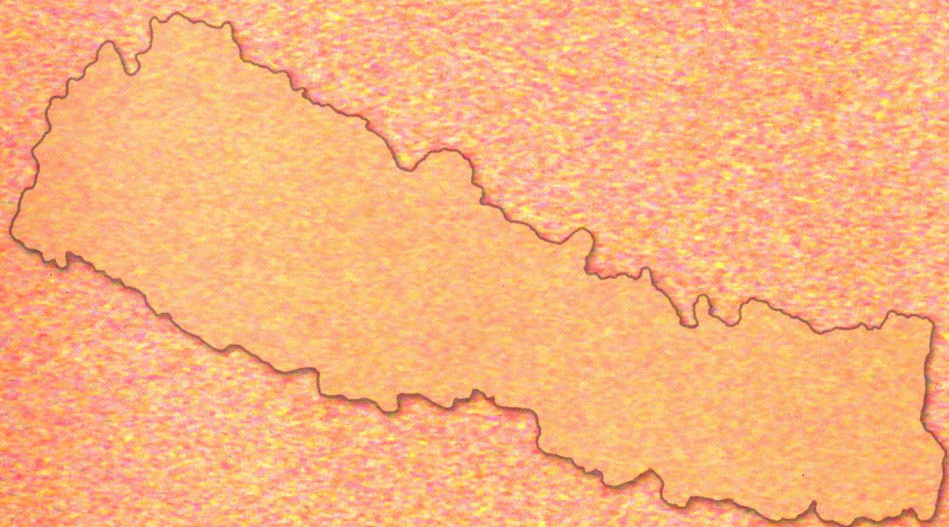


Social Demography of Nepal

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Harka Gurung

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Harka Gurung



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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This monograph follows up and builds on Dr Harka Gurung's *Ethnic Demography of Nepal* (1996) and *Nepal: Social Demography and Expressions* (1998), both widely cited references that have proved to be of immense help to people working in diverse fields.

The two censuses held since the 1990 restoration of democracy in Nepal have revealed a very different social picture of the country than was expounded during the earlier period of cultural and social homogenisation actively pursued by the state. Many caste and ethnic groups previously not enumerated have been allowed to claim their rightful place among the peoples of Nepal; near-extinct languages have been granted due recognition; and all religious groups have been properly documented.

There are still voices that doubt the authenticity and impartiality of the government census. But until empirical evidence to disprove the findings of these censuses can be produced, they will have to be taken as the basis to understand the social structure of our country, as Dr Gurung has done here.

Dr Gurung's analysis here is not limited to the 2001 census. He refers to earlier censuses to provide a comparative study of changes in Nepal's demography to provide information that should be invaluable to anyone seeking to comprehend the complexity that is Nepal.

I. INTRODUCTION

Population census-taking began in Nepal in 1911 and has since continued on a decennial basis. The population census of 2001 is, thus, the 10th in the series. Early census schedules did include the question on caste and ethnicity. It was item no. 6 in 1911; no. 7 in 1920 and 1930; no. 4 in 1941; and no. 2A in 1952/54. The 17-point manual of the 1911 census, for example, had one such entry:¹

—In form no. 1, Bahun should be entered by their sub-caste name; in form nos. 2 and 3 all Bahuns should be aggregated.

Another entry was as follows:

—In the schedule on bondsman (*kariya*), enter only the slave men and women, do not include servants and dependants.

Since the State was preoccupied with assessing available labour force, the census questionnaire included schedules on able-bodied and disabled, pensioners and retired, servants, bondsmen and slaves. The data on caste/ethnicity, however, were not processed or published due to the State's policy of cultural homogenisation.

The census of 1952/54 is considered more scientific and comprehensive. Since it came in the aftermath of the establishment of democracy in 1951, this census included questions on caste/ethnicity (no. 2A) as well as religion (no. 2B) and mother tongue (no. 7). But the census report published the data on religion and mother tongue but not on caste/ethnicity. Caste/ethnicity data became available for the first time in the 1991 census. There was virtually no data on the social composition of the Nepalese population prior to 1952/54. And until 1991, mother tongue data was the only basis for estimating the population of ethnic groups.

This paper is an attempt to describe the social composition of the Nepalese population. The main basis are the census data on caste/ethnicity, language and religion. These social data have also been analysed in terms

1. Survey Department, *Nepalko Janaganana*, 1957, pp. 12-15.

of temporal change. The baseline years are 1952/54 for language and religion and 1991 for caste/ethnicity. Thus, the time span for comparison of change for language and religion is about five decades and for caste and ethnicity only one decade. The main sources for comparative data are the author's book *Nepal: Social Demography and Expressions* (1998/2001) and the Central Bureau of Statistics' *Population Census 2001: National Report* (June 2002). This paper supercedes the author's earlier monograph *Janaganana-2001 Anusar Jatiye Tathyanka: Prarambhik Lekhajokha*² that was based on the provisional data.

2. Published by Dharmodaya Sabha , July 2002, In Nepali.

II. CASTE AND ETHNIC GROUPS

For the purpose of clarity, this paper defines caste as a social group within the Hindu caste system, and ethnic or nationality (Janajati) as a social group with its own mother tongue, native area and religious tradition. In other words, caste groups are vertically stratified by ritual status while ethnic groups are horizontally distributed in space. More caste and ethnic groups have been identified in the 2001 census than in 1991. The number of people whose caste/ethnicity could not be identified in the 1991 census was 813,471. Their number decreased to 231,641 in the 2001 census, i.e., by 71.5 per cent (Table 5). The 1991 census included statistics on 60 caste/ethnic groups. Of these, 31 were caste, 25 ethnic and 4 other groups (Table 1). The Churaute, Bengali, Muslim and Sikh are neither caste nor ethnic but social groups. While Bengali is a language group from the east tarai, Churaute (hill Muslim), Muslim and Sikh are religious groups. The number of caste/ethnic groups enumerated in the 2001 census reached 100 (Table 1). Of these, 52 are caste, 44 ethnic and 4 other groups. Of the 41 new caste/ethnic groups, 22 are caste groups from the tarai, nine are ethnic groups from the hill, and two are ethnic groups from the mountain. There was no change in the number of caste/ethnic groups among the hill castes, the inner tarai ethnics, and four 'others'. The Kushwaha caste (205,797) was listed in the 1991 census but was not reported in 2001. Of the 100 caste/ethnic groups, 58 are of tarai origin, 30 of hill, seven of inner tarai and five of mountain origin. Comparatively, there are more caste groups in the tarai and more ethnic groups in the hills (Figure 1).

Of the 100 caste/ethnic groups enumerated in the 2001 census, the Chhetri is the largest group, with a population of 3.5 million, and Kusunda the smallest, with only 164 people. Six caste/ethnic groups (the Chhetri, Bahun, Magar, Tharu, Tamang and Newar) have populations exceeding 1 million (Table 2). Twenty-five caste/ethnic groups have a population between 100,000 and 1,000,000; 17 groups between 50,000 and 100,000; a further 25 between 10,000 and 50,000; and 23 between 1,000 and 10,000. Four

Table 1: Number of caste/ethnic groups

Social group	1991	2001	Increase
<i>Ethnic</i>	25	44	19
Mountain	3	5	2
Hill	11	20	9
Inner Tarai	7	7	0
Tarai	4	12	8
<i>Caste</i>	31	52	21
Hill	9	9	0
Tarai	22	43	21
<i>Others</i>	4	4	0
Hill	1	1	0
Tarai	3	3	0
<i>Total</i>	60	100	40

Source: Annex A

ethnic groups—the Munda, Raute, Hyolmo and Kusunda—number less than 661. Among the 31 large groups exceeding a population of 100,000, 21 are caste, nine are ethnic and one is a religious group.

Table 2: Population cohort of caste/ethnic groups

Population cohort	Caste	Ethnic	Others	Total
1,000,000-3,593,496	2	4	0	6
100,000-1,000,000	19	5	1*	25
50,000-100,000	10	7	0	17
11,000-50,000	14	11	0	25
1000-10,000	7	13	3^	23
164-660	0	5	0	5
<i>Total</i>	52	44	4	100

* Muslim

^ Bengali, Churaute, Sikh

Of the 10 largest caste/ethnic groups that rank high in population size, seven are of hill origin and three of the tarai (Table 3). Of these, five are ethnic, four caste and one a religious (Muslim) group. Among the caste group, one is a Dalit (Kami). These ten groups constitute 68.5 per cent of the total population. The same ten caste/ethnic groups were 69.4 per cent in the 1991 census. There is a slight change in the order of frequency. The

Tamang are one place up from 6 to 5, while the Newar have gone down one place from 5 to 6. The Muslim are up two places from 9 to 7; the Kami down one place from 7 to 8; and the Yadav also one place down from 8 to 9. The order of the other five caste/ethnic groups—the Chhetri, Bahun, Magar, Tharu and Rai—remain the same in both censuses.

Table 3: Most numerous caste/ethnic groups

Group	1991		2001		Native area	Social group
	%	Rank	%	Rank		
Chhetri	16.1	1	15.8	1	Hill	Caste
Bahun	12.9	2	12.7	2	Hill	Caste
Magar	7.2	3	7.1	3	Hill	Ethnic
Tharu	6.5	4	6.8	4	Tarai	Ethnic
Tamang	5.5	6	5.6	5	Hill	Ethnic
Newar	5.6	5	5.6	6	Hill	Ethnic
Muslim	3.5	9	4.3	7	Tarai	Religious
Kami	5.2	7	3.9	8	Hill	Caste
Yadav	4.1	8	3.9	9	Tarai	Caste
Rai	2.8	10	2.8	10	Hill	Ethnic
<i>% of total population</i>	<i>69.4</i>		<i>68.5</i>			

The various caste/ethnic groups are associated with their traditional areas or places of origin. Although there has been much diffusion through internal migration, each social group can still be identified with their former native area. Thus, those from mountain zone are called Bhote or Himali (non-pejorative); from the hill zone, Parbate; from the inner tarai, Awaliya; and from the tarai, Madhesi. Population change by native area of caste/ethnic groups during the decade of 1991-2001 can be considered from two aspects. One is their total population as social groups in the two censuses. Another is the population of only those groups that were recorded in both censuses. The second measure is more realistic as it deals with comparable caste/ethnic groups.

Of the ethnic groups associated with the mountain zone, population increase among the comparable ones was 36.8 per cent (Table 4). With the addition of two new groups in the 2001 census, their population increase was 39.2 per cent (Annex A). In the case of hill origin groups, the number

of caste groups remained the same, while the population increase was 22.5 per cent. In contrast, nine more hill ethnics were recorded in 2001. Thus, the population increase of eleven comparable hill ethnics was 22.8 per cent and that of all hill ethnic groups, 26.4 per cent (Fig 2). The number of ethnic groups of inner tarai origin was seven in both censuses and their population increase was 21.9 per cent. In the case of caste/ethnic groups of tarai origin, the number of castes doubled and the ethnics rose from 4 to 8 (Table 4). The increase of the tarai ethnic population was 27.7 per cent for four comparable groups, and for the entire tarai ethnic population, including eight new ones, was 35.9 per cent. Among the tarai caste groups, population increase was only 7.7 per cent for the 22 comparable groups, but a high 42.7 per cent in total with the addition of 22 new ones. This was because a quarter of the total tarai caste population of 2001 belonged to the newly recorded castes. Four social groups (religious/linguistic) comparable

Table 4. Population increase by native area, 1991-2001

Native area	Number of groups	Population change	%
<i>A. Mountain (Himali)</i>	5		
Ethnic, comparable	3	50,304	36.8
Ethnic+additional	2	53,555	39.2
<i>B. Hill (Parbate)</i>	36		
Ethnic, comparable	11	1,090,588	22.8
Ethnic+additional	9	1,261,538	26.4
Caste, comparable	9	1,602,623	22.5
<i>B. Inner Tarai (Awaliya)</i>	7	45,048	21.9
<i>C. Tarai (Madhesi)</i>	56		
Ethnic, comparable	4	364,838	27.7
Ethnic+additional	8	478,830	35.9
Caste, comparable	21	238,257	7.7
Caste+additional	22	1,326,289	42.7
<i>D. Others (religious and linguistic)</i>			
Comparable	4	316,829	47.1
Origin unspecified		-403,170	-49.6

Source: Annex A.

in both censuses had a population increase of 47.1 per cent (Table 4). In terms of absolute numbers, caste groups recorded a higher population increase.

Population increase can also be considered from the type of social composition. This refers to the proportion of population according to caste, ethnic and other groups (Fig. 3). The total population of Nepal increased by 23.0 per cent during the 1991-2001 decade (Annex A). Those registering a decline in population were the Thakali, Lepcha and Raute among the ethnics and the Badi, Kami, tarai Brahman, Dhobi, Kanu, Kalwar, Kumhar, Rajbhar and Rajput among the castes, and the Sikh among the others (Annex A).

The total population of 44 ethnic groups increased by 28.5 per cent during 1991-2001 (Table 5). Population increase among these was highest for the mountain group in percentage terms and for the hill group in absolute number. The population increase of 52 caste groups was 26.2 per cent. It was a high 42.7 per cent for castes of tarai origin. Those in the religious or linguistic group recorded the highest population increase—47.1 per cent.

The social composition of the Nepalese population can be summarised in various ways. One is according to their geographic origin. Of the total population in 2001, nearly two thirds are of hill origin (Fig 4). The next large segment (27.4 per cent) is of tarai origin. The population of inner tarai and mountain origin constitute only 1.1 per cent and 0.8 per cent respectively. The remaining 5.3 per cent include unidentified others and four religious/linguistic groups.

The second measure of composition of population is according to the social structure. Thus, 58.6 per cent of the total population belongs to caste groups (Fig. 5), followed by ethnic groups with 36.4 per cent. The social groups of hill origin outnumber those of other elevation zones both in the ethnic and caste categories (Table 5).

The third measure of social composition is the division of the Nepalese population according to the Newari regional concept. Accordingly, 38.4 per cent of the total population is composed of the *Khain* (Khasa) of hill castes (Fig 6). Nearly one-third are the *Marsya* (Madhise) of the tarai and the inner tarai. The *Sain*, or hill ethnics, constitute over a fifth of the total population. The Newars, who devised this social *mandala* themselves are 5.5 per cent, while the remaining others are 2.2 per cent. Since the Newar

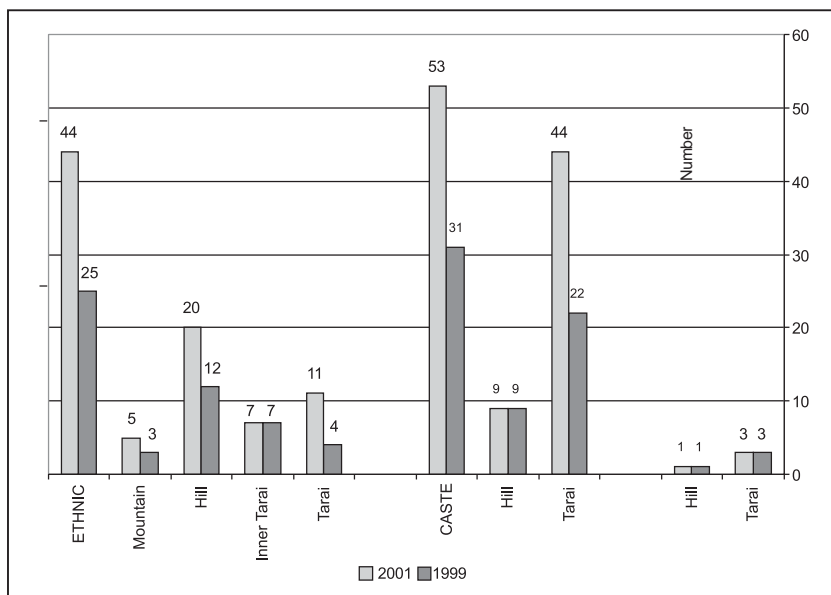
are now in the forefront of the linguistic movement as a Tibeto-Burman group, they can be conjoined with the *Sain*. Thus, the division of social groups are basically triangular: the *Khain* as the dominant hill castes, the *Marsya* as plains people, and the *Sain* as indigenous hill people.

Table 5: Population change by social group

Social group (no.)	1991		2001		Change	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I. <i>Ethnic</i> (44)	6,435,321	34.8	8,272,551	36.4	1,837,230	28.5
a. Mountain (5)	136,552	0.7	190,107	0.8	53,550	39.2
b. Hill (20)	4,776,992	25.8	6,038,530	26.6	1,261,538	26.4
c. Inner Tarai (7)	206,069	1.1	251,117	1.1	45,048	21.9
d. Tarai (12)	1,315,708	7.1	1,787,538	7.9	478,830	35.9
e. Ethnic, Unspecified			5,259	0.0		
II. <i>Caste</i> (52)	10,562,462	57.1	13,333,875	58.6	2,771,413	26.2
a. Hill (9)	7,126,170	38.6	8,728,793	38.4	1,602,623	22.5
b. Tarai (43)	3,105,292	16.8	4,431,681	19.5	1,326,389	42.7
c. Dalit, Unspecified			173,401	0.8		
III. <i>Religious</i> (1) + <i>Linguistic</i> (3)	672,034	3.6	988,863	4.3	316,829	47.1
IV. <i>Others</i>	813,471	4.4	231,641	1.0	-581,830	-71.5
<i>Total</i>	18,483,288	100.0	22,736,934	100	4,245,837	23.0

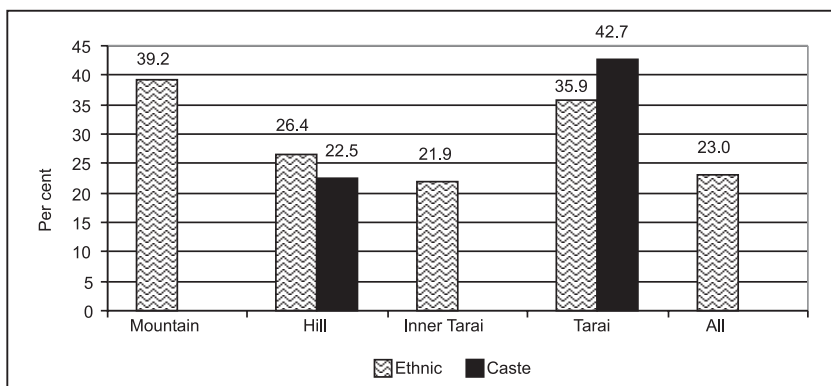
Source: Annex A

Fig. 1: Caste/ethnic groups



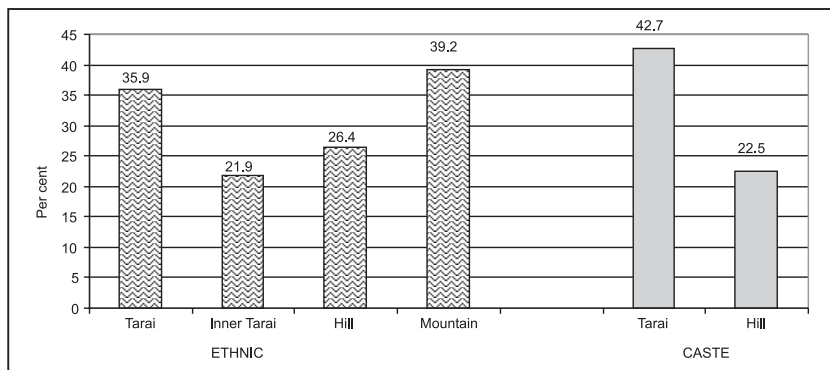
Source: Table 1

Fig. 2: Population increase by native area, 1991-2001



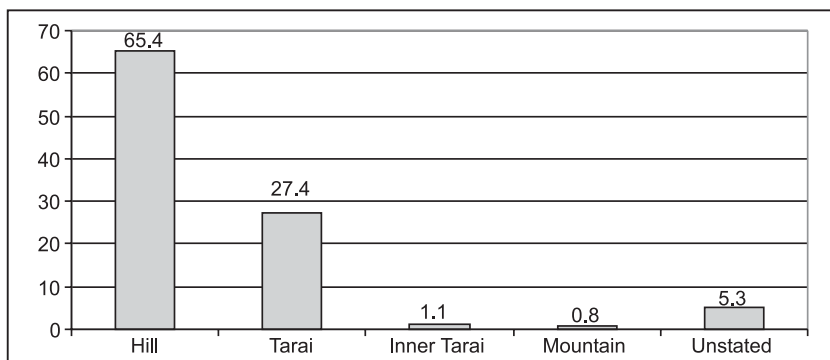
Source: Table 4

Fig. 3: Population increase by social group, 1991-2001



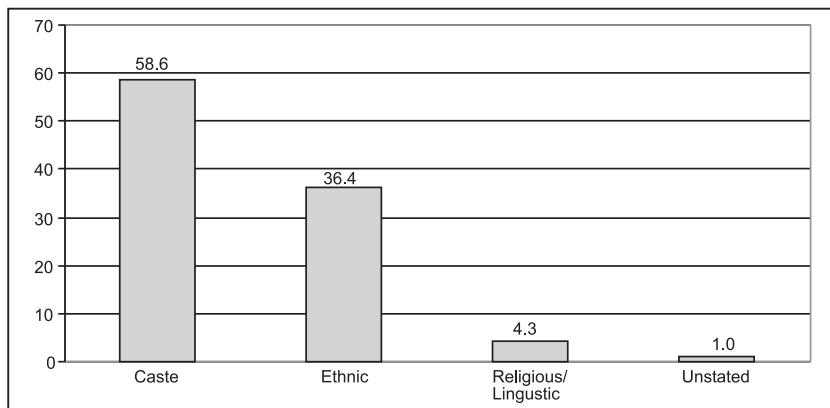
Source: Table 5

Fig. 4: Social composition by geographic origin, 2001



Source: Table 5

Fig. 5: Caste/ethnic composition, 2001



Source: Table 5

III. LINGUISTIC GROUPS

The statistics on mother tongues of Nepal was first made available after the 1952/54 census. A total of 52 mother tongues were reported, of which five were tarai dialects related to Awadhi, Bhojpuri and Maithili, and two were duplications—Bhote-Sherpa and Tibetan, and Santhali and Satar. Thus, the actual number of mother-tongues recorded was 45. Of these, 38 are also reported in the 2001 census (Annex B). Eight mother tongues listed in 1952/54 are not included in 2001.¹ There was also some tampering in the classification of the tarai languages. The total population of Awadhi, Bhojpuri and Maithili speakers was reported as only 317,130. If their related languages disaggregated as rural dialects of the far-west, central-west, central-east, east, and far-east tarai were to be added, the total speakers of these languages would be 1.8 million, or 5.8 times more than officially reported.²

Subsequent censuses (1961, 1971, 1981) reported progressively fewer number of mother tongues. This period corresponded to the Panchayat regime which emphasised a one language policy. Thus, the number of languages reported in censuses declined from 36 in 1961 to 17 in 1971 and 18 in 1981 (Fig. 6).³ Just as the establishment of democracy in 1951 encouraged the recording of many languages in the 1952/54 census, its restoration in 1990 led to the reporting of more languages. This has meant a proliferation of reported languages from 31 in 1991 to 92 in the 2001 census—40 more than that of 1952/54. These include 22 Rai-Kiranti languages, 17 ethnic languages not reported in 1991, and 12 others (Annex C). There are some classification problems particularly with regard to some mother tongues. Hyolmo may be related to Tamang and Lhomi is certainly Tibetan. Nepali sign language is ranked 39 in frequency out of 92 mother

1. Madrasi (133), Marathi (34), Khambu (28), Gujarati (9), Sorath (8), Tamil (4), Arabic (2), and Kashmiri (1). See Survey Dept, *op cit*, pp. 126-180 (Table 9).

2. Gurung, 'Linguistic demography of Nepal', 1997, pp. 147-186.

3. Gurung, 'Nepalka bhasa-bhasika sambandhama', 2000, pp. 1-8.

tongues. For the first time, 823 persons reported Sanskrit as their mother tongue. The 22 Kiranti languages are not identified as the Rai group, so only a linguist can determine their total as Rai-Kiranti for comparison. Bantawa alone accounts for 62.6 per cent of Rai-Kiranti mother tongue population. Linguists had claimed Kusunda language to be extinct,⁴ but the 2001 census reported 87 people speaking this as their mother tongue.

There is extreme variation in the population size among the reported mother tongue groups. Nepali dominates all the others with 48.6 per cent of the total population reporting it as their mother tongue. There are only five languages (4 of Indo-Aryan family) with a population exceeding 1 million (Table 6). They account for nearly 80 per cent of the total population. Another eleven languages have a population range of 100,000 to 900,000, of which seven are from the Tibeto-Burman family. There are no languages in the population range of 45,000 to 100,000. Eighteen languages are the mother tongues of people in the 10,000 to 44,093 population range. The biggest group-30-has a population range of 1,000-9,288. At the bottom are 28 mother tongues with less than 1,000 speakers. Some of these are dialects rather than distinct languages.

Table 6: Population cohort by mother tongue

Cohort	Number
1,000,000-11,053,255	5
100,000-825,48	11
45,000-100,000	0
10,000-44,093	18
1,000-10,000	30
2-904	28
<i>Total</i>	92

Source: CBS, 2002, op. cit., pp. 83-84 (Table 19)

Among the top eleven languages based on population size, seven are from the hills and four from the tarai (Table 7). Of these, five are Indo-Aryan and six Tibeto-Burman. The rank order from no. 1 (Nepali) to no.

4. Grimes (ed), 'Ethnologies Nepal', 1996, p. 8; Breton, *Atlas of the Languages and Ethnic Communities of South Asia*, 1999, p. 216.

6 (Newari) remains the same in the 1991 and 2001 censuses. Magar rose one place, from 8 to 7, and Awadhi dropped one place, from 9 to 8. Rai-Kiranti dropped two places, from 7 to 9, while the 10th place, Limbu in 1991, has been taken by Gurung in 2001.

Table 7: Large populations in terms of mother tongue

Mother tongue	1991		2001		Native area	Family
	%	Rank	%	Rank		
Nepali	50.3	1	48.6	1	Hill	Indo-Aryan
Maithili	11.9	2	12.3	2	Tarai	Indo-Aryan
Bhojpuri	7.5	3	7.5	3	Tarai	Indo-Aryan
Tharu	5.4	4	5.9	4	Tarai	Indo-Aryan
Tamang	4.9	5	5.2	5	Hill	Tibeto-Burman
Newari	3.7	6	3.6	6	Hill	Tibeto-Burman
Magar	2.3	8	3.4	7	Hill	Tibeto-Burman
Awadhi	2	9	2.5	8	Tarai	Indo-Aryan
Rai-Kiranti	2.4	7	2.2	9	Hill	Tibeto-Burman
Limbu	1.4	10	1.4	11	Hill	Tibeto-Burman
Gurung	1.2	11	1.5	10	Hill	Tibeto-Burman

The change in population by mother tongue over a long period can be assessed by comparing the 1952/54 and the 2001 census data. This is applicable to 39 languages reported in both the censuses (Annex B). The 1991 census included population data for 31 languages, including English. Only 19 had English as their mother-tongue in 1952/54. This increased to 2784 in 1991 but declined to 1037 in 2001 (Annex B). The 1991-2001 decennial population change of 30 languages is given in Annex D. Those recording a decline are Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, and Thakali. Kumhale, which had declined 59.7 per cent during 1952/54-1991, registered an unusual increase by 4.6 times.⁵ Of the others that increased significantly were Majhi (92.9 per cent), Jhangad (88.6 per cent) and Magar (79 per cent). Awadhi, Rajbansi, and Darai increased by 50 per cent or more. For the Bhote-Sherpa, Rai-Kiranti, Dhimal and Jirel languages, population increase was less than 17 per cent. The national language, Nepali, saw mother tongue speakers increase by only 18.8 per cent. As a consequence, Nepali became a minority

5. Gurung, *Nepal: Social Demography and Its Expressions*, 1998/2001, p. 218

language with 48.6 per cent out of the total population reporting it as their mother tongue.

The population increase of 30 mother tongues on the basis of language families is given in Table 8 and Figure 7. During the decade 1991-2001, total population increased by 23 per cent. In comparison, 14 Indo-Aryan languages, including Nepali, had a population increase of only 21.6 per cent. The population speaking 14 Tibeto-Burman languages increased by a third. As a consequence, there was a slight change in favour of Tibeto-Burman languages compared to the total population. The proportion of Munda and Dravid languages remained unchanged despite a 20.8 per cent and 88.6 per cent increase respectively of the two.

Table 8 : Population increase by language family

Language family	No. of languages	1991	%	2001	%	Change	%
Indo-Aryan	14	14,788,488	80.0	17,982,769	79.1	3,194,281	21.6
Tibeto-Burman	14	3,136,545	17.0	4,183,995	18.4	1,047,450	33.4
Munda	1	33,332	0.2	40,260	0.2	6928	20.8
Dravidian	1	15,175	0.1	28,615	0.1	13,440	88.6
Others	-	546,619	2.8	586,078	2.1	39,459	7.2
<i>Total</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>18,491,097</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>22,738,934</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>4,247,837</i>	<i>23.0</i>

Source: Annex D

IV. CASTE/ETHNICITY AND LANGUAGE

A comparison of population data by caste/ethnicity and mother tongue provides a measure of the retention of one's own language. Such a comparison is not possible for caste groups as they share particular languages. Nepali is spoken by hill castes such as the Bahun, Chhetri and Kami. Similarly, Awadhi in the west tarai, Bhojpuri in central tarai, and Maithili in eastern tarai are regional languages of the Madhesi castes. Bengali, Churaute, Marwari and Sikh appear to be exceptions among the non-ethnic groups for such a measure, as indicated below:

Group	Type	Group pop. 2001	Mother tongue pop. 2001	Mother tongue retention %
Bengali	Linguistic	9,860	23,602	239.4
Churaute	Religious	4,893	408	8.3
Marwari	Religious	43,971	22,637	51.5
Sikh/Punjabi	Religious	3,054	1,165	38.1

In the case of Bengali, retention level is a misnomer as their large linguistic population includes non-Bengalis speaking this language as well. The very low level of retention among Churaute may be due to the lack of clarity on what the Churaute language is.

Since ethnic groups have distinct mother tongues, retention of own language may be taken as an index of cultural vitality. In the 1991 census, population data by ethnicity and language was available only for 20 groups. Their total population was 6.4 million, of whom 67.4 per cent reported their own mother tongue.¹ Bhote-Sherpa had the highest mother tongue retention (99.2 per cent) and Kumhale the least (1.8 per cent). In regional terms, six eastern hill ethnics averaged a retention level of 84.8 per cent. Three ethnic groups of the central hills had less than half the retention level and five inner tarai ethnics had only a third.

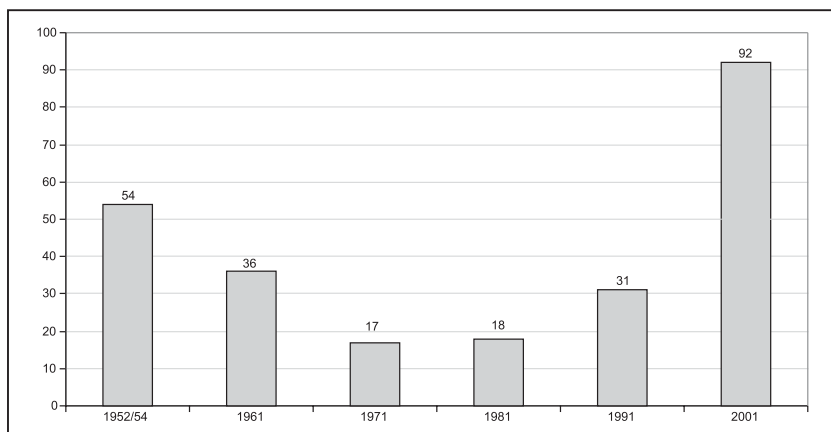
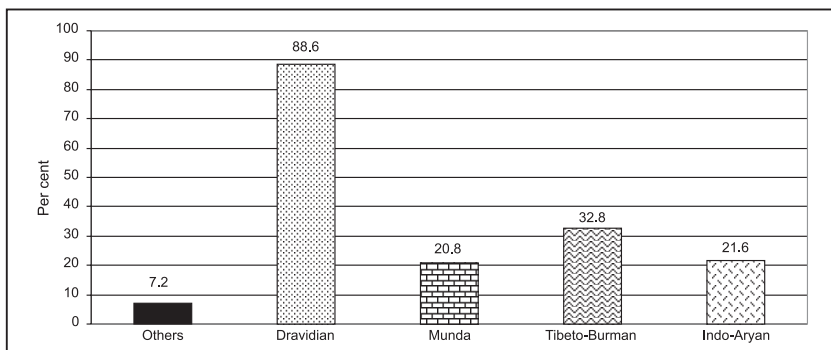
1. Gurung, op cit, 1998/2001, p. 220 (Appendix H, p. 220).

The 2001 census provides ethnic and linguistic population data for 40 groups. Their total population was 8.2 million, with a mother tongue retention population of 5.8 million, or 71.3 per cent (Annex E). This average retention level is higher than the 67.4 per cent reported in 1991. According to geographic regions, mother tongue retention was 89.1 per cent in the tarai, 80.7 per cent in the eastern hills, 75.8 per cent in the mountains, 64.8 per cent in the central hills, and 30.3 per cent in the inner tarai (Annex E). Hyolmo shows an anomaly of having only 579 people, yet 3,986 claimed as their mother tongue. The excess in the number of people speaking Rajbansi as a mother tongue compared to its population is due to the use of this language by other caste/ethnic groups. The Raji is reported 100 per cent retention level while the languages that have over 90 per cent retention level are Satar, Limbu, Jirel and Tamang. Four ethnic groups with less than 10 per cent mother tongue retention are Bhujel, Kumal, Baramu and Koch.

There are 18 ethnic groups for which mother tongue retention level can be derived in both censuses. These data indicate the trend of temporal change during 1991-2001 (Fig. 7). According to this comparable data, three of the 18 groups show a marginal decline in retention level. These are the Dhimal, Rai and Thakali (Table 9). Mother tongue retention level of the Newar remained the same at two thirds. The remaining 13 ethnic groups had a higher retention level in 2001 than in 1991. Rajbansi, Magar, Danuwar and Gurung recorded gains exceeding 12 per cent. Majhi and Raji also gained by 10 per cent.

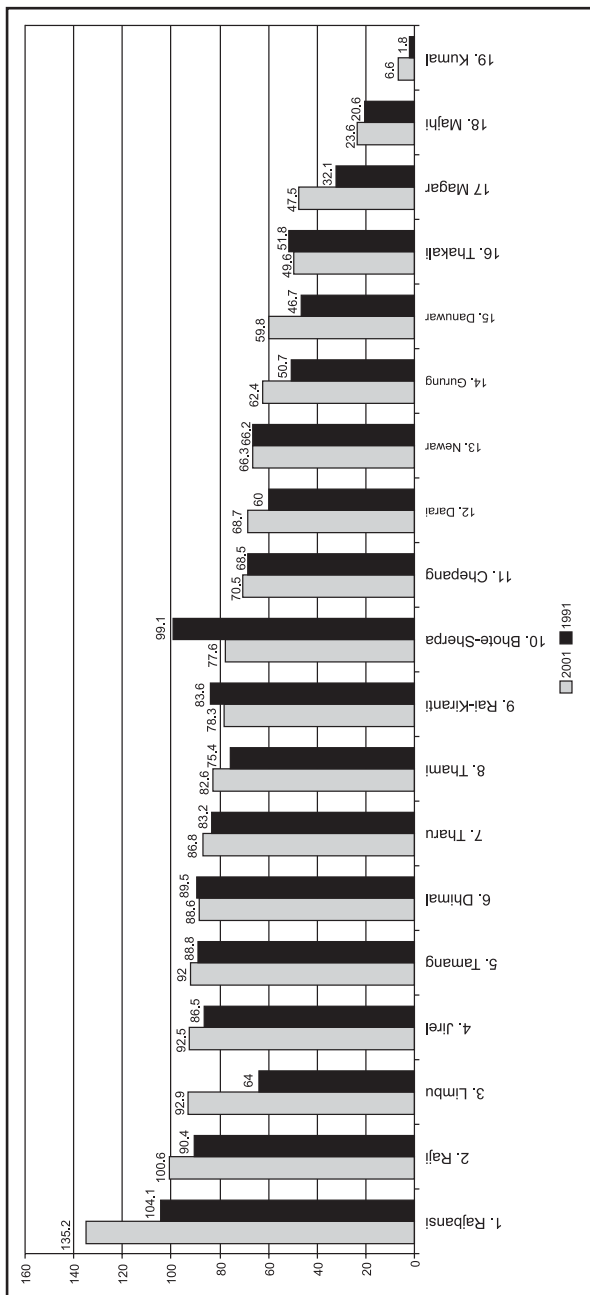
Table 9: Trend in mother tongue retention, 1991-2001
(in per cent)

Ethnic group	1991	2001	Ethnic group	1991	2001
1. Chepang	68.5	70.5	10. Majhi	20.6	30.1
2. Danuwar	46.7	59.8	11. Newar	66.2	66.3
3. Darai	60.0	68.5	12. Rai/Kiranti	83.6	80.8
4. Dhimal	89.5	88.6	13. Rajbansi	104.1	135.2
5. Gurung	50.7	62.4	14. Raji	90.4	100.0
6. Jirel	86.5	92.5	15. Tamang	88.8	92.0
7. Kumhal	1.8	6.6	16. Thami	75.4	82.6
8. Limbu	64.0	92.9	17. Thakali	51.8	49.6
9. Magar	32.1	47.7	18. Tharu	83.4	86.8

Fig. 6: Language reported in censuses**Fig. 7: Population increase by language family, 1991-2001**

Source: Table 8

Fig. 8: Mother tongue speakers by ethnic population



Source: Table 9

V. RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Nepal's state ideology is based on Hinduism and there is a preponderance of the population following this religion. Although it is a faith of the caste groups, the number of its followers is accentuated by many ethnic people who claim to be Hindu. The definition prescribed in the census schedule also provides a wider base for the Hindu religion, both in terms of deities worshipped and ethnicity. For example, the 1952/54 census manual specified the religious groups as follows:¹

1. Assign as Hindu such as Bahun, Chhetri, Magar, Gurung, Sarki, Damai, etc, who worship the quintile (*Panchayan*) deities, Ganesh, Shiva, Vishnu, Sun and Devi.
2. Followers of Lord Buddha's faith and so inclined religiously are Buddhist such as: Salmi, Udas, Banra, Lama, Thakali, etc.
3. Assign as Islamic believers those reading *namaz* in the mosque such as Musalman, Churaute, etc.

Note: Where the religion is unclear, assign one of the above religions by inclination of their birth/death customs and behaviours.

Statistics on the religions followed by Nepal's population was made available for the first time in the 1952/54 census with three religious groups reported—Hindu, Buddhist and Islam. Jainism and Christianity were added in the 1961 census, while the 1971 census made no mention of Christianity. In the 1981 census, there were five groups as in the census of 1961—Hindu, Buddhist, Islam, Jain and Christian. Munthum followers as Kiranti and Sikh religion were added for the first time in the 1991 census. In the 2001 census, Bahai was added. According to the 2001 census, 80.6 per cent of Nepal's total population is Hindu (Table 10). The proportion of Bud-

1. Survey Department, op cit, Appendix, p. 36

dhists and Muslims are 10.7 and 4.2 per cent respectively. Kiranti is 3.6 per cent and the population of Christians, Jains and Sikhs very small.

In the nearly five decades between 1952/54 and 2001, Nepal's population increased by 2.8 times. During the same period, the population of Hindus increased by 2.6 times, which is less than the national average. The percentage of Hindus out of the total population declined from 88.8 per cent to 80.6 per cent. During the same period, the number of Buddhists increased more than three-fold and Muslims by over four times. Between 1952/54 and 2001, the percentage of Buddhists in the total population increased from 8.6 to 10.7 per cent and that of Muslims from 2.6 to 4.2 per cent. In the four decades between 1961 and 2001 the number of Jains increased four-fold while the number of Christians increased by 222 times.

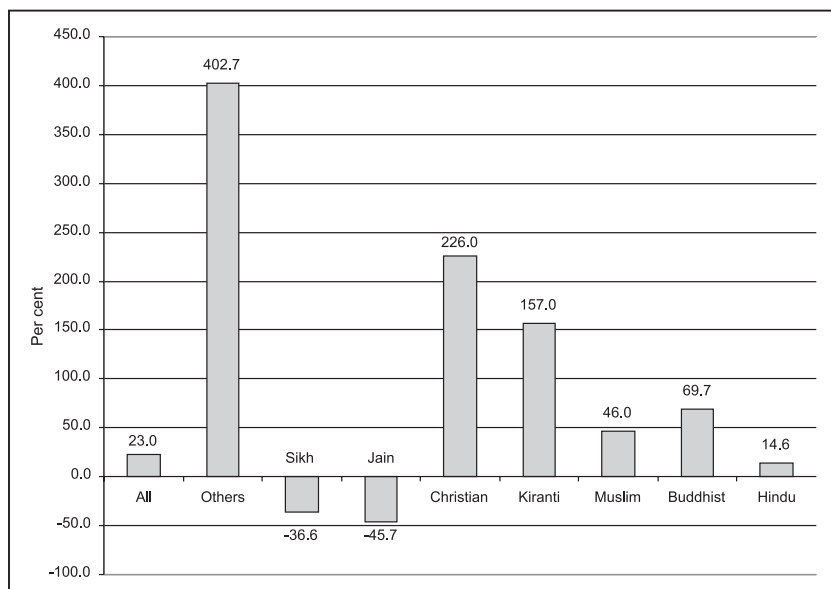
Nepal's total population increased by 23 per cent between 1991 and 2001. In comparison to this, the Hindu population increased by only 14.6 per cent (Table 10 and Figure 9). The Muslim population increased by 46.0 per cent or double the average increase of total population. The Buddhist population increase was nearly 70 per cent. The Kiranti/Mundhumist increased by 157 per cent or by 2.6 times. The number of Christians increased the most, 226 per cent or by 3.3 times. This significant increase in the number of the Christians is the reason behind Hindu protest against proselytisation. Meanwhile, the number of Jains decreased by 45.7 per cent and Sikhs by 36.6 per cent. The reason behind these declines could be that

Table 10: Population by religion

Religion	1991	%	2001	%	Change 1991-2001	%
1. Hindu	15,996,953	86.5	18,330,121	80.6	2,333,168	14.6
2. Buddhist	1,439,142	7.8	2,442,520	10.7	1,003,378	69.7
3. Islamist	653,218	3.5	954,023	4.2	300,805	46.0
4. Kiranti	318,389	1.0	818,106	3.6	499,717	157.0
5. Christian	31,280	0.2	101,976	0.5	70,696	226.0
6. Jain	7,561	0.0	4,108	0.0	-3,453	-45.7
7. Sikh	9,292	0.1	5,890	0.0	-3,402	-36.6
Others	17,124	0.1	86,080	0.4	68,956	402.7
Unstated	18,138	0.1	-	-	-	-
<i>Total</i>	<i>18,491,097</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>22,736,934</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>4,245,887</i>	<i>23.0</i>

they identified themselves as Hindus and not due to outmigration of the Marwari, Jain and Sikh from Nepal.

Fig. 9: Population change by religion, 1991-2001



Source: Table 10

VI. CASTE/ETHNICITY AND RELIGION

Some conclusions can be drawn about the social composition of religious communities by comparing census data by caste/ethnic groups and religion. The 1991 and 2001 censuses show that the Hindu religious population was higher than the population of the Hindu caste groups. Conversely, the population of other religions was less than the population of ethnic/caste groups that traditionally follow those religions (Fig. 10). The population of other ethnic religious groups is lower than the population of those ethnic groups because ethnic groups outside the Hindu *varna* system also reported themselves as Hindu. In 1991, the population of those who indicated they were Hindus was 34 per cent more than the population of Hindu caste groups (Table 11). Conversely, the population of those who indicated they were Buddhists was 35 per cent less than the population of eight ethnic groups that are traditional adherents of Buddhism.¹ In the case of Muslims, the number of those who indicated they followed Islam was 0.3 per cent less than the Muslim population. This implies that the Muslim and Churaute were more tied to their religion. In contrast, only 36.9 per cent of the population of four Kiranti groups indicated they were adherents of Kiranti religion. In other words, 63.1 per cent of the Kiranti were included under other religions. Many of them must have indicated themselves as Hindus since the latter are in a majority in Kiranti districts. In the 1991 census, the Jain population was 74.1 per cent less than the Marwari population. It is possible that most Marwaris claimed themselves to be Hindu. In the 2001 census too the population of Hindu is higher than the population of Hindu caste groups and the opposite is true in the case of other religions. The population of those indicating themselves to be Hindu is 27.2 per cent higher than the population of Hindu caste groups (Table 11).

1. There are no reliable statistics on Hindu and Buddhist Newars. But according to a survey of 37,315 families in 33 Newar settlements, 57 per cent was Buddhist and 43 per cent were Shivaite. Source: Rosser, 'Social mobility in the Newar caste system', 1966, pp. 85-86.

The adherents of Buddhism, Islam, Munthum and Jainism are respectively 11.6 per cent, 2.2 per cent, 26.1 per cent and 92.2 per cent fewer than the respective populations of the groups that traditionally follow these religions.

Table 11: Population difference between ethnicity and religion

Social group & religion	1991 population	2001 population	Increase 1991-2001 %
Caste: Hindu group (Castes of hills and tarai)	10,562,462	13,226,560	+25.2
Religion: Hindu	15,996,953	18,330,121	+14.6
Caste-religion difference	+5343419	+4,985,917	
Per cent	+34	+27.2	
Ethnic: Buddhist ethnics (Bhote, Byansi, Sherpa, Walung, Hyolmo, Tamang, Gurung, Newar (60 per cent)	2,212,447	2,763,700	+24.9
Religion: Buddhism	-1,439,142	-2,442,520	+69.7
Ethnic-religion difference	-773,305	-321,180	
Per cent	-35	-11.6	
Group: Muslim group (Musalman, Churaute)	654,843	975,873	+49.0
Religion: Islam	653,218	954,023	+46.0
Group-religion difference	-1625	-21,850	
Per cent	-0.3	-2.2	
Ethnic: Kirant ethnics (Limbu, Rai, Sunuwar, Yakkha)	863,802	1,106,663	+28.1
Religion: Kirant religion	318,389	818,106	+157.0
Ethnic-religion difference	-545,413	-288,557	
Per cent	-63.1	-26.1	
Caste: Marwari group	29,173	52,641	+80.4
Religion: Jain	7,561	4,108	
Caste-religion difference	-21,617	-48,533	-45.7
Per cent	-74.1	-92.2	

The population data of the 1991-2001 decade make it clear that ethnic groups have become more aware about their traditional religion. This is shown by the decrease of the Hindu religious population and the increase

of Buddhist and Kiranti claimants among the related ethnic groups (Table 11). While the population of those that indicated they followed Buddhism was 35 per cent less than the population of ethnic groups that traditionally followed Buddhism in 1991, this difference was only 11.6 per cent in 2001 (Table 11). The population of Buddhist ethnic groups increased by only 24.9 per cent, while the population of those indicating they were Buddhists increased by 69.7 per cent (Table 11 and Figure 11). Similarly, the population of those indicating they were adherents of the Kiranti religion was 63.1 per cent less than the population of ethnic groups that traditionally followed the Kiranti religion in 1991. This difference was only 26.1 per cent in 2001. The population of the Kirant ethnic groups increased by 28.1 per cent while those indicating they were adherents of the Kiranti religion increased by 157 per cent (Table 11). Such a trend among the ethnic groups had a negative effect on the size of Hindu population. Thus, the population of those indicating they were Hindus was only 27.2 per cent more than the population of Hindu caste groups in 2001 compared to 34 per cent more in 1991. Therefore, the population of those indicating they were Hindus grew by only 14.6 per cent although the population of Hindu caste groups increased by 25.2 per cent (Table 11).

Fig. 10: Population by caste/ethnicity and religion 1991-2001

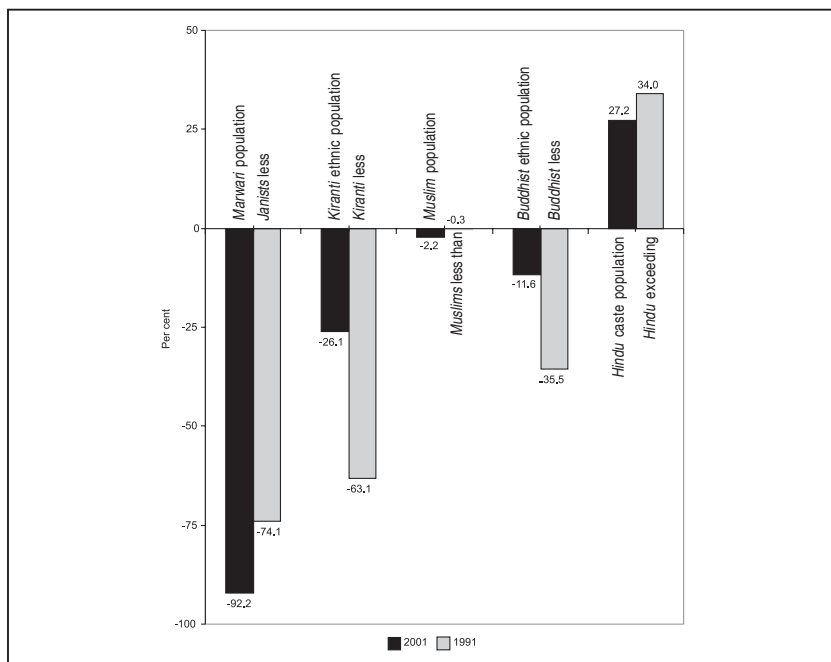
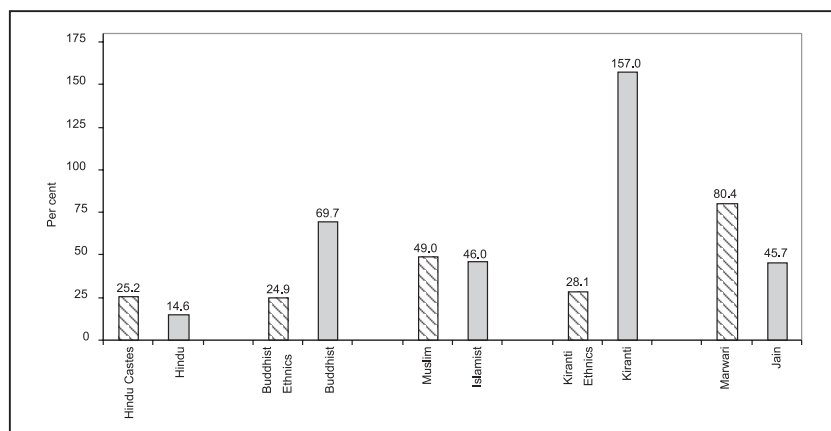


Fig.11: Population increase by caste/ethnicity and related religion 1991-2001



Source: Table 11

VII. LITERACY LEVEL

The census data on literacy of population is a measure of access to education. It can also be a useful indicator of disparity in opportunity for advancement among caste and ethnic groups. The 1991 census provided data on literacy level of 60 caste/ethnic groups (Annex F). Of these, 20 exceeded the national literacy level of 39.0 per cent.¹ These included 12 caste, 7 ethnics and one religious group—the Churaute. The Marwari, with a literacy rate of 88.0, led all and among the ethnics, the Thakali, led with 62.2 per cent. Apart from these two trading groups, other three among the top five were the Kayastha (64.4), tarai Brahman (61.8) and hill Bahun (61.6). The Newar ranked sixth with a 60.4 per cent literacy. The bottom cohort with less than half the average literacy level were made up of one ethnic group (Chepang) and five castes. The last four at this bottom cohort were all Dalit: Khatawe (11.5), Chamar (10.1), Dusadh (9.9), and Musahar (4.2).

The 2001 census provides data on the literacy level of 100 caste/ethnic groups (Annex F). Of these, 60 groups were also reported in the 1991 census. A comparison of those groups reported in both the censuses provides some idea on the progress in literacy level. The average literacy level for the country in 2001 was 59.6 or nearly double that of 1991. The number of caste/ethnic groups with a literacy level above the national average was 30 in 2001 compared to only 20 in 1991. The top five includes the Marwari (91.7) and Kayastha (85.8) of the 1991 top cohort and also three new ones. These are the Jaine (98.5), Byansi (81.1), and Hyolmo (80.5). 'Jaine' could be Jain since their high literacy rate conforms to that of the Marwari. The Byansi are traders and the Hyolmo is closely related to the Tamang. The bottom five consists of four caste and one ethnic group. They are all from the tarai, as in 1991, while the Musahar (11.1) still ranks lowest in literacy level.

1. Gurung, op cit, 1998/2001, Appendix L, pp. 224-225.

All caste/ethnic groups show an improvement in literacy level over the last decade. The Teli and Baniya among the castes and the Jirel and Darai among ethnics made considerable gain. Those with marginally low gains were either those in the upper cohort which already had a high literacy, or lower castes and Dalits of the tarai. The comparative literacy status of the 100 caste/ethnic groups are divided into five cohorts (Table 12).

Table 12: Literacy cohort by caste/ethnicity, 2001

Cohort (literacy %)	Total	Hindu caste	Dalit	Ethnic	Others	Unidentified
1. High (+75)	10	5	-	4		1
2. Above average (60-75)	20	8	-	10	1	1
3. Below average (50-60)	17	1	3	12	1	-
4. Low (25-50)	44	17	7	18	2	-
5. Very low (below 25)	9	3	5	1	-	-
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>2</i>

Source: Annex E

Among the 30 with a literacy level above average, 14 are ethnic, 13 caste, one linguistic (Bengali) and one unidentified (Jaine) group. In other words, 21 out of 34 castes and 31 out of 45 ethnic groups are still below the average literacy rate. The high literacy rate cohort (+75) has more castes and the second cohort (60-75 per cent) more ethnics. The ethnics are most numerous in the third cohort (50-60 per cent). The fourth cohort (25-50 per cent) is mostly ethnic and caste groups, the latter including two Dalit groups as well. The fifth cohort (below 25 per cent) has the Dalit in majority. All 15 Dalit castes listed in the census have a literacy level below the average. Among the Dalit, the Sonar leads with a 59.4 per cent literacy level. The Gaine and Damai come next with 50.2 per cent and 50.1 per cent respectively. The Dom and Musahar are at the bottom (Annex F).

VIII. JANAJATI AND DALIT SCHEDULES

The movement for social equality since the restoration of democracy in Nepal was instrumental in the establishment of some institutions to address the problem of specific disadvantaged groups. One was the National Committee for Development of Nationalities which has now been designated the National Foundation for the Upliftment of Adivasi/Janajati. The second was the National Committee for Upechhit, Utpidit, Dalit Utthan, and the third National Dalit Commission. However, there is much confusion and controversy on the official schedules that list nationalities for the Foundation and Dalits for the Committee and the Commission. The first problem is due to the hangover of the hierarchic model of the Muluki Ain 1854 that precludes rational analysis. The Muluki Ain devised Nepalese society into five status categories as follows:

- A. Wearers of holy cord (high castes),
- B. Non-enslavable alcohol-drinkers (allegiance ethnics),
- C. Enslavable alcohol-drinkers (peripheral ethnics),
- D. Impure but touchable (lower castes, Firingi, Muslim), and
- E. Impure and untouchable (lowest castes).

The National Foundation for the Upliftment of Adivasi/Janajati is meant for the above B and C categories of *matwalis* (alcohol drinkers). Similarly, the National Dalit Commission was set-up for category E castes. However, there is no agreement on the identification and classification of such castes and ethnic groups.

The second problem is conceptual owing to the fluid boundary between the core ethnicity and its regional variants. The urge for identity formation has led to affirmation based even on localities and dialects. This tendency was further aided by the addition of mountain groups based on locality in the Janajati schedule by the Task Force (1996). This has encouraged fission rather than solidarity among the ethnic groups.

The third problem is related to the non-reporting of caste/ethnic groups in the census. Since census reporting by caste and ethnic groups began only in 1991, there is no realistic data on their exact number. Thus, the 2001 census does not include the population data of 15 groups mentioned in the official Janajati schedule and 11 in the Dalit schedule. This discrepancy may be due to non-reporting of some groups as also because some of those who do not identify themselves as listed in the schedule. Such a situation is exemplified by the five Newar sub-groups who are included within the larger Newar group by the census and who do not consider themselves Dalit.

The official schedule of Janajati or indigenous/nationality includes 59 ethnic groups (Table 13). The Schedule has made minor modifications in the 60 proposed by the Task Force on Janajati Utthan Prathisthan (1996). Manangi has been deleted; the three Thak communities Chhimtan, Syartan and Thintan have been grouped as Tingaonle; and Gangai, Raji and Yakkha have been added. The ethnics, thus, have been classified as 18 from the mountains, 23 from the hills, seven from inner tarai, and 11 from the tarai. However, 16 of these ethnic groups are not reported in the 2001 census. The most glaring is the non-reporting of 13 out of 18 mountain groups in the 2001 census even though it recorded 44 ethnic groups as opposed to 25 in 1991.

The reason for such non-reporting is not due to an error in census procedure but fictitious naming of many mountain groups. Most of those listed are not distinct ethnic groups but sub-groups differentiated according to location and dialect of Tibetan.¹ In fact, they belong to the Bhote ethnic group and share a similar language and culture. Since 'Bhote' is considered as a derogatory term, most of these could have been subsumed under one ethnic name as 'Himali'.² Of the 22 hill ethnics listed in the schedule, three are not reported in the 2001 census. These are the Bankariya, who are related to the Chepang, the Frin related to the Pahari, and the Surel related to the Jirel.³

The seven inner tarai ethnic groups listed are in conformity with those

1. Gurung, *Janaganana 2001 Anusar Jatiya Thatyank: Prarambhik Lekhajokha*, 2002, p. 5.

2. Bista, *Sabai Jatko Phulbari*, 2002, pp. 116-121.

3. Ukyab and Adhikari, *Nepalka Janajatiharu*, 2000.

Table 13: Janajati schedule

(A) Mountain	Population 2001	(B) Hill	Population	(C) Inner Tarai	Population
1. Baragaunle	-	19. Bankariya	-	42. Bote	7,969
2. Bhote	19,261	20. Bhujel/Gharti	11,758	43. Danuwar	53,229
3. Byansi	2,103	21. Baramu	7,383	44. Darai	14,859
4. Chhaintoran	-	22. Chepang	52,237	45. Kumal	99,389
5. Dolpa	-	23. Chhantel	9,814	46. Majhi	72,614
7. Lhomi	-	24. Dura	5,169	47. Raji*	2,399
8. Lhopa	-	25. Gurung	543,571	48. Raute	658
9. Marphali	-	26. Hayu	1,821		
10. Mugali	-	27. Hyolmo	579	(D) Tarai	188,150
11. Sherpa	154,622	28. Jirel	5,316	49. Dhanuk (Rajbansi)	19,537
12. Syar (Chumba)	-	29. Kusunda	164	50. Dhimal	31,318
13. Tangbe	-	30. Lepcha	3,660	51. Gangai*	41,764
14. Thakali	12,973	31. Limbu	359,379	52. Jhangad	2,876
15. Thudam	-	32. Magar	1,622,421	53. Kisan	552
16. Tingaunle*	-	33. Newar	1,245,232	54. Kushwadiya	3,763
17. Topkegola	-	34. Pahari	11,505	55. Meche (Bodo)	95,812
18. Walung	1,148	35. Frin	-	56. Rajbansi (Koch)	42,698
		36. Rai	635,151	57. Satar (Santhal)	13,250
		37. Sunuwar	95,254	58. Tajpuriya	1,533,879
		38. Surel	-	59. Tharu	
		39. Tamang	1,282,304		
		40. Thami	22,999		
		41. Yakha*	17,003		

*Not included in the Janajati Task Force Report, 1996.

Source: Nepal Gazette, 7 February 2002.

reported in the 1991 and 2001 censuses. In the case of 11 ethnics listed from the tarai, there is again the problem of classification. The Schedule has equated the Rajbansi both with the Dhanuk (no. 49) and the Koch (no. 56) and listed the Tajpuriya (no. 58) separately. The Dhanuk are not an ethnic but a caste group. Also, there is the problem of group identity of the Koch, Rajbansi and Tajpuriya who share the same mother tongue. According to one scholar, the Koch are indigenous, the Rajbansi are Hinduised Koch, and the Tajapuriya are Muslim Koch who migrated from Tejpur (Assam).⁴ Thus, there is lack of clarity on the identity of ethnic groups listed in the official schedule, be it from the mountains, hills or the tarai. This means there is a need to revise the list of the 2001 census that deals with ethnic and linguistic data and also conduct further ethnographic research.

The term 'Dalit' is a recent import from India where such a social malady originated. This term has not been officially defined and has been equated with the 'oppressed' without locating the source of such oppression. Thus, an early (1996) body was named 'National Committee for Upliftment of Upechhit (excluded), Utpidit (suppressed) and Dalit (oppressed) while the Ninth Plan (1992-2002) referred to them as the 'Down-trodden and Oppressed Communities.' Since their oppression or discrimination is based on ritual status, they belong to the Hindu low castes variously known as *chhoichhito halnu parne*, *achhut*, *kamsel* and *pani nachalne*, all referring to 'untouchability'.

The U.U.D. Committee included 23 social groups in its schedule. Among these were three Newar 'impure' but 'touchable' sub-groups (Kasain, Kuche, Kusule), one tarai but touchable caste (Lohar), and one ethnic group (Santhal/Satar). The above schedule was revised later during the formation of the National Dalit Commission (March 2002). This Schedule of 28 social groups is similarly erroneous (Table 14). First, only the Chyame and Poda are conventionally considered 'untouchable' among the five Newar sub-groups listed. Second, the Lohar of the tarai are considered 'touchable'. Third, the Chunar, Parki, and Sunar are Kami sub-castes while the Kadara is a cross between the Kami and the Sarki. Fourth, the Dusadh (no. 20) and the Paswan (no. 27) belong to the same caste as the Pashi. The Jhangad (no. 23) as an Oraon ethnic group falls outside the caste category.

4. Chemjong, *History and Culture of the Kirat People*, 1966.

Of the 28 mentioned in the Dalit schedule, 12 are not reported in the 2001 census. These are four from hill group, five from the Newar group, and three from the tarai group (Table 14). Those missing among the hill Dalits are mostly related to the Kami. The Newars listed must have been included under their larger fraternity who now protest that they are not Dalit. Among those missing in the tarai group, the Paswan could have been included under the Dusadh while no Dhainr and Gothe were reported. Instead, 145,088 Sonar were reported in the 2001 census from the tarai but not included in the official schedule.

Table 14: Schedule of Dalit castes

A. Hill group	Population, 2001	C. Tarai group	Population, 2001
1. Badi	4,442	15. Bantar	35,839
2. Chunar	-	16. Chamar	269,661
3. Damai	390,305	17. Chidimar	12,296
4. Gaine	5,887	18. Dhainr	-
5. Kadara	-	19. Dom	8,931
6. Kami	895,954	20. Dusadh/Paswan	158,525
7. Parki	-	21. Gothe	-
8. Sarki	318,989	22. Halkhor	3,621
9. Sunar	-	23. Jhangad	41,764
B. Newar		24. Khatawe	74,972
10. Chyme	-	25. Lohar	82,637
11. Kasai	-	26. Musahar	172,434
12. Kuche	-	27. Paswan*	-
13. Kusule	-	28. Tatma	76,512
14. Pode	-		

- No census data

*Paswan could have been included under Dusadh caste

The enumeration of Dalit castes is problematic due to two contradictory tendencies. One is that Dalit activists try to inflate the number of Dalit groups as well as population by including some non-Dalit minority ethnics within the Dalit fold. Another is the Dalit propensity to upgrade their identity to avoid discrimination. Compared to the 1991 census, the 2001 census recorded 67,701 fewer Kami, who still constitute the largest (one third) of the total Dalit population (Table 15). Similarly, the Dom declined by 4.0

per cent and the Badi by 37.3 per cent. In 1991, the total population of 10 reported Dalit castes was 2.2 million, or 11.9 per cent of total population. In 2001, six more Dalit castes were reported but their population, including 173,401 unidentified, was 2.9 million. They constituted 12.8 per cent of the total population. The Dalit schedule needs revision based on the latest census returns and better sociological investigation.

Table 15: Dalit population

Caste	1991	2001	Change	%
<i>A. Hill</i>	<i>1,619,434</i>	<i>1,616,748</i>	<i>-2,686</i>	<i>-0.2</i>
1. Badi	7,082	4,442	-2,640	-37.3
2. Damai	367,989	390,305	22,316	6.1
3. Gaine	4,484	5,887	1,403	31.3
4. Kami	963,655	895,954	-67,701	-7
5. Sarki	276,224	318,989	42,765	15.5
<i>B. Tarai</i>	<i>582,347</i>	<i>954,780</i>	<i>217,125</i>	<i>37.3</i>
6. Bantar	-	35,839	-	-
7. Chamar	203,919	269,661	65,742	32.2
8. Chidimar	-	12,296	-	-
9. Dhobi	76,594	73,413	-3,187	-4
10. Dom	-	8,931	-	-
11. Dusadh	93,242	158,252	65,283	70
12. Halkhor	-	3,621	-	-
13. Khatawe	-	74,972	-	-
14. Musahar	66,612	172,434	8,360	12.5
15. Sonar	-	145,088	-	-
16. Tatma	141,980	172,434	30,454	21.4
Unidentified Dalit	-	173,401	-	-
<i>Total</i>	<i>2,201,781</i>	<i>2,917,090</i>	<i>715,309</i>	<i>34.5</i>

Source: Appendix 'A'

IX. OVERVIEW

Nepal is said to be a land of cultural diversity. Such a diversity is also the foundation of the country's identity. Despite decennial censuses since 1911, the social composition of the population remained unknown until recent decades. Data on language and religion became available only after the 1952/54 census and on caste/ethnicity only after 1991. These data are the outcome of a democratic polity and very essential for planning social change. Data collection, processing, and presentation have also improved in recent censuses. Compared to the 1991 census, that of 2001 has reported more caste/ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups in the country. They are a veritable source of information for anthropologists, linguists and sociologists to analyse the composition and structure of Nepalese society. This paper is an attempt to explain the social data based on the population census 2001. It provides a broad framework to assist various detailed researches on specific social groups in the country. The interpretation of census data over the last decade indicates a strong tendency towards identity formation, be it based on caste/ethnicity, language or religion. It is an expression of self-assertion and realisation of confidence in one's own culture. In a way, it is indicative of a new dynamism in the transformation of Nepalese society.

ANNEXES

Annex A: Population change by caste/ethnic group, 1991-2001

Caste/ethnic group	1991	2001	Difference	%
I. ETHNIC	6,435,321	8,272,551	1,837,230	28.5
<i>a. Mountain</i>	136,552	190,107	53,555	39.2
1. Himali (Bhote)	12,463	19,261	6,798	54.5
2. Sherpa	110,358	154,622	44,264	40.1
3. Thakali	13,731	12,973	-758	-5.5
Total 1-3	136,552	186,856	50,304	36.8
4. Byansi		2,103		
5. Walung		1,148		
Total 4-5		3,251		
<i>b. Hill</i>	4,776,992	6,038,530	1,261,538	26.4
1. Chepang	36,656	52,237	15,581	42.5
2. Gurung	449,189	543,571	94,382	21.0
3. Jirel	4,889	5,316	427	8.7
4. Lepcha	4,826	3,660	-1,166	-24.1
5. Limbu	297,185	359,379	62,194	20.9
6. Magar	1,339,308	1,622,421	283,169	21.1
7. Newar	1,041,090	1,245,232	204,142	19.6
8. Rai	525,551	635,151	109,600	20.8
9. Sunuwar	40,943	95,254	54,311	132.6
10. Tamang	1,018,252	1,282,304	264,052	25.9
11. Thami	19,103	22,999	3,896	20.4
Total 1-11	4,776,992	5,867,524	1,090,588	22.8
12. Baramu		7,383		
13. Bhujel/Gharti		117,568		
14. Chhantel		9,814		
15. Dura		5,169		
16. Hayu		1,821		
17. Hyolmo		579		

Caste/ethnic group	1991	2001	Difference	%
18. Kusunda		164		
19. Pahari		11,505		
20. Yakha		17,003		
Total 12-20		171,006		
<i>c. Inner Tarai</i>	206,069	251,117	45,048	21.9
1. Bote	6,718	7,969	1,251	18.6
2. Danuwar	50,754	53,229	2,475	4.8
3. Darai	10,759	14,859	4,100	38.1
4. Kumal	76,635	99,389	22,754	29.7
5. Majhi	55,050	72,614	17,564	31.9
6. Raji	3,275	2,399	-875	-26.7
7. Raute	2,878	658	-2,220	-77.1
Total 1-7	206,069	251,117	45,048	21.9
<i>d. Tarai</i>	1,315,708	1,787,538	478,830	35.9
1. Dhimai	16,781	19,537	2,756	16.4
2. Gangai	22,526	31,318	8,732	39.0
3. Rajbansi	82,177	95,812	13,635	16.6
4. Tharu	1,194,224	1,533,879	339,655	28.4
Total 1-4	1,315,708	1,680,546	364,838	27.7
5. Jhangad/Dhangar		41,764		
6. Kisan		2,876		
7. Koche		1,429		
8. Kushwadia/Patharkatta		552		
9. Meche		3,763		
10. Munda		660		
11. Satar/Santhai		42,698		
12. Tajpuria		13,250		
Total 5-11		106,992		
<i>e. Indigenous (Adivasi)</i>		5,259		

Caste/ethnic group	1991	2001	Difference	%
II. CASTE GROUP	10,562,462	13,333,875	2,771,413	26.2
a. <i>Hill</i>	7,126,170	8,728,793	1,602,623	22.5
1. Badi	7,082	4,442	-2,640	-37.3
2. Bahun	2,388,455	2,896,477	508,022	21.3
3. Chhetri	2,968,082	3,593,496	625,414	21.1
4. Damai	36,989	390,305	22,316	6.0
5. Gaine	4,484	5,887	1,403	31.3
6. Kami	963,655	985,950	-67,701	-7.0
7. Sanyasi	181,726	199,127	17,401	9.6
8. Sarki	276,224	318,989	42,765	15.5
9. Thakuri	299,473	334,120	34,647	11.5
Total 1-9	7,126,170	8,728,793	1,602,623	22.5
b. <i>Tarai</i>	3,105,292	4,431,681	1,326,389	42.7
1. Baniya	101,868	126,971	25,103	24.6
2. Brahman	162,886	134,496	-28,390	-17.4
3. Chamar	203,919	269,661	65,742	32.2
4. Dhanukh	136,944	188,150	51,206	37.4
5. Dhobi	76,594	73,413	-3,181	-4.1
6. Dusadh/Paswan/Pasi	93,242	158,525	65,283	70.0
7. Halwai	44,417	50,583	6,166	13.9
8. Kanu	70,634	95,826	25,192	35.7
9. Kalwar	162,046	115,606	-46,440	-28.7
10. Kayastha	53,545	46,071	-7,474	-13.9
11. Kewat	101,482	136,953	35,471	34.9
12. Khatwe	66,612	74,972	8,360	12.5
13. Kumhar	72,008	54,413	-17,595	-24.4
14. Kurmi	166,718	212,842	46,124	27.6
15. Kuswaha*	205,797	-	-	-

* Not reported in 2001 census.

Caste/ethnic group	1991	2001	Difference	%
16. Mallah	110,413	115,986	5,574	5.0
17. Marwari	29,173	43,971	14,498	50.7
18. Musahar	141,980	172,434	30,454	21.4
19. Rajbhar	33,433	24,263	-9,170	-27.4
20. Rajput	55,712	48,454	-7,258	-13.0
21. Teli	250,732	304,536	5,384	21.4
22. Yadav	765,137	895,423	130,286	17.0
Total 1-22	3,105,292	3,343,549	238,257	7.7
23. Badhai		45,975		
24. Bantar		35,839		
25. Barai		35,434		
26. Bhediyar/Gaderi		17,729		
27. Bin/Binda		18,720		
28. Dom		8,931		
29. Chidimar		12,296		
30. Dhuniya		1,231		
31. Hajam/Thakur		98,169		
32. Halkhor		3,621		
33. Jaine		1,015		
34. Kahar		34,531		
35. Koiri		251,274		
36. Kamar		8,761		
37. Lodha		24,738		
38. Mali		11,390		
39. Nuniya		66,873		
40. Nurang		17,522		
41. Sonar		145,088		
42. Lohar		82,637		
43. Sundi		89,846		

Caste/ethnic group	1991	2001	Difference	%
44. Tatma		76,512		
Total 23-44		1,088,132		
<i>c. Unidentified Dalit</i>		<i>173,401</i>		
III. OTHERS	1,485,505	1,220,504	265,001	17.8
1. Churaute	1,778	4,893	3,115	175.2
2. Bengali	7,909	9,860	1,951	24.7
3. Muslim	653,055	971,056	318,001	48.7
4. Sikh	9,292	3,054	-6,238	-67.1
5. Unidentified	813,471	231,641	-581,830	-71.5
<i>Total</i>	<i>18,483,288</i>	<i>22,736,934</i>	<i>4,245,837</i>	<i>23.0</i>

Source: CBS, *Population Census 2001: National Report*, Kathmandu, June 2002, Table 16, pp 72-73.

Annex B: Mother tongue data, 1952/54 and 2001

Frequency no.	Mother tongue	Related language	a 1952/54	b 2001
29	Angika	Bihari Hindi		15,892
8	Awadhi	Hindi	27	560,744
91	Assamese			3
52	Bahing	Kiranti		2,765
12	Bajjika	?		237,947
13	Bengali*		9,375	23,602
9	Bantawa	Kiranti/Rai	236,049	371,056
71	Baramu*			342
3	Bhojpuri	Hindi	16,335	1,712,536
33	Bhujel*	Magar		10,733
51	Bote*		649	2,823
56	Byansi*	Tibetan	1,786	1,734
17	Chamling	Kiranti		44,093
18	Chebang*		14,261	36,807
38	Chhantyal*	Magar		5,912
60	Chhiling	Kiranti		1,314
87	Chhintang	Kiranti		8
63	Chinese			1,101
70	Churaute*	Urdu?		408
20	Danuwar*		9,138	31,849
34	Darai*		3,084	10,210
28	Dhimai*		5,671	17,308
41	Dumi	Kiranti		5,271
74	Dungmali	Kiranti		221
47	Dura*	Magar		3,397
85	Dzongkha	Bhutanese		9

*Caste/ethnic population data reported

Frequency no.	Mother tongue	Related language	a 1952/54	b 2001
64	English		19	1,037
58	Ghale	Gurung		1,649
10	Gurung*		162,192	338,925
55	Hayu*	Kiranti	233	1,743
80	Haryanwi	Western Hindi		33
16	Hindi		80,181	105,765
45	Hyolmo*	Tamang		3,986
21	Jhangad/Dhangar*		4,812	28,615
42	Jirel*		2,721	4,919
73	Jirung	Kiranti		271
84	Kagate	Tamang		10
67	Kaike	Magar		794
59	Khadiya	Munda		1,575
35	Khaling	Kiranti		9,288
69	Kisan*			489
79	Koche*			54
53	Koyu/Koi	Kiranti		2,641
86	Kuki	Naga		9
27	Kulung	Kiranti		18,686
36	Kumale*		3,510	6,533
83	Kurmali	Kiranti		13
77	Kusunda*			87
50	Lepcha*			2,826
90	Lhomi	Tibetan		4
11	Limbu*	Kiranti	145,511	333,633
76	Lingkhim	Kiranti		97
61	Lohorung	Kiranti		1,207
81	Magahi	Hindi		30

Frequency no.	Mother tongue	Related language	a 1952/54	b 2001
7	Magar*		273,780	770,116
2	Maithili	Bihari Hindi	300,768	2,797,582
25	Majhi*		5,729	21,841
24	Marwari*	Rajasthani	4,244	22,637
48	Meche*		523	3,301
65	Mewahang	Kiranti		904
88	Mizo	Naga		8
46	Nachhering	Kiranti		3,553
89	Naga			6
1	Nepali		4,013,567	11,053,255
39	Nepali sign language			5,743
6	Newari*		383,184	825,458
75	Oriya		107	159
49	Pahari*	Newari	864	2,995
44	Puma	Kiranti		4,310
62	Punjabi		182	1,165
14	Rajbansi*	Koche	35,543	129,829
54	Raji		1,514	2,413
68	Raute*			518
92	Sadhani	Bhojpuri		2
82	Sam	Kiranti		23
32	Sangpang	Kiranti		10,810
66	Sanskrit			823
18	Santhali/Satar*		507+16751	40,260
15	Sherpa*	Tibetan	70,132	129,771
78	Sindhi	Gujarati		72
22	Sunuwar*	Kiranti	17,299	26,611
5	Tamang*		494,745	1,179,145

Frequency no.	Mother tongue	Related language	a 1952/54	b 2001
37	Thakali*		3,307	6,441
26	Thami*		10,240	18,991
4	Tharu*		359,594	1,331,546
31	Thulung	Kiranti		14,034
40	Tibetan*		10	5,277
72	Tilung	Kiranti		310
13	Urdu		32,545	174,840
43	Wambule/Umbule	Kiranti		4,471
44	Yakkha	Kiranti		14,648
57	Yamphu	Kiranti		1,722
93	Unknown languages			168,340
<i>Total</i>				22,736,934

Source: a. Survey Dept. *Nepalko Janaganana (1952/54)*, Kathmandu, 1957, Table 9 (pp. 126-180).

b. CBS. *Population Census 2001: National Report*, Kathmandu, June 2002, Table 19 (pp. 83-84).

Annex C: Kiranti and other Janajati languages

A. Rai-Kiranti	Pop	B. Other languages	Pop
1. Bantawa	371,056	5. Dura	3,397
2. Chamling	44,093	6. Meche	3,301
3. Kulung	18,686	7. Pahari	2,995
4. Thulung	14,034	8. Lepcha	2,826
5. Sangpang	10,810	9. Bote	2,823
6. Khaling	9,288	10. Hayu	1,743
7. Dumi	5,271	11. Ghale*	1,649
8. Umbule	4,471	12. Kaike	794
9. Puma	4,310	13. Raute	518
10. Nachhering	3,553	14. Baramu	342
11. Bahing	2,765	15. Kusunda	87
12. Koyu	2,641	16. Koche	54
13. Yamphule	1,722	17. Kurmali (Munda)	13
14. Chhiling	1,314	<i>Total</i>	78,459
15. Lohurung	1,207	C. Other languages (related)	
16. Mebahang	904	1. Angika (Bihari Hindi)	15,892
17. Tilung	310	2. Hyolmo (Tamang)	3,986
18. Jerung	271	3. Khadiya (South Munda)	1,575
19. Dungmali	221	4. Sanskrit	823
20. Lingkhim	97	5. Hariyanabi (Western Hindi)	33
21. Sam	23	6. Magahi (Bihari Hindi)	30
22. Chhintang	8	7. Jongkha (Bhutanese)	9
<i>Total</i>	497,055	8. Kuki (Naga)	8
B. Other languages	Pop	9. Mijo (Naga)	8
1. Sunuwar	26,611	10. Naga	6
2. Yakha	14,648	11. Lhomi (Bhote/Sherpa)	4
3. Bhujel	10,733	12. Sadhani (Bhojpuri)	2
4. Chhantel	5,912	<i>Total</i>	22,376

*Census 2001 records the number of Ghale language speakers but not the Ghale ethnic population.

Annex D: Population change by mother tongue, 1991-2001

Mother tongue	1991	2001	Change	
			1991-2001	%
A. Indo-Aryan	14,788,488	17,982,769	3,194,281	21.6
1. Awadhi	374,638	560,744	186,106	49.7
2. Bengali	27,712	23,602	-4110	-14.8
3. Bhojpuri	1,379,717	1,712,536	332,819	24.1
4. Danuwar	23,721	31,849	8,128	34.3
5. Darai	6,520	10,210	3,690	56.6
6. Hindi	170,997	105,765	-65,232	-38.1
7. Kumbhale	1,413	6,533	5,120	362.3
8. Maithili	2,191,900	2,797,582	605,682	27.6
9. Majhi	11,322	21,841	10,519	92.9
10. Marwari	16,514	22,637	6,123	37.1
11. Nepali	9,302,880	11,053,255	1,750,375	18.8
12. Rajbansi	85,558	129,829	44,271	51.7
13. Tharu	993,388	1,331,546	338,158	34.0
14. Urdu	202,208	174,840	-27,368	-13.5
B. Tibeto-Burman	3,137,990	4,168,087	1,030,097	32.8
1. Bhote-Sherpa	121,819	135,052	13,233	10.9
2. Byansi	1,314	1,734	420	32.0
3. Chepang	25,097	36,807	11,710	46.7
4. Dhimal	15,014	17,308	2,294	15.3
5. Gurung	227,918	338,925	111,007	48.7
6. Jirel	4,229	4,919	690	16.3
7. Limbu	254,088	333,633	79,545	31.3
8. Magar	430,264	770,116	339,852	79.0
9. Newari	690,007	825,548	135,451	19.6
10. Rai-Kiranti	439,312	497,055	57,743	13.1

Mother tongue	1991	2001	Change	
			1991-2001	%
11. Raji	2,959	2,413	-546	-18.5
12. Tamang	904,456	1,179,145	274,689	30.4
13. Thakali	7,113	6,441	-672	-9.4
14. Thami	14,400	18,991	4,591	31.9
C. Munda	33,332	40,260		
1. Santhali/Satar	33,332	40,260	6,928	20.8
D. Dravidian	15,175	28,615		
1. Dhangad/Jhangad	15,175	28,615	13,440	88.6
E. Others	546,619	586,078	39,459	7.2
<i>Total</i>	<i>18,491,097</i>	<i>22,736,934</i>	<i>4,245,837</i>	<i>23.0</i>

Source: Population Census 1991 and 2001.

Annex E: Population by ethnicity and language, 2001

Ethnic group	Ethnic population	Mother tongue population	Retention %
A. Mountain (4)	188,959	143,223	75.8
1. Himali/Bhote	19,261	5,277	33.4
2. Sherpa	154,622	129,771	83.9
3. Thakali	12,973	6,441	49.6
4. Byansi	2,103	1,734	82.5
B. Central hills (11)	497,362	3,173,917	64.8
5. Chepang	52,237	36,807	70.5
6. Gurung	543,571	338,925	62.4
7. Magar	1,622,339	770,116	47.5
8. Newar	1,245,232	825,458	66.6
9. Tamang	1,282,304	1,179,145	92.0
10. Baramu	7,383	342	4.6
11. Bhujel	117,644	10,733	9.1
12. Chhantel	9,814	5,912	60.2
13. Dura	5,169	3,397	65.7
14. Kusunda	164	87	53.0
15. Pahari	11,505	2,995	26.0
C. Eastern hills (8)	1,141,038	920,414	80.7
16. Hyolmo	579	3,986	688.4
17. Jirel	5,316	4,919	92.5
18. Lepcha	3,660	2,826	77.2
19. Limbu	359,255	333,633	92.7
20. Rai	635,151	513,057	80.8
21. Dhami	22,999	18,991	82.6
22. Hayu	1,821	1,743	95.7
23. Yakha	17,003	14,648	86.1
24. Sunuwar	95,254	26,611	27.9

Ethnic group	Ethnic population	Mother tongue population	Retention %
D. Inner Tarai (7)	251,117	76,187	30.3
25. Bote	7,969	2,823	35.4
26. Danuwar	53,229	31,849	59.8
27. Darai	14,859	10,210	68.7
28. Kumal	99,389	6,533	6.6
29. Majhi	72,614	21,841	30.1
30. Raji	2,399	2,413	100.0
31. Raute	658	518	78.7
E. Tarai (9)	1,741,418	1,551,169	89.1
32. Dhimal	19,537	17,308	88.6
33. Rajbansi	95,812	129,529	135.5
34. Tharu	1,533,879	1,331,546	86.8
35. Kisan	2,876	489	17.0
36. Koche	1,429	54	3.8
37. Meche	3,763	3,301	87.7
38. Munda	660	67	10.2
39. Satar	42,698	40,260	94.3
40. Jhangad	41,764	28,615	65.8
<i>Total</i>	<i>8,219,315</i>	<i>5,860,924</i>	<i>71.4</i>

Source: Annexes A & B

Annex F: Literacy level by caste/ethnicity, 1991 & 2001

No.	Caste/ethnicity	Higher caste		Dalit caste		Ethnic		Others*		Unidentified	
		1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
1	Jaine										98.5
2	Marwadi	88.0	91.7								
3	Kayastha	64.4	85.8								
4	Byansi						81.1				
5	Hyalmo						80.5				
6	Bahun (Hill)	61.6	80.0								
7	Thakali					62.2	79.9				
8	Brahman (Terai)	61.8	76.1								
9	Newar					60.4	76.0				
10	Bengali							51.2	75.6		
11	Rajput	51.7	74.6								
12	Nurang										74.4

*Bengali is linguistic while Churaute, Muslim and Sikh are religious groups.

No.	Caste/ethnicity	Higher caste		Dalit caste		Ethnic		Others*		Unidentified	
		1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
13	Baniya	46.8	71.9								
14	Thakuri	46.9	69.2								
15	Lepcha					44.4	68.8				
16	Dura						67.8				
17	Gurung					46.9	66.3				
18	Churaute							47.3	66.3		
19	Chhetri	45.0	66.1								
20	Jirel					32.7	65.9				
21	Limbu					46.8	65.6				
22	Kalwar		65.4								
23	Rai					44.5	65.0				
24	Sanyasi	44.4	65.0								
25	Sundi	44.7	64.3								
26	Yakkha						64.1				

No.	Caste/ethnicity	Higher caste		Dalit caste		Ethnic		Others*		Unidentified	
		1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
27	Chhantel						64.0				
28	Haluwai	41.2	62.6	21.0							
29	Magar					39.3	62.5				
30	Darai					36.5	62.3				
31	Sonar				59.4						
32	Dhimai					39.2	58.8				
33	Kusunda						58.0				
34	Sherpa					35.6	57.9				
35	Gharti/Bhujel						57.8				
36	Meche						57.8				
37	Teli	36.3	56.6								
	Unidentified Caste		56.0								
	Adibasi/Janajati						55.7				
38	Rajbansi					33.7	54.7				

No.	Caste/ethnicity	Higher caste		Dalit caste		Ethnic		Others*		Unidentified	
		1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
39	Tharu					27.7	53.7				
40	Gangai					35.9	52.2				
41	Tajpuriya						52.2				
42	Sikh							26.1	51.9		
43	Tamang					27.8	51.8				
44	Sunuwar					37.8	51.7				
45	Gaine			31.1	50.2						
46	Damai/Dholi			27.9	50.1						
47	Bhote					31.0	50.0				
48	Barae		49.6								
49	Hayu						49.5				
50	Kumal					30.0	49.4				
51	Koiri		48.9								
52	Danuwar					24.5	48.6				

No.	Caste/ethnicity	Higher caste		Dalit caste		Ethnic		Others*		Unidentified	
		1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
53	Hajam/Thakur		48.3								
54	Kanu	29.1	48.3								
55	Kami			26.0	48.1						
56	Munda						47.8				
57	Badhai		47.7								
58	Raute					25.5	46.6				
59	Brahmu/Baramu						46.5				
60	Yadav	26.3	46.0								
61	Pahari						45.6				
	Unidentified Dalit				45.6						
62	Sarki			24.2	44.8						
63	Rajbhar	24.5	44.7								
64	Lohar		43.0								
65	Thami					22.3	43.0				

No.	Caste/ethnicity	Higher caste		Dalit caste		Ethnic		Others*		Unidentified	
		1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
66	Kumhar	27.7	42.9								
67	Kurmi	25.2	42.6								
68	Badi			20.6	42.6						
69	Majhi					22.2	42.5				
70	Mali		42.3								
71	Kewat	22.4	42.1								
72	Raji					21.5	42.0				
73	Dhanuk	22.8	41.4								
74	Bote					21.2	40.6				
75	Kisan						40.6				
76	Muslim							22.2	40.1		
77	Bhediya/Gaderi		39.7								
78	Dhobi			20.7	39.1						
79	Kahar		38.1								

No.	Caste/ethnicity	Higher caste		Dalit caste		Ethnic		Others*		Unidentified	
		1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
80	Halkhor				37.8						
81	Lodha		36.4								
82	Chepang/Praja					13.9	36.1				
83	Koche						35.7				
84	Chidimar						35.1				
85	Mallah	12.0	31.2								
86	Walung						31.1				
87	Jhangar/Dhangar						30.8				
88	Santhal/Satar						29.7				
89	Tatma				29.1						
90	Nuniya		28.1								
91	Bantar				26.1						
92	Dusadh/Paswan/Pasi			9.9	24.8						
93	Dhunia		24.0								

No.	Caste/ethnicity	Higher caste		Dalit caste		Ethnic		Others*		Unidentified	
		1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
94	Chamar/Harijan/Ram			10.1	23.8						
95	Khatawe			11.5	23.5						
96	Kamar		22.0								
97	Bin/Binda		19.5								
98	Kuswadiya/Patharkatta						19.5				
99	Dom				13.8						
100	Musahar			4.2	11.1						

Average literacy rate – 1991: 39.0 and 2001: 59.6

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