ELECTIONS
IN NEPAL

İdentifying the Politically Excluded Groups

A study of the parliamentary election results from 1991 to 2013

Kåre Vollan

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Preface

This booklet presents the results of a study that has been carried out over several years, starting in 2010. The purpose has been to find out which of the many caste and ethnic groups of Nepal have managed to get elected to parliament (including the two constituent assemblies) without any assistance from affirmative action and which groups have generally been excluded from unless some measures of inclusiveness are applied. The basis for the study has been the classification of each member of the three parliaments since 1990 and the 2008 Constituent Assembly against the 100 social groups of the 2001 census and then for the 2013 election against the 125 groups of the 2011 census.

This has been a painstaking effort involving calling almost each of the members, at least when the classification has not been obvious. In 2010, Anamika Sharma took up this assignment, and in 2014 Aakriti Kharel worked on the classification of those elected in the 2013 election. For all elections Samhita Malla was involved in completing the work and conducting the necessary reviews. She has also worked with a number of experts on the anthropology of Nepal, leading to the classification of groups into broader and more operative groups. I thank them all for their great contribution. Thanks are also due to Deepak Thapa of Social Science Baha for encouraging me to publish my findings in this form and for all the editorial suggestions he provided.

The study was performed in my capacity as a subcontractor to the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) under grants provided by the Norwegian Embassy to Nepal. This publication is, however, the sole responsibility of the author and the publisher, and the conclusions drawn may not represent the views of IFES or of the donor.

Kåre Vollan

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1. Inclusion in Nepal

Nepal went through a 10-year civil war between the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and the government before ending with the 2006 Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) followed by the 2008 Constituent Assembly (CA) elections. The conflict was ideological but it was deeply rooted in social injustice as well. Since the type and degree of inequality had taken different forms for the various social groups those considerations need to be taken into account when designing a future system of representation.

The CPA and the 2007 Interim Constitution defined a transition period with significant elements of power-sharing, such as consensus governments (an ideal that was difficult to realise), broad representation of groups and political parties, and consensus politics. Simple majority rule would not reflect the complexity of Nepal. During the current period of transition a new constitution is being drafted. All the elements of power-sharing are not likely to be included in the constitution, but some are. Federalism has been a defined premise for the restructuring of the state while the form of government and the system of representation are still being negotiated as this is being written. This paper will discuss the possibilities for making the system of representation inclusive and as simple as possible given the complexity of Nepali society.

The 2008 and 2013 CA elections had significant elements of proportional representation in the form of political parties' representation and the inclusion of caste and ethnic groups implemented through an elaborate quota system. The elections were held under a mixed parallel system in which 240 seats were elected under a first-past-the-post (FPTP) system in single-member constituencies and 335 seats were filled by a list system of proportional representation (List PR) with quotas applied to the List PR section only. (In addition, 26 were appointed by government.) If one decides to continue

to secure inclusive representation of groups, it is most easily achieved by retaining List PR as part of the election (or introducing full List PR for that matter). The subject of this paper, however, is not to discuss the merits of various electoral systems but only to give a background for the choices on how to make the elections inclusive.

The history of discrimination and exclusion in Nepal is extensive. In particular, Dalits have been subject to discrimination at all levels, from daily interaction with other castes, access to temples and other public places, as well as access to land and work. Laws against caste-based discrimination have been in place since 1962, but the practice has never been effectively stopped. One way of strengthening the enforcement of anti-discriminatory laws is to include the victims of discrimination in decision-making bodies.

The many indigenous ethnic groups (Janajatis) are diverse in terms of language, culture, religion, way of life, and political representation. The 59 recognised groups[1] vary from advanced groups, such as Gurungs and Newars, who have taken part in political life, to small, nomadic groups living far from urban centres and struggling to retain their traditional livelihood.

'Madhesi' is a term used for people with origins in the Tarai, the lowlands along the Indian border. The term is often restricted to caste groups and Muslims, Jains and Sikhs, but sometimes also includes the Janajati groups living in the Tarai. The definition used during the 2008 and 2013 elections included the Janajatis, but in this paper we will use Tarai Janajati for the indigenous groups of the Tarai. The Madhesi Caste groups are also diverse socio-economically and politically. Some castes have been represented in proportion to their size in all the elections since 1991, but their representation has not necessarily translated into positions in government, civil service, military, police, etc. However, Madhesi Dalits and a large number of Madhesi Castes as well as Muslims have been excluded from proper representation in parliament.

The Hill Castes dominate the political and administrative bodies

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1   Although 59 groups were listed as indigenous ethnic groups by the government in 2002, a government taskforce in 2010 recommended that a total of 81 groups be recognised as such.

in Nepal. That does not mean that they are the only ones who have been elected to parliament after multi-party elections began in 1991, but they have dominated important state bodies such as government, civil and military service, the police and academic institutions.

Legal initiatives have been taken to include otherwise excluded groups in the public sector, and a central element of the electoral system to the CA in 2008 and 2013 was the inclusion of women, and ethnic and caste groups in some proportion to their share of the population in the List PR part of the election. Fixed quotas were given to the following groups: women, Madhesis, Janajatis, Dalits, people from backward regions (nine districts in the Mid- and Far-Western regions) and Others (Hill Castes).

While designing future systems, one needs to assess the purpose of the instruments used, particularly since all the groups listed for proportional representation in the List PR part of the election are not politically excluded. In this paper, I explore other ways of defining the quotas which could target the groups who actually need to be supported in terms of representation on their way to equality, and at the same time try to simplify a very complicated system.

It should be underlined that the term 'proportional representation' often has a different meaning in Nepal than in other contexts. In election terminology, 'proportional representation' means that the seats are distributed to the parties according to the share of the votes a party wins in the election. This is normally done through the List PR system, which means that parties nominate lists of candidates before the election, and the number of party seats is determined by the vote they get and are filled from the lists.[2] In Nepal, 'proportional representation' also means that the various groups are represented in parliament according to their share of the population. List PR does not provide for that automatically even though there are strong

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2 In closed list systems the seats are filled from the top of the lists presented *before* the elections, so that voters know who they are voting for. In open list systems the *voters* can cast individual votes for candidates within the lists and thus have an influence on who should fill the seats. The system used in Nepal in 2008 and 2013 whereby parties can choose the candidates freely from the lists *after* the elections is not how List PR systems are normally implemented and it makes the accountability of the elected members towards the voters very weak.

incentives for nominating inclusive party lists since it can appeal to broader electorates and garner more votes, which in proportional systems can translate into more seats. It is the quotas applied to the List PR race that provided for group representation in the 2008 and 2013 elections, and it is these quota arrangements that are the subject of this study, which suggests replacing quotas for all groups with minimum quotas for excluded groups only.

2. Targeting and Simplifying the Quotas

This section looks at political exclusion in Nepal based on how the different castes and ethnic groups have fared in the parliaments, including the two constituent assemblies, since 1991. The background is the extensive use of quotas in the List PR part of the elections in 2008 and in 2013. Of the 575 elected members in the CAs, 335 were elected according to List PR and 240 according to the FPTP system in single-member constituencies. The quota rules given in Table 1 were applied to the representation of each party in the List PR elections, whereas in FPTP the parties were not bound by any particular rules.[3]

In general, however, parties were not only obliged to include politically excluded groups on the lists but they also needed to include the Hill Castes and men according to their proportional share of the population. The purpose of the quotas was clearly to make the CA more inclusive, but the quotas for the Hill Castes set a definitive ceiling on the representation of excluded groups from the PR part of the election.

A side effect of the quota-for-everybody system was that candidates could run under the List PR side of the election only if they declared their identity. Persons who might insist that their identity is only Nepali and not want to disclose if they were Dalits, Bahuns or Newars, could not be included. It can be argued that this violates Article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights by imposing unreasonable restrictions to stand for elections.[4]

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3   Of the total number of candidates from a party for both races, at least a third had to be women, but that stipulation did not have any significance for representation. In FPTP, too, the parties were required to keep inclusiveness in mind according to the Interim Constitution but that was not enforced.

4   Which states: 'Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any

In the concluding section on minimum quotas we will discuss how this will work under the alternative system.

**Table 1: The quotas defined in the election law of 2007
and the ordinance of 2013.[5]**

(The numbers are based on the census of 2001 and have to be applied to both the candidate lists before the elections and the election results of each party.)

Group to be represented	Gender	Share of candidates in per cent[*]
Madhesis	Women	15.6
	Men	15.6
Dalits	Women	6.5
	Men	6.5
Janajatis	Women	18.9
	Men	18.9
Backward Regions	Women	2.0
	Men	2.0
Others (Hill Castes)[**]	Women	15.1
	Men	15.1

* Since some individuals can belong to more than one group, the sum total exceeds 100.
** The 2007 Act had listed 'Others' as a category but following protests by the Hill Castes, that category was changed to 'Khas Arya and Others' in the 2013 Ordinance, with 'Khas Arya' being a term increasingly used to distinguish Hill Castes from the other social groups of Nepal.

It was quite clear both in 2008 and 2013 that women and Dalits would win FPTP seats far below their proportional share of the population. One can, therefore, assume that over-representation in List PR should have been permitted, but, as already mentioned, that was not the case. In addition, the categories 'Madhesi' and 'Janajati' are very broad and include both groups which have been able to win seats in all previous elections and those that have never won any. There is a 'creamy layer' within the broad groups which are represented without any affirmative action whereas others are clearly excluded from political representation.

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of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and <u>without unreasonable restrictions</u>: [...]
(b) To vote and <u>to be elected </u>at genuine periodic elections [...]' (emphases added).

5 'Election to Members of the Constituent Assembly Act 2007' and 'Election to Members of the Constituent Assembly Ordinance 2013'.

The censuses enumerate a large number of caste and ethnic groups. In 2001, there were 100 specified groups while in 2011 there were 125.[6] It would be impractical to give each of these an electoral quota. It would, therefore, be of interest to assess which of these groups are able to be represented in parliament in a reasonable manner without any assistance through affirmative action and which groups would require some help in order to be represented. Should the CA want to shift from quotas for everybody, including the elite groups, to a system with minimum representation for those who need it, the study presented here may offer some data on such groups that could be considered for quotas.

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6   Not counting unidentified groups and foreigners.

3. The Method

Political exclusion, a limited definition

When we use the terms 'politically excluded' or 'politically included' we refer only to the ability to be represented in the parliaments and the CAs. But, even if some groups, such as Yadavs, have been properly represented in parliament since 1991 it does not mean that they have had a fair share of government in the past. The quotas are discussed for legislative elections only, and that limitation is quite consistent with the purpose of the study.

Only the results of FPTP considered

The elections from 1991 to 1999 were all held under an FPTP system, and there were no quotas applied apart from the requirement of having at least 5 per cent female candidates. In the 2008 and 2013 CA elections, there were no quota rules for the FPTP, except that at least a third of the total number of candidates for a party in FPTP and List PR combined had to be women. Therefore, a group's ability to be represented in the FPTP elections from 1991 to 2013 offers a good indication of whether a group is politically included or not.

One attraction with using the FPTP result as a measure of exclusion is that this can also be used to monitor the extent to which affirmative action can be reduced in the future. If a group has started to fare better in the FPTP election it might be taken off the list of excluded groups.

The threshold

Obviously, even if there were genuine equal opportunities for everybody to be elected, there would still be random variations in the representation of various groups. During one election there may be comparatively more Magars while another election could produce more Dalits, just by chance. However, one would, if the conditions

are equal, not expect any group to be consistently under-represented over time. In this study, we look for consistent tendencies of over- or under-representation. For that purpose, we define a threshold of exclusion. If a group wins more seats than the threshold we define it as being politically included in that election, and if it falls below the threshold it is seen as excluded or under-represented.

The value of the threshold is a matter choice. We are presenting two different thresholds in order to illustrate the point. First, we have assessed the election results against a threshold of 90 per cent of the group's share of the population. If a group wins seats equal to less than 90 per cent of their share of the population in an election, they are defined as being excluded. If they win more, they are included. For example, if a group comprises 10 per cent of the population they should win more than 9 per cent of the FPTP seats in parliament in order to be regarded as included. After that, we present the results with a threshold of 60 per cent.

For most groups the tendency over time is quite consistent, and there is no doubt whether they are above or below the threshold, but a few groups do vary from one election to the next. In such cases we give reasons for the classification made.

Small groups

Some groups are so small that it is difficult to make a clear significant statistical assessment of the elections. In those cases we do make some judgements, which we discuss in each case.

Use of the latest census on all elections

In the summary tables, we have compared the election results with the 2011 census only. One may argue that it would be more correct to compare each election with the share the group had in the census closest to the concerned election. We have in a previous paper[7] compared the 1999 elections to the 2001 census (which has also been

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7 Kåre Vollan, 'Minimum Quotas for Excluded Groups: Securing Inclusiveness of the Nepalese Parliament, 2011, with updates 2012', unpublished paper. See also Appendix E for a comparison between the 2008 results and the 2001 census figures.

presented in Appendix B), and the conclusions were similar to what we provide here. We have not checked the 1991 and 1994 elections against the 1991 census, but there are few indications that it would alter the main conclusions. In any case, wherever there is no clear conclusion, the 2008 and 2013 elections are given more weight since they are more recent.

Other indicators

The suggestions in this paper are based on election results only, except in the few cases where the trends are inconclusive. Other indicators, such as poverty or exclusion indices,[8] could also be used as a supplement to define quotas for excluded groups.

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8   For example, Lynn Bennett and Dilip Parajuli have in their study, *The Nepal Multidimensional Exclusion Index* (Himal Books, Kathmandu, 2013), suggested an index covering a number of indicators of social inclusion as has *The Nepal Multidimensional Social Inclusion Index: Diversity and Agenda for Inclusive Development* (Central Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, 2014).

4. The Census Groups

The 2001 census recorded 100 caste and ethnic groups apart from those unspecified or in the 'Others' category. In 2011, this number increased to 125 groups. We have found it fruitful to allocate the 125 groups to the following broad categories, which are commonly used as categories in other studies and they are close to (but a little more detailed than) those used as quotas in the 2008 and 2013 elections:

1. Hill and Mountain Janajatis
2. Hill Castes
3. Hill Dalits
4. Tarai Janajatis
5. Madhesi Castes
6. Madhesi Dalits
7. Religious groups (Muslims and Sikhs)

The census does not slot the population groups into the broader categories such as Tarai Castes or Hill Dalits, and for some groups this is not altogether straightforward. In such cases, information from the National Foundation for the Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN) and the National Dalit Commission has been used while also consulting experts and community leaders.

In Appendix A, both the 2001 and the 2011 census groups have been placed in the broad groups above. Our classification coincides with that of Sharma's[9] except for Khawas, which he has as Hill Janajatis and we have as Tarai Janajatis, the latter based on where they traditionally live.[10] Tamang and Gurung have listed Dhandi,

9 Pitamber Sharma, *Some Aspects of Nepal's Social Demography: Census 2011 Update* (Social Science Baha and Himal Books, Kathmandu, 2014).

10 Khawas are also classified as Tarai Janajatis in Mukta S. Tamang and Om Gurung (eds), *The Social Inclusion Atlas of Nepal: Ethnic and Caste Groups*, Volume I (Central Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Tribuvan University, Kathmandu, 2014).

Dhankar/Dharikar, Kalar, Natuwa and Sarbaria as Madhesi Castes[11] whereas we have them as Madhesi Dalits as does Sharma.[12] Similarly, Tamang and Gurung place Amat within the Madhesi Caste group but we and Sharma have it in the Tarai Janajati group, following a government taskforce's recommendation on revising the list of Janajatis.[13] All groups from 2001, except Jains and Churaute (Hill Muslims),[14] were enumerated in the 2011 census, which means 27 new groups were added.

The new groups in the 2011 census were:

1. *Hill and Mountain Janajatis:* Aathpariya, Bahing, Bantawa, Chamling, Dolpo, Ghale, Khaling, Kulung, Lhomi, Lhopa, Loharung, Mewahang Bala, Nacchiring, Sampang, Thulung, Topkegola and Yamphu.
2. *Madhesi Castes:* Dev, Kori and Rajdhob.
3. *Madhesi Dalits:* Dhandi, Dhankar/Dharikar, Kalar, Natuwa and Sarbaria.
4. *Tarai Janajatis:* Amat and Khawas.

Since many of the new groups are sub-groups of the Rai, Bhote, Sherpa and Gurung groups, this study does not treat them separately but as Rai, Bhote, Sherpa and Gurung. Appendix A provides the connection between the 2001 and 2011 censuses, and specifies which sub-groups have been allocated to the groups Rai, Bhote, etc.

The group Lohar may be classified as a Dalit group in the hills but in the Tarai they are a caste group. They, therefore, occur twice in the tables in the appendices.

We use the term 'Janajati' for ethnic groups. Caste groups indicate Hindu castes either in the hills as part of the Khas people or the Tarai Hindus. Dalits are part of the caste system but are considered separately. The term 'Madhesi' has different interpretations and can

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11 Tamang and Om Gurung, op cit.
12 Sharma, op cit.
13 'Report presented to the Government of Nepal by the high-level taskforce to refine the list of Adivasi Janajati', 17 February, 2010.
14 'Muslims' now cover both Tarai and Hill Muslims.

sometimes indicate all the people with origins in the Tarai, Caste and Janajati as well as Muslim, and at other times it denotes the Tarai Caste groups and Muslims. Here, we use the latter definition but treat Muslims as a separate group which includes both Madhesi Muslims and Hill Muslims.

Of the four small religious groups in Census 2001 – two Muslim groups in addition to Sikhs and Jains – only Muslims (Muslim) and Sikhs have been included in 2011. These are categories at the same level as caste and Janajati groups, whereas Hindus and Buddhists are cross-cutting categories and not part of the 125 census groups.[15] We have defined 'religious groups' to include only those groups that are defined as alternatives to caste and ethnic groups, and in terms of number they are predominantly Muslims. They have been included in the summary table but not divided into Hill and Tarai groups since almost all of them live in the Tarai.

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15 But religion is presented as a separate dimension in the census.

5. The Election Results per Group

Going by the definition used in this paper, it would be expected that Hill Castes would be among the included, and Dalits and Muslims shown to be excluded, while for Tarai Castes and Janajatis the picture would be more complex. The data on the election results confirm this and also suggest where the line between the included and excluded might be drawn when choosing different thresholds that separate the two groups (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. An illustration of how the broad groups may be divided into included and excluded groups. The line is dependent on the threshold one wants to apply.
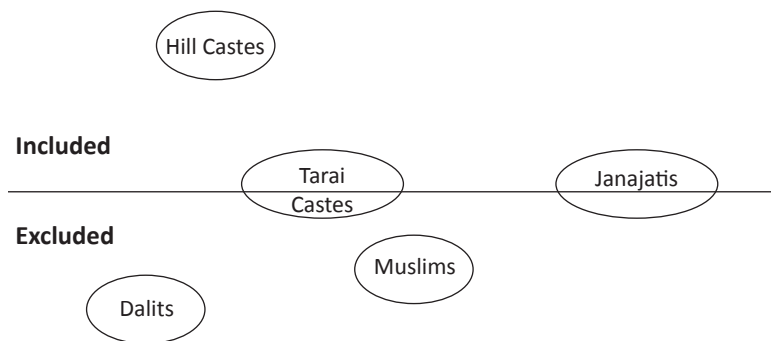
Appendix D provides an overview of the groups' representation in the parliaments elected in 1991, 1994 and 1999, and Appendices E and F give the same for the 2008 and 2013 CA elections.

The 90 per cent Threshold

The General Conclusion
We first identify the groups in the three elections in the 1990s and the FPTP part of the 2008 and 2013 elections that won fewer seats than the threshold corresponding to 90 per cent of their share of the

population. Groups for which a conclusion cannot be drawn directly from the data, either because of the size of the group or because there is no clear trend, are given special attention.

Out of the broad categories, Hill Dalits and Madhesi Dalits are, as expected, excluded in their entirety since each of their sub-groups fall well under the threshold in their representation. The Hill Castes are all included since they cross the threshold. The religious minorities (Muslims, Jains and Sikhs) are also excluded. Among Tarai Janajatis, all groups except for Tharus fall under the threshold. Some odd representation for some groups may be due to random effects. For the Hill and Mountain Janajatis and the Madhesi Caste groups the picture is more complex and they will be discussed in further detail below.

A similar study was done before the 2013 elections were held. The only difference in the 2013 results was that the Madhesi Caste, Sudhi, and the Tarai Janajati group, Tharu, changed from excluded to included, lowering the proportion of excluded groups from 49.6 to 45.1 per cent.[16] The status of all other groups remained the same.

Table 2 provides a comparison between the election results for excluded and included groups and their shares of the population.

As seen from the table, 45.1 per cent of the population has only been able to win from 9 to 13 per cent of the seats with the exception of the 2008 election when they won almost 22 per cent. They are, in other words, grossly under-represented in the FPTP elections.

Dalits did receive fair representation in the PR race of the CA elections due to the quotas as shown in Appendices E and F. Some of the excluded Janajati groups, Madhesi Castes and Muslims were also represented in PR, although, with a few exceptions, these quotas were filled by the sub-groups already included within the groups.

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16 The analysis of the pre-2013 election results used the 2001 census (Vollan, op cit). The drop of the share of excluded is less than the combined share of the two groups, Tharus and Sudhi, because the share of population of the rest of the excluded groups has actually increased.

Table 2: The division of excluded and included groups with the results for the FPTP elections from 1991 to 2013 compared to the groups' share of the population as per the 2011 census.

(The threshold is set at 90 per cent)

Group	1991	1994	1999	2008 FPTP	2013 FPTP	Share of population according to the census 2011
Excluded groups						
Hill Dalits	0.5	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.4	8.6
Hill and Mountain Janajatis, excluded only	5.9	5.4	4.9	9.2	5.4	16.1
Madhesi Castes, excluded only	2.0	1.0	4.9	5.4	3.8	9.2
Madhesi Dalits	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.4	4.7
Tarai Janajatis, excluded	0.5	0.0	0.5	1.7	0.8	2.1
Religious groups (Muslims and Sikhs)	2.4	2.4	2.0	2.5	2.1	4.5
Total excluded groups	*11.2*	*8.8*	*12.2*	*21.7*	*12.9*	*45.1*
Included groups						
Hill Castes	53.7	62.4	58.1	41.3	55.0	31.3
Hill and Mountain Janajatis, included only	19.5	12.7	16.6	16.3	13.8	11.2
Madhesi Castes, included only	7.3	9.3	9.3	15.4	10.4	5.8
Tarai Janajatis, included*	8.3	6.8	3.9	5.4	7.9	6.6
Total included groups	*88.8*	*91.2*	*87.8*	*78.3*	*87.1*	*54.9*

* Tharus only

Hill Castes
These are clearly the elite with Bahun and Chhetri as the dominant groups, but also including Thakuri and Sanyasi.

Hill Muslims
They have never won an FPTP seat and are therefore excluded.

Hill Dalits
They are clearly excluded.

Hill and Mountain Janajatis
By using the criteria defined above, the excluded Hill and Mountain

Janajati groups are: Bhote, Bote, Bramu/Baramu, Byangsi, Chhantel, Chepang, Danuwar, Darai, Dura, Gharti /Bhujel, Hayu, Hyalmo (Yehylmo), Jirel, Kumal, Kusunda, Lepcha, Magar, Majhi, Pahari, Raji, Raute, Sherpa, Sunuwar, Tamang, Thami, Walung and Yakkha.

Of these, although Sunuwar, Gharti /Bhujel, Sherpa and Danuwar have won only one or two odd seats and crossed the threshold in some elections, those instances seem to be random and hence they can still be considered excluded.

The groups that were adequately represented (or over-represented) were: Newar, Gurung, Limbu, Rai and Thakali. Because they crossed the threshold in the previous elections, Rai are listed as included even if they fell below the threshold in 2013.

Madhesi (Tarai) Castes
The following is the list of excluded groups among Madhesi Castes: Badhaee, Bangali, Baraee, Bin, Dhunia, Gaderi/Bhedhar, Hajam/Thakur, Haluwai, Kahar, Kalwar, Kamar, Kanu, Kewat, Koiri/Kushwaha, Kumhar, Kurmi, Lodh, Lohar, Mali, Mallaha, Marwari, Nuniya, Nurang, Rajbhar, Rajdhob, Sonar, Sudhi and Teli.

Of these, Baraee, Bin and Kumhar have had only a single representative in some elections but that seems to have been a random instance. Marwaris won seats and crossed the threshold in 1999 and 2008, but not in the other elections, including the last and they are classified as excluded. Koiri/Kushwaha was over the threshold in 2008, but have otherwise been below, and are therefore classified as excluded.

The over-represented or adequately represented Madhesi Caste groups are: Brahmin, Dev, Kayastha, Kathbaniyan, Rajput, Sudhi and Yadav. Rajput and Yadav are classified as included based on the overall tendency even though they have fallen below the threshold in one election each. Kathbaniyan and Sudhi have sometimes been above and sometimes below the threshold, and it is difficult to determine their status based on the FPTP elections only. According to Bennett and Parajuli's (2013) multidimensional index, they are both included, and both groups have done well in List PR.[17] We, there-

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17 The two groups do well in *The Nepal Multidimensional Social Inclusion Index* as well, placed at the 12th and 14th places.

fore, classify them as included. Dev is a very small group introduced in 2011 and for whom statistics become insignificant. They are listed as included due to their general position in society being close to the included castes.

Religious Groups
Muslims and Punjabi/Sikhs both fell under the threshold in all elections. Jain was a group mentioned in the 2001 census but not in 2011. None of these groups has ever won any seats in parliament.

Tarai Janajatis
The largest Tarai Janajati group are the Tharu, comprising 6.6 per cent of the national population. Tharus won 5.4 per cent of the FPTP seats in 2008 and 7.9 per cent in 2013. With their increased representation in 2013 it seems reasonable to classify Tharus as included, having passed the threshold in three elections and otherwise always winning FPTP seats.

There are another 14 Tarai Janajati groups, all of which are very small (0.01 to 0.83 per cent). These are all classified as excluded: Amat, Dhanuk, Dhimal, Gangai, Jhangad (Dhagar/Jhagar), Khawas, Kisan, Koche, Meche, Munda, Pattharkatta/Kuswadiya, Rajbanshi, Santhal/Satar and Tajpuriya.

The 60 per cent Threshold
After having used 90 per cent as a threshold for classification, we reduce it by a full 30 points to 60 per cent. But, practically nothing changes with only two groups move from being excluded to being included: the Koiri/Kushwaha (with 1.16 per cent of the population) and the Teli (with 1.40 per cent of the population) both from the Madhesi Caste group. The results are given in Table 3.

There are groups which cross the threshold in one election or the other but the overall tendency does not change. The results are therefore quite robust to changes in the threshold which means that the separation between included and excluded groups is quite distinct.

Table 3: The division of excluded and included groups with the results for the FPTP elections from 1991 to 2013 compared to the groups' share of the population as per the 2011 census.

(The threshold is set at 60 per cent)

Group	1991	1994	1999	2008 FPTP	2013 FPTP	Share of population according to the census 2011
Excluded groups						
Hill Dalits	0.5	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.4	8.6
Hill and Mountain Janajatis, excluded only	5.9	5.4	4.9	9.2	5.4	16.1
Madhesi Castes, excluded only	1.0	0.0	2.9	2.9	1.7	6.6
Madhesi Dalits	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.4	4.7
Tarai Janajatis, excluded	0.5	0.0	0.5	1.7	0.8	2.1
Religious groups (Muslims and Sikhs)	2.4	2.4	2.0	2.5	2.1	4.5
Total excluded groups	*10.2*	*7.8*	*10.2*	*19.2*	*10.8*	*42.6*
Included groups						
Hill Castes	53.7	62.4	58.1	41.3	55.0	31.3
Hill and Mountain Janajatis, included only	19.5	12.7	16.6	16.3	13.8	11.2
Madhesi Castes, included only	8.3	10.2	11.2	17.9	12.5	8.3
Tarai Janajatis, included*	8.3	6.8	3.9	5.4	7.9	6.6
Total included groups	*89.8*	*92.2*	*89.8*	*80.8*	*89.2*	*57.4*

* Tharus only

Representation of Women

An analysis of the gender representation in the 1990s shows that the few women elected came from Hill Caste or Hill Janajati groups with the exception being the election of three Madhesi Caste women in 1999 (see Table 4).

The general pattern was the same in the FPTP races of 2008 and 2013, but the female representation in the List PR race was much more diverse since there had to be 50 per cent women within each of the broad ethnic or caste groups in List PR, see Tables 5 and 6.

Table 4: Gender representation within each group in the elections in 1991 to 1999.

(Number of representatives)

Year	1991			1994			1999		
Group	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Hill Castes	107	3	110	123	5	128	110	9	119
Hill Dalits	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hill and Mountain Janajatis	50	2	52	34	3	37	43	1	44
Madhesi Castes	19	0	19	21	0	21	25	3	28
Madhesi Dalits	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tarai Janajatis	18	0	18	14	0	14	12	0	12
Religious groups (Muslims and Sikhs)	5	0	5	5	0	5	2	0	2
Total	*200*	*5*	*205*	*197*	*8*	*205*	*192*	*13*	*205*

The two CA elections showed totally different patterns in women's representation in the FPTP race. In 2008, 16 out of the 99 elected members from the Hill Castes were women, but in 2013 that dropped to two out of 132. In 2008, 24 of the 30 elected women in FPTP came from the CPN (Maoist) party, and 13 of the 16 Hill Caste women were Maoists. In 2013, only one of the 10 women elected was from the UCPN (Maoist),[18] which is a significant reduction even considering that the total number of FPTP seats won by the Maoists went down five-fold from 120 to 26. The other parties had a similar profile in the two elections.

The 2008 FPTP election seems to have been an exception rather than a trend regarding the total share of women and their group identity. Women elected in FPTP tend to come from Hill Caste and Hill Janajati groups, but in the 2008 elections they were from all the broad groupings except Madhesi Dalit.

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18 Following the dissolution of the CA in 2012 the Maoist party split and the splinter group formed the party CPN(Maoist) and did not participate in the 2013 election.

Table 5: Gender representation within each group in both races and the appointees in the 2008 CA election.
(Number of representatives)

Group	Section of the CA election									Total		
	FPTP			List PR			Appointed					
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Hill Castes	83	16	99	49	45	94	7	1	8	139	62	201
Hill Dalits	4	2	6	16	13	29			0	20	15	35
Hill and Mountain Janajatis	54	7	61	45	45	90	5	4	9	104	56	160
Madhesi Castes	47	3	50	38	31	69	3		3	88	34	122
Madhesi Dalits	1	0	1	5	10	15			0	6	10	16
Tarai Janajatis	16	1	17	15	13	28	4	1	5	35	15	50
Religious groups (Muslims and Sikhs)	5	1	6	6	4	10	1		1	12	5	17
Total	*210*	*30*	*240*	*174*	*161*	*335*	*20*	*6*	*26*	*404*	*197*	*601*

Table 6: Gender representation within each group in both races and the appointees in the 2013 CA election.

(Number of representatives)

Group	Section of the CA election											Total		
	FPTP			List PR			Appointed*				Total			
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Hill Castes	130	2	132	54	48	102				184	50	234
Hill Dalits	1	0	1	13	13	26				14	13	27
Hill and Mountain Janajatis	44	2	46	47	42	89				91	44	135
Madhesi Castes	32	2	34	33	28	61				65	30	95
Madhesi Dalits	1	0	1	4	7	11				5	7	12
Tarai Janajatis	18	3	21	14	18	32				32	21	53
Religious groups (Muslims and Sikhs)	4	1	5	8	6	14				12	7	19
Total	**230**	**10**	**240**	**173**	**162**	**335**				**403**	**172**	**575**

* The full appointments had not been made at the time of writing this paper.

6. Possible Minimum Quotas

Some Examples

Electoral quotas may be based on the results presented above. Clearly, other criteria may be used as well, such as poverty or other indices.[19] The advantage of using earlier election results is that they relate directly to parliamentary elections and can be monitored over time so that the continued need for affirmative action can be reviewed from time to time, provided there is a part of the election that does not apply quotas.

Based on the above, one may consider guaranteeing minimum representation for those groups which came out as being excluded in the study above. In other words, quotas for all groups, including the elite, may be replaced with *minimum representation* for excluded groups. If a mixed electoral system is to be used in the future, such minimum quotas may be applied to either the List PR race separately or to the full result of the elections. In addition, there should be an overall minimum requirement of at least 50 per cent women, since women have been grossly under-represented in all FPTP elections since 1991.

The minimum quotas could either be specified for each of the broad groups – Dalits, excluded Janajatis, religious groups, and excluded Madhesi Caste groups – or it could simply be one figure combining all the groups. In the latter case, the parties would be free to fill the quotas with candidates from any of the listed groups, whereas in the first case they would have to fill them for each of the four groups. If one got rid of the distinction between Hill and Tarai Janajatis and Hill and Madhesi Dalits, the system would become less complicated, and it would also force Madhesi parties to have

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19 *The Nepal Multidimensional Exclusion Index* (op cit) and *The Nepal Multidimensional Social Inclusion Index: Diversity and Agenda for Inclusive Development* (op cit) have suggested baselines for social inclusion.

Hill candidates on their lists. Given that in 2008 and 2013, parties with fewer than 100 candidates were exempted from the quota rules in order to accommodate the demand from Madhesi parties, if excluded Janajatis and Dalits are seen as combined groups there would be no reason for such an exemption.[20]

Example Based on 90 per cent Threshold

If the four groups of the excluded are placed separately, the minimum representation could be as presented in Table 7.

Table 7: Possible minimum representation of groups based on the 1991 to 2013 FPTP elections, with 90 per cent threshold.

Group	Quota
Dalits	13.3
Janajatis, excluded only	18.1
Madhesi Castes, excluded only	9.2
Muslims, Sikhs and Jains	4.5
Total	**45.1**

To make the quotas fully neutral and very simple, one could combine all the groups and simply state that at least 45.1 per cent need to come from excluded groups and such groups include Dalits, excluded Madhesi Castes, excluded Janajatis, Muslims, Sikhs and Jains without specifying the actual proportion of the four groups that are excluded. This would also allow parties representing an excluded group to have candidates from their own group(s) only.

Example Based on 60 per cent Threshold

With the lower threshold of 60 per cent, the minimum representation could be as given in Table 8.

Should one choose the simpler approach of a combined minimum for all groups, it would simply mean that 42.6 per cent would have to come from the excluded groups.

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20 The exemption was only defined in the election law, not in the constitution.

Table 8: Possible minimum representation of groups based on the 1991 to 2013 FPTP elections, with 60 per cent threshold.

Group	Quota
Dalits	13.3
Janajatis, excluded only	18.1
Madhesi Castes, excluded only	6.6
Muslims, Sikhs and Jains (Hill and Tarai)	4.5
Total	**42.6**

Some Effects of the Minimum Quotas

In addition to being simpler for parties and more targeted towards the groups which need affirmative measures, a shift to minimum representation would also solve some of the more problematic sides of maintaining quotas for everybody. Divisions based on caste and ethnicity are far from ideal and all discrimination-based group identities should be abolished. This is in line with the Nepali constitution and most people would agree that the vision is that all people have the same opportunity and the same possibility for political participation regardless of identity. The reality, however, is that formal equality is far from being implemented, as this study shows. Therefore, affirmative action may be a tool for promoting equality, and such measures are legitimate as long as the purpose is to develop equality.[21] On the other hand, it is also true that any quota rule introduces divisions of inequality and marks people by identity in some way or another. With quotas for everybody, *every* candidate in the List PR race as currently framed will have to disclose his or her identity. This may accentuate and deepen inequalities and the separation between groups and make identity more important than it would otherwise perhaps be. If quotas are given only to those who need a push towards equal participation, the division is limited to the bare minimum. Invoking group rights should be an individual choice. It is well understood that, for example, ethnic groups should have a right to promote their culture, language, religion, etc. However, a

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21 See for example the 'CCPR General Comment 25 (Article 25: The right to participate in public affairs, voting rights and the right of equal access to public service)', CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.7, 27 August 1996, issued by the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

person belonging to a group may also freely choose not to invoke such rights. With minimum quotas, a candidate from a Dalit background can still run as a candidate in List PR without disclosing his or her identity, and not count towards the party's minimum quota. Only the candidates who are to fill the required minimum representation will have to disclose their identity.

In 2008 and 2013, there had to be 50 per cent women within each of the ethnic and caste groups defined. There was a fear that otherwise all women would come from the elite groups. As a result, women representation has been broad. If one shifts to a system of minimum representation of excluded groups including women, the incentives for the parties to nominate women from excluded groups on the lists would be high. Parties would probably want to protect their leaders on the lists and they would most often be men belonging to elite groups. In order to reserve space for the elite, the parties would try to find female candidates from excluded groups because they would fill two slots for excluded groups. A female Dalit candidate on the list would be like killing two birds with one stone; she would fill the Dalit as well as the women's quota. It would, therefore, not be necessary to specify which group the female candidates belong to, and that will in itself represent a significant simplification of the quota system.

Quotas Applied to List PR Part of the Election or to the Whole Membership of Parliament

It has been suggested in some of the concept papers of the 2008 to 2012 CA that women should be guaranteed at least 33 per cent of the total membership of the parliament. This could be implemented by introducing a compensatory mechanism whereby more List PR seats are filled by women should a party have a deficit in their FPTP representation. A similar mechanism could be used for excluded caste and Janajati groups as well as for religious groups.

A Sunset Clause

Affirmative action may have three purposes which are not clearly distinct from each other, but which may still offer a fruitful approach

to an analysis: (i) to balance groups which are or have come out of conflict as part of an overall power-sharing deal; (ii) to help excluded groups be represented in order to achieve genuine, and not only formal, equality over time; and (iii) to ensure that normally small groups with an identity and with political interests that differentiates them from the majority in such a way that their voice in parliament ought to be heard, are represented. The latter two are most relevant for Nepal.

If the purpose is equality in representation, as in point (ii) above, it would be logical to give affirmative action a validity period. In India, for example, the special measures for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were given 10 years in the constitution when adopted. Unfortunately, real equality has not yet been reached and the parliament has extended the deadline, currently to 70 years, counting from when the constitution came into effect in 1950. Instead of setting a fixed number of years, one might at certain intervals, for example, following each census, assess how groups are developing. Based on such new assessments, one may adjust the list of excluded groups, and, hopefully in the end, remove all groups because group identity would not be significant for political participation any more.

One example of a category where genuine equality is a goal is women. In old democracies it has taken over a century to create equality in representation, from when women were given the formal equal right to vote and stand for elections till today when equality is within reach. This has often been done without legislating affirmative action but parties have volunteered to incorporate such rules in their by-laws. In new democracies, legislation has been seen necessary to accelerate the process. At a time when the gender balance is working without affirmative action one may consider removing the legal provisions. The same applies to Dalits or other excluded groups in Nepal. At a time when caste-based discrimination and other forms of inequalities have been removed, there will be little reason to continue with affirmative action. The question is how to monitor when a sufficient degree of equality has been reached. In this paper, the definition of politically excluded has been linked to the group's under-representation under FPTP. If Nepal maintains a

mixed electoral system and affirmative action is applied to the List PR side only, one may monitor the FPTP results on a regular basis and get rid of affirmative action when the FPTP produces a result fairly including candidates of previously excluded groups.

For groups mentioned in point (iii) above, i.e., minorities which should be represented in the legislature even if structural barriers working against representation are removed, a time stamp may be less relevant. These are small minorities which may from time to time be represented in parliament without affirmative action but which have such interests which may defend affirmative action on a permanent basis. Examples of groups which are given special treatment to help or secure representation because of recognised special interests are found in a number of countries, such as Germany, Slovenia, Hungary, Bolivia, Venezuela, Jordan and Mali. It is not expected that the characteristics will change any time soon and the minorities' voices have to be heard in parliament. It is important to note that it is not only the identity of the group which should be taken into account, in which case every one of 100-plus groups of Nepal would claim such a right, but identity combined with legitimate interests which could otherwise be ignored. For example, Janajati groups from the Himalaya or jungle nomad groups may be seen to have such special political interests where their traditional way of life and their livelihood could be threatened by projects initiated by the centre. This is partly a political and partly an anthropological issue and the work on possibly identifying such groups should be based on pre-defined criteria.

The lawmakers will require the courage to state that some excluded groups would be subject to affirmative action only for a limited time whereas others merit more permanent protection. However, if the system of minimum representation is implemented, the legislation should clearly list the different groups which are to be provided affirmative action at any given time, so that any ambiguity is reduced to a minimum.

Appendices

Appendix A. The relationship between the groups of the 2001 Census and the 2011 Census.

In the 2001 census there were 100 caste and ethnic groups. In 2011, this had increased to 125. Most of them were identical but for some ethnic groups, sub-groups were introduced. For example, Rai now includes 12 sub-groups. A few new groups were added while two groups, Jain and Churaute, were removed. In the table below the relationship between the 2001 and 2011 censuses are shown and all the groups they are allocated to the broader categories of Hill Castes, Tarai Janajatis, etc.

2001 Name of Group	2011 Name of Group	The 2011 group is merged with this group in this study
Hill Castes		
Brahmin - Hill	Brahmin - Hill	
Chhetri	Chhetri	
Sanyasi	Sanyasi/Dasnami	
Thakuri	Thakuri	
Hill Religious Group		
Churaute - Muslim	Muslim	Same as Madhesi Muslim
Hill Dalits		
Badi	Badi	
Damai/Dholi	Damai/Dholi	
Gaine	Gaine	
Kami	Kami	
Lohar	Lohar*	
Sarki	Sarki	
Hill and Mountain Janajatis		
Bhote	Bhote	
	Dolpo	Bhote
Bote	Bote	
Chhantel	Chhantel/Chhantyal	
Danuwar	Danuwar	
Darai	Darai	
Dura	Dura	
Brahmu/Baramu	Brahmu/Baramo	

* Because Lohar is a Dalit group in the hills and a Madhesi Caste group in the Tarai, they occur twice in the appendices.

2001 Name of Group	2011 Name of Group	The 2011 group is merged with this group in this study
Byangsi	Byasi/Sauka	
Chepang (Praja)	Chepang /Praja	
Gharti/Bhujel	Gharti/Bhujel	
Gurung	Gurung	
	Ghale	Gurung
Hayu	Hayu	
Hyolmo (Yehylmo)	Hyolmo	
Jirel	Jirel	
Kumal	Kumal	
Kusunda	Kusunda	
Lepcha	Lepcha	
Limbu	Limbu	
Magar	Magar	
Majhi	Majhi	
Newar	Newar	
Pahari	Pahari	
Rai	Rai	
	Aathpariya	Rai
	Bahing	Rai
	Bantawa	Rai
	Chamling	Rai
	Khaling	Rai
	Kulung	Rai
	Loharung	Rai
	Mewahang Bala	Rai
	Nachhiring	Rai
	Sampang	Rai
	Thulung	Rai
	Yamphu	Rai
Raji	Raji	
Raute	Raute	
Sherpa	Sherpa	
	Lhomi	Sherpa
	Lhopa	Sherpa
	Topkegola	Sherpa
Sunuwar	Sunuwar	
Tamang	Tamang	
Thakali	Thakali	

2001 Name of Group	2011 Name of Group	The 2011 group is merged with this group in this study
Thami	Thami	
Walung	Walung	
Yakkha	Yakkha	
Madhesi Castes		
Badhaee	Badhaee	
Bangali	Bangali	
Baniya	Kathbaniyan	
Baraee	Baraee	
Bhediyar/Gaderi	Gaderi/Bhedhar	
Bing/Binda	Bin	
Brahmin - Tarai	Brahmin - Tarai	
	Dev	
Dhunia	Dhunia	
Hajam/Thakur	Hajam/Thakur	
Haluwai	Haluwai	
Kahar	Kahar	
Kalwar	Kalwar	
Kamar	Kamar	
Kanu	Kanu	
Kayastha	Kayastha	
Kewat	Kewat	
Koiri	Koiri/Kushwaha	
	Kori	
Kumhar	Kumhar	
Kurmi	Kurmi	
Lodha	Lodh	
Lohar	Lohar*	
Mali	Mali	
Mallah	Mallaha	
Marwari	Marwari	
Nuniya	Nuniya	
Nurang	Nurang	
Rajbhar	Rajbhar	
	Rajdhob	
Rajput	Rajput	
Sonar	Sonar	
Sudhi	Sudhi	
Teli	Teli	
Yadav	Yadav	

2001 Name of Group	2011 Name of Group	The 2011 group is merged with this group in this study
Madhesi Religious Minorities		
Muslim	Muslim	
Punjabi/Sikh	Punjabi/Sikh	
Jain		
Madhesi Dalits		
Bantar	Bantar/Sardar	
Chamar/Harijan/Ram	Chamar/Harijan/Ram	
Chidimar	Chidimar	
	Dhandi	
	Dhankar/Dharikar	
Dhobi	Dhobi	
Dom	Dom	
Dusadh/Paswan/Pasi	Dusadh/Pasawan/Pasi	
Halkhor	Halkhor	
	Kalar	
Khatwe	Khatwe	
Musahar	Musahar	
	Natuwa	
	Sarbaria	
Tatma	Tatma/Tatwa	
Tarai Janajatis		
	Amat	
Dhanuk	Dhanuk	
Dhimal	Dhimal	
Gangai	Gangai	
Jhangad (Dhagar/Jhagar)	Jhangad/Dhagar	
	Khawas	
Kisan	Kisan	
Koche	Koche	
Meche	Meche	
Munda	Munda	
Pattharkatta/Kushwadiya	Pattharkatta/Kushwadiya	
Rajbanshi	Rajbanshi	
Santhal/Satar	Satar/Santhal	
Tajpuriya	Tajpuriya	
Tharu	Tharu	

Appendix B. The allocation of the 2001 Census sub-groups into broad groups, with 2001 population figures.

Individual Group	Population Sub-groups	Per cent Sub-group	Population Broad Group	Per cent Broad Group
Hill Castes			**7,023,220**	**31.21**
Brahmin - Hill	2,896,477	12.87		
Chhetri	3,593,496	15.97		
Sanyasi	199,127	0.88		
Thakuri	334,120	1.48		
Hill Religious Minority			**4,893**	**0.02**
Churaute (Muslim)	4,893	0.02		
Hill Dalits			**1,723,084**	**7.66**
Badi	4,442	0.02		
Damai/Dholi	390,305	1.73		
Gaine	5,887	0.03		
Kami	895,954	3.98		
Sarki	318,989	1.42		
Dalit/Unidentified Dalit	107,507	0.48		
Hill and Mountain Janajatis			**6,481,389**	**28.80**
Bhote	19,261	0.09		
Bote	7,969	0.04		
Brahmu/Baramu	7,383	0.03		
Byangsi	2,103	0.01		
Chepang (Praja)	52,237	0.23		
Chhantel	9,814	0.04		
Danuwar	53,229	0.24		
Darai	14,859	0.07		
Dura	5,169	0.02		
Gharti/Bhujel	117,568	0.52		
Gurung	543,571	2.42		
Hayu	1,821	0.01		
Hyalmo (Yehylmo)	579	0.00		
Jirel	5,316	0.02		
Kumal	99,389	0.44		
Kusunda	164	0.00		

Individual Group	Population Sub-groups	Per cent Sub-group	Population Broad Group	Per cent Broad Group
Lepcha	3,660	0.02		
Limbu	359,379	1.60		
Magar	1,622,421	7.21		
Majhi	72,614	0.32		
Newar	1,245,232	5.53		
Pahari	11,505	0.05		
Rai	635,151	2.82		
Raji	2,399	0.01		
Raute	658	0.00		
Sherpa	154,622	0.69		
Sunuwar	95,254	0.42		
Tamang	1,282,304	5.70		
Thakali	12,973	0.06		
Thami	22,999	0.10		
Walung	1,148	0.01		
Yakkha	17,003	0.08		
Adibasi/Janajati	1635	0.01		
Madhesi Castes			**3,366,172**	**14.96**
Badhaee	45,975	0.20		
Bangali	9,860	0.04		
Baniya	126,971	0.56		
Baraee	35,434	0.16		
Bhediyar/Gaderi	17,729	0.08		
Bing/Binda	18,720	0.08		
Brahmin - Tarai	134,496	0.60		
Dhunia	1,231	0.01		
Hajam/Thakur	98,169	0.44		
Haluwai	50,583	0.22		
Kahar	34,531	0.15		
Kalwar	115,606	0.51		
Kamar	8,761	0.04		
Kanu	95,826	0.43		
Kayastha	46,071	0.20		
Kewat	136,953	0.61		
Koiri	251,274	1.12		

Individual Group	Population Sub-groups	Per cent Sub-group	Population Broad Group	Per cent Broad Group
Kumhar	54,413	0.24		
Kurmi	212,842	0.95		
Lodha	24,738	0.11		
Lohar	82,637	0.37		
Mali	11,390	0.05		
Mallah	115,986	0.52		
Marwari	43,971	0.20		
Nuniya	66,873	0.30		
Nurang	17,522	0.08		
Rajbhar	24,263	0.11		
Rajput	48,454	0.22		
Sonar	145,088	0.64		
Sudhi	89,846	0.40		
Teli	304,536	1.35		
Yadav	895,423	3.98		
Madhesi Religious Minorities			**975,125**	**4.33**
Jain	1,015	0.00		
Muslim	971,056	4.31		
Punjabi/Sikh	3,054	0.01		
Madhesi Dalits			**952,098**	**4.23**
Bantar	35,839	0.16		
Chamar/Harijan/Ram	269,661	1.20		
Chidimar	12,296	0.05		
Dhobi	73,413	0.33		
Dom	8,931	0.04		
Dusadh/Paswan/Pasi	158,525	0.70		
Halkhor	3,621	0.02		
Khatwe	74,972	0.33		
Musahar	172,434	0.77		
Tatma	76,512	0.34		
Dalit/Unidentified Dalit	65894	0.29		
Tarai Janajatis			**1,979,312**	**8.79**
Dhanuk	188,150	0.84		
Dhimal	19,537	0.09		

Individual Group	Population Sub-groups	Per cent Sub-group	Population Broad Group	Per cent Broad Group
Gangai	31,318	0.14		
Jhangad (Dhagar/Jhagar)	41,764	0.19		
Kisan	2,876	0.01		
Koche	1,429	0.01		
Meche	3,763	0.02		
Munda	660	0.00		
Pattharkatta/Kuswadiya	552	0.00		
Rajbanshi	95,812	0.43		
Santhal/Satar	42,698	0.19		
Tajpuriya	13,250	0.06		
Tharu	1,533,879	6.82		
Adibasi/Janajati	3,624	0.02		
Total	**22,505,293**	**100.00**	**22,505,293**	**100.00**

The census group 103 ('Unidentified Caste/Ethnic Group'), with 231,641 people, is not included in the total. The groups 81 ('Adibasi/Janajatis') and 102 ('Unidentified Dalits') are divided between the Hill/Mountain groups and Tarai groups following the Central Bureau of Statistics paper on population of caste and ethnic groups.[1]

By combining Madhesi Dalits and Tarai Janajatis with the corresponding Hill and Mountain groups, the following shows the comparison between the quotas in the 2008 and 2013 elections and the classification calculated here based on the 2001 census.

Group to be represented	The 2008 and 2013 quotas in per cent	Classification calculated as per the 2001 census in per cent
Madhesis	31.2	32.0
Dalits	13.0	11.9
Janajatis	37.8	37.6
Others	30.2	31.2

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1 Central Bureau of Statistics, *Rastriya Janaganana, 2058 (Jat/Jati ko Janasankhya)* (National Census, 2001 [Population of Caste/Ethnic Groups]) (Central Bureau of Statistics, Kathmandu, 2007) (in Nepali).

Appendix C. The allocation of the 2011 Census subgroups into broad groups, with 2011 population figures.

Individual Group	Population Census Group	Per cent Census Group	Population Broad Group	Per cent Broad Group
Hill Castes			**8,278,401**	**31.27**
Brahmin - Hill	3,226,903	12.19		
Chhetri	4,398,053	16.61		
Sanyasi/Dasnami	227,822	0.86		
Thakuri	425,623	1.61		
Hill Dalits			**2,275,336**	**8.60**
Badi	38,603	0.15		
Damai/Dholi	472,862	1.79		
Gaine	6,791	0.03		
Kami	1,258,554	4.75		
Lohar (also Madhesi Caste)	25,355	0.10		
Sarki	374,816	1.42		
Unknown Dalits	98355	0.37		
Hill and Mountain Janajatis			**7,210,881**	**27.24**
Bhote	17,504	0.07		
Bote	10,397	0.04		
Brahmu/Baramu	8,140	0.03		
Byasi/Sauka	3,895	0.01		
Chepang (Praja)	68,399	0.26		
Chhantyal/Chhantel	11,810	0.04		
Danuwar	84,115	0.32		
Darai	16,789	0.06		
Dura	5,394	0.02		
Gharti /Bhujel	118,650	0.45		
Gurung	545,522	2.06		
Hayu	2,925	0.01		
Hyolmo	10,752	0.04		
Jirel	5,774	0.02		
Kumal	121,196	0.46		
Kusunda	273	0.00		
Lepcha	3,445	0.01		

Individual Group	Population Census Group	Per cent Census Group	Population Broad Group	Per cent Broad Group
Limbu	387,300	1.46		
Magar	1,887,733	7.13		
Majhi	83,727	0.32		
Newar	1,321,933	4.99		
Pahari	13,615	0.05		
Rai	694089	2.62		
Raji	4,235	0.02		
Raute	618	0.00		
Sherpa	118707	0.45		
Sunuwar	55,712	0.21		
Tamang	1,539,830	5.82		
Thakali	13,215	0.05		
Thami	28,671	0.11		
Walung	1,249	0.00		
Yakkha	24,336	0.09		
Janajati Others, included, ratio	332	0.00		
Janajati Others, excluded, ratio	599	0.00		
Madhesi Castes			3,960,383	14.96
Badhaee	28,932	0.11		
Bangali	26,582	0.10		
Baraee	80,597	0.30		
Bin	75,195	0.28		
Brahmin - Tarai	134,106	0.51		
Dev	2,147	0.01		
Dhunia	14,846	0.06		
Gaderi/Bhedhar	26,375	0.10		
Hajam/Thakur	117,758	0.44		
Haluwai	83,869	0.32		
Kahar	53,159	0.20		
Kalwar	128,232	0.48		
Kamar	1,787	0.01		
Kanu	125,184	0.47		

Individual Group	Population Census Group	Per cent Census Group	Population Broad Group	Per cent Broad Group
Kathbaniyan	138,637	0.52		
Kayastha	44,304	0.17		
Kewat	153,772	0.58		
Koiri/Kushwaha	306,393	1.16		
Kori	12,276	0.05		
Kumhar	62,399	0.24		
Kurmi	231,129	0.87		
Lodh	32,837	0.12		
Lohar	76,066	0.29		
Mali	14,995	0.06		
Mallaha	173,261	0.65		
Marwari	51,443	0.19		
Nuniya	70,540	0.27		
Nurang	278	0.00		
Rajbhar	9,542	0.04		
Rajdhob	13,422	0.05		
Rajput	41,972	0.16		
Sonar	64,335	0.24		
Sudhi	93,115	0.35		
Teli	369,688	1.40		
Yadav	1,054,458	3.98		
Other Tarai excluded ratio	26,014	0.10		
Other Tarai included ratio	20,738	0.08		
Madhesi Religious Minorities			1,185,320	4.48
Muslim	1,164,255	4.40		
Punjabi/Sikh	7,176	0.03		
Tarai Unspecified, ratio	13,889	0.05		
Madhesi Dalits			1,254,216	4.74
Bantar/Sardar	55,104	0.21		
Chamar/Harijan/Ram	335,893	1.27		
Chidimar	1,254	0.00		
Dhandi	1,982	0.01		
Dhankar/Dharikar	2,681	0.01		

Individual Group	Population Census Group	Per cent Census Group	Population Broad Group	Per cent Broad Group
Dhobi	109,079	0.41		
Dom	13,268	0.05		
Dusadh/Paswan/Pasi	208,910	0.79		
Halkhor	4,003	0.02		
Kalar	1,077	0.00		
Khatwe	100,921	0.38		
Musahar	234,490	0.89		
Natuwa	3,062	0.01		
Sarbaria	4,906	0.02		
Tatma/Tatwa	104,865	0.40		
Dalit Others ratio	56,999	0.22		
Tarai Others ratio	15,722	0.06		
Tarai Janajatis			**2,308,040**	**8.72**
Amat	3,830	0.01		
Dhanuk	219,808	0.83		
Dhimal	26,298	0.10		
Gangai	36,988	0.14		
Jhangad (Dhagar/Jhagar)	37,424	0.14		
Khawas	18,513	0.07		
Kisan	1,739	0.01		
Koche	1,635	0.01		
Meche	4,867	0.02		
Munda	2,350	0.01		
Pattharkatta/Kuswadiya	3,182	0.01		
Rajbanshi	115,242	0.44		
Santhal/Satar	51,735	0.20		
Tajpuriya	19,213	0.07		
Tharu	1,737,470	6.56		
Tarai Other, ratio	27449	0.10		
Janajatis Other ratio	297	0.00		
Total	**26,472,577**	**100.00**	**26,472,577**	**100.00**

In 2011, a number of new groups were introduced. Some were subgroups of groups already defined. In this paper, we have merged the

sub-groups into the group of which they formed a part earlier. See Appendix A for details.

In the census there were a number of 'unspecified' people, which means that they have not been allocated to any one of the 125 identified groups although some were identified as belonging to the broader groups. The unspecified are:

Dalit Others	155,354
Janajati Others	1,228
Tarai Others	103,811
Undefined Others	15,277

The group 'Undefined Others' is ignored in the table above, but 'Dalit Others', 'Janajati Others' and 'Tarai Others' have been distributed according to the ratio of the identified population figures. This means that whenever population is allocated to a broad group the ratio-based figures are included, but when any one of the 125 census groups is identified those numbers are not included.

Appendix D. The representation of groups in the parliaments of the 1990s.

Group	1991		1994		1999		Census 2001
	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	In per cent
Hill Castes	**110**	**53.7**	**128**	**62.4**	**119**	**58.0**	**31.2**
Brahmin - Hill	75	36.6	89	43.4	76	37.1	12.9
Chhetri	20	9.8	23	11.2	25	12.2	16.0
Sanyasi			1	0.5	2	1.0	0.9
Thakuri	15	7.3	15	7.3	16	7.8	1.5
Hill Religious Minority							**0.0**
Hill Muslim (Churaute)							0.0
Hill Dalits	**1**	**0.5**					**7.7**
Badi							0.0
Damai/Dholi	1	0.5					1.7
Gaine							0.0
Kami							4.0
Sarki							1.4
Hill and Mountain Janajatis	**52**	**25.4**	**37**	**18.0**	**44**	**21.5**	**28.8**
Bhote							0.1
Bote							0.0
Bramu/Baramu							0.0
Byangsi							0.0
Chepang (Praja)							0.2
Chhantel							0.0
Danuwar	1	0.5					0.2
Darai							0.1
Dura							0.0
Gharti /Bhujel	1	0.5			1	0.5	0.5
Gurung	8	3.9	5	2.4	6	2.9	2.4
Hayu							0.0
Hyalmo (Yehylmo)							0.0
Jirel							0.0
Kumal							0.4
Kusunda							0.0
Lepcha							0.0

Group	1991		1994		1999		Census 2001
	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	In per cent
Limbu	7	3.4	3	1.5	8	3.9	1.6
Magar	6	2.9	5	2.4	4	2.0	7.2
Majhi							0.3
Newar	16	7.8	12	5.9	14	6.8	5.5
Pahari							0.1
Rai	6	2.9	5	2.4	5	2.4	2.8
Raji							0.0
Raute							0.0
Sherpa			2	1.0			0.7
Sunuwar					1	0.5	0.4
Tamang	4	2.0	4	2.0	4	2.0	5.7
Thakali	3	1.5	1	0.5	1	0.5	0.1
Thami							0.1
Walung							0.0
Yakkha							0.1
Madhesi Castes	**19**	**9.3**	**21**	**10.2**	**29**	**14.1**	**15.0**
Badhaee							0.2
Bangali							0.0
Baniya			1	0.5	2	1.0	0.6
Baraee					1	0.5	0.2
Bhediyar/Gaderi							0.1
Bing/Binda							0.1
Brahmin - Tarai	5	2.4	5	2.4	4	2.0	0.6
Dhunia							0.0
Hajam/Thakur							0.4
Haluwai							0.2
Kahar							0.2
Kalwar							0.5
Kamar							0.0
Kanu	1	0.5					0.4
Kayastha	3	1.5	3	1.5	1	0.5	0.2
Kewat							0.6
Koiri	2	1.0	2	1.0			1.1
Kumhar	1	0.5			1	0.5	0.2
Kurmi					1	0.5	0.9
Lodha							0.1
Lohar							0.4
Mali							0.1

Group	1991		1994		1999		Census 2001
	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	In per cent
Mallah							0.5
Marwari					3	1.5	0.2
Nuniya							0.3
Nurang							0.1
Rajbhar							0.1
Rajput	3	1.5	2	1.0			0.2
Sonar							0.6
Sudhi							0.4
Teli					4	2.0	1.4
Yadav	4	2.0	8	3.9	12	5.9	4.0
Madhesi Religious Minorities	**5**	**2.4**	**5**	**2.4**	**4**	**2.0**	**4.3**
Jain							0.0
Muslim	5	2.4	5	2.4	4	2.0	4.3
Punjabi/Sikh							0.0
Madhesi Dalits	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**4.29**
Bantar							0.2
Chamar, Harijan, Ram							1.2
Chidimar							0.1
Dhobi							0.3
Dom							0.0
Dusadh/Paswan/Pasi							0.7
Halkhor							0.0
Khatwe							0.3
Musahar							0.8
Tatma							0.3
Tarai Janajatis	**18**	**8.8**	**14**	**6.8**	**9**	**4.4**	**8.8**
Dhanuk					1	0.5	0.8
Dhimal							0.1
Gangai							0.1
Jhangad (Dhagar/Jhagar)							0.2
Kisan							0.0
Koche							0.0
Meche							0.0
Munda							0.0

Group	1991		1994		1999		Census 2001
	Number of MPs	**In per cent**	**Number of MPs**	**In per cent**	**Number of MPs**	**In per cent**	**In per cent**
Pattharkatta/ Kuswadiya							0.0
Rajbanshi	1	0.5					0.4
Santhal/Satar							0.2
Tajpuriya							0.1
Tharu	17	8.3	14	6.8	8	3.9	6.8
Total	**205**	**100.0**	**205**	**100.0**	**205**	**100.0**	**100.0**

The comparison of the three elections of the 1990s is against the 2001 census because the 2011 census had not been published at the time of the analysis, but the assessment of excluded groups in Section 5 (pp. 14-23) has used the 2011 census only. New groups introduced in 2011 are not included in the figures of this appendix for the elections held in the 1990s. The population shares of sub-groups do not always add up to the share for the broader groups, because the broader group may contain categories of unspecified others, see the explanation under the table of Appendix C.

Appendix E. The representation of groups in the Constituent Assembly of 2008.

Group	FPTP		List PR		Total, incl. the 26 appointees		Census 2001
	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	In per cent
Hill Castes	**99**	**41.3**	**94**	**28.1**	**201**	**33.4**	**31.2**
Brahmin - Hill	61	25.4	61	18.2	127	21.1	12.9
Chhetri	29	12.1	23	6.9	53	8.8	16.0
Sanyasi			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.9
Thakuri	9	3.8	9	2.7	20	3.3	1.5
Hill Religious Minority	**0**	**0.0**	**1**	**0.3**	**1**	**0.2**	**0.0**
Hill Muslim (Churaute)			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.0
Hill Dalits	**6**	**2.5**	**29**	**8.7**	**35**	**5.8**	**7.7**
Badi			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.0
Damai/Dholi	1	0.4	5	1.5	6	1.0	1.7
Gaine							0.0
Kami	3	1.3	19	5.7	22	3.7	4.0
Sarki	2	0.8	2	0.6	4	0.7	1.4
Unknown Dalits			2	0.6	2	0.3	
Hill and Mountain Janajatis	**61**	**25.4**	**90**	**26.8**	**160**	**26.6**	**28.8**
Bhote			2	0.6	3	0.5	0.1
Bote							0.0
Bramu/Baramu					1	0.2	0.0
Byangsi							0.0
Chepang(Praja)			2	0.6	2	0.3	0.2
Chhantel							0.0
Danuwar	1	0.4	1	0.3	2	0.3	0.2
Darai							0.1
Dura			2	0.6	2	0.3	0.0
Gharti /Bhujel			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.5
Gurung	11	4.6	9	2.7	21	3.5	2.4
Hayu							0.0
Hyalmo (Yehylmo)			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.0
Jirel			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.0
Kumal			3	0.9	3	0.5	0.4

Group	FPTP		List PR		Total, incl. the 26 appointees		Census 2001
	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	In per cent
Kusunda							0.0
Lepcha			2	0.6	2	0.3	0.0
Limbu	7	2.9	6	1.8	13	2.2	1.6
Magar	13	5.4	16	4.8	30	5.0	7.2
Majhi			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.3
Newar	12	5.0	16	4.8	31	5.2	5.5
Pahari					1	0.2	0.1
Rai	8	3.3	11	3.3	19	3.2	2.8
Raji							0.0
Raute							0.0
Sherpa			4	1.2	5	0.8	0.7
Sunuwar			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.4
Tamang	8	3.3	8	2.4	16	2.7	5.7
Thakali	1	0.4	2	0.6	3	0.5	0.1
Thami			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.1
Walung							0.0
Yakkha							0.1
Madhesi Castes	**50**	**20.8**	**69**	**20.5**	**122**	**20.3**	**15.0**
Badhaee							0.2
Bangali							0.0
Baniya	2	0.8	2	0.6	4	0.7	0.6
Baraee	1	0.4			1	0.2	0.2
Bhediyar/Gaderi							0.1
Bing/Binda							0.1
Brahmin - Tarai	6	2.5	8	2.4	15	2.5	0.6
Dhunia							0.0
Hajam/Thakur			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.4
Haluwai							0.2
Kahar							0.2
Kalwar							0.5
Kamar							0.0
Kanu	1	0.4	2	0.6	4	0.7	0.4
Kayastha	1	0.4	4	1.2	5	0.8	0.2
Kewat							0.6
Koiri	5	2.1	5	1.5	10	1.7	1.1
Kumhar			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.2
Kurmi	3	1.3	1	0.3	4	0.7	0.9

Group	FPTP		List PR		Total, incl. the 26 appointees		Census 2001
	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	In per cent
Lodha							0.1
Lohar			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.4
Mali							0.1
Mallah							0.5
Marwari	1	0.4	9	2.7	11	1.8	0.2
Nuniya			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.3
Nurang							0.1
Rajbhar							0.1
Rajput	3	1.3	2	0.6	5	0.8	0.2
Sonar	1	0.4	1	0.3	2	0.3	0.6
Sudhi	3	1.3	3	0.9	6	1.0	0.4
Teli	1	0.4	7	2.1	8	1.3	1.4
Yadav	22	9.2	21	6.3	43	7.2	4.0
Madhesi Religious Minorities	**6**	**2.5**	**9**	**2.7**	**16**	**2.7**	**4.3**
Jain							0.0
Muslim	6	2.5	9	2.7	16	2.7	4.3
Punjabi/Sikh							0.0
Madhesi Dalits	**1**	**0.4**	**15**	**4.5**	**16**	**2.7**	**4.2**
Bantar			3	0.9	3	0.5	0.2
Chamar/Harijan/Ram			2	0.6	2	0.3	1.2
Chidimar							0.1
Dhobi			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.3
Dom							0.0
Dusadh/Paswan/Pasi	1	0.4	8	2.4	9	1.5	0.7
Halkhor							0.0
Khatwe							0.3
Musahar							0.8
Tatma			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.3
Tarai Janajatis	**17**	**7.1**	**28**	**8.4**	**50**	**8.3**	**8.8**
Dhanuk			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.8
Dhimal	1	0.4	1	0.3	2	0.3	0.1
Gangai	1	0.4			1	0.2	0.1
Jhangad (Dhagar/Jhagar)			2	0.6	2	0.3	0.2

Group	FPTP		List PR		Total, incl. the 26 appointees		Census 2001
	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	In per cent
Kisan							0.0
Koche							0.0
Meche					1	0.2	0.0
Munda							0.0
Pattharkatta/ Kuswadiya							0.0
Rajbanshi	2	0.8	3	0.9	5	0.8	0.4
Santhal/Satar			1	0.3	1	0.2	0.2
Tajpuriya					1	0.2	0.1
Tharu	13	5.4	20	6.0	36	6.0	6.8
Total	**240**	**100.0**	**335**	**100.0**	**601**	**100.0**	**100.0**

The comparison of the 2008 elections here is against the 2001 census because the 2011 census had not been published at the time of the analysis, but the assessment of excluded groups in Section 5 is done against the 2011 census only. New groups introduced in 2011 are not included in the figures of this appendix.

The total census figures for some broad groups such as Hill Jana-jatis do not add up to the figure given because there are contributions from unspecified groups, see the comments under the tables in Appendix B.

Appendix F. The representation of groups in the Constituent Assembly of 2013.

Group	FPTP		List PR		Total, incl.the 26 appointees*		Census 2011
	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	In per cent
Hill Castes	**132**	**55.0**	**102**	**30.5**			**31.27**
Brahmin - Hill	77	32.1	62	18.6			12.19
Chhetri	41	17.1	28	8.4			16.61
Sanyasi/Dasnami	3	1.3	4	1.2			0.86
Thakuri	11	4.6	8	2.4			1.61
Hill Dalits	**1**	**0.4**	**26**	**7.8**			**8.60**
Badi							0.15
Damai/Dholi			7	2.1			1.79
Gaine							0.03
Kami	1	0.4	15	4.5			4.75
Lohar (also Madhesi Caste)							0.10
Sarki			4	1.2			1.42
Hill and Mountain Janajatis	**46**	**19.2**	**89**	**26.7**			**27.24**
Bhote							0.07
Bote							0.04
Brahmu/Baramu							0.03
Byasi/Sauka							0.01
Chepang(Praja)							0.26
Chhantyal/Chhantel	1	0.4					0.04
Danuwar							0.32
Darai			1	0.3			0.06
Dura							0.02
Gharti /Bhujel			1	0.3			0.45
Gurung	7	2.9	10	3.0			2.06
Hayu							0.01
Hyolmo							0.04

* The appointments had not been completed at the time of writing this paper.

Group	FPTP		List PR		Total, incl.the 26 appointees		Census 2011
	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	In per cent
Jirel							0.02
Kumal							0.46
Kusunda							0.00
Lepcha							0.01
Limbu	8	3.3	7	2.1			1.46
Magar	5	2.1	17	5.1			7.13
Majhi			2	0.6			0.32
Newar	13	5.4	23	6.9			4.99
Pahari			1	0.3			0.05
Rai	4	1.7	9	2.7			2.62
Raji							0.02
Raute							0.00
Sherpa	2	0.8	1	0.3			0.45
Sunuwar	1	0.4					0.21
Tamang	4	1.7	12	3.6			5.82
Thakali	1	0.4	4	1.2			0.05
Thami							0.11
Walung							0.00
Yakkha			1	0.3			0.09
Madhesi Castes	**34**	**14.2**	**61**	**18.2**			**14.96**
Badhaee							0.11
Bangali							0.10
Baraee							0.30
Bin	1	0.4	1	0.3			0.28
Brahmin - Tarai	3	1.3	10	3.0			0.51
Dev			1	0.3			0.01
Dhunia							0.06
Gaderi/Bhedhar							0.10
Hajam/Thakur			1	0.3			0.44
Haluwai							0.32
Kahar							0.20

Group	FPTP		List PR		Total, incl.the 26 appointees		Census 2011
	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	In per cent
Kalwar	1	0.4	3	0.9			0.48
Kamar							0.01
Kanu			1	0.3			0.47
Kathbaniyan	1	0.4					0.52
Kayastha	2	0.8	4	1.2			0.17
Kewat	1	0.4					0.58
Koiri/Kushwaha	2	0.8	2	0.6			1.16
Kori							0.05
Kumhar							0.24
Kurmi		0.0	3	0.9			0.87
Lodh							0.12
Lohar (also Hill Dalit)			1	0.3			0.29
Mali			1	0.3			0.06
Mallaha							0.65
Marwari			6	1.8			0.19
Nuniya							0.27
Nurang							0.00
Rajbhar							0.04
Rajdhob							0.05
Rajput	2	0.8	2	0.6			0.16
Sonar							0.24
Sudhi	1	0.4	4	1.2			0.35
Teli	3	1.3	6	1.8			1.40
Yadav	16	6.7	13	3.9			3.98
Unknown but included caste[*]			1	0.3			
Unknown but excluded caste[**]	1	0.4	1	0.3			
Madhesi Dalits	**1**	**0.4**	**11**	**3.3**			**4.74**
Bantar/Sardar			1	0.3			0.21
Chamar/Harijan/ Ram			3	0.9			1.27

* One person within the Madhesi Castes has not been allocated to a census group, but is said to belong to an included caste.
** Two persons within the Madhesi Castes have not been allocated to a census group, but are said to belong to excluded castes.

Group	FPTP		List PR		Total, incl.the 26 appointees		Census 2011
	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	In per cent
Chidimar							0.00
Dhandi							0.01
Dhankar/ Dharikar							0.01
Dhobi							0.41
Dom							0.05
Dusadh/Paswan/ Pasi			5	1.5			0.79
Halkhor							0.02
Kalar							0.00
Khatwe	1	0.4					0.38
Musahar			1	0.3			0.89
Natuwa							0.01
Sarbaria							0.02
Tatma/Tatwa			1	0.3			0.40
Tarai Janajatis	**21**	**8.8**	**32**	**9.6**			**8.72**
Amat							0.01
Dhanuk	2	0.8	3	0.9			0.83
Dhimal							0.10
Gangai							0.14
Jhangad (Dhagar/Jhagar)							0.14
Khawas							0.07
Kisan							0.01
Koche							0.01
Meche							0.02
Munda							0.01
Pattharkatta/ Kuswadiya							0.01
Rajbanshi			4	1.2			0.44
Santhal/Satar			1	0.3			0.20
Tajpuriya							0.07

Group	FPTP		List PR		Total, incl.the 26 appointees		Census 2011
	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	Number of MPs	In per cent	In per cent
Tharu	19	7.9	23	6.9			6.56
Unknown but excluded*			1	0.3			
Religious Groups	**5**	**2.1**	**14**	**4.2**			**4.48**
Muslim	5	2.1	14	4.2			4.40
Punjabi/Sikh							0.03
Total	**240**	**100.0**	**335**	**100.0**			**100.00**

* One person within the Tarai Janajati has not been allocated to a census group, but belongs to the small, excluded Tarai Janajati group, Aghori.

The total census figures for some broad groups such as Hill Janajatis do not add up to the figure given because there are contributions from unspecified groups, see the comments under the tables in Appendix C. Please note that the number of groups is lower than 125 because the sub-groups such as Sherpa, Rai, etc, have been merged into the main group of Sherpa, Rai, etc (see Appendix A).

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