the communitarian approach (e.g. interpersonal trust); and the human development approach (e.g. values). Apart from the models explaining the development of democracy, some other models and empirical research that explain political participation according to the socio-economic profile of individuals (for example: resources, class, gender, age) were also a source of inspiration for our model (Fink 2012).

In Nepal, course of unfair political developments started with Rana autocratic oligarchy, authoritarian Panchayati system and come to multiparty system, parliamentary democracy then faced Maoist armed conflicts and then become the federal democratic republic of Nepal. Till present time, political change in Nepal was held within a time frame depicting the capricious nature of Nepali politics. This lacked the leadership vision for Nepals future. Nepali mass movements and political parties brought the program with short term solution and gain the power.

2.4.1 Participation and Inclusion

Participation and inclusion are two different concepts, but are closely interrelated to each other. Political participation is largely a citizen centric notion that focuses more on (a) mode of peoples participation, i.e. voting behavior, protest/rally/movements etc., (b)

agencies that mobilize people, i.e. political party, trade union, civil society etc., and (c) process/institutions that facilitates peoples participation, i. e. decentralization, local self governance etc. A man/woman interacts with the state institutions and governance at two levels: one, as an individual citizen of the country and two, as a member of social groups he/she belongs to. Participation with group identity begs the components of inclusion. Here, I see the logic of key proposition of this paper: the higher the level of political participation, the greater the political inclusion. The meaning of participation and inclusion overlaps when talking about group representation to and interaction with the state apparatus. In Nepal, social group as a constituency of political participation is legally acknowledged with a provision of reservation to the excluded groups (women, dalit, janajati, madheshi) and also with a quota system of representation (37% for janajati, 31% for madheshi, 30% for Khas-Arya, 13% for dalit, and also 33% for women) under Proportional Representation (PR) component of the mixed electoral system. (Gautam et al. 2014)

Inclusion refers to policies of including diversity and plurality of peoples in decision-making and implementation process of governance. It also includes empowerment of the marginalized and the disenfranchised. The scope of inclusion goes beyond participation. The study of political inclusion inevitably demands the study of identity, autonomy, collective rights, etc. Moreover, it also includes agendas of restructuring the Nepali state, i.e. secularism, federalism, multilingualism, proportional representation of social groups in proportion to size of population. (Gautam et al. 2014)

UNDP Nepals studies entitled Nepal Human Development Reports (Jahan et al. 2016) are significant to understand the nature and scope of exclusion/inclusion in Nepal. Social exclusion is defined as inequality among social groups based on gender, caste/ethnicity, and spatial categories. These reports list seven sources of inequality and exclusion: (Gautam et al. 2014)

- unequal gender relations
- hierarchical stratification of caste/ethnic groups
- domination of hill high castes values and culture

- linguistic discrimination
- religions discrimination
- spatial exclusion and
- geo-political discrimination.

Major political forces did not embrace Dalits among their ranks, neglecting their responsibility to ensure a representative selection of candidates and in having an inclusive House of Representatives. (Khanal, Gelpke & Pyakurel 2012)

2.5 Sociology of Caste/Ethnicity

Social stratification is the ordering of social differences with the help of a set of criteria or just a single criterion which ties the differentiated strata into a system. Caste, class, race, ethnicity, gender are some of the pertinent categories of social hierarchy and differentiation in many societies. (Subedi 2010)

It is argued that in spite of the multi-ethnic nature of the society, the political and administrative powers are monopolized by the predominant castes such as Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars. The political parties have failed to ensure fair representation of varied socio-cultural groups at different levels of their hierarchies. Despite high voter turnout, leading to the contradictions the democratic process continues to exclude the representation of the disadvantaged groups. (Pradhan 2005)

Weber argued that biological traits could not be the basis for group foundation unless they were conceived as shared characteristics. In the caste system, an individual's status is fixed by birth. It was this shared perception and common customs that create and distinguish one ethnicity from another. Status differentiation in society develops into caste like structures. Caste is actually a normal societal form. As caste and ethnicity are socially constructed and do exist in society to maintain system as a whole and equilibrium.

In France, emphasis was on the problem of integration into the wider national society and lack of social solidarity. The concept of social solidarity comes from the French sociologist

Emile Durkheim. In classical sociology, the concept of whole and parts was employed to analyze the European society. The integration of all members of a society through social institutions such as religion, state, education, family, and law was considered not only a necessity, but an inevitable stage in social development. This perspective had a substantial influence in the social policy making in many countries. (Pradhan 2005)

Talcott Parsons and later sociologists reformulated this theory by linking it with system analysis, which came to be known as neo-functionalism. The neo-functionalists focused on explicating how the social system operates and solidarity is maintained. According to them, society consists of independent but interconnected subsystems. Examples are: the economic subsystem based on theory of competition; political subsystem based on theory of power; cultural subsystem based on theory of normative values; and social subsystem based on theory of mutual help and friendship. According to them, conditions of social exclusion arise with failure in the operation of the social system and in relations between the system and its subsystems (Pradhan 2005). Parson's argument suggests that stratification is an inevitable part of all human societies and they are basically expression of social values.

Dumont, the best known of symbolic school, based his interpretation of caste on the attributes of hierarchy and repulsion. He focused on the rigidity of caste position at each end of the hierarchical spectrum (Brahman and out-castes) and the radical opposition in Hindu thought between categories of power and categories of Hindu status. For Dumont, the dominant principle of Hindu caste system is hierarchy hierarchy, of course, of a religious, rather than of a political, sort. (Subedi 2010)

2.6 Sociology of Gender

Nepal ranks 144 out of 187 countries on the global gender-related development index (a composite index of life expectancy, adult literacy, and education enrollment rates, income) and 86 out of 93 countries on the gender empowerment index (Jahan et al. 2016). Gender inequality continues in almost every facet of Nepali society affecting the life at work and at home, and cutting across legislation, political participation, and economic empowerment.

Nepal is signatory to almost all international conventions on human rights, womens rights and childrens rights and has committed itself to making rapid progress towards gender equality.

The oppression of Nepali women is structural and it is prevalent in a political and administrative level. Although Young (2006) discusses five faces of oppression in her own context, such as exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence, these major faces of oppression can be seen in Nepals cultural and bureaucratic institutions. Womens job is limited to kitchen chores, and Hindu religious and cultural practices have cemented the idea of the female being males caretakers, by providing children with emotional care and men with sexual satisfaction. Powerlessness of Nepali women is an upshot of Nepali social institutions, which are firmly grounded in Hindu religious and cultural practices. Associating female body with purity, deeming premarital sex as sin, males restrict womens mobility and control their sexuality. As a result, a number of undesirable social practices take place, such as female seclusion and Purdah, child marriages, and mob rapes of women during times of social upheaval (Acharya, 2009). On top of that, the prevalence of a caste system doubly suppresses women if a woman is of a lower caste. Thus, the chances for a lower caste women to reach top positions in a political and administrative level is unlikely to happen. (Acharya 2017)

Religious and cultural understanding of women has unintentionally influenced the administrative and political culture of Nepal. Jamil and Dangal (2009) compare the demographic compositions of Nepalese bureaucracy and discuss the administrative culture in Nepal. They conclude that the administrative culture in Nepal is gender, religion, and caste biased. They write, “The administrative culture is guided more by particularism than universalism, by ascription than achievement, by rule-orientation than result orientation, and by authoritarian than participatory values”. The administrative and political culture favors men as it highlights the mens role as a ruler, provider, and what MacKinnon (2006) would call “knower.” Thus Nepali culture places men in the center in any social, political, and institutional life, and women are always marginalized as women are allowed limited freedom. (Acharya 2017)

Article 84(8) of constitution of Nepal mentions it categorically that women should account for at least one third of total members elected from each party in Federal Parliament. In case, one-third percentage of women are not elected while being elected under FPTP, the party that fails to ensure one-third representation shall have to elect at least one-third of total numbers as woman in the Federal Parliament while electing members under PR system. (*Constitution of Nepal 2072* 2015)

Women were ascribed a subordinate status in the social hierarchy and as late as in 1963, the National Code of Nepal (Muluki Ain) curtailed womens rights to inherit property and severely restricted economic options for women. However, the recent debate on restructuring of the state has addressed inclusion issues as one of its main tenets, and womens empowerment has been one of the key components of the debate. The new constitution accommodate the interests and views of Nepals diverse ethnic and caste groups and secure womens representation in state bodies. It Specifies Women should account for one third of total members elected from each party and if one-third percentage are not elected, the party that fails to ensure so shall have to elect one-third of total number as women through the party-list proportional representation. Two ward members in local administration must be female, one of whom must belong to the dalit community or a minority group and one of key position (Mayer/Chair or Deputy Mayer/Vice Chair) should be women.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter presents the description of methods that was used for the study. It includes the study area, the procedures for collection and analysis of data to meet the objective of this research.

3.1 Study Area

The study area for this research is the study of gender, identify the representation of caste/ethnic group and political parties of the elected candidates in local level, national and state-level legislative elections held on 2017. During this research i studied the 35042 elected candidate from local level election, 330 elected and 220 proportional represented candidate from state level election and 165 elected and 110 proportional represented candidate from national level election.

3.2 Source of Data

This study engaged with secondary data sources. For the secondary sources of data, information useful for this study was collected from published electronic sources (website) of Election Commission of Nepal. The data collected from secondary sources were quantitative and qualitative in nature. The data was structured in columns and rows. Raw data from

election commission include all elected, unopposed and contested candidates of different political parties and of different election area local (municipal to ward level), province (district and election area) and national (district and election area) level taking part in each election.

The data available through Election Commission of Nepal Website was dump to Microsoft Office Excel file using Web Scrapping technique. For this research purpose i filter the elected and/or unopposed candidate and its meta data (district, province, local unit name, ward, gender, vote and name of affiliated political party).

3.3 Data cleansing

The data file is checked in a multitude of ways and tested for consistency in order to improve data quality. I try to make uniform in the surname of elected candidate. As data from web have anomalies and lots of fonts and typing error, i try to sort it out at the beginning. During this i have perform Consistency tests to detect data capture errors and inconsistencies in data. I validate the data with different published articles and papers.

3.4 Classification of Data

Caste or ethnicity-based identities are more common in the Nepalese Society where individuals are still identified on the basis of their caste such as Bahun, Tamang or Damai. The caste-specific surnames that carry a lot of significance in Nepalese Society and strictly regulate inter-caste relationships were gradually replaced by those that refer to clan (thar).

Since the surname continues to be the easiest way of identifying the caste and religious identity of the people, this research classify data based on the clan and identify the caste/ethnic group and or religious identity associated with their surname.

The qualitative data are coded and classified based on gender, position, caste/ethnicity, political parties, district, province and local unit for data analysis. The attributes of data

(e.g gender,caste/ethnicity etc) were given numeric value(for e.g in case of gender, 1 for Man and 2 for Women) to make it quantitative and to analysis statistically.

The reference of various published reports from election commission of Nepal was taken to correctly identify the caste and ethnicity of elected representative. Beside that a field visit had group discusses was done to identify and validate the classification of data.

3.5 Analysis Technique

Descriptive statistical tool was used in the analysis of variable and relation among variables. The classified and coded data were analyzed with the aid of Excel and Structured Query Language (MySQL) to ascertain the frequency distribution and percentages, as well as perform other statistical analyses and tests, including cross tabulations.

The classification of caste and ethnicity was done with code assigned using excel. The Comma Separated Value(CSV) file was created to upload data to MySQL Database. A database of caste/ethnicity and surname was created for reference and validate data. The Data was matched with the database of caste/ethnicity and surname to automate the process of identifying and classifying ethnic groups. It also helps in validating the Manual way of classified data.

Chapter 4

Parties Vote and Seat Trend

Nepal Federal and Provincial Assemblies election have been interesting, as the two prominent communist parties have forged an unexpected electoral alliance. In a dramatic turns of events, the Communist Party Nepal-Unified Marxist-Leninist (UML) and CPN-Maoist Center decided to forge an electoral alliance, alienating the largest party, the Nepali Congress (NC). In an attempt to counter the left alliance, NC tried to forge a democratic alliance but it failed to do so.

In the election for Federal Assembly for FPTP seats, the left alliance combined to secure 70 percent of seats. Out of 165 total FPTP constituencies, CPN-UML won 80 seats; the CPN (Maoist Center) won 36 seats. The centrist Nepali Congress, which suffered a serious setback, received only 23 seats, under 14 percent of the total available. Two Madhesh based parties, Rastriya Janata Party-Nepal and Sanghiya Samajbadi Forum secure 11 and 10 seats; other fringe parties and independent won the remaining five seats.

Nepals parallel election also includes proportional representation (PR), in which voters indicated their support for a party rather than a candidate and seats are meted out accordingly. For Federal Assembly Proportional Representation vote, CPN-UML and Nepali Congress were almost even. UML secured 33.25 percent of votes, NC 32.78 percent, and CPN (Maoist Center) 13.66 percent. The two Madhes-based parties each secured just under 5 percent. Only these five parties the CPN-UML, NC, CPN (Maoist Center), SSF, and RJPN won enough of the vote to secure under the PR category.

In total, out of the 275 seats in the House of Representatives, the left alliance holds 174 (121 for the CPN-UML and 53 for the Maoists), the NC 63, the RJPN 17, and the SSF 16. The left alliance also have clear majority on all province assemblies except of Province Number 2. Two Madhesh based parties: Federal Socialist forum Nepal and Rastriya janata party are stronger with 29 and 25 seats, on province assembly of Province Number 2.

At least one third of the total number of members to be elected from each political party to the Provincial Assembly shall have to be women. In case at least one third of the candidates elected from a political party pursuant to FPTP election are not women, the political party shall have to make provision of electing at least one third women while electing members pursuant to PR system (*Constitution of Nepal 2072* 2015).

With amendment of the Electoral Act, each political party has to accumulate three per cent of the total valid votes casted under the PR electoral system and at least one seat under the FPTP electoral system to be recognized as a national party. This new provision systematically eliminates caste/ethnic identity based parties advocating for Dalit, Indigenous and Marginalized People's rights. As a result, identity-based parties like Dalit Janajati Party, Khabuwan Party, Sanghiya Limbuwan Party, Nepa: Rastriya Party etc could not secure three percent of votes in recent elections.

In the local polls, the CPN-UML won control of 294 out of total 753 local bodies, and CPN (Maoist Center) won another 106. All told, the parties that later formed the left alliance won control of 400 local bodies, which is a clear majority. The Nepali Congress (NC), a centrist party, fell to the second largest party in the local-level polls winning 266 municipal chief position.

The following Analysis were drawn to get the result.

- Summary of Political Party Wise Seat in Federal Election 2017 (4.1)
- Analysis of Party Wise Caste Ethnicity in Federal Election (4.2)
- Analysis of Party Wise Caste Ethnicity in Federal Assembly through First Past the Post (FPTP) (4.3)
- Analysis of Party Wise Caste Ethnicity in Federal Assembly through PR (4.4)

- Summary of Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017 (4.5)
- Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017: Province 1(4.6)
- Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017: Province 2 (4.7)
- Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017: Province 3 (4.8)
- Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017: Province 4 (4.9)
- Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017: Province 5 (4.10)
- Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017: Province 6 (4.11)
- Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017: Province 7 (4.12)
- Political Party Wise Caste Ethnicity Analysis: Province 1 (4.13)
- Political Party Wise Caste Ethnicity Analysis: Province 2 (4.14)
- Political Party Wise Caste Ethnicity Analysis: Province 3 (4.15)
- Political Party Wise Caste Ethnicity Analysis: Province 4 (4.16)
- Political Party Wise Caste Ethnicity Analysis: Province 5 (4.17)
- Political Party Wise Caste Ethnicity Analysis: Province 6 (4.18)
- Political Party Wise Caste Ethnicity Analysis: Province 7 (4.19)
- Analysis of Party Wise Position Seat in Local Election (4.20)
- Analysis of Caste/Ethnicity by Political Parties for Municipal Chief Position in Local Election (4.21)
- Analysis of Caste/Ethnicity by Political Parties for Ward Chair Position in Local Election (4.22)

S.No	Party	FPTP Seat	PR Seat	Total
1	CPN (Unified Marxist Leninist)	80	41	121
2	Nepali Congress	23	40	63
3	CPN (Maoist Centre)	36	17	53
4	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	11	6	17
5	Federal Socialist Forum, Nepal	10	6	16
6	Rastriya Prajatantra Party	1	0	1
7	Naya Shakti Party, Nepal	1	0	1
8	Rastriya Janamorcha	1	0	1
9	Nepal Workers Peasants Party	1	0	1
10	Bibeksheel Sajha Party	0	0	0
11	Rastriya Prajatantra Party (Democratic)	0	0	0
12	Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist Leninist)	0	0	0
13	Nepal Federal Socialist Party	0	0	0
14	Rastriya Janamukti Party	0	0	0
15	Ekikrit Rastriya Prajatantrik Party (Nationalist)	0	0	0
16	Nepali Janata Dal	0	0	0
17	Sanghiya Loktantrik Rastriya Manch	0	0	0
18	Bahujan Shakti Party	0	0	0
19	Mongol National Organization	0	0	0
20	Sanghiya Loktantrik Rastriya Manch (Tharuhat)	0	0	0
21	Deshbhakta Janaganatantrik Morcha, Nepal	0	0	0
22	Nepal Janata Party	0	0	0
23	Janashakti Nepal	0	0	0
24	Aamul Pariwartan Masiha Party Nepal	0	0	0
25	Rastriya Mukti Andolan Nepal	0	0	0
26	Nepa Rastriya Party	0	0	0
27	Nepal Loktantrik Janata Congress	0	0	0
28	Churebhavar Loktantrik Party	0	0	0
29	Green Party Nepal	0	0	0
30	Nepal Samabeshi Party	0	0	0
31	Nepali Congress (B.P.)	0	0	0
32	Liberal Democratic Party	0	0	0
33	Nepal Sukumbasi Party (Democratic)	0	0	0
34	Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist)	0	0	0
35	Tamangsaling Loktantrik Party	0	0	0
36	Nepal Yuwa Kisan Party	0	0	0
37	Rastriya Samajwadi Party, Nepal	0	0	0
38	Nepal Darshan	0	0	0
39	Rastriya Yatharthawadi Party, Nepal	0	0	0
40	Nepal Naulo Janwadi Party	0	0	0
41	Yuwa Nepal Party	0	0	0
42	Nepal Dalit Party	0	0	0
43	Sanghiya Khumbuwan Democratic Party Nepal	0	0	0
44	Deshbhakta Loktantrik Party	0	0	0
45	Independents	1	0	1
	Total	165	110	275

Table 4.1: Summary of Political Party Wise Seat in Federal Election 2017

S.No	Party Name	HBC		HJ		HD		TJ		TD		Madhesi		Muslim		Total	Percent
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	66	24.00	32	11.64	7	2.55	5	1.82	2	0.73	7	2.55	2	0.73	121	44.00
2	Nepali Congress	25	18.48	13	11.21	6	5.45	8	6.36	0	0.00	8	6.36	3	2.42	63	22.91
3	Communist Party of Nepal (MC)	23	16.06	14	9.70	2	1.82	3	2.12	1	0.61	9	6.06	1	0.91	53	19.27
4	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	3	1.09	0	0.00	0	0.00	6	2.18	1	0.36	6	2.18	1	0.36	17	6.18
5	Federal Socialist Forum Nepal	1	0.36	2	0.73	1	0.36	0	0.00	0	0.00	10	3.64	2	0.73	16	5.82
6	Rastriya Prajatantra Party	0	0.00	1	0.36	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.36
7	Naya Shakti Party Nepal	1	0.36	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.36
8	Nepal Workers Peasants Party	0	0.00	1	0.36	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.36
9	Rastriya Janamorcha	1	0.36	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.36
10	Independent	0	0.00	1	0.36	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.36
	Total	120	43.64	64	23.27	16	5.82	22	8.0	4	1.45	40	14.55	9	3.27	275	100

Table 4.2: Analysis of Party Wise Caste Ethnicity in Federal Election

S.No	Party Name	HBC		HJ		HD		TJ		TD		Madhesi		Muslim		Total	Percent
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	52	31.52	22	13.33	2	1.21	1	0.61	1	0.61	2	1.21	0	0.00	80	48.48
2	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	16	9.70	10	6.06	0	0.00	2	1.21	1	0.61	7	4.24	0	0.00	36	21.82
3	Nepali Congress	14	8.48	2	1.21	0	0.00	3	1.82	0	0.00	3	1.82	1	0.61	23	13.94
4	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	1	0.61	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	1.82	0	0.00	6	3.64	1	0.61	11	6.67
5	Federal Socialist Forum Nepal	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	9	5.45	1	0.61	10	6.06
6	Rastriya Prajatantra Party Nepal	0	0.00	1	0.61	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.61
7	Naya Shakti Party Nepal	1	0.61	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.61
8	Nepal Workers Peasants Party	0	0.00	1	0.61	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.61
9	Rastriya Janamorcha	1	0.61	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.61
10	Independent	0	0.00	1	0.61	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.61
	Total	85	51.52	37	22.42	2	1.21	9	5.45	2	1.21	27	16.36	3	1.82	165	100

Table 4.3: Analysis of Party Wise Caste Ethnicity in Federal Assembly through First Past the Post

S.No	Political Parties	FPTP Seat	PR Seat	Total Seat
1	CPN (Unified Marxist Leninist)	168	75	243
2	Nepali Congress	41	72	113
3	CPN (Maoist Centre)	73	35	108
4	Federal Socialist Forum, Nepal	24	13	37
5	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	16	12	28
6	Rastriya Janamorcha	2	2	4
7	Rastriya Prajatantra Party	0	3	3
8	Bibeksheel Sajha Party	0	3	3
9	Naya Shakti Party, Nepal	2	1	3
10	Nepal Majdoor Kisan Party	1	1	2
11	Rastriya Prajatantra Party (Democratic)	0	1	1
12	Nepal Federal Socialist Party	0	1	1
13	Sanghiya Loktantrik Rastriya Manch	0	1	1
14	Independent	3	0	3
	Total	330	220	550

Table 4.5: Summary of Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017

S.No	Political Parties	FPTP Seat	PR Seat	Total Seat
1	CPN (Unified Marxist Leninist)	36	15	51
2	Nepali Congress	8	13	21
3	CPN (Maoist Centre)	10	5	15
4	Federal Socialist Forum, Nepal	1	2	3
5	Rastriya Prajatantra Party	0	1	1
6	Sanghiya Loktantrik Rastriya Manch	0	1	1
7	Independent	1	0	1
	Total	56	37	93

Table 4.6: Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017: Province 1

S.No	Political Parties	FPTP Seat	PR Seat	Total Seat
1	Federal Socialist Forum, Nepal	20	9	29
2	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	15	10	25
3	CPN (Unified Marxist-Leninist)	14	7	21
4	Nepali Congress	8	11	19
5	CPN (Maoist Centre)	6	5	11
6	Nepal Federal Socialist Party	0	1	1
7	Independent	1	0	1
	Total	64	43	107

Table 4.7: Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017: Province 2

S.No	Political Parties	FPTP Seat	PR Seat	Total Seat
1	CPN (Unified Marxist-Leninist)	42	16	58
2	CPN (Maoist Centre)	15	8	23
3	Nepali Congress	7	14	21
4	Bibeksheel Sajha Party	0	3	3
5	Nepal Majdoor Kisan Party	1	1	2
6	Rastriya Prajatantra Party	0	1	1
7	Rastriya Prajatantra Party (Democratic)	0	1	1
8	Naya Shakti Party, Nepal	1	0	1
	Total	66	44	110

Table 4.8: Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017: Province 3

S.No	Political Parties	FPTP Seat	PR Seat	Total Seat
1	CPN (Unified Marxist-Leninist)	17	10	27
2	Nepali Congress	6	9	15
3	CPN (Maoist Centre)	9	3	12
4	Rastriya Janamorcha	2	1	3
5	Naya Shakti Party, Nepal	1	1	2
6	Independent	1	0	1
	Total	36	24	60

Table 4.9: Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017: Province 4

S.No	Political Parties	FPTP Seat	PR Seat	Total Seat
1	CPN (Unified Marxist-Leninist)	28	13	41
2	CPN (Maoist Centre)	14	6	20
3	Nepali Congress	7	12	19
4	Federal Socialist Forum, Nepal	3	2	5
5	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	0	1	1
6	Rastriya Janamorcha	0	1	1
	Total	52	35	87

Table 4.10: Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017: Province 5

S.No	Political Parties	FPTP Seat	PR Seat	Total Seat
1	CPN (Unified Marxist-Leninist)	14	6	20
2	CPN (Maoist Centre)	9	4	13
3	Nepali Congress	1	5	6
4	Rastriya Prajatantra Party	0	1	1
	Total	24	16	40

Table 4.11: Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017: Province 6

S.No	Political Parties	FPTP Seat	PR Seat	Total Seat
1	CPN (Unified Marxist-Leninist)	17	8	25
2	CPN (Maoist Centre)	10	4	14
3	Nepali Congress	4	8	12
4	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	1	1	2
	Total	32	21	53

Table 4.12: Political Party Wise Seat in Provincial Election 2017: Province 7

S.No	Party Name	HBC		HJ		HD		TJ		TD		Madhesi		Muslim		Total	Percent
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
First Past the Post (FPTP)																	
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	18	32.14	17	30.36	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	1	1.79	0	0	36	64.29
2	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	2	3.57	7	12.50	0	0	1	1.79	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	10	17.86
3	Nepali Congress	3	5.36	2	3.57	0	0	2	3.57	0	0	0	0.00	1	1.79	8	14.29
4	Independent	0	0.00	1	1.79	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	1	1.79
5	Federal Socialist Forum Nepal	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	1	1.79	0	0	1	1.79
	Total	23	41.07	27	48.21	0	0	3	5.36	0	0	2	3.57	1	1.79	56	100
Proportional Representation (PR)																	
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	5	13.51	6	16.22	0	0.00	1	2.70	1	2.70	1	2.70	1	2.70	15	40.54
2	Nepali Congress	4	10.81	5	13.51	0	0.00	2	5.41	1	2.70	1	2.70	0	0.00	13	35.14
3	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	1	2.70	3	8.11	1	2.70	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	13.51
4	Federal Socialist Forum Nepal	1	2.70	1	2.70	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	5.41
5	Rastriya Prajatantra Party Nepal	0	0.00	1	2.70	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.70
6	Federal Democratic National Forum	0	0.00	1	2.70	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.70
	Total	11	29.73	17	45.95	1	2.70	3	8.11	2	5.41	2	5.41	1	2.70	37	100

Table 4.13: Party Wise Caste Ethnicity Analysis of Provincial Parliament Member in State 1

S.No	Party Name	HBC		HJ		HD		TJ		TD		Madhesi		Muslim		Total	Percent
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
First Past the Post (FPTP)																	
1	Federal Socialist Forum Nepal	1	1.56	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	15	23.44	4	6.25	20	31.25
2	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	2	3.13	1	1.56	0	0	1	1.56	0	0	11	17.19	0	0.00	15	23.44
3	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	3	4.69	1	1.56	1	1.56	2	3.13	1	1.56	6	9.38	0	0.00	14	21.88
4	Nepali Congress	0	0.00	1	1.56	0	0	1	1.56	0	0	5	7.81	1	1.56	8	12.50
5	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	6	9.38	0	0.00	6	9.38
6	Independent	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	1	1.56	1	1.56
	Total	6	9.38	3	4.69	1	1.56	4	6.25	1	1.56	43	67.19	6	9.38	64	100
Proportional Representation (PR)																	
1	Nepali Congress	1	2.33	1	2.33	0	0	3	6.98	1	2.33	4	9.30	1	2.33	11	25.58
2	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	10	23.26	0	0.00	10	23.25
3	Federal Socialist Forum Nepal	0	0.00	1	2.33	0	0	0	0.00	2	4.65	5	11.63	1	2.33	9	20.93
4	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	0	0.00	1	2.33	0	0	0	0.00	1	2.33	4	9.30	1	2.33	7	16.28
5	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	1	2.33	3	6.98	1	2.33	5	11.63
6	Nepal Sanghiya Samajwadi Party	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.33	0	0.00	1	2.33
	Total	1	2.33	3	6.98	0	0	3	6.98	5	11.63	27	62.79	4	9.30	43	100

Table 4.14: Party Wise Caste Ethnicity Analysis of Provincial Parliament Member in State 2

S.No	Party Name	HBC		HJ		HD		TJ		TD		Madhesi		Muslim		Total	Percent
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
First Past the Post (FPTP)																	
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	31	46.97	11	16.67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	42	63.64
2	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	8	12.12	5	7.58	0	0	2	3.03	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	22.73
3	Nepali Congress	1	1.52	6	9.09	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	10.61
4	Naya Shakti Party Nepal	0	0.00	1	1.52	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.52
5	Nepal Workers Peasants Party	1	1.52	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.52
6	Bibeksheel Party	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
Total		41	62.12	23	34.85	0	0	2	3.03	0	0	0	0	0	0	66	100
Proportional Representation (PR)																	
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	6	13.64	9	20.45	1	2.27	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	36.36
2	Nepali Congress	5	11.36	8	18.18	1	2.27	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	31.82
3	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	3	6.81	5	11.36	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	18.18
4	Bibeksheel Party	1	2.27	2	4.54	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	6.82
5	Nepal Workers Peasants Party	0	0	1	2.27	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.27
6	Rastriya Prajatantra Party Nepal	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	1	2.27	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.27
7	Rastriya Prajatantra Party (Democratic)	0	0	1	2.27	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.27
Total		15	34.09	26	59.09	2	4.55	1	2.27	0	0	0	0	0	0	44	100

Table 4.15: Party Wise Caste Ethnicity Analysis of Provincial Parliament Member in State 3

S.No	Party Name	HBC		HJ		HD		TJ		TD		Madhesi		Muslim		Total	Percent
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
First Past the Post (FPTP)																	
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	9	25.00	8	22.22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	47.22
2	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	8	22.22	1	2.78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	25.00
3	Nepali Congress	5	13.89	1	2.78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	16.67
4	Rastriya Janamorcha	1	2.78	1	2.78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5.56
5	Naya Shakti Party Nepal	1	2.78	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.78
6	Independent	0	0.00	1	2.78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.78
	Total	24	66.67	12	33.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	100
Proportional Representation (PR)																	
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	4	16.66	4	16.67	2	8.33	2	8.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	41.66
2	Nepali Congress	3	12.50	4	16.67	2	8.337	2	8.337	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	37.5
3	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	1	4.16	1	4.17	1	4.17	1	4.17	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	12.5
4	Naya Shakti Party Nepal	0	0	1	4.17	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4.17
5	Rastriya Janamorcha	1	4.16	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4.17
	Total	9	37.5	10	41.67	5	20.83	5	20.83	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	100

Table 4.16: Party Wise Caste Ethnicity Analysis of Provincial Parliament Member in State 4

S.No	Party Name	HBC		HJ		HD		TJ		TD		Madhesi		Muslim		Total	Percent
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
First Past the Post (FPTP)																	
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	21	40.38	3	5.77	0	0	3	5.77	0	0	1	1.92	0	0	28	53.85
2	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	9	17.31	3	5.77	0	0	2	3.85	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	14	26.92
3	Nepali Congress	2	3.85	0	0.00	0	0	1	1.92	0	0	2	3.85	2	3.85	7	13.46
4	Federal Socialist Forum Nepal	1	1.92	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	2	3.85	0	0	3	5.77
	Total	33	63.46	6	11.54	0	0	6	11.54	0	0	5	9.62	2	3.85	52	100
Proportional Representation (PR)																	
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	5	14.28	1	2.86	2	5.71	2	5.71	0	0	2	5.71	1	2.86	13	37.14
2	Nepali Congress	3	8.57	2	5.71	2	5.71	3	8.57	0	0	1	2.86	1	2.86	12	34.29
3	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	2	5.71	1	2.86	1	2.86	1	2.86	0	0	1	2.86	0	0.00	6	17.14
4	Federal Socialist Forum Nepal	1	2.86	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.86	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	5.71
5	Rastriya Janamorcha	1	2.86	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.86
6	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	1	2.86	0	0.00	1	2.86
	Total	12	34.29	4	11.43	5	14.29	7	20.00	0	0	5	14.29	2	5.71	35	100

Table 4.17: Party Wise Caste Ethnicity Analysis of Provincial Parliament Member in State 5

S.No	Party Name	HBC		HJ		HD		TJ		TD		Madhesi		Muslim		Total	Percent
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
First Past the Post (FPTP)																	
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	12	50.00	0	0	1	4.17	0	0	0	0	1	4.17	0	0	14	58.33
2	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	8	33.33	0	0	1	4.17	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	9	37.50
3	Nepali Congress	1	4.17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	1	4.17
	Total	21	87.50	0	0	2	8.33	0	0	0	0	1	4.17	0	0	24	100
Proportional Representation (PR)																	
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	4	25.00	1	6.25	1	6.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	37.5
2	Nepali Congress	3	18.75	1	6.25	1	6.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	31.25
3	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	2	12.50	1	6.25	1	6.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	25
4	Rastriya Prajatantra Party Nepal	1	6.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6.25
	Total	10	62.5	3	18.75	3	18.75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	100

Table 4.18: Party Wise Caste Ethnicity Analysis of Provincial Parliament Member in State 6

S.No	Party Name	HBC		HJ		HD		TJ		TD		Madhesi		Muslim		Total	Percent
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
First Past the Post (FPTP)																	
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	14	33.33	1	2.38	0	0	2	4.76	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	40.48
2	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	7	16.67	1	2.38	11	26.19	1	2.38	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	47.62
3	Nepali Congress	4	9.52	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	9.52
4	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.38	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.38
	Total	25	59.52	2	4.76	11	26.19	4	9.52	0	0	0	0	0	0	42	100
Proportional Representation (PR)																	
1	Nepali Congress	5	23.81	2	9.52	1	4.76	1	4.76	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	38.10
2	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	4	19.048	1	4.76	2	9.52	1	4.76	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	38.10
3	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	2	9.52	0	0.00	1	4.76	1	4.76	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	19.05
4	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	4.76	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4.76
	Total	11	52.38	1	4.76	5	23.81	4	19.05	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	100

Table 4.19: Party Wise Caste Ethnicity Analysis of Provincial Parliament Member in State 7

S.No	Party Name	Mayor		D.Mayor		Chairperson		Vice Chair		Ward Chair		Member		Σ	%
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	123	41.98	137	46.76	171	37.17	194	42.17	2560	37.97	10914	40.735	14099	40.236
2	Nepali Congress	105	35.84	84	28.67	161	35.00	139	30.22	2287	33.92	8681	32.400	11457	32.696
3	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	34	11.60	43	14.68	72	15.65	68	14.78	1101	16.33	4121	15.381	5439	15.522
4	Federal Socialist Forum Nepal	10	3.41	6	2.05	24	5.22	26	5.65	262	3.89	1111	4.147	1439	4.107
5	Rastriya Janata Party	14	4.78	17	5.80	11	2.39	13	2.83	195	2.89	862	3.217	1112	3.173
6	Rastriya Janamorcha	1	0.34	1	0.34	5	1.09	4	0.87	56	0.83	228	0.851	295	0.842
7	Rastriya Prajatantra Party Nepal	1	0.34	3	1.02	4	0.87	4	0.87	59	0.88	214	0.799	285	0.813
8	Independent	2	0.68	0	0.00	4	0.87	5	1.09	91	1.35	131	0.489	233	0.665
9	Rastriya Janamorcha	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.65	4	0.87	33	0.49	146	0.545	186	0.531
10	Nepal Loktantrik Forum	1	0.34	1	0.34	2	0.43	2	0.43	32	0.47	128	0.478	166	0.474
11	Naya Shakti Party	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.43	1	0.22	22	0.33	85	0.317	110	0.314
12	Nepal Workers Peasants Party	1	0.34	1	0.34	0	0.00	0	0.00	22	0.33	75	0.280	99	0.283
13	Bahujan Shakti Party Nepal	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	8	0.12	34	0.127	42	0.120
14	Nepali Janata Dal	1	0.34	0	0.00	1	0.22	0	0.00	7	0.10	30	0.112	39	0.111
15	Rastriya Janamukti Party	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.04	17	0.063	20	0.057
16	Rastriya Prajatantra Party (Democratic)	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.03	6	0.022	8	0.023
17	Federal Democratic National Forum	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.01	6	0.022	7	0.020
18	CPN(Marxist-Leninist)	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.01	3	0.011	4	0.011
19	Nepal Family Party	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.004	1	0.003
	Total	293	100	293	100	460	100	460	100	6742	100.0	26793	100.0	35041	100.0

S.No	Party Name	HBC		HJ		HD		TD		TJ		Madhesi		Muslim		Total
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	173	22.97	8	1.06	3	0.40	12	1.59	96	12.75	2	0.27	0	0.00	294
2	Nepali Congress	138	18.33	69	9.16	2	0.27	1	0.13	14	1.86	36	4.78	6	0.80	266
3	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	46	6.11	33	4.38	1	0.13	0	0.00	9	1.20	16	2.12	1	0.13	106
4	Federal Socialist Forum Nepal	2	0.27	1	0.13	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.13	28	3.72	2	0.27	34
5	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	1	0.13	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	0.53	20	2.66	0	0.00	25
6	Madhesi Janaadhikar Forum Democratic	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.13	0	0.00	4	0.53	1	0.13	0	0.00	6
7	Independent	1	0.13	2	0.27	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.13	1	0.13	1	0.13	6
8	Rastriya Prajatantra Party Nepal	1	0.13	3	0.40	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.13	5
9	Rastriya Janamorcha	2	0.27	1	0.13	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3
10	Nepal Loktantrik Forum	1	0.13	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.27	0	0.00	3
11	Naya Shakti Party Nepal	0	0.00	1	0.13	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.13	0	0.00	2
12	Nepali Janata Dal	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.27	0	0.00	2
13	Nepal Workers Peasants Party	0	0.00	1	0.13	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1
	Total	365	48.47	119	15.80	7	0.93	13	1.73	129	17.13	109	14.48	11	1.46	753

Table 4.21: Analysis of Caste/Ethnicity by Political Parties for Municipal Chief Position in Local Election

S.No	Party Name	HBC		HJ		HD		TD		TJ		Madhesi		Muslim		Total
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	1373	20.36	862	12.79	62	0.92	5	0.07	93	1.38	127	1.88	38	0.56	2560
2	Nepali Congress	1108	16.43	684	10.15	28	0.42	8	0.12	148	2.20	246	3.65	65	0.96	2287
3	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	436	6.47	368	5.46	38	0.56	9	0.13	79	1.17	124	1.84	29	0.43	1101
4	Federal Socialist Forum Nepal	13	0.19	8	0.12	0	0.00	1	0.01	26	0.39	183	2.71	31	0.46	262
5	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	13	0.19	0	0.00	2	0.03	6	0.09	31	0.46	123	1.82	20	0.30	195
6	Independent	16	0.24	27	0.40	0	0.00	4	0.06	12	0.18	26	0.39	6	0.09	91
7	Rastriya Prajatantra Party	17	0.25	20	0.30	4	0.06	2	0.03	4	0.06	8	0.12	4	0.06	59
8	Madhesi Janaadhikar Forum Nepal Democratic	3	0.04	4	0.06	0	0.00	0	0.00	31	0.46	13	0.19	5	0.07	56
9	Rastriya Janamorcha	27	0.40	5	0.07	1	0.01	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	33
10	Nepal Loktantrik Forum	2	0.03	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	7	0.10	19	0.28	4	0.06	32
11	Naya Shakti Party Nepal	3	0.04	8	0.12	1	0.01	0	0.00	1	0.01	8	0.12	1	0.01	22
12	Nepal Workers Peasants Party	8	0.12	13	0.19	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.01	22
13	Bahujan Shakti Party	4	0.06	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.01	3	0.04	8
14	Nepali Janata Dal	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	0.07	2	0.03	7
15	Rastriya Janamukti Party	2	0.03	1	0.01	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3
16	Rastriya Prajatantra Party (Democratic)	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.03	0	0.00	2
17	Federal Democratic National Forum	0	0.00	1	0.01	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1
18	Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist)	0	0.00	1	0.01	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1
	Total	3027	44.90	2002	29.69	136	2.02	33	0.49	404	5.99	931	13.81	209	3.10	6742

Table 4.22: Analysis of Caste/Ethnicity by Political Parties for Ward Chair Position in Local Election

Chapter 5

Political Participation by Gender

Women were well-represented in the Nepal Election 2017 at federal and provincial parliament and local bodies. Local election have resulted in 40.95% of womens representation in local governments. Women hold 32.72 percent of parliamentary seats in federal parliament of Nepal, and just 2.39 percent of the local bodies Mayor/Chairperson are women.

Often hailed as a historic moment for womens political inclusion, those electoral outcomes were largely facilitated by legislated gender quotas that mandates 40 percent female representation at ward membership level and ensures at least one female candidacy for either mayor/chief or deputy mayor/chief position at municipality/rural municipality level. Proportional Representation has proven to be the most important predictor of high numbers of women in parliament. Gender quotas are one policy tool designed to increase womens representation in politics. Gender quotas for women in local government bodies can improve womens representation in politics, public services, and improve perceptions of women as leaders.

Politics has traditionally been a male domain that many women have found unwelcoming or even hostile. Societies in which traditional or patriarchal values remain strong may frown on women entering politics.

The men dominance is found is every level of elections. While mens have average and above 65% representation on every province assemblies women have hard to maintain 35% on each assemblies. Similarly, male dominance is on every position at local election. The

value of political equality is central to normative theories of democracy: it is argued that women are equal citizens and therefore should share equally with men in public decision making. On key decision making position (mayor and chairperson) there seems quite lower representation (2.39%) of women, meanwhile on ward chairperson only 0.90% are women while 99.09% are men.

Manon Tremblay argues that the factors that help or hinder women in entering parliament differ according to the length of the democratic experiment (Tremblay 2007). Studies have shown that a range of factors, broadly cultural, socio-economic, and political influence women's access to political and legislative arenas. In other words, political spaces do not exist in isolation, rather they co-exist with other social, cultural and economic spaces. Religion, education, and views of gender-based social roles are the primary cultural factors identified as determinants of the proportion of women in politics. One theory is that if there are few women in politics, it is because women are under-represented in the milieus where parties identify and recruit their potential candidates. Economic resources required to fund incentives for party workers and voters is rooted in unequal gender dynamics as male politicians tend to have more control over their property and assets compared to female politicians and for key political positions, high-cost political campaigns becomes mandatory. An improvement in women's socio-economic conditions should therefore favor an increase in their presence in politics and parliaments. It was found lack of financial resources and minimal family support as key hindrances for women's political participation. Unlike the political rights of women, the political regime is another factor that affects the presence of women in parliament and government. These variables include the state structure (unitary or federal), the structure of parliament (uni or bi-cameral, the number of seats, the maximum length of a legislature), the nature of the legislative career (the turnover rate of parliamentarians), the party system (the number of parties contesting elections, the number of effective parliamentary parties, the ideologies of the parties that form the government, how candidates are selected, and so on) and obviously the electoral system (FPTP, PR or Mixed) itself.

S.No	Gender	Local Level	Province Assembly		Federal Assembly		National Assembly
			FPTP	PR	FPTP	PR	
1	Male	20689	313	48	159	26	35
2	Female	14352	17	172	6	84	21
	Total	35041	330	220	165	110	56

Table 5.1: Gender Wise Analysis on different Elections

The dominance of Hill Brahman Chhetri men remains unchallenged as they record highest representation in key decision-making positions as 49.14% mayors, 45.43% chairpersons and also, 44.43% ward chairs despite constituting only 31.2% (2011 Census) of the total population. Meanwhile, Dalit mens representation stands at just 3.16% while Dalit women constitute 19.45% of the total representatives. Similarly in federal assembly Dalit men's representation stands at just 2.55% while Dalit women constitute 4.73% and the result is similar in every province assemblies.

The following Analysis were drawn to get the result.

- Gender Wise Analysis on different Elections (See Table 5.1)
- Analysis of Party Wise Gender in Federal Election (See Table 5.2)
- Analysis of Party wise Gender in Provincial Election (See Table 5.3)
- Analysis of Party Wise and State Wise Gender in Province Assembly (5.4)
- Analysis of Gender on State wise Provincial Election (See Table 5.5)

Since political parties often tend to be more open to nominating women as candidates for local elections, women may find it easier to start at this level and use it as a stepping stone to provincial and federal level.

- Analysis of Position Wise Gender in Local Election (5.6)
- Analysis of Party wise Position and Gender in Local Election (5.7)

S.No	Party Name	FPTP						PR				Male		Female		Total
		M	F	M%	F%	M	F	M%	F%	N	%	N	%			
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	78	2	47.27	1.21	4	37	3.64	33.64	82	29.82	39	14.18	121		
2	Nepali Congress	23	0	13.94	0.00	20	20	18.18	18.18	43	15.64	20	7.27	63		
3	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	33	3	20.00	1.82	1	16	0.91	14.55	34	12.36	19	6.91	53		
4	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	11	0	6.67	0.00	0	6	0.00	5.45	11	4.00	6	2.18	17		
5	Federal Socialist Forum Nepal	10	0	6.06	0.00	1	5	0.91	4.55	11	4.00	5	1.82	16		
6	Rastriya Prajatantra Party Nepal	1	0	0.61	0.00	0	0	0.00	0.00	1	0.36	0	0.00	1		
7	Naya Shakti Party Nepal	1	0	0.61	0.00	0	0	0.00	0.00	1	0.36	0	0.00	1		
8	Nepal Workers Peasants Party	1	0	0.61	0.00	0	0	0.00	0.00	1	0.36	0	0.00	1		
9	Rastriya Janamorcha	0	1	0.00	0.61	0	0	0.00	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.36	1		
10	Independent	1	0	0.61	0.00	0	0	0.00	0.00	1	0.36	0	0.00	1		
	Total	159	6	96.36	3.64	26	84	23.64	76.36	185	67.27	90	32.73	275		

Table 5.2: Analysis of Party Wise Gender in Federal Election

S.No	Party Name	First Past The Post				PR		Male		Female		Total
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	N	%	N	%	
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	160	8	4	71	164	29.82	79	14.36	243		
2	Nepali Congress	41	0	33	39	74	13.49	39	7.09	113		
3	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	66	7	5	30	71	12.91	37	6.73	108		
4	Federal Socialist Forum Nepal	24	0	1	12	25	4.55	12	2.18	37		
5	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	14	2	3	9	17	3.90	11	2.00	28		
6	Rastriya Janamorcha	2	0	0	2	2	0.36	2	0.36	4		
7	Rastriya Prajatantra Party Nepal	0	0	0	3	0	0.0	3	0.55	3		
8	Naya Shakti Party Nepal	2	0	0	1	2	0.36	1	0.18	3		
9	Bibeksheel Sajha Party	0	0	2	1	2	0.36	1	0.18	3		
10	Independent	3	0	0	0	3	0.55	0	0.0	3		
11	Nepal Workers Peasants Party	1	0	0	1	1	0.18	1	0.18	2		
12	Federal Democratic National Forum	0	0	0	1	0	0.0	1	0.18	1		
13	Rastriya Prajatantra Party (Democratic)	0	0	0	1	0	0.0	1	0.18	1		
14	Nepal Sanghiya Samajwadi Party	0	0	0	1	0	0.0	1	0.18	1		
	Total	313	17	48	172	361	65.64	189	34.36	550		

Table 5.3: Analysis of Party wise Gender in Provincial Election

S.No	Party Name	Province 1		Province 2		Province 3		Province 4		Province 5		Province 6		Province 7	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
First Past the Post (FPTP)															
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	34	2	12	2	40	2	16	1	27	1	14	0	17	0
2	CPN(MaoistCenter)	10	0	5	1	12	3	8	1	13	1	9	0	9	1
3	Nepali Congress	8	0	8	0	7	0	6	0	7	0	1	0	4	0
4	Federal Socialist Forum	1	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
5	Rastriya Janata Party	0	0	13	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
6	Independent	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	Naya Shakti Party Nepal	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	Rastriya Janamorcha	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	Nepal Workers Peasants Party	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	Nepal Sanghiya Samajwadi Party	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	54	2	59	5	61	5	34	2	50	2	24	0	31	1
Proportional Representation (PR)															
1	CPN (UML)	0	15	2	5	0	16	2	8	0	13	0	6	0	8
2	Nepali Congress	6	7	4	7	7	7	4	5	5	7	3	2	4	4
3	CPN(Maoist Center)	0	5	2	3	3	5	0	3	0	6	0	4	0	4
4	Federal Socialist Forum	1	1	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
5	Rastriya Janata Party	0	0	3	7	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
6	Rastriya Prajatantra Pty	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
7	Bibeksheel Sajha Party	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	Rastriya Janamorcha	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
9	Naya Shakti Party Nepal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	Nepal Workers Peasant Party	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	01
11	Federal Democratic National Forum	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	Rastriya Prajatantra Party (Democratic)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	Nepal Sanghiya Samajwadi Party	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	7	30	11	32	12	32	6	18	5	30	3	13	4	17

State	FPTP		PR		Male	Male %	Female	Female %	Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female					
1	54	2	7	30	61	65.59	32	34.41	93
2	59	5	11	32	70	65.42	37	34.58	107
3	61	5	12	32	73	66.36	37	33.64	110
4	34	2	6	18	40	66.67	20	33.33	60
5	50	2	5	30	55	63.22	32	36.78	87
6	24	0	3	13	27	67.50	13	32.50	40
7	31	1	4	17	35	66.04	18	33.96	53
Total	313	17	48	172	361	65.64	189	34.36	550

Table 5.5: Analysis of Gender on State wise Provincial Election

S.No	Position	Male		Female		Total
		N	%	N	%	
1	Mayor	286	97.61	7	2.39	293
2	Deputy Mayor	17	5.80	276	94.19	293
3	Chairperson	449	97.60	11	2.39	460
4	Vice Chairperson	36	7.82	424	92.17	460
5	Ward Chairperson	6681	99.09	61	0.90	6742
6	Female member	0	0	6742	100	6742
7	Dalit women member	0	0	6567	100	6567
8	Member	13220	98.04	264	1.96	13484
	Total	20689	59.04	14352	40.95	35041

Table 5.6: Analysis of Position Wise Gender in Local Election

S.No	Party Name	Mayor/Chair				D.Mayor/V.Chair				Ward Chair				Member				M	M%	F	F%
		M		F		M		F		M		F		M		F					
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F						
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	287	7	16	315	2529	31	5326	5588	8158	23.28	5941	16.95								
2	Nepali Congress	260	6	12	211	2272	15	4350	4331	6894	19.67	4563	13.02								
3	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	101	5	15	96	1094	7	2019	2102	3229	9.21	2210	6.31								
4	Federal Socialist Forum Nepal	34	0	2	30	259	3	535	576	830	2.37	609	1.74								
5	Rastriya Janata Party	25	0	0	30	193	2	433	429	651	1.86	461	1.32								
6	Rastriya Janamorcha	6	0	0	5	56	0	110	118	172	0.49	123	0.35								
7	Rastriya Prajatantra Party Nepal	5	0	2	5	58	1	104	110	169	0.48	116	0.33								
8	Independent	6	0	5	0	89	2	73	58	173	0.49	60	0.17								
9	Rastriya Janamorcha	3	0	1	3	33	0	77	69	114	0.32	72	0.20								
10	Nepal Loktantrik Forum	3	0	0	3	32	0	63	65	98	0.284	68	0.19								
11	Naya Shakti Party	2	0	0	1	22	0	42	43	66	0.189	44	0.12								
12	Nepal Workers Peasants Party	1	0	0	1	22	0	42	33	65	0.18	34	0.097								
13	Bahujan Shakti Party	0	0	0	0	8	0	16	18	24	0.068	18	0.051								
14	Nepali Janata Dal	2	0	0	0	7	0	15	15	24	0.068	15	0.043								
15	Rastriya Janamukti Party	0	0	0	0	3	0	6	11	9	0.026	11	0.03								
16	Rastriya Prajatantra Party (Democratic)	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	2	6	0.017	2	0.006								
17	Federal Democratic National Forum	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	2	5	0.014	2	0.006								
18	CPN (Marxist-Leninist)	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	2	0.006	2	0.006								
19	Nepal Family Party	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.003								
	Total	735	18	53	700	6681	61	13220	13573	20689	59.04	14352	40.96								

Table 5.7: Analysis of Party wise Position and Gender in Local Election

S.No	Caste/Ethnicity	Mayer/Chair				Ward Chair			
		M#	M%	W#	W%	M#	M%	W#	W%
1	Hill Brahman Chhetri	353	46.88	11	1.46	2995	44.42	30	0.44
2	Hill Dalit	7	0.93	0	0.0	136	2.02	0	0.00
3	Tarai Dalit	1	0.13	0	0.00	35	0.52	0	0.00
4	Tarai Janajati	46	6.11	0	0.00	447	6.63	3	0.04
5	Hill Janajati	201	26.69	6	0.80	1983	29.41	19	0.28
6	Madhesi	114	15.14	1	0.13	878	13.02	7	0.10
7	Muslim	13	1.73	0	0.00	207	3.07	2	0.03
	Total	735	97.61	18	2.39	6681	99.10	61	0.90

Table 5.8: Political Representation by Caste/Ethnicity and Gender through Local Election on Mayer/Chairperson and Ward Chairperson position at Local Level

S.No	Caste/Ethnicity	Men		Women		Total	Percent
		N	%	N	%		
1	Hill Brahman Chhetri	89	32.36	31	11.27	120	43.64
2	Hill Dalit	5	1.82	11	4.00	16	5.82
3	Tarai Dalit	2	0.73	2	0.73	4	1.45
4	Tarai Janajati	12	4.36	10	3.64	22	8.00
5	Hill Janajati	43	15.64	21	7.64	64	23.27
6	Madhesi	30	10.91	10	3.64	40	14.55
7	Muslim	4	1.45	5	1.82	9	3.27
	Total	185	67.27	90	32.73	275	100

Table 5.9: Political Representation by Caste/Ethnicity and Gender at Federal Assembly

Chapter 6

Political Participation by Caste and Ethnicity

Parliaments, as the most representative decision making bodies, should normally aim to mirror the diversity of the society outside. This involves trying to ensure that all groups are represented in parliament, and that each group is represented more or less proportionally to its share of the general population. A lack of such proportionality for groups with specific political interests may indicate barriers to political participation that prevent such groups from voting and running for office. Proportionality is therefore generally considered a reflection of the strength of a democratic system.

The number of indigenous, madhesi, muslim and dalits representatives in parliaments is an important symbolic indicator for the representative nature of parliaments, and that the unique interests and possible contributions of indigenous peoples need to be better recognized through the political process. Representation of a traditionally underrepresented and historically marginalized group can help ensure that their rights are protected, and their unique interests are heard and translated into relevant policies.

Regarding Provisions on Inclusion, the Preamble of the constitution of Nepal 2072 has mention that *"Embracing multi-caste, multi-lingual, multi-cultural and diverse geographical specificities, by ending discriminations relating to class, caste, region, language, religion*

and gender discrimination including all forms of racial untouchability, in order to protect and promote unity in diversity, social and cultural solidarity, tolerance and harmonious attitudes, we also express our determination to create an egalitarian society on the basis of the principles of proportional inclusion and participation, to ensure equitable economy, prosperity and social justice.” (Constitution of Nepal 2072 2015)

Article 40(1) of Constitution about Right of Dalits, it is clear that *”Dalit shall have the right to participate in all agencies of the state based on the principle of proportional inclusion. There shall be special legal provision of empowerment, representation, and participation of Dalit community for employment in other area also including the public service.”*

For Right to social justice in Article 42(1) it includes *”Socially backward women, Dalits, Adibasi, Adibasi Janajati, Madhesi, Tharu, minorities, persons with disability, marginalized, Muslim, backward classes, gender and sexual minorities, youths, peasants, workers, oppressed or citizens from backward regions, and economically poor Khas Arya shall have the right to participation in the state bodies on the basis of principle of inclusion.*

Exclusion by the Nepali state reflected cleavages of caste, ethnicity, gender, religion as well as class. Issues of inclusion and affirmative action have entered the public discourse in Nepal alongside intense political changes, notably the end of the Rana dynasty in 1951, the restoration of democracy in 1990 and the abolition of the monarchy and declaration of republic in 2008 and promulgation of the new constitution in 2015. Election result and political participation of diverse caste/ethnic and religious groups shows a more inclusive polity and society have been institutionalized to a significant degree.

Hill Brahman Chhetri constitute 31.2% of the total population but get the largest share of 43.64% in federal assembly. Hill Janjati get 23.27% share despite constituting 27.3% of the population. Madhesi constitute 20% of the population they got 14.55% share. Hill Dalits constitute 8.1% of the population but they got 5.82% share. With 4.5% of population of tarai dalit they share only 1.45% share. Despite constituting 4.4% of the population, Muslim get 3.27% share in federal assembly. The result is similar in provincial assemblies. In case of Province Number 2 the presence of Madhesi and Muslim is higher.

In decision making level of local bodies in position of Mayor or Municipal Chair and Ward Chair representation of Dalits, Muslims, Madhesi and Indigenous people are lower. Underrepresentation is likely due to a combination of actual barriers to participation and an overall sense of alienation from mainstream electoral processes. Barriers to participation include, but are not limited to, undue conditions for voter registration, access to the voting booth in rural areas, the political parties unwillingness to find indigenous candidates or place them high on their party lists, and a lack of adequate political party funding.

Proportional representation of indigenous peoples in parliament may not be sufficient to make representation meaningful. Meaningful representation of indigenous peoples and their concerns depends on the ability of individual representatives to set the agenda and influence decision-making.

Beyond numbers, meaningful representation requires that indigenous peoples be consulted and involved in decision-making. Collective as opposed to individual decision making is an inherent characteristic of indigenous life that pervades the way many indigenous peoples see themselves represented in mainstream electoral politics.

Overall, the research found significant representation of caste/ethnic groups and gender in different level of politics and political institutions been a reflection of the diversity. The results and findings are illustrated in detail below.

- Analysis of Federal Parliament Member by Caste and Ethnicity (6.1)
- Analysis of Provincial Parliament Member by Caste and Ethnicity (6.2)
- Province Wise Analysis of FPTP Provincial Parliament Member by Caste/Ethnicity (6.3)
- Province Wise Analysis of PR Provincial Parliament Member by Caste/Ethnicity (6.4)
- Political Representation by Caste Ethnicity through Local Election (6.5)
- Analysis of Caste/Ethnicity by Position in Local Election(6.6)
- Analysis of Caste/Ethnicity by Political Parties in Local Election (6.7)

S.No	Caste/Ethnicity	FPTP	Percentage	PR	Percentage	Total	Percent
1	Hill Brahman Chhetri	85	51.52	35	31.82	120	43.64
2	Hill Janajati	37	22.42	27	24.55	64	23.27
3	Hill Dalit	2	1.21	14	12.73	16	5.82
4	Tarai Dalit	2	1.21	2	1.82	4	1.45
5	Tarai Janajati	9	5.45	13	11.82	22	8.00
6	Madhesi	27	16.36	13	11.82	40	14.55
7	Muslim	3	1.82	6	5.45	9	3.27
	Total	165	100	110	100	275	100

Table 6.1: Analysis of Federal Parliament Member by Caste and Ethnicity

S.No	Caste/Ethnicity	FPTP	Percentage	PR	Percentage	Total	Percent
1	Hill Brahman Chhetri	173	52.73	69	31.36	242	44.00
2	Hill Janajati	73	22.12	64	29.09	137	24.91
3	Hill Dalit	4	1.21	22	10.00	26	4.73
4	Tarai Dalit	1	0.30	6	2.73	7	1.27
5	Tarai Janajati	19	5.76	18	8.18	37	6.73
6	Madhesi	51	15.45	34	15.45	85	15.45
7	Muslim	9	2.42	7	3.18	16	2.91
	Total	330	100	220	100	550	100

Table 6.2: Analysis of Provincial Parliament Member by Caste and Ethnicity

S.No	Caste/Ethnicity	Province							Total	Percent
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
1	Hill Brahman Chhetri	23	6	41	24	33	21	25	173	52.73
2	Hill Janajati	27	3	23	12	6	0	2	73	22.12
3	Hill Dalit	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	4	1.21
4	Tarai Dalit	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.30
5	Tarai Janajati	3	4	2	0	6	0	4	19	5.76
6	Madhesi	2	43	0	0	5	1	0	51	15.27
7	Muslim	1	6	0	0	2	0	0	8	2.91
	Total	56	64	66	36	52	24	32	330	100

Table 6.3: Province Wise Analysis of FPTP Provincial Parliament Member by Caste/Ethnicity

S.No	Caste/Ethnicity	Province							Total	Percent
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
1	Hill Brahman Chhetri	9	1	15	8	14	10	11	68	30.91
2	Hill Janajati	19	3	26	10	2	3	0	63	28.64
3	Hill Dalit	2	0	2	6	6	3	5	24	10.91
4	Tarai Dalit	2	3	0	0	2	0	0	7	3.18
5	Tarai Janajati	1	1	0	0	6	0	5	14	6.36
6	Madhesi	2	32	0	0	3	0	0	37	16.82
7	Muslim	1	3	1	0	2	0	0	7	3.18
	Total	37	43	44	24	35	16	21	220	100

Table 6.4: Province Wise Analysis of PR Provincial Parliament Member by Caste/Ethnicity

S.No	Caste/Ethnicity Type	Male		Female		Total	Percent
		N	%	N	%		
1	Hill Brahman Chetri	8575	24.47	3359	9.59	11934	34.06
2	Hill Janajati	6249	17.83	2417	6.90	8666	24.73
3	Hill Dalit	771	2.20	5109	14.58	5880	16.78
4	Tarai Dalit	337	0.96	1706	4.87	2043	5.83
5	Tarai Janajati	1426	4.07	566	1.62	1992	5.68
6	Madhesi	2535	7.23	951	2.71	3486	9.95
7	Muslim	796	2.27	244	0.70	1040	2.97
	Total	20689	59.04	14352	40.96	35041	100.00

Table 6.5: Political Representation by Caste Ethnicity through Local Election on Local Level

S.No	Caste/Ethnicity	Mayor/Chair		D.Mayor/V.Chair		Ward Chair		Member		Total	Percent
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
1	Hill Brahman Chetri	364	48.34	353	46.88	3025	44.87	8192	30.58	11934	34.06
2	Hill Janajati	207	27.49	207	27.49	2002	29.69	6250	23.33	8666	24.73
3	Hill Dalit	7	0.93	23	3.05	136	2.02	5714	21.33	5880	16.78
4	Tarai Dalit	1	0.13	6	0.80	35	0.52	2001	7.47	2043	5.83
5	Tarai Janajati	46	6.11	48	6.37	450	6.67	1448	5.40	1992	5.68
6	Madhesi	115	15.27	100	13.28	885	13.13	2386	8.91	3486	9.95
7	Muslim	13	1.73	16	2.12	209	3.10	802	2.99	1040	2.97
	Total	753	100	753	100	6742	100	26793	100	35041	100

Table 6.6: Analysis of Caste/Ethnicity by Position in Local Election

S.No	Party Name	HBC			Hill Dalit			Tarai Dalit			Tarai Janajati			Hill Janajati			Madhesi			Muslim		
		N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%	
1	Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	5676	47.57		2694	45.81		432	21.15		544	27.31		4085	47.14		494	14.17		174	16.73	
2	Nepali Congress	4238	35.51		1887	32.09		571	27.95		626	31.43		2788	32.17		985	28.26		362	34.81	
3	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center)	1596	13.37		1079	18.35		301	14.73		383	19.23		1461	16.86		491	14.08		128	12.31	
4	Federal Socialist Forum Nepal	58	0.49		32	0.54		316	15.47		98	4.92		31	0.36		729	20.91		175	16.83	
5	Rastriya Janata Party Nepal	49	0.41		15	0.26		262	12.82		154	7.73		7	0.08		520	14.92		105	10.10	
6	Madhesi Janaadhikar Forum Democratic	22	0.18		30	0.51		33	1.62		126	6.33		8	0.09		55	1.58		21	2.02	
7	Rastriya Prajatantra Party Nepal	81	0.68		42	0.71		25	1.22		13	0.65		80	0.92		27	0.77		17	1.63	
8	Independent	36	0.30		15	0.26		23	1.13		18	0.90		69	0.80		57	1.64		15	1.44	
9	Rastriya Janamorcha	104	0.87		46	0.78		0	0.00		0	0.00		36	0.42		0	0.00		0	0.00	
10	Nepal Loktantrik Forum	10	0.08		0	0.00		41	2.01		22	1.10		1	0.01		69	1.98		23	2.21	
11	Naya Shakti Party Nepal	18	0.15		16	0.27		13	0.64		4	0.20		35	0.40		19	0.55		5	0.48	
12	Nepal Workers Peasants Party	34	0.28		16	0.27		0	0.00		0	0.00		48	0.55		0	0.00		1	0.10	
13	Bahujan Shakti Party Nepal	5	0.04		2	0.03		11	0.54		1	0.05		0	0.00		15	0.43		8	0.77	
14	Nepali Janata Dal	2	0.02		0	0.00		11	0.54		1	0.05		0	0.00		20	0.57		5	0.48	
15	Rastriya Janamukti Party	5	0.04		3	0.05		2	0.10		1	0.05		9	0.10		0	0.00		0	0.00	
16	Rastriya Prajatantra Party (Democratic)	0	0.00		0	0.00		2	0.10		0	0.00		0	0.00		5	0.14		1	0.10	
17	Federal Democratic National Forum	0	0.00		1	0.02		0	0.00		0	0.00		6	0.07		0	0.00		0	0.00	
18	CPN(Marxist-Leninist)	0	0.00		1	0.02		0	0.00		1	0.05		2	0.02		0	0.00		0	0.00	
19	Nepal Family Party	0	0.00		1	0.02		0	0.00		0	0.00		0	0.00		0	0.00		0	0.00	
	Total	11934	100		5880	100		2043	100		1992	100		8666	100		3486	100		1040	100	

Table 6.7: Analysis of Caste/Ethnicity by Political Parties in Local Election

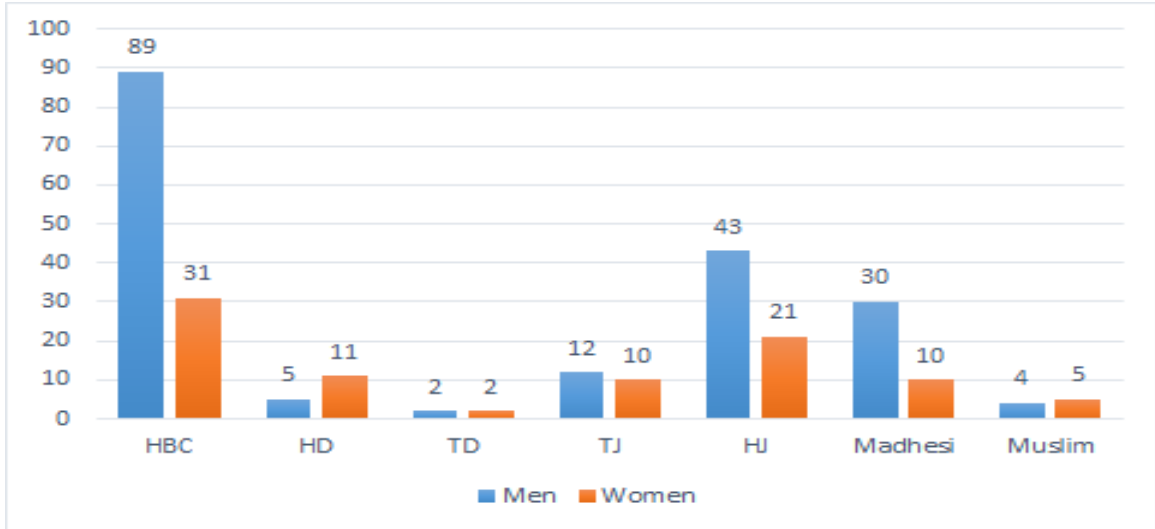


Figure 6.1: Caste-Ethnic Gender distribution in Federal Assembly

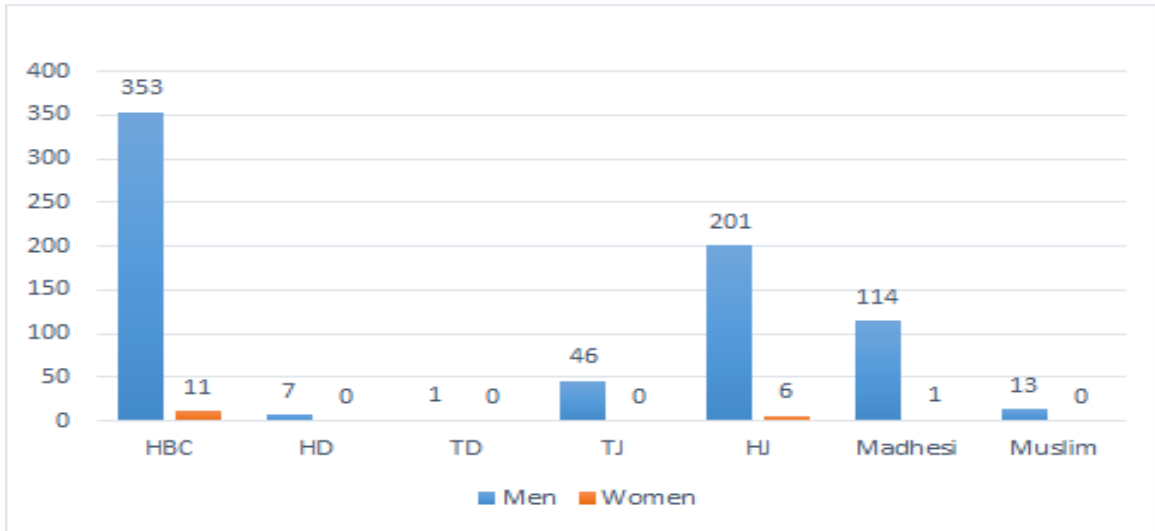


Figure 6.2: Ethnic Representation on Mayer/Municipal Chair Position

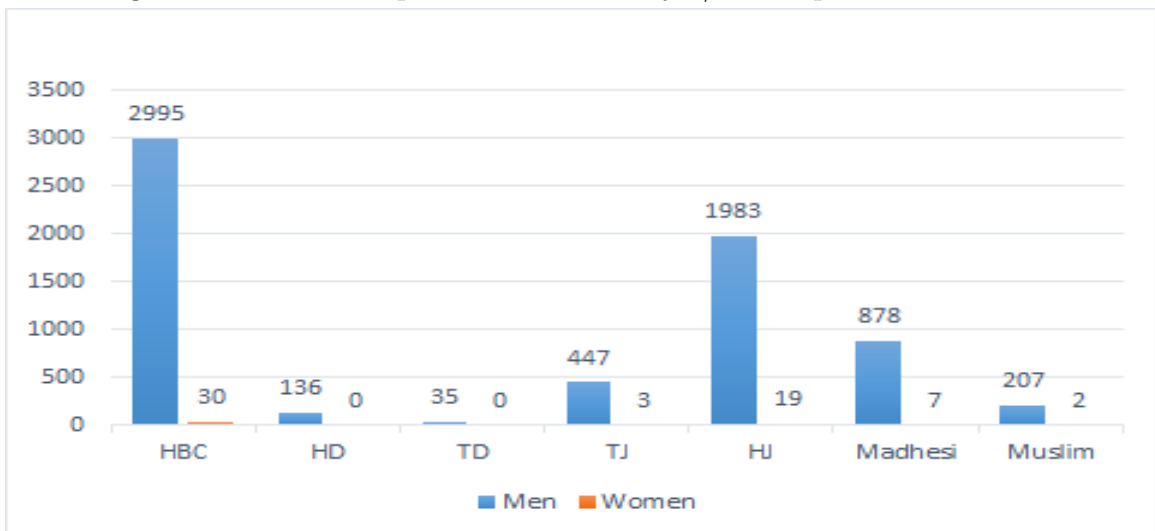


Figure 6.3: Ethnic Representation on Ward Chair Position

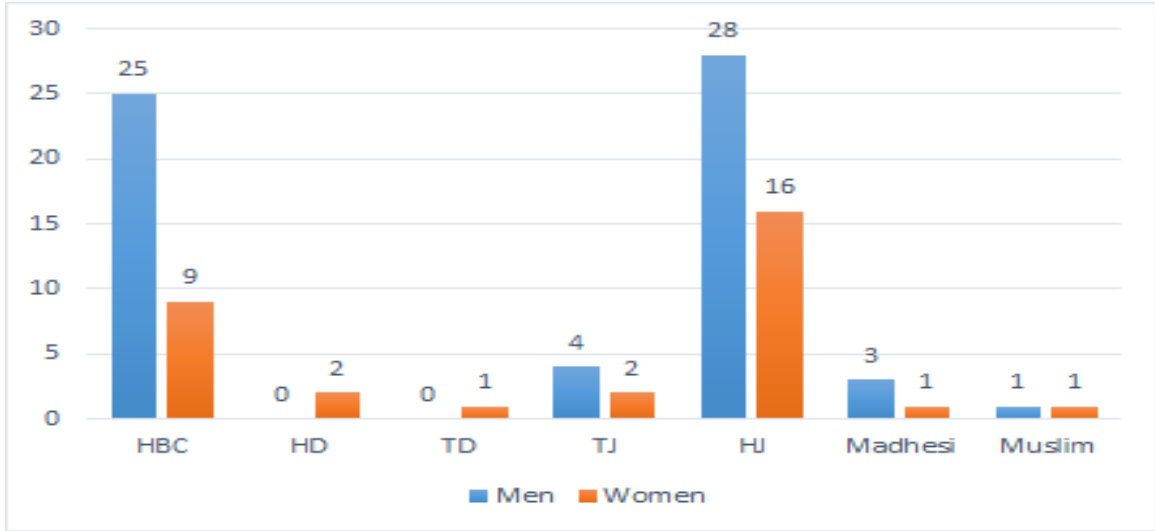


Figure 6.4: Ethnicity wise Representation in Province Assembly of Province No. 1

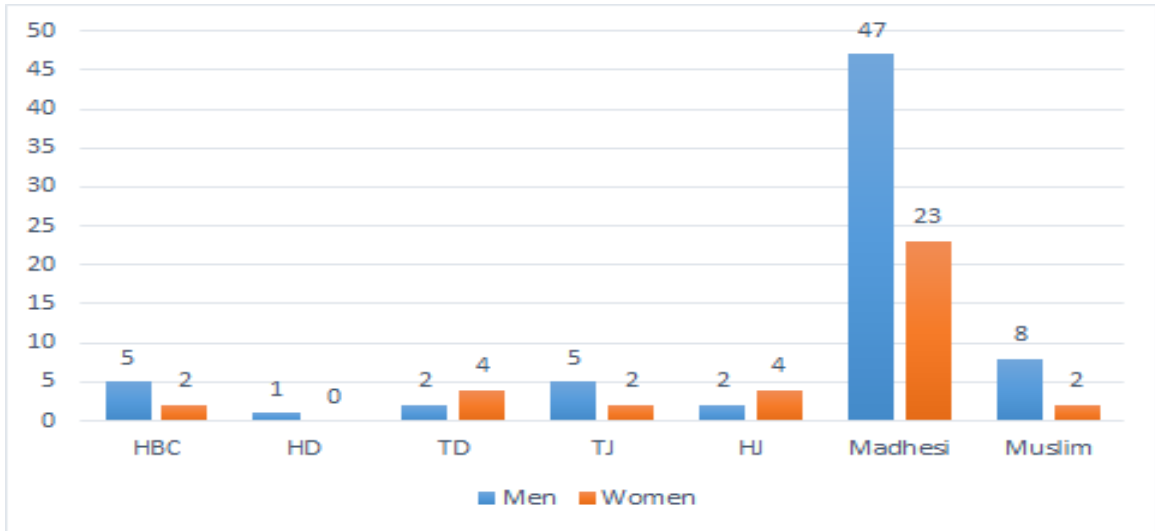


Figure 6.5: Ethnicity wise Representation in Province Assembly of Province No. 2

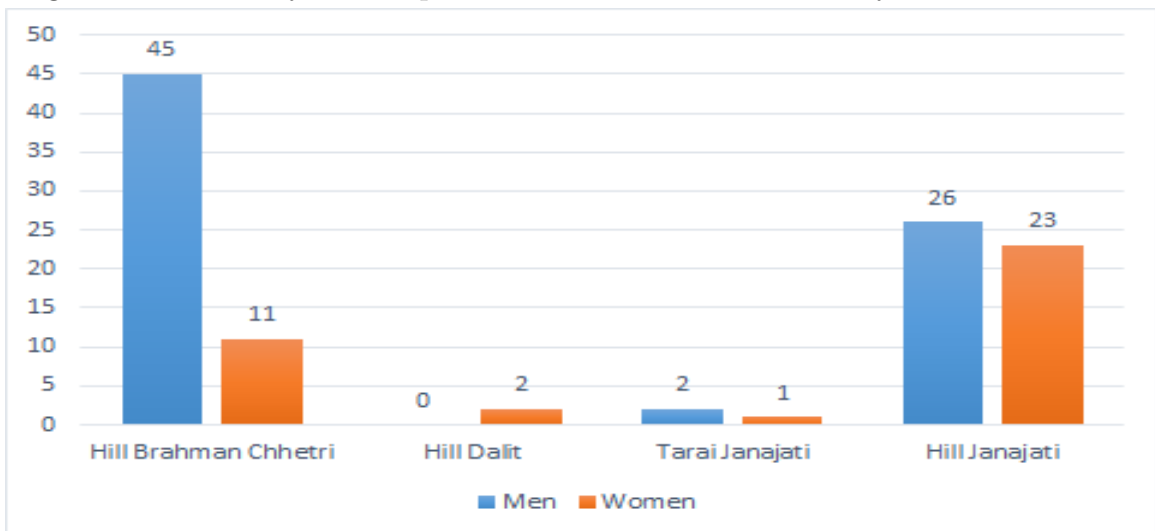


Figure 6.6: Ethnicity wise Representation in Province Assembly of Province No. 3

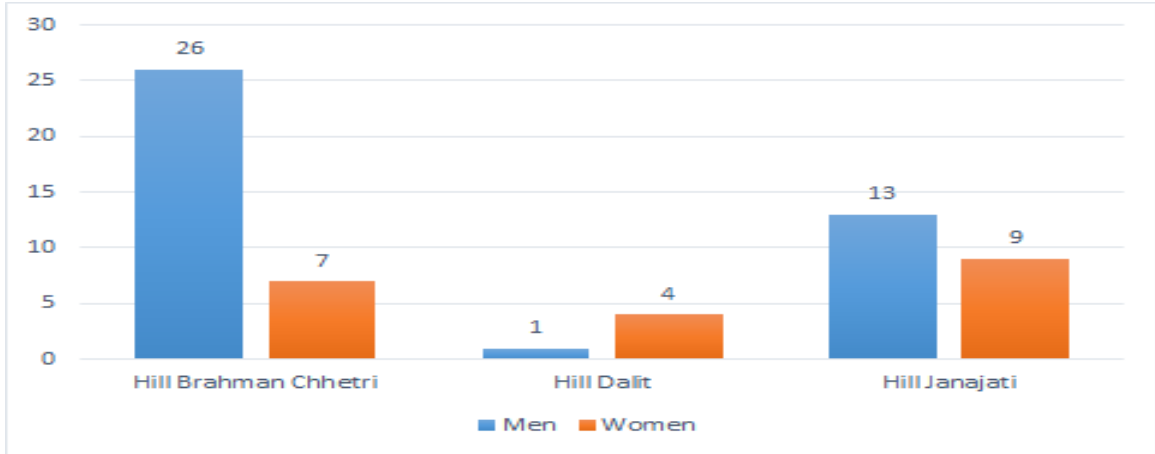


Figure 6.7: Ethnicity wise Representation in Province Assembly of Province No. 4

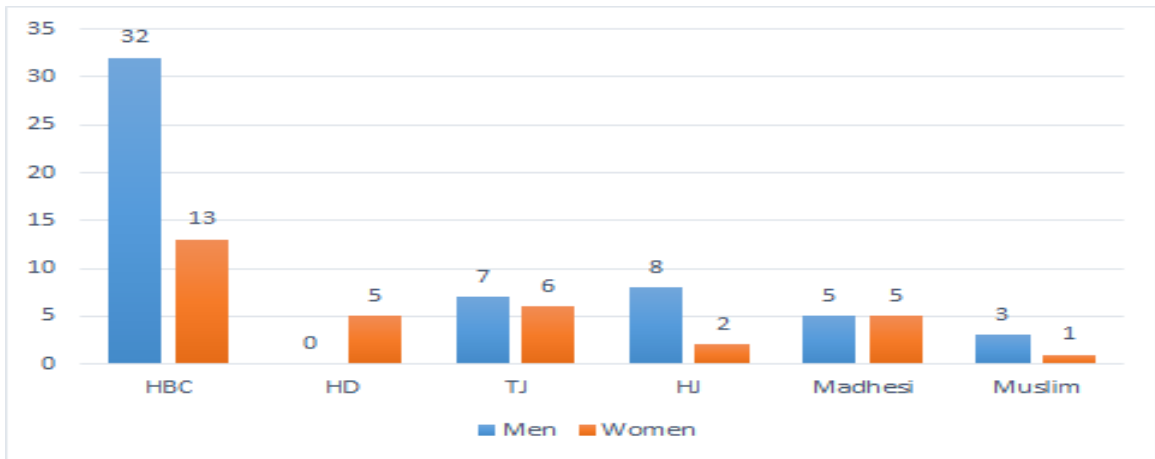


Figure 6.8: Ethnicity wise Representation in Province Assembly of Province No. 5

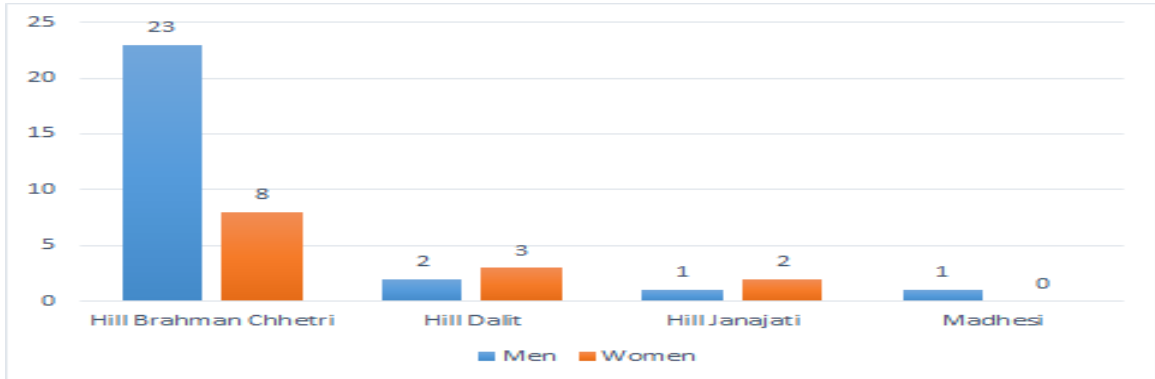


Figure 6.9: Ethnicity wise Representation in Province Assembly of Province No. 6

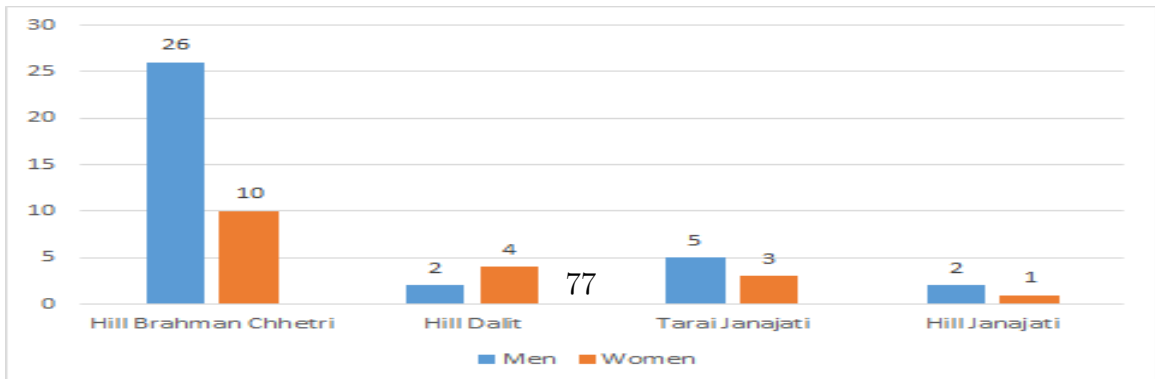


Figure 6.10: Ethnicity wise Representation in Province Assembly of Province No. 7

Chapter 7

Summary and Conclusion

7.1 Conclusion

Nepali society is strongly patriarchal and semi-feudal caste system with dominant of male and high caste/ethnic group on top in political level and women and low caste/ethnic group at the bottom of social hierarchy. This social system internalized in Nepali Norms and Values has influenced politicians and bureaucrats attitudes and perceptions towards their participation in politics, and society in general. Nepals Caste/Ethnic groups particularly Dalits and Indigenous Nationalities, Womens, Madhesi and Muslims are still lacking integration and participation in the modern democratic state. But their participation and representation has nevertheless improved in all sphere of socio-political dimension and positions with having access to decision making role.

Nepalese caste/ethnic groups, women, madhesi and muslim have participated in many political processes, but their representation on leadership and decision making positions is still quite low. Empowerment of caste/ethnic groups and womens is one of the key agendas of restructuring the Nepali state. The introduction of federal democratic republic, constitutional declaration of secular nation created great hope and expectations towards socio-political transformation. The new constitution and popularly elected representative meant the potential to reform dalits, ethnic minorities, indigenous nationalities and womens social

and political status, and to forge for a new role for these groups in leadership and decision making arena. The federal democratic system of governance has made a difference to these group's political participation and access to positions of power in a long-term perspective. In the short term, however, few changes are visible but not as people expect that need to be. Even today, dalits, womens and minority groups are excluded from major decision-making, at all levels of political and governmental activities. In spite of constitutional provisions on womens and caste/ethnic group's representation their widespread participation in movement for Hindu monarchy to secular republic and federal democratic nation and Maoist insurgency along with increased awareness these socio-politically excluded groups have not been able to improve their political representation at various levels, positions of power and decision-making.

The elections are seen as a test of whether the country can implement the new constitution, signed in 2015, and bring about long awaited political and social reform after a decade of civil war and a tortuous transition from a Hindu monarchy to a secular republic.

Nepal still has a long way to go for meaningful representation of different caste/ethnic group, gender and minorities. The elections have exposed how far Nepal has to go to achieve the more inclusive society promised in the constitution. Of the 165 federal parliamentary candidates, elected through FPTP system only 4 (2.42%) are Dalits and 6 (3.64%) are women. Among 330 elected provincial parliamentary candidates through FPTP system only 37 (11.21%) are women. It founds no women elected through FPTP on province 6 and only One Women get elected on province 7 from Nepali Congress Party. Out of 753 Mayer and Chairperson position at local level only 18 (2.39%) are women. Politics in Nepal is still a mans game. Women are not given an equal opportunity. The cause for this is the still perceiving low competence and socio-cultural taboos concerning womens position in society.

Dalit and Minority groups still feel politically excluded and oppressed in society. In particular ethnic Madhesis, Religious Muslims and other marginalized groups from the tarai, who believe the constitution has ignored their concerns and consolidated power in the hands of Bhahman Chhetri men from the hills. Hill Brahman Chhetri occupy 43.64%

(120 of 275 seats) while Hill Janajati occupy 23.27%, Madhesi occupy 14.55% and Tarai Janajati occupy only 8%. Through FPTP Hill Janajati and Tarai Janajati and Madhesi occupy 22.42% , 5.45% and 16.36% respectively. The Muslim have only 1.82% participation through FPTP and overall 3.27% in federal Parliament. Muslim Representative each from RJPN, CPN(MC) party are elected on federal parliament. NC have three representative, while largest party CPN(UML) and FSN have two muslim representative from each on federal parliament.

This research, shows that, there is weak association between caste/ethnic elected candidate with particular caste/ethnic political parties, especially Nepal Dalit Party, Mongol National Organization, Tamangsaling Loktantrik Party, Sanghiya Loktantrik Rastriya Manch (Tharuhat) etc. Elected caste/ethnic candidates are divided along the ideological lines of the national political parties. Voters of regional and ethnic identity groups have preferred national political parties rather than their own ethnic and regional parties. Even no any caste/ethnic party have won the position of municipal chief and ward chairperson in local election. Representation of Hill Janajati, Hill Dalit, Tarai Dalit, Tarai Janajati , Madhesi and Muslim for ward chairperson position is 29.69%, 2.02%, 0.49%, 5.99%, 13.81% and 3.10% respectively. Among Locally Elected Representative the ratio of men to women is 60:40, as more than half of the population (51.5% as of census 2011) of Nepal is women the election result shows poorer representation of women.

Despite reservation on local level positions for women and dalits, political parties and politicians have been reluctant in giving tickets to them. Women, Dalits and Minority Groups are not being fielded in election under the FPTP category. It reflects the patriarchal mindset of political class. Similar is the case in regard to Dalits and Indigenous Nationalities. The PR system aims to ensure the representation of Dalits, Indigenous groups and minorities in the governing structures. The womens and Indigenous group are only getting through the PR list. One third of the seats have been reserved for women, at all three levels of government. It is significant achievement for Nepal, especially after years of instability. With this dalits, womens and minority groups are paving the way towards greater equality and representation.

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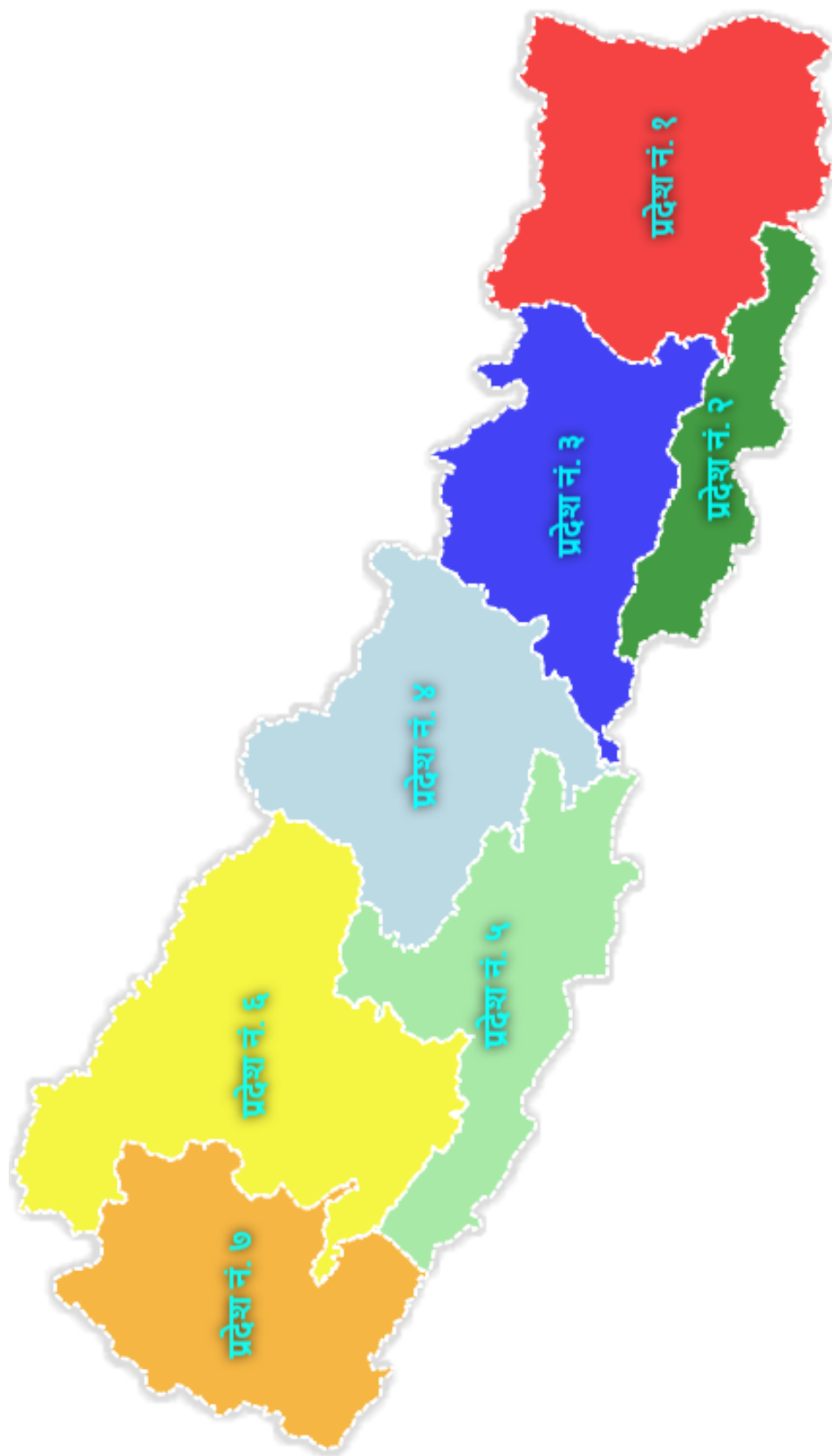


Figure 7.1: Map of Federal Nepal Source: Nepal Government, Ministry of Federal Affairs and General Administration