

Nepal

Ethnicity in Nepal

Group selection

In Nepal, there is a multitude of overlapping and cross-secting axes of group identity, ranging from ethnicity over caste, religion, language, and on to region (²²⁹⁰, 3; ²²⁹¹, 25). The diversity is immense, with the 2001 census data for example revealing the existence of more than 60 ethnic groups, 92 languages and at least seven religions (²²⁹², 25; ²²⁹³, 366). The classification into discrete ethnic groups receives an additional complication from the fact that the borders between ethnicity and caste are often "blurred in practice" (²²⁹⁴, 5). This is due to the 18th and 19th century state-building process, when Nepal's ruling elite incorporated ethnic minorities practicing religions other than Hinduism into its hierarchic caste system, often allocating them the lower to medium castes (²²⁹⁵, 11). Additionally, many contemporary ethnic labels "lack historical depth and have often shifted over time"; however, a "rise of identity politics" can be discerned for at least the time since 1990 (²²⁹⁶, 6).

Despite this diversity, Nepal's ethnic groups can be roughly classified into a much smaller set of four (six) main linguistic, religious and regional groups:

Caste Hill Hindu Elite: First, there is the caste hill hindu elite (CHHE), consisting of Bahuns (the priest caste in the hill region, which is first in the caste hierarchy), Chhetris (the warrior caste, which is second in the caste hierarchy), Thakuris, Sanyasis and other smaller castes (²²⁹⁷, 366; ²²⁹⁸, 4). Throughout Nepal's history, this group has dominated the political realm of the central state (²²⁹⁹, 366).

Dalits: Second, there are the low caste Dalits, who have traditionally been divided into the "impure but touchable" on the one hand and the "untouchable" categories on the other (²³⁰⁰, 11). With very brief exceptions, they have been excluded from participation in higher politics throughout Nepal's history on the basis of their caste (²³⁰¹, 5; ²³⁰², 369).

²²⁹⁰ [Hangen, 2007]

²²⁹¹ [Hangen, 2010]

²²⁹² [Hangen, 2010]

²²⁹³ [Lawoti, 2008]

²²⁹⁴ [Hangen, 2007]

²²⁹⁷ [Lawoti, 2008]

²²⁹⁸ [Hangen, 2007]

²²⁹⁹ [Lawoti, 2008]

²³⁰⁰ [Hangen, 2007]

²³⁰¹ [Hangen, 2007]

²³⁰² [Lawoti, 2008]

Madhesis: Third, there are the Madhesis, who are mostly caste Hindus from the plains in Nepal's South, but include a small local Muslim population as well (²³⁰³, 4; ²³⁰⁴, 25). Despite strong internal heterogeneity, they are united by generally speaking languages other than Nepali which are of the "plains language category" and which include Hindi, Urdu and Bengali among others (²³⁰⁵, 157). Through most of Nepal's history, they have been excluded and marginalized by the central state on the basis of their different languages and suspected ties to India (²³⁰⁶, 158). As most Muslims of Nepal live in the Tarai, they are often reported as a part of the Madhesi category (²³⁰⁷, 4). However, as they differ heavily in terms of religion, culture and self-identification from the high-caste Hindus otherwise included in the Madhesi category, they are here reported separately.

²³⁰³ [Hangen, 2007]

²³⁰⁴ [Hangen, 2010]

²³⁰⁵ [Kantha, 2010]

²³⁰⁶ [Kantha, 2010]

²³⁰⁷ [Hangen, 2010]

Adibasi Janajati: And fourth, there are the Adibasi Janajati (indigenous nationalities). These live in all three regions (mountains, hills and plains) and are internally extremely diverse as well (²³⁰⁸, 5). However, like the Madhesis, they are united by their "opposition to caste Hindus" (²³⁰⁹, 5), by a common history of marginalization, by their speaking of languages other than Nepali (mostly of the Tibeto-Burman family) and by their practice of religions other than Hinduism (mostly Buddhism) (²³¹⁰, 60). While Newars also see themselves as indigenous nationalities, they practice Hinduism (with their own caste system) and do not speak a Tibeto-Burman language. Also, their socioeconomic status is quite different from the other members of this ethnic cluster (²³¹¹, 10), which is why they are reported as a separate group in the EPR coding.

²³⁰⁸ [Hangen, 2007]

²³⁰⁹ [Hangen, 2007]

²³¹⁰ [Hangen, 2005]

²³¹¹ [Hangen, 2007]

Group sizes: All group sizes are based on the 2001 census, as previous census data (intentionally) does not include measures on ethnicity (Hangen 2007: 13). The numbers reported in the census are (²³¹²):

²³¹² [Hangen, 2010]

- Caste Hill Hindu Elite (CHHE): 31%
- Adibasi Janajati (excluding Newars): 31%
- Newars: 6%
- Dalits: 15%
- Madhesi (excluding Muslims): 12%
- Muslims: 4%
- Others: 1%

Power relations

Nepal's political history since 1946 has been mainly one of autocracy and monarchy, mostly dominated by the caste hill Hindu elite (sometimes joined by Newaris), interspersed with three attempts for a democratic transition, as well as with a large-scale civil war from 1996-2006. Next, all the periods used for the EPR coding (1946-2013) and groups' access to the two dimensions of power during these periods (central executive organs and territorial autonomy) are reported.

The Rana period (-1951): Nepal took its modern geographical form in the eighteenth century under the Gurkha king Prithvi Narayan Shah who forcibly united the areas that span the country today and brought to power an exclusive circle of Hindu caste elites (²³¹³, 130; ²³¹⁴, 7). However, in 1846 a bloody power struggle brought to power an aristocratic family who established the oligarchic Rana rule (²³¹⁵, 130).

The Rana kept the monarchic state form for a façade of legitimacy. True power, however, was bestowed on the prime minister's office, which was made a hereditary post (²³¹⁶, 130). During the Rana rule, the caste system was codified in the Muluki Ain legal code of 1854, and all ethnic groups were assigned a position within this strictly hierarchical system (²³¹⁷, 11; ²³¹⁸, 373). In ethnic terms, the ruling regime included the same high-caste Hindu elites as during the previous Shah monarchy (²³¹⁹, 7, 12), while excluding other ethnic groups and at the same time actively discriminating against the further marginalized Dalits through land redistribution, education policies and differential punishment for crimes (²³²⁰, 373). Ethnic tensions resulted in sporadic violent outbursts, especially in the East of the country, and in the Kathmandu valley, where the excluded Newars were among the first to organize against the regime (²³²¹, 34).

The Rana regime was built on friendly relations with the British colonial administration in neighboring India (²³²², 130; ²³²³, 151). However, during the years of the World Wars, pressure on the regime intensified due to the return of combatants serving in the British army (²³²⁴, 131), which peaked after Indian independence from British rule: The newly empowered Indian Congress Party started supporting the opposition, namely its Nepali equivalent, the Nepali Congress Party (²³²⁵, 131; ²³²⁶, 21; ²³²⁷, 152). In 1950, violent protests and the escape of reigning king Tribhuvan to India forced the Rana prime minister to start negotiations for an end of Rana rule, which resulted in a new, formally democratic, constitution in late 1951 (²³²⁸, 131; ²³²⁹, 152).

Throughout this period (1946-1951), the CHHE were coded as having monopoly government, as they were represented by the Rana prime minister, who disproportionately favored them in political, social and economic realms. Dalits are coded as discriminated against, because of the active, constitutionally-enshrined, discriminatory

²³¹³ [Ganguly Shoup, 2005]

²³¹⁴ [Hangen, 2007]

²³¹⁵ [Ganguly Shoup, 2005]

²³¹⁶ [Ganguly Shoup, 2005]

²³¹⁷ [Hangen, 2007]

²³¹⁸ [Lawoti, 2008]

²³¹⁹ [Hangen, 2007]

²³²⁰ [Lawoti, 2008]

²³²² [Ganguly Shoup, 2005]

²³²³ [Mojumdar, 1975]

²³²⁴ [Ganguly Shoup, 2005]

²³²⁵ [Ganguly Shoup, 2005]

²³²⁶ [Hangen, 2010]

penal laws. Muslims are coded as irrelevant, as there seem to have been no organizations representing them politically. All other groups are coded as powerless. As Nepal during the time was a unitary state, no group was coded as having regional autonomy.

Transition years and democratic experiment (1952-1960): After the ouster of the Rana regime in 1951, the Shah monarchy returned to Nepal. King Tribhuvan, hoping to re-establish royal rule, cooperated with the emerging political parties, and a series of unstable interim governments were established, incorporating both elements from various former opposition parties and the former Rana regime (²³³⁰, 131; ²³³¹, 21). During these transition years, a constitution was established that was based on a British model and which called for a multi-party democracy (²³³², 21). While the state was still dominated by the CHHE ethnic group, the political opening allowed excluded ethnic groups to organize, resulting in the formation of a multitude of ethnically colored political organizations (²³³³, 35).

During the first democratic elections in 1959, the Nepali Congress party won the majority of seats (²³³⁴, 131). However, only one year later in 1960, newly-crowned and more assertive king Mahendra dissolved the parliament and declared that the country was not ready for multi-party democracy (²³³⁵, 131; ²³³⁶).

Due to the variegated inclusion of ethnic groups in the interim governments, the CHHE were coded as being a "senior partner", while the Adibasi Janajati, the Madhesi and the Newari were coded as "junior partners". Muslims are coded as irrelevant, as no organization seems to have represented their interest during the period, and no large-scale discrimination against them seems to have taken place. Dalits are still coded as "discriminated" due to the persistence of the caste-based legal code. No group has territorial autonomy, as Nepal still was a unitary state throughout the period.

Panchayat years (1961-1963 and 1964-1990): After the royal takeover and the abolishment of parliamentary democracy, king Mahendra introduced a new, "partyless" and pseudo-democratic system, based on representation through committees (Panchayats). This system would survive largely unchanged for nearly three centuries.

The Panchayat years were characterized by nearly unchecked dominance in the political realm by the king and by his appointed high-caste officials all stemming from the CHHE group (²³³⁷, 18; ²³³⁸, 9, 11; ²³³⁹, 22). The period also saw increased nationalistic state-building, assimilation and homogenization efforts (²³⁴⁰, 3, 12), for example through the planned resettlement of large numbers of the hill-based population into the plains to weaken the Madhesi identity (²³⁴¹, 19). In the same vein, in the 1962 constitution, Nepal officially adopted Hinduism as a state religion, the monarchy as its state form, and Nepali as its only official language, thus intentionally excluding "cultures, histories, and languages of Nepal's ethnic groups" (²³⁴², 12).

²³³⁰ [Ganguly Shoup, 2005]

²³³¹ [Hangen, 2010]

²³³² [Hangen, 2010]

²³³³ [Hangen, 2010]

²³³⁴ [Ganguly Shoup, 2005]

²³³⁵ [Ganguly Shoup, 2005]

²³³⁶ [?]

²³³⁷ [Geiser, 2005]

²³³⁸ [Hangen, 2007]

²³³⁹ [Hangen, 2010]

²³⁴⁰ [Hangen, 2007]

²³⁴¹ [Geiser, 2005]

Two small changes during this remarkably durable period in Nepal's history are noteworthy: First, in 1963, king Mahendra abolished the caste system as part of the homogenization efforts, thus ending the constitutionally enshrined and officially sanctioned discrimination of the Dalits (²³⁴³, 7; ²³⁴⁴, 19). And second, in the 1970s, the Panchayat system increasingly came under internal pressure, leading to a 1980 referendum on whether to establish a multi-party democracy in Nepal (²³⁴⁵, 133; ²³⁴⁶, 22; ²³⁴⁷, 160). While the result of the vote very narrowly indicated a continuation of the Panchayat system, the referendum itself served to energize ethnically-based parties, which used the partial political opening to mobilize (²³⁴⁸, 19; ²³⁴⁹, 22). Also, it led to a number of limited political reforms (²³⁵⁰, 22).

²³⁴³ [Bennett, 2005]

²³⁴⁴ [Geiser, 2005]

²³⁴⁵ [Ganguly Shoup, 2005]

²³⁴⁶ [Hangen, 2010]

²³⁴⁷ [Kantha, 2010]

Many ethnicity-based parties formed during the years surrounding the referendum continued to organize covertly (²³⁵¹, 19; ²³⁵², 34), which eventually culminated in the 1990 people's movement that was able to re-establish democracy by applying pressure from street demonstrations.

²³⁵¹ [Geiser, 2005]

²³⁵² [Hangen, 2010]

Clearly, the Panchayat years saw a resurgence of CHHE monopoly power, who used nationalism as a tool for their assimilation efforts. The CHHE are thus coded as the "monopoly" group. Muslims are coded as "irrelevant". All other groups are coded as "powerless", with the exception of Dalits, who are coded as "discriminated" until 1963, with a change to "powerless" in the time after the constitutional change that at least abolished their formal discrimination and prohibited caste-based marginalization.

Multi-party democracy (1991-2002): In 1990, a people's movement, led by the Nepali Congress Party and its associated umbrella organization, the United Leftist Front, forced the king to restore multi-party democracy, with pressure starting in the Newari areas of the Kathmandu valley (²³⁵³, 13; ²³⁵⁴, 22; ²³⁵⁵, 365). Nepal was transformed into a constitutional monarchy, thus greatly lowering royal powers, leading to the recognition of the ethnic diversity of the country and enabling three parliamentary elections as well as the formation of twelve (weak and unstable) successive governments until 2002, which posed a clear contrast to the Panchayat years (²³⁵⁶, 134-5; ²³⁵⁷, 13; ²³⁵⁸, 23; ²³⁵⁹, 365).

²³⁵³ [Hangen, 2007]

²³⁵⁴ [Hangen, 2010]

²³⁵⁵ [Lawoti, 2008]

²³⁵⁶ [Ganguly Shoup, 2005]

²³⁵⁷ [Hangen, 2007]

However, in terms of ethnic power relations, the break was not as remarkable as might be expected. On the contrary, domination by the CHHE elite (joined by newly empowered Newari party heads) actually increased due to the centralized unitary state, its majoritarian electoral institutions and their holding leadership positions in all major parties (²³⁶⁰, 134; ²³⁶¹; 374). On the one hand, ethnicity-based mobilization increased due to the political opening (²³⁶², 13; ²³⁶³, 365), as regards for example the Madhesi (²³⁶⁴, 159), the Adibasi Janajati (²³⁶⁵, 35) and even the Dalits (²³⁶⁶, 24). On the other hand, however, Nepal remained a Hindu kingdom (²³⁶⁷, 13) and the political exclusion for minorities in the executive political organs was

²³⁶⁰ [Ganguly Shoup, 2005]

²³⁶¹ [Lawoti, 2008]

²³⁶² [Hangen, 2007]

²³⁶³ [Lawoti, 2008]

²³⁶⁴ [Kantha, 2010]

even more pronounced than in previous decades (²³⁶⁸, 24; ²³⁶⁹, 370; ²³⁷⁰).

Popular dissatisfaction with continued exclusion as well as persisting underdevelopment in many regions enabled the rapid growth of a Maoist-inspired insurgency that first started in the mountainous western periphery of Nepal in 1996 (²³⁷¹, 23; ²³⁷², 160; ²³⁷³, 142). The strong participation of ethnic minorities in both the Maoist insurgency and in the king-appointed cabinets after his usurpation of power (see below) have been argued to show the extent of minority dissatisfaction with the outcomes of electoral democracy (²³⁷⁴, 160; ²³⁷⁵, 371-2; ²³⁷⁶, 146). Also, the Maoists took up ethnic minority rights and the breaking of the caste-based political domination of the CHHE as one of their core demands (²³⁷⁷, 135; ²³⁷⁸, 21; ²³⁷⁹, 142).

Based on the arguments above, the CHHE were coded as a senior partner, and the Newari as a junior partner. All other groups (including the newly, weakly mobilized Muslims) are powerless and have no regional autonomy due to the still unitary and centralized nature of the Nepali state.

The king's cabinets (2003-2006): Amidst the backdrop of this raging civil war, there was a homicide in the king's palace, during which crown prince Dipendra (allegedly) killed king Birendra along with his whole family in 2001 (²³⁸⁰, 23). As a result, Birendra's brother Gyanendra took over the royal office. In 2001, in response to increased Maoist attacks, a state of emergency was declared, and in 2002, the elected government was dissolved, with king Gyanendra subsequently forming his own cabinets and eventually taking over complete power overtly in 2005 by dissolving the parliament as well (²³⁸¹, 23; ²³⁸², 372). While Nepal's state form thus clearly took an authoritarian turn, ethnic representation of minorities increased greatly in the king's cabinets, probably as a measure to sway support away from the increasingly bold Maoist insurgents (²³⁸³, 371-2; ²³⁸⁴, 146). Among others, various hill ethnic minorities were included in the cabinet, as were Madhesis, and for the first time even Dalits (²³⁸⁵, 372).

The CHHE were thus coded as a "senior partner" during the period, Muslims as "powerless", and all the other groups as "junior partners", as all major groupings (except for Muslims) seem to have been included in the king's cabinets at one time or the other.

²³⁷¹ [Hangen, 2010]

²³⁷² [Kantha, 2010]

²³⁷³ [Lawoti, 2010]

²³⁷⁴ [Kantha, 2010]

²³⁷⁵ [Lawoti, 2008]

²³⁸⁰ [Hangen, 2010]

²³⁸¹ [Hangen, 2010]

²³⁸² [Lawoti, 2008]

²³⁸³ [Lawoti, 2008]

²³⁸⁴ [Lawoti, 2010]

Transition period (2007-2013): In April 2006, king Gyanendra was forced to give up power and initiate a negotiated transition process by a people's movement in the streets (²³⁸⁶, 372), following which a comprehensive peace agreement with the insurgent Maoists was reached in November 2006 (²³⁸⁷, 1; ²³⁸⁸, 156). In January 2007, a first Interim Constitution was formulated, abolishing the monarchy, transforming Nepal into a republic and preparing the ground for elections for a Constituent Assembly (²³⁸⁹, 152; ²³⁹⁰, 156). These were held in 2008, with the Maoists becoming the largest party.

²³⁸⁶ [Lawoti, 2008]

²³⁸⁷ [Hangen, 2007]

²³⁸⁸ [Kantha, 2010]

²³⁸⁹ [Hangen, 2010]

²³⁹⁰ [Kantha, 2010]

While ethnic inclusion in the Constituent Assembly elected in 2008 was high, owing to a mixed electoral system and ethnic quotas (²³⁹¹, 153; ²³⁹², 230; ²³⁹³, 312), representation of ethnicities other than the CHHE in the cabinet still seemed to be rare for most groups. This is because all major parties were still led by members of the CHHE ethnicity (²³⁹⁴, 312). However, after a wave of protests and the emergence of a strong Madhesi party in the 2008 elections, Madhesi politicians were included in subsequent cabinets and occupied prominent positions, such as the office of Vice Prime Minister and the foreign ministry (²³⁹⁵, 169).

²³⁹¹ [Hangen, 2010]

²³⁹² [Lawoti, 2013]

²³⁹³ [Lawoti Pahari, 2010]

²³⁹⁴ [Lawoti Pahari, 2010]

²³⁹⁵ [Kantha, 2010]

The most salient issue in the drafting of a new constitution has been the issue of federalism. The initial draft of 2007 did not include a reference to a federalist re-organization of the Nepali state, sparking a year-long wave of violent protest by Madhesis and Adibasi Janajatis, especially in Nepal's Tarai region (²³⁹⁶, 1; ²³⁹⁷, 156; ²³⁹⁸, 372). While subsequently a provision was included declaring Nepal a federal republic (²³⁹⁹, 246), still no agreement has been reached regarding either the extent of autonomy or even the basic map of the new state structure (²⁴⁰⁰, 1). This is because support for federalism amongst most parties seems to be "lukewarm" at best, with even the Maoists being divided on the issue (²⁴⁰¹, 2), and because most of the party elite stemming from the CHHE fiercely resists the call for real ethnicity-based provincial autonomy (²⁴⁰², 313).

²³⁹⁶ [Hangen, 2007]

²³⁹⁷ [Kantha, 2010]

²³⁹⁸ [Lawoti, 2008]

²³⁹⁹ [Lawoti, 2013]

²⁴⁰⁰ [Lecours, 2013]

The CHHE, which still made up the majority of party leaderships, was coded as being a "senior partner" and the Newari, also included in various prominent party posts, as being a "junior partner" throughout the period. The Madhesis are coded as "powerless" before 2009 and as a "junior partner" after their inclusion in important cabinet posts for the years 2009 and afterwards. All other groups are coded as "powerless" and have no regional autonomy, as an agreement on a federalist constitution still has not been reached as of January 2013.

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Political status of ethnic groups in Nepal

From 1946 until 1951

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Caste Hill Hindu Elite	0.31	MONOPOLY
Adibasi Janajati	0.31	POWERLESS
Dalits	0.15	DISCRIMINATED
Madhesi	0.12	POWERLESS
Newars	0.06	POWERLESS
Muslims	0.04	IRRELEVANT
Others	0.01	IRRELEVANT

From 1952 until 1960

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Caste Hill Hindu Elite	0.31	SENIOR PARTNER
Adibasi Janajati	0.31	JUNIOR PARTNER
Dalits	0.15	DISCRIMINATED
Madhesi	0.12	JUNIOR PARTNER
Newars	0.06	JUNIOR PARTNER
Muslims	0.04	IRRELEVANT
Others	0.01	IRRELEVANT

From 1961 until 1963

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Caste Hill Hindu Elite	0.31	MONOPOLY
Adibasi Janajati	0.31	POWERLESS
Dalits	0.15	DISCRIMINATED
Madhesi	0.12	POWERLESS
Newars	0.06	POWERLESS
Muslims	0.04	IRRELEVANT
Others	0.01	IRRELEVANT



Figure 527: Political status of ethnic groups in Nepal during 1946-1951.

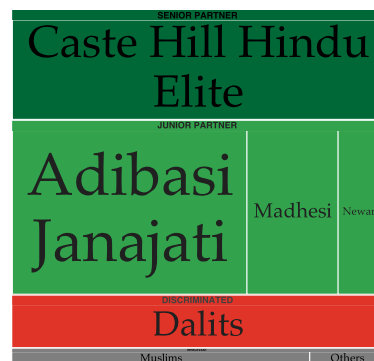


Figure 528: Political status of ethnic groups in Nepal during 1952-1960.

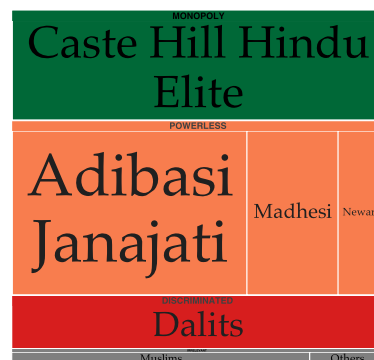


Figure 529: Political status of ethnic groups in Nepal during 1961-1963.

From 1964 until 1990

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Caste Hill Hindu Elite	0.31	MONOPOLY
Adibasi Janajati	0.31	POWERLESS
Dalits	0.15	POWERLESS
Madhesi	0.12	POWERLESS
Newars	0.06	POWERLESS
Muslims	0.04	IRRELEVANT
Others	0.01	IRRELEVANT

From 1991 until 2002

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Adibasi Janajati	0.31	POWERLESS
Caste Hill Hindu Elite	0.31	SENIOR PARTNER
Dalits	0.15	POWERLESS
Madhesi	0.12	POWERLESS
Newars	0.06	JUNIOR PARTNER
Muslims	0.04	POWERLESS
Others	0.01	IRRELEVANT

From 2003 until 2006

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Caste Hill Hindu Elite	0.31	SENIOR PARTNER
Adibasi Janajati	0.31	JUNIOR PARTNER
Dalits	0.15	JUNIOR PARTNER
Madhesi	0.12	JUNIOR PARTNER
Newars	0.06	JUNIOR PARTNER
Muslims	0.04	POWERLESS
Others	0.01	IRRELEVANT

From 2007 until 2008

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Adibasi Janajati	0.31	POWERLESS
Caste Hill Hindu Elite	0.31	SENIOR PARTNER
Dalits	0.15	POWERLESS
Madhesi	0.12	POWERLESS
Newars	0.06	JUNIOR PARTNER
Muslims	0.04	POWERLESS
Others	0.01	IRRELEVANT



Figure 530: Political status of ethnic groups in Nepal during 1964-1990.

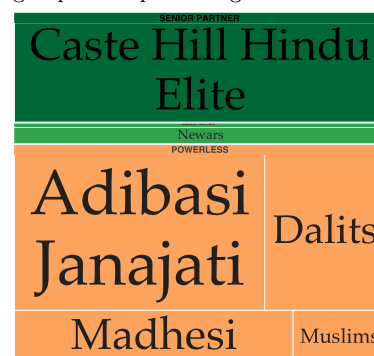


Figure 531: Political status of ethnic groups in Nepal during 1991-2002.



Figure 532: Political status of ethnic groups in Nepal during 2003-2006.



Figure 533: Political status of ethnic groups in Nepal during 2007-2008.

From 2009 until 2013

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Adibasi Janajati	0.31	POWERLESS
Caste Hill Hindu Elite	0.31	SENIOR PARTNER
Dalits	0.15	POWERLESS
Madhesi	0.12	JUNIOR PARTNER
Newars	0.06	JUNIOR PARTNER
Muslims	0.04	POWERLESS
Others	0.01	IRRELEVANT



Figure 534: Political status of ethnic groups in Nepal during 2009-2013.

Geographical coverage of ethnic groups in Nepal

From 1946 until 2013

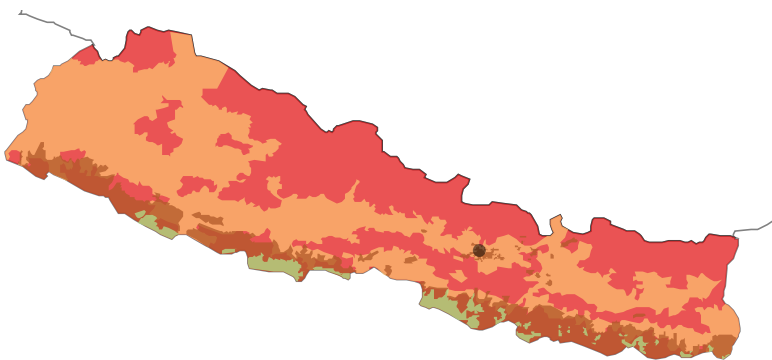


Figure 535: Map of ethnic groups in Nepal during 2009-2013.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
■ Adibasi Janajati	147 380	Statewide
■ Caste Hill Hindu Elite	71 901	Regional & urban
■ Madhesi	22 826	Regionally based
■ Muslims	4 139	Regionally based
■ Newars	880	Regional & urban
Dalits		Dispersed
Others		Dispersed

Table 161: List of ethnic groups in Nepal during 1946-2013.

Conflicts in Nepal

Starting on 1960-02-29

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Nepal	NC		1960-02-29			
Government of Nepal	CPN-M	Adibasi Janajati	1996-02-25	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Nepal	CPN-M	Newars	1996-02-25	No	Yes, from EGIP	Split
Government of Nepal	CPN-M	Caste Hill Hindu Elite	1996-02-25	Explicit	Yes	Yes