Inclusive Governance: A Case Study of Civil Service in Nepal

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Abstract

This paper examines the level of inclusive policy implementation in civil service in Nepal which has been adopted since 2007, after the second amendment of the Civil Service Act-1993. The legal instruments state to bring the disadvantaged groups such as women, ethnic minorities, dalits, disabled, etc. who are socially, economically and politically marginalized into the governing system. Specifically, this paper analyzes the role of the Public Service Commission (PSC). Also it examines the level of social justice due to inclusive policy implementation and their level of performance after their recruitment, drawing information through questionnaire to 227 civil servants, interviews with 28 key informants and the annual report of the PSC from 2008 to 2014.

The study revealed that the selected quota or share in civil service as per the Act has been increasing but the trend of recruitment has remained the same as before. The study depicted that the selected civil servants belonged to similar families with members having already been civil servants. The legal opportunity allocated for inclusion were enjoyed by certain families in the name of disadvantaged groups as they were elites in their respective community because the real disadvantaged groups were not in a position to compete in the PSC examinations. They had low literacy rate. Brahmins, Chhetris, Newars together with some ethnic groups were dominating the civil service due to family orientation and education even if their population was relatively low. The performance of civil servants was marginally different in between inclusive and open category due to the lack of human resource development activities like training, empowerment, workshops and orientation. The study concluded that the structure of civil service due to inclusive governance has changed but not entrenched in the targeted community.

Keywords: Governance, Inclusion policies, Civil Service, Implementa-tion, Nepal

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Inclusion or Exclusion

Social exclusion/inclusion is in hot discussion around the globe though the particular concept emerged from Europe four decades ago. In the initial phase, social exclusion was viewed as a social problem related to disability, substance abuse and related deviation. Gradually, it gained popularity covering social problems like poverty in Britain, unemployment in Europe, problem of social integration for social solidarity and migration in France (Silver, 2010). Later on, it covered Africa for race as a social problem. In the case of Asia, the social problems which include gender, ethnicity, caste system, language etc are varied (Tamang, 2014). Overall, the social exclusion is a social problem which is rooted in disability, poverty, unemployment, gender, caste system, ethnicity, language and area specific.

Conceptually, social exclusion means many things to many scholars. It is a dynamic progress of progressive multidimensional rupturing of the social bond (Silver, 2007, 1p.). Social exclusion is about how formal and informal institutions and practices work disconnect individuals and group from social relations and create barriers for their participation and accessible for other groups in the same community (Power and Wilson, 2000; Bennett, 2008, quoted from Tamang, 2014).

Studies on social exclusion illustrates that social exclusion is a condition, a relation and a process. The condition of poverty, deprivation, marginalization and powerlessness are the causes of social exclusion. The problems of homelessness, educational failure and lack of skills for the labour market and childhood malnutrition and subsequent ill health diseases all contribute to social exclusion (Tamang, 2014, p.12). Similarly, lack of mutual support and cooperation between members of a society and discriminatory behavior, unequal and failed relations between the elite and the common people which refer to relationship of social members also play a determinant role in social exclusion. Likewise, social exclusion is a process whereby an excluder continuously and actively attempts to gain higher position by excluding others.

While examining the reasons of social exclusion, Lou Wilson (2006) synthesizes and categorizes the various interpretations of this issue into three models. The first model explains the reason of exclusion that certain dominant groups control the state and by abusing power, exercise illegitimate control over state resources. According to the second model, the struggle among groups with different social background, ethnicity, language etc is an inevitable part of modern society to expand their power and influence. The winner group is dominant upon the losing group. The loser will form a class gradually whereby it gets excluded from the winner through a set of customs and practices set by the dominant groups. The third model is about social integration. When the state fails to integrate the society, it results in social exclusion.

Initially, the social exclusion was discussed on to overcome the social problems and get integration into the mainstream society (Wislon, 2006). The European model of social exclusion encourages social assimilation for social inclusion. This is based on the European context. The context of other countries is quite different because of their language, gender, caste system, culture etc. But social inclusion is beyond solving social problems. By only solving the social problem may not be sufficient condition for social inclusion. Social inclusion is about participation especially of the most disadvantaged people who are left out from the mainstream of development and in the governance process (Haan, 1998). Social inclusion is the process of improving the terms for individuals and groups to take part in the society. It is also a process of improving the ability, opportunity and dignity of people, disadvantaged on the basis of their identity, to take part in society (WB, 2013, p 3-4). In broad sense, social inclusion means uniting the national and global society consisting of multicultural groups based on the principle of both autonomy and mutual cooperation (Tamang, 2014, p.20).

The elimination of the determinant factors of social exclusion may not be sufficient condition for social inclusion. It demands something beyond the elimination of exclusion. First, social inclusion demands an end to the status quo of inequality. Inclusion aspires for solidarity based on equality with difference. Second, social inclusion requires that social problems be resolved on the basis of the principle of equality. Third, social inclusion does not mean assimilation into the mainstream of the dominant culture. Thus, social inclusion matters because social exclusion is too costly. These costs are social, economic, and political are often interrelated (WB, 2013, p.54). Moving from social exclusion to inclusion does not happen overnight. It takes long-term views to achieve the main thrusts of social inclusion such as an end to the status quo of inequality, solidarity based on equality with differences, wider participation of people with social justice and improving ability, opportunity and dignity of the people to take part in the society. All of these intentions of inclusion depend upon how much inclusive policies are implemented in the national and global context.

Inclusive Governance in Nepal: From Past to Present

The global scenario of inclusion shows that conflict in each particular country is based on identity (Brown, 2001, Harff and Gurr, 2004, Harris and Reilly, 1998, Kegley Jr 2009; Wimmer 2013). Nepal is not exceptional one (Lawoti, 2014). Nepal has also observed the rise of mobilization based on identities, more so after 1990 as well as identity based armed organizations and violent ethnic conflicts among different groups (Lawoti, 2014; Bhattachan, 2000).

Inclusion is a necessary condition for economic growth and development of the nation. If the sources of the country is accessible only for a handful of the population of the country and is utilized by them, a country cannot economically grow and develop. This situation led the country towards exclusion. Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson (2012) have demonstrated that countries with inclusive political and economic institutions that facilitate participation of everyone have been able to economically grow and develop while countries with restrictive institutions were not able to economically grow and continued to face poverty. Milton J Esman(1997) argues that bureaucrats who do not understand the language, culture, life style and need and aspiration of people, bring hurdle for development. If a heterogeneous group is included in an institution to perform the work, the pace of development increases. The inclusion of diverse groups is a recipe for better performance (Page, 2008). Krishna Hachhethu (2014) argues that more political participation is likely more inclusion.

While evaluating the governance system, it can be analyzed historically, socio-economically and politically. In an opinion of Mahendra Lawoti (2014), two-third population of Nepal which includes *dalits*, ethnic community, *Madheshis* and Muslims have been marginalized historically, politically and socio-economically. They were not participants in the state mechanism. In the governance system of Nepal, certain section of the society was involved since its inception (Battachan, 1997, Lawoti, 2005; Neupane, 2000). But, Prithivi Narayan Shah who united Nepal, mobilized a very simple person like Bise Nagarchi. He mobilized both Aryan and Mongol groups during the unification of Nepal. He elsewhere mentions that Nepal is a garden of all flowers. Some scholars opine that he included all groups of Nepal. On the contrary, some scholars argue that he favored Aryan groups only. Shah always recognized the merit. Due to this attitude, he became successful in uniting Nepal. However, those rulers who came in power after him did not accord importance to merit. The mobilization of people was based on heredity rather than merit or better performance. Some of the scholars have also opined that he abolished the groups of different principalities. That tendency of state mechanism contributed to exclusion.

During the Rana Regime, the trend of exclusion still increased due to nepotism and favouratism, more ambition of ruler and weak society (Bhattachan, 1997; Lawoti, 2005; Neupane, 2000). They further argued that Hindu families except for the elites were not excluded culturally and socially but excluded politically during this regime. Other groups of the society were totally excluded. The country code of 1854 contributed more for exclusion of the society from the state mechanism. After the abolition of the Rana Regime in 1950, democracy was introduced. During this period

also King Mahendra introduced the partyless Panchayat system by hijacking democracy in 1961. It was continued for thirty years. During this period, some social reforms such as abolition of Kamaiya, Haliaya and Kamlari traditions were introduced but not with success. In 1990, there was a significant change in Nepal. All groups of the society got the opportunity to take part in the state mechanism. It was continued and led to wider participation after 2006 after monarchy in Nepal was abolished. The movements of 2006 signified that the major source of exclusion was the monarchy.

From the economic perspective of the nation, there was no wider inclusion of all sections of the society. For example, the revenue collected from land tax during the Rana Regime was used for building houses for the Rana Rulers which was not a proper investment to generate employment opportunities. Ultimately, the income level of the people did not increase. As a result, people were gradually excluded from the state governance mechanism. During the Panchayat and Democratic period after 1950s, Nepal could not produce goods and services which could be exported to foreign countries. On the other hand, Nepal has been heavily dependent on imports. Such a situation also led to the exclusion of the weaker sections of the society. Likewise, the fertile land is also in the grip of landlords. This land is not used very much for commercial purposes. Agricultural laborers have not benefited from agriculture. Thus, people are excluded rather than getting benefits from state distribution (Bhattarai, 2003).

In fact, the Nepali state has begun to address the issue of exclusion especially after the regime transformation of 2006. The policies and formal institutional reforms to address exclusion have often been targeted toward broad categories such as ethnicity, gender, *dalits*, *madhesi* and *muslims* society (Lawoti, 2014, p125). Nepal took initiation to end the exclusion of identified groups through affirmative policies for their inclusion. Ganga Dutta Avasti and Rabindra Adhikari (2012) argue that targeted community and section of the society could not reap the benefits of inclusive policies due to the lack of quality education. Those candidates, who are in urban areas, are more familiar with the syllabus of Public Service Commission rather than those in the rural areas. For the sake of exclusion, the attitude of elite groups also matters. For example, there was negative attitude towards *Dalit* (Purkoti, Priyar, Bhandari, Sob, 2009, p.35). In the justice sector of Nepal, there is also imbalance participation on basis of gender, caste, ethnicity due to unavailable of graduate in law (National Justice Institution, 2013, p.3). The study of Harka Gurung shows that Hindu high castes constitute 90 per cent of the governing elites of which 66.2 per cent are of hill origin. Their dominance is reflected well in education, administration and economy. Among those with higher education, 73.8 percent is higher caste, 22 percent *Janajati* and 2.9 percent *Dalit* owing to their larger pool of the educated high caste monopolise the bureaucracy (Gurung, n.d.). Bennett (2005) assesses the inclusion status of Nepal. She opined that all Nepali

groups get space to express their opinions openly and to assert their identities and rights as citizens due to the restoration of democracy in 1990. However, the dominant order has remained largely confined to male *Brahmins (Bahun)* and *Chhetris* from the traditionally influential *Parbatiya* or Hill Hindu group and the urban-based and generally well-educated *Newar*. Similarly, I. Jamil & R. Dangal (2009) stated that the bureaucracy in Nepal is gender biased, religion biased and caste biased in terms of demography. In the opinion of Mukta S. Tamang (2014, 35p.), Nepal should address three aspects for social inclusion in Nepal which include equitable development, proportional representation and recognition of groups' identities and inter-group solidarity.

Civil Service in Nepal

The civil service in Nepal has been changing its operational modality due to the popular movements and political regime changes since its inception 1956. During this period, it has moved towards professionalism, impartiality, merit based selection and more inclusive/representative even though criticisms remain. The criticisms of Nepalese civil services that appeared in scholarly written papers include presence of corruption, certain caste's domination, less representative and non-performer. Now, the government of Nepal has adopted the inclusive policy since 1990 in general and 2006 in particular due to the popular movements of 1990 and 2006 respectively. In this context, Article 13(3) of the Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007 mentioned that…"provide that especial provisions for women, *Dalits*, ethnic, *Madheshi*, farmers, workers, may be made by law for the protection, empowerment and advancement of the interests of children, the aged or those who are physically of mentally incapacitated or those who belong to a class which is economically, socially and culturally backward". This provision of the constitution is the same as in Nepal's Constitution 2014. Thus, reservation policy was introduced in the civil service of Nepal through the second amendment of the Civil Service Act, 2007. The provision of the Act states that 55 per cent of the seats of total vacant seats will be for open competition while the rest of the 45 per cent seats would be allotted for the reservation based on the gender, caste and ethnicity, *Dalits*, backward areas, *Madheshi*, and disability. Again, assuming 45 per cent seats allotted for reservation as 100 per cent, 33 per cent seats are reserved for women, 27 per cent seats for ethnicity, 22 per cent seats for *Madheshi*, 9 per cent seats for *Dalit*, 5 per cent seats for the disabled and 4 per cent seats for backward areas[1].

The inclusive policy in the civil service has been implemented since 2007. Due to this policy, more than twenty thousand civil servants were recruited. Among them, seven thousand civil servants were from the inclusive provision. As a result, the composition of civil service has

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[1] Backward areas include seven districts (Achham, Jajarkot, Mugu, Humala, Jumla, Kalikot and Dolpa districts) out of 75 districts.

changed. Among 80 thousand civil servants, 85 per cent are males and 15 per cent females. Still, there is a high domination of male civil servants. Similarly, the composition of civil service on the basis of caste and ethnicity has also changed. There are about 56 per cent *Brahmins*, 14 per cent *Chhetris*, 15 per cent ethnicity, 5 per cent *Dalits* and 8 per cent *Madheshis*.

Table 1 Number of civil servants and applicants of PSC with respective population and literacy rate

	Variables	No of civil service	Percentage	No of applicants	Percentage	Population	Literacy rate
Sex	Male	67845	84.7	816421	56	48.5	75.2
	Female	12263	15.3	637365	44	51.5	57.4
Caste and Ethnicity	*Brahmin*	na	56*	569866	41	13	82
	Chhetri	na	14*	261777	19	17	72.13
	Ethnic groups	na	15*	253257	17	36	52-81
	Dalit	na	5*	45920	3	14	62
	Madhesi	*na*	*8**	137441	10	17	52-80
	Muslim	na		7055	0	4	52
	Others	na	2*	178470	10	2	Na
Religion	Hindu	na	97*	1354229	93.39	81	Na
	Boudha	na	1*	62297	4	9	Na
	Christian	na		8421	0.58	2	Na
	Islam	na		6532	0.5	4	Na
	Others	na	2*	22307	1.53	4	Na
Age	18-20 yrs	na	na	203154	14.00%		86
	21-25 yrs	na	na	57883	40.00%	9.6	74
	26-30 yrs	na	na	365206	25.00%	8.5	62
	31-35 yrs	na	na	241612	17.00%	7.1	52
	36-40 yrs	na	na	43464	3.00%	6.3	42
	41-45 yrs	na	na	13844	1.00%	5.3	32
	46 yrs and above		na	8123	1.00%	4.4	25
Development region	EDR	13039	16.34	267287	18.00%	22	67.2
	CDR	37987	47.5	617068	42.00%	36	64
	WDR	12331	15.45	263934	18.00%	19	71
	MWDR	9775	12.25	191929	13.00%	13	64
	FWDR	6602	8.27	113568	9.00%	10	63.5
Total civil servants and applicants		79734	100	1453786	100	26.5 Million	23 million

Source: Civil Service Department, 2014, Reports of Public Service Commission (2007-2014). CBS, 2014

* This percentage is calculated on the basis of civil servants who joined civil service in 2011/12 only. Their total number was 471 only.

The data shows that there is still the domination of Brahmins and others. Religiously, they are 97 per cent Hindu. Region-wise, about fifty per cent of the civil servants are working in Central Development Region (CDR) and the rest of the fifty per cent civil servants are in other four development regions. According to Yogendra B. Gurung (2014), Hill *Brahmin*, *Chhetri*, *Madheshi* other caste groups, Hill *Dalit*, M/H *Janajatis* and *Tarai Janajatis* are in the majority for their involvement in agriculture and related works. The highest percentage of *Madheshi Dalits* is involved in elementary occupation (41.4%) and *Marwadi/ Panjabi/Bangali* in service and sales workers (36.3%). However, there are some social groups, whose percentage of occupations is scattered in diverse occupations.

After the implementation of the inclusive policy in civil service in Nepal, about 1.5 million applicants within the period from 2007 to 2012 submitted applications seeking to be recruited in the civil service. Among them, 56 per cent were male applicants and 44 per cent female applicants whereas the male's total population accounted for 48 per cent and females 52 per cent. However, their respective literacy rate was 75 per cent for males and 57 per cent for females. Caste and ethnicity-wise, there were 41 per cent Brahmin applicants, 19 per cent *Chhetri*, 17 per cent ethnic groups, 3 per cent *Dalits* and 10 per cent *Madheshi* applicants even though their respective population are 13 per cent *Brahmin*, 17 per cent *Chhetri*, 36 per cent ethnic groups, 14 per cent *Dalit* and 17 per cent *Madheshi.* Paudel (2014) outlines that those civil servant who have the rural background, *Brahmin/Chhetri*, agrarian occupation and more studious are able to be selected through the PSC examination. Despite the lower population of the Brahmins, they have still dominated the Nepalese civil service. In this situation, *Bhahmins* are more literate than the other caste and ethnic groups. Religiously, 81 per cent of the applicants were Hindus. Development region-wise, the highest number of applicants i.e. 36 per cent applicants were from the Central Development Region and only 10 per cent applicants (lowest) from the Far-Western Development Region.

The above presentation of data poses the following questions: Is the examination conducted by PSC impartial so that every applicant has fair chance of being selected? Why does certain castes have domination in the selection and what is te reason behind this? What are the economic benefits received by civil servants when they are recruited as civil servants? Does the inclusive policy implementation do justice to the Nepalese community? Is there any variation in job performance between inclusive category and open category of civil servants?

Methodology

The research design was explorative. The data was generated in three phases. In the first phase, data of civil servants was retrieved from the Civil Servant Department, Government of Nepal. These data which gave a general picture of civil service in Nepal were categorized under gender and

development region. In the second phase, 471 selected civil servants in 2011/12 were collected from PSC to analyze their socio-economic background. At the same time, applicants since 2007 to 2011 were collected and grouped gender-wise, caste and ethnicity-wise, religion-wise and development region-wise to find out the issues of inclusive policy implementation in Nepal's civil service. In the third phase, 227 civil servants from seven districts (Dhanusa, Dhankuta, Dhangdhi, Gorkha, Achham, Dailekh and Kathmandu) out of 75 districts were approached through questionnaire to analyze why caste specific had more domination in civil service. Similarly, other specific questions were asked to respondents about the PSC examination, social justice and the performance of civil servants. Besides, 28 in-depth interviews with heads of public offices based on the same kind of variables were conducted to consolidate the study. Likewise, the relevant data on population as well as literacy rate were collected from the Central Bureau of Statistics.

Findings

Tests of Public Service Commission

To hunt for the best of the best candidate on the basis of merit, PSC, a constitutional body, conducts written examinations and interviews whereby it prepares a merit list of the best condidates. PSC has set a calender explaining the time of advertising, secreening test, written test and interview and final merit list, which is published in the broad sheet daily national newspaper and its web page so that every interested person can be well-informed. While advertising for the vacant posts, it has fixed the posts as per the inclusive policy [2]. Potential candidates [3] apply for the vacant posts as per their wish and suitable category. PSC conducts sreen tests [4] based on the prescribed syllabus. Objective questions are set so that a large number of candidates can be screened easily. Those candidates who are able to pass the screen at first, are eligible for the final written test.

The final writtent test is also based on the service-wise[5] priscribed syllabus. These services are also broadly categorized into technical and non-technical. In each service, there are three subjects with 100 full-marks each. Public Service Commission Act, 1992 spells out clearly that the candidate

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[2]. Inclusive policy means that has fixed the number of position allocated for open competition and reserved seats for women, *Dalits*, *Madheshi*, disables, backward region.

[3]. Potential candidate means Nepali Citizen, above 21 years and below 35 years for male and 40 years for female, not disqualified by government, not charged criminal by court.

[4]. In screen test, there is 40 per cent pass marks out of 100 marks.

[5]. As per Civil Service Act, 2007, there are Nepal economic planning and statistics service, Nepal engineering service, Nepal agriculture service, Nepal justice service, Nepal forestry service, Nepal administrative service and Nepal miscellaneous service.

should pass separately in each subject at first and should come in merit. Otherwise, candidates will be disqualified. While checking the answersheets, PSC applies the double coding system. One set of codes is with the Chairman of PSC and another with the PSC secretary. Both of them do not disclose the code. It remains confidential. Final merit list after the written test is prepared on the basis of the codes. Then only, the name of cadidate will be explored by matching the codes. After this, the merit list for the interview is published.

Also, in the case of interview, there is face-to-face interview and psychological test. After adding all the marks of the writtent test, face-to-face interview and psychological test obtained by the candidates, the final merit list is published. Thus, the candidates are selected for the civil service.

Table 2. Perception of employee on PSC examination

	Inclusion category (N=54)		Open category(N=173)	
	Mean	S. D	Mean	S. D
Appropriateness of written test	4.0	.8	4.1	.7
Appropriateness of interview	3.9	.8	3.8	.9
Appropriateness of IQ	4.0	.9	3.9	.9
Appropriateness of language test	4.0	1.0	4.0	1.0
Appropriateness of practical test	4.1	1.0	3.9	1.0

The question was on Likert's five point scale. 1- Too bad, 2- bad, 3- neither bad, nor good, 4-good nor 5- very good.

Question: What is your perception on test conducted by PSC?

Source: Field study, 2014

One question was asked to civil servants (both inclusive and open category) about their perception on the test conducted by PSC. As per the result, civil servants belonging to the inclusive category opined all tests except for the interview were good whereas the open category civil servants opined that the written and language tests were good but the interview, IQ test and practical test were neither good nor bad. It means there are still questions regarding the interview, IQ and practical test. According to their view, interview, IQ and practical tests were not at par with the written and language tests. However, respondents highlighted some demerits of the written test. The syllabus of written test was very vague. It needed more time to be prepared for the test. It did not match the job specifications. Thus, it was more theoretical. Despite these comments, the written test was more trustworthy and impartial. In an in-depth interview with civil servants, they opined that the interview and practical tests were not impartial because of human error especially of the joint secretary and under secretary. There were limited expert in these areas. Candidates who passed written test easily appoached them to get favour for the interview test and also for the practical test.

The field study made it clear that the examinations conducted by PSC were relatively trustworthy and impartial. This was also depicted by the Trust Survey Research (2010 & 2015) carried out by the Central Department of Public Administration, Tribhuvan University which showed that there was a high degree people's trust to PSC. It revealed that there was no discrimination in the selection process of PSC despite some loopholes in the interview and practical tests.

Why more applications of caste specific having rural, agrarian and community-based school's background?

Even though Nepal is a multi-cultural, multi-language[6], multi-religious[7] with diverse caste and ethnic community [8](Dahal, 2014), Brahmin is a dominant cluster in civil service. Similarly, there is the domination of rural people[9] who studied at rural schools and colleges in civil service even though urban areas of Nepal are more developed and accessible for information. There are also more colleges and universities in urban areas. Even though there are opportunities in others areas, Brahmins and *Chhetris* are attracted towards the civil service than the ethnic communities. Due to this background, the questions about the reasons for more applications from the following groups were asked to civil servants. The major factors for more applications included are education, Nepali language, proximity of PSC, rural/urban culture, family orientation and no alternative other than PSC. In addition, difficulty of livelihood in rural areas, more secure job, attractive life style of civil servants etc.

Why specific caste's domination?

From the literature, it is revealed that Brahmin community has more share in civil service even though their population is about 13 per cent. Both the inclusive and open category's respondents opined that Brahmins were more educated in the country. The census also illustrated their literacy rate was about 82 per cent. The second reason was the language as a mother tongue. They got benefit from the language also. Nepali language is the official language of Nepal. Another reason for more applicants from the Brahmin community is accounted by the proximity of the PSC. However, the respondents more or less denied nepotism and favoritism during the selection process. Besides, inclusive category respondents opined that there was a presence of state discrimination against other groups of the society but open category respondents denied it.

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[6]. 123 languages are in practice.
[7]. Four religion groups such as Hindu, Boudha, Musalman and Christian
[8]. 126 castes and ethnic groups are in Nepal.
[9]. 73 percent of total population lives in rural whereas 27 percent population in urban areas of Nepal.

Table 3. Reasons of more applications

		Inclusive category (N=54)		Open category (N=173)	
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D
Specific caste's more applications	More educated	4.4	1.0	4.5	.8
	Nepali language as mother tongue	4.3	1.0	4.0	1.2
	Proximity of Public Service Commission	3.2	1.8	3.0	1.7
	Nepotism and favourtism	2.9	1.9	2.4	1.9
	State has discriminated	3.3	2.0	2.6	1.9
More applicants from rural than urban areas	Rural culture	3.7	1.50	3.9	1.5
	Urban culture	3.9	1.4	3.6	1.5
	Family orientation	4.5	1.0	4.5	1.0
	More educated	4.1	1.4	4.2	1.3
	More accessed	3.8	1.6	3.6	1.6
	No alternative other than PSC examination	3.8	1.5	4.3	1.2
	Easy due to Nepali language	3.9	1.3	3.9	1.3
	Hardship of life in agriculture	3.5	1.4	3.8	1.3
	No resource to invest except PSC	4.1	1.1	4.0	1.2
	Much secured job in civil service	4.4	.7	4.3	1.0
	There is no best alternative to show personal talent	4.2	1.0	4.0	1.1
More applicants are from community schools/college than private one	More preferred/interest civil service job	4.3	.9	3.9	1.1
	More laborious	4.1	1.1	4.2	1.0
	No reliable alternative other than civil service	3.8	1.1	4.1	1.2
	More economic benefits in civil service	3.2	1.7	2.6	1.6
	Rural life teaches to do more labour	3.7	1.5	3.5	1.4
	Due to more attractive life style of civil servant	4.0	1.1	3.8	1.2

Question: Why do candidates having certain caste specific including rural, agrarian and community schools education able to be selected in PSC examination? It was based on five point Likert Scale where 1- completely disagree, 2-partially disagree, 3- partially agree, 4-agree and 5-completely agree.

Source: Field study, 2014

In an interview with civil servants, most of them opined that Brahmin community was involved in reading and writing areas since the inception of Nepal. They went to Banaras to study traditional mythologies whereas other

communities were involved in the army especially in the British India Company. When *Brahmins* return back to country, they engage in traditional ritual practices. They were called as *Pandits* in Nepal. Such traditional cultures pushed Brahmins to study while people from other communities indulged in other areas. In general, ethnic community especially *Gurung*, *Magar*, *Rai*, *Limbu* etc had domination in British/Indian Army while *Madheshi* community in technical field. *Newar* community had more participation in in all forms of business, banking, education and civil service. The history of traditional practices made the difference in the domination in civil service. In an opinion of other interviewee, Brahmin community was more flexible, adaptive and laborious as well as endowed with fine commitment. Due to these reasons, they had the domination in Nepal.

Why are there more rural applicants than urban?

There were more rural applicants than urban. Both categories of respondents agreed that family orientation (4.5 mean) was foremost responsible reason for more applications from rural areas. Similarly, the secured job in civil service attracted rural people than the urban. Likewise, there was no viable alternative available to show personal talents in the rural areas like that in the urban areas. In urban areas, there were other fields to be involved in. Education was also responsible for more applicants from rural areas. Open category civil servants outlined no alternative other than PSC for rural area applicants whereas inclusive category did not mention it to the same degree. Likewise, they mentioned other factors such as rural/urban culture, access to PSC and Nepali language which led more applications at PSC from rural areas. In an interview, there was a high degree of educational unemployment in rural areas as compared to urban areas. Such educational unemployment caused the rural youth to labor for PSC examination. Thus, such negative factors caused more applications from rural areas than urban ones.

Why more applicants belong to community school/college than private ones?

Even though private schools/colleges were assumed to be more qualified than public/community schools and colleges, there was more public/community college students' domination in public service applications. According to inclusive category civil servant's opinion, public/community schools/college students were found to be more interested and have more preference for civil service whereas open category civil servants did not emphasize that as much as the inclusive category ones. The second reason was about the labor of the applicants. Community/public school/college students were found to be more laborious than urban

students. Without more labor in exam preparation, no one gets success. The PSC examination is assumed as high competition. Similarly, open category civil servant agreed that there was no alternative to community/public school/college students other than civil service. Respondents of both the categories opined that the civil service was less attractive from the economic viewpoint. Due to accumulation of the above mentioned reasons, students of community/public school/college knocked at the door of PSC.

Justice to Society

Social justice will be maintained in society due to inclusive policy implementation. For this purpose, GoN allocated seats to gender, ethnic groups, *Dalits* (untouchables), *Madheshi* (people of *Terai*, plain areas), disabled and those from the backward regions. The following issues were perceived in the inclusion process. In case of gender, the women representation in civil service was about 15 per cent only whereas their population was more than fifty per cent of the population of Nepal. The representation of ethnic communities was also 15 per cent while their population was about 36 per cent. Likewise, *Madheshi* community also represented about 8 per cent in civil service. All of these categories showed that there were low representations in civil service in comparison to their respective population. Thus, a question is that whether people perceive social justice or not. If yes, what are the reasons? If no, how? Most of inclusive category civil servants opined that they felt social justice was done. Open category civil servant also mentioned it was a kind of social justice maintained by the government.

Table 4. Reasons of justice

	Inclusive category (N=54)		Open category (N=173)	
	Mean	S. D.	Mean	S. D.
It is open to all.	3.8	.7	3.7	.7
It adopted inclusive policy.	3.8	.8	3.5	.9
There is no any kind of discrimination.	3.6	.8	3.3	1.1
Neutral screening process.	3.9	.6	3.8	.7
Civil service should represent citizen of each walk of life	3.7	.8	3.5	1.0

Do you perceive social justice due to inclusion in Civil service? What are the reasons? It was based on four points Likert Scale in which 1 is the lowest whereas 4 is the highest.

Source: Field Study, 2014

Most of the respondents opined the reason that it was open to all. Each eligible individual could compete for vacant positions. Besides, they felt social justice was done due to impartial screening process of PSC without any kind of discrimination during the selection process. Likewise, Nepalese civil service was moving towards becoming more representative. From in-depth interviews, it was revealed that this process had given justice to the communities which were marginalized. They had opportunities to enter civil service. He further added that there would be potential for each candidate if government provided opportunity and favorable environment. However, some of the interviewee opined that this process had provided partial social justice. People who were marginalized had to compete with elites in the same category. Again, they could not reap the legal opportunity. For example, *Newar*, *Rai*, *Limbu* etc who lived in Jumla, Taplejung, Humla (remote places) could not compete with the people who lived in Kathmandu and other urban areas. They got legal opportunities in the name of marginalized community. Brahmins and *Chhetris* who belong to remote and upper hills of Nepal were far behind the ethnic communities who belonged to lower hills and *Terai*. The inclusion process narrated that *Brahmins* and *Chhetris* were the main beneficiaries. He further asked what the mistakes of marginalized *Brahmin* and *Chhetri* were so that they had the bar for the inclusion.

Even though the application rate of women has increased; the real competitors were limited to elite women. The literacy rate of women in Nepal was about 57 per cent only. Academically, prequalified women for the vacant posts published by PSC were few. The women, who were really marginalized, might not have university degree. Besides, while analyzing the social background of women who were selected from the inclusive category, they were either the sister of a civil servant or wife or sister-in-law etc. In fact, most of them were relatives of civil servants. It meant that the real benefits again went to a family whose member was already in the civil service. The same kind of nature was also applicable to the ethnic community. In the case of the *Madheshi* community, the definition of *Madheshi* was not concrete. Either people who lived in *Madhesh* were *Madhishe* or it included only certain caste only. If *Madhesh* represents the geography, it excludes other communities. Demographically, *Madhesh* is very much heterogeneous in terms of social structure and composition. There were very top class people and low class people there. It might not do justice to include all in a basket. Likewise, there should be concrete definition of the disabled because the legal opportunity of disability was reaped by other people who made medical certificate of disability. If the

target community or group reaps the opportunity provided by GoN, the inclusion process would be meaningful. Thus, the capability of the candidate matters for taking part in the competition for inclusion. Eventually, it leads towards social justice.

Performance of Civil Servants

Introduction of inclusive policy as reform strategy is to maintain social justice. On the other hand, achievement of organizational goal is equally important because public resources should be utilized for delivering goods and services to the people. In other words, it should produce goods or services from public organizations. Therefore, the job performance of employees counts much whether organizational goal is achieved or not. The job performance is measured through performance evaluation. As per Civil Service Act 1993 and its regulations categorically fixes performance evaluation criteria which include a. goal specific jobs; b. goal not specified jobs and c. personal attributes of a civil servant required for the job performance. The goal specific job refers to the total quantity, cost, time and quality of performed job by a civil servant. Similarly, the goal of specific job not fixed also include the total quantity, cost, time taken and quality of performed job by the civil servants. Likewise, the personal attributes of civil servants refers to the capability of civil servants so that they can achieve the desired goal whether fixed or not. As per the Act and Regulations, such attributes are policy analysis capability, leadership, negotiation skills, honesty, knowledge and skills on the assigned job, innovation etc. In addition, personal characteristics such as innovation, motivation, learning attitude, discipline etc. are also included in personal attributes.

Table 5. Perceptions of civil servants on the job performance of inclusive employees

		Inclusive category (N=54)		Open category (N=173)	
		Mean	**S.D.**	**Mean**	**S.D.**
Goals of jobs are specified	Total quantity of performance as per specified target	2.7	.7	3.0	.6
	Total cost for performed job as per specified target	2.7	.8	2.9	.7
	Total time for task as per specified target	2.7	.8	2.9	.7
	Total quality of performed job as per specified target	2.8	.8	2.8	.7
Goals of jobs are not specified	Total quantity of performed job as per not specified target	2.6	.8	2.7	.7
	Total cost for performed task as per not specified target	2.6	.7	2.7	.7

		Inclusive category (N=54)		Open category (N=173)	
		Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
.	Total time for task as per not specified target	2.7	.8	2.6	.8
	Total quality of performed job as per not specified target	2.6	.8	2.7	.8
Personal attributes	Policy analysis capability	2.8	.8	3.0	.7
	Discussion and negotiation skills	2.9	.7	3.1	.7
	Using discretionary power, decision-making capability & evaluation	2.8	.7	3.0	.7
	Leadership and organizing capability	2.8	.6	3.0	.7
	Honesty and secrecy	2.9	.7	3.0	.7
	Knowledge and skills of subject matters	2.9	.7	3.1	.6
	Interpersonal relation and communication skills	2.9	.6	3.0	.6
	To resist work pressure	2.9	.7	3.0	.6
	To fill up performance evaluation form time to time	2.8	.7	3.0	.7
	Innovation and initiation	2.8	.6	3.0	.6
	Capability to develop own subordinate	2.8	.6	2.9	.7
	Effective use of available resource	2.7	.7	2.9	.7
	Organizing skills	2.8	.6	2.9	.7
	Capability to maintain secrecy	2.9	.7	3.1	.7
	Capability to work as per direction	2.9	.6	3.1	.7
	Presence, timely and discipline	2.9	.7	3.0	.7
	High morality	2.8	.7	3.0	.7
	Interest in work and courage	2.9	.7	3.0	.7
	Trend not to repeat mistake	2.7	.8	2.8	.8

What is the level of performance of civil servants? This question was in four points Likert Scale in which 1-low, 2- Normal, 3- Good and 4-Best.

Source: Field study, 2014

The field study data showed that open category civil servants were marginally better than the inclusive category ones, but not the best performers. Among the three categories of the performance criteria, both the categories of civil servants were weaker relatively in the job which did not have the goal fixed. All of these above mentioned functions are interrelated to each other. The required personal attributes are closely associated with both functions whether goal is fixed or not. However, the open category

civil servants were marginally ahead than the inclusive category ones to perform the abovementioned functions. The result of the study also revealed that each of employee's personal attributes were better than their performance of both fixed goal and not fixed goal jobs. It raised the questions.: Does this marginal difference in job performance of civil servants have significant impacts oncivil service? What led to this marginal difference? Is there any compromise in the merit system? Why personal attributes are not linked with performance?

One interviewee opined that the training in civil service was not adequate. As a result, the performance of civil servants were observed to be weaker relatively. In fact, there was competition between the weaker candidates and the strong relatively. The candidates who were selected from the open category, she/he had to win over numerous other candidates. In the inclusive category, there were limited candidates participating in the the competition. The recruited candidate could be obviously weaker.

Another interviewee opined that there relatively weaker groups entered the civil service. But, it would be a remedy if policy of empowerment to the targeted community were launched massively. So the concerned authority should launch programs on inclusion and empowerment simultaneously for enhancing the capability of the target community.

In the open category, more civil servants who were already in the civil service were selected. They were aware of the practical skills and process of the civil service whereas the inclusive category candidates were fresh and did not have such practical ideas and process of the civil service. Such differences made them relatively weaker performers in the assigned job.

The inclusion system of Nepal had sidelined the candidates who had capacity. It welcomed weaker candidates in the name of inclusion. In fact, the real targeted community did not get the opportunity because they did not have the university certificates. Only those who were elites of the community got the legal opportunity even though they were weak in the competition.

Respondents also opined that there was no difference in performance due to inclusive policy implementation. The performance evaluation of inclusive category was biased because *Brahmins* and *Chhetris* as supervisors evaluated without any objectivity. They put low marks in their evaluation. In fact, civil servants who were recruited in the inclusive category were not poor. They had passed the university studies and PSC examination. There was no special provision to complete the university degree for inclusion.

In spite of marginally low performance of the inclusive category civil servants, it was not a difference in particular. If there was, it could be overcome through training, workshops and orientation programs. This was

the duty of the supervisor as to why they did not identify the weak performers and also why they did not provide training to them. In fact, inclusive category civil servants were not weak. This was due to inferiority complex only.

The appointment process whether inclusive or open category recruits meritorious employees only. Capability, willingness and risk taking nature of an employee matters for the sake of performance. Thus, human resource development aspect is a crucial part for job performance which is lacking in civil service. The job is performed in civil service only on the basis of individual capability and his/her willingness rather than institutional effort.

Conclusions

Eliminating the social problems such as poverty, unemployment, inequality etc. refers to social exclusion whereas social inclusion is beyond this. Social inclusion refers to the participation of the people in the process of decision making whereby people perceive justice. The allocation of a few opportunities is not sufficient condition, it also demands the individual capability to reap the legal opportunity provided by the government and other agencies.

Inclusive policy in civil service has been implemented since 2007, after the amendment of the Civil Service Act-1993. It was found that studious Hindu *Brahmins* and *Chhetris* who lived in hilly regions of Nepal were selected through the PSC test even though they belonged to a lower percentage of the total population. As a result, there was also their domination in the civil service. The study illustrated that family orientation, education, attraction of civil service, prestige of civil services etc. were prime reasons which encouraged the applicants concerned to labor more for getting employment opportunity in the civil service.

The study showed that inclusive policy implementation had provided social justice partially because it was open to all, no discrimination, and impartially screening process. However, the study revealed that the selected quota or share in civil service as per the Act has been increasing but the trend of recruitment has remained the same as before. The study depicted that the selected civil servants belonged to the same kind of families members of which were already in civil service. The only difference was the sex. Earlier males were selected, now, females either sister or wife or daughter-in-law who belong to elite families were selected. They availed the opportunity legally because targeted females were not able to compete due to lack of education, appropriate culture and environment required for the competition. In the case of ethnic minorities, the dominant family among them got the opportunity legally rather than the target groups who were marginalized politically, economically and socially. In the case of the

physically challenged, candidates with no visible disability grabbed the legal opportunity. Similarly, the candidates who had received citizenship certificates from backward areas but had not lived in that area, got the opportunity in the name of backward areas. Thus, the implementation of inclusive policy in Nepal adopted only social variables even though Civil Service Act has clearly stated to include socially, politically and economically marginalized communities.

There was marginal difference in the level of performance between the inclusive and open category civil servants because of individual capability, willingness and risk taking attitude. The difference in the performance was due to individual capability of recruited civil servants. There was lack of human resource development activities such as training, orientation and workshops. The development of civil servants matter for the sake of better performance in the inclusion process. Thus, the study concluded that the structure of civil service due to inclusive governance has changed but not entrenched in the targeted community to realize the main thrust of inclusion.

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