

**The Federal Parliament of Nepal:
An Examination of Inclusive Representation,
2022**

- Sabita Kumari Mallik *

Abstract

Nepal is a country of varied and fair depiction of people from all backgrounds, makes the country multicultural, multilingual, multiethnic, multireligious, and diverse in terms of geography. Inequality in Nepal is still rife due to caste, ethnicity, religion, language, class, gender, and region, despite previous attempts at democratization and addressing issues of exclusion. The study is based on pragmatist philosophy. Multicultural and representative theories are appropriate for this study. Consequently, the study is ideally viewed as having significantly aided the federal parliament in the process of formulating policy. The representation percentage shows with the exception of Khas Arya, is significantly less than the quota assigned to these groups, despite the fact that the PR system has yielded positive results. Legislation pertaining to inclusive representation by the relevant authority needs to be changed in order to guarantee that the inclusive standards and values are fairly promoted and upheld.

Key Words: Constitution, exclusion, federal parliament, inclusive representation, multicultural society.

Background

Nepal is a land locked nation located in the northern region of South Asia. It has a total area of 147,516 sq. km. and a population of 29,164,578, with 14,253,551 men and 14,911,027 women, according to the census conducted in 2021. Many Asian countries have unique customs, cultures, languages, racial and religious groups, and views on tolerance as Nepal is also one of them. It was struggling with the extreme level of inequalities among the diverse groups like the other countries lying in south Asia. The inequality between the groups and the regions were high and these diversities were overlapping on each other. There were 142 caste/ethnic groups listed in the census of 2021; 125 of these were the same as in the census of 2011, and the remaining 17 were newly discovered and added. There are 124 mother tongues; 111 of these were listed in the 2011 census, and 13 were discovered in the 2021 census. Ten religious groups are practiced in Nepal, and the 12 foreign languages listed in the 2011 census have been combined into other languages (NPHC National Report, 2021).

The constitution of 1990 recognized Nepal as: "a multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual, democratic, independent, indivisible, sovereign, Hindu and Constitutional Monarchical Kingdom" and "the Nepalese people irrespective of religion, race, caste or tribe, collectively constitute the nation" (Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990). Nepal was a Hindu Kingdom, and Nepalese language continued to be the only official language. The caste, ethnicity, religion, language, class, gender and region based inequality is practiced in Nepal even after 8 years of promulgation of the constitution. The study represents multicultural and inclusive representation theories which stress the value of accurately and respectfully portraying marginalized communities in order to promote understanding, empathy, and empowerment.

In culturally and ethnically diverse Nepal, previous attempts at democratization have resulted in elite-led processes, continuing exclusion and marginalization, serving the purpose of affirming the position of the elite rather than increasing popular participation. The 1990 Constitution was unable to address Nepal's ethnic, indigenous, linguistic, and religious diversity or find a solution to these persistent issues. Unquestionably progressive, the Interim Constitution acknowledged Nepal as a multilingual, multiethnic, multicultural, and multireligious state and demanded that marginalized groups that had been historically excluded, such as women, Janajati, Dalits, Madhesi, and others, be

represented. Nepal was also proclaimed to be a republican, democratic, federal, and secular nation. (Adhikari et al., 2022).

Even after the constitution was enacted eight years ago, caste, ethnicity, religion, language, class, gender, and region-based inequality are still prevalent in Nepal. Past attempts at democratization in Nepal, a country with a diverse population in terms of culture and ethnicity, have led to elite-led processes that perpetuate exclusion and marginalization and serve to reinforce the status quo rather than increase popular participation. Nepal witnessed series of political changes like absolute monarchy, autocracy, Rana regime (oligarchy), and absolute monarchy (Panchayat regime) to democracy (Loktantra). The loktantra restored after the People's Mass Movement II (2006) which paved the way of proportional representation in every sector of Nepali politics, administration, education etc. All people are to be equal citizens, irrespective of ethnicity, caste, religion or community belongings. The legislative parliament is responsible for promoting sustainable peace, good governance, and development. To this end, inclusive representation is essential and is seen to have a positive, long-lasting impact on Nepalese society.

Nepal is a multicultural, multilingual, multiethnic, and multireligious nation, according to the 2015 constitution. Numerous groups, including women, Madhesi, indigenous people, Dalits (the lower caste), Janajati, and many more, were excluded from the mainstream of politics. Although inclusivity has been introduced in Nepal, there are numerous issues with its application. The idea or behavior known as inclusiveness ensures that every person can take part in all national affairs.

It is the process of integrating members of marginalized, impoverished, and backward communities into the mainstream of national affairs. It is imperative that all of these groups be represented in the socioeconomic and political spheres. The goal of this research is to identify a path towards inclusion in the political sphere that would satisfy all marginalized groups of people.

Statement of the Problem

In order to address Nepal's inequality, both the Interim Constitution and the Constituent Assembly included inclusive provisions. These included the Constituent Assembly's constitution drafting process guaranteeing women, minorities, and dalits proportionate representation in state institutions. The goal of the 2007 interim constitution was to restructure the state of Nepal into an

Mallik, Sabita Kumari, 2024

inclusive federal democratic republic. In many political sectors, including political institutions, the current constitution (2015) fails to incorporate constitutional provisions, despite its apparent attempt to address inclusionary agendas. Research on this topic appears to be necessary to ensure that there must be proper inclusive representation in the parliament according to the constitution promulgated in 2015 for better policy making.

Research Questions

How does the composition of parliament in 2022 reflect inclusivity across various demographic categories such as gender, caste and ethnicity?

Objective of the Study

In order to provide inclusive representation in the federal parliament, the researcher attempts to address how Nepal's social diversity is accommodated under the current constitution during elections using either First Past the Post (FPTP) or Proportional Representation (PR).

The specific objective of the study is:

- To examine the inclusive representation in the parliament in 2022.

Delimitation of the study

The research's limitations are readily apparent. This study only focuses on inclusion of gender, caste and ethnicity in the parliament. After the 2022 parliamentary election, inclusive representation is taken into consideration. As Nepal transitioned to a federal system, the study's main focus is on inclusive representation of gender, caste and ethnicity in general election of House of Representatives in 2022.

Literature Review

According to Takis Fotopoulos democracy and power concentration are irreconcilable. "Inclusive democracy is a new conception of democracy, which, using as a starting point the classical definition of it, expresses democracy in terms of direct political democracy, economic democracy (beyond the confines of the market economy and state planning), as well as democracy in the social realm and ecological democracy" (Fotopoulos, 2001). Three ideal forms of popular mass political inclusion are distinguished by Mouzelis (1998). The term "integrative mode" describes the relatively equitable integration of individuals

into politics, such as in the case of independent, horizontally structured interest groups.

One example of a new idea that emerged quickly in the west over time is multiculturalism, which evolved into western theories whose central tenet is the protection of minorities' rights. It later affects the Asian countries; however, this model is not appropriate for those countries because of their unique historical, cultural, ethnic, religious, demographic, and geographic differences. Numerous Asian countries have unique customs, cultures, languages, racial and religious groups, and perspectives on tolerance as unity in diversity.

Kymlicka's multiculturalism is predicated on the idea that a state has distinct cultural characteristics. Some of the groups may be the majority and some may be the minority in those differences. In that case, we might envision a shared area with several small settlements. According to Kymlicka (1995), the western countries are experiencing multicultural issues as language rights, regional autonomy, political representation, education curriculum, land claims, immigration and naturalization policy, even national symbols, such as the choice of national anthem or public holidays which are of important and potentially divisive questions at present same as the eastern society.

If we see over time in Nepal, monarchs established the Varnas and the Castes. Based on their occupations, King Jayasthiti Malla classified the Newars into 64 castes and 4 varnas. King Prithivi Narayan Shah referred to the modern Nepal as the common garden of people from 36 castes and 4 varnas (Aahuti, 2014. p. 79). The relationship between caste groups has been categorized into upper, middle, and lower level categories in various literatures. This means that people who wear janai, such as Brahmins, Chhetris, and Thakuries, are regarded as members of the upper caste. The caste groups classified as dalits belong to the lower caste categories and are known as untouchables (Gurung, 2006).

Bhattachan (2003) claims that the primary cause of social, cultural, and political discrimination was established in the past and persists today, independent of political systems, in the form of Bahunbad (Brahmanism) ideology, policy, and practice. According to him 'Bahunbad is an ideology, policy, and practice that promotes the dominance of one caste (Bahun-Chhetri), one religion (Hinduism), one language (Khasa-Nepali), one culture (Hinduism), one region (the Kathmandu Valley), and one gender (male)'.

In research on the constitution-writing process and state institutions generally, the topic of political representation of marginalized groups has received a lot of attention (Lawoti 2007c, 2012; Slavu 2012). These studies focus primarily on the technical aspects of electoral systems and representation, but they don't go into further detail about how political actors support inclusionary or exclusionary policies. Social policy causes inequality rather than being the product of intelligence and human nature,

According to research on the subject, the representation of the elite Brahmin and Chhetries has increased while that of the hill ethnic groups, the Madhesi and Janjatis, has decreased in the House of Representatives elections held in 1994, 1996, and 1999, respectively. This has caused these groups to become dissatisfied. When the Maoists launched the insurgency in 1996, they brought up issues of caste, ethnicity, gender, religion, and language. They also demanded inclusive representation in all spheres of society as well as ethnic and regional autonomy (Pyakurel & Adhikari, 2013).

Methodology

Analyzing the inclusive representation in the 2022 Nepalese Parliament would require taking a methodical approach that involves gathering information, analyzing it, and coming to relevant conclusions. This study is well suited for pragmatist philosophy and liberal, multicultural, democratic, representative theories, and adopts a descriptive approach. Mostly the research used research data based on mixed method (Qualitative and Quantitative both) using primary and secondary sources. It initially examined the representation of underrepresented groups in Parliament, focusing on gender, ethnicity, caste, religion, and regional diversity. It also gathers relevant data from official sources, such as parliamentary papers, demographic research, and the Election Commission of Nepal.

Data on the demographics of the election results, inclusion status, and representation in both houses are included in this study. The Election Commission and other reliable sources provide quantitative data that is utilized to analyze the representation of different groups in the legislature, including the number of female members and the distribution of seats among different castes and ethnic groups. On the basis of quantitative data and reviewed literature of the secondary sources like books, magazines, newspapers, articles, journals and websites and other data is collected from different authentic sources (Central

Bureau of Statistics, Records of HoR and Election Commission Reports), the qualitative perspectives are analyzed and examined the data for an inclusive patterns that shed light on the situation of inclusive representation in the legislature.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Political Representation in Nepal

Nepal saw a number of political transitions, including the transition from autocracy (the Rana regime) to democracy (Prajatantra) and from aristocracy (the Panchayat regime) to democracy (Loktantra). Following the Mass Movement II, which opened the door for proportional representation in all spheres of the government of Nepal, the loktantra was reinstated. All citizens were to be treated equally, regardless of their caste, ethnicity, religion, or place in a community.

Ethnicity and regionalism became more prevalent after 1990. Newari language in the Kathmandu municipality and Maithali in Saptari District Development Committee was experimented with making their mother tongue as the official language in accordance with the constitutional provision of the "right to protect and promote own language and culture." However, the Supreme Court overturned this ruling. The 2007 Interim Constitution of Nepal was the country's first to provide minority groups and marginalized communities with special rights and protection (Constituent Assembly Secretariat, 2010. p. 18–19). When the Constituent Assembly was writing the new constitution, this was another contentious issue. For the elections to the Constituent Assemblies, a proportional election system was used to provide inclusion for these excluded groups.

Constitutional Provisions of Legislative Parliament

The constitution of Nepal 2015 explains in Part-8 Federal Legislature. Article 83; Federal Legislature:

There shall be a Federal Legislature consisting of two Houses to be known as the *House of Representatives and the National Assembly, which shall be called as the Federal Parliament. Article 84; Composition of House of Representatives: (1) The House of Representatives shall consist of a total of two hundred and seventy five members, as follows: (a) One hundred and sixty five members to be elected through the first past the post electoral system, with one being elected from each election constituency of one hundred and sixty five election*

constituencies delimited in the country on the basis of geography and population, (b) One hundred and ten members to be elected through the proportional electoral system where voters vote for political parties, with the whole country being considered as a single election constituency. (2) The Federal law shall provide that, in fielding candidacy by political parties for the election to the House of Representatives under the proportional electoral system, representation shall be ensured on the basis of a closed list also from women, Dalit, indigenous peoples, Khas Arya, Madhesi, Tharu, Muslims and backward regions, on the basis of population. In so fielding candidacy, regard shall also be had to geography and territorial balance. Explanation: For the purposes of this clause, "Khas Arya" means Kshetri, Brahmin, Thakuri, Sanyasi (Dashnami) community Part 8 (Article 84, Sub – Article 2); Formation of the Representative Assembly: Political parties have to give proper consideration upon the principles of inclusiveness while selecting their candidates... Part 8 (Article 86); Formation of Federal Parliament and National Assembly:Of the total number of candidates elected from each party in the Federal Parliament, at least one – third must be women,Part 8 (Article 86); Sub-Article (2a) fifty six elected members consisting of at least three women, one Dalit and one from persons with disabilities or minorities, Sub Article (2b) three members consisting of at least one woman nominated by the President on the recommendation of the Government of Nepal..... Part 8 (Article 87); Qualifications of Members (Constitution of Nepal, 2015).

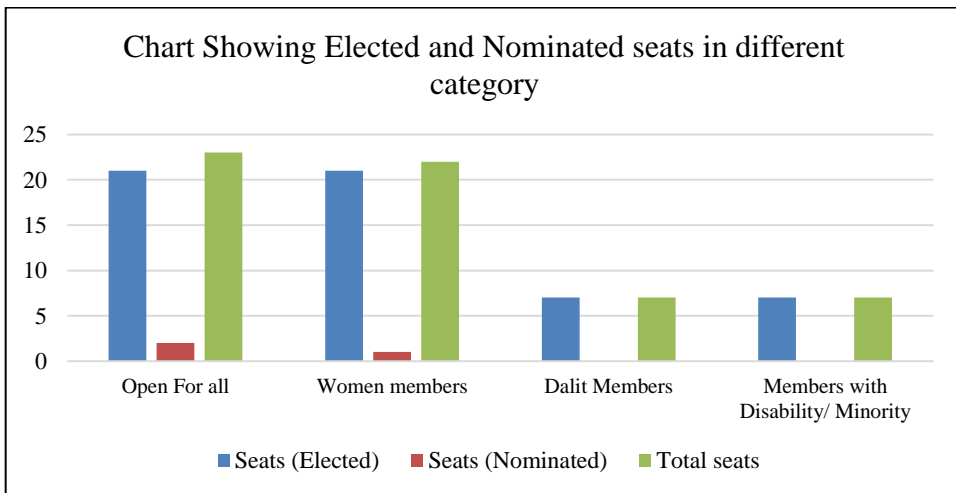
Inclusiveness in National Assembly

The National Assembly is intended to be a permanent legislative body under the constitution. Through the inclusion of marginalized and endangered communities in national governance, the National Assembly plays a crucial role in the establishment and advancement of an inclusive and democratic governance system. It consists of fifty-nine members in total, of which fifty-six members are elected from seven provinces, eight members from each province. Among the eight members; one Dalit, three women, and one representative with a disability or member of a minority group must be included from each province. They are elected through Electoral College which consists of members of the Provincial Assembly, chairpersons and vice-chairpersons of the Rural Municipalities, and mayors and deputy-mayors of the Municipalities. The federal law provides varying weights to the votes of provincial Assembly members,

Mayors, Deputy Mayors, Chair persons and Deputy Chair persons in the Electoral College. On the recommendation of the Nepalese government, the President nominates three members, at least one of whom must be a woman. Members of the National Assembly will serve six-year terms in office. Every two years, the terms of office of one-third of the National Assembly's members expire.

Figure. 1

Relation between Elected and Nominated seats in different category



Source: Constitution of Nepal (2015)

According to the constitution, of the 59 seats in the National Assembly, 21 are set aside for women, seven for Dalit individuals, and seven for candidates from other minority group or people with disabilities. One woman must be one of the three members the president has nominated. Any candidate is welcome to run for the remaining 21 seats.

Inclusiveness in House of Representatives

The composition of the House of Representatives consists of two hundred and seventy-five in total in which one hundred and sixty-five members will be elected using the first past the post electoral system. One member is elected from each of the one hundred and sixty-five election constituencies those are delimited in Nepal according to population, geographic convenience, and

specificity. A total of 110 members are chosen through the proportional electoral system, in which voters cast votes for political parties, considering the entire nation as a single electoral constituency. The federal law stipulates that representation from women, Dalits, indigenous nationalities (Aadibasi Janajati), Khas Arya, Madhesi, Tharu, Muslims, and backward regions along with persons with disability or from minority group must be guaranteed on the basis of a closed list when political parties file their candidacies for the House of Representatives election under the proportional electoral system.

The clause that has been included in Nepal's laws and constitution over time to account for the accommodation to the country's diversity. The Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007 additionally protected equality arguing that nothing shall be deemed to prevent the making of special provisions by law for the protection, empowerment, or advancement of women, Dalits, ethnic nationalities (Adibasi-janajati), Madhesi, farmers, laborers, or members of a class which is economically, socially, or culturally backward or children, the elderly, disabled, or those who are physically or mentally incapacitated, according to Sub article 3 of Article 13. This and other comparable constitutional provisions also made it possible to establish the reservation system in Nepal's civil service. Eventually, the second amendment of the Civil Service Act of 1991 introduced a provision mandating that 45 percent of employees in open recruitment be selected on an inclusive basis, aiming to make the civil service more representative. According to Dhakal's case study, of these, 33% are set aside for women, 27% for Adibasi-janajatis (Ethnic Nationalities), 22% for Madhesi (terai people), 9% for Dalits, 5% for the disabled, and the remaining 4% for backward areas. However, the share of these was later reduced to include Khas Arya's reservation.

Table. 1

Representation of different caste/ ethnic groups in the parliament from different caste/ ethnicity

Caste/ Ethnicity	FPTP		Total (%)	PR		Total (%)	Total		Total (%)
	Men	Women		Men	Women		Men	Women	
Khas Arya	91	4	95 (57.58)	8	27	35 (31.82)	99	31	130 (47.27)

Caste/ Ethnicity	FPTP		Total (%)	PR		Total (%)	Total		Total (%)
	Men	Women		Men	Women		Men	Women	
Indigenous People	33	2	35 (21.21)	5	26	31 (28.18)	38	28	66 (24.00)
Madhesi	25	2	27 (16.36)	4	13	17 (15.45)	29	15	44 (16.00)
Dalit	1		1 (0.61)	7	8	15 (13.64)	8	8	16 (5.82)
Tharu	6	1	7 (4.24)	1	5	6 (5.45)	7	6	13 (4.73)
Muslim				3	3	6 (5.45)	3	3	6 (2.18)
Total	156	9		28	82		184	91	275
Percentage	94.55	5.45	165 (100.00)	25.45	74.55	110 (100.00)	66.91	33.09	100

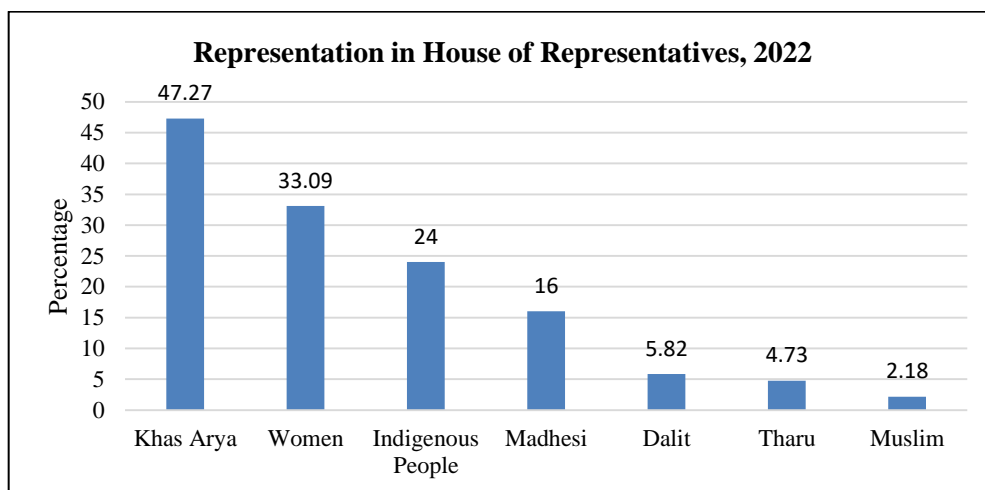
Source: Election Commission and Dignity Initiative, 2022.

The above mentioned table provides a clear representation of the outcome of the HoR election in 2022 based on inclusion. Khas Arya holds 47.27% of the total seats in the House of Representatives according to the election results of 2022, in which they received 57.58% seats in FPTP and 31.82% through PR. The indigenous community received a total of 24 % of seats with 21.21% in FPTP and 28.18% through PR, while the Madhesi community received 16% of total seats with 16.36% in FPTP and 15.45% through PR. Dalit community gained 5.82% of total seats in the House of Representatives with 0.61% in FPTP and 13.64% through PR. In a similar vein, Tharu received 4.73% of the total with 4.24% in FPTP and 5.45% through PR while Muslims received 2.18% of the total, with no one in FPTP and 5.45% through PR. In terms of gender, there are 91 women serving in the House of Representatives which is 33.09% of the total seats, 9 of whom were chosen by FPTP and 82 by PR. They are from Khas Arya 31, of which 4 are from FPTP and 27 are from PR, among 28 indigenous/Janajati, 2 are through FPTP and 26 are from PR, total 15 Madhesi female seats gained, of which 2 are from FPTP and 13 are through PR. Similarly, among 8 Dalit seats, no one is elected through FPTP, all 8 are from PR.

Regarding Tharu female quota, out of total 6 seats gained in which 1 through FPTP and 5 from PR system, and 3 Muslim women are representing, of which none of them are from FPTP all of them gained the seats in PR. Although the table shows that the PR system has yielded positive results, it is evident that the public is not satisfied as the representation percentage is significantly lower than the quota assigned to these groups with the exception of Khas Arya and women's groups.

Figure. 2

Electoral Result of representation of different gender, caste/ethnicity for year 2022



Source: Election Commission of Nepal

This information seems to show the demographic distribution of different identity groups in federal parliament in 2022. It displays the proportions of several groups, including Muslims, Khas Arya, women, indigenous people, Madhesi, Dalit, and Tharu. The percentages indicate the respective shares of these groups in the House of Representatives overall in 2022. With 47.27% of the seats to Khas Arya and 33.09% of women, Khas Arya appears to be the largest group. Indigenous people make up 24% of the group and are likely of significant cultural and historical significance in the given context. In a similar vein, the Madhesi, who make up 16% of the population, appear to be a sizeable minority group even though their number is higher. Dalits hold 5.82% of the seats, which is a considerable increase from previous elections. In the House of

Representatives, Tharu people hold 4.73% of the seats while the Muslim community makes up 2.18% of the members.

Results and discussion

Nepal's democratic practices faced numerous obstacles in their quest for a society free from discrimination and with equal rights to social, cultural, political, and economic opportunities. The Maoist insurgency was sparked by the disparities among people in the society, such as caste-based discrimination and regional injustices. In order to determine how diverse and representative the Nepali parliament is of the people living in the country, an analysis of the inclusive representation in the Nepalese parliament in 2022 would include examining a number of variables, including gender, ethnicity, caste, religion, and geographic representation

The representation of women in public roles, such as that of Chhetri and Brahman women, has also been minimal. The percentage of women in the HOR, which was formed in 1991, 1994, and 1999, never went above 6%. There were no women at all in some of the cabinets. In the gazetted civil service and judiciary in 1997, the proportion of women was 5% and 4%, respectively. The government of Nepal recognized 59 ethnic groups as indigenous, and a number of other ethnic groups, making up a sizable portion of the country's population, felt that their demands were not met by the constitution and were dissatisfied with how inclusion in all sectors had been implemented. The case of the Dalit community provides a clearer understanding of the extreme degree of exclusion that exists in Nepal. During the democratic political regime that lasted from 1990 to 2002, only one Dalit was elected to the House of Representatives and no Dalit was appointed to the cabinet.

The data illustrates the representation of different genders and caste/ethnic groups in Nepal's legislative bodies, which usually consist of the Parliament and other local or regional governing bodies. It shows the distribution of seats under two distinct voting processes: FPTP, which is based on individual constituencies, and PR, which seeks to achieve proportional representation of various groups. Analyzing the data will help assess the fair representation of different genders and castes/ethnic groups, as well as the degree of inclusivity of Nepal's political system. Given that there are many different cultures and ethnic groups in Nepal, it is important to make sure that this diversity is reflected in political representation. Several studies on popular participation and political inclusion in

Mallik, Sabita Kumari, 2024

Nepal relate to the recent decades of 'ethnicization' of politics and identity movements.

The constitution of Nepal guarantees every citizen the right to live with full dignity. Everyone is equal before the law, everyone will have equal protection under the law, and when general laws are applied, no one will face discrimination, it has been clearly declared. On the other hand, it has also been observed that under federal law, special provisions may be made for the protection, development, and empowerment of people who are socially and culturally disadvantaged. These people may include women, Dalits, indigenous and ethnic groups, Madheshis, Muslims, Tharus, oppressed classes, backward communities, minorities, marginalized groups, youth, children, senior citizens, people with disabilities, pregnant women, and helpless individuals.

Inclusionary policies are appropriate for Nepalese society and have produced excellent results in the fields of politics, administration, and education. However, they shouldn't be implemented indefinitely as this could lead to new discriminatory situations and the exploitation of marginalized groups. To ensure that the standards and values of inclusion are appropriately upheld and equitably promoted, changes to the legislation pertaining to inclusive representation by the relevant authority are necessary. All things considered, a thorough examination of inclusive representation in the Nepalese Parliament in 2022 would shed light on the nation's democratic and governance conditions and suggest tactics for advancing greater equality and inclusivity in political representation. Therefore, in the process of formulating policy, the study is ideally seen as having made a substantial contribution to the federal parliament.

Conclusion

The data points to a varied demographic makeup, with representation from a range of gender, religious, and ethnic backgrounds. The majority is made up of Khas Arya, with smaller percentages coming from Muslim, Tharu, and women, as well as Madhesi and indigenous people. Intersectionality within the population is highlighted by the apparent overlap between gender and other identity markers like ethnicity and caste. The information could guide programs and policies meant to meet the needs and advance the representation of various identity groups in the community or organization. The data draws attention to differences in representation for different caste/ethnic groups under various

electoral systems. PR typically offers more equitable representation, which is especially advantageous for underrepresented groups like women and Dalits. FPTP frequently benefits powerful groups like Khas Arya, which may result in underrepresentation of minority communities.

Policies that promote inclusivity are suitable for Nepalese society and have yielded remarkable outcomes in the domains of governance, administration, and academic sector. The combined representation provides a thorough understanding of the various groups' overall political inclusion, with PR frequently offsetting the differences seen in FPTP. In order to provide historically marginalized communities, who were denied representation in state structures, with proportional representation, the 2015 Constitution instituted a mixed electoral system. According to the research study, there has been an increase in the percentage of diverse groups represented inclusively, but the numbers still do not even come close to matching the population size.

Contribution of the study

Policy implications are considered, including the potential impact of parliamentary composition on policy. It is more likely that laws advancing social justice and equality will be passed by a diverse and inclusive parliament, which will also address the concerns and demands of all societal groups. Therefore, it is hoped that the study will be seen as having made a substantial contribution to the federal parliament's policy-making process. Laws and policies pertaining to proportional representation of these various social groups in FPTP elections ought to be made by the parliament.

References

Adhikari, B. Thapa, D. Sijapati, B. & Thapa, S. & Chaudhary, P. (2022). *From Exclusion to inclusion: Crafting a New Legal Regime in Nepal*. Himal Books for Social Science Baha.

Aahuti. (2014). *Varna system and Class struggle in Nepal*. SAMATA Foundation. Andrea.

Bhattachan, K. B. (2003). *Expected Model & Process of Inclusive Democracy in Nepal*. [Paper presented in International seminar]. Organized by Social Science Baha in Kathmandu.

Constituent Assembly Secretariat Report. (2010).

Mallik, Sabita Kumari, 2024

Dhakal, D. (n.d.). *Case Study – Analysing Reservation policies in Civil Service of Nepal*. (<http://www.pp.tokyo.ac.jp>)

Fotopoulos, T. (1997). *Towards an inclusive democracy: the crisis of the growth economy and the need for a new liberatory project*. Biddies Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn. London.

Gurung, H. (2006). *From Exclusion to Inclusion: Socio-political agenda for Nepal*. Social Exclusion Research Fund. SNV Nepal.

Hachhethu, K. (2007a). *Madhesi Nationalism and Restructuring the Nepali State*. [Paper Constitutionalism and Diversity in Nepal]. Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, 22---24 August 2007.

Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lawoti, M. (2007c). Political Exclusion and the Lack of Democratisation: Cross-National Evaluation of Nepali Institutions using a Majoritarian-Consensus Framework. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*. 45 (1): 57-77. doi: 10.1080/14662040601135755.

National Population and Housing Census National Report. (2021).

Pyakurel, U. P. & Adhikari, I. (2013). *State of Conflict and Democratic Movement of Nepal*.

The constitution of the kingdom of Nepal. (1990). Nepal Law Commission.

The Constitution of Nepal. (2015). Nepal Law Commission.