

# Political and Cultural Inclusion in Nepal

**Minraj Paudel**

Lecturer

Department of Economics Education, TU, Kirtipur

Email: minrajpaudel19@gmail.com

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## ABSTRACT

*Political and social inclusion refers to political participation at different levels of the power structure and the language, religion, social habits, and knowledge of a particular group of people. The review of the literature method is used in the study. The study aims to analyze the political and cultural inclusion and their implementation status in Nepal. The secondary data have been studied by textual, average, percentage, and number. It is found that the constitution of Nepal has given equal rights to everyone and provided special quotas for women and others led to federal to local governments and has managed different fundamental rights. On the other hand, it is seen that no cultural provisions in implemented practices. The women present are 37.33 percent, 40.75 percent, and 16.02 percent in NA, HoR, and PA, in local governments, and in political parties' central committees, respectively.*

*Political and social inclusion indicates the political participation at different levels of the power structure and the language, religion, social habits, and knowledge of a particular group of people. The review of the literature method is used in the study. This study analyzes the political and cultural inclusion and its implementation status in Nepal. The secondary data has been studied, and these data have been analyzed by text, average, percentage, and number. Nepal's constitution has given everyone equal rights, provided special quotas for women and others, led federal to local governments, and managed different fundamental rights. On the other hand, it is seen that no cultural provisions have been implemented in practice. The women present are 37.33 percent, 40.75 percent, and 16.02 percent in NA, HoR, and PA, in local governments, and in political parties' central committees, respectively.*

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**Keywords:** Political-inclusion, cultural-inclusion, constitution-rights, representative, descriptive-method.

## Introduction

Inclusion legitimizes the process of subjugation and domination of vulnerable groups, and these groups have existed in our society for a long time (Hodkinson, 2011). However, this concept contradicts the involuntary exclusion of individuals and groups from social, political, and economic perspectives. It removes the impediment to their full participation in society (Atkinson & Marler, 2019). It promotes opportunities for

involvement in multi-dimensional, collaborative processes, enhances capacity, fulfills the role assigned by standards, and enhances bonds, unity, integration, and solidarity at the collective level by expanding the relationship of respect and recognition.

There are different dimensions of inclusion, and its indicators are used differently depending on the situation and circumstances. It means that roles, requirements, and conditions or circumstances are different. Still, the value of the index of any inclusive indicators gives the same meaning to all. Inclusion is classified into social, political, economic, cultural, spatial, educational, gender, linguistic, and ethnic inclusion. However, the Nepal Social Inclusion Index (NSII) introduces new dimensions needed to understand inclusion in Nepal's context and measure inclusion in different social groups (Das et al., 2014). Hillary Silver says there are at least three social exclusion and inclusion senses. The first is the strong image, the outline, and the idea of society. The second is the history, culture, institution, and social structure of the society and the third is the social context (Rajat, 2015). Donlevi (2009) has used ten dimensions to measure inclusion: social, cultural, political, economic, legal, ethnic, administrative, educational, psychological, spiritual, and philosophical in his study of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools.

Political inclusion describes the degree of political participation at different levels of the power structure. It includes the concepts of representation, "voice," and 'agency.' Representation Domain Index is calculated by measuring factors such as the representation of political parties in the central committees, representation in the Council of Ministers, and representation in the national bureaucracy. 'Voice' and 'agency' indicate whether or not it is possible to hear a person's voice when trying to access services (Das et al., 2014). Political inclusion is a way to ensure full political participation and representation for all based on equal law. Likewise, expanding voting rights or creating advisory councils for different immigrant communities increases political inclusion (UNESCO, 2020).

Culture is the characteristics and knowledge of a particular group of people, including language, religion, food, social habits, music, etc. (Zimmermann, 2017). All of these promote law and policy, while law and policy ensure cultural participation, access, and the right to express and interpret culture. From an urban policy perspective, cultural inclusion calls for a mix of best-problem-solving, creative, innovative, and entrepreneurial practices (UNESCO, 2020). The cultural dimension is a significant marker of inclusion/inclusion in Nepal. It is seen as a driver of social inclusion. Changes in traditional value systems encourage social inclusion (Das et al., 2014). Traditional governance, religious beliefs, linguistic beliefs, etc., are used to explain cultural inclusion.

Nepal is a country of high diversity. The ethnic, cultural, geographical, linguistic, and religious diversity has given this country a distinct identity (Bhandari, 2016). Nepal's first law was the Civil Code of 1854, which bound all the various groups in Nepal's

single legal system. It made the law based on Hindu values and the caste system, but later it became institutionalized. This law provided discriminatory facilities and obligations to each caste and sub-caste (Shaw, 2016). Likewise, different social groups were treated differently based on this law. The history of modern Nepal began in BS 1768/69 with the "Unification Campaign" by the Gurkha rulers. King Prithvi Narayan Shah was the initiator of this campaign. He dreamed of a unified Nepal, but he sowed the seeds of exclusion by declaring Nepal as 'Asali Hidustan', meaning a 'true Hindu kingdom' (Kafle, 2008)

The worst instance is the oppression of Dalits and women. They were considered impure and treated severely in terms of legal punishment. For example, a "lower caste" man committing adultery with a "higher caste" woman would have been jailed for up to 14 years. However, if the man belonged to the same caste as the woman, he would have received a much lighter sentence. Therefore, for many groups, the conquest by the Gorkha rulers and their subsequent unification of Nepal was 'exclusionary inclusion' (Sha, 2016).

The 1990 constitution, drafted after the People's Movement against the Panchayat regime, established Nepal as a more inclusive state. It described the country as 'multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and democratic' and stated that all citizens were 'equal irrespective of religion, race, gender, caste, tribe or ideology.' The constitution also gave all communities the right to preserve and promote their language, script, and culture, education for children in their mother tongue and practice their religion. Nevertheless, it retained some contradictions and ambiguities, explicitly protecting 'traditional practices.' The constitution provided space for another significant development- the growth of civil society organizations, especially those based on ethnic and caste identity. Likewise, the constitution of Nepal 2015 has also provided the rights to the people for every sector of the society.

The lack of laws is not the main issue in Nepal. Only current acts, rules, and constitutions are not simple. The Constitution and the Civil Rights Act of 1955 also prohibit discrimination on the grounds of "religion, race, sex, caste, tribe, ideological conviction or any of these." The laws also prohibit untouchability, denial of access to any public place, or depriving citizens of the use of public utilities. The women, Dalit, Janajati, and Terai-Madhesi's movements have succeeded in placing questions of gender equality, justice, identities, and discrimination; and bringing fundamental issues of fair ethnic and political representation to the fore. Resulting, all laws and acts have been revised and redefined once again to secure the people's fundamental rights. In the current time, these provisions allow full rights for political parties and cultural groups to participate in the state's mainstream.

However, there are some problems or shortcomings in these provisions. That may be why some leaders of political parties, experts, media, social activists, and political

thinkers are not satisfied, and some political parties have declared that we do not abide by the constitution of Nepal. Why are they saying that? Similarly, everyone has accepted that Nepal is a country united in diversity. Therefore, the Constitution of Nepal should cover all these dimensions of inclusion. However, some unsolved questions arise here. For example, has Nepal's constitution fully included the political and cultural rights of the people? In what form of these provisions has been included in the body?

Similarly, the provisions included in the constitution for political and cultural inclusion are one thing, and its proper implementation is another. Without proper implementation, the body's requirements have no meaning in real life of the people. So one next question arises: whether the constitution has been implemented well in practice following the values and norms? These are the main problems of this study.

Based on these problems, it can be said that the main aim of this study is to analyze the political and cultural provisions of the constitution of Nepal and its implementation practice. However, the general objectives are to explore the political and cultural inclusive clauses mentioned in Nepal's constitution and examine the implementation status of these provisions in real life of the people. This study needs to be done because the results give vital information to the policymakers and the people who deserve it. Policymakers will realize that these provisions are not in the current constitution and should be included in the future. The study results also provide other important information to the government and its bodies about the actual implementation status of the constitution in practice. In the same way, the communities entitled to these constitutional rights may know that the body has given us these rights and that we must consume these and speak up for the remaining requests.

### **Methodology**

The survey research design based on literature review has been used in the article. This design is helpful to develop long-range planning for further study (Gothberg, 1990). It is a systematic collection of data concerning a system, and its primary purpose is to collect, organize and disseminate the information (Singh, 1998). In reviewing the literature, the researcher selects, reads, and writes the related text and submits it to the supervisor, and then he concise and lucid the text (Mcmenamain, 2006). All these processes and norms have been followed in this research. Essential text materials were collected using the purposive sampling technique. Reliable and authentic reference books, research-based articles, research-based papers, and Ph.D. dissertations were used as literature from e-library and physical libraries, and grey literature was not comprised.

Likewise, both qualitative and quantitative data have been used, and secondary data have been used. These data were collected from the constitution of Nepal, and several periodic plans of the National Planning Commission, census report -2012 of the central bureau of statistics of Nepal, publications of Institute for Integrated Development

Studies (IIDS), and other authentic sources like library and e-library's books, articles and different reports. Purposive sampling methods were used to choose the constitution of Nepal. It focused on generalization and criteria of internal/external validity. The study site of this study was the entire Nepal. The collected data were analyzed using descriptive statistics such as average or mean table, and then the results were interpreted. Ethical consideration of the research has entirely been applied.

## **Result and Discussion**

Nepal's diversity and inclusive features are clearly defined by the constitution of Nepal in article 3 of the preliminary Part. There said that Nepal is multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-cultural characteristics. In addition, it is a geographically diverse country and having common aspirations and being united by a bond of allegiance to national independence, territorial integrity, national interest, and prosperity of Nepal, collectively constitute the nation. Moreover, in clause (1) of Article 4 of the same Part, Nepal is an independent, indivisible, sovereign, secular, inclusive, democratic, socialism-oriented, federal democratic republican state. The fifteenth periodic plan of Nepal has appreciated the sentiment of the constitution concerning inclusion. Based on similar provisions of the constitution, economic plan, and other laws, the chapter caters for analysis, interpretation, and discussion of the obtained results from the study. In addition, it presents the analysis of the collected data from secondary sources. However, this study is mainly divided into political and cultural inclusion.

### **Political Inclusion in Nepal**

In the case of Nepal, political activity has a decisive impact on the whole process of exclusion/inclusion. Political inclusion can be measured by representing social groups in various state bodies based on inclusive rules. For that, some measurable indicators can be used, like political and civic participation, representation in the Central Committee of major political parties, Council of Ministers, National Assembly, House of Representatives, Provincial Assembly, and local-level government. Nevertheless, not all researchers use all kinds of indicators, like Burchardt et al. (2002) had used one indicator like participation in local and national decision-making to measure political inclusion.

Nepal is a federal democratic republic nation with a multi-party system. In 2008, the CA declared the country for the Federal Democratic Republic. In 2015, the CA decided a three-tier governing structure incorporating the center, provinces, and local governments (Acharya, 2018). Hence, it is called the parliament system. The executive branch of government includes the President, the prime minister, the council of ministers or cabinet, constitutional and statutory bodies, and the bureaucracy, comprising various personnel services, formed to carry out executive functions. The President does not perform day-to-day executive functions. The cabinet is the highest executive body with the authority to issue directives to guide, control, and govern (Asia Foundation, 2012).

### **Council of Ministers in Nepal**

The Constitution of Nepal has mentioned the formation process of the council of ministers. According to article 76 (1), the President shall appoint the leader of a parliamentary party that commands the majority in the House of Representatives (HoR) as the prime minister. The council of ministers shall be constituted under his or her chairpersonship. Likewise, clause (9) of the same article has said that the President shall, on the recommendation of the prime minister, constitute the council of ministers comprising a maximum of twenty-five ministers, including the prime minister, by the inclusive principle, from amongst the members of the federal parliament.

In practice, all these provisions have been fulfilled. To this date, Nepal has 23 members in the council of ministers, including the prime minister, ministers, state ministers, and assistant ministers, but there is no body as assistant minister. If we watch with an inclusive eye, we can see somewhat inclusive. Among 23 ministers, 52.17 percent from the Hill Brahman/Chhetri group, 17.39 percent from the Janajati groups, 13.04 percent from the women, 8.70 percent from the Terai groups, 4.35 percent from the Newar group, and 4.35 percent from the Dalit group are included in the council of minister.

Diversity and inclusive features of the Nepal are clearly defined by the constitution of Nepal in its article 3 of the preliminary part. There said that Nepal is a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-cultural characteristics and geographical diversities country, and having common aspirations and being united by a bond of allegiance to national independence, territorial integrity, national interest and prosperity of Nepal, collectively constitute the nation; and it further said in its clause (1) of article 4 of same part, Nepal is an independent, indivisible, sovereign, secular, inclusive, democratic, socialism-oriented, federal democratic republican state. Fifteenth periodic plan of Nepal has appreciated the sentiment of the constitution concerning inclusion. Based on similar provisions of constitution, periodic plan and other laws the chapter caters for analysis, interpretation and discussion of the obtained results from the study and presents the analysis of the collected data from secondary sources. However, this study is mainly divided into two parts like political and cultural inclusion.

### **National Assembly in Nepal**

National Assembly (NA) is also called the upper house of representatives. The constitution of Nepal has managed the NA in the article (86). The sub-clause (a) of clause (2) has said that there should be fifty-six members in NA. Among them, at least three women, one Dalit and one disabled or minority community, should be selected. Similarly, from each state by an electoral college, the same clause has said in sub-clause (b) that three members consist of at least one woman nominated by the president on the recommendation of the government of Nepal. Therefore, at least 22 women members of 59 must be selected for the NA (21 from Electoral College of provinces; minimum three from each province and one from president's nomination (Nepal Law Commission,

2015). Therefore, the above constitutional provision is fully implemented in practice, and the representation of women in the NA is 31.88 percent. Similarly, according to the above provision of the constitution, the representation of the Dalit group is seven members or 11.86 percent, and the representation of disabilities/minorities' group is also the same number as Dalit in the NA of Nepal.

### House of Representative in Nepal

Nepal is divided into seven provinces and 165 election constituencies for the federal election to the House of Representatives (HoR) under the first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system based on article 84 of the Constitution of Nepal. Article 84 has said that political parties should ensure the proportional representation (PR) of women, Dalits, Indigenous peoples, Khas-Arya, Madhesi, Tharu, Muslims, and backward regions. Persons with a disability should be given a certain quota while filing candidacy under the PR system for the HoR and the Provincial Assembly (PA) elections (Nepal Law Commission, 2015). Nepal held its first national and province-level legislative elections in 2017 AD for 60 percent or 495 seats (165 for the HoR and 330 for the PA) using the FPTP electoral system and for 40 % or 330 seats (110 for the HoR and 220 for the PA) using the PR electoral system. In total, 275 seats are for the HoR and 550 for the PA (Election Commission, 2018).

Clause (8) of Article 84 has said that "notwithstanding anything contained elsewhere in this Part, at least one-third of the total number of members elected from each political party representing in the Federal Parliament must be women. Therefore, according to sub-clause (a) of clause (1) and sub-clause (a) of clause (2) of Article 86, every political party has to elect one-third of women of elected members. However, if they are not elected, such a political party must elect women to meet one-third in Federal Parliament according to the following provision like sub-clause (b) of clause (1) (Nepal Law Commission, 2015).

**Table 1. House of Representatives by the FPTP Electoral System - 2074**

Provinces	1	2	Bagmati	Gandaki	5	Karnali	SP	Total
Male	26	32	32	17	24	12	15	158
Female	2	0	1	1	2	0	1	7
Total	28	32	33	18	26	12	16	165

Source: Election Commission Nepal – 2018.

The FPTP electoral system elects the 165 members for the HoR, and among them, only 7 members, or 4.24 percent are women, and 158, or 95.76 percent, are males. So it can be said that the house of Representatives of Nepal is male-dominated. Province No. 2 and Karnali province are nil in women participation. Post of Member of Parliament is directly related to the people, development programs of the election regime, etc. When the people elect leaders, their social status, respect, and regards are high in the society,

and they are directly involved in every task of the society. Therefore, the importance of this post is high in society. Nevertheless, it is true in our society that women, Dalits, Disabilities, and Minorities' participation are deficient. However, 110 members of the HoR are elected by the PR electoral system, and among them, 84 members (76.36 percent) are women, and 26 members (23.64 percent) are males. The total number of HoR is 275; among them, the women are only 33.09 percent.

This data covers nearly the Nepalese social tradition, this tradition is that "women can't well do anything beyond the household, therefore, it is better that they have to stay within the home". This data shows that women are somewhat functioning outside the home, but they have no right to do something new. It is proved that anybody cannot do anything without any power and rights. Therefore, it can also be said that it is a modified antique tradition because, in that tradition, it was believed that women are made to care for children, parents, husband, and so on, and they have to do that. However, something is different between past and present. At present, women are somewhat outside the home, but they are rights-less and powerless, so none of them have been able to do anything new.

### Provincial Assembly in Nepal

The women's participation in the provincial government shows the political inclusion of Nepal. The constitution of Nepal has said that women must be there at least one-third of the total number of members elected to the Federal Parliament. It means 33.33 percent of the women must be elected as a member of provincial parliament.

**Table 2. Provinces' Assembly (PA) by the FPTP Electoral System - 2074**

Election System	PA by FPTP System			PA by PR System			Total PA Seats		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Provinces	53	3	56	6	31	37	59	34	93
Pro.No. 1	59	5	64	11	32	43	70	37	107
Pro.No. 2	61	5	66	12	32	44	73	37	110
Bagmati	34	2	36	6	18	24	40	20	60
Gandaki	50	2	52	4	31	35	54	33	87
Lumbini	24	0	24	0	16	16	24	16	40
Karnali	31	1	32	4	17	21	35	18	53
Sudurpashchim	312	18	330	43	177	220	355	195	550

Source: Election Commission Nepal – 2018.

Two election systems have been used to elect the members of the PA for seven provinces first is the FPTP electoral system, and the second is the PR electoral system. There is seen low participation (18 of 330 members, or only 5.45 percent) of women from the first electoral system and high participation (177 of 220 members, or 80.45 percent) from the second electoral system. The total number of the PAs' members is 550; among



them, the number of women of the PAs' members is 195 or 35.45 percent only. There is seen further participation of women in different provinces. The highest participation of women (37.93 percent) has reached province No. 5, and the lowest (33.33 percent) is seen in Gandaki province.

The total number of NA, HoR, and PA members is 825 (59 from the NA, 275 from the HoR, and 550 from the PA). However, among them, women's participation as a member of parliament for state and provinces is only 308 (22 from the NA, 91 from the HoR, and 195 from the PA) or 37.33 percent in Nepal. Based on this information, it can be said that women were only involved in the political sector to fulfill the constitution's provision but not to encourage them.

### **Local-level Assembly in Nepal**

Local-level assembly is the next sector to show political inclusion. It is known as the metropolitan, sub-metropolitan, urban, and rural municipality, and their number is 6, 11, 276, and 460, respectively. One by one, mayor and deputy-mayor for metropolitan, sub-metropolitan and urban municipalities, one by one chairperson and vice-chairperson for rural municipalities, one by one ward chairperson, and four by four ward members for every single ward member ward are elected based on FPTP electoral system by the people.

Constitution of Nepal, article 215, clause four has declared that executive shall also include four women members elected by the Village Assembly (VA) members from amongst themselves and two members elected from the Dalit or minority communities. Article 216, clause four has also declared the same provision for Municipal Assembly (MA), but the women members shall be five and Dalit, or minority communities' members shall be 3. Likewise, according to article 220, clause 3, one District Assembly (DA) will be in each district. That assembly shall elect the District Coordination Committee consisting of at least three members from women and at least one member from Dalit or minority communities. Similarly, article 222, clause three, has clearly defined that at least two women from each ward must have represented in VA, and article 223, clause three, has also mentioned the same provision for MA (Nepal Law Commission, 2015).

If we see in the practice based on those provisions, all have been fulfilled. However, males have occupied almost all paramount seats like the mayor of metropolitan, sub-metropolitan and urban municipalities, chairperson of rural municipalities, ward-chairperson, chairperson of VA and MA, chairperson of DA, chief, and deputy chief of the district coordination committee. The women and Dalit and minority communities' members have stayed in the deputy, vice, and member seats. The total seats are 35,216 at the local level of Nepal, but the election has fulfilled only 35,041 seats. The seats of the mayor are 293; and among them, the male occupied 286 seats or 97.61 percent, and the women have only seven seats or 2.39 percent. Likewise, in the case of deputy-mayor, the male elected in 17 seats or 5.80 percent and the women elected in 276 seats or 94.20 percent.

Likewise, the total number of rural municipalities is 460 in Nepal, which means there are 460 seats for chairperson and 460 seats for vice-chairperson. Among them, the male occupied 449 seats or 97.60 percent of chairperson's post, and the women have hardly gifted only 11 seats or 2.40 percent. However, in the case of vice-chairperson, it is seen as the reverse of it as the male have taken only 34 seats or 7.39 percent, and the women have taken 426 or 92.61 percent. The next important post is the ward-chairperson of metropolitan, sub-metropolitan, urban municipalities, and rural municipalities. Its total seat number is 6742 in Nepal, and among it, the male elected in 6,681 seats or 99.09 percent and the women elected just in 61 seats or 0.91 percent. There are four posts for the members in each ward of all local-level bodies, and the total number of these types of posts is 26,968. Among it, males are 13,220 or 49.02 percent, women are 7,006 or 25.98 percent, and Dalit women are 6,567 or 24.35 percent, and 175 or 0.65 percent seats of Dalit women have lost due to lack of candidates. The total seat number of local-level governments is 35216, with women present in 14354 seats by 40.75 percent.

### Representation in Political Parties

There are a large number of parties in Nepal. However, the largest are the Communist Party of Nepal (NCP), the Nepali Congress Party (NCP), the Janata Samajwadi Party (JSP), and the Rashtriya Prajatantra Party (RPP). To this day, the Communist Party of Nepal is the ruling party of Nepal and was established by the unification of the two parties, the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center). The second-largest party is the NCP, while the third and fourth largest parties in Nepal are the JSP and the RPP. The JSP and RPP parties were formed by unifying various smaller parties. Therefore, the JSP has not yet made public the list of members of the Central Committee. Representation of different social groups in the central committee of political parties is presented in the table as:

**Table 3. Representation of Communities in Political Parties (2077)**

Communities	NCP		NCP		RPP		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Hill Brahman/ Chhetri	219	49.66	43	47.25	61	52.13	323	49.77
Women	66	14.98	18	19.78	20	17.09	104	16.02
Janajati	75	17.00	10	10.99	13	11.11	98	15.10
Dalit	15	3.40	4	4.40	7	5.99	26	4.01
Terai/Madhesi	48	10.88	11	12.08	7	5.99	66	10.17
Newar	18	4.08	5	5.50	9	7.69	32	4.93
Total	441	100	91	100	117	100	649	100

Source: *The Rising Nepal- 2018, Website of NCP and RPP*

Table 3 shows that the Brahmin/Chhetri community is most in Nepal's politics. This community has occupied a 49.77 percent share in the central committee of different parties. Similarly, the representations of women, Janajati, Dalit, Terai/Madhese, and Newar in the central committee of different parties are 16.02 percent, 15.10 percent, 4.01 percent, 10.17 percent, and 4.93 percent, respectively. The data show that women's representation is high than others, and Dalit is the lowest.

### **Cultural Inclusion**

The term culture indicates the behaviors, habits, characteristics, and knowledge of a particular group of people, and these indicators have been affected by language, religion, food, music, climate, etc. It is a collective phenomenon, and it is shared among its members (Kashima, 2000). It is a concept such as value and belief assumed to influence behavior. These places culture inside the minds of individuals as members of a cultural group, and it is the collective programming of the mind (Hofstede, 1980). Culture helps to organize collective life by providing solutions to problems of everyday activities. It guides individuals by reducing the number of available interpretations of an event or person, and in this way, it is giving order to the world. This sense of order is that people transmit cultural values to new cultural members, such as employees in an organization, migrants in a host country, or growing children (Baldwin et al., 2006). Nepal is a multi-cultural country with beliefs, values, habits, knowledge, systems, and events.

Nepal has its cultural history. After 1990, the old pattern of a single Nepali culture of the upper caste was dismissed, and women, Dalit, Janajati, and minorities emerged to replace it. However, many hierarchical institutions or robust informal networks, behaviors, norms, values, and expectations have not yet been changed. Therefore, the habited unitary, centralized and non-inclusive state structure still exists. The political parties also failed to adequately integrate issues of exclusion into their action plans (Sah, 2016). Even the aid agencies focus on their needs, but they do not focus on fundamental societal changes. However, having come to democracy or having the changed governance system, cultural inclusion of Nepal has slowly been improving. Likewise, come to the constitution of Nepal 2015, all exclusionary provisions have been removed. However, those who have disobeyed these provisions have somewhat been given the punishment also. Nevertheless, the concern of my study is only to analyze the current situation of cultural inclusion in Nepal. I have used language, religion, and caste as indicators for it.

### **Language Inclusion**

Mother tongues in Nepal are categorized into four families: Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic, and Dravidian. Nepal is one of the linguistically diverse countries in South Asia. Indo-European languages, which are of the Indo-Aryan (Indic) sub-family (excluding English), constitute the largest group in terms of the numeric strength of their speakers, nearly 82.1 percent of the population. In addition, Nepali, Maithili, Awadhi, Bhojपुरi, Tharu, and others languages are included (Ghimire, 2009).

The Sino-Tibetan family in Nepal's languages has become part of its Tibeto-Burman group. Although spoken by relatively fewer people than the Indo-European family (17.3 percent of the population), it has included more than 63 languages. Languages belonging to this group are Tamang, Nepal Bhasa (Newari), Magar, Limbu, and others. The small number of Dravidian languages is represented by Kurux, and the Munda languages of the Austroasiatic family by Santali and Mundari (Kansakar, 1993).

Constitution of Nepal, part 1, article (6) has said that 'all languages spoken as the mother tongues in Nepal are the languages of the nation' and in the article (7), Cluster (1), it has been mentioned that the Nepali language shall be the official language of Nepal. Likewise, Cluster (2) of the article (7) has given some rights about the languages like 'a state may, by state law, determine one or more than one languages of the nation spoken by a majority of people within the state as its official language(s), in addition to the Nepali language. Similarly, Cluster (2) of Article 18 has mentioned that 'no discrimination shall be made in the application of general laws on the grounds of language, and cluster (3) of the same article has also said that 'the state shall not discriminate to the citizens on the grounds of language.' Moreover, Cluster (5) of the article (31) mentioned that 'every Nepalese community residing in Nepal shall have the right to get education in its mother tongue and open and operate schools and educational institutes. Similarly, article 32 has given 'rights to use and protect of own language' (Nepal Law Commission, 2015).

According to a census report of 2012, there are 123 languages spoken as a mother tongue. The people speak the Nepali language as a mother tongue by 44.6 percent (11,826,953) of the total population. Other people speak as a mother tongue- Maithili by 11.7 percent (3,092,530), Bhojpuri by 6.0 percent (1,584,958), Tharu 5.8 by percent (1,529,875), Tamang by 5.1 percent (1,353,311), Newar by 3.2 percent (846,557), Bajjika by 3.0 percent (793,418), Magar by 3.0 percent (788,530), Doteli by 3.0 percent (787,827), and Urdu by 2.6 percent (691,546) (CBS, 2012).

### **Religion Inclusion**

Nepal is a multi-religion country. The total population of Nepal is estimated at 26,494,504 (26.49 million), and Hinduism is the dominant religion in Nepal. Cluster (2) and (3) of Article 18 of the constitution of Nepal says that no discrimination shall be made in the application of general laws, and the state shall not discriminate against citizens on the grounds of origin of religion, race, and caste. Likewise, the constitution says that every person shall have the freedom to profess and practice his religion which has come down to him from time immemorial according to the traditional custom. However, no person shall be entitled to change the religion of any other person forcibly. Many non-Hindus consider this statement on religion in the constitution to be unnecessary. It is well-accepted that religion has always been a subject of inquiry owing to various factors.

According to CBS, ten types of religion categories are reported in the census. Hinduism is followed by 81.3 percent (21,551,492) of the population while Buddhism 9.0 percent (2,396,099), Islam 4.4 percent (1,162,370), Kirat 3.1 percent (807,169), Christianity 1.4 percent (375,699), and Prakriti 0.5 percent (121,982). Likewise, others are Bon (13,006), Jainism (3,214), Bahai (1,283), and Sikhism (609) in Nepal (CBS, 2012). Nepal's feature is that all religious people have remained with a sense of help and unity. However, occasionally some discrimination and domination behaviors arise in society. This behavior is also found among people of different religions and people of the same religion. For example, Muslims do not eat goat meat slaughtered by Hindus. Muslims and Hindus both do not marry each other. Likewise, some thoughts are in the society they believe that our religion is only correct and big. Therefore, we can say that this type of thought should be needed to change.

### **Caste/Ethnic Inclusion**

The caste system socially defined all Nepalese. For most people living in the territorial boundaries of the modern Nepali state, especially after the promulgation of the National Code or Muluki act in 1854 – the caste system has been a significant determinant of their identity, social status, and life chances. In this system, everyone is organized according to their relative ritual purity into the four classical Hindu caste systems: the Brahman, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra (Bennett, Dahal, & Govindasamy, 2008).

Article 24 of the constitution of Nepal has given the 'rights against untouchability and discrimination. Cluster (1) said that no person should be subjected to any form of untouchability or discrimination in any private and public place based on his or her origin, caste, and tribe. According to Cluster (2) and (3), any person shall have the right to purchase, sell and acquire any goods and services in any place, and they shall not be discriminated against on the grounds of his or her caste and tribe. Likewise, Cluster (4) has also said that no discrimination in any form shall be allowed at a workplace with or without making untouchability on the ground of caste.

In Nepal, there are 125 castes/ethnic groups. Hill Chhetri is the largest caste/ethnic group having 16.6 percent of the total population, followed by Brahman-Hill, 12.2 percent. The total population of other castes/ethnic groups is as such as Magar 7.1 percent, Tharu 6.6 percent, Tamang 5.8 percent, Newar 5.0 percent, Kami 4.8 percent, Musalman 4.4 percent, Yadav 4.0 percent, and Rai 2.3 percent (CBS (2012). All ethnic people have stayed as a unified form. However, discrimination and untouchability behavior is also remarkable in society. For example, none of the Brahmins of Hinduism eat food cooked by goldsmiths or blacksmiths, but they also belong to the same religion. This type of behavior is mainly found in people with traditional thinking and rural and remote areas in large numbers, and educated and urban areas in small numbers.

Currently, a significant incident has taken place in the Salyan district of Nepal. There, a young boy from a family named Vishwakarma fell in love with a Brahmin girl, and they wanted to marry each other, but the Brahmin family disagreed. One day a battle broke out between the two groups, resulting in the death of five Vishwakarma. The news spread to every sector of the state. The House of Representatives of Nepal had formed a search committee to investigate the facts. This incident clarifies that the constitution's provisions, law, and act are one thing, but the practice is the most important thing. Based on this, it can be said that cultural change is needed in Nepal.

### **Conclusion**

Political and cultural inclusions are interrelated because sometimes politics guides culture, and sometimes culture guides politics. Nepal's constitution gives everyone the right to equal representation. The constitution also provides special quotas for Women, Dalits, Janajatis, Terai/Madhesi, Minorities, and disabilities in the NA, HoR, PA, DA, and local governments. It is seen that these provisions have been fully implemented in practice. However, all these groups have been given only seats provided by the constitution. For example, 17.39 percent of Janajatis are present in the Council of Ministers, the highest number except for Brahmins/Chhetri, and the women present only 13.04 percent. Likewise, the women, Dalit, and Disabled/Minorities represent 31.88 percent, 11.86 percent, and 11.86 percent, respectively, in the NA of Nepal.

For HoR, 165 members are elected from the FPTP electoral system, and 4.24 percent are women. However, 110 members are also elected from the PR system for HoR, and out of them, 76.36 percent are women. Adding these two numbers, the total number of members of HoR is 275. Among it, women present only 33.09 percent. Similarly, for PA, 330 members are elected from the FPTP electoral system, and the women are only 5.45 percent. However, 220 members are elected from the PR electoral system in PA, and out of them, the women are 80.4 percent. Adding these two numbers, the total number of members of PA in the seven provinces of the country is 550, of the women, present only 35.45 percent.

Similarly, the total number of seats in local-level government is 35,216. Among them, women are elected by 2.39 percent in the post of mayor, but 94.20 percent in the post of deputy-mayor of the urban municipality. Likewise, they are represented by 2.40 percent in the post of chairperson, but 92.61 percent in the post of vice-chairperson of the rural municipality. The women are represented by 0.91 percent in the post of ward-chairperson of metropolitan, sub-metropolitan, urban, and rural municipalities. There are four posts for the member in each ward of all local-level bodies, and the total seats of these types of posts are 26,968; and among it, women are 25.98 percent, Dalit women are 24.35 percent, and 0.65 percent seats of Dalit women have been lost due to lack of candidates. The total seat number of local-level governments is 35216, with women present in 14354 seats by 40.75 percent.

The Brahmin/Chhetri community is the majority in Nepal's politics. This community has occupied 49.77 percent. Others like women, Janajati, Dalit, Terai/Madhesi, and Newar are 16.02 percent, 15.10 percent, 4.01 percent, 10.17 percent, and 4.93 percent respectively in the central committee of different parties of Nepal. Constitution of Nepal has given rights to speak in mother tongues, rights to choose of official language for provinces, rights to no discrimination on the grounds of language, rights to get education in its mother tongue, rights to open and operate educational institutes in own language and rights to use and protect of own language. The constitution has further given rights to no discrimination on religion, the right to freedom to profess and practice his religion, and the right not to change the religion forcibly. Likewise, the constitution has managed rights against untouchability and discrimination in private and public places based on his or her origin, caste, and tribe. It further said that any person should have the right to purchase, sell and acquire any goods and services in any place. No discrimination in any form shall be allowed at a workplace with or without making untouchability on the ground of caste. However, all these provisions are not fully implemented in the people's actual practice. There are 123 languages, 125 caste/ethnic groups, and ten types of religion are in Nepal. Among them, the majority of the people have spoken the Nepali language by 44.6 percent, believed in Hinduism by 81.3 percent, and remained in the Hill-Chhetri group by 16.6 percent.

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