

Representative Bureaucracy: The Nepalese Perspective

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to reflect the issue of representation of the disadvantaged people in the bureaucracy in terms of the country's contemporary demographic composition. It also intends to scrutinize the current trends of representation of women along with indigenous community, Madhesi, Dalit, disabled people and people from backward areas in the bureaucracy since the application of a reservation system in Nepal since 2007. Descriptive method has been used for analysis and the results are based on quantitative method used for the analysis and interpretation of the data. This article is based on the secondary data. The content and trend analysis have been made from the published and unpublished data and information in national reports, journals, thesis, newsletters and newspapers. Time series (since 2007) secondary data has been used for the study. The results of the study show that the country's population consists of 49.50% male and 51.50% female. However, only 25.94% female are being represented and rest 74.06% males are still in dominant in the civil service system of Nepal in 2020. The data depicts that, the civil service has as high as 63.50% Khas/Arya but only 0.60% Muslim, 2.50% Dalit, 15.40% Madhesi and 19.5% indigenous people representations. Moral preference and commitment in recruitment and promotion to retirement is said to be the main reason behind the increasingly mono-ethnic involvement in the civil service of Nepal. Traditionally, males were over-represented in the civil service at all levels. However, the trend has been reconciled in recent years due to the continuing preponderance of female graduates and hence applicants for government jobs. Therefore, the concern over the representativeness of the Nepalese bureaucracy is less on class but more on gender and ethnicity representations. The growing trend of women and other class and ethnicity in civil servants in the recent years is positively expected to achieve the representativeness of bureaucracy with the national face. This article argues that the increasing ration of the representativeness in bureaucracy would ensure equitable, responsiveness, strengthen capacity and legitimacy of the government in the diverse society.

Keywords: Social Diversity, Representative Bureaucracy, Public Policy, Civil Service

Background

Since being coined by Donald Kingsley in 1944, representative bureaucracy has become a major concern in the study of public administration. The theory of representative bureaucracy developed

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at a time when there was concern about unelected officials holding important positions in government agencies. He argued that the British civil service was effective in implementing the policies of the political party in power because they both shared a middle-class economic orientation. This common economic background, Kingsley argued, led to shared values and norms, and such similarities made it more likely that those working in bureaucracy would naturally agree with, and implement, the ideas of those working in elected offices. A representative bureaucracy might be defined as a public service whose members reflect the demographic composition of the population it serves, and to which its policies apply. To be truly representative, a public service would include members of significant sectors of the population throughout its workforce, including senior decision-making positions, but not just in lower ranking jobs (Gidengil and Vengroff, 1997).

Years of empirical analysis on representative bureaucracy has established that the bureaucratic institutions being representative to the minority groups can positively affect policy outcomes for those groups under certain conditions, especially in the policy areas of education, child protection, and law enforcement (Favero and Molina, 2018; Grissom, Kern and Rodriguez 2015; Hong, 2017; Riccucci and Meyers, 2004). Various research works have explored the various pathways through which bureaucratic representation generates positive outcomes and has probed the conditions required for representation to affect outcomes. Many studies have also covered various salient demographic characteristics, bureaucratic levels, and governmental agencies (For example, Bishu and Kennedy, 2020; Kennedy, 2014). Recent work has, further, attempted to differentiate between and identify the relevance of both individual-level and organizational-level representation (For example, Meier and Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Nicholson-Crotty et al. 2016; Favero and Molina, 2018; Vinopal, 2018). The inadequate understanding of how different national contexts and administrative regimes affect the representative bureaucracy theory severely limits its generalizability beyond the ‘western’ world. A narrow contextual focus also means that the full range of organizational and environmental conditions needed for representation to lead to more responsive policy outcomes which has not been adequately discovered. A bureaucracy representative for disadvantaged groups in a society has been linked to better outcomes for those groups in a wide variety of policy areas.

The Rise of Representative Bureaucracy Theory

The initial influences regarding representative bureaucracies led by Kingsley described that the British civil service performed a vital role of representation because it was drawn from the ruling class rather than the governed one. As it is widely understood, the theory of representative bureaucracy suggests that diversity within the public workforce, especially in terms of characteristics such as race and ethnicity, will help to ensure that the interests of diverse groups are represented in policy formulation and implementation processes. Representative bureaucracy is a term given to argue that public organizations should look like the face of population that they serve. A representative bureaucracy, the argument went, could fill in the gaps left by the political institutions of government. The theory of representative bureaucracy developed at a time when there was concern about unelected officials holding important positions in government agencies. However, some appropriate scenarios of a representative bureaucracy have to be responsive to the needs of the people. An absence of this may make people feel excluded. Both representativeness and responsiveness are fundamental tenets of democracy. Representativeness

ensures inclusion and entitlement of different groups in the administration of the country, while responsiveness makes different groups active participants in the process of governance, such as in policy formulation and implementation (Jamil, et. al, 2020). It is argued that, at the minimum, the government administrative and governing structure should recognize the diversity of its people. The importance of representative bureaucracy has been more precisely defined in recent years with the distinction between passive and active representation. (Mosher, 1968, p. 13). Active representation occurs when bureaucrats act on shared values and seek policy outcomes that benefit the represented group. For example, female bureaucrats could use discretion to implement policies that benefit female clients (Wilkins and Keiser, 2004; Keiser et al., 2002). Passive representation refers to the mere presence of civil servants of various social groups. A passively representative bureaucracy, i.e., one that reflects the demographic composition of the society or population it serves, has symbolic significance. It promotes the legitimacy of the bureaucracy and the government in that diverse groups would have a greater sense of identification and being fairly served when civil servants are visibly and sufficiently diverse.

Representative bureaucracy theory contends that bureaucrats' social demographic background is important, since it affects their values which in turn influence administrative decision making. There are two assumptions underlying the theory. The first assumption is that through socialization processes individuals with the same social demographic background will share certain values (Long, 1952; Meier, 1975; Mosher, 1968). The second assumption is that bureaucrats will act consistent with their values and 'seek to maximize the values that are salient to [them] at the time of the decision' (Meier and Morton, 2015, p. 99). If a bureaucracy is representative of the public it serves, the logic continues, then its decisions will more strongly reflect the values of that public. By being more responsive to the preferences and needs of the public, representativeness is assumed to contribute to the performance and legitimacy of a bureaucracy (Long, 1952; Selden, Brudney and Kellough, 1998). The theory theorizes that the active representation of group interests occurs because individual bureaucrats reflect the views of those who share their demographic backgrounds. A bureaucracy representative for disadvantaged groups in a society has been linked to better outcomes for those groups in a wide variety of policy areas. Most of the empirical work identifying this link have used United States data, a highly conducive case for representation.

Central to this line of reasoning is Mosher's distinction between passive and active representation. Passive representation refers to the composition of a bureaucracy's workforce with regard to social demographic characteristics (Mosher, 1968). This passive representation may affect organizational outcomes directly because of symbolic effects of descriptive representativeness. A bureaucracy which mirrors the composition of the population it serves increases the likelihood that citizens will identify with bureaucrats and in turn may boost citizen-clients' trust in bureaucracy and their inclination to cooperate with bureaucratic initiatives (Ricucci, Van Ryzin and Lavena, 2014; Thomas 1998; Wilkins and Williams, 2008). Representativeness may also serve more generally as a signal of the accessibility of public sector jobs and careers which is deemed important as it implies accessibility to power for social groups (Groeneveld and Van de Walle, 2010). Although some studies provide evidence for the symbolic effects of representativeness (e.g. Ricucci et al., 2014), most studies of representative bureaucracy outcomes focus on the translation of passive into active representation. Passive representation turns into active representation if bureaucrats adopt a minority representative role and make

decisions that reflect their own values (Selden, Brudney and Kellough, 1998). The assumption is that bureaucrats' behavior rather than their background characteristics per se will affect citizens' responses.

It is believed that representative bureaucracy theory can be moved forward by systematically accounting for contextual effects. Incorporating context would imply a specification of the situational conditions that affect the various processes that transform representation into bureaucratic outcomes. This paper presents a first start of such a contextualized theory of representative bureaucracy. It has been said that the defined context states the situational opportunities and constraints that affect the occurrence and meaning of organizational behavior as well as functional relationships between variables (Johns 2006, p.386). Organizational behavior refers to diverse levels of analysis, both at the level of individual bureaucrats and at the collective level of organizations or units within the organization. The impact of context on representativeness, performance and the relationship between the two concepts may manifest itself in different ways (Johns, 2006, Pp. 387-388). First, context shapes meaning. This aspect of context is especially relevant for the study of representative bureaucracy, since identity which shapes the meaning underlying organizational behavior is at the core of the theory. Which identities are salient will depend on the context, both on the internal organizational context and on the political context external to the organization. Hence, what (whose values?) is being represented will be context dependent and so will be the meaning representativeness takes on in administrative decision making. For instance, in France race and ethnicity are not accepted as concepts to be represented in bureaucracy (Meier and Hawes, 2009).

The Nepalese Civil Service

In the context of Nepal, Gurung argues that the social association on the basis of hierarchical caste system is the main cause for exclusion. Nepalese civil service is heavily influenced by its neighbors, particularly India (Gurung, 2007). In 1951, the Butch Commission was commanded by an Indian governmental expert, N.M. Butch, and his endorsements aided build the structure of Nepal's current civil service (Dhakal, 2013). In 1956, Prime Minister Tanka Prasad Acharya promulgated the Civil Service Act with the help of the Indian legal representative. This act stands as the foundation of Nepal's current civil service, the modern (Shrestha and Paudel, 2019). In Nepal, caste or Jaat shows a dominant role in a person's status in the social hierarchy and in choosing a profession (Jamil, 2019). Bhattachan et al. (2003) see the Hindu caste system and feudal rulers' discretionary laws as the main elements undergirding exclusion in today's Nepali society. For example, the Muluki Ain or Country Code of 1854 brought all Nepalese people under a single legal system and produced a hierarchy based on Hindu social arrangement. Non-Hindus were also treated as subject to this hierarchical system (Dhakal, 2013). Bahnus (Brahmin), Chetri, and Newar are still recognized as 'pure', placed at the top of the hierarchy, and reflected a higher class. Muslims, foreigners and other religions peoples are considered 'water-unacceptable' and Dalit's are imposing as 'untouchable,' both groups denounced low and impure (Bennet et al., 2006). Similarly, Jamil & Dangal, (2009) have stated that the bureaucracy of Nepal is basically gender biased, caste biased, language biased, religion biased and geographically biased in terms of demography. We came to know that without the active participation and representation of men and women at all levels of decision- making, especially in governance, we cannot achieve the goals of equality, development, and peace (Haque, 2000).

The essence of representative bureaucracy was introduced in Nepal in 2007 with the provision made in the Interim Constitution, 2007 (2063 BS.), and it has aimed to include the diversity of groups from different area of country. Nepal's bureaucracy has been becoming representative in terms of reflecting the country's demographic composition. In addition to the sustainable development of deprived groups, the groups were categorized for reservation in civil service to women, indigenous (Adibasi/Janajati), Madhesi and Dalit people of Nepal. There are two more categories distinguished as people from remote regions and physically disabled people for the same. The following nine districts out of seventy-seven regions fall under the category of the remote regions: Kalikot, Dolpa, Mugu, Jumla, Humla, Achham, Jajarkot, Bajhang and Bajura. People from these remote regions have been provided with the reserved quota in the process of recruitment of employee in civil service. The Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007 includes several gender-friendly provisions and inclusive principles, not least the fundamental right of the citizen to social justice. Article 21 states that women, Dalits, Adibasi/Janajati's, the Madhesi community, downtrodden classes, poor farmers, and workers who have lagged behind from the economic, social or educational viewpoint shall have the right to participate in the state structure based on the principle of proportionate representation. Then, in August 2007, the second amendment to the 1992 Civil Service Act provided for reserving 45 per cent of all vacancies to be fulfilled by way of open competition and, assuming the vacancies thus reserved to be 100 percent, fulfilling the same by way of separately-held competitions from among each of the six specified categories of candidates: Women (33 percent), Adibasi/Janajati (27 percent), Madheshi (22 percent), Dalit (9 percent), persons with disability (5 percent) and those from the backward areas (4 percent). The Civil Service (Second Amendment) Act, 1991, in 2007 has since formed a reference for other public services and similar, if not the same, provisions have been made in security services, university services and so on. Many factors seem to be at work in achieving representative public administration beyond the arithmetic of reservation. However, the finding them out and addressing them together should be the part of the representative agenda for Nepalese bureaucracy (Bhul, 2020).

The Nepalese civil service is a structured mechanism to keep the government in performing its responsibilities and understanding the purposes of the country that have been well-defined under the Directive Principles and Policies of the Government in the Constitution of Nepal. Construction of a civic well-being nation is the main governmental objective, and a public service is to be set up and functioned for fulfilling this objective. The institutional arrangements in federal democratic Nepal deliver for one central, 7 provinces, 77 districts and 753 local levels (6 metropolitans, 11 6 sub-metropolitans, 276 municipalities and 460 rural municipalities – total 6743 wards) in order to try and ensure that governance is near to the people. Civil service of Nepal is one of the major employment areas in Nepal. Modern Nepalese civil service was formally established for the governance only after dawn of Civil Service Act in 1956 after the core recommendation of Butch Commission headed by N.M. Butch in 1952. Public Service Commission (PSC) was established in 15th June 1951 and is a sole constitutional body to conduct examinations for the selection of appropriate candidates to be appointed for the different public service positions in Nepal. In order to select appropriate aspirants through open competition, it conducts competitive pre-written examinations, practical examination, group discussion, basket exercise and interview for the final selection. The vacant positions in government offices are collected by Ministry of Federal Affairs and General Administration (MoFAGA) to be given to PSC and it selects appropriate applicants for those positions and recommends the government to

appoint them. These administration positions are basically divided into three categories; Gazetted, Non-gazetted and Class-less. These categories along with positions consist 10 types of services which form civil service in Nepal. All the civil servants are employed on a permanent basis by the Public Service Commission (PSC).

An Instance of Nepal: Representativeness in Bureaucracy

Inclusion in Nepal is a form of affirmative action designed to improve the participation of under-represented communities defined primarily on the basis of gender, caste, ethnicity and disability. Representation based on gender, caste, backwardness and disability are legally defined both in both constitutional and statutory policies. The initiation of democracy in 1951 navigated in many changes in Nepal. Until then the demand for reservation was part of dominated by the broader civil rights movement lead to CPA* in 2007. Democracy brought with it equal rights for all citizens regardless of gender or other forms of social grouping. According to the national census (2011), there were 16.60% Chhetri, 12.20% Brahmin, 7.10% Magar, 6.60% Tharu, 5.80% Tamang, 5% Newar, 4.80% Kami, 4.40% Muslim, 4% Yadav and 2.30% Rai are the top ten ethnic group in total population of Nepal. To ensure the participation and representation of various marginalized groups in the civil service, Nepal introduced a quota policy in 2007.

In the budget speech of 1995, affirmative action was introduced, and 16 social groups were categorized as oppressed (Dong, 2016). In 2003, the then-prime minister Surya Bahadur Thapa planned to reserve 35 percent of civil service posts: women would constitute 20 percent, Dalits 10 percent, and Janajatis 5 percent. Thapa also formed a committee to implement the reform, but due to political and governmental instability, it was unsuccessful (Dong, 2016). In 2006, after the fall of the monarchy, the newly formed government introduced affirmative action. The Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007) created various inclusive policies to ensure the participation of different groups in national life. Article 21 of this constitution states that women, Dalits, Adivasi Janajatis, the Madheshi community, downtrodden classes, poor farmers, and workers who are underprivileged shall have the right to participate in the state structure based on the principle of proportionate representation (Paudel, 2013). After that through the second amendment to the "Civil Service Act, 2007", the government introduced 45 percent reservations for disadvantaged people (Dong, 2016; Paudel, 2013). The reservation policy in public service is adopted with the objective of (i) creating a representative public service (ii) mainstreaming excluded people from different class groups, caste/ethnic groups, regions and communities, and engaging them in nation building activities (iii) projecting existing public service scenario, and (iv) narrowing down the gap between the dominant and excluded groups (Awasthi & Adhikari, 2012).

Nepali bureaucracy is represented by its civil service employees who work towards implementing the public service delivery policy of the state (Shrestha & Paudel, 2019). In the changing contexts, the roles and priorities of the government and its civil service alike have been changing. To this end, various efforts have been initiated on behalf the government towards changing its traditional role from the concept of "feeding people" to "enabling the people". With the changing socio-political changes in Nepal, several agenda including inclusion (and exclusion) of different groups

* Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), 2007 held between Government of Nepal and Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), state restructuring by resolving the prevailing problems related to ethnicity, regional and gender differences

have been witnessed across social institutions (Dhakal, 2019). Accordingly, during the past several decades, efforts have been made to improve both structures and governance. Inclusive bureaucracy is one of the new concepts of such efforts. Then, in August 2007, the second amendment to the 1993 Civil Service Act provided for reserving 45 percent of all vacancies to be fulfilled by way of open competition and, assuming the vacancies thus reserved to be 100 percent, fulfilling the same by way of separately-held competitions from among each of the six specified categories of candidates: Women (33 percent), Adivasi/Janajati (27 percent), Madhesi (22 percent), Dalit (9 percent), persons with disability (5 percent) and those from the backward areas (4 percent). The motivation behind the reservation was that those who are marginalized should be uplifted by creating various opportunities by the nation.

Discussion and Major Findings

A crucial enquiry in representative bureaucracy study is the discussion of how well the diverse social groups are represented in the national bureaucracy in Nepal. Similarly, central a question is how the policies, public discourse and execution practical bring into relative line to ensuring greater gender, caste and ethnic representation in civil service of Nepal. This article has examined the changing scenario of women's representation in Nepali bureaucracy. It has found that the reservation policy applied by the government has supported to increasing representation in civil service of Nepal. The major findings are analyzed with the following data and information collected from different sources.

Table 1.
Degrees of Exclusion in Nepal

Social status	Gender	Caste	Ethnicity/ Race	Language	Religion	Geo-Political
Dominant	Men/Boys	Tagadhari: Bramhin, Chettris	Caucasoid	Nepali	Hindu	Parbatiaya: Hill Dweller
Subordinate	Women/ Girls	Dalit Adibasi/Janajati Madhesi	Janajati/ Mongoloid	Others	Non- Hindu	Madheshi: Plain Dweller

Source: Bennett et al. (2006)

As Table 1 shows, women are more marginalized than men no matter what their class and caste is. It thus became a powerful instrument for subordinating diverse groups of people under Hindu norms, rules, and values (Hachhethu, 2009, cited by Dong, 2016). According to this table, Tagadhari (denotes high caste and religious status in Hindu religion (Riaz, 2010) such as Brahmin and Chettris who still comprise the dominant class in Nepal, while Dalit is the subordinate class. Laterally with the caste system, languages were treated as grounds for social exclusion. In 1920, the government declared that in cases where languages other than Nepali were used for

indenture/written agreements, such agreements could not be submitted as evidence in a court. The Nepali language became the only official language and the only one used in the education sector (Jamil at all, 2020).

Table 2.
Structure of the Civil Service of Nepal

Categories of Services	Percentage
General administration	46.30
Health	20.52
Engineering	9.95
Agriculture	6.16
Forestry	6.04
Others	11.03
Total	100

Source: Poudel N. (2018)

Table 2 presents that out of the total size of the civil service, 46.30 percent is covered by the general administration service, 20.52 percent is covered by health service, engineering service is 9.95 percent whereas agriculture and forestry is having 6.16 and 6.04 respectively and remaining 11.03 percent is covered by other five services in civil service of Nepal.

Table 3.
Caste/ethnic Representation in Special and Gazette Class

No.	Caste/Ethnicity	Population	Representation in the Civil Service
1	Bahun	12.74	72.00
2	Chhetris	15.80	15.89
3	Newar Janajatis	5.48	7.14
4	Non-Newar Janajatis	30.83	1.64
5	Madhesi	12.32	1.17
6	Dalit's	14.99	0.67
7	Muslims	4.27	0.1
8	Others	3.57	1.39
	Total	100	100

Source: Ministry of General Administration, cited in Dong (2016)

The data in the table three projects the dominance of Bahuns and Chhetris in the civil service of Nepal. While Bahuns contain only 12.74 percent of the population, but they occupy 72 percent of posts in the civil service of Nepal. Likewise, though Chhetris only cover 15.80 percent of the population, but they have 15.89 percent of civil service of Nepal's job positions whereas almost 73 percent population has been covered by other disadvantaged groups like Adivasi janajati, Madhesi, dalit, Muslims and so on, but they occupy only 12 percent of low-level posts in the civil service of Nepal. These figures also outspread to upper class Bahun and Chhetris are dominating in (special and gazette category) civil service of Nepal positions.

Table 4.
Women's Share in the Public Sector of Nepal

Rank	2003			2010			2019		
	Male	Female	Female (%)	Male	Female	Female (%)	Male	Female	Female (%)
Special class	41	1	2	67	2	3	67	3	4.29
Gazetted I	304	4	1	416	13	3	522	40	7.12
Gazetted II	1399	52	4	2474	113	4	2985	259	7.98
Gazetted III	4909	304	6	7129	593	8	8357	1578	15.83
Non-gazetted	38,596	4224	11	34,813	7632	22	21,106	4953	19.01
Classless	23,885	1432	6	20,366	1446	7	11,667	1218	9.45
Health/ Local	-	-	-	-	-	-	20,701	14,866	41.80
Total	69,134	6017	8	65,265	9799	15	65,405	22,917	25.94

Source: cited by Bhul B (2020)

Table 5

Class	2064/65					2076/77				
	Men		Women		Total	Men		Women		Total
	Number	%	Number	%		Number	%	Number	%	
Chief Secretary	1	100	0	0	1	1	100	0	0	1
Special Class	60	100	0	0	59	67	95.71	3	4.29	70
Gazetted First	463	94.88	25	5.12	488	522	92.88	40	7.12	562
Gazetted Second	3160	95.18	160	4.82	3320	2985	92.02	259	7.98	3244
Gazetted Third	9537	89.77	1087	10.23	10624	8357	84.17	1578	15.83	9929
Non-gazetted	23963	85.78	2973	14.22	27936	21106	80.99	4953	19.01	26059
Classless	17705	95.25	1487	7.75	19192	11667	90.55	1218	9.45	12885
Health Service	11557	59.44	7885	40.56	19442	13676	58.2	12620	41.80	26296
Justices/judges	298	97.39	8	2.61	306	335	93.84	22	6.16	357
State/Local level	0	0	0	0	0	6689	75.05	2224	24.95	8913
Total	66743	82.03	14625	17.97	81368	65405	74.06	22917	25.94	88316

Source: cited by Bhul B (2020)

Gender Differences after 12 Years in Different Level Civil Service of Nepal

The data displayed in table 4 and 5 indicate the latest gender-wise composition of civil servants in various service sectors. Table 4 and 5 show that women's increased participation is mostly at the 'non-gazetted' level in civil service of Nepal. One fifth (19%) of female civil servants belong to this category. The existence of women in higher-level positions is still insignificant, even after the introduction of the quota system. Table 4 and 5 also display that in 2003, the percentage of women's participation was 2 percent for 'Special Class', and one percent for 'Gazetted I' class;

‘Special Class’ participation only increased to 4.29 percent by 2019. In the ‘Gazetted I’ class, this has improved from one percent in 2003 to 7.12 percent by 2019. At the Gazetted III level, the percentage of women doubled, that is, from six to 15.83 percent. In the long run, these women are likely to be encouraged to higher-level positions, thereby starting a critical mass. Although, the overall representation of women in Nepali civil service, as per 2020 data, is 25.94 percent, all sectors including health (41.80 percent) and local level (24.95 percent) sectors have less than 20 percent representation of women.

Table 6
Bureaucratic Representation in the Top Level of the Civil Service of Nepal

Geographical Regions	Secretary (%)	Joint Secretary (%)	Undersecretary (%)	Population (%)
Eastern	18	19	23	22
Central	42	39	34	36
Western	29	36	34	19
Mid-Western	8	3	5	13
Far-Western	3	3	4	10
Total	100	100	100	100
N	65	458	3,282	26.5 million

Source: Adapted from Ministry of General Administration (2014)

The data in table 6 shows that most of the civil servants arise from the Eastern, Central, and Western regions while there is less representation from the Mid-Western and Far-Western regions. Further, if observing at the population size of these regions, it was observed that the Mid-Western and Far- Eastern regions are least represented in civil service of Nepal, even though all the backward districts fall inside these two regions. Nepal, there are nine so-called “remote” districts for which some civil service positions are reserved. According to the Civil Service Act of Nepal, these are the Accham, Kalikot, Jajarkot, Jumla, Dolpa, Bajhang, Bajura, Mugu, and Humla districts. Nevertheless, the Nepalese quota policy is yet to achieve the intended representation from different areas.

Table 7
Regional Caste Representation in Civil Service of Nepal

SN	Caste/Ethnicity	Percentage	Index
1	Hill Brahmin	39.00%	1.0000
2	Hill Chhetri	22.30%	0.9719
3	Terai Brahmin, Chhetri	3.30%	1.0000
4	Terai others	9.70%	0.3851
5	Hill Dalit	0.90%	0.0978
6	Terai Dalit	0.50%	0.2474
7	Newar	9.00%	0.4227
8	Hill Indigenous	9.00%	0.4382
9	Terai Indigenous	4.60%	0.4227
10	Muslim	0.70%	0.1574

11	Others	0.4%	0.6073
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Source: TU, Department of Sociology, 2014/15

Table 7 describes about the participation in the civil service on the basis of caste, based on the research study done by the Central Department of Sociology, Tribhuvan University in 2014. The table shows that the Hill Brahmin, Hill Chhetri, Hill Indigenous and Newar are the major caste representing in civil service. Terai (others) are also in mark able numbers but the real target group of inclusion of Hill and Terai minorities and marginalized representation are still very low in number in comparison to the Hill Brahmin.

Table 8
Participation of the Different Ethnic Groups in Civil Service of Nepal

Ethnic Groups	Numbers	2006	Numbers	2012
		%		%
Janjati	1,416	17.49	1,593	12.28
Madhesis	805	9.94	1,068	8.23
Dalits	74	0.92	117	0.90
Others	5,801	71.65	10,193	78.59
Total	8,096	100	12,193	100

Source: Awasthi and Adhikari (2012)

Table 9
Participation in the Top Level based on Caste/ Ethnicity in Civil Service of Nepal

Caste/Ethnicity	Secretary	Joint Secretary	Under secretary	Population size
Brahmin (Bahun)	65	68	66	12.74
Chhetri	20	17	20	15.80
Indigenous nationalities	15	13	13	48.63
Dalit	-	2	1	14.99
Others (including Muslim)	-	0.4	0.4	7.84

Source: Adapted from Ministry of General Administration (2014)

Remarkably, Table 8, 9 and 10 show that since the progress and summary of the reservation system in Nepal, the participation of low caste/ethnic peoples at the higher official level has declining. For example, in the year 2006, there was 17.49 percent Janjati at the official level, but it was reduced to 12.28 percent in 2012. During the same period, it was experiential the growth of the category 'Others', which contains high-caste Hindus and Newars, in authorized positions. Some scholars described the inconsistency as presence due to the reducing of bureaucracy and the undue time the recruitment procedure acquired (Paudel, 2013). In this regard, Shrestha and Paudel (2019) claim the reservation system's ineffectiveness on the lack of human resource development activities. Particular that top-level administrators (e.g., secretary, joint secretary) are significant for policy formulation, implantation, and the allocation of resources, it becomes clear

that the representation of different groups in these authorized positions is a key to safeguarding a representative and inclusive bureaucracy that may help to a balanced and consistent development of the country. Table 9 indicates that Brahmin and Chhetri are still leading in those higher positions, and the least and under-represented positions are by ‘indigenous nationalities’ and ‘others’ (including Dalit and Muslim). Whereas table 10 shows the early condition of representation of low caste/ ethnicity in Civil Service of Nepal in 1999 which as very insufficient as compared to its total population in Nepal.

Table 10
Caste/ Ethnicity in Civil Service of Nepal in 1999

Ethnic/Caste representation in governance, 1999													
Institutions	CHHE		Dalit		Madhesi		Newar		Indigenous Nationalities		Other		Total number
	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	
Judiciary: Supreme, appellate, district	181	77	0	0	18	7.7	32	13.6	4	1.7			235
Constitutional bodies and commissions	14	56	0	0	3	12	6	24	2	8			25
Cabinet	20	62.5	0	0	5	15.6	3	9.4	4	12.5			32
Parliament: Lower & Upper Houses	159	60	4	1.5	46	17.4	20	7.6	36	13.6			265
Public administration, police, army elite	190	77.6	0	0	9	3.7	43	17.6	3	1.2			245
Central members of national political parties	97	58.4	0	0	26	15.7	18	10.9	25	15.1			166
District Development Committee chair/vice chairs, mayor/deputy mayors	106	55.8	0	0	31	16.3	30	15.8	23	12.1			190
Industry/commerce association leaders	7	16.7	0	0	15	35.7	20	47.6	0	0			42
Education: administrative & academic elite, and teachers association leaders	75	77.3	1	1	7	7.2	11	11.3	2	2.1	1	1	97
Culture: Organization and association leaders	85	69.1	0	0	0	0	22	17.9	6	4.9			113
Science/technology: organization and association leaders	36	58.0	0	0	6	9.7	18	29	2	3.2			62
Civil society association leaders	41	75.9	0	0	4	7.4	8	14.8	1	1.9			54
Total	1,011		5		170		231		108		1 0		1,526
Percentage (a)	66.25		0.3		11.1		15.1		7.1		0		100
Population %, 1991 (b)	31.6		8.7		30.9		5.6		22.2		0.1		100
Difference % (a-b)	+34.65		-8.4		-19.8		+9.5		-15.1		-1		

The table 11 demonstrates the number of male and female civil servants in various services in the civil service in the Nepal after the implementation of reservation policy 2020. The representation of women in health and miscellaneous service is 47.94 percent and 42.84 percent and other service have the less than 20 percent representation of women accept the Nepal foreign service which has 21.65 percent. Before the reservation policy implementation, the male participation was 89 percent and female participation was 11 percent at the end of July, 2007 (Ashadh, 2065). The pattern of female participation is highest in health and in miscellaneous in comparison of other services in the civil service of Nepal but in an average the attraction and competition are gradually increasing after the implementation of reservation policy. The share of women in civil service is somehow increasing but it is not sufficient to empower them in terms of their population and socio-economic situation.

Table 11
Representation of Male and Female in Different Services in Civil Service

S.N.	Professional Services*	Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female %
1	Nepal Economic Planning and Statistics Service	346	50	396	87.37	12.63
2	Nepal Agriculture Service	3640	696	4336	83.95	16.05
3	Nepal Administrative Service	28066	5154	33220	84.49	15.51
4	Nepal Forestry Service	4805	618	5423	88.60	11.40
5	Nepal Education Service	1307	303	1610	81.18	18.82
6	Nepal Health Service	13985	12879	26864	52.06	47.94
7	Nepal Miscellaneous Service	1903	1426	3329	57.16	42.84
8	Nepal Engineering Service	7121	876	7997	89.05	10.95
9	Nepal Justice Service	3156	722	3878	81.38	18.62
10	Nepal Foreign Service	228	63	291	78.35	21.65
11	Nepal Audit Service	328	55	383	85.64	14.36
12	Nepal Parliament Service	196	41	237	82.70	17.30
13	Constitutional Representatives	338	23	361	93.63	6.37
Grand Total		65419	22906	88325	74.07	25.94

(Source: Ministry of General Administration cited by Bhul, 2020)

The table 12 shows the number of male and female civil servants in the civil service after the implementation of reservation policy since 10 years, share of women is increasing from 14.55 percent to 25.94 percent. Before the reservation policy implementation, the female participation was 11% at the end of July 2007 (Ashadh, 2065). The pattern of female participation is in gradually increasing form the implementation of reservation policy. Here, the share of women has been increased over 20 percent from 2016 in the various professional services in the civil service of Nepal.

Table 12
10 Years Gender Situation Analysis in Civil Servants after Reservation Policy

Fiscal Year	Male		Female		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	
2066/067	66357	85.45%	11303	14.55%	77660
2067/068	67075	86.16%	10773	13.84%	77848

* There are 10 services excluding Health and Parliamentary service. These are two separate service while Civil Service Act, 1993 governs other ten professional services.

Fiscal Year	Male		Female		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	
2068/069	67928	85.33%	11679	14.67%	79607
2069/070	67834	84.95%	12017	15.05%	79851
2070/071	67381	84.03%	12806	15.97%	80187
2071/072	67226	82.33%	14424	17.67%	81650
2072/073	67231	80.76%	16014	19.24%	83245
2073/074	67682	77.85%	19260	22.15%	86942
2074/075	68518	76.40%	21169	23.60%	89687
2075/076	65419	74.06%	22906	25.94%	88325

(Source: Ministry of General Administration cite by Bhul B, 2020)

Table 13
Comparison of Post Advertisement Portion After 12 Years of PSC

S.N.	Particulars	2008		Percent	2020		Percent
		Adv. No.	Post No.		Adv. No.	Post No.	
1.	Open Competition (x)	396	2228	70.60%	157	1436	55.15%
2.	Reservation Competition						
	a) Women	189	366	11.60%	95	396	33.90%
	b) Adivasi/Janajati	118	245	7.76%	71	310	26.54%
	c) Madhesi	88	183	5.80%	64	253	21.66%
	d) Dalit	74	84	2.66%	46	104	8.90%
	e) Disables	31	33	1.05%	32	62	5.31%
	f) Remote Area	16	17	0.54%	26	43	3.68%
	Reservation Total(y)	516	928	29.40%	334	1168	44.85%
	Grand Total (x+y)	912	3156	100%	491	2604	100%

(Source: Public Service Commission, 2008 and 2020 Reports)

After the second amendment of Civil Service Act, 2049 made in 2064, on the basis of the Interim constitution 2063, the percentage of open competition and reserved competition was very discriminated with 70.60 percent for open competition and 29.30 percent for reserved competition in 2064/065 but t after 12 years, the policy execution is with 55.97 percent for open competition and 44.03 percent for reserved competition with different categories such as women, Janajati, Madhesi, Dalit, disable and remote area. This is how the today's civil service is becoming somehow inclusive and representative with numerical representation of marginalized peoples in Nepal.

The tabulated findings described here are provocative but are not clearly definitive. These statistics cannot give a convincing representation of the role of representative bureaucracy in policy enactment, or even the definite effects of representative bureaucracy on service delivery procedures, but we can acquire an idea of how these features improved after the application of the reservation system. Resulting the reservation policy, women's entry has improved from 8 percent in 2008 to 26 percent in 2020 in the civil service of Nepal whereas other minority peoples

are nominally representing but still they are out of coverage of reservation system because of their very weak socio-economic position in Nepal. Since 2007, among the various service sectors, the representation of women in health and miscellaneous service sector is more than 40 percent but in other sectors it is less around 20 percent in 2020. Above data reflects the increasing attention and attraction of women in civil service in the first and second class (Gazetted) level and rest of the group are still struggling for. From this, we can advocate that further capacity development and empowerment program and projects by eradicating such limited burden is required to make women and other deprived people more competitive and dedicated towards the civil service. This reservation policy executed for mainstreaming, attracting and empowering the marginalized gender, caste, ethnicity and region has been resulting the affirmative impacts in Nepal. The outcomes are consistent with the theoretical notion that representation, even in a policy area, is highly conducive to the targeted groups. We can realize positive relationships which lend overall support to the theory of representative bureaucracy. Preferably and theoretically, more representativeness would be supposed to have an optimistic result on policy performance and service delivery. If different groups are properly represented, then they will accept due integrity and share in policy provision and its implementation in civil service of Nepal. However, the relationship between workforce diversity and administrative performance is more contingent upon considered culture in the civil service.

Conclusion

This article advocates that even though the history had diverse influence on the running system of the Nepalese civil service system, the changes and adaptations should be made according to new challenges and environments in the governance. The publicity around the concept of representative bureaucracy probably contributes to increased trust in the civil service of Nepal, but such increased trust may not last long if the it fails to respond to people's needs (Jamil at all, 2020). Today's reservation system has been able to give some positive impacts in terms of increasing representation of marginalized groups but has created some controversies and confusions as well. This study found that reservation policy implemented has been ensuring the increment of women and other disadvantaged people's representation in civil service of Nepal. In fact, very rare women, Janajati, Madhesi, Dalit and Disable people have been able to enter the service without reserved quotas. If reservation is not categorized properly as a tool of inclusion, it may continue to be under the domination of a limited elite group even within the excluded groups. Moreover, ultimate objective of this policy is capability enhancement (Sen, 2000), so more considerations and tools to recover are needed in building meaningful representation in Nepal. Representative bureaucracy is a norm in modern democracies that lead to responsive bureaucracy towards deliberative one. In a modern democracy, people expect to see people who look like them as officials in government agencies. When the facts have shown that gender, ethnicity and caste preference in recruitment and promotion in the Nepalese civil service has compromised the capacity and representativeness, probably it's time to think of a way to rectify the severely ethnic-imbalance civil service who are still in isolation and out of representation.

Nepal is a country made up of unlimited diversity in the society and geography. Increasing the representativeness of Nepalese civil service is not only ensuring harmony to all social groups, but it would also help to enhance bureaucratic capacity, legitimacy and acceptance of public policies in the diverse society. However, the current provisions should be taken as a beginning for the long road of inclusiveness which is yet to be executed to ensure gender, caste, disable and

ethnicity equity across different sectors in Nepal, not only in civil service. Well, this article recommends active representation execution with avoiding problems like corruption, favoritism, nepotism and make effort with devotion for nation for inclusion friendly and responsive bureaucracy. The productivity, efficiency and responsibility of the civil servants are rewarded with integrity idol platform since 2012 in Nepal as like in Liberia, Mali, Nigeria and Pakistan for making governance work for all people. The condition of representative bureaucracy in Nepal is being conducive with their participation but people against the reservation are debating for merit and critical situation can be the obstacle to achieve the constitutional objective and fundamental rights. The political elites must promise to refocus on bureaucratic representation in the central agreement through effective tools of social inclusion, devotion, service delivery and its supervision and regulation in the paradigm of feudal to representative bureaucracy in Nepal.

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