



## Caste-based Participation in Politics: A contemporary Debate of Social Change in Karnali Province.

By

**\*Dr.Mana Hari Dhakal<sup>1</sup> and Amrit Dhakal<sup>2</sup>.**

<sup>1</sup>TU Central department of Sociology Kathmandu

<sup>2</sup>Lecture of model collage surkhet.



### Article History

Received: 05/12/2025

Accepted: 16/12/2025

Published: 18/12/2025

### Vol – 4 Issue –12

PP: - 25-34

DOI:10.5281/zenodo.  
18007501

### Abstract

*This article investigates political participation in contemporary politics of Karnali Province. The Social change and marginal community in Nepal is interesting phenomena for the inclusive development of the nation, marginalized groups should be empowered. In-depth research is required to understand the complex process of social change and the driving factors for the change within the marginal community. Despite caste and gender based discrimination being the major issue of Nepal, there is limited research on the challenges they face, and the strategies and mechanisms used to overcome and transform their social status. The study aimed to analyze the process of social change and explore the major causes behind it. A phenomenological research design was employed to meet the objectives of the study. For the secondary data election report was applied as a research tool. Seven representative permanent residents of Karnali, from the different community, having different castes and Gender work experiences, and occupations, were selected for observation. Inclusion of Dalits is an agenda of the nation and a wider societal issue rather than an issue limited to Dalits. National Election commission report 2079, multiple reports, journal articles, newspapers, books, and websites were reviewed for the secondary data. All the collected data were analyzed thematically and descriptively according to the objectives. The study found that Chhetri, Brahman, Dalits and 66 castes in the study area have historically faced caste-based discrimination and internal hierarchies, but positive changes like improved public treatment, access to education and healthcare, and reservation policies are helping to promote their social inclusion and participation. Also, it highlighted that various factors such as education, technology, occupations, support from the government, and institutions like schools and hospitals have played key roles in bringing positive social change. To achieve lasting social change, cooperation among the government and local organizations is important, as their combined efforts through inclusive policies in education, healthcare, and equality help to remove social barriers and build a more inclusive society.*

**Keywords:** social change, Dalit, community, caste-based discrimination, inclusive society

### Introduction

Democracy was first introduced in Nepal in 1951 and general elections were held for the first time in 1959 on the basis of universal adult suffrage. With the introduction of democracy assertions towards rightful representation, social justice and special rights surfaced as equality and individual liberties were presented in the country's political context and codified in its constitution. However, the country's experience with a representative form of government was short-lived. In 1960 the King dismissed the government with support of the military and installed an autocratic regime known as the

Panchayat that would last for over thirty years. General elections were suspended and political parties abolished. The overall absence of democratic accountability gave full reign to privileged groups and did little to overcome Dalit exclusion. While a new Muluki Ain was promulgated in 1963, formally on the basis of equality (The Country Code of Nepal, 1963), the 1962 constitution nevertheless declared Nepal as a "Hindu State" (The Constitution of Nepal, 1962: article. 3), outlining the dominance of Hindu values and often tolerating caste hierarchy in practice.

I have also modified somewhat my understanding of cultural politics and the state. Although I thought, and still think, of

“cultural politics” as involving the contestation and redefinition of meanings in all ongoing social structures and settings, I now realize that I under - estimated the importance of the state as an especially significant site and target of cultural politics.

Change is a transformation everywhere mainly change of social norms and attitude constant occurrence in the world around us. We observe various types of changes, such as structural changes, economic change, seasonal changes, infrastructure developments, or children growing into adults. But not every kind of change is called social change. In sociology, social change refers to a specific concept that involves the study of people and how they interact with one another. It means the change that happens in how people behave, how they live together, and how they follow traditions or rules in their society (IESS, 1972; Varnum, 2017). This encompasses changes in culture, behavior, social groups, and institutions that occur over time. Social and cultural diversity has multiplied in the whole world. Different kinds of people from different backgrounds live together in many places. In very cold areas of the world like the Arctic, people such as the Inuit, Dene, Metis, Athapaskans, and Sami's have lived traditional lives for a long time. But in the last 40 years, these communities have experienced big changes. Many people from southern regions have moved into their areas, bringing with them modern technology, new styles of living, and different systems related to money, politics, and culture. These new arrivals have changed the way traditional people live and interact (Stenbaek, 1987). Moreover, Roediger (2014) explained that in many parts of the world, especially before the 19th century, people were treated unfairly because of the color of their skin. Dark-skinned people were often forced to work as servants and were even compared to animals. There was a false belief that people with white skin were better in every way, such as being smarter, more successful, and more important. This wrong idea was used to justify the European colonization of other places and the slavery of African people. But over time, people started realizing this belief was completely wrong and began to change slowly.

India also has the issue of caste-based discrimination, which can divide the society. Mitra (2023) explained that marginalized groups are treated as lower in society because of social rules called social stratification. These groups are often given low-status jobs and kept separate from others in the community. For example, some people from lower castes like the Chamar were made to live far from the village, especially in the south, because people believed the wind would not carry "polluted" air into the village from that side. These groups were also not allowed to get an education. Ancient texts like the *Manusmriti* even said that if a person from a lower caste (like a Shudra) became rich or educated, it would cause problems for the higher castes, like the Brahmins. Further, Deshpande & Darity (2016) said that the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments in 1992 increased political representation for lower castes in India, leading to a “silent revolution” that challenged traditional caste hierarchies.

Nepal is known as a beautiful country filled with diversity of culture and geography. It is often described as a "garden of four castes and thirty-six ethnic groups." The people of Nepal speak many languages and follow different religions. According to the Nepal Census of 2021, there are 125 different caste and ethnic groups in the country. Sociologist Beteille (1965) explained that caste can be understood like a ladder system or a structure where people are placed in different levels, just like in other parts of the world where people are ranked. Additionally, Qigley (1999) said that in the caste system, people are ranked mostly based on birth. Dumont (1980) talked about how people usually marry within their own caste group, which helps keep the caste system going. Moreover, he describes the division of labor in Varna division where Brahmin (Priests), Kshetriya (Warriors), Vaishya (Merchants) and Shudra (Servants). Over centuries, Nepal became a society where people were divided into a hierarchical structure based on “high” and “low”, “touchable” and “untouchable”, “natural pure” and “impure” castes, where Dalits were put at the bottom of this system. They were not allowed the same rights, respect, or opportunities as others. Dalits are one of the most backward and disadvantaged communities in Nepal (National Dalit Commission, 2004). They are left behind in many areas, like education, jobs, religion, and even in being treated with human dignity (Hans, 2016). In earlier times, the word "Dalit" meant people who were poor or hopeless. But nowadays, it refers to people who belong to caste groups that are still considered untouchable (Adhikari & Gellner, 2019; Kishan, 2005). According to the NDC (2004), these are the people who are called the “so-called untouchables” in the Hindu varna system and also known as Shudra.

The most influential definition of power in sociology is that of Max Weber: power is “the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action” (Weber, 1948a : 180).<sup>1</sup> On this definition, power could be a dimension of any social relation, and politics need not be seen as a highly specialized activity exercised only in relation to a specific institution. In fact, however, Weber, like others, focused his attention on the state as a special kind of institution that successfully possesses a monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a given territory (Weber, 1948b: 78). As Dowse and Hughes argue in their introduction to political sociology, although there seems to be no compelling analytic argument why the discipline should have focused its attention on state institutions, as a matter of fact, political sociologists have concerned themselves principally with the ways in which society has affected the state (Dowse and Hughes, 1972: 7).

Empirical changes would not be sufficient, however, to create a new approach to political sociology if there were not also new theoretical tools with which to make sense of them. There has been a paradigm shift in political sociology away from state - centered, class - based models of political participation, or non - participation, toward an understanding of politics as a potentiality of all social experience. It is in this sense that

contemporary political sociology is concerned with cultural politics, understood in the broadest possible sense as the contestation and transformation of social identities and structures. In the following three different sections of this article, we will begin our discussion of political sociology with a look back at how it developed through the study of the work of the “founding fathers,” Marx, Weber, and Durkheim. We will then go on to consider the “analytics of power” developed by Michel Foucault, the single most influential thinker on the development of contemporary political sociology, and the work on “governmentality” that directly draws inspiration from his writings on politics and power. I will then introduce the most important theoretical themes of contemporary political sociology and explain why the concept of “cultural politics” is so useful to understanding “politics of politics” today. Finally, there will be an outline of the activities to follow, indicating how each one deals with a particular theme in contemporary political sociology.

In Nepal, Dalits have poor conditions in many ways, including literacy rate, economic status, and political representation. In the Madhesh region of the nation, there are 19 Dalit castes, and in the hilly regions, there are 7 castes. According to the National Population and Housing Census (2021), there are 3,898,990 Dalits. This makes up 13.4% of the country’s total population. Among them, 1,869,439 are males and 2,029,551 are females. While the overall literacy rate is 76.2%, the literacy rate among Dalits is only 67.2%. This means that fewer Dalits can read and write compared to others. Also, 47% of Dalits are living in poverty zones, which is 16% more than the national average. Different governments in Nepal, at different times, have tried to solve the problems Dalits face, but these efforts have not had good results (Chaudhary, 2007; Kafle et al., 2025). Many positive steps have been taken to make Nepal a fair, inclusive, and justice-based country. These include reservations or quotas in schools and jobs, rewards for people who marry outside their caste, rights to go to school, to vote, and even to change their caste identity if they want (Kafle et al., 2025; Manohar, 2011). These steps are meant to empower Dalits and improve their lives.

Government and non-governmental organizations have undertaken initiatives for the betterment of Dalits. Despite the growing interest in the social changes and challenges faced by the Dalit community in Nepal, there is still a significant gap in research when it comes to understanding the complex processes of social change within this marginalized group. While previous studies have highlighted the widespread discrimination and socio-economic disparities experienced by Dalits, there is limited research on the strategies and mechanisms used by the community to challenge and transform their social status. Even though caste-based discrimination within the caste hierarchy remains a significant concern, especially in the Karnali Province of the nation. Therefore, this study has attempted to analyze the process and causes of social change in the context of caste-based discrimination in the Dalit community Karnali Province in Nepal.

## Objectives and Methodology of this research

Main objective of this article is to find out Caste based political participation Karnali Province in Nepal. The position in election 2079 Central and Province. This article assesses the theoretical and conceptual issues of elections. The fundamental objective of this article is to analyze the different perspectives and theoretical arguments population and position of politics. This article is fully based on the systematic review of secondary literature published in journals, books, reports, and other academic publications. It has applied the qualitative method. The arguments developed in this article are based on the critical approach mainly the article is analytical and descriptive.

The election cannot properly be understood without addressing how culture and politics are intertwined. Contemporary political sociology is concerned with cultural politics as what we might call the “politics of politics.” From this perspective, what events mean to those who interpret and act on them is what matters. What counts as “political” in terms of content and style must first be made political; it must be made visible and relevant to visions of how social relations are and could be organized. Processes of politicization in this respect are very far from under the control of professional politicians and public relations experts, however hard they try to set the agenda. But contemporary political sociology is also concerned with cultural politics in a wider sense: what is made “political” is not simply confined to what takes place within government, political parties, and the state. The perspective of cultural politics also helps us make sense of how the meanings of social relations and identities are consistently challenged wherever they are framed as unjust, exclusionary, and destructive of the capacities of individuals and groups.

This research mainly focuses Caste based political Participation Dalit and others of Karnali province and find out its causes, results. This study employed a phenomenological research design using a qualitative research approach. Phenomenology's primary goal is to accurately depict, as far as possible, the experiences of those involved in a phenomenon (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003; Hossain et al., 2024). A phenomenological study describes "what" the participants experienced as well as "how" they experienced it (Moustakas, 1994). Thus, the phenomenological research design helps to gain in-depth information from the respondents. Additionally, qualitative research is a study that focuses on understanding the qualities, forms, and context of a phenomenon, as well as how people experience it (Philipsen, 2007; Ugwu & Eze, 2023). Thus, the researcher applied a qualitative research methodology to gain in-depth insights into the process and causes of social change in society.

The population of the study refers to the whole Dalit community of Karnali province. Total Population of Karnali 1688412 female 864651(51.21%) male 823761(48.79%) and Dalit population 23.5%. literate 75% (Period Plan Report 2081/082). The researcher used interviews as a research tool

for the primary data., caste-based discrimination, source of income, working experiences, social attitude and lifestyle, social change, and the causes behind it. Whereas, secondary data were collected by reviewing multiple literatures, government and non- government organizations' reports, websites, books, and news articles. All the collected information was analyzed thematically and descriptively.

## Result and Discussion

The Caste hierarchy in Hindu societies like those of India and Nepal goes back as far as 1500 BC. As historian R.C. Dutta notes in the context of India in the late 19th century, which also applies to Nepal: The Dalit community in Nepal, also known as "Scheduled Castes," constitutes a significant portion of the population and has a distinct socio-economic and cultural identity. The Dalit community in Nepal is referred to as a marginalized people, historically subjected to caste-based discrimination and social exclusion. They were traditionally relegated to performing "unclean" and menial occupations, such as manual scavenging, blacksmithing, leatherwork, tailoring, playing musical instruments, cleaning, entertainment, handcrafting, and pottery. Over time, there has been a shift as some Dalits have gained access to education and opportunities, entering fields like education, healthcare, administration, and entrepreneurship. Government policies have aimed to promote their inclusion, and activism has challenged stereotypes. Despite progress, challenges remain, and many Dalits continue to face discrimination and limited access to resources. Education, Political transformation, Urbanization and awareness have contributed to changes in their occupational roles.

Gramsci's thought in this respect was limited, however, by his commitment to economism. Gramsci, like Althusser, saw ideology as practices that form subjects; for both thinkers, our experience and our relationship to the world are mediated through ideology. In Gramsci's view, subjects are not necessarily class subjects, but rather collective political wills formed by articulating ideas and values in different combinations in order to draw different groups into the hegemonic project. However, as a Marxist, Gramsci was committed to the belief that ideological struggle is grounded in class struggle; he, therefore, argued that there must always be a single unifying principle in every hegemonic formation and that this can only be given by a fundamental economic class. As Laclau and Mouffe (1985: 69) point out, this is not just to say that, ultimately, the economy determines politics, but also to see the economy itself as outside hegemony, as somehow naturally given and non-political. As they argue, this means that there is nothing for Marxists to do but identify the direction in which the economy is heading; there is no possibility of political intervention, or even of effective class struggle, in the domain that really matters to Marxists, the economy. In their view, Gramsci limited the scope of politics in that it should be seen as fundamental to the founding and contestation of any social order whatsoever. Gramsci's model is also limited in that, seeing politics as ultimately rooted in class struggle, it cannot give sufficient weight to social movements organized around gender, race, sexual politics, the

environment, and so on. However, to reject economic determinism and the centrality of the class struggle is to go beyond Marxism altogether.

Change means a change or difference in the form of an object or system. Changes in social structure, political tradition including events that occur in society over time, period, and structural changes, systems, and processes in the social system, are called social change. According to Shankara Rao C.N. (2004), social change is a change in the accepted ways and customs of life, whether it is in geographical location or in cultural means, in population structure or in ideologies, or in the changes brought about by diffusion or innovation within a group. Some sociologists and anthropologists have attempted to study certain tribal groups in the context of social and cultural change. They have explained the social and cultural factors that social and cultural change brings. They have also shed light on the changes in cultural relations found among the tribal peoples of different regions and the integration of their language, culture, dress, and way of life. Similarly, some sociologists-anthropologists have made social change the focus of their research. For example, Caplan Linell (1970) studied the relations between the Rai, Limbu, and Bahun-Chhetri of the eastern hills of Nepal. Similarly, Caplan A. Patricia (1972) studied the relationship between the priests and the cobblers, James F. Fisher (1987)'s study on the social, cultural and economic aspects of the Dolpali Tarali Gangar village (Trans-Himalayan Traders, Economy, Society and Culture in North West Nepal) can also be mentioned in this regard. Similarly, L.E. Rose has analyzed social change and cultural integration in his book "Himalayan Border State". The change in the structure of society, the interrelationship between the theories of social change and its aspects is an important aspect. Tylor (1877), Comte (1830-1842), Morgan (1877), Spencer (1899) have discussed the theories of structural change in society. The functional theory of social change has been explained. This theory played an important role in the sociological changes of medieval Europe. The economic theory of social change, the technical struggle, the theory of evolution, the theory of cultural exchange, the theory of adaptation, the theory of cultural interaction, the theory of fragmentation, the theory of equivalence and the critical theory bring about change in society. This change is a change in the accepted customs and traditions of life. Whether it is in geographical location or in cultural means, in the composition of the population or Whether it is a change in ideology or a change brought about by diffusion or invention within a group, all have social relations (Moore, 1987). Social change is a universal process. Since all societies in the world are dynamic, change occurs quickly in some areas and slowly in others. Since it is concerned with community change, it is concerned with the changes that occur in the life of the entire community, not with individual changes. Uneven pace of change is also an essential rule of change. Changes that occur due to interaction cannot be monitored as occurring at the same time (Ritzer, 1996).

Caste plays a decisive role in politics. There are four Varna in Hindu culture which are Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and



Shudra. Among them, all three Varna were upper caste and touchable except the Shudra. Shudra is also called the Dalit (Untouchable) caste. It is the lowest caste (Varna) in the Hindu Varna system. This fact has been highlighted in several studies on relationships between caste and politics in Nepal. Political parties and caste organizations mobilize castes to address their concerns. After Democracy Then Federalism of Nepali society has undergone significant changes everywhere. These changes have affected the nature of castes and politics in Nepal but it is only theoretically and Constitutionally. Caste's role has widened from its traditional role of performing caste-based occupations to impact democracy. The changes in nature of caste have been caused because of states policies such as land reforms, welfare schemes, reservation in

public institutions for the marginalized communities, and infrastructural development. Over the years, the presence of Dalits and marginal groups has become significant in Nepali politics. This is different from the initial years of Democracy and Federal State when only high castes and dominant middle castes dominated political space in the country. There is a relationship between caste and politics. In this relationship, it is not only politics that impacts caste, caste also impacts politics in turn. The significance of caste in politics is indicated by the fact that in several states of the country, several political parties can be identified with some castes. The role of political parties in mobilization of castes. The research found that the different community is also classified into different Castes in the study area, which are given below table 1.

**Table No. 1: Caste based population in Karnali Province.**

S.n.	Total population	Total	Male	Female	Percentage
01	All Caste	1688412	823761	864651	100
			48.78Percentage	51.21Percentage	
02	Kshetri	711889	348669	363220	42.16
03	Brahman - Hill	135617	66985	68632	8.03
04	Magar	176068	84901	91167	10.42
05	Tharu	8773	4854	3919	0.52
06	Tamang	4348	2079	2269	0.25
07	Newa:(Newar)	4544	2258	2286	0.27
08	Bishwokarma	273962	131980	141982	4.38
09	Brahman - Tarai	320	196	124	0.01
10	Kalwar	17	10	7	0.00
11	Kanu	34	25	9	0.00
12	Kumal	2301	1089	1212	0.13
13	Gharti/Bhujel	1694	804	890	0.10
14	Hajam/Thakur	250	156	94	0.01
15	Rajbansi	99	54	45	0.005
16	Sherpa	116	62	54	0.006
17	Dhobi	18	11	7	0.00
18	Tatma/Tatwa	38	17	21	0.00
19	Khatwe	19	7	12	0.00
20	Danuwar	14	12	2	0.00
21	Haluwai	46	18	28	0.00
22	Majhi	1700	843	857	0.10
23	Nuniya	23	15	8	0.00
24	Sonar	1749	853	896	0.10
25	Sunuwar	3399	1610	1789	0.20

26	Santhal	11	4	7	0.00
27	Badi	4764	2286	2478	0.28
28	Oraon/Kudukh	17	9	8	0/00
29	Gangai	29	13	16	0.00
30	Badhaee/Badhee	28	19	9	0.00
31	Thami	286	138	148	0.01
32	Gaderi/Bhediyar	43	20	23	0.00
33	Dhimal	25	12	13	0.00
34	Ghale	193	84	109	0.011
35	Khawas	26	13	13	0.00
36	Darai	31	18	13	0.00
37	Mali	52	24	28	0.00
38	Dhunia	13	6	7	0.00
39	Pahari	30	10	20	0.00
40	Rajdhob	63	16	47	0.00
41	Bhote	6055	3060	2995	0.35
42	Thakali	247	120	127	0.01
43	Kori	144	60	84	0.00
44	Chhantyal/Chhantel	239	120	119	0.01
45	Holmo/Yholmopa	24	12	12	0.00
46	Bote	170	85	85	0.00
47	Gaine	831	399	432	0.049
48	Chamling	11	9	2	0.00
49	Jirel	17	11	6	0.00
50	Dura	35	22	13	0.00
51	Raji	1502	755	747	0.088
52	Dolpo	5205	2507	2698	0.308
53	Byasi/Sauka	3890	1975	1915	0.23
54	Dev	12	6	6	0.00
55	Kamar	19	5	14	0.00
56	Loharung	25	9	16	0.00
57	Kalar	16	5	11	0.00
58	Raute	147	68	79	0.008
59	Ranatharu	126	57	69	0.007
60	Mugal/Mugum	1789	847	942	0.10
61	Pun	62	32	30	0.00
62	Baniyan	21	10	11	0.00

63	Karnarong	1465	630	835	0.08
64	Others	152	83	69	0.009
65	Foreigner	713	460	253	0.042
66	Not stated	43	24	19	0.0025
	Total	1688412	823761	864651	100

Sources: National census 2078 and Election 2079.

There are more than 60 Castes groups living in Karnali Province. Analyzing the direct election of the 2079. In provincial and Central election, women, Dalit are not represented. Dalits are not represented in the Central. Even if we look at the population basis in the province women are 51 percent but there is not only one person in the province, but not even 1. The Magars have a population of 176,068 but there is no representation. The population of Chhetri and Brahman is 50.10 percent, and there is a large number in the leadership. The representation of women, Danti and others are also not seen on the basis of population, which is included in Table No. 1,2. And three.

This article, aspects of Nepali Society and Culture, explains the various units of Nepali society. A sociological analysis of various aspects, including the population, history of Nepali culture, wedding festivals, the Hindu caste system, and the status of women, is provided. Emphasizing the influence of Tibetan and Indian culture on the Himalayan and Terai castes, the socio-cultural aspects of various castes and tribes, including Brahmins, Kshetris, Gurungs, Magars, Sherpas, Tharus, Rais, and Limbus, have been discussed. Due to ancestral ties, festivals have started to be celebrated collaboratively (Regmi 1985). In the present book, analyzing the structural-functional concept, the four varnas of Hinduism, including Brahman acharya, Grihastha, and Vanaprastha Sanyas Ashram, the four Purushartha Dharmas, Kama, Moksha, and the four varnas of Baraman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra, and the three aspects of liberation, knowledge, devotion, and the incarnations of God, Vishnu, and Maheshwar, are celebrated under the influence of the spirit of non-thought. Hindu women celebrate festivals for a happy married life, the progress of their husbands, and self-purification. Gaijatra is an important desire of the Newar community and this festival is celebrated in memory of deceased relatives throughout the year. On the eighth and ninth days of Dashain, worship is performed at Shaktipeeth, and on the tenth day, offerings are made and Tika is offered.

Scope of caste and politics covers various issues concerning different castes and institutions that mobilize them. These institutions include caste organizations and political parties. Main issues covered in caste politics are relations of subordination and dominance between castes, caste-based violence, reservation in public institutions for jobs, social welfare schemes, social and cultural recognition, self-respect, human rights, social justice, etc. At the centre of conflicts and competition among castes is a quest for getting share in power structure. The competition among castes virtually becomes

competition among political parties and political conflicts and competition among castes to get power. The political parties devise strategies to mobilize castes to win elections. The share in power through representation in institutions and policies can result in empowerment of castes. This share can be achieved by representation of castes in political institutions, especially Local politics, Province and Central politics or Local institutions, and in educational and administrative structures. It is also possible through policies meant for the welfare of communities. Thus, relationship between caste and politics is about share of castes. Broadly, the scope of caste and politics includes mobilization of castes by different political parties in electoral and non-electoral politics. Since Nepal has a federal political structure, relationship between caste and politics can be viewed at different levels of this structure.

Caste and electoral politics are interrelated. We have read about an important aspect of caste and electoral politics. The caste as one of the determinants of electoral behavior. In this subsection, you will read about other aspects of caste in electoral politics. These aspects are caste profiles of the elected representatives, party strategies to mobilize castes in electoral politics, and relationship between castes and support bases of political parties. Since 2070 several scholars have studied the role of caste in electoral politics. And in Nepal and Karnali, the leading role to conduct election studies has been played by the Centre for Politics the first federal elections held in 2079 B.S. For the first few decades after federalism, electoral politics was dominated by traditionally dominant castes of different regions of the country. Although constitutionally every adult irrespective of his or her caste had right to vote, on several occasions the dominant caste did not allow the Dalits and other lower castes to no seat. The high or middle castes and it was supported in elections by castes across social hierarchy. Because of support of various caste groups according to table one.

**Table No. 2: Caste based participation in Politics in Karnali Province.**

S.n.	District	Name and Caste	Simbol	Elected		Area of Election	
				Male	Female	Central	Province
01	Salyan	Prakash Jawal	Pen	*	0	1	
02	Dolpa	Dhan bahadur Budha	Pen	*	0	1	
03	Mugu	Ain Bahadur Shahi	Tree	*	0	1	
04	Jumla	Gayan Bahadur Shahi	Plouge	*	0	1	
05	Kalikot	Mehendra Bdr.Shahi	Hashiya ht.	*	0	1	
06	Humla	Chring Lama (Bhote)	Hashiya ht.	*	0	1	
07	Jajorkot	Shakti Bdr.Basnet.	Hashiya ht.	*	0	1	
08	Dailekh	Amar Bahadur Thapa.	Pen	*	0	1	
09	Dailekh	Dikpal Kumar Shahi.	Tree	*	0	1	
10	Surkhet	Purna Bahadur Khadka.	Tree	*	0	1	
11	Surkhet	Herdayaram Thani.	Tree	*	0	1	
12	Rukum(west)	Janardan Sharma.	Hashiya ht.	*	0	1	
	Total					12	

Sources: National election 2079.

Now Nepal is resurfacing as an inclusive democracy, broadening the participation and representation of Dalits and other marginalized groups that is essential for integrating them in the structures of the state and the fabric of society. It is vital, especially while writing a new constitution, in establishing and consolidating Nepal as an inclusive and Federal democracy that safeguards the rights and opportunities of all its citizens. Caste and electoral politics are inter-related. The political parties make their strategies to mobilize different castes. They do so by addressing their issues, by giving tickets to candidates to contest elections by consideration whether candidate will be able to get support of various castes.

**Table No. 2: Caste based participation in Politics in from Karnali Province.**

S.n.	District	Name and Caste	Simbol	Elected		Area of Election	
				Male	Female	Central	Province
01	Salyan	Bhim Pd.Sharma	Hasiyahtado	*	0		1
		Suresh Adhakari	Rukh	*	0		1
02	Dolpa	Sher Bd.Budha	Sun	*	0		1
		Bir Bd Shahi	Hasiyahatado	*	0		1
03	Mugu	Jit Bd. Malla	Sun	*	0		1
		Mangal Bd.Shahi	Hasiyahatado	*	0		1
04	Jumla	Debendra Shahi	Freedom	*	0		1
		Tekraj pachai	Sun	*	0		1
05	Kalikot	Durga Bd. Rawat	Hasiyahatado	*	0		1
		Hikmat Bista	Rukh	*	0		1
06	Humla	Ransing Pariyar	Hasiyahatado	*	0		1
		Jeevan K Shahi	Rukh	*	0		1
07	Dailekh	Ghanshyam Bhandari	Rukh	*	0		1
		BinodKumar Shaha	Sun	*	0		1
		Krishkumar B.C	Rukh	*	0		1



		Purna Bd.khatrri	Rukh	*	0		1
08	Surkhet	Khadka Pokheral	Rukh	*	0		1
		Krishna G.C	Hasiya	*	0		1
		Yam Lal Kandel	Sun	*	0		1
		Bindaman Bista	Hasiyahatado	*	0		1
09	Jajorkot	Rajivbikram Shaha	Rukh	*	0		1
		Bedraj seha	Rukh	*	0		1
12	Rukum(west)	Mahendra K.C	Hasiyahatado	*	0		1
		Rajkumar Sharma	Hasiyahatado	*	0		1
	Total				0		24

Sources: Provincial election 2079.

There are more than 60 Castes groups living in Karnali Province. Analyzing the direct election of the 2079. In provincial and Central election, women, Dalit are not represented. Dalits are not represented in the Central. Even if we look at the population basis in the province women are 51 percent but there is not only one person in the province, but not even 1. The Magars have a population of 176,068 but there is no representation. The population of Chhetri and Brahman is 50.10 percent, and there is a large number in the leadership. The representation of women, Danti and others are also not seen on the basis of population, which is included in Table No. 1,2. And three.

In Nepal discrimination and favoritism have been deeply rooted and structural barriers have been created and maintained by the state. Dalits and women suffering from caste and gender based discrimination and untouchability have been entrenched in an age-old caste system that has reinforced hierarchy between 'upper' and 'lower' castes. Dalits continues to be observable in their state of human development and has barred them from social, economic and political life. When the country started to embrace democratic values, the community's structural and systematic exclusion. It is vital in establishing and consolidating Nepal as a democracy that safeguards the rights and opportunities of all its citizens.

## Conclusion

The central and provincial elections held in 2079 BS, there is not a single representation among Women and Dalit. The total population of Karnali Province is 1688412 Male 823761(48.78 percentage) and 864651 (51.20 percentage) females. Dalits are also not represented, so it does not appear to be fully inclusive. Nepali culture and society have not always been able to move forward in a uniform manner. The geographical shape, conditions, climate and traditions of Nepal have created culture. In ancient times, many people entered Nepal from India, and in the Middle Ages from Tibet. They gradually accepted the Nepali path and started moving forward. They accepted the form of the socio-cultural structure here. If we look at the current Nepali history, the politics of Nepal has worked to control Hindu civilization and its corresponding structure (sharma 1977). Caste and politics are interrelated. They influence each other. Caste has different roles in national, Province and local elections. The formation of political parties and organizations are based on many factors in which caste is foremost each province political parties. Not only party formation but also selecting candidates are mainly based on the caste structure of that

Province. Reservation policy has extended the role of caste in electoral politics and it has also provided political participation of scheduled and backward castes Class. Reservation has extended political participation and political representation of many backward leaders in electoral politics. However, caste based violence has been the worst impact of reservation and political party and leaders are using it as a mean to manipulate and attract voters. Despite being a secular area, caste is an integral part of Nepali society and therefore, caste has been an important factor in politics. The study explored the political participation in karnali province. Looking at the situation of those elected to the Karnali Provincial Bar Association and those elected to the province, it does not appear that the parties have provided inclusive representation in the elections based on the inclusiveness as per the Constitution of Nepal. Political participation is close according to population, but it does not appear to be based on equality and equity. Nepal is a society united in multilingual and multicultural diversity. All castes have their own values and beliefs. In the process of Penalizations, the values and beliefs of Nepali culture are selected and used. As a process of nasalization, the cultural practices of Hindus are accepted by the groups that migrate internally and externally and are operated accordingly. As a process of nasalization, the use of Brahmin priests by indigenous peoples like Tharu, Magar, Newar, Rai, Thakali and Limbu, along with the use of Nepali language and following Nepali beliefs on the basis of Hindu culture is Nepalization. Accepting the social structure and cultural forms of the Nepali environment, operating accordingly, and transforming one's culture and tradition accordingly and moving forward is penalizations.

## References

1. Adhikari, K. & Gellner, D. (2019). Introduction: Nepal's Dalits in transition. *Contributions to Nepalese studies*. 2(2), 177-200.
2. Béteille, A. (1965). *Caste, Class and Power: Changing patterns of stratification in a Tanjore village*. Berkeley, University of California Press. <https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BA57559702>
3. Chaudhary, M. (2007). *Nepalko Terai tatha yaska bhumiputrahuru [Terai of Nepal and its landson]*. Santi Chaudhary.
4. Constitution of Nepal (2015). *Nepal Law Commission Act, 2015(2072 BS), Nepal*.
5. Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative*

- Inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (4<sup>th</sup> Ed.). Sage
6. Deshpande, A., & Darity, W. (2016). Caste discrimination in contemporary India. In *Palgrave Macmillan UK eBooks*, 248–273. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137554598\\_8](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137554598_8)
  7. Dumont, L. (1980). *Homo Hierarchicus: The caste system and its implications*. University of Chicago Press.
  8. Giorgi, A., & Giorgi, B. (2003). *Phenomenology*. Sage, London.
  9. Hans, V. B. (2016). Dalits in India: From marginalisation to inclusion. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. 1(4), 448–461. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2323268>
  10. Hossain, M. S., Alam, M. K., & Ali, M. S. (2024). Phenomenological approach in the qualitative study: data collection and saturation. *ICRRD Quality Index Research Journal*, 5(2). <https://doi.org/10.53272/icrrd.v5i2.4>
  11. IESS. (1972). The International Encyclopedia of the Social Science; Social Change. *Springer*, 34(4), 393–402.
  18. National Dalit Commission (2024). *National Dalit Commission annual report (2080/81)*. NPHC (2011). National Population and Housing Census 2011. National Report (Vol 01). NPHC (2021). National Population and Housing Census 2021. National Report (Vol 01).
  19. Philipsen, H. & Vernooij-Dassen, M. (2007). Qualitative research: Useful, indispensable and challenging. In: Qualitative research: Practical methods for medical practice. In L. PLBJ & H. TCo (Eds.), 5–12.
  20. Quigley, D. 1999. *The interpretation of caste*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. Thorat, Sukhadeo. 2009. Dalit in India: Search for a Common Destiny. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
  21. Roediger, H. L., Meade, M. L., Gallo, D. A., & Olson, K. R. (2014). Bartlett revisited: Direct comparison of repeated reproduction and serial reproduction techniques. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10767-020-09385-1>
  12. Kafle, D. R., Sapkota, D., & Kc, T. B. (2025). Social dynamics of Dalits in Nepal: Historical development of untouchability and exploitation. *Social Science and Humanities Journal*, 9(1), 6395–6403. <https://doi.org/10.18535/sshj.v9i01.1587>
  13. Kisan, Yam Bahadur. 2005. *The Nepali Dalit Social Movement*. Legal Rights Protection Society, Kupondol, Lalitpur, Nepal.
  14. Manohar (2011). *Dalit mukti kasari hunchha? [How is Dalit liberation?]*. Nepali-American Society for Opprest Community (NASOC).
  15. Mitra, D. P. (2023). Caste based inequality, exclusion and social change in India. *Shodha Prabha (UGC CARE Journal)*. 48(4), 45–53. <https://shorturl.at/uEMxL>
  16. Moustakas, C. (1994). Phenomenological research methods. *Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage*.
  17. National Dalit Commission (2004). *National Dalit Commission Report-2060/61*. *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition*, 3(4), 266–271. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jarmac.2014.05.004>
  22. Stenbaek, M. (1987). Forty Years of Cultural Change among the Inuit in Alaska, Canada and Greenland: Some Reflections. *ARCTIC*, 40 (4), 300–309. <https://doi.org/10.14430/arctic1787>
  23. Ugwu, Chinyere. N. & Eze Val, H. U. (2023). Qualitative research. *IDOSR journal of computer and applied sciences* 8(1), 20–35.
  24. Varnum, M. E. W., & Grossmann, I. (2017). Cultural Change: The How and the Why. Perspectives on Psychological Science, 12(6), 956–972. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691617699971>
  25. World Bank (2023). *The World Bank*. Annual Report 2023.