

Reservation for *Janajati* in Nepal's Civil Service: Analysis from Intersectional Lens

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ABSTRACT: The government to increase the representation of the historically underrepresented and excluded group in the Civil Service of Nepal has promulgated affirmative action or reservation policies for women, indigenous nationalities, and other groups. The unitary lens of culture and politics inserted a crucial foundation stone in the systematic emergence of social inequality in the past. Still, a reservation policy was formulated based on the assumption of Janajati (ethnic) as a unitary entity. Not all Janajati groups are the same economic, political, and social conditions. There are no government studies relating to under-representation and over-representation in Civil Service within Janajati groups. In this context, this paper provides answers to questions of which Janajati groups benefited more from the reservation policies in Civil Service. Is there a male creamy-layer or female creamy-layer? Moreover, what is the situation of representation of Janajati based on the categorization of the Nepal government's categorization of Janajati into five groups? This paper explores the representation of the Janajati in Civil Service after the implementation of the reservation policy. The paper argues that the provision of the reservation is more favorable for the advantaged Janajati group than the most marginalized Janajati group. Similarly, it is more favorable for male Janajati than female Janajati within the same group, thereby potentially reproducing social inequality within the Janajati in Nepal.

INTRODUCTION

Nepal is now being a more inclusive state by making constitutional provisions for equality and justice after *Janandolan* (people's movement) I and II. The corrections of past exclusionary practices were done by the state adopting inclusive policies for equal access to power, resources and opportunity. Reservations or affirmative actions are the major tools of an inclusive policy by the Government of Nepal. Some Government initiatives include the reservation of excluded and marginalized groups in education, politics, bureaucracy, and other sectors. The government to increase the representation of indigenous nationalities in the Civil Services of Nepal has promulgated affirmative action's or reservation

policies for women, indigenous nationalities amongst others.

The unitary lens played a crucial role in the systematic emergence of social inequality in the past. Still, a reservation policy was based on *Adibasi-Janajati* as a unitary entity, all are the same conditions. Therefore, it is time for the evaluation of reservation policies from an intersectional lens and not repeats of past actions. Not all indigenous nationalities are the same conditions of economic, political, social, etc. but multidimensional and intersectional inequality and oppression within *Adibasi-Janajati* are given less priority in the academic discourse and state's policies and plans. There is no government study of underrepresentation and overrepresentation in the Civil Service within *Adivasi-Janajati*. Thus, this paper

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tries the answering these questions particularly with regards to who was more benefited from the reservation policies in Civil Services within the *Adibasi-Janajati* group? Is there a male creamy layer or a female creamy layer? What are the representative situations of *Adibasi-Janajati* based on Nepal government categorization of five-fold groups? This paper explores the unequal representation of *Adibasi-Janajati* and marginalized groups of the *Adibasi-Janajati* representation situation in Civil Service after the implementation of reservation policies.

Korten (2011) believes that reservation is providing rightful sharing in power, resource, and opportunity to a marginalized community. Reservation policies further increase the discrimination in the society and it is against the principle of equal treatment by a state as well (Pojman, 2010) and affects the merit-based selection (Chalam, '90). Reservation policies have both consequences like promoting equality and producing inequality in society. If, it is implemented with analysis of multidimensional, intersectional differences, and the crosscutting dimension of the excluded group, will reduce inequality and make equilibrium. But, it is not properly implemented with analysis of multidimensional, intersectional differences and inequality of excluded group, will produce inequality and make disharmony.

Previous studies related to representation and Gurung (2006), DFID and World Bank (2007), Bhatta *et al.* (2008), and Ontaet *al.* (2008), has reported underrepresentation. These studies concentrated more on *Janajati* as a single entity and group. Battaet *al.* (2008) analyzed the intergroup inequality of *Janajati* representation on higher education based on the NFDIN classification of *Janajati*. Some researchers like CDSA (2014) presented the Nepal Social Inclusion Index as encompassing six different dimensions and 39 indicators. Bennett (2005) in 'Gender and Social Exclusion Assessment' described women across all categories irrespective of caste, ethnicity, individuals with disabilities, or children. Six categories, based on sex, caste, ethnicity, region, religion, and physical condition, have been listed as excluded groups. Toffin (2007) suggested that the establishment of quotas on not only caste or tribe wise, but also based on economic criteria. The poorest including a marginalized group who were the most

disadvantaged benefitted from it and not the creamy layers from the so-called backward categories. Pradhan (2014) argued that multiple categories of class, gender, caste, and region, multiple levels of oppression and discrimination affected social inclusions and exclusions. An intersectional lens can be a tool to break down a one-dimensional understanding of inequality and oppression. Dhakal (2013) analyzed the reservation policy in Civil Services and observed that there has been increased representation of some marginalized communities but has created some controversies. It may continue to be under the domination of a limited elite group even within the excluded groups. Nakarmi (2067 B.S.) showed that inequalities and exclusion persisting within the Newar ethnic group. Not all Newars were living in the same condition and situations and there are vast differences within them. The study focused more on intra-group inequality, and criticized the previously existing knowledge on Newar. Paudel (2016) evaluated the reservation policy of Civil Service in Nepal and concluded that the government could not recruit the disadvantaged groups and the trend of recruitment has remained the same as before. Elite family members enjoyed more reservation opportunities with family members who were already absorbed in the Civil Service. It appears that the existing knowledge is not sufficient for the analysis of reservation policy for Nepal's Civil Services and an intersectional perspective on *Janajati* for representation in the Civil Service becomes a necessity. From the above, the following research questions are generated:

- i) What is the magnitude of intergroup representation of *Janajati* in Civil Services?
- ii) What is the level of gender-wise representation *Janajati* in Civil Services?
- iii) What is the level of region-wise representation of *Janajati* in Civil Services?
- iv) What is the intragroup representation of Newar in Civil Services?

Objectives of the study: The general objectives of the present study are to examine the representation of *Janajati* in the Nepal Civil Service after adopting reservation policies. The specific objectives are as follows:

- * To examine the magnitude of intergroup representation of *Janajati* in Civil Services.
- * To explore the level of gender-wise representation of *Janajati* in Civil Services.
- * To analysis the level of region-wise representation of *Janajati* in Civil Services.
- * To find out the intragroup representation of Newar in Civil Services.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This paper was based on explorative and descriptive research. The nature of the data is quantitative. The were data obtained from the Central Offices Public Service Commissions. The weekly *Bulletin of Public Service Commission* was obtained from the website. Published results of different years, were passed and recommended candidate names are listed, were collected based on the *Janajati* group name that is in turn based on 59 lists of *Adibasi-Jaanjati* and NFDIN classification into five categories of *Adibasi-Janajati* from 2065 till 2072 (Nepal calendar year). For the intra-group analysis, representation has been taken from the Newar ethnic group from Hill *Janajati*, which is the high representation in the Civil Service of Nepal. The reason behind the selection of these groups is solely being the highest representation from their region. There were problems

of caste identification with regards to Babal, Rajlaw, Behang, Kashiawa, Yongya, Ji.Ti., Chidi, Sartungi, Bal, Phaujdar, Khadka, Kawar, Mungmen, Charkole, Rumba, Gachhadar, Kusmi, Kathariya, Thanet, Linthep, Mahatara, Bhadra, Bakhariya and Sahani as these groups could not be identified to which ethnic group they belong. These have been listed as an unidentified group. During the last ten years, 3286 total *Janajati* are found to have entered into the Civil Service. These names have been classified based on ethnicity, gender, region, entry type, rank, service areas. Data collected from the published literature and government websites. Data have been analyzed and have been presented through tabulation, diagrams, and charts and discussed accordingly.

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Reservation in Civil Service

Governance Reform Program (2001-2005) for the first time in Nepal proposed quota reservation for marginalized people. A High-Level Reservations Committee was formed in December 2004, which prepared a report and made recommendations for the adoption of affirmative action in Nepal. The chart below shows the percentage of various ethnic groups in Nepal.

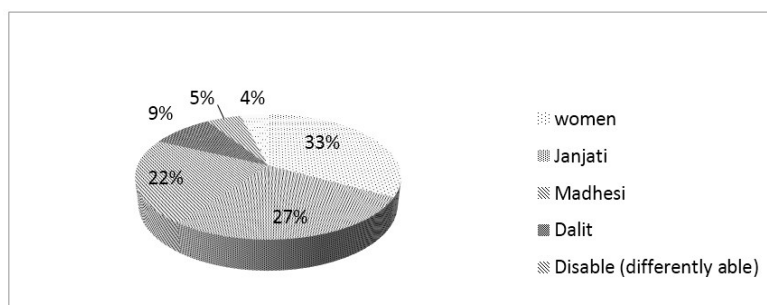


Figure 1: Distribution of reservation seat for civil service

The Second Amendment of the Civil Service Act, 1993 of Nepal was passed by the Cabinet in July 2005. It made provisions to recruit 45% of the employees on an inclusive basis. Of these, 33% seat was reserved for women, 27% for the *Adibasi-Janajati*, 22% for *Madhesi* (Terai people), 9% for the Untouchables, 5% for disabled and the rest 4% for backward areas. The first inclusive advertisement was published in

2007 (Fig. 1).

Intergroup Representation of Janajati

There were 59 ethnic groups in Nepal. Out of them, only 29 ethnic groups were represented and 30 ethnic groups were not represented until now. Out of the total number (3,286 persons), communities like Newar, Rai,

and Sunuwar were overrepresented as compared to the percentage of total *Janajati* population based on the 2011 Census. The Newar was more than double (968; 29.46%) overrepresented by their population percentage. Rai represented (429; 13.06%), Sunuwar represented (35; 1.07%) in Civil Service. Rests of the ethnic groups were underrepresented in Nepal's Civil Services after implementing reservation policy. After ten years, Magar representation was significantly

better than others (610; 18.56%), but lay underrepresented compared to their population percentage. The Tharu (501; 15.25%) occupied the third position but it was also underrepresented. Thus, 21 ethnic groups accounted for less than 1 percent in their representation. Similarly, Tharu, Tamang were under represented (264; 8.31%). Nearly, Gurung (115; 3.5%), and Limbu (112; 3.41%) were represented almost equally (Table 1).

TABLE 1
Intergroup representation of Janajati in Civil Service Nepal compared with population

Sl. no.	Type of Janajati	Percentage in total population of <i>Janajati</i> (CBS 2011)	Representation Number	Representation Percentage
1	Surel	0.26	1	0.03
2	Hayu	0.03	2	0.06
3	Majhi	0.9	19	0.58
4	Dhanuk	2.37	29	0.88
5	Chepang	0.73	1	0.03
6	Jhagad	0.4	2	0.06
7	Thami	0.3	1	0.03
8	Bote	0.11	1	0.03
9	Danuwar	0.9	16	0.49
10	Baramo	0.09	1	0.03
11	Sunuwar	0.6	35	1.07
12	Tharu	18.74	501	15.25
13	Tamang	16.61	264	8.03
14	Bhujel	1.28	26	0.79
15	Kumal	1.3	9	0.27
16	Rajbanshi	1.24	20	0.61
17	Gangai	0.39	1	0.03
18	Dhimal	0.28	5	0.15
19	Darai	0.18	3	0.09
20	Dura	0.05	5	0.15
21	Limbu	4.17	112	3.41
22	Newar	14.26	968	29.46
23	Magar	20.36	610	18.56
24	Rai	6.9	429	13.06
25	Gurung	5.88	115	3.5
26	Sherpa	1.21	27	0.82
27	Yakkha	0.26	1	0.03
28	Jirel	0.06	10	0.03
29	Thakali	0.14	8	0.24
30	Unidentified	0	64	1.95
Total		100.00	3286	100.00

Source: Fieldwork

Of the total *Janajati* (3286), 2138 (65.06%) males and 1148 females (34.94%) represented in Nepal's Civil Services after the adoption of reservation policy in Nepal. Newar, Rai, Magar, Tamang females were less represented than male's representation. In Newar 60.33% was male and 39.66% was female; in Rai 52.28% was male and 41.72% was female's representation. Magar females accounted for 28.85% and males

accounted for 71.15%. In Tamang, Thakali, Sherpa, Jirel, Dura, Chepang, Gurung, females were represented more than the males. Females were only represented in Yakkha, Gangai, Chepang, similarly, only males were represented in Jhagad, Surel, Bote, Thami, Darai, Hayu. Unequal representation in intergroup *Janajati* shows that there were persisting gender inequality in the representation of Civil Services. Relatively well

representation in gender equality was found in Gurung, Kumal, and Rai (Fig. 2).

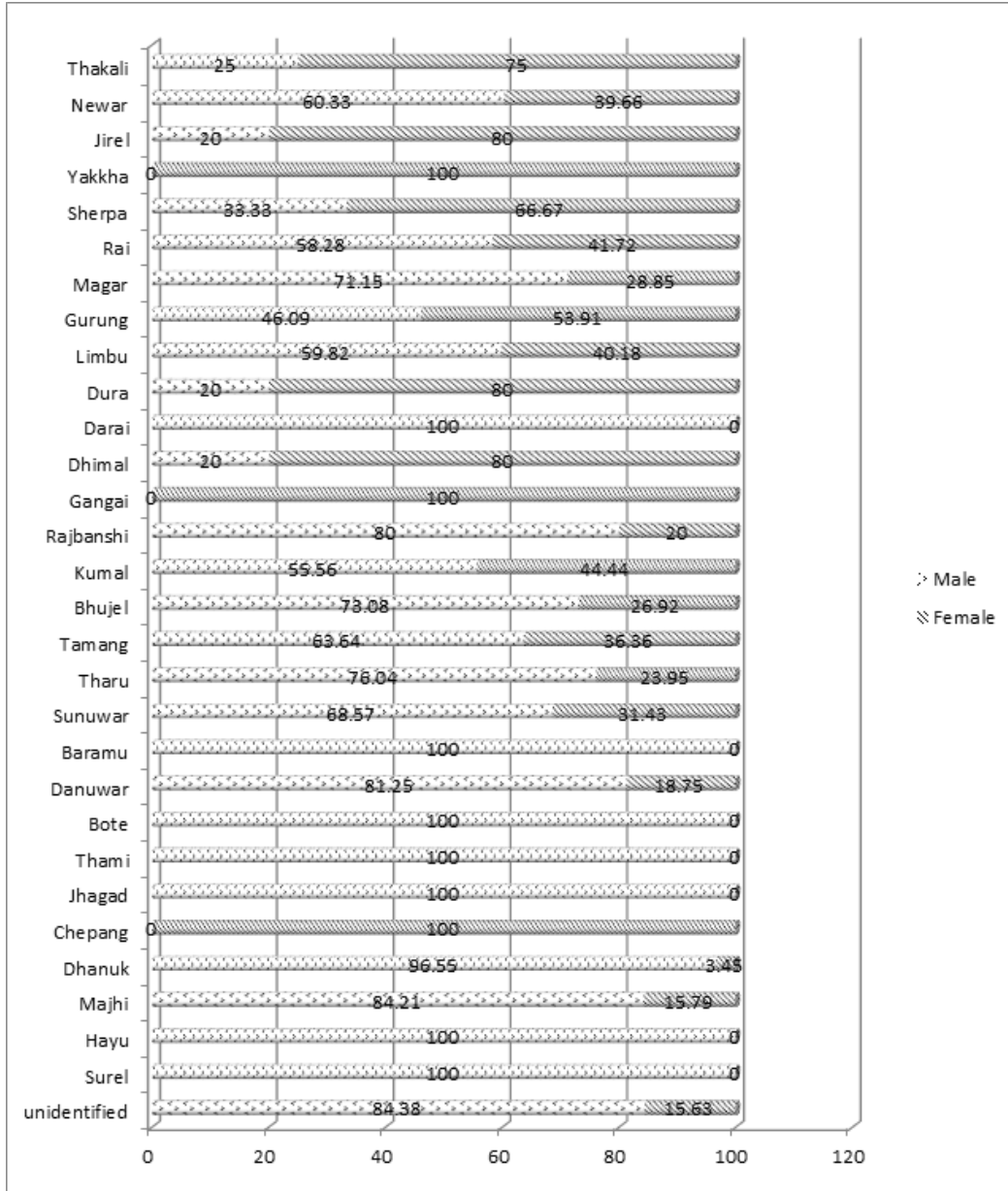


Figure 2: Intergroup representation of *Janajatis* by sex

Entry type of representation is an important dimension; there are four types of entry in Civil Service. Out of the total, entry type of *Janajati* reservation quota, *Janajati* quota consisted 2165

(65.61%), the second position occupied by open entry type (755; 22.97%), third entry type was *Mahila* (330; 10.05%), *Madheshi* and Disabled group were followed by respectively (Fig. 3).

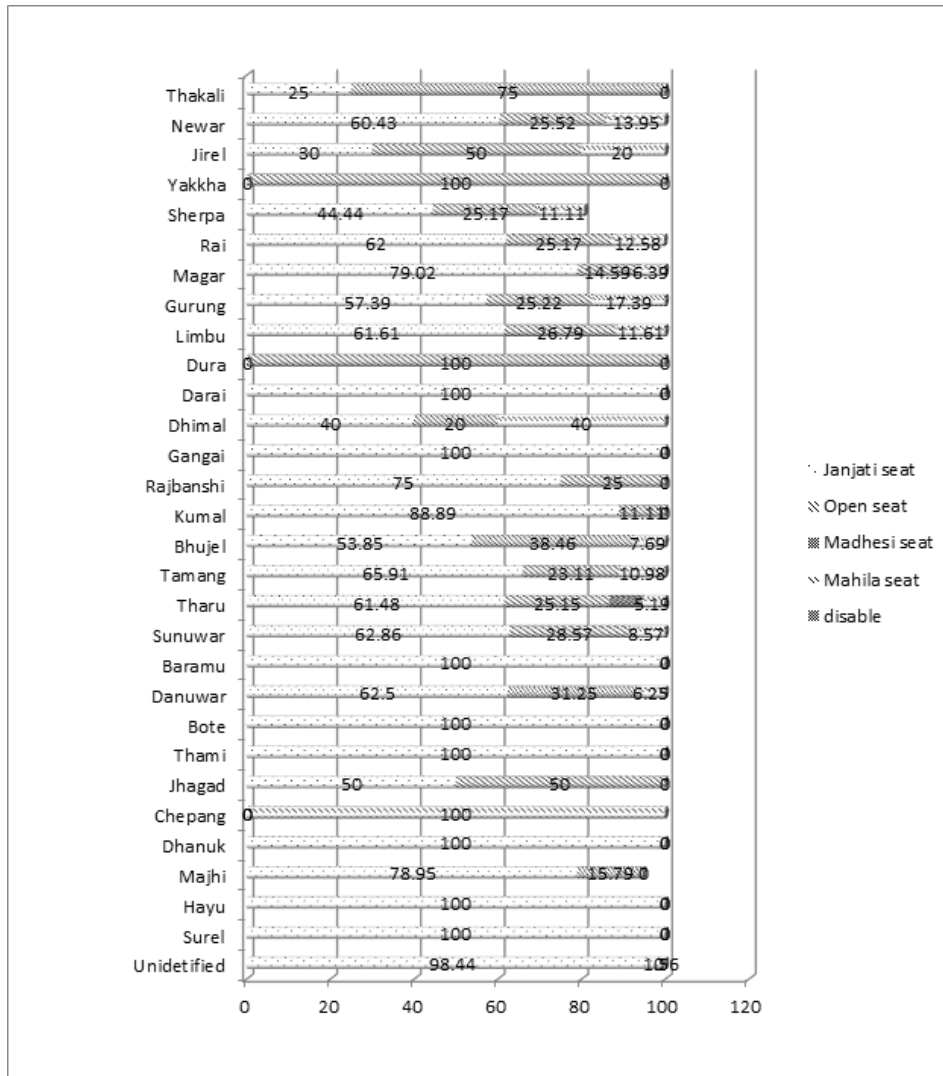


Figure 3: Intergroup representation in civil service of Janajatis by entry type

Tharu represented by all entry types. Some ethnic groups were represented three entry types, like Newar, Magar, Gurung, Limbu, etc. Baramu, Bote, Thami, Dhanuk, Hayu, Surel, and Gangai were only represented from one type of entry that was the Janajati quota. It seems that certain ethnic groups were more benefited from the reservation. If the reservation system was not introduced then they would go unrepresented in the Civil Services. Newar occupied 46.04 % of Janajati quota, second position was of Magar, which was 22.26%. Tharu was 14.29%

represented in Janajati's quota. Rai represented 12.34%. Tharu was also represented by Madhesi quota, 95.24% entered from Madhesi quota among Janajati. Better representation was of Newar and Rai ethnic groups in Mahila(female) quota. There was vast inequality in the representation according to rank; rank is power, prestige, and economic benefit. So lower rank representation was not a good symbol of representation. The following table (Table 2) shows the intergroup representation of Janajati in Civil Service by rank.

TABLE 2
Intergroup representation of Janajati in Civil Service by rank

<i>Ethnicity</i>	1st class	2nd class	3rd class	NG1	NG2	NG3	Nonclass
Surel	0	0	0.17	0	0	0	0
Hayu	0	0	0	0.10	0.07	0	0
Majhi	0	0	0.52	0.81	0.55	0	0
Dhanuk	0	0	0.52	1.00	1.09	0	0
Chepang	0	0	0	0.10	0	0	0
Jhagad	0	0	0	0.10	0.07	0	0
Thami	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.98
Bote	0	0	0	0	0.07	0	0
Danuwar	0	0	0.17	0.20	0.82	4	0
Baramu	0	0	0.17	0	0	0	0
Sunuwar	9.09	0	1.39	1.00	1.02	4	0
Tharu	0	4.27	6.94	17.26	17.00	12	31.37
Tamang	0	2.56	5.90	8.88	9.34	4	3.92
Bhujel	0	0.85	0.87	0.30	0.96	0	2.94
Kumal	0	0	0	0.10	0.55	0	0
Rajbanshi	0	0	0.17	0.50	0.96	0	0
Gangai	0	0	0	0	0.07	0	0
Dhimal	0	0	0	0.10	0.07	0	0
Darai	0	0	0	0.10	0.27	0	0
Dura	0	0	0	0.10	0.14	12	0
Limbu	0	1.71	4.17	3.23	3.28	4	4.90
Gurung	9.09	4.27	3.65	3.73	3.35	4	0.98
Magar	0	4.27	14.41	15.34	23.50	16	21.57
Rai	18.18	0	11.11	11.81	15.23	8	20.59
Sherpa	0	0	0.35	0.81	1.16	0	0
Yakkha	0	0	0	0	0.07	0	0
Jirel	0	0	0.17	0	0.55	4	0
Newar	63.63	77.77	46.35	32.09	18.17	28	12.75
Thakali	0	1.71	0.35	0.10	0.20	0	0
Unidentified	0	2.56	2.60	2.22	1.64	0	0
Total Percent	100(11)	100(117)	100(576)	100(991)	100(1464)	100(25)	100(102)

Source: Fieldwork, 2075 B.S.

Table 2 shows that Sunuwar, Gurung, Rai, and Newar were only represented in 1st class rank. It is the top position of the Civil Service. 63.63% Newar was represented as 1st class officer, Rai was 18 %, and Gurung was 9%. Newar accounted for 77.71% as 2nd class officer, with Magar and Gurung being equally represented in 2nd class officer, which was 4.27%. Most marginalized ethnic groups had not been represented as 2nd class and 3rd class officers. They were only represented in junior rank.

Jirel, Yakkha, Bote, Jhagad, Chepang, and Dhimal are represented at the non-gazetted officer level. Thami ethnic group only one represented as non-class rank.

Gender-wise Representation of Janajatis

Gender disparities are also observed in the ranks and service sectors. Female representation was lower than males in all ranks such as except 1st class, NG3 then 2nd class, 3rd class officer, non-gazetted 1, 2, and 3rd. In 1st class, female percentage was 54.55%, the male percentage was 45.45%, and the lower representation in 2nd class. Female representation in 3rd class NG1, NG2 and non-class respectively were 26.91%, 28.56%, 42.28% and 15.69%. The non-gazetted third (NG3) was found only female. Only female candidates compete in *Mahila Sahayak* (NG3) rank (Fig. 4).

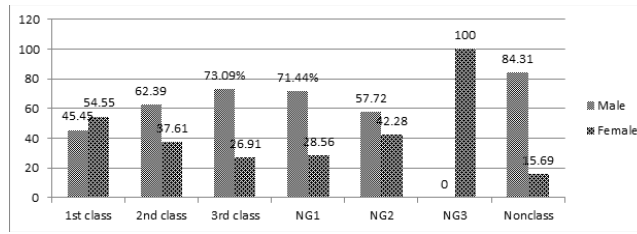


Figure 4: Gender inequality of Janajatis by rank

There are fourteen sectors of service such as administration, judicial, agriculture, miscellaneous, etc. Only women candidates can apply in miscellaneous services like *Mahilabikasadhikrit* (women

development officer) and *Mahilasahayak* (women assistance) thereby increase the female representation. Female's representation was more in health service as *Anami*, Staff nurse.

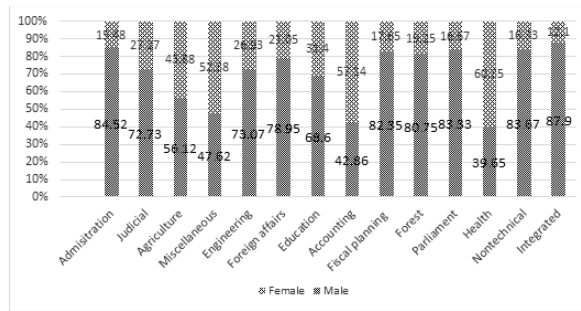


Figure 5: Gender-wise representation of Janajatis by service sectors

Female representation in the health service sector and accounting services was better than in other sectors. Males dominated other service sectors like administration, fiscal planning, etc. The miscellaneous sector was also better for females. The Majority of *Janajati* females (60.35%) represented in health service, 57.14% of females represented in the accounting service sector, and 52.38% females represented in miscellaneous services (Fig. 5).

Gender inequality was found by region and service entry type. There were four categories of the region and five categories of entry type. Comparatively, gender inequality regarding representation was higher in the Tarai region than in mountain and hill regions. About 57.66% of males and 42.34% of females were represented from the mountain region, while 37.51% female and 23.55% females were represented in the hill and Tarai region respectively. There were gender inequalities in all regions regarding representation in Civil Services (Fig. 6).

Gender inequality was found by region and

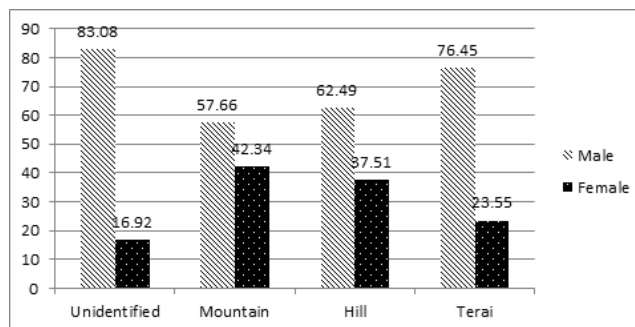


Figure 6: Gender-wise representation of Janajatis by region

In the analysis of entry type, the figure shows that *Janajati* male's representation was higher (80.52%) than *Janajati* females (19.48%) from the *Janajati* quota. In the open entry type, female

representation (53.25%) was better than male *Janajati* (46.75%). The *Madhesi* quota was also overrepresented by male *Janajati* (80.95%), while the female *Janajati* percentage was only 19.05 % (Fig. 7).

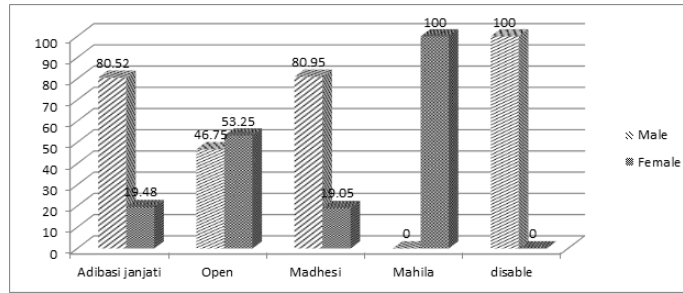


Figure 7: Gender-wise representation of *Janajatis* by entry type

Region-wise Inequality in Representation of Janajatis

Of the total representation of *Janajati*, 1st class consisted 3.1 percent, 2nd class consisted 3.56%, 3rd class consisted 17.53%, NG1(non-gazetted first) 30.16%, NG2 (non-gazetted second) 44.55%, NG3 (non-gazetted third) 0.76%, and non-class consisted of 0.33%. The NG2 and NG1 ranks were found dominant positions in Civil Service.

Hill *Janajati* were over-represented in all ranks

as hill *Janajati* accounted for 100 percent in 1st class, 88.8% in 2nd class, 83.68 % in 3rd class, 72.55% in NG1, 68.99% in NG2, 80% in NG3, and 65.69% in non-class.

Tarai *Janajati* were not represented in 1st class. Their representation accounted for 4.27% was in 2nd class, 7.81% in 3rd class, 19.37% in non-gazetted first (NG1), 21.04% in NG2, 16 percent in NG3, and 31.37 percent in non-class. Mountain *Janajati* were lower in all ranks and positions, their population was lower than others (Fig. 8).

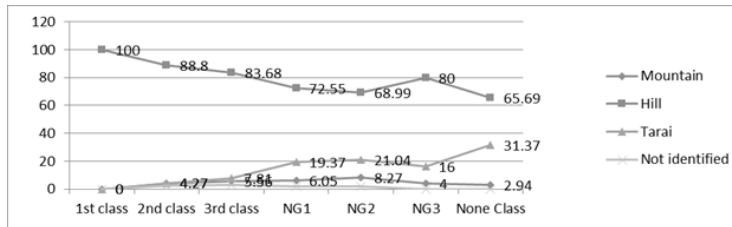


Figure 8: Region-wise representation of *Janajatis* by rank

Regional disparities were found in entry type and services sectors. Hill *Janajati* held the highest position on *Janajati* quota, open, women quota, and disabled quota. Hill *Janajati* occupied 73.33% of *Janajati* seat, of them 73.25% covered in open quota, and 83.33% covered in the women quota. The Tarai

Janajati held the second position, which accounted for 17.49% of the *Janajati* quota, 18.41% in open, and 8.79% in the women quota. Thus, the *Janajati* quota was represented by hill *Janajati* and the women quota also covered hill *Janajati* women among the *Janajati* group (Fig. 9).

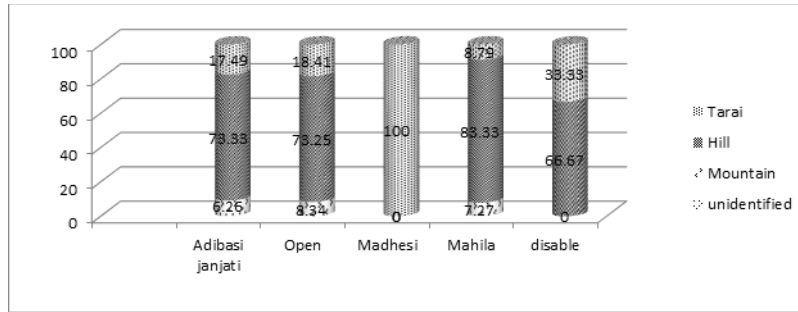


Figure 9: Region-wise representation of Janajati by entry type

Hill Janajati held the highest position in all service sectors. Hill Janajati occupied 81.83% in administration, 80.52% covered in judicial services, and 94.74% covered in foreign affairs services, in

comparison to TaraiJanajati, which accounted for 12.55% in administration, 11.69% in judicial, and 5.28% in foreign affairs service (Fig. 10).

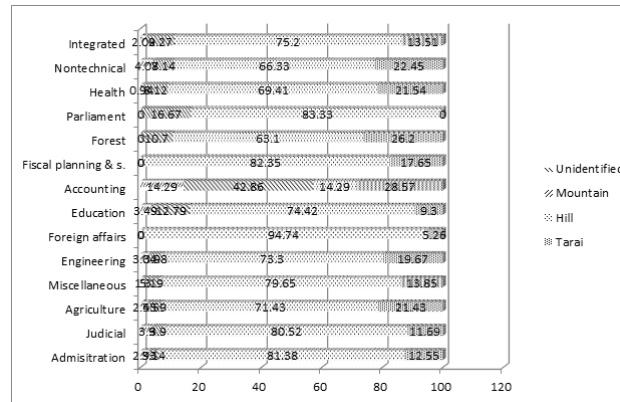


Figure 10: Region-wise representation of Janajatis by service sectors

Representation of Janajati Based on NFDIN Classification

There were disparities among Janajati based on NFDIN classification. There were five categories of Janajati under this classification. Of the represented total Janajati, the Advanced group consisted 29.70%, Disadvantaged group was 39.68%, Marginalized group percentage was 26.45%, Highly marginalized group was 2.13%, and Endangered group was

0.09%. The representation of female from the Endangered group was nil. Advanced group females occupied 39.98%, followed by Disadvantaged group, which occupied 37.5%, Marginalized group female representation was 28.88%, and Highly marginalized group female was 11.43%. Male was predominantly represented in all groups, but comparatively, their representation was found higher in Advanced group and Disadvantaged group (Fig. 11a).

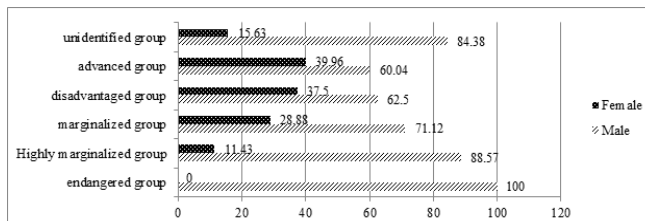


Figure 11a. Representation of Janajati based on NFDIN classification by gender

The advanced group held the highest position on higher levels of officer position including 1st class, 2nd class, 3rd class. Of the total Janajati, the advanced group comprised 63.64% as 1st class officer, 79.49% as 2nd class, 46.7% in 3rd class, and 32.09% in

NG1, and 18.37% in NG2. The Disadvantaged accounted for the second position as high-level officers including 1st class, 2nd class, and 3rd class. Disadvantaged group comprised 27.27% in Civil Service as 1st class, 10.26% in 2nd class, and 33.85% in 3rd class (Fig. 11b).

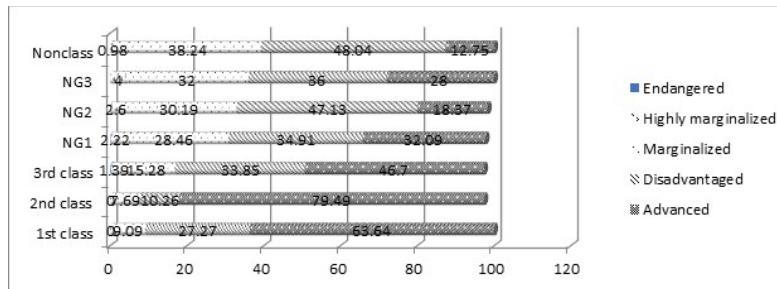


Figure 11b. Representation of Janajati based on NFDIN classification by rank

There were 14 service sectors, where Janajati representations comprised unequally. Representation of Marginalized group was found better in three sectors like accounting service, agriculture, and nontechnical service. Marginalized groups occupied 71.43% in accounting, 29.58% in agriculture, and 31.63% in nontechnical services. Disadvantaged group participation was the highest in most of the service

sectors. Disadvantaged group occupied 47.7% in administration service, 44.16% in judicial services, 43.37% in agriculture, 66.67% in parliament, 42.11% in foreign affairs, 41.10% in health, 43.88% in nontechnical and 51.81% in integrated services. The advanced group occupied 24.48% in administration service, 22.08% in judicial service, 22.45% in agriculture (Fig. 12).

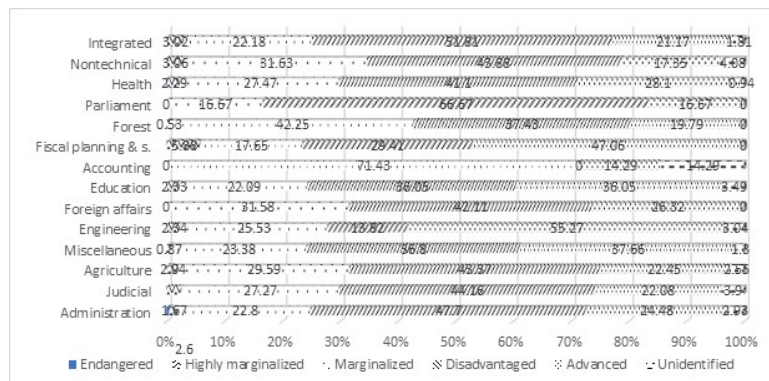


Figure 12. Representation of Janajati based on NFDIN classification by service sectors

Intragroup Inequality in Newar

Newar was over-represented in all sectors of the state and polity, education (Gurung 2006, Bhatta et al., 2008). In this research, Newar was found predominantly represented than other Janajati in Civil Service. However, Nakarmi (2066 B.S.) argued that vast inequality was persisting within Newar. Not all sub-castes were of the same condition and status

in all sectors, Newar high caste representation was very well in comparison to other underrepresented caste groups. He concluded that Newar does not cover a single blanket term; there are various sub-castes within the Newars that are differently excluded and exploited. The unequal representation of sub-caste of Newar in Civil Service has been illustrated in Table 3.

TABLE 3
Intragroup inequality in Newar by sub-castes of Newar in
Civil Service by sub-caste

Sl. No.	Subcaste of Newar	Representation Number	Percentage
1	Shrestha	628	64.88
2	Tamrakar	10	1.03
3	Nagarkoti	3	0.31
4	Manandhar	42	4.34
5	Bajracharya	15	1.55
6	Ranjit	3	0.31
7	Maharjan	65	6.71
8	Desar	5	0.52
9	Pardhan	37	3.82
10	Bajimaya	4	0.41
11	Amatya	3	0.31
12	Shakya	30	3.1
13	Karmcharya	7	0.72
14	Tuladhar	3	0.31
15	Joshi	14	1.45
16	Parjapati	16	1.65
17	Dangol	21	2.17
18	Maske	4	0.41
19	Rajbhandari	9	0.93
20	Malla	1	0.1
21	Manukarmi	2	0.21
22	Pardhanang	3	0.31
23	Suwal	6	0.62
24	Silpkar	6	0.62
25	Bijucche	2	0.21
26	Nakarmi	1	0.1
27	Lakhe	5	0.52
28	Napit	1	0.1
29	Talchabhdel	1	0.1
30	Kapali	1	0.1
31	Chitrkar	1	0.1
32	Tandukar	5	0.52
33	Malakar	2	0.21
34	Gubhaju	1	0.1
35	Singh	7	0.72
36	Khadgi	2	0.21
37	Kakshpati	2	0.21
Total		968	100

Source: Fieldwork

There were only 37 Newar sub-castes represented. Out of the total Newar representation (968; 29.46%), Shrestha comprised the highest percentage (64.88%) followed by Maharjan 6.31%, Manandhar 4.34%, Pardhan 3.82%, Shakya 3.1%, Dangol 2.17%, Parjapati 1.65%, Bjracharya 1.55%, Joshi 1.45%, and Tamrakar 1.03%, rest of other sub-castes accounted

for only below 1%. Some sub-castes were not yet represented in Civil Services.

Gender inequality was also found within the Newar sub-castes in terms of representation in Civil Service. Female occupied 100% in Newar sub-castes like Nakarmi, Kakshapati, Khadgi, and Chitrakar. Similarly, males occupied 100% of Suwal, Pradhngang, Malla, and Bajimaya. Male and female equal representation (1:1) was found in Malakar, Bijukche, Maske, Tamrakar, Silpkar, and Manukarmi. Female representation was better than males in Rajbhandari (66.67%), Tuladhar (66.67%), Ranjit (66.67%), Bjracharya (66.67%), Lakhe (60%), Joshi (57.14%), and Manandhar (52.39%). Similarly, male representation was better than females in Newar sub-caste Tandukar (80%), Amatya (66.66%), Shrestha (63.37%), Pardhan (62.10%), and Dangol (61.9%) (Fig 13).

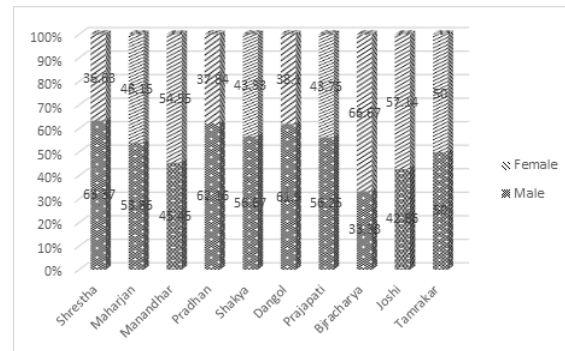


Figure 13: Gender-wise inequality in representation among holding top ten position sub-castes of Newar

Shrestha sub-caste held the highest position on a higher level of officer position including 1st class, 2nd class, 3rd class. Of the total Newar group, the Pardhan and Shakya held an equal percentage (14.28%) in 1st class officer rank. Maharjan held the second position in 2nd class and 3rd class officer. Shrestha representation was the highest in all ranks, 74.48% in NG1, 82.78% in NG2, 100% in NG3. Maharjan representation was higher in non-gazetted 1st class and in non-gazetted 2nd class. Manandhar consisted of 7.79% in 2nd class, 5.78% in 3rd class, 3.79% in NG1, and 4.5% in NG2 (Fig. 14).

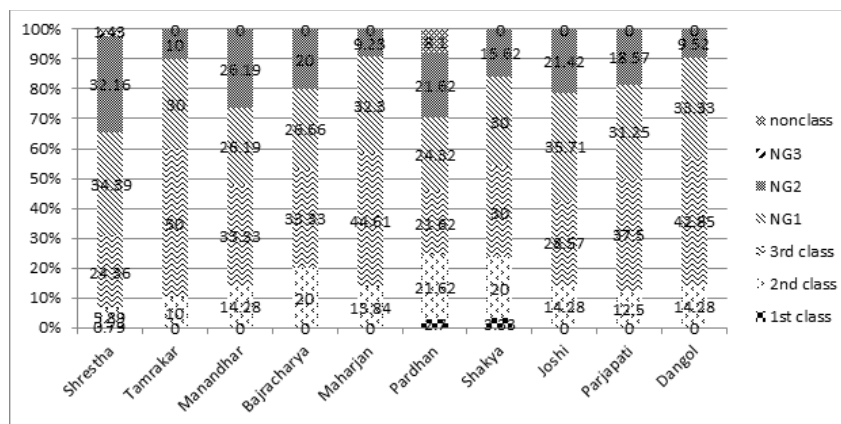


Figure 14: Newar intragroup representation inequality in Civil Service by rank

CONCLUSION

The representation of *Janajati* in Civil Service has improved significantly but *Janajati* are still underrepresented as per the proportion of their quota, that is, 27%. The reservation quota is less than 7% since their total representation is 20.6%. Inequality still exists between and within *Janajati* groups. There is exists unequal representation between male and female. The intragroup inequality still exists among the Newars. Based on the fivefold classification of *Janajati*, the Advanced group and Disadvantaged groups are more benefitted than the Marginalized groups, Highly Marginalized groups, and endangered groups. Reservation has not benefitted the Marginalized people, and a certain creamy layer of ethnic group, hill ethnic group, and male of ethnic groups have been benefitted most. Newar, Rai and Sunuwar are overrepresented. Gender-based inequality exists in ranks, service types, entry types among all the ethnic groups. Unequal representation of male and female regarding interethnic group, and region-wise show gender inequality in the reservation system. All *Janajati* are not equally deprived and marginalized, having different intersectional inequality and crosscutting issues so it should be interpreted through an intersectional lens. Not all cover under the single blanket as *Janajati*. If the state provides an effective and real reservation, it should take a policy of reservation within the reservation for highly marginalized people. Nevertheless, reservation is more effective only for elite section from within the ethnic groups that reproduces inequality within *Janajati*.

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