

Untouchability Problem in Newar Society

(A Study of Poda (Deula) Caste, Kathmandu, 1990-2010)

**A Thesis Submitted to
The Faculty of Humanities and Social Science
Central Department of Political Science
For the Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for Master Degree of
Arts
In Political Science**

**Submitted by
Ghambur Bahadur Nepali**

**Central Department of Political Science
Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur, Kathmandu, 2010
Roll No: 41**

TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
KIRTIPUR, KATHMANDU

RECOMMENDATION LETTER

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**Untouchability Problem in Newar Society: A Study of Poda (Deula) Caste in Kathmandu, 1990-2010**” submitted by Mr. Ghanber Bahadur Nepali for the partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Master Degree in Political Science has been carried out under my guidance and supervision. He completed his fieldwork in KMC ward no. 21 Sawalbahal Kathmandu. I therefore recommend this thesis for final viva and approval.

.....
Jitendra Dhoj Khand Ph. D.
Professor
Central Department of Political Science
Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur, Kathmandu

Date.....
.....

TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
KIRTIPUR, KATHMANDU

APPROVAL LETTER

This thesis submitted by Mr. Ghamber Bahadur Nepali entitled “**Untouchability Problem in Newar Society: A Study of Pode (Deula) Caste Kathmandu, 1990-2010**” has been accepted and approved for the partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Master’s Degree in Political Science by the thesis evaluation committee comprising of:

Professor Sushil Raj Pandey Ph. D.
(Head of the Department)

.....

Professor Jitendra Dhoj Khand Ph. D.
(Thesis Supervisor)

.....

External examiner

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to extend earnest gratitude to my respected supervisor Prof. Jitendra Dhoj Khand Ph. D. Central Department of Political Science, Tribhuvan University for his valuable guidance and kind supervision.

I also express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Sushil Raj Pandey Ph. D. Head of Department of Political Science and other professors, lecturers and staffs who kindly helped me from the Department.

I'm grateful to Mr. Buddhi Nepali for his significant inspirations and necessary comments on my dissertation. Similarly I am really indebted to all of the respondents of Poda caste in Sawalbahal KMC-21 and key informants for their valuable informations and suggestions to make success this research work. Without whose support this study would not have been possible.

Finally, I thank to my beloved spouse Mrs. Sarita Gotame for her kind cooperation and all the friends and organizations who support me to complete this research report.

Oct, 2010

Ghamber Bahadur Nepali

Table of Contents

Page No.		
	Recommendation letter	i
	Approval letter	ii
	Acknowledgement	iii
	Table of Contents	iv
	List of Pictures	viii
	List of Tables	ix
	List of Case Studies	x
	List of Acronyms	xi
	Map of KMC ward no. 21	xii
	Chapter-1: INTRODUCTION	1-
	10	
	1.1: Background of the Study	1
	1.2: Statement of the Problem	7
	1.3: Objectives of the Study	8
	1.4: Justification of the Study	8
	1.5: Limitation of the Study	9
	1.6: Organization of the Study	10
	Chapter-2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK & REVIEW	
	OF LITERATURE	11-
	51	
	2.1: Conceptual Framework	11
	2.2: Schematic Diagram of the Study	13
	2.3: Review of Literature	13
	2.3.1: The Emergence of Caste System	31
	2.3.2: Dalit & Untouchability Problem	32
	2.3.3: Lichchhavi Age	36
	2.3.4: History of Pode Caste	41
	2.3.5: Origin of Pode Caste	43
	2.3.6: Issue of Newari Dalits	45
	2.4: Hypothesis	51
	Chapter-3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	52-
	54	
	3.1: Rationale of the Site Selection	52
	3.2: Research Design	53
	3.3: Sampling Procedure	53
	3.4: Nature and Sources of Data	53
	3.5: Techniques of Data Collection	54
	3.6: Data Analysis	54
	3.7: Report Writing	54

Chapter-4:	THE SETTING OF NEWAR UNTOUCHABILITY PROBLEM	55-
	74	
	4.1: Introduction to the Study Area	55
	4.2: Socio-Cultural Composition in the Study Area	57
	4.2.1: Population	57
	4.2.2: Caste Organization	57
	4.2.2.1: Priestly Caste	57
	4.2.2.2: High Caste	58
	4.2.2.3: Upper Lower Caste	58
	4.2.2.4: Lower Caste	59
	4.2.2.5: Unclean Caste	59
	4.2.2.6: Untouchable Caste	59
	4.2.3: Family Structure	62
	4.2.4: Condition of Women	63
	4.2.5: Language	63
	4.2.6: Cuisine Habits	64
	4.3: Rituals	65
	4.3.1: Birth Ceremony	65
	4.3.2: Bratabandha	65
	4.3.3: Marriage	65
	4.3.4: Death Rituals	67
	4.4: Religious Condition	67
	4.4.1: Festivals	68
	4.4.2: Deities	68
	4.5: Economic Condition	68
	4.5.1: Occupation	68
	4.5.2: Land ownership	70
	4.6: Education	71
	4.7: Political Organization	73
Chapter-5:	MAIN INGREDIENTS OF UNTOUCHABILITY BEHAVIORS IN PODE CASTE	75-
	114	
	5.1: General Introduction	75
	5.2: Political Factor	75
	5.2.1: Ideological & Philosophical Outlook of State	76
	5.2.2: Constitutional & Legal System	78
	5.2.2.1: First Democratic Period	80
	5.2.2.2: Panchayat Period	81
	5.2.2.3: Multi-Party Democratic Period	82
	5.2.2.4: The Interim Constitution of Nepal	84
	5.2.3: Participation of Newar Untouchables in Political Organization	86

5.2.4:	Behaviors of Political Leaders & State-Holders	91
5.3:	Socio-Cultural Scenario	92
5.3.1:	Caste-based Discrimination	93
5.3.2:	Social Justice	101
5.4:	Economic Factor	102
5.4.1:	Poverty	102
5.4.2:	Occupation	105
5.5:	Religious Factor	108
5.5.1:	Hinduism and its Manusmriti	109
5.6:	Psychological Aspects	113
5.7:	Rituals & Festivals	113
Chapter-6:	Conclusion, Findings & Recommendations	115-122
6.1:	Conclusion	115
6.2:	Findings	117
6.3:	Recommendations	120
6.3.1:	Recommendation to State	120
6.3.2:	Recommendation to the Newar Untouchables	121
6.3.3:	Recommendation to the Political Parties	122
	REFERENCES	
	APPENDIXES	

Lists of Pictures

Picture 1: A Pode caste woman is sweeping on pavement of Bishal bazaar	3
Picture 2: Pode workers & the vehicle of KMC	8
Picture 3: The Pode workers collecting garbage in Basantapur	9
Picture 4: Pode women and children in their houses	10
Picture 5: The researcher in the field area	11
Picture 6: Basantapur palace	16
Picture 7: One of the respondents standing nearby his house	20
Picture 8: An old Pode caste woman is sitting on the courtyard.	23
Picture 9: A Pode young boy collecting garbage in the morning at Dallu	46
Picture 10: A truck carrying garbage to take the land field	51
Picture 11: The office of KMC ward no. 21	52
Picture 12: Pode people gather for taking Mo: Mo: in the center of tole	55
Picture 13: Hill-take of drinking water	56
Picture 14: An old house of Pode caste	60
Picture 15: One of the respondents sweeping in the Basantapur	63
Picture 16: Food variety of Pode caste	64

Picture 17: Cutting & selling the meat of Pig in the study area	66
Picture 18: Houses of Poda Caste	71
Picture 19: Children in front of school in the Sawalbahal	72
Picture 20: One respondent sitting on the door of Sawalbahal club	73

List of Tables

Table no. 1: Newar caste hierarchy	61
Table no. 2: Types of family structure	62
Table no. 3: Occupation of informants	69
Table no. 4: Nature of services	69
Table no. 5: Income of households	70
Table no. 6: Educational condition	72
Table no. 7: Political status	74
Table no. 8: Involvement in political program	89
Table no. 9: Behavior of government	92
Table no. 10: Newars in different occupation	96
Table no. 11: Condition of social exclusion	101
Table no. 12: Income condition	105

List of Case Studies

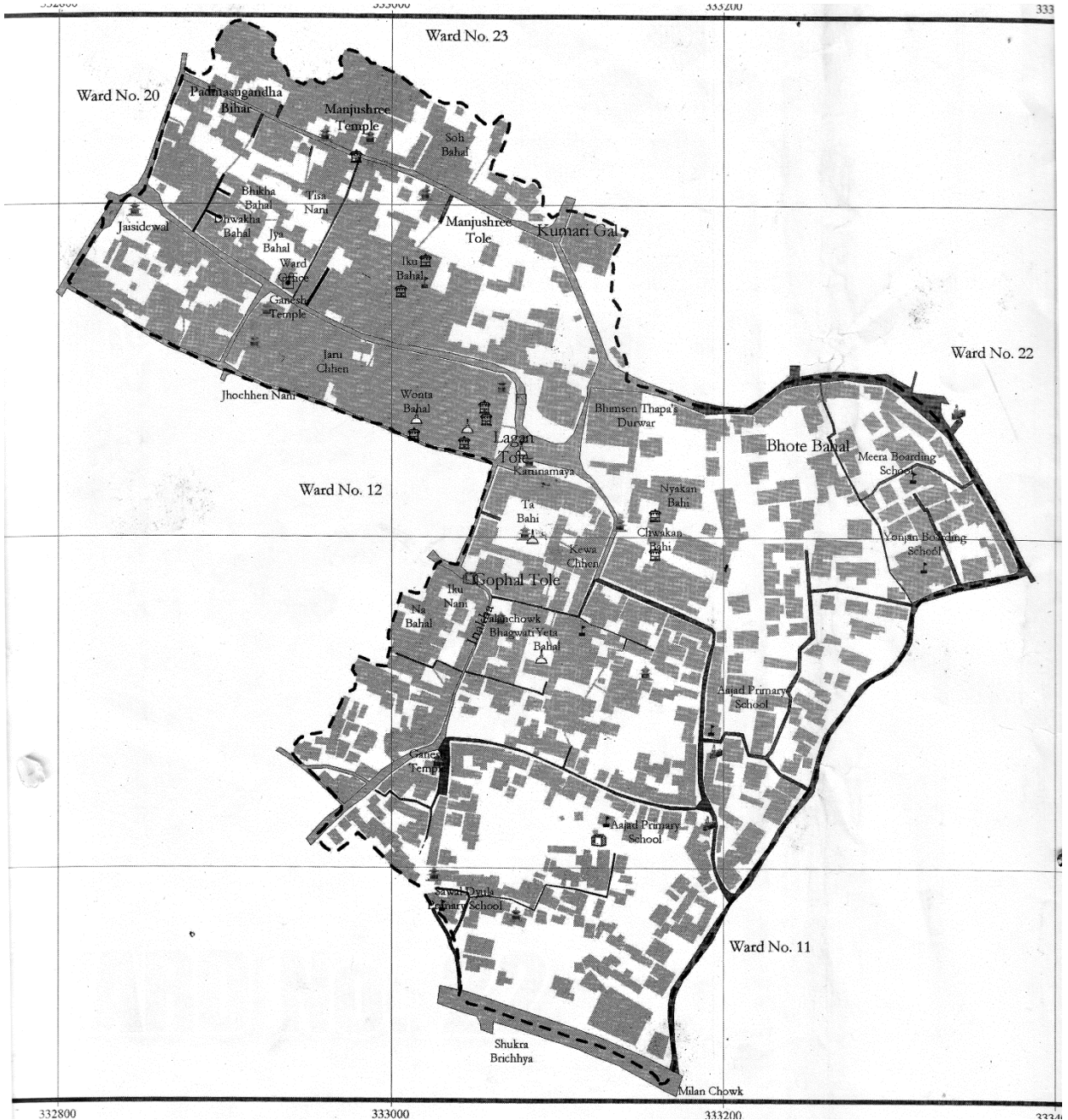
Case Study 1: Where is my right to involve in Guthi?	97
Case Study 2: Caste equality could not be found in Newar community	98
Case Study 3: I can't forget the event of losing the job	107

List of Acronyms/Abbreviations

- A.D.: Anno Domini (After Christ)
B.C.: Before Christ
B.K.: Bishwokarma
B.S.: Bikram Sambat
CBS: Central Bureau Statistics
CPN (UML): Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist and Leninist)
DSS: Deula Sewa Samaj
DNF: Dalit NGO Federation
FGD: Focus Group Discussion
FEDO: Feminist Dalit Organization
INSEC: Informal Sector Service Center
INGOs: International Non-Governmental Organizations
KMC: Kathmandu Metropolitan City
MA: Muluki Ain
NC: Nepali Congress
NDC: National Dalit Commission
NEFIN: National Foundation of Indigenous Nationalities
NGOs: Non Governmental Organizations
NNDSWO: Nepal National Dalit Social Welfare Organization
NUDJMS: Nepal Utpidit Dalit Jatiya Mukti Samaj
UCPN (Maoist): Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)
UJMS: Utpidit Jatiya Mukti Samaj
UUDBUBS: Upekshit Utpidit and Dalit Barga Utthan Bikas Samiti

Map of Ward No. 21

Ward No. 21



CHAPTER: ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

The Newar people are the indigenous inhabitants of Kathmandu valley. It is one of the most ancient communities of Nepal which have made it famous by deep, varied and voluminous contributions to the cultural heritage of man. Obscure in origin but possessing a unique culture, the Newars constitute the most complicated racial type. They form one of the oldest living groups, not only in Nepal but in the whole of India. Their civilization goes back to a period older than some of the very old sites in India. Whatever their early history, or the country of their origin, it is quite clear that the present race of Newars is a mixture one derived from the both Indian and Tibetan stock, with a slight predominance of latter. This mixed origin is again evident in their religion, for Buddhism was originally inherited from their Tibetan ancestors and greatly modified by the adoption of Hindu doctrines, derived from the natives of India, with whom the Tibetan ancestors of Newars undoubtedly inter-married (Shrestha, 2001).

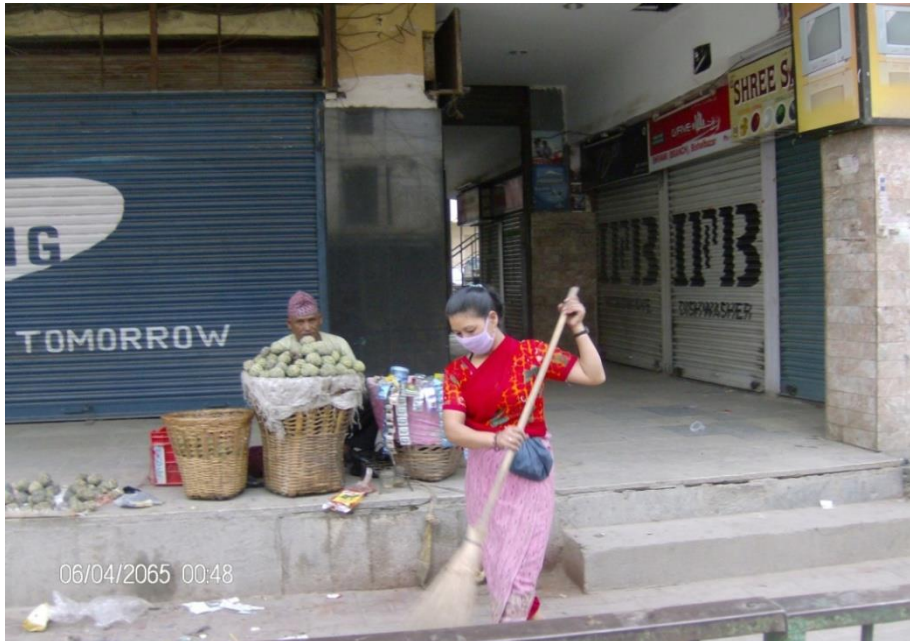
During the course of history a considerable amount of cultural influx has been exerted on the Newar culture by various immigrant groups. These immigrants were ultimately absorbed into the Newar community. Of all the people who migrated to the Nepal valley, the Malla Kastriyas of India were the most distinctive. The Mallas brought with them influence of Hindu socio-religious base. To an otherwise non-caste country they introduced the caste system after the fashion of the Indian Hindu caste

hierarchy followed by the vast majority of Indian immigrants to Nepal (Ipid).

Newar is not any caste it is a community because it is consisted of many castes and these castes are divided as division of Hindu caste-system like Brahman, Kshetriya, Baisya and Sudra. This kind of class division was occurred in the ancient and medieval time and continued up to now. The Deula or Poda caste which divided into the Sudra and came through the inferior caste-based discrimination along with worst social and cultural hateful behaviors such as behaved second class of citizens, prohibited to build up Jhingati-roofed houses, wear full sleeves clothes, golden ornaments, use metal cooking pots etc. To serve the upper caste people were their job though they did not have a piece of land to cultivate and no alternate to have their two times food begging and begging. Due to the basic problem of hand to mouth and social misbehavior they have been compelled to live of life lower than the animals. Still they have been backwarded in the every sphere of social economic and political life (Deula, 2009).

The inhuman behavior of class division pursued strongly not up to the Malla reign but Rana and Shah's reign. In the first legal document of Nepal 'The Muliki Yen-1910B.S. Deula (Poda) were listed as water unacceptable or water-sprinkling. If not continued the orthodox acts of contemporary rulers they had been compelled to bear the rigorous punishments. The helpless Deulas had no alternate to accept that torturous rules. Because of these causes Deulas are still lacking of political, economic, educational and cultural presentation though the country is going through the process of federal democratic republican system. No only one person is in the place of decision making from Deula

caste so they are under the lamp of lighting though they have settled in the capital (Ipid).



Picture no. 1 A lady is sweeping the pavement in front of Bishal bazaar.

Newars were in existence from the ruling period of Kirat in Nepal. According to the statement of historians at time of Kirat there was no caste-based discrimination. Newars are the Kirat as the Kirat were ruled over 32 generations from 484 B.C. to 460 A.D. and later defeated by the Lichchhavi. Lichchhavi also defeated by the Burmans then after Burman defeated by Thakuris and they also lost by the Mallas this kind of ups and downs continued in the Kathmandu valley. In this all the winner and defeated were comprised all from the Newars. So no one stayed as saying that I'm not Newar. In this basis it is realized that Newar is not only a caste special rather a whole nationality. Then after Malla King Jaya Sthiti Malla re-organized the caste system and kept Karmacharya, Baisya, Shrestha and Daibagya in the high hierarchy and others divided into 36 castes. Among those thirty-six castes Deula is one. In the process of

separating water acceptable or not Deula were kept in the category of water unacceptable along with Kusle, Dhobi, Kulu, Chyame and Kasai.

According to the intellectuals it is found that Deula or Newari Dalits who are setting their settlements on the bank site of rivers. From six hundred to seven hundred A.D. Lichchhavi attacked over the Kirat at the same time Newar Poda fought in the favour of Kirat. Most of the Deula fighters were killed and some of them were surrendered in that war so that they were compelled to settle in the bank site of river to fight with the enemies of the contemporary state. But we could not find the concrete history when the Poda caste came to existence (Deula, 2006).

Newar, the principal inhabitants of Katmandu valley are sometimes considered the indigenous people of this region. They clearly belong to the Indic mainstream, but at the same time exhibit clearly distinctive and unique culture. The uniqueness of this brilliant tradition was a legitimate object of curiosity but also a challenging issue in the study of the overall process of Indianization on the southern slopes of the Himalayan. The different divisions of Newar had different historical developments before their arrival in the Katmandu valley. The common identity of Newar was formed after their arrival to the valley. (Gellner, 2003)

History proves itself that Nepal Mandal was transit-point of India and Tibet for trade into the 600 B.C. merchants of Mongoloid and Aryan origin not only used valley as trade way rather they utilized the valley as a permanent settlement. So, all the Newar are not from only one indigenous race, some of them are from Mongoloid; some of them are Austro-Dravid though most of them are from Mongoloid.

Likewise, religious diversity is the next unique feature of Newar society. Before the advent of Prithavi Narayan Shah in Katmandu valley, they were followers of Buddhist, Islam, Christian, Shaiva, etc. the dominant religion was Buddha.

In this way, Newar have common mother race or common religion, though they have incompatible in race and religion. The base of Newar unity is their gradually developed common language and culture. All the Newar who respects Newa: Bhasa as mother tongue and Newar culture as mother culture is indigenous Newar of Katmandu valley. Newar are one nationality rather than an ethnicity. Or In Newar nationality has the power to adjusting northern Tibet China and south India identifying own original entity (Regmi: 1965)

Caste has been known as an element in the social structure of the Nepal valley since the Lichchhavi period (A.D 300-876), although in the early period, it was probably less rigid and encompassed only Brahmans and other groups who had migrated to the valley from the south. The Newar caste system has had its own development apart from the caste system of the Parbatiya castes and that of the Indian plains. According to popular belief and various historical sources Sthiti Malla first codified the Newar caste system in the Nepal Arthasastra in the 14th century. Jayasthiti Malla with the aid of five Brahmans from Indian plains divided the population of valley into four classes and sixty-four castes and the Sudra Varna divided into 36 tribes (www.wikipedia.com)

But Sthiti Malla was not the first ruler to institutionalize the Varna system because the ancient inscriptions prove that the process of Hinduization and forcefully involve in Hindu Varna system from non-Hindu was begun in the sixth century of Lichchhavi period.

The contemporary Malla rulers not only created caste system on the base of profession. They imposed so called high and low custom of Brahmanism and feudalistic caste system to continue their autocratic rule. In the periphery of 795 Nepal Sambat the Malla rulers of Kantipur, Patan, and Bhaktapur issued an instruction. According to that codification:

- Each caste was compulsory to follow up occupation of hierarchy; if she/he disobeys the rule would be responsible for punishment.
- To adjust within same caste and profession culturally and socially was inevitable.
- To pursue the particular lifestyle according to the caste system in Newar society, the wall of caste based discrimination forcefully created. In this way caste-based untouchability problem in Newar community is the blind imitation of Hindu Varna system. (Nepali, 2009)

At the lifecycle rites a Gubhaju or Brahmin priest officiates and those are also considered the most pure, as they have undergone most rites. Going down the caste hierarchy, the Shrestha and Bare are considered less pure followed by the Uray and so on. However, certain castes do not have access to pure priest, as the latter conceives them as too polluting to associate with. The higher caste has their body purification rituals performed by the Naye, down to the Jyapu. Those lower than the Jyapu have them performed by the Naye and those below the Kau do not have access to Vajracharya or Brahman priest for their domestic rituals. The result is that the high castes perform many purificatory rites, whereas the low do not.

The Newar caste system may be called Kschetriya-centric because the entire system exists around the personage of the king. The Brahmins are

higher in the caste status to the king not because they are more powerful but because of their superior rituals status. The Brahmins are like all other specialized service providers, their only being, they are considered higher to others in rituals purity (www.wikeapedia:2010)

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The facts proved this reality that the inferior caste-based untouchability problem is Brahmanist culture not only confined in the Aryan ethnic groups, but all the untouchables who are compelled to bear social and cultural discrimination in various ethnic groups in direct support of class related state are generally defined as Dalit. This word represents certain special human groups who are ignored and downtrodden by the society. Dalit means not separate caste and ethnicity; it is specialized type of problem created by the Brahmanist ruler to continue their regime. So, all the Newar who are ignored and suffered as a name of so called untouchables are dalits. This problem could not be solved only class-related and ethnic movement, along with this it is inevitable to join this movement to mainstream of Dalit movement. Only then after the real freedom of Newar Untouchables is possible that is facing third-layer suppression by the state until now. (Nepali: 2009) Thus, present research will try to explore answer the following questions:

- What are the social and cultural conditions in the study area?
- What are the major factors to oppress the Newar untouchables?
- How did the political stakeholders behave to Newar untouchables?
- What are the differences between Aryan and Newar untouchables (Dalit)?

To get the answers of this research problem, Newar untouchables will be chosen for the study.



Picture no. 2 Poda workers are collecting garbage in the vehicle of KMC

1.3 Objectives of the study

The overall objective of this study is to observe the untouchability behaviour in Newar society. Its main objectives are as follows:

- To identify the untouchability problem in Newar community.
- To explore the discriminatory behavior practiced in the Poda community.
- To find out the political status of Poda caste in Newar community.

1.4 Justification of the Study

This study will provide as far as possible, the real situation of the extremely discriminated Newar Dalits. Especially this study will focus on the behaviors of the state to untouchability problem in Poda (Deula) caste who are supposed to be the most important caste among Newar untouchables. It is hoped that the study is equally useful for the researcher, students and individuals who are directly or indirectly

concerned with untouchability problem. Since there are hardly few studies to this area, it will be equally helpful for socio-economic development for people through elimination of untouchability problem and establishing a new democratic non-discriminatory state. It will probe out the similar painful condition of Newar untouchables as the Aryan Dalits and try to explore the measures to get rid of it.



Picture no. 3 Poda people are raising the piled rubbishes in Basantapur Durbar square

1.5 Limitation of the Study

Every study does have its own constraints and this study is also no exception. The limitations of the study are as follows:

- This study is confined only within Newar people who are suffering untouchability problem from 1990 to 2010.
- This study is especially focused on the Poda caste that dwells in the Kathmandu Metropolitan City ward no. 21. Therefore the findings and recommendations may not true to other parts of Newar society.

- This study is conducted for the completion of partial fulfillment of master degree in political science. So, it is not feasible for a detailed research due to the constraints of time and resources.
- This study will adopt more political research tools and methods.

1.6 Organization of the Study

The study will be organized into five chapters. Chapter first will be focused on introduction, chapter two deals with the untouchability problem in Newar community, chapter three the main ingredients of political behavior of Newar untouchables, chapter four finds out the political status of the Poda caste Newar and chapter five major findings conclusion and recommendations.



Picture no. 4 The Poda women with their children in the house

Conceptual Framework and Review of Literature

2.1 Conceptual Framework

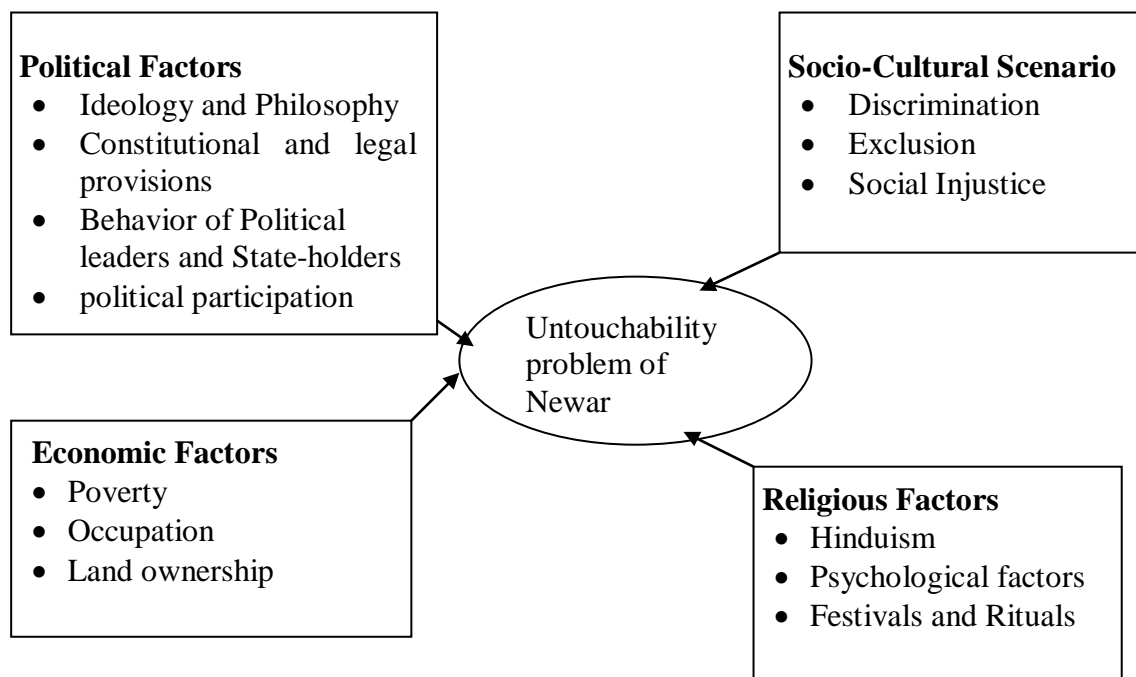
Conceptual framework of the study consists of definition of political variables, both dependent and independent variables. The untouchables of Sawalbahal KMC-21 have been chosen as a focusing point throughout the whole study. While supporting to this main problem dependent variables have been defined as follows:



Picture no. 5 the researcher in the field area Sawalbahal

- i) Political factor: Ideological and philosophical aspects of the Newar untouchables have been studied. What kind of constitutional and legal provisions have the contemporary state employed to the oppressed Newar, and behaviors of political leaders and state-holders has been observed. Likewise the situation of the power-sharing and delegation of the right to Newar untouchables has studied.
- ii) Socio-cultural scenario: caste-discrimination has been focused on as dependent variable. Likewise social inclusion of Newar untouchables and its effects in the society has also been studied along with social justice for their respectful life.
- iii) Economic factor: the poverty and its role to create and maintain the untouchability problem has been focused on. Economic disparities and their effects on Newar untouchables have been centralized. Especially occupation of the Newar and its causes to create untouchability problem has been observed in the field.
- iv) Religious factor: in this factor Hinduism and its Manusmriti has especially been focused on. Likewise psychological aspects, marriage, festivals and ritual have also observed in the study area.

2.2 Schematic diagram of the study



2.3 Review of Literature

The study of untouchability problem in Newar society is one of the least explored or new areas in Nepalese political anomaly. Naturally it is in the process of change. The constitutional provision and some limited reforms are not sufficient for whole Dalit community along with the Newar untouchables. The political culture or behavior is the main impediment for free and equal society formation avoiding all kinds of social discrimination like untouchability problem in Newar society. So the available literatures on the related areas are reviewed as follows: There are four racial groups in Nepal. These are: Caucasian, Mongolian, Dravidian and Proto-Astroloid (Bista, 1991). They are further divided into scores of caste and ethnic/nationality groups. Caucasians in Nepal are divided into four Varnas, namely Brahman, Kshetriya, Vaishya and Shudra, and each Varna is further divided into many caste groups. These four-fold Varna is still in existence in practice in the Terai region among

the Hindu Madhesis. In the Hills, however, there are Bahun, Chhetri and Dalits but no Vaishya. King Jayasthiti Malla restructured, as advised by four Brahmans invited from Banaras (India), the Newars into 64 caste groups based on the occupational division of labour in the 14th century. Later due to the intensifying process of Hinduization, the Newars developed Dalits castes hierarchy within themselves and gave birth to Dalit groups such as Poda, Chyame Kasai, Kusle, Halahulu etc. Janga Bahadur Rana, the founder of 104-year old oligarchic Rana rule, introduced the National Code of Nepal, 1854, in which he restructured the Nepali society into fourfold caste hierarchy. At the top were Tagadhari “sacred thread wearing or twice born” followed by Matawali “liquor drinking”, Pani Nachalne Chhoiee Chhito halnu naparne “untouchable sprinkling of holy water not required for purification of the body” and the bottom of the hierarchy was Pani Nachalne Chhoiee Chhito halnu parne “untouchable, sprinkling of holy water required for purification of the body”. Tagadhari was further sub divided into Upadhyaya at the top followed by Thakuri, Chhetri and Jaisi. Similarly, Matawali was sub-divided into two groups, namely namasine “enslavable” and masine “slavable”. Before the implementation of the law in all parts of Nepal Matawali, that is, indigenous nationalities had an egalitarian social structure and they were outside the four-fold Varna and Hindu caste system. “Untouchable caste” was further sub-divided as “upper” and “lower” castes. All legal provisions, including punishments were differentiated based caste status. The concept of purity and pollution of body and foods guided the National code. The National Code required that the Matwalis must practice caste-based untouchability against the “untouchables” and “upper caste untouchables” were also required to practice it against “lower caste untouchables”. Although the caste discrimination that was the hallmark of the National Code of Nepal,

1854, it was abolished by the New National Code of Nepal, 1963. In practice, however, the caste hierarchy introduced in 1854 still continues unabated in everyday life (Kharel, 2010).

It should be noted here that the Bahun-Chhetri who belong to Caucasian race have been the dominant ruling caste group in Nepal for the last two and half centuries (Bhattachan, Hemchuri, Gurung, Bishwokarma; 2003).

Newar is not any caste it is a community because it is consisted of many castes and these castes are divided as division of Hindu caste-system like Brahman, Kshetriya, Baisya and Sudra. This kind of class division was occurred in the ancient and medieval time and continued up to now.

The bulk of the Newar population is concentrated inside the valley in the large cities of Kathmandu, Patan, Bhaktapur, Kirtipur and many smaller towns. In addition, a fair number of Newars have settled in villages and markets outside Kathmandu valley during the course of the last two centuries.

According to the 1975 census the Newars total nearly 400,000 people of which fifty two percent are living in Kathmandu valley. The rest are spread almost equally through the eastern and western hills and adjacent terai plains. The differences in migration trends reflect specialization of professions. Newars have always traveled for trade and business, while other groups migrate in search of land for farming or for other employment. There have been very few Newars living in those districts who have taken to agriculture as their sole occupation, whereas in Kathmandu valley great numbers of Newars are strictly farmers (Shrestha, 1987).

Nepal has always been a nation of conglomerate culture and population where there exists a trend of integration, blending of culture, languages etc. Nepal has been a unique land where various cultures assimilated and where there exists an extreme degree of tolerance as king Prithavi Narayan Shah rightly stated Nepal as "the garden of four Vernas and thirty six jats"(Regmi, D.R., 1966).

The Kathmandu valley is predominantly inhabited by Newars. Again, various castes and sub-castes of four Vernas prevailed inside Newars. Though we hear of Verna and Jati from the very early time it is only in the fourteenth century that caste was organized on a uniform basis in Nepal. It was King Jayashiti Malla, who with help of five Brahmins from the plains organized the society of the valley into four Vernas and sixty-four castes on the basis of occupations and genealogies (Nepali, G.S., 1965).



Picture no. 6 Basantapur palace from where Malla kings used to rule the country.

Etymologically the word Newar is identical with Nepal. Levy writes, "The people of this valley came in time to call their territory Nepal, themselves Newars, and their language Newari"(Levy, 1992). The famous historian B.R. Acharya (1953) says that the words Nevar, Newel or Nevah all were depicted from the single word 'Nepal'.

Racially Newars are both Mongoloid and Caucasoid featured. All the four Hindu Vernas are prevailed in the Newar caste system. So far as the origin and antiquity of the Newars are concerned, definite conclusion is difficult to draw. Because of complexities in the composition of Newar society, different scholars have different views regarding their origin.

Regarding the antiquity of the Newars, their civilization goes back to a very remote past. Regmi says, "From the time of Mahabharat to time of Lichchhavi whose entry into mountain principality opened a new vista for further advancement, the Newars seems to have been known by a different name (Regmi, 1960)." He thinks that they were immigrants from the north western India. He however, suggests that the early Newars may have an ancestry connected both with the Kiratis and Lichchhavis.

"The Kathmandu valley is the center of attraction, forms a good sample of (such) "tribal areas" mixed with immigrants. The Newars are dominant not only in numbers, but also in their high cultural development. With their type of settlement in established town and villages, their architecture and artistry, together with their business sense, they have usually outshone other ethnic groups in the valley (Korn, 1976)." Thus, the Newar by large concentrated in the Kathmandu valley. After the unification of the nation by the late king Prithavi Narayan Shah, Newars were forced migrate to different part of the country. The incidence of exclusion of babies without having smallpox to deplore outside the valley

during the period of king Rana Bahadur Shah has further enhanced Newars to migrate from Kathmandu valley. Being skillful business people, the Newars are scattered in the different parts of the market centers. So, they are found today dwelling in the market centers like Pokhara, Gorkha, Palpa, Butwal, Dharan, Dhankuta, Jhapa, Illam, Birganj, Makwanpur, Biratnagar etc. Moreover, the Newars were also found in other parts of Asia such as Tibet, Sikkim, Darjeeling, Asam, Butan, Burma and Tibet. They were migrated to these areas mostly for the purpose of business (Shrestha, 2003).

"The Newar social system is, in South Asian terms, archaic. That is to say, it represents in its broad outlines a type of urban living, with form of organization and culture that goes back to the pre-Muslim period of north India (Gellner, 1995).

Caste System plays a vital role in the Newar social structure. The Hindu Varna system has affected the Newar caste organization. So as in Hindu caste hierarchy, the worshiper or the priests (like Brahmins) are in the topmost level. Those who serve the kingship and the state or administrators, of the nation are in the high level. The working people like architects, sculptures and metal workers are ranked in the middle. Then lies blacksmiths, artists, painters, musicians, butchers etc. the sweepers and cleaners of the temple or idol area are the lowest in the caste hierarchy and they are regarded as untouchables. Each caste is further spilt into several sub-castes (Thars or family names). The sub-castes are based on hereditary occupation.

In the beginning there was no class and caste organization among the Newars. The chronicles credit Jayashiti Malla (fourteenth century) with dividing the people into a large number of "castes" (sixty four in some

accounts, thirty-six in others). He also established many laws, customs, caste regulations and order. A manuscript in the Hudson Collection (Vol.II, nd) collected between 1820 and 1844 entitled "Institutes of Nepal Proper under the Newars or the Jayashiti System" includes detailed regulations on such matters as payments to various specialists. It included fine and punishments of various kinds, including those for illicit sexual intercourse. It prescribes the functions and some of the internal regulations (particularly the periods of pollution for birth and death, and whether they purify themselves or be purified by a barber) of various groups, beginning with the lowest and ascending through the hierarchy (Levy et al, 1990). Religiously the Newars are composed of two groups: Buddhamargi (Buddhists) and Shaivamargi (Hinduism). Both groups have their separate priests Gubhaju or Guruju (Bajracharya) and Devaju or Deobramhu (Brahmin).

Nepal is a multi-ethnic nation with many ethnic caste groups and their different languages, customs and cultures. The Brahmin and Chettri as well as the occupational caste groups like the Kami, Damai, and Sarki are scattered all over the country. The Gurungs and Magars are found in the middle hills. The Sherpa and Tamang are found in the upper mountain region and Newars are concentrated in the Kathmandu valley. As my research is focused on the Newars of Nepal in general and the Deula community in particular, a short description of the Newar is presented to assess the position of the Deula within the Newar community.

The Newar is etymologically identical with the place name "Nepal". According the historian Baburam Acharya, the word "Nevar", "Neval", or "Nevah", all are developed from the single word "Newar" (1953).Newar people had been settled in Nepal valley since the prehistoric times (Bista, 1978:16). Furer Haimendorf (1975) considers Newar as the original

inhabitants of the Kathmandu valley. So he says the bulk of Newar people had been settled in the valley since prehistoric times.



Picture no. 7 one of my respondents standing nearby his house.

The settlement of Newar is found in the Kathmandu valley from the very beginning of its history. The tradition of Newar tells the birth of mankind, the creation of the world and the Nepal valley, and the legends which connect with the former lake in Kathmandu valley and its first settlement may be an indication that the Newars were the first people to settle there. So far as the origin and the antiquity of the Newars are concerned, definite conclusions are difficult to draw. Because of complexities in the composition of Newar society, different scholars have different views regarding their origin (Maharjan, 2002).

Regarding the antiquity of Newars, their civilization goes back to a very remote past. "From the time of Mahabharat to the time of Lichchhavi whose entry into mountain principality opened a new vista for further advancement, the Newar seems to have been known by a different name".

They were immigrants from the North-Western India; Newars may have an ancestry connected both with the Kiratis and Lichchhavis (Regmi, 1965:31).

The present Newar population is complex of many ethnic groups according to their history and traditions. The tradition of individual castes fully suggests that the present Newars are drawn from the Kiratis, Lichchhavis, Vaishya, Thakuris and Karnataka. Apart from the face, there might have some ethnic groups which provided foundation for the present Newar type. It is very difficult to say who the forerunners of the present Newars were. We can only say that the bulk of Newars from the Kathmandu valley might be connected with Nair from the time of Nanya Deo. There could be the cultural similarities between Nair and Newars (Nepali, 1965)

The Uray and Shrestha are traditionally businessmen and shopkeepers. Shrestha are hierarchically ranked into three groups, which they describe themselves as Chhatharia and Panchtharia. The following groups are skilled labourers and artisans such as Kuma are potters. Syami run the oil presses, Kau are blacksmiths, Nau are bearers and nail cutters, and Chipa are dyers. Duhin are poor agriculture labourers. Nay are butchers. Jugi are tailors. Pore is the keeper of temple of tantric deities in addition to being sweepers. Kulu, pore, Chyame, and HalaHulu are considered as lowest and untouchables in the Newar caste hierarchy. If any person of untouchable caste group happens to touch the clean caste, the latter has to undergo "purificatory rite for regaining his clean status (Nepali, 1965).

The discrimination takes place with practice of untouchability imposed by dominant caste of Hindu communities such as denial of access to the public tap, upper caste houses, temples and hotel restaurant and so on.

Consequently they face discrimination even in employment, education and other services in the society. Caste based discrimination and untouchability are related to each other's it would be better to define the untouchability to clarify the caste based discrimination in context of Nepal (Thapa, 2010).

Similarly, some Dalit activist blaming the state for not taking it as serious problem within the country and not taking more policy and provision to rule out the practice of caste discrimination in the society. Recently the government of Nepal (House of Representatives) has declared the country as secular country from the previously labeled "Only Hindu kingdom in the world" which is less favor in Dalit rights in the country. It is believed that the practice of caste based discrimination and untouchability has started from the Hinduism and later on it is incorporated by the society for the sake of their benefits (ipid).

The rather more complex Newar caste system could only forced into this scheme with some difficulty, and against the tradition of some of the participants, which in other cases the state usually attempted to recognize. Newar Brahmins were placed below Parbatiya Brahman and below even Parbatiya Kastriyas (Chherti). A large number of distinct and ranked Newar caste were jumped together in the second category, the non-enslave able alcohol -drinkers, although in other context (when divorce payments were being stipulated) distinctions between them are recognized. Newar untouchables were placed below Parbatiya castes filled the category of their own, otherwise only occupied by Muslims and foreigners (Gellner, 2003).

Facts speak that caste-discrimination and untouchability in Newar community has been scattering for a period of time. The contemporary

rulers categorized in the list of untouchables working people/class Deula (Pode), Chyamekhala, Khadgi (Kasai), Kapali (Kusle), Darsandhari, Pujari, Devjan etc. of Newa: society are compelled to do the low level of work. They used the Newar Dalits excluding from the mainstream of the political power and continuously exploiting the labour of them as a service provider. However the nature of oppression between Newar Dalits and Pahari (mountainous) Dalits is different. Khas Dalits and Madhesi Dalits are prohibited to enter the temple where Newar Dalits are accepted as priests in various temples of Kathmandu valley like Bhadrakali, Bajrabarahi, Sobhabhagwati, Baghbhairabh etc. So called high castes of Newar take Tika and Prasad from the same priests. The Newa Deya Dabu organization claims that we cannot enlist Newar untouchables in the category of Dalits on the base of temple entry and prohibited. But this argument can not cover inferior type untouchable's discrimination in Newar community. So called high castes could not accept the lodging and fooding, inter-caste marriage and still there is in existence the system of prohibition between Newar and Newar social and cultural adjustment. As much as exploitation was piled up over Newar Dalit that they are prohibited to point out the doors and windows their houses says locals Mangalman Pode (Nepali, 2009).



Picture no. 8 an old Pode caste woman is sitting in front of her house

It is believed that all the indigenous ethnic groups are mixed in Newar like Aryan, Mongol and in some extent Astroloid. So, Newar is not a ethnicity groups coming from different parts are joined in Newar and Newar language is Tibet-Burman. According to the old tradition Newar are doing their caste based job though in the eye of constitution no upper and lower caste. In fact in Newar there is Brahmin, Kshetri, Baisya, and Sudra along with untouchables though they are called Newar because they settle in a same territory (Bista, 2007).

Some of the Newar intellectuals like Maniklal Shrestha, Malla k Sundar, Rajbhai Jakami argue that untouchables of Newar community are not in Dalit concerning matter is that these intellectuals are from the so called upper hierarchy of Newar. Among the movement Saharsahnath Kapali had started struggle named tailor union in 2004 B.S. in his leadership Nepal Rastriya Dalit Janabikas Parisad was formed in 2024. Saharsahnath Kapali, Ganesh Yogi Mewa Kapali Pasupati temple-entry was organized in 2011. After the election of 2015, Saharsahnath Kapali was nominated as a parliament member by Nepali Congress. So, there is wide gap between Newar Dalit leaders and so called upper ones. Some of Newar Dalit leaders are actively involving in the Dalit liberation movement of Nepal such as: Mithaidevi Kapali, (ktm), advocates Ramakrishna Deula (Makawanpur), Chandrabahadur Chyame (Lalitpur), and Buddhibahadur Sahi (Ktm). Through this debate all the active organizations of Dalits have defined oppressed Newar as Dalits. (Maharjan: 2009)."Due to the interest of high sub-castes of Newar, ignorance of Dalit dignity and with the desire of prosperous Newar, Newar Dalits have in confused introducing them as Dalit. Not accepting them as Dalit of Newar, it will be beneficial to high castes of Newar, remaining the condition of Newar

Dalit in low grade and will be loss to the whole Dalit movement" (Shakya, 2010).

In the Rana period, Chyame, Poda were oppressed and discriminated as a untouchables having mentally hateful activities. As a result some of them tried to change their surname as Shrestha and most of them compelled to bear of the bitter hesitation due to fear of the deprivation from property (Nepali, 2065B.S.).

Though the discrimination nature of Malla and Lichchhavi was different, both of them were influenced by Hindu so that mentionable kind of political movement did not occur at that time. But Sankaracharya and Jayasthiti Malla imposed discriminatory policy based on Manusmriti; Deula still mentions their suffering though they were enrolling as a priest in the Astamatrika Pitha of Kathmandu (ipid).

A related kind of spatial organization residence patterns within the traditional Newar city suggests that the king in his palace is at the center with all the other castes arrayed around him, high castes near the center, middle castes further out, and untouchables outside the city walls.

No researcher, whether foreign or Nepalese, has yet attempted participant observation with Newar low castes. It might not today be as different as Moffat found it in Tamil Nadu. The sheer poverty is no longer so bad at least for those living near Kathmandu, because numerous salaried cleaning jobs which no one else will perform are now available. But the both social obloquy which low castes face and the concomitant distinction between clean and unclean castes are arguably as severe as ever. This is in spite of fact that the boundaries between and within clean castes are no longer so fiercely held and in spite of the fact that (since 1963) caste no longer has any legal status. The fieldworker who lived in a

low caste Newar household would even today find him or herself unwelcome in homes of most high castes. This is no doubt part of the explanation why anthropological fieldworker has so far shied away from living with low castes (Gellner, 1992).

The three most important low castes in Lalitpur as in Kathmandu and Bhaktapur also are the Khadgi (Nay; Np.Kasai), Kapali (Jugi; Np. Kusle), and Deula (Pwah/Pohrya; Np. Poda). In smaller Newar settlements which are none the less multi-caste, such as Panauti, one finds just these three low castes and no others (Toffin:1984:27) for clean caste Newar it is these three who are really important. As Levy puts it, whereas the Khadgi and Kapali are essential for what they do, the Deula are primarily essential for what they are: the Deula have the vital function of making the city's organizing pollution system real. The Poda, in their maximal accumulation of poverty and social disability, represent the realization of the important sanction of the bad rebirth resulting from violations of drama, as well as the state of nature resulting from the rejection of social order. While people tolerate, understand and feel helpless to prevent other groups rejecting their traditional stigmatizing Thar duties, their widespread and passionate agreement that the Poda must continue their work, and stay in their proper place. They are (as reflective citizens of the city articulate) as essential to the organized city order as are the Brahmans (Levy, 1990).

The three main low castes have very distinct socio-religious identities and residence patterns. The Khadgi are known to others as butchers, though they themselves are today often keen to assert that milk selling or acting as town crier, not butchering, is their caste specialism. They live in segregated areas on the edges of the old cities. The Kapali are death

specialists who accept the imposed offerings made on the seventh day after a death (nhayahama).

They are married Saibita ascetics, just as Shakya and Vajracharya are married Buddhist Monks. They live in wayside shelter (phalca sttah) scattered throughout the town, though today they have converted many of these into proper houses. Both Khadgi and Kapali are also musicians providing specialized types of music on different social and religious occasions. The Deula are untouchable sweepers and living separate localities outside the city walls. Their house style and layout are different from those of other Newars (Toffin, 1991).

Indeed still today they do not refer to themselves as Newars (this was also true of other low castes in the past.) As Levy (1990: 76) notes this usage reflects a hesitation by others above them as to whether they are in or out of the Newar society. They are in fact uniquely both. There are many other numerically small low castes; the Charmakar (Kulu) or drum maker, the Vadyakar (Dwa/Dom) or musician, the rajaka (Dhabya, Dhobi) or Washer man and Chyamekhala (Chyame) who are sweepers and scavengers. They will be considered again below. Of these some are likely soon to disappear, as other small castes already have. Others such as the Chyamekhala are not present in great numbers in Lalitpur but are significant elsewhere (Gellner, 2003).

The persons from whose water cannot be accepted. The 1854 Muluki Ain (Law of the Country) gives the following lists of impure: the Kasai (Butchers, Milk merchants), the Kusle (Musicians, tailors), the Kulu (Leather dresser, shoe and drum makers), the Poda (fisher man) and the Chyamekhala (scavengers). (Macdonald: 1975) Sylvain Levy, reproducing the list of Hendry Oldfield's (1880), mentions eight Newar

Castes 'underneath the waterline' the Kasai the Jugi, the plunt (feast musicians) the dhouwi (Coke maker) the Kulu, the Poda, the Chyamekhala skin dresser and sweepers) and the Saghat (Launders) (Levy, 1905)

The following castes are listed as impure: Nay (Khadgi), Jugi (Kusle, Kapali), Dom (Badikar), Kulu, Dhobi (Rajaka), Poda (Deula), Chyamekhala or Chyame, Harahuru. All these impure Castes are in one way or another connected with dead things or bodily emissions, which are considered to cause serious pollution. Pyangaon Peasants, especially the elders or Thakali use their distinction quite clearly. They distinguish to groups within impure castes: those who can be touched, ti-Jyupim, and those who cannot be touched, ti-majyupim. The first group includes the butcher Khadgi and the musician tailor, Jugi and the second the Poda and the Chyamekhala. The status of Dome is disputed-unambiguously declare that touching person of the last to castes entail pollution that has to be removed by sprinkling water over the head (Toffin, 2008).

The lowest caste of all are the Chyame (Chyamekhala), since they accept the leftover (jutho) of all the other castes above them, from the high caste) down to the pore (Podas). As Chyame are scavengers, the word jutho is obviously used in extensive sense of filth, moreover, in past times they were renowned for collection and eating the food leftovers of other castes, and as we have seen, jutho primarily stands for leftover and polluted food.

The pore (Poda) (Skinners and fishermen) ranked higher than the Chyame since they decline to accept food from the latter. The next higher are Kulu, whose occupation is to process leather, because they do not accept bhat and water from the aforementioned seven untouchable castes and do

not intermarry with the latter. The next higher are the Dhobi (washermen) because they do not accept food from the eight aforesaid castes and do not waste the clothes of the seven untouchable castes because they are allowed to enter certain room in the houses of the higher castes, i.e. of their clients. The next higher are the Kusle because they do not take food from the preceding nine castes, because (by profession) they clean houses of the noble men in the temples, and they play music in various sanctuaries. The next higher caste is Kasai (butcher and milk-vendors) because they do not take water and bhat from the preceding caste and do not take bhat from the Kusle either, because all superior Castes accept Milk from them.

First of all, it is obvious that most of the trades pursued by the impure caste in some way associated with impurity. In the Chyame case scavenging is clear proof; begging implies the absorption of the impurity of others especially in the shape of leftovers. Leather work also means contact with impurity (carcasses) (Hofer, 2005)

In fact, Poda, Deulas are working Dalit Community when the so called Shrestha, Maharjan, Oppressing too much and control the area (tole). We used to get frightened by them due to their atrocity and domination. Because of the low consciousness of community, all the Podas were deprived from the education of that time. Once a rich Maharjan was gone to bring water taking a ghyampo (water filling pot), the man came to touch with me and then he broke up the pot and slapped me one time. If the pot was made up the copper, they would purify keeping fire and water but it was made up of mod. Untouchability and the social discrimination remained in this level in Newar for a long time. This kind of behavior is still in existence in Newar Dalit like Poda and Chyame. Newar Dalits

who are engaged physical labour have been extremely discriminating since the time of Jaya Sthiti Malla (Pode, 2010).

Newar Caste system has several layers: the high priestly Caste; the burghers (Vaishya), traders, and Craftmen; clean service castes from whom the higher caste may accept water; and "Unclean" service caste from which the higher caste may accept water. At the bottom are the untouchable castes that work with leather and sweep the streets. According to the ancient Verna model the four Verna were produced from the primordial man Purusa. The Verna is: Brahmans, Kastriyas, Baisya and Sudra. Each of the Verna is associated with certain characteristics: the Brahmans are associated with head and with thinking, the Kastriyas with physical power and fighting, and the Vaishya with lust, and trade, and the Sudra with service. The Verna model is a sense a prototype for the caste system, though the latter in reality has very little to do with it. The Newars tend to think that the caste system was institutionalized in the valley by Sthiti Malla. Nevertheless, the Verna model is sometimes applied to the Newar Caste system. If question about Verna in Newari society the Newar themselves will popularly classify the priestly castes into the Brahmans Verna, the Shrestha into Khatriya Verna , Bare and Uray in the Vaishya Verna and the caste Jyapu and downwards as sudra (Lewis, 2003).

There are two important barriers regarding food. Most groups ranked above the lowest castes in the hierarchy refuse to accept water from the lowest. The lower group is known as lamaju, Lit; "water will not do". It contains two categories: the upper is touchable consist of DUYEA, Balami, Sanga, Bha, Naye (Kasai and Jugi). The lower group contains the untouchable castes and is refer to as thiyemaju, lit; - "touch will not do". These groups contain Pode, Kulu, Chyame, Harahuru; they are regarded

as untouchable by the caste ranked above them. These barriers are definite and inflexible, and they apply to all caste above the waterline (Kharel, 2010).

2.3.1 The Emergence of the Caste System

In the real world, however, several castes do not fit exclusively into any of these categories, nor are all individuals aware of Varna categories. For example, in Nepal the Shudras are sometimes called untouchables. Cameron (1998:12) points out that the “convention is now to use untouchable and low caste interchangeably.” What matters then is their jati, which defines social interaction and social status (Shah, 2004:5). The word Jati comes from the root Jan, meaning “to beget” or “to produce” and is used to denote origin and the group or class to which something belongs. Scholars in Nepal have used the word Jat in different ways; it means in essence “species” or “kind” and has been variously rendered by English writers as “tribe,” “caste,” “ethnic group,” and “nation.” Hofer (1979:10) notes that the terminology of the Nepali Legal Code of 1854 does not distinguish between caste and ethnic group (tribe). The term Jat is used for both. Jat is also used by ethnographers who have studied ethnic groups in Nepal. These terms, however, are not static. The rendering of ethnic group in Nepal has evolved from janjati (tribes) to, more recently, adivasi (indigenous groups). Jat in Nepal is also used to mean gender. In other words Jat usage might cover any significant social difference, e.g., sometimes respondents in this research talked about only two Jat (groups/species), women (aimaijat, aimaijokat) and men (lognayjat, lognayko Jat). However, in other contexts Jat may be used to denote hierarchy of castes.

Viewed within the framework of caste, jati is the social stratum into which one is born. One is fixed in a jati by birth and there are sets of rules governing acceptable occupations, foods, marriage, and association with other jatis. Though there are only four Varnas, there are thousands of jatis. The jatis could be seen as the contemporary expression of “caste” as a residual historical category. For example, all Indians including non-Hindus have jati (that is, caste) by birth, as an identity for social interaction. But the meaning of jati is not the same among Hindus and non-Hindus; caste does not have a religious sanction among the latter, it is merely a social stratum of which they are a part. Among Hindus it is believed that one’s jati is a reward or punishment for one’s karma in one’s previous life (Shah 2004: 4). The relationship between the Varnas and jatis is complex.

Broadly speaking the caste system has been governed by the concept of purity and pollution; by interpersonal relationship among individuals being dictated in terms of blood, food and occupation; and by rituals related to them being divided into pure and impure. It is obligatory for each Hindu to confine her/his relationship and interaction within the restricted circle called jati so as to maintain purity in marriage relationships; in exchanges of food and in the pursuit of occupations (Shah 2004: 4).

2.3.2 Dalit and untouchability problem

The word Dalit comes from the Sanskrit root 'dal' which means to shatter, to break into pieces and to step on. The term is a product of nineteenth century Indian reform movement (Singh, 1993). The literal meaning of the word Dalit are: shattered; over-burdened; suppressed; squeezed; stepped open; kneaded; ground down; shamed by being required to bow

to someone's feet; or silence through suppression. In the past the word Dalit was used to refer to all of those groups who were oppressed, but in contemporary Nepali parlance, it is used to refer only to those officially categorized within the untouchable caste (Thapa, 2010).

The so called untouchables of Nepal are created by the Hindu religion. As the Hindu religion has classified the caste into four groups as Brahmin, Kshetriya, Vaishya and Sudra the lowest group in that hierarchy, Sudra, has been termed as Dalit or untouchables. According to the Hindu religion one has to purify with gold treated water if s/he touches a Sudra. Similarly a dish has to be purified with the burning charcoal if it is used by untouchable. A house of upper caste person has to be purified by chanting mantras of Rudri (a religious practice often performed to free the people of higher caste from evil spirits, which clearly indicates that untouchables are regarded as evils in the Hindu hierarchy of caste) if, by mistake an untouchable enters to house. During the early civilization of Nepal when Tibeto-Burman people were ruling or staying in herds, Casteism was not in practice. Casteism was introduced particularly after the entry of Hinduism as their foundation for the rule of country. Most of the Dalit follow Hinduism as their religion. Their rituals performed at the time of death, birth, marriage, and other ceremonies are the same as that of the upper caste Hindus (Bishwokarma, 2005).

In Nepal, Dalit people or untouchable communities as a whole have the lowest social in the Hindu social structure. Dalit who constitute over 13% (there is variation in exact number) of the total population, are Hindus and are discriminated by the upper caste Hindus because of the deep rooted beliefs fostered ironically by the religion itself. Though the caste system was formally abolished following the introduction of new Legal Code in 1963, Dalits across the country are still treated as untouchables.

People belonging to higher castes are (all Hindus including some other nationalities) in many parts of the country still do not accept water and cooked food from dalits.

Dalits, as perceived, are not a homogenous group; their heterogeneity extends to language, culture and religion:

- 1) Hill Dalits (Kami, Sarki, Damai, Gaine, Badi etc.
- 2) Terai Dalits (Bantar, Chamar, Dhobi, Dom, Dusad Holkhor, Khatwe, Musahar etc.
- 3) Newar Dalits (Kusle, Khadgi, Pode, Chyame, Harahuru, Kulu etc. (NNDSWO, 2006).

The Dalits have been discriminated on the basis of caste and untouchability mostly in matter related to food and drink on the one hand and prohibition of entry into houses, temples and other public places on the other. Such caste-based discrimination against the Dalits is continuing for generations together. By tradition, those who are treated as impure and whose food and water are not accepted are called Pani Na chalne jaat or the Dalits

Food and water offered by the Pani Na chalne jaat is regarded as impure by the Pani Chalne jaat. All possible efforts are made that the Pani Na chalne jaat do not come in physical touch with the so-called pani-chalne-jaat. One has to take bath and sprinkle water if one belonging to Pani Chalne jaat is touched with the body of someone from Pani Na chalne jaat. In actual practice, however, there is no such rigorous rule to sprinkle water to become pure during the physical touch with the Dalits, except in the case of Doom or Halkhor caste of people. The central theme of the traditional caste system is based on the concepts of 'purity' and 'impurity'

reflecting the rank of a caste in local hierarchy and other walks of life. By tradition, the women are more particular about purity-impurity than the men and it is on this ground that they are called the 'custodians of tradition'. The kitchen serves as the heart of this system. Food, in fact, occupies a pivotal stand in the domestic ritual, which varies from caste to caste. It is solely within the domain of the women to decide who eats what, where and when. It will be wrong to think that the question of 'purity-impurity' is confined to merely food and water. Sex is equally governed by this consideration. Man or woman is not expected to indulge in sexual activities with other caste. Indulgence in such activities is treated to be a violation of social rule.

Although contemporary interpretations of caste have some people of Sudra Varna included among untouchables, the original untouchables were this fifth Varna comprised of Chandals are considered to be the first untouchables because of these increasing rigid and severe practices of social exclusion (Kisan, 2005).

During the period of history, exports and skilled artisans did the work of sewing clothes, making leather shoes, or working with metals like iron, gold and silver (Thulung, 1985). The Aryan Hindu rulers threatened the Kirat social status would be lowered to Sudra or untouchable unless they ceased doing these types of works (Thapamagar, 1994). According to the Kirat religious text called 'Mundhum' there was no class or caste system (Bista, 1991). Thus it is assumed that the Kirats began operating within caste like structures only after the expansion of the Gorkha kingdom. Whether they were compelled to accept this system or whether it simply evolved with time is debatable (ipid).

2.3.3 Lichchhavi Age (200-879)

As the northern Indian princely states were increasing in strength, these smaller settlements in Nepal had difficulty maintaining themselves. In response, many of those people were believed to migrate north into Nepal's hills. The Lichchhavi defeated the Kirati kings and started to expand their rule (Neraula, 1992). The downfall of Kirat in A.D. 110 led to the rise of the Lichchhavis (Sharma, 1978).

It is believed that the caste system began to emerge most clearly during the Lichchhavi period; originally the Lichchhavis were regarded as inferior to the Shresthas and the Khatriyas. They were considered "awaudik bratiya Kshetriya"(Manusmriti (10/22). After they had ruled for some period, they declared themselves descendents of Surya, Raghu and Ram. Theorists are competing claims as to the heritage of the Lichchhavis, some claiming that they were a sub-groups of Kirati people (Prapannacharya, 1994) and some claiming that they were Kshatriyas (Goyal, 1973). The heritage of the particular groups of people is difficult to ascertain because during the time of Mogul conquest in India, many different groups of people were migrating to Nepal (Rose & Joshi, 1066).

During the Lichchhavi age, Nepal had become a meeting point of various groups and tribes of people, including Aryan and Mongol people. It is believed that the Lichchhavi ruler Supuspa started the caste system during this time in Nepal, although the form was more class-like than caste-like (B. Baral, 1993; Vaidhya & Manandhar, 1985). Nepali society during the Lichchhavi period was divided into different classes similar to Indian society (Goyal, 1973). There apparently were rules governing inter-marriage rules of different groups of people, as well as differences in

food habits clothing and life styles (Birat Gyan Kosh (1999). Amshubarma and other Lichchhavi rulers believed that it was their duty to maintain a class system in society. The prevailing beliefs at the time were that social harmony depended on people engaging in the profession of their particular social group (Bajracharya, 1973). Thus professions were more socially sanctioned as opposed to chosen by the individual.

Many description of the Lichchhavi age depict the king as someone who follows the "Vernashram system" and who didn't cross the boundaries of the Vernashram system (Khatri, 1993). The Lichchhavi rulers spread the Hinduism and began the implementation of a Verna system that later become a more orthodox caste system (M.P. Sharma, 1983). During that time, if one didn't adhere to the prevailing norms of the social system, then the person was considered to have lost his caste. People who went against the existing rules were punished, although there were provisions in place for repentance (Khanal, 1987). Although the system was different from the present day caste system, we can see the beginnings of the caste system in Verna system put in place during the Lichchhavi age.

The reign of Jayasthiti Malla (1360-1395) was a key period in which the caste system was systematized in Nepal. As king, Jayasthiti Malla re-organized the Newari Society in Kathmandu on the basis of the Manusmriti writings. It was Jayasthiti Malla's activities that planted the firm roots of caste division and untouchability in Nepali society. In order to systemize the caste system the king was assisted by five Brahmans: Kritinath Upadhyaya, Raghunath Jha, Ramnath Jha, Shrinath Bhatta and Mohinath Bhatta (B.C. Sharma, 1978). With the advice of these men, Jayasthiti Malla divided the Newar community of Nepal into four categories and sixty-four castes and defined their rights and duties (Goyal, 1973). In setting down these rules, Jayasthiti Malla was imitating

what the Manu and Yogyavalyaka smritis had done in India, creating and enforcing discriminatory rules and regulations for lower caste people. He made rules for each caste rituals, and explicated specific punishments for those who left their pre-determined professions (Budhathoki, 1982). For instance he said that "The people of the Kulu caste must shave others' heads, cut nails, and fit musical instruments with animal skin. If they leave this profession, they must be fined pana 120" (Neraula, 1992:179).

In order to make identification of the various castes easier, he laid out rules detailing the types of clothing, jewelry and dwellings that were permissible for each caste. For example, the Kasai caste people were required to wear sleeveless clothing; people in the Poda caste were not allowed to wear topis, labeda shoes or gold jewelry (Budhathoki, 1982). It was also said that, "The Kulu must fit animal skins around musical instruments. The Poda must not wear Daura Suruwal clothing or gold jewelry, must not enter towns after sunset, must not touch people of upper caste, must not eat pork and they must be given the shrouds wrapped around corpses. The wives of the Dom must dance in order to a living, the Kaushalya must sweep open spaces, and the Kapali must play the drums to beg for their living. The Kasai must play the musical instruments at death rites and must butcher buffaloes for a living and must not sell milk, curd or butter to people of higher castes" (Niraula, 1992). Rules about sharing of food and drink were also laid down; indicating for instance, those people in the castes from Kusle up to the highest castes must not drink water from people within the Kusle to Kulu castes (Budhathoki, 1982).

Rules related to castes gradually became even more severe, and caste discrimination was becoming firmly systematized. Lower caste dwellings became separated outside the main town, punishment were meted out in

discriminatory ways, inter-caste marriage became wholly prohibited, and sharing food with people outside one's caste became impossible (B. Baral, 1993). During the Malla period the initial process of caste categorization both created a system whereby profession was the basis of caste and reinforced this notion throughout the society. Jaya Sthiti Malla took explicit measures to strengthen the caste system. Thus, this system had started to take root in the Lichchhavi age, flourished within the Malla period, planting ever firmer roots in Nepali society (Khatri, 1999).

Prithavi Narayan Shah not only spread the social organization system of four Vernas and thirty six caste divisions, but he also made this system even more rigid. When he said that Nepal was a real Hindu nation, he was claiming that the caste system in Nepal is more orthodox than the system in India.

As noted earlier, Dalits are officially outside the Varna system of classification and are called untouchables. In this sense, Dalits fall under a separate and “macro” caste category which includes various Dalit sub-castes that tend to bear a hierarchical relationship to each other. Although today “Dalit” is commonly understood as the category of people who were previously called untouchables, it is useful to point out the etymology of this term since its meaning has evolved and groups respond differently to it. The word “dalit” comes from the Sanskrit root dal, and means “held under check,” “suppressed,” or “crushed,” or, in a looser sense, “oppressed.” This refers to both the people and their deprivation/dehumanization. Jotiba Phule, the founder of the Satyashodhak Samaj, a non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra, India, a social reformer and revolutionary, used this term to describe the outcastes and untouchables as the oppressed and downtrodden victims of the Indian caste-ridden society. The term was used in the 1930s as a Hindi and

Marathi translation of “depressed classes,” a term the British used for what are now called the scheduled castes. The word was also used by the famous Dalit Indian leader Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in his Marathi speeches ([http://wikipedia /Dalit](http://wikipedia/Dalit)).

In Nepal, the word started being used more frequently after the 1990 democracy movement, although the definition of Dalit is contested. This contestation is important in seeing how Dalits identify themselves. The meaning of this term has evolved over time. Initially, the term was taken to mean the oppressed or crushed, which could refer generally to exclude groups who were economically poor, discriminated against and socially marginalized (Koirala 1996). This meant putting Dalits and some of the indigenous groups of Nepal that were similar in terms of social and economic indicators under one category. What complicated this definition was that the majority of Nepali population is poor, including high caste groups.

The term came to be more specifically used to identify a vulnerable and impoverished group of people, who are discriminated against on the basis of their caste. Dalit activists like Vishwakarma (2001) preferred to use the term Dalit exclusively for the untouchables of Nepal, those groups as defined in the Hindu Varna model and in the Old Legal Code of Nepal (1854). But some members within this Dalit group showed their strong resentment for the term, as it has negative social connotations. Because of this, Gurung (n.d.) prefers to use “Occupational Castes” to indicate all the Dalits or untouchables in Nepal. Today, there are still differences as to what the term Dalit means among Dalits themselves, and the debate as to whether they should keep this term to represent former untouchable groups is ongoing. But the term Dalit has been generally accepted as a

separate social category and has entered the vocabulary of official documents.

Despite this macro-caste status, Dalits do not constitute a homogenous group. Like other ethnic/caste groups in Nepal, their population is fragmented and their heterogeneity extends to region, language, religion and culture. Moreover, there is a clear caste hierarchy within their ranks. Among Dalits, one group claims to be superior to another in terms of life-cycle rituals and many aspects of their day-to-day life. It can be said that Dalits themselves perpetuate the caste hierarchy despite opposing the practices of higher castes. More specifically their heterogeneity and hierarchy can be better explained in the following three broad regional groups identified by Dahal et al (2002).

2.3.4 History of Poda Caste

In medieval period all the major city of Kathmandu valley was encircled by the big walls and the untouchables must have stayed outside the wall (apart from Muslims) (Oldfield, 1974). The word Nepal neither is to be possible from Newar nor is Newar word is from Nepal the spoilt word of Newar to be Nepal (Acharya, 1951). According to the Hindu provision Shudra are the lowest caste. The word Chandala has been mentioned in the inscription of Lichchhavi period but not fixed the profession of them. According to research from the old people of Chetrapati Poda community, "among the professional work anyone who committed the big crime then s/he had to given the death penalty and this job was to be completed by the Chandala. In this way to give punishment to anyone pointed by the government, leader (Naye) of the Chetrapati Poda tole and Lagan tole were called up to have death punishment. The persons who stakeholder of the death penalty were fed Dahi and Chiura (curd and

pressed rice) and cut in Machakhusi (place of criminal cutting) which was situated in the southern of Sobhabhagwati. Thus their profession was fishing, killing dog, and killing men/women who were punished by government. But due to the impact of Muluki Ain they have left this job now (Pandey, 1997).

There are three types of dalit identity existing in the Nepalese Dalit community including Hills Dalits, Newar Dalits and Terai Dalits. Of these three geographically identified dalit community's nature of untouchability seems to be same (Lamsal, 2009). The word “caste” does not adequately comprehend the caste system and its complexities. The Sanskrit words Varna and jati need to be spelled out to explain the caste system. These two words denoting two dimensions of caste are commonly translated as “caste” but this is misleading and obscures important differences between them. Caste, therefore, is best understood as having two different aspects – one oriented toward the systematic classifying and ranking of people (varna) and the other constituting everyday transactions and relations and the cultural and interactional system (jati or jat in Nepali). These two dimensions of caste are commonly conflated in the general use of the word (Cameron 1998; Shah 2004).

Varna literally refers to the form and color of something and, as a ranking system; this refers to the four principal Varnas, or large caste categories. Hindu religious scriptures, like Dharma Sutras and Dharma Sastras, the Gita and the Manusmriti, confirm a system of socio-religious stratification based on the four-tiered ideal, catur-varna, the four caste-orders. There are four Varnas. At the highest tier are the Brahmins (priests and teachers), then come the Kshetriyas (rulers and warriors), the Vaisyas (merchants, traders, commoners, and yeomen farmers), and the

Shudras (servants, laborers and artisans). The Brahmans, Kshetriyas and Vaishya men are dvija, twice-born, because they have a second, spiritual birth when they are invested with the sacred thread. They had the right to read the religious scriptures of the Vedas whereby they acquired a second spiritual birth (Encyclopedia of Religion; Olivelle 2004b). The patriarchal rules of the ancient religious law, Manusmriti, gave the twice born status only to men. Even though women were born into a higher caste, they acquired their spiritual and ritual caste status only through their husbands, i.e., through marriage. For example, the marriage ceremony was equivalent to women being vested with the sacred thread (Olivelle 2004b). A fifth category that was outside the varna social order system were also known as Ati-Sudras or Avarnas and consisted of those known as "untouchables" and more recently as Dalits. They were often assigned tasks too ritually polluting to merit inclusion within the traditional Varna system.

2.3.5 Origin of Poda caste

About the condition of the Poda caste of Newar community it is just found glimpse of them before the Jayasthiti Malla period. In the inscription of the Lichchhavi period we found only the description of the word Chandala but not the other professional description of works. In the middle of fourteenth century Jayasthiti Malla systematized the Newar caste system calling the Brahmans from India. He divided the whole Newars into 64 sub-castes among them Podas were categorized as untouchable and lower rank which recognized a caste in Newar community. They were fixed the profession of cleaning, fishing, basket-making, working of leather from dead body of animals. Untouchability is the quintessential of Hindu caste system and thought that it is the sin of previous birth. These caste systems was divided into four Vernas and

among them Newars are included in the Vaishya and Podes are the Sudra of Newar caste system.

Acharya, Baidhya, Shrestha and Daibagya were supposed to be higher caste. Among the whole divided Newar castes 32 were from Jyapoo. Such as Podes and Chyame were categorized as water unused castes. Kasai was compelled to wear sleeveless clothes and Podes were not allowed to put on caps, shoes, and golden ornaments. Kasai, Podes, Kulu did not get the permission to build the houses made of Jhingati. The lower caste people had to respect appropriately to the people of higher castes (Sharma, 1976:138).

Forming Newar castes into 36 castes Shrestha made as famous caste. Jaisi, Acharya, Baidhya, four Shresthas among 36 Tagadhari 13 castes are: Chacheri, Subedi, Bhandari, Acharya, Daibagya, etc. Pancha Gauda, Pancha Dravid, of Brahman 10 castes are noble castes. From these origins other more Brahmins castes were created and Jaisi Brahmins were made non-priests. Kasai had to cut the nail of others. Kusles four castes and Podes four castes altogether 725 castes were there according to the Vasabanshwali (Paudel, 1993).

Probably Podes were come from Bangal because the profession of untouchable lower caste Dom from Bangal and the Newar Podes caste are same. According to the Hindu hierarchical caste system Dom are behaved as a lower and untouchable caste in India (Ridgley, 1915). These Podes caste may have come from Paundra of Bangal region because they were later diversified as Podes from the word Paundra. This caste seems in low level in Newar caste system (Panta, 2021:2).

In Manusmriti Chadal and Mehettar (Podes and Chyame) are mentioned the rules as caste of living out of the city and village, using the pots of

mud, digging and setting of corpse in the entombment place, killing those who have death punishment and using their clothes, bed, and ornaments (Human Rights Year Book 1993:393).

They were called Puriya and their works were fishing, hanging the criminals who were given the death penalty by the state, burning the corpse of dead people, killing birds, making baskets, cleaning the roads and the junctions according to the Hudson Akaunte (Chattopadhyaya, 1980: 104).

2.3.6 The issue of Newari Dalits

Newars are considered to be the original inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley. The complexity within the Newar social structure is highlighted in the Old Legal Code of 1854. The Dalit Development Committee identified the following Newar groups as Dalits – Kusle (death specialists, musicians and tailors), Khadgi (butchers and milk sellers), Poda (public sweepers), Chyame or Chyamekhala (sweepers, scavengers) and Halahulu (scavengers) (Kharel, 2010).

The issue of whether groups belonging to the Newari community or should be called Dalits has been under controversy with the momentum of the Newari indigenous (Adivasi) movement. A brief contextualization of the Newari indigenous movement will help elucidate the situation of the complexity of the intersectionality of caste and ethnicity in Nepal in the case of Newars. The Newars of Kathmandu Valley represent a particular case. They have their own intra-ethnic caste ranking from Brahmins down to untouchables and are the heirs of a centuries-old high culture shaped by Buddhism and Hinduism (Hofer 1979:7). Ethnographic studies that have been done on Newars highlight the complex caste

hierarchy and caste-based practices among Newars in the Kathmandu Valley (Quigley, 1993).



Picture no. 9 A Pode young is collecting the garbage at Dallu of Ktm. in the morning.

One of the more remarkable developments in Nepal after 1990 was the rapid growth of ethnic-based organizations (Gellner 2008). The National Foundation of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFIN) was formed in 1991 as an autonomous and politically non-partisan, national-level umbrella organization of indigenous peoples/nationalities. NEFIN currently consists of 50 indigenous member organizations widely distributed across Nepal. NEFIN is a member of the United Nation's Working Group on Indigenous Populations.

The definition of an indigenous group provided by NEFIN is a community that has its own mother tongue and traditional culture, distinct social structure and written or unwritten history and yet does not fall under the conventional fourfold Varna of the Hindu Varna system or the

Hindu hierarchical caste structure. The vision of NEFIN is: The establishment of multicultural democratic state where diverse ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious and territorial groups are treated equally; Indigenous people's rights are recognized and respected; and Indigenous Nationalities enjoy ethnic autonomy on the basis of the principle of right to self-determination. (<http://www.nefin.org.np/component/content/article/115information/347-indigenous-nationalities-of-nepal>).

The leaders of the Newari adivasi movement have now been successful in categorizing Newars as an indigenous nationality of Nepal. Their main contention is that the Newars are the original inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley who speak a Tibeto-Burmese language (Newari) and have their own culture and customs, but who were forced into the four-fold Hindu Varna system by Rana rulers. Hence they have been denied their cultural and linguistic rights and do not have adequate representation in government (Sundar, 2008).

While other ethnic groups without a caste hierarchy were clear about being called Indigenous groups or nationalities, whether Newars should be called indigenous or not became controversial. Some Newars and many non-Newars opposed their inclusion in the first official list, on the grounds that they were neither backward nor a homogeneous cultural group. Moreover, Newars as a whole have the highest developmental indicators, even higher than those of upper-caste Bahuns and Chettris. The Nepal Human Development Report 1998 shows that Newars are economically better off than any other Nepali community. Therefore, there was an economic argument for the de-listing of Newars. Despite the controversy, Newars are now on the list of Indigenous nationalities of Nepal (Gellner, 2008).

What complicates the situation for a group like the sweeper caste (Deulas) who were listed as an untouchable caste under the old legal code and were considered Dalits is the question of where this group fits in the Newari indigenous movement, since, clearly, they are still stigmatized and excluded because of their caste-based occupation. Originally, the Ministry of Local Development had included the names of Newar Dalit castes like Khadgi (Kasai), Kapali (Kusles), Kuche, and Dhobi. However, Newar activists and some Newar Dalit groups made a petition to the National Dalit Commission in 2003 to exclude their names from the Dalit category, asserting that Newars were an indigenous group. They also argued that castes like Khadgis or Kasai and Kusles were categorized under “impure but touchable castes” and could not be put under the Dalit category. The National Dalit Commission (NDC) excluded their names from the Dalit category. Subsequently, they did not register themselves as Dalits in the 2001 census. The sweeper caste group petitioned to be kept within this category. At the time of this research, they were listed under the Dalit category in the list compiled by the Dalit NGO Federation and were also registered as Dalits in the 2001 census. Despite this, the issue of whether a Newar group like the Deulas belongs to the category of Dalits remains ambiguous. As the chapter on community ethnography will demonstrate, the controversy of wanting or not wanting to be labeled as Dalits still continues to swirl. Recently, the Deula Society carried out a demonstration saying that they will resort to violence if the government does not include them among the Dalit group. During my field work, some respondents from the sweeper community had also used Dalit scholarships for their children. An activist from the sweeper community raised concerns about the issue of representation of low caste Newars, pointing to the fact that the Newar Indigenous movement is led by affluent and high-caste Newars. He was concerned that the advocates of

this movement were trying to integrate all Newar groups into the Newar Indigenous movement without addressing the caste issue. Some pertinent questions he raised were: What are the long-term implications of not being called Dalits even though one might still face caste-based discriminatory practices, for example, in the case of sweepers, because of one's stigmatized occupational caste status? Who has the right to speak on behalf of lower castes Newars like Deulas? What benefits will they get from being called indigenous (adivasi) as opposed to being called Dalit? How will a distinction be made between affluent Newars and non-affluent Newars? Can non-Dalit Newars speak on behalf of the historically oppressed lower caste Newar groups? Where does a group like sweepers (Deulas) fit within this movement? In this regard the current leaders have not been able to effectively address the heterogeneity of the Newar communities (WWW.Weakipedia.com:2010)

Having discussion on the Dalit word the Dalit community has been divided into two factions. One aspect thinks if the Dalit word is used to the untouchable newars they will be Dalits and feel more untouchability problem and next aspect thinks that they will not be upper caste only avoiding the Dalit word so they should have the right as the other Dalits and the word will fade away gradually if the their overall condition will be improved in the society. Nepal Utpidit Dalit Jatiya Mukti Samaj (NUDJMS), Utpidit Jatiya Mukti Samaj (UJMS), Deula Sewa Samaj (DSS) etc. institutions are involved in the Dalit movement not to avoid the name from the Dalit list. The word must not be delisted until the special rights will not be guaranteed by the state to the Newar and other Dalits who are compelled to bear the inhuman, unjust social evils and exploitations on the base of Hindu religion and culture. In some the conscious community the caste-based discrimination has been decreased

but this is in the previous condition in the general people so there must be national consensus to delist the word Dalit from the Newar Dalits (Deula, 2062).

The state and the other organizations related with the Dalits are interested to the problem of Poda community. To develop the Deula caste some the opposition of Deula caste feel fear that they will lose the own portion. So, these people are hatching the conspiracy to object the development of Deulas. Some of the sub-conscious Deulas are in the confusion from the Newar kings who had flung Newar Dalits into the corner as untouchable and Dalits. Now their existing generations have been hatching conspiracy that the Newar Dalits are not included in the list of Newars and becoming obstacle to the progress. Newar Dalits are listed in the list of Dalit Bikas Samiti which is established to uplift the rights of Dalits. On the 6th of Chaitra 2058 B.S. NDC was established and the Deula caste was listed as Dalit in the commission but some of Newar elites created debate pressurizing the commission with fear of decreasing their population. In the time of going on great debate NDC carried out the research, the report revealed the fact that Deulas are Dalits but it could not be implemented. What is the hidden mystery not to give to implement is clear that they want use the rights of Deulas and others Newar Dalits as name of Newar Indigenous people and keep to continue the exploitations and dominations over the Newar Dalits. So the upcoming constitution Deula/Poda must be guaranteed the right of reservations and special facilities to them in the every spheres of life (Deula, 2066 B.S.).

2.4 Hypothesis

From the conceptual framework and literature review, the hypothesis of the study can be fixed that “the untouchability problem of Newar society is the discriminatory behavior of contemporary states.” This hypothesis is just to guide and direct to the study but not for testing it.



Picture no. 10 A truck is carrying garbage to bring to the land field site.

CHAPTER: THREE

Research Methodology

3.1 Rationale of Site Selection

Sawalbahal is one of the important parts of the Kathmandu Metropolitan

City of 21 wards which is lies on the heart of Kathmandu valley. The ward is encircled by 11 no. ward of KMC from east, 12 and 20 from west part, 23 and 22 from north part and 12 from south part.(ward profile of KMC:2005).



Picture no. 11 the office of KMC ward no 21

The ward no. 21 is heterogeneous in terms of caste and ethnic composition. Maharjan are predominant but Deula, Shakya, Ranjitkar, Karanjit, Vajracharya and Joshi are also dominant castes along with Muslims and few Chhetri, Brahmins and Ranas. The reason behind the selection of this area is that 21 no. ward is one of the main residential areas of Newar untouchable's community in Kathmandu valley. More than one hundred fifteen houses and fifteen hundred populations of Deulas are living in this area. And this is the second largest society of

Deula/Pode in Kathmandu valley. Most of the people of this caste are engaged in the sanitation works of KMC still now which is considered low level labour. This community is still suffering from untouchability problem therefore Newar untouchables from Newar community in 21 ward of KMC is purposively selected as the study area. (From the pilot study)

3.2 Research Design

Explanatory and descriptive research design will be employing for the research work. The explanatory research will try to clarify why and how there is a relation between two aspects of situation or phenomena while the descriptive research will attempt to describe systematically a situation, problem, phenomena, program, information living condition of community or describes attitudes towards and issues. Descriptive also in the sense that, / will carefully try to record all the observed events from study area and describe as faithfully as possible. Thick description of the culture and ways of life of people; special focus will be given to factors that led them to untouchability problem.

3.3 Sampling Procedure

This study area is heterogeneous. Non-probability sampling will be used to collect data and information. Therefore, this study primarily will be based on purposive sampling process.

3.4 Nature and Sources of Data

This study includes both primary and secondary sources of information. The primary data will be collected through observation, interview, and questionnaire survey, and Focus Group Discussion. In other side the secondary data will be obtained from KMC, Ward, District, Region and

Central level as well as library, published and unpublished articles, documents, books, CD-Rom, internet, research agencies and CBS reports. The nature of data will be both qualitative and quantitative as well.

3.5 Technique of Data Collection

In order to achieve the objectives of this study, ethnography method will be used for gathering empirical data from the natural field setting. This method involves observation, key informant interview, case study, informal interview/discussion, and Focus Group Discussion and so on. Above techniques of data collection will be used as much as needed. The techniques like field notes, key informants, interview, household survey, pre-test of questionnaire, transect walk, and rapport building will also be used to collect the data.

3.6 Data Analysis

All the collected data will be analyzed by using simple statistical tools and techniques. This will be possible at three stages: reading the field descriptive notes and identifying the relevant themes/concepts; including relevant material under relevant themes; and developing generalizations. Quantitative data will be analyzed by using computer software package.

3.7 Report Writing

After completing the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data/information, the research report has been developed.

CHAPTER: FOUR

The Setting of Newar Untouchability Problem

4.1 Introduction to the Study Area

According to the classification system used to designate spatial division of traditional Newar towns, this ward is situated in what is known as Kwane – downtown or lower part of Kathmandu. Jaisi Dewal, Nhugha, and Sil Khana (Bhimsen Thapa's residence) rank among this ward's sacred and historic sites. The tree in the centre of Lagan, known as Mam Sima, is adored as the mother of Machchhindranath. The ward is spread over 15.4 hectares.



Picture no. 12 Poda people gather to take mo: mo: in the center of their tole.

According to the Census of 2001 total population of warn no. 21 is 12369 (CBS, 2001).The ward twenty-one is heterogeneous in terms of caste and ethnic composition. Maharjan are predominant but Deula, Shakya, Ranjitkar, Karanjit, Vajracharya and Joshi are also dominant castes along with Muslims and few Chhetri, Brahmins and Ranas. The twenty-one number ward is one of the main residential areas of Newar untouchable's community in Kathmandu valley. More than one hundred fifteen houses and fifteen hundred populations of Deulas are living in this area. And this is the second largest society of Deula/Pode in Kathmandu valley.

The Deula neighborhood was located close to the Teku a little above the main highway. There were narrow cobbled alleys and rows of houses (mostly two-storied) built of factory-bricks and concrete. In Nepal, these houses are called pakka, meaning solid and reliable. Some houses were still under construction but people used the rooms that were completed. I took interview with the 40 respondents in the research area. Apart from this I conducted Group discussion and took interview from the different party leaders and civil society as key informants. All the Pode people of this area are facing the problem of drinking water.



Picture no. 13 the Hill-take to collect and distribute drinking water in the Sawalbahal

4.2 Socio-Cultural Composition in the Study Area

4.2.1 Population

The Sawalbahal is one of the most important places of Pode caste in KMC ward no. 21. Among the 135 houses more than 1500 Pode population is living in the area. 2 houses from Chyame and four from Kasai are also living in the same area.

4.2.2 Caste Organization

Caste is the principal basis of social hierarchy among the Newars. Irrespective of whether an individual is the follower of Buddhism or Hinduism; he must be born into his caste. In theory the Newar caste organization is based on the same Hindu principle which stipulates the five-fold division of society, headed by the Brahmin and to be followed in order by the Kshatriya, the Sudra and the untouchable.

4.2.2.1 Priestly Caste

The Dev Brahmans are also called Deo Bhaju or Jujubhaju, whose personal surname is Rajopadhya. It occupies the highest rank in Newar social hierarchy. Formerly they were royal priests to the Malla kings. Now a day they perform priestly duties in the household of Hindu Newars of high castes, e.g. Sheshyos. Next to Deo Bhaju comes the Gubhaju or Bajracharya, who is an orthodox Buddhist. His high status ranking to Deo Bhaju is recognized by all Newars. It claims the descent from the ancient Brahman and Khatriya monks who were said to have been forced by Sankaracharya to enter into family life. They perform priestly duties in the households of Buddhist Newars but not in the households of untouchables.

The Gubhaju is closely followed by Bare (Goldsmith) or Shakya, which is derived from the fact that originally its ancestors were the followers of Shakya Sinha (Gautam Buddha); i.e. he is the descendant from the Kshetriya class.

4.2.2.2 High Caste

Below the priestly castes come the Sheshyos and Udas who belong to two different faiths. The Sheshyos caste occupied the second order analogous to the second order of the Hindu society. This group comprises many subdivisions claiming diverse ethnic origins. It includes the former Khatriya and Vaishya Newars whom Hudson had placed above the Shrestha. This group consists of a number of clans within which they intermarry and interdine. They follow the profession of Vaishya Verna, i.e. trade and commerce. Personal surnames are: Malla, Thaco Ju-Ju, Joshi, Maskey, Pradhan, Shrestha, Amatya, Rajbhandari, Achar, Munsu, and Kayatha etc.

4.2.2.3 Upper Lower Caste

Below the Sheshyos and Udas come the Jyapu, who are the most numerous and most widespread community in the region. If the above mentioned two castes should be placed in the second category of the hierarchy, then the Vaishya Verna of the Hindu society, if the structure is to be viewed in that fashion. All the Jyapus have Gubhaju priests. They can be divided into twelve different sub-castes, each sub-caste of Jyapu having his own occupation:

- a) Maharjan, Dongol, Suwal, Duwal - Agriculturists
- b) Sapu - Cowherds
- c) Pahari - Cowherds who live in the southern hills of Chalikhel

- d) Kuma - Kumale, Prajapati, Porters
- e) Gwan - They born the dead bodies of high castes Newars.
- f) Tepe - Cultivators

4.2.2.4 Lower Caste

The Jyapu caste is followed by a group of parallel castes, all of which may be regarded as standing on the same social plane; each of these castes is a different world by itself as marked by endogamy and restrictions on interdining. Hudson termed those parallel castes as 'Ektharia' and had included 17 caste groups under it. All the sub-castes use Gubhaju as priest. These are: Syami, Pun, Chipa, Gathu, Khusa, Kau, Nau, Pulu etc.

4.2.2.5 Unclean Caste

There are two groups of unclean castes among the Newars. First Duin, Balami, the touchable from whose hands water can be accepted. However those from them water cannot be accepted include: Dhobi (Sangat), Bha, Nay, and Jogi. Of these Duin, Balami and Dhobi occupy the highest ranks. Each of them is endogamous and does not inter-dine with the other.

4.2.2.6 Untouchable Caste

This consists of four castes: Kulu (cobbler), Poda (executioner), Chyame and Halla-Hullu, who are Newar out-castes. These castes are not allowed to have their dwelling places within the village boundaries.

The Kulu are the Newar cobblers and basket-makers. They also make musical instruments involving leather. Poda/Deula catches fish and



Picture no. 14 A old house of Pode caste in the study area

Sparrows. They also guard temples situated near the cremation ground. The Chyame or Chyamekhala is the remover of night-soil and considered as lowest among the untouchables. The Halla-Hullu is still the lower of the lowest caste. His job is same as that of Chyamekhala.

Newars caste has been categorized mainly in three ways:

- Caste hierarchy
- Occupational Categories
- Macro-Status Level

The following tables show these categories:

Table no. 1 Newar Caste-Hierarchy

	Hindu Newars	Buddhist Newars
i. priestly castes	Deva Brahmin	Gubhaju or Bajracharya Vanra or Bare,
ii. High Castes	Chhatharia Shrestha Panchtharia Shrestha	Udas
iii. Upper Lower Castes	{Pahari-Jyapoo	Hale (or Guala)}
iv. Lower Castes	Gathu-Nau-Khoosa-Chitrakar-chheepa-Manandhar-Kou, Or (Mali),	or (Pu (n) (Ranjitkar) (Salmi)
v. Unclean Castes	Du (n)yeena(n)-Balami-Sanga or Sangat Bha Kasai, Kusle or (Jogi)	
vi. Untouchable Castes		Pore-Kulu Chyame Hara Huru

The hierarchy of the Newar caste in the following way (as shown in table no....) based on occupational sub-division. Note: Castes on the same horizontal plane are regarded as of equal social status (Nepali, 1965: 150).

4.2.3 Family Structure

The family structure of these people is quite similar to the other caste groups scattered throughout the country. The main family splits into nuclear ones as the children marry, but there are families where the system of staying a joint extended family is in existence where they live and eat in one kitchen. The father is the head of the family and mother. The oldest son is the second to the father in importance and all possible respect was paid to him by his younger brothers. In case the grandfather and grandmother also survived they are not only respected but also venerated. In my fieldwork, among the 40 household respondents 3 households have one to three members' family structure, 23 households have family structure of three to six, 9 households have six to nine and 5 households have nine above family structure (see table no.1).

Table no.2 Types of Family Structure in the Study Area

S.N.	Types of Family	Number of HH	Percentage
1.	One-three	3	7.5
2.	Three-six	23	57.5
4.	Six-nine	9	22.5
5.	Nine above	5	12.5
6	Total	40	100

Field Survey 2010

4.2.4 Condition of women:

There is not contrast in men and women in Pode caste because both of them go to the same place to work and take same rate of wages though minor kind of gender discrimination is still in existence as a reflection of Hindu culture.



Picture no. 15 one of my respondents is sweeping in the Basantapur

4.2.5 Language

Pode caste has their own-language but the young generations do not follow it due the recognition in the Newar society. When they speak Pode language they feel humiliation so that now a day's most of the people have left to speak that language. Now days most of the Pode people speak Newari language as Newar ethnic community speak. Most of them can

speaking Nepali language but some of them cannot speak the Nepali language and they cannot understand it also.

4.2.6 Cuisine Habits

As a tradition Pode people especially prefer to eat pork in feast (Bhoye). Typical Newari Choila, spicy and hot Newa Cuisine makes use of mustard oil and a host of spices such as cumin, sesame seeds, turmeric, garlic, ginger, mint, bay leaves, cloves, and cinnamon, pepper, chili and mustard seeds. As typical Newari serving consists of the baji (beaten rice), kawati (soup of different beans), kachila (semi-cooked spiced minced meat) spinach, wa: (a kind of bread made of different kinds of lentils), pau kawa (sour soups) and typically two kinds of liquor. Festivals meals often include choila, meat (preferably water buffalo) grilled over the flames of dried wheat plants and dal bhat tarkari and other general foods as all the Nepalese peoples do. Thown and aila are the common liquors that Newar make at home.



Picture no. 16 the food variety of Newar Poda caste.

4.3 Rituals

4.3.1 Birth Ceremony

The birth of a child is an occasion of happiness in any community and it is exception among in Pode people. Birth pollution is observed for seven days. At the time of Nwaran child and the mother ritually purified using Toriko Pina and Mehendi (ala) and sprinkling milk of cow with Dubo. At the same occasion the grand ma (Aji) is called for fist who works a role of Sudeni (nursing helper). At the same occasion the child receives the name and on this day the calculation is continued using time of birth, date and such data and then the zodiac is determined. likewise, junction of the two ways near the child-born house, liver of buffalo, curry, money and almost three kg flattened rice (Baji) offered as a sacred food to the deities and distributed to the gathering people. It is after the Nwaran that the child is allowed to wear proper stitched clothes.

4.3.2 Bratabanda (Initiation Ceremony)

From six to thirteen years children go through the Bratabandh. In this occasion maternal uncle shaved the boy's hair and Phupu helps to cover it and according to the capacity they give the money to Phupua and given the feast to them and other relatives.

4.3.3 Marriage

Traditionally the parents arrange marriage for their sons and daughters. Most of the households above 75 percentages of total respondents I have gone through my survey found that getting love marriage some of them told me the story of their love affairs when they go to the work they meet each other and being nearer they starts to share feelings of love which they felt. In this way they bound into the nut of marriage. Some of the

youngsters have got inter-caste marriages who are feeling some difficulties to adjust in the society though some of them have good relationship with their father's in law house. Inter-caste marriage is still socially and culturally unacceptable among the so called higher and the lower Newar untouchables. This is also not accepted in the intra-caste groups. (See case study).

According to the key informant Radheshyam Poda, in their actual traditional marriage, the young Poda boy used to catch the young girl and get entered to his house and changed the clothes putting on new ones then she would be wife of boy. But now this culture have been gone way and taken new tradition. In new tradition Lami (arranger) goes to the bride's house when the boy reaches a mature age of 21 above and female is 18. When the matter of wedding is settled then the bridegroom's relatives and friends go to the bride's house playing band music and the bride is handed over by the maternal uncle of her. A big feast is arranged for the guests who are involved in the marriage ceremony.

Picture no. 17 A Poda is cutting pork to sell his customer.



4.3.4 Death Rituals

When death occurs in the caste group, the dead body is wrapped Pitamber clothe, flower garlands and red clothe of Tas offered by the Guthi. They inform to the Guthi members to accompany the funeral procession. The dead body is bound in the Khat of bamboo and daughter in laws carry the corpse to the cremation site. The deceased's eldest son puts the Dag Batti on the mouth of the body placed on the funeral pyre then the pyre is set alight with straw. After the pyre has been burnt, the ashes are thrown away and the funeral pyre is washed. Shaving hair the sons, daughters and other close relatives stay Kriya upto 7 days. In the seventh day they purified and give a feast who have involved in the funeral procession.

4.4 Religious Condition

The most ancient religions in Nepal were neither Hinduism nor Buddhism. The Brahmins and Rajputs came to the western hills of Nepal for the first time during the 12th century. These immigrants brought Hinduism along with them and spread among the Khas who were then a very powerful people of that era. The people of the Nepal valley had the first impact of Hinduism when the Mallas entered into Nepal from India during the thirteenth century. Thus in the middle hills and Terai, Hinduism had become the dominant religion (Shrestha, 1987).

During my field work I found out that all the respondents of forty-five households revealed me that the all the people of the Podes are following Hindu religion though some of them are followers of Buddha religion. Basically it is found that two religions are followed by the Newar Poda people in the area. So, all the rituals and cultural activities are impressed with the Hindu religion.

4.4.1 Festivals

The main festivals of Pode people in Kathmandu valley are Dashain, Tihar, Ghodejatra, Shree-panchami, Maghe-sankranti, Nag-panchami, krishnastami, Seto Machhindranath ko jatra, Gaijatra, Indraajatra and other festivals as other Hindu castes celebrate. They also celebrate Panchare (one day before Gaijatra), Sithinakha, Diwali, Yomari (Purnima), Mahalaxmi, Chunaldevi etc.

There is much similarities between other Hindu castes and Newar people and the specially Pode castes.

4.4.2 Deities

They worship Nashadewa, Digdewa, Aaju, in the local level as their area deity. They offer sacred grains, fruits, flowers to their gods. Podes are also stay as guard to various temples so Pode of this area stay as guard in Kankeswori, Jaisidewal etc which near to Sawalbahal.

4.5 Economic Condition

4.5.1 Occupation

Occupation depends on people life styles and their expenditure in their day to day life. Most of the Pode people are engaged in the traditional sanitation (sweeping) occupation in the Kathmandu Metropolitan city and other organizations and houses for their livelihood.

Table no. 3 Occupation of informants in the study area

S. no.	Occupation	Number of informant	Percentage
01	Traditional (sweeper)	24	60
02	Business	4	10
03	Service	9	22.5
04	Farming	-	-
05	Others	3	7.5
06	Total	40	100

Source: Field Survey 2010

A detailed study on occupation in the study area (refer in Table 3) revealed the fact that 24 respondents (60%) out of the 40 respondents involved in traditional sanitation (sweeping) occupation. Only 4 respondents (10%) are engaged in business. In others only one female respondent was housewife and one was social worker after retired life and one was unemployed. 9 respondents out of 40 (22.5%) are engaged in private, government and other different kinds of jobs which can be clear from the following table.

Table no. 4 nature of services of informants

S.N.	Nature of Service	Number of Informant	Percentage
01.	Bureaucracy	2	22
02.	Army	2	22
03.	Police	-	-
04.	NGO/INGO	2	22
05.	Private	3	34
06.	Foreign	-	-
07.	Total	9	100

Source: Field Survey

In the above table total respondents of 9, 2 are doing job in bureaucracy in low level, 2 respondents are working in army sector, 2(22%) respondents are working in NGO/INGO project program and 3 (34%) out of 9 respondents are working in private sector such as bank and other private institutions.

Table no. 5 Income of households in per month

S.N.	Income Ratio in month	Income of HH	Percentage
01.	Less than 5,000	-	-
02	5,000-10,000	13	32.5
03	10,000-20,000	12	30
04	Above 20,000	15	37.5
05	Total	40	100

Source: Field Survey 2010

4.5.2 Land Ownership

Nepal is known as agricultural country and Land has been always vital for the farmers for their living and considered as an important property in Nepal. The field study conducted in the Sawalbahal by researcher in 2010 revealed that all the respondents have no their own land apart from their owned registered house which was regularly used for a long time history as they were boycotted by the contemporary state and settled in the side of rivers and out of the main city.



Picture no. 18 the house area of Pode castes in the Sawalbahal

4.6 Education

Education plays vital role in every aspect of people's life. Without education people's attitudes and knowledge cannot be developed. There is a primary school named Sawalbahal Primary School in the study area but most of the children of Pode caste are going to the boarding school some of them are capable to admit in the boarding or private school and some of them are not able to do so but they are compelled to send their children to the boarding school due to the imitation of their neighbors. Many children were found playing hither thither in the study area at the time of class running. I asked to a teacher Punam Rana who is teaching in the same Sawalbahal primary school about those playing children, her responses me that children of guardians are not aware of the importance

of education. Lack of good education most of the children are compelled to do the same traditional occupation like their parents.

Very few of them have completed their graduation but have no job still now. I found them wandering there for the search of good opportunity. One of the respondents, Bhim Deula who has passed BA but he has not got any stable job. He feels excluded due to the discriminatory behaviour of state.



Picture no.19 children who were curious to take photo in front of their school

Table no. 6 educational condition of informants

S.N.	Types of Education	Number of Respondent	Percentage
01.	Illiterate	9	22.5
02.	Adult Education (literate)	6	15
03.	Under SLC	17	42.5
04.	Higher Education	8	20
05.	Total	40	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010.

4.7 Political Organization

Most of the Pode people were found to be aware on politics throughout the field survey though some of them were unknown about it. Many of the respondents were involved in UCPN (Maoist), and then CPN (UML) and some of them were involved in Nepali Congress parties. Radheshyam Pode, Prabin Deula, Rubi Deula were local leaders from UCPN (Maoist) in the community, Maiya Pode, Dilbabu Deula and others are leading involving in CPN (UML) likewise Jagdish Deula and others are leading NC party from this community in the study area. The figure of the respondents can be observed in following table.



Picture no. 20 one of my respondents is sitting in front of the Sawalbahal youth club

Table no. 7 Political Status of Studied Population

S.N.	Name of political Parties	Number of Respondents	Percentage
01.	UCPN (Maoist)	16	40
02.	CPN (UML)	9	22.5
03.	Nepali Congress	5	12.5
04.	Neutral	10	25
05.	Total	40	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010.

From the above table we can estimate that much of the respondents and population of the studied area are involved in political parties. According to the field study 2010 out of the 40 surveyed households 40% respondents found themselves affiliated to Maoist party. Likewise 22.5% out of 40 respondents from UML and 12.5% from NC were affiliated in their respective political parties. Ten percentage out of 40 respondents found respondents, some of those were illiterate and unknown about politics and some of them were affiliated in the social organizations (refer table no.7).

CHAPTER: FIVE

Main Ingredients of Untouchability Behavior in Pode Caste

5.1 General Introduction

I conducted the research to find out main ingredients of untouchability behaviors in the Pode caste which compelled them to live oppressed and humiliated life for a long period of time. The study revealed the facts that there are many behavioral factors of the state and society which had contributed to the Newar Untouchables to live the inhuman and suppressed kind of dominated life in the study area and all parts of country. Among them were mainly political, economic, social and religious behaviors were focused on throughout the study. In political factor, ideological and philosophical aspects of the state, constitutional and legal provisions of the contemporary government, behaviors of political leaders and state-holders, situation of the participation of Newar untouchables in political parties, in Socio-cultural scenario caste-based discrimination, social exclusion of Newar untouchables and social injustice, in economic factor the poverty, occupation of the Pode Caste, land ownership and in religious factor, Hinduism and its Manusmriti, psychological aspect such as humiliation, festivals and rituals were mainly focused during the field survey.

5.2 Political Factor

Political power is such a weapon which determines everything of the state and its people. To go back to the history of Nepalese politics when a class goes to the power and that has made the rules and values of the state according to his interests so the people who are not in the periphery of the

rulers then they had to be dominated by the state. This kind of tradition continued for long time and still in existence. In the case of Poda caste this kind of tradition highly employed so they are still in the condition of inhuman and coercive exploitation. This entire problem is the result of class oriented/related power of the state.

5.2.1 Ideological and Philosophical Outlook of the State

The social reforms are never carried out by the weakness of the strong but always by the strength of the weak - (Marx, 1999).

All the political powers depend upon their own philosophy and ideology. To peep down the history of Nepal all the political system are guided by one or another ideology such as ancient political reigns were guided by religious orthodoxal and idealistic philosophy. Malla period and Shah period political system was guided by the feudalistic ideology. After the restoration of democracy in 1990 democracy took place in the political arena of Nepal but the structural position of the state could not be changed so State went to the ditch of conflict since 1996 leading by CPN (Maoist). Though Maoist has taken some positive achievements towards the Dalits people dalits from Newar community like Poda are still suffering from the untouchability and other political, social, economic and other different kinds of inclusion in the structure of state (from the Focused Group Discussion 2010).

The Nepalese Dalit Social Movement is characterized by organizations with vast different ideologies claiming to work for the common goal of Dalit liberation. These organizations differently analyze the prevailing political, social, and economic structures and systems. They thus conceive of the struggles against those systems in different manners. Because many of the organizations are affiliated to political parties they

are tightly bound to within that particular political party's ideological framework and practical plans for social actions.

The Nepalese Dalit movement is a social movement, but it is also concurrently a political movement. A feudalistic political system has spawned caste discrimination and untouchability. Feudalistic culture encourages and supports Casteism and a system whereby the mere fact of one's heritage is given more respect than one's personal merit. As long as feudalistic culture remains, the problem of Casteism will never be solved. Thus, the Nepalese social movement must take the shape of political movement against feudalism. The various dalit organizations engaged in the movement espouse various political philosophies that they believe are best suited to dismantle feudalism (Kisan, 2005).

Due to the perspective of the state based on their philosophy and ideology Pode caste always compelled to remain in the dark corner of the mainstream. King Jayasthiti Malla divided Newar community according to their profession since the point of that time including Pode and other untouchable's dalits is living the life of hell. King Prithavi Narayan Shah and later autocratic ruler Janga Bahadur Rana institutionalized the caste system so that the dalit community oppressed under the crushing stone of exploitation. Especially, socially and politically dominated community like Newar untouchables (dalits) Pode, Chyame, HalaHulu, Kusle, Khadgi and other dalits castes were wishing the discrimination free equal and equitable system but this government also sank into the well of corruption and irregularities to earn much money and build heavy building for their coming generation. Because of this problem 12 years parliamentary system could not be fruitful the whole dalit community (refer from group discussion).

Dalit leader and scholar Buddhi Nepali (2009) says "at the time of raising the voice of special rights to dalit people in federal state with the right of ethnic self-determination, some of Newar scholars are advocating the people who bearing the caste-based discrimination and untouchability problem in Newar community are not dalits. If we deal the problem from this perspective then we cannot imagine the redemption of Newar dalits. To solve the Newar dalits problem it must be connected with the whole dalit liberation movement but not excluding from it”.

5.2.2 Constitutional and Legal Provision

Most of the respondents exposed their view that all the legal and constitutional provision made by the state are not feasible for them though some of legal provisions are good only in written documents. They commented on the existing constitution as incomplete and exclusive for Poda caste from different angles either from political inclusion or social and administrative angle. "We don't have only one post in the higher position of government job." said Mohan Deula one of the respondents in process of interviewing. All of the respondents rebuked to the existing acts and legal system about Poda caste being one sided, discriminatory and oppressive.

One of the key informants Nirmal Deula said "The inhuman behavior of class division pursued strongly not up to the Malla reign but Rana and Shah's reign. In the first legal document of Nepal 'The Muliki Yen-1910B.S. Deula (Poda) were listed as water unacceptable or water-sprinkling. If not continued the orthodox acts of contemporary rulers they had been compelled to bear the rigorous punishments. The helpless Podas had no alternate to accept that torturous rules. Because of these causes Podas are still lacking of political, economic, educational and cultural

presentation though the country is going through the process of federal democratic republican system. No only one person is in the place of decision making from Deula caste so they are under the lighting-lamp though they have settled in the capital".

In the Muluki Ain of 1854, people were divided into five groups: Brahmans (Tagadhari), Khas, Matawali, Pani Chalne or touchable, Sudra, and Pani Nachalne or untouchable Shudra (Koirala, 1996)*. The Sudras were further divided into two major categories. Among the one of the categories of Sudra was categorized Rai, Limbu, Gurung, Magar, Lepcha, Bhote, Sherpa, Thakali, Raute, Tharu, Dhimal and Koche peoples. Among the other category of Sudras were people in Kami, Damai, Sarki, Pode, Chyame, Kasai, Gaine, Badi and Musahar castes (Acharya, 1983). These Shudras were further divided into two categories-those touches would always require others to purify themselves and those who were considered untouchable but those touches did not require purification on the part of others. Among those who were untouchables but did not require others' purification were the Muslims, Teli, Kasai, Kusle, Kulu, Mleccha, and Chundara. Those who were untouchable and always required others' ritual purification were the Sarki, Kami, Sunar, Chunara, Hurke, Damai, Gaine, Badi, Pode, and Chyame (Yakha Rai, 1996).

Even within the untouchable category there were further divisions into upper and lower castes. Yet another part of the 1854 Muluki Ain states that, "the lowest caste is the Chyame, above the Chyame is the Pode, and above them is Badi. As Badi food should not be eaten by Gaine, they are higher caste. As Gaine food should not be eaten by the Damai, they are higher caste. Karara is higher than Damai, Kami is higher than Karara, and Sarki is higher than Kami. Higher than these seven castes is the Kulu caste. Kulu food is not eaten by the Dhobi caste. The food from any of

these caste should not eaten by the Kusle, so they are higher. From the Kusle and all these other castes no water or rice should be eaten by the Kasai, so their caste is higher". By thus dividing the untouchables, dozens of castes within the untouchables were created, also creating a sense of untouchability and being either higher or lower among the untouchables themselves.

5.2.2.1 First Democratic Period (1950-1960)

This was not only in political realm, but also in social, economic, educational and judicial realms. Nepali society after the 1950 uprising did not change significantly. Pitiabile conditions of non mutuality between castes, caste discrimination, illiteracy, superstitions, orthodox rituals, and oppression remained (INSEC, 1993).

The 1950 constitution that was promulgated by the then interim government declared that caste discrimination was not acceptable. According to Article 14(1) of the 1950 constitution, the state could not discriminate on the basis of caste and religion. Article 19(1) addressed issues of forced labour, and Article 10 made provisions for education and economic assistance to the lower classes (Sagar, 1999). These provisions were not put into the practice and in fact, later government declarations contradicted and negated the spirit of these provisions.

In 1959, the constitution was issued. Article 4 of this constitution provided equal protection of the law in terms of rights, and prohibited discrimination on the basis of religion, caste class and sex (Sagar, 1999). However, this proved to be not effective because the Muluki Ain was more powerful. Thus there was little real relief for Dalits. The rules and regulations set forth in the 1800s by Jang Bahadur continued to prevail in Nepali society.

In these first ten years of democracy, a new constitution was issued, many acts and royal proclamations were promulgated, but there was no real

progress in removing the caste untouchability system in Nepal. The king, political parties, the various constitutions acts and proclamations did virtually nothing to social justice to Dalits. The leaders lived out contradictions between their words and actions. Basically the laws created by Jang Bahadur Rana continued to hold sway in society.

5.2.2.2 Panchayat Period (1960-1990)

On December 15, 1961, King Mahendra dissolved parliament. He took this step because the Nepali people were disappointed with the NC who was in power. The NC has become ineffective, looted the national treasury and showed disinterest towards social reforms (Rawal, 1990). The royal step taken by King Mahendra re-established a monarchical system of rule similar what had existed pre-1846. It was a system based on popular legal kinship, which retracted adult franchise (Shah, 1978).

In 1962, another constitution was issued. This constitution declared Nepal a Hindu country⁶³ and once it appeared that Nepal was to be ruled according to laws dictated by the Manusmriti, Jayasthiti Malla, Ram Shah and Jang Bahadur Rana. According to the constitution of 1962, Article 10(1), no citizen could, in law, be discriminated against based on religion, class, sex, caste, or ethnicity. Article 10(3) stated that no citizen could, in could, in government and public services, be discriminated against on the basis of religion, class, sex or ethnicity.

Although the Muluki Ain of 1963 put an end to practices whereby purification was required, it did not put an end to caste discrimination. In reality, there was no protection of the right to equality for untouchables in the new Muliki Ain (Sangroula, 1996). This provision did not necessarily give relief to Dalits because these types of punishments were given to people in the higher castes. During the period of the Panchayat system of the caste discrimination and untouchability endured. Slogans calling for

social justice and class coordination were basically ineffective were the traditional Hindu Varna System (Udasi, 1999).

5.2.2.3 Multi-Party Democratic Period (1990-2000)

In the 1990, a people's movement resulted in the overthrow of the Panchayat system of government. The subsequently promulgated 1990 constitution stated that no person shall be discriminated against on the basis of caste. No person's presence shall be prohibited in public places and no persons shall be prevented from using public property. Violation of such laws will be punishable. For the first time it was publicly declared in the constitution that caste discrimination and untouchability were punishable and criminal acts. On this basis, an amendment was made to the Muluki Ain, which was published in 1992 under chapter 19, Article 10(A). It is said that, "If anyone practices untouchability toward another, or if anyone prohibits another presence in public places or if anyone prevents another's use of public property then such a person will be imprisoned for one year, fined Rs. 3000 or made suffer both. However the explanation of this clause it is said that but in temples and religious places, practices that have been traditionally engaged in will not be considered discriminatory practices. At a later point, the Supreme court annulled this explanation, but it is evident that the intention of the lawmakers was not to do away with practices of untouchability. Even though the constitution has made it punishable offense to practice untouchability, the present Nepali Brahmanist rulers appear to be more motivated to maintain untouchability.

Chapter 19, Article 1(A) of the Muluki Ain states that if anyone attempts to cause disturbances in religious places or to disrupt religious acts he will be punished with either three years of imprisonment or fine of Rs. 3000, or both. Chapter 19 Article 10 contains a provision which had remained from the 1962 New Muluki Ain, stating that if anyone tries to

deceive or forcefully use means to disturb ritual practices, he will be imprisoned for a year and made to pay a fine of Rs. 1000 (Muluki Ain, Ch. 19, Art. 1(A) and 10). These provisions directly conflict with Article 10(A). Thus we cannot be content with the idea that present laws have put an end to the untouchability system in our country. It appears that higher caste people still have a stake in maintaining the caste system. The ruling class appears not having a flexible attitude toward the Vedic Sudra and appears as yet not psychologically ready to accept changes in the caste system (Yakha Rai, 1996).

Although the 1990 constitution declared caste discrimination and untouchability punishable offenses, the past ten years have not seen a reduction in caste discrimination and untouchability. Brahmanistic thinking among the rulers, administrators, and leaders of political parties is a large part of the problem. The following is a brief overview of how caste discrimination and untouchability is still prevalent in Nepali society (Kisan, 2005).

After the restoration of democracy in Nepal in 1990, the new constitution promulgated that all form of discrimination based on caste, ethnicity and religion are punishable in law but still the law has not been implemented practically in Nepalese society (DNF, 2006:4-5).

One of the key informants Ramkrishna Deula says: fifty-five years have been passed away rising democracy in the country but no governments had space and preservation in political activities for Poda caste. Political parties' continuously used this community as a vote bank. So, Deulas representation remained zero in the various organs of state from the low level to higher level. Because of the parties have not participated in the meaningful policy-making level their own organization and sister organizations have no space from the low rank to higher for this Deula community.

In the situation of new constitution making after the pro-longed 10 years wars and 19 days historical peoples uprising to ensure the Newar Dalits partnership in political power and access to other sectors of state, there must be the provision of special rights or reservation along with the proportional rights in the autonomous state of federal state and double voting rights system in the indicated constituency and other constituency so that the marginalized and having few population wouldn't be deprived. Apart from the Hills Dalits, Newar and Madhesi Dalits have the problem of lingual and culture and region so it must be guaranteed in the upcoming constitution. To pursue human life Newar Dalits Caste-based discrimination general treaty of 1965 issued by the UN and provision to give the punishment of death penalty against caste discrimination like India and others such legal provisions must be ensured in the constitution. In the new structure of the state from the local level to high level of legislative must be secured the seats of Newar dalits on the basis of population.

5.2.2.4 The Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007

On the foundation of 10 years people's war carried out by the CPN (Maoist) 19 days historical people's uprising abolished the 240 years old monarchy and established the new federal democratic republican state of Nepal. The seven party alliance, CPN (Maoist) and Madhesh badi parties promulgated the interim constitution of Nepal which has set up some of its significant provisions as follows:

- 1) All the citizens shall be equal before the law. No person shall be denied the equal protection of the laws.
- 2) There shall be no discrimination against any citizen in the application of general laws on grounds of religion, race, gender, caste, tribe, origin, language or ideological conviction or any of these.

- 3) The state shall not discriminate among citizens on the grounds of religion, race, caste, tribe, origin, language or ideological conviction, or any of these.

Provided that nothing shall be deemed to prevent the making of special provisions by law for the protection, empowerment or advancement of women, Dalits, indigenous ethnic tribes [adibasi Janajati], Madhisi or farmers, labourers or those who belong to a class which is economically, socially or culturally backward, or children, the aged, disabled or those who are physically or mentally incapacitated.

- 4) There shall be no discrimination with regard to remuneration and social security between men and women for the same work.

Rights against untouchability and racial discrimination:

- 1) No person shall, on the ground of caste descent, community or occupation, be subject to racial discrimination and untouchability in any form. Such a discriminatory act shall be liable to punishment and the victim shall be entitled to compensation as provided by the law.
- 2) No person shall, on the ground of caste or tribe, be deprived of the use of services, conveniences or utilities available to the public, or be denied access to any public place, or public religious places, or be prevented from performing any religious act.
- 3) No person belonging to any particular caste or tribe shall, in relation to production or making available of any goods, services or conveniences, be prevented from purchasing or acquiring and no such goods, services or conveniences shall be sold or distributed only to members of a particular caste or tribe.
- 4) No one shall be allowed to purport to demonstrate superiority or inferiority of any person or a group of persons belonging to any

caste, tribe or origin; or to justify social discrimination on the basis of caste and tribe; or to disseminate ideas based on caste superiority or hatred; or to encourage caste discrimination in any form.

- 5) Any act contrary to the provisions of clauses (2), (3) and (4) shall be punishable in accordance with law.

5.2.3 Participation of Newar Untouchables in Political organization

The anti-caste movements in India and in Nepal were instigated by religious leaders, humanists, and other great intellectuals, poets, writers, litterateurs and social reformers. Many Nepali dalits were inspired by the Indian Independence movement led by Mahatma Gandhi and Indian Dalit liberation movement led by Dr. Ambedkar. Sarbajit Bishwokarma and Saharshanath Kapali both returned to Nepal from India and with such inspiration. The mid to late 1940s were a tumultuous time for politics on the Indian sub continent, as the Indian movements came into full swing and the anti-Rana movement was also starting in Nepal. Although there were numerous individual acts opposing caste discrimination, the organized social movement emerged in the late 1940s.

At the time of promoting education and running their campaign by Sarbajit Bishwokarma in Baglung, Kapalis of Kathmandu were organizing and founded the tailors' union in 1947. Saharsahnath Kapali, whose father was the private tailor to the Rana generals, was greatly influenced by the Indian Independence movement that he had seen during his training period in Culcutta. He returned to Nepal with both tailoring skills and a spirit of independence. He sought to enhance the tailoring profession. Although the objectives of the tailors' union organization were to promote professional unity and modernization among the Damai

and Kapali castes, Saharshanath Kapali used the organization as a forum to teach about caste discrimination (M.D. Bishwokarma).

In 1952, the Jat Tor Mandal was renamed and reorganized by Saharsahnath Kapali (UUDBUBS, 1999). This newly renamed organization, the Samaj Sundar Sangh, successfully implemented a campaign to allow Dalit entry into Pasupatinath temple of Kathmandu in 1954.

Sidhi Bahadur Khadgi coordinated the formally organized committee for the struggle to enter Pasupatinath temple. Saharshanath Kapali, Mohan Lal Kapali, Ganesh Yogi and Mewa Kapali also helped to lead the movement. Thousands of Dalits, among which were an impressive number of women were present at the event whereby dalits forced their entry into Pasupatinath temple. The then prime minister Tanka Prasad Acharya had issued a strict order to the police to lathi charge all those who forcefully tried to enter the temple. Indeed a severe lathi charge ensued and approximately seven hundred and fifty participants were arrested. As a result of this movement, however the government removed Pasupatinath temple gateway sign board which had said, "Untouchables are prohibited to Entry" (INSEC, 1993). This Pasupatinath temple entry movement was the first and most powerful movement was a source of the great inspiration and motivation for the Nepali Dalit social movement.

Formation of the Rastriya Achut Mukti Parisad in 1958 was a continuation in the trend of organizational restructuring and renaming. Saharsahnath Kapali led this reorganization of Nepal Rastriya Pariganit Parisad. Other leaders included Chandra Prasad Kapali, Hira Kapali as deputy chairman, Hira Lal Bishwokarma as general secretary, T.R. Bishwokarma as Information secretary and Bekha Narayan Kapali as

treasurer. Representatives from Dalits community were included among general members (Parishrami, 2(2), 1995). In 1963, the organization began publication 'Mukti' and T. R. Bishwokarma was the editor of this magazine (Parishrami, 2(2), 1998).

In 1959, this organization presented a memorandum to king Mahendra that contained a list of demands for Dalit welfare. As a result of that memorandum, king Mahendra donated Rs. 25,000 for construction of the Shree Mahendra Pariganit Hostel for Dalit students (Samanta,2(2), 1995). There was a intense debate at the time about whether or not corruption was involved in the transaction. However, given that three kathas of land were bought in Bijeswori, Kathmandu and Hostel was indeed built it seems that accusations of corruption are unsubstantiated.

Also in 1959, Saharsahnath Kapali and other Nepali Dalit representatives visited India. They met with the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Railway minister Jag Jivan Ram. They arranged for a scholarship program at the Ishwor Sharan Ashram in Allahabad India for five students each year. Many Nepali students highly benefited from that scholarship program (Parishrami, 2(2), 1995). Due to the incapability of later leadership, however, the program was discontinued.

Significantly, during this time, king Mahendra issued the constitution of Nepal 1962 and Muluki Ain of 1963 was promulgated, both of which explicitly banned the untouchability system. In order to test the untouchability provisions of the 1963 Muluki Ain, Padam Lal Sundas and Lal Kumari Bishwokarma, freely entered the Sidhakali temple in Bhojpur, but their movement was partially successful because they did not secure permanent temple entry rights for Dalits (INSECS, 1993). By this time, some successes for the Nepali social Dalits movement could not

make headway. In 1982, Sidhi Bahadur Khadgi became chairman of the Nepal Rastriya Samaj Kalyan Sangh with Pratapram Lohar as secretary general. Later the Nepal Rastriya Bikash Parishad merged with this organization and Hira Lal Bishwokarma also involved (INSEC, 1993).

For a long time of history of Nepal, Newar Dalits are participating in different political movement to achieve the destination of equal and prosperous status in the society. Now many of the Newar dalits are involved in the political organization especially in their sister organization of political parties. The level of awareness to fight for their rights have increased with the ten years people's war carried out by the CPN (Maoist) and the historical nineteen days 2nd People's Movement. But their participation to the policy-making place and the others executive body of government is hardly in zero condition due to the feudalistic thinking method of political parties and the related organizations (from the interview with the key informant Radhe Shyam Pode, 2010).

Table no.8 Involvement of Newar Dalits in Political Program

S.N.	Involvement in Political program	Number of Respondents	Percentage
01.	Actively Involved	18	45
02.	Occasionally involved	14	35
03.	Never Involved	8	20
04.	Not interested	-	-
05.	Total	40	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010.

From the above table more than 80% of total respondents are involved in the political program. Among them 18 (45%) out of 40 respondents are involved in political activities actively and 14 respondents out of 40 are occasionally involved in the political programs. But I found during my field study that these people are involving political program according to their political parties' ideologies such as UCPN (Maoist), CPN (UML), Nepali Congress and others. Some of the respondents are working in the central level of their parties' sister organizations and almost all the respondents are involved their professional sanitation (Sarsaphai Majdur Sangh) which was organized to raise their voice and fight for rights in favour of sanitation workers.

The respondents replied me about their local leaders' name like: Radhe Shyam Poda, Jagdish Deula, Prabin Deula, Sham Deula, Mohan Deula, Mohan Deula, Maiya Poda, Saroj Deula, Minbir Deula, Rubi Deula, Suresh Shrestha, Maila lama, Dyan Goibinda R.K., Rajendra R.K., Krishna Gopal etc. Most often these leaders are leading to all the Poda people in the research area in spite of guided by different philosophical and ideological streams.

The involvement of their local political representative had brought in money to pave the alleys and brought water Hilltakes to the community. Respondents felt it was a big accomplishment that they could fulfill the problem of drinking water and other daily uses. I found a club building with some furniture where most of the young and political activists gather and make the further programs. The respondents come together in this spot to participate in the political programs.

In political parties there is still very little participation because of the influence of the Brahmanist ideology and the mind-set. In addition to the

major political parties other small political parties have not only one member of representation in the central level. With a result of great struggle we have found minor space in the junior level of their organization. As a result we have no participation in the place of policy making (Ram Pujari, key informant of this study who is working as central level cadre of Nepali Congress and vice president of NNDSWO).

5.2.4 Behavior of Political Leaders and State-Holders

State holders have been oppressing and exploiting us for centuries old period of history behaving as slave and serfs. In the threshold of 21st century we have been dominated and separated by various rights and opportunities of the state. From the level of policy-making to local administrative level there is no inclusion of Poda caste. This caste has been compelled to work sweeping and looked as rubbish cleaners, dirty people who is making clean whole the city. Due to this psychological problem of humiliation many children of Poda caste are not going to school and who have gone to school have changed their Thar. As a result we are backwarded in political, social, economic, educational and other spheres of human development.

Since the formation of state there is the unitary domination of Brahmanist castes and their ideology in the all organs of state and this has completely affected in the political parties and their leaders. Even political leaders have not employed the equal behaviors in their homes and society in some cases. So, untouchability problem has rooted in the society as an indomitable wall (from FGD in the field study).

Table No.9 Behavior of government in the study area

S.N.	Behavior of Government	Number of Respondents	Percentage
01.	Exclusive	33	82.5
02.	Inclusive	-	-
03.	Not so bad	3	7.5
04.	I don't know	4	10
05.	Total	40	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010.

In the above table 33 (82.5%) respondents expressed that the government behaviors were exclusive. Only 3 (7.5%) respondents said that the government behavior is not so bad and 10% respondents unable to express the behavior of government. So, from this survey we can easily estimate that almost all the Pode caste is excluded by the political power and leaders. In the time of field survey some of the respondents revealed that there was the behavior of discrimination in the social and political programs. But after the declaration of the republican system in the country this is gradually decreasing condition but not totally eliminated. In the case of society and other so called upper caste people it is very tough to eliminate right now.

5.3 Socio-Cultural Scenario

Under this topic the detail description of caste-based discrimination, social exclusion of Newar untouchables and social injustice has been discussed in detail.

5.3.1 Caste-based discrimination

Historically, the caste system is the product of the division of labour whereby those who did manual work were categorized as Brahmins; those engaged in fighting were categorized as Kshetri those who engaged in trade work are categorized as Vaishya and those who did physical labour were categorized as Shudras. During 2nd millennium BC, at the time of Rig Veda, such division of labour had not taken regimented form nor had they required class form. As a result each person could choose any profession at any juncture of time. But with coming of Vedic period further development of agriculture resulted into ossified regimented caste-system whereby the people started acquiring their caste hierarchy. Thus Brahman doing manual work got the highest hierarchy and the Shudras doing manual labour were assigned lower hierarchy. In due course of time even within Shudras further division of sub-caste took place and subsequently acquired regimented hierarchies. Within them this regimentation was codified as Vernashram system of Hindu law by Manu the Hindu law maker around twenty first century B.C. Today the same sudras are called Dalits.

Before the entry of Aryans in Nepal, it was inhabited mainly by Mongolian in mountains and Austro Dravids in flat Terai region. Although Aryans have entered Nepal at two historical junctures, it was after 11th century AD when Hindus from north India fled from onslaught of Muslim invaders that they brought caste system in Nepal thereby including caste awareness particularly Dalit ostracization amongst non-Hindu communities too. Geographically, Dalits in Nepal are Hill Dalits and Madhesia (plain) Dalits. Naturally they are divided into Hill, Newari

(Dalit residing within Kathmandu valley) and Madhesia Dalits of which Newari & Madhesia Dalits belongs to oppressed nationalities.

It is irony that even 21st century the old Nepalese state officially sanctions the archaic medieval oppression in the name of protecting sate religious Hindu state under the authority of Hindu king (Yami, 2007).

The caste system is a very important feature in the Newari social structure. The Newar caste organization is based on the same Hindu principle in order of Brahmin, Kshetriya, Vaishya, Sudra and untouchables. It is started in the Vamsavalis that in the beginning, there was no class and caste organization among the Newars. So it was only in the 14th century that when Jayasthiti Malla ruled over, the caste was organized on the basis of occupation and religion (Nepali, 1965).

The Newars are divided firstly into the worshippers of Buddha known as the Buddha Margi (Buddhist) and secondly those who worship Shiva called the Shiva Margi (Hindus). In domestic ceremonies, Buddhist employees a Buddhist Priest, known as Bajracharya and Hindu Newar employees a Newar Brahman priest (Northy and Morris, 1982).

Each caste is further spilt into several sub-castes based on hereditary occupation. An elaborate system of the caste hierarchy, based on occupational differentiation of the newars, can be seen from the following table:

Table no. 10 Newars with different occupational categories

S.No.	Caste	Traditional occupation	Personal Surname
1.	Deo Brahman	Family Priests	Rajopadhyaya
2.	Bhatta Brahman	Temple Priests	Bhatta
3.	Jha Brahman	Temple Priests	Jha
4.	Gubhaju (Bare)	Family priests Gold and Silver smith	Bajracharya, Shakya, Bhikshu
5.	Shrestha	Merchants	Shrestha, Malla, Joshi, Pradhan, Rajbhandari, Maske, Rajlawat, Amatya, Rajvamsi and others.
6.	Uray (Udas)	Merchants & Craftmen	Tuladhar, Lohakami, Sikami, Tamrakar, Kansakar
7.	Jyapoo	Farmer	Maharjan, Dangol, Suwal, Duwal, Sapu, Kabhuja, Musa, Lawat etc.
8.	Kuma	Potters	Kumale, Prajapati
9.	Syami	Oil presser	Manandhar
10.	Khusa	Palanquin bearers	Khusa, Tandukar
11.	Nau	Barber	Napit

12.	Kau	Blacksmith	Nakarmi
13.	Bha	Funeral Duties	Karanjit, Bha
14.	Gathu	Gardeners	Bammala, Mali
15.	Tepe	Cultivators	Tepe, Byanjankar
16.	Pun	Painters	Chitrakar
17.	Duhin	Carriers	Putwar, Dali
18.	Balami	Fieldworkers	Balami
19.	Pulu	Funeral Torch Bearers	Pulu
20.	Chipa	Dyers	Ranjitkar
21.	Jogi	Musician & Tailors	Kanphatta, Giri, Dom
22.	Nay	Butchers	Kasain, Khadgi
23.	Kulu	Drum-maker	Kulu
24.	Pore	Sweeper	Pode, Deula
25.	Chyame	Sweeper	Chyame, Chyamekhala
26.	HalaHulu	Sweeper	HalaHulu

Source: G.S. Nepali; 1965

The Muluki Ain of 1963 had declared an end to caste discrimination but in subsequent four decades, and in one decade subsequent to re-establishment of democracy, caste-based discrimination practice still exists. The police force, administration, Hindu religious leaders, political leaders and their workers, local representatives and people with Brahmanistic thinking have been actively keeping alive tradition of caste

discrimination. Inter-caste marriage and food consumption restrictions still exist in the dalit society (Kisan, 2004).

During my field survey almost all the respondents replied me that they are bearing the untouchability problem in the society by so called upper Newar other castes. All the respondents revealed that there is not possible of arranged marriage in the Newar Poda caste and other upper Newars like Maharjan, Shakya, Malla, Bajracharya etc. This is also intra-caste untouchability problem such as Poda caste is supposed to be higher than Chyame and Chyame is higher than HalaHulu, Kapali and Khadgi are supposed to be higher than Poda. This kind of case study is presented here below taken from the field study. The following case study also revealed the facts that caste-based discrimination is one of the major problems of untouchability in Newar society.

Case Study 1. Where is My Right to involve in Guthi?

Purna Poda, 46 years old, and inhabitant of Sawalbahal ward no 21 says that 17 years ago, when I came to know each other first and then gradually started to fall in love with Sarawoti and later this relationship converted into marriage. When I got married with her I was boycotted by the society because she was from Chyame caste who is supposed be lower caste than Poda though both of us are from same Newar Dalits. I have been still staying out from the Guthi of our caste here in Sawalbahal.

It is said that democracy has come Republican system has come but I'm not feeling so. I am compelled to remain out from the right of being involvement in Guthi due to this inter-caste marriage with her. Because of my poverty and illiteracy I'm in this condition so I must be involved in our Tadhaugu or Chidhaugu Guthi.

One of the key informant Niraj Deula who is working as a board member of Dalit commission of Nepal says that there is still caste-based discrimination in Newar society. Among the Dalits in Newar, Poda caste was involved in the list of Utpedit Upikshit, and Dalit Barga Utthan Bikas Samiti in 1998. The list of Newar Dalits was incorporated in the Dalit Commission also but some of Newar elites took it as a debate due to fear of decreasing own caste population and the direct consumption of facility provided by the state. Feudalistic status-quo thinking has worked to those

Newar elites which mean consuming Newar Dalits reservation quotas and facilities and oppressing them continuously. The following is the one of the case study of caste-based discrimination in the field observation.

Case Study 2
Caste Equality could not be found out in Newar Community

Nemman Shakya 59, one of the inhabitants of Sawalbahal, 21 no. ward says that I got love marriage in 2028 B.S. When I got inter-caste marriage with Nanichori Podeni who was from Newar untouchables or Dalit caste I was pressured to be boycotted from the family Guthi everything so that I compelled to take refugee here in the Sawalbahal tole. To the point of this time I have no social and total family adjustment. Though there is the possibility of love marriage eloping from the family and society there is not possibility of arranged marriage between Newar untouchables and upper caste Newar until now.

Social exclusion has defined as 'the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society within which they live' (European Foundation 1995, p.4, cited in Rawal 2008).

The territorial unification of Nepal through military conquest did not unify the feelings and aspirations of the non-Hindu communities. They were excluded from the mainstream of national political life and deprived off the socio-economic opportunities. The structure of Nepali society into a hierarchical segmentation along the line of Hindu caste system with the ritual claim of superior and inferior as well as pure and impure excluded indigenous people, women and Dalits from national, social, cultural economic and cultural life. To become a citizen of Nepal one has to speak Khas language, observe Hindu caste system, follow Hindu religion and wear Nepali dress. Even after the restoration of multi-party democracy the declaration of Nepal as Hindu kingdom legally prohibited indigenous people and other religious minorities from practicing their religions. So,

indigenous people, Dalits, Madhesis, women and other minority groups are socially excluded from the mainstream of the state (Gurung, 2009).

There were high hope and expectations that restoration of democracy would mean the end of discrimination, exploitation, and abolition and semi-feudalism and semi-imperialism. But frustration and alienation developed immediately after the restoration of democracy as the attention of newly elected government focused on the interest of their own near and dear ones, party activists, constituencies, families and so on (Thapa, 2010).

The case of Newar Dalits like the Deulas (sweeper caste) in this study remains a contentious and difficult one. As the Newar indigenous leaders are pushing for their language and cultural rights, the movement is gaining momentum and becoming powerful. What will happen if Deulas are not included in the category of Dalits? How will caste discrimination be addressed then? Will they still be able to use Dalit scholarships for their children? If Dalits get special provisions for employment, for example, how will the Newar indigenous movement justify the caste identity of low caste Newars like the Deulas? Can lower caste Newars negotiate their own autonomous space within the indigenous movement? Will sweepers have political representatives who will stand up for them or will they be left in the lurch to fend for themselves? (Kharel, 2010)

The case of the sweeper caste is an example of how a formerly untouchable group is caught between classifications as an indigenous group and as a caste group, although they fit in both groups. This complex intersectionality has not been addressed by the leaders. It remains to be seen whether this community will be successful in getting their names included as Dalits because such categorization has far

reaching implications. NEFIN has tried to justify the diversity by saying they will give priority to economically oppressed groups, although they do not say how. For example, the NEFIN website's categorization of Indigenous nationalities of Nepal includes the following: endangered group highly marginalized group, marginalized group, disadvantaged group and advanced group. Newars are categorized under "advanced group." There is no sub-categorization under the advanced group even though Newars are a heterogeneous group. What is unclear is how they will make a distinction between different classes without alluding to occupational and hence caste statuses of groups like sweepers and those below them. In other words, will the fight for cultural and linguistic rights trump the caste status of communities like Deulas? The latter speak Newari and suffer language discrimination, are deprived of their cultural rights but are at the same time discriminated against because of their caste status. What happens if Dalits are granted more representative rights and if Deulas are disallowed under the category of Dalits and instead categorized under indigenous group? Some of my respondents in the field were concerned that they would have to face long-term consequences if they lost their Dalit status, especially if the new constitution has a more favorable proportional representation/affirmative action policy for Dalits. The case of the sweeper community then speaks directly to the complexities of questions of identity and resistance (ipid).

The study conducted in the KMC-21, Sawalbahal in 2010 also revealed the facts that out of the 40 households almost all of them feel themselves socially excluded people.

Table no. 11 Condition of Social Exclusion

S.N.	Status of Social Exclusion	Number of Respondents	Percentage
01.	Behaved Untouchable	35	87.5
02.	Not Behaved Untouchable	5	12.5
03.	Justiceable	-	-
04.	I don't know	-	-
05.		40	100

Source: Field Study, 2010.

Out of 40 surveyed respondents the condition of the exclusion is found in two levels. Most of them 87.5% respondents feel that they are behaved as untouchables excluding socially. Only 12.5 % (5 respondents out of 40) are not feeling so strong kind of untouchability problem socially.

5.3.2 Social Injustice

The constitution of the kingdom of Nepal 1990 has provisioned the right to equality in article 11 where "all citizens shall be equal before the law. No persons shall be denied the equal protection of the laws". Article 11(3) emphasizes that the state shall not discriminate citizens on grounds of religion, race, sex, caste, tribe or ideological conviction or any of these. However Dalits in Nepal are treated unequally. Muluki Ain 1964 was promulgated during the regime of the king Mahendra with the provision of with eradicating untouchability of those who are regarded as low (Damai, Kami, Pode, Chyame etc.) in the caste hierarchy. Even in the

dawn of the 21st century they have not been allowed to enter the houses of upper castes and have food together. Also there are a few cases where they are not permitted to join local government services. Lower level functionaries are not aware of the right of so called Dalits groups (Thapa, 2010).

During the field survey all the respondents of my study area complained that why the written constitution is not implemented in practice though we are living throughout the inferior untouchable condition. most of our children are compelled to changed their surnames such as Shrestha, Dangol, Shakya, Maharjan, Ranjitkar, etc to continue their study further because they feel humiliation if they keep the surname like Deula, Poda, Chyame etc. Not only in politics but also social, economic, education and all the sectors national life we are discriminated as based on untouchable caste. So, in the upcoming constitution there must the guarantee of socially Justiceable behavior for the Poda and other Newar untouchables (from the FGD conducted in the Sawalbahal, 2010).

5.4 Economic Factor

Under this topic here is observed the poverty, economic disparities, occupation and unemployment condition of Poda caste.

5.4.1 Poverty

Poverty denotes a condition below that of easy, comfortable living denotes a condition of painful lack of what is useful or desirable; indigence is lack of ordinary means of substances. Pauperism is such destitution as throws one upon public charity for supports (Webster Dictionary 1996). Poor people live without fundamental freedom of action and choice that the better off take for granted. They often lack

adequate food and shelter, education and health, deprivation that keep them from leading the kind of life that everyone values. They also face extreme vulnerability to ill health, economic dislocation, and natural disasters. And they are often exposed to ill treatment by institutions of the state and society and are powerless to influence key decisions affecting their lives. This all are dimensions of poverty (World Bank 2000/2001).

The Dalits are the victims of the feudal political structure where they prove 'voiceless' and 'choiceness'. Unequal distribution of resources and exploitative relations of production have compelled most of the Dalits to live as paupers, landless and homeless. The problem of untouchability does not allow them to improve their economic conditions as many of them are not allowed to sell milk or engage themselves in tea stalls, hotels, restaurants, etc. It is also due to the inequality in caste system that the Dalits are left to engage in polluting occupations. This is so because the Kulu or Sarki is entrusted with the function of tanning of hides, removal of dead animals, scavenging and shoe-making. Similarly, the Dhobi is made to wash the clothes and the Poda/Chyame caste of people sweeps the streets and removes the filths (Jha, 2004, Center for Economic and Technical Studies, Lalitpur)

Today, in Nepal Dalits constitute about 20% of total population according to many non-governmental survey sources. About 80% of Dalit population is living below poverty line. Most of them are landless and are staying in other's land thus they are under constant fear of eviction.

The occupation of Poda caste is cleaning the streets, junctions, tole, houses and offices. According to the works the position of Poda castes is similar with peon so their salaries are also like that. Most of their time spends in cleaning of KMC and left time spends cleaning houses,

junctions and toilets. Now non-Dalits are also getting entry into the cleaning works of metropolitan city so they are depriving from this job also. So, the youngsters of Podes are complaining to be the crisis of their profession. In some places KMC has worked out with the agents and Deulas are compelled to work in monthly Rs. 1500 salaries. In fact they have been in injustice now. Because of the illiteracy and poverty they are cheated in many places from paying their house tax to working place (Ramkrishna Deula, a key informant of this study).

When I passed down the alleys, for my interviews, it was common to see groups of boys dressed in hip hop style, sitting or chatting on the streets. Later, parents complained to me that most of their sons had dropped out of school, were unemployed and loitering around in the streets. The consumer symbols denote a consumer class to a certain extent. But in Nepal, cheap products from China have enabled even the poor to enter the secular marketplace of consumerism, as noted by Kapadia (1995) in the case of low castes of South India. Within this context, then, low castes can be said to share a common consumer culture with upper castes.

In Sawalbahal all the respondents have their own houses. Most of them have concrete houses and some of them have normal type of houses with minimum modern facilities like TV, Telephone, Fan, etc. In addition to few people all the respondents of this area are engaged in cleaning job of KMC. The income condition of them can be seen from the following table.

Table no.12 Income Condition of Respondents

S.N.	Income Condition	Number of Respondents	Percentage
01.	Difficult to Live	8	20
02.	Manageable	15	37.5
03.	Sufficient	17	42.5
04.	Over Income	-	-
05.	Total	40	100

Source: Field Study, 2010.

From the above table we can see the condition of poverty. 20% of total respondents are feeling difficulties to live with their daily income. 15 respondents (37.5) are just running their daily expenditure without much difficulty though their income is not sufficient to manage it. Like that 17(42.5%) out of 40 respondents have sufficient income to manage their household and other expenditure in daily life.

5.4.1 Occupation

It was King Jayasthiti Malla who with the help of five Brahmins from the Indian plains organized the society of the valley into four Varnas and 64 castes on the basis of hereditary occupations and genealogies. On the bottom of the hierarchy placed the Poda and Chyame as an untouchable caste (G.S. Nepali, 1965).

The contemporary Malla kings not only created the caste system but also implemented it in the society making law to maintain their reign according to high and low custom on the base of labour occupation. They issued a caution that they must follow the hereditary profession if changed the profession would be the shareholder of punishment. Social adjustment must be in the same caste and got compelled to follow indicated custom (Nepali, 2009).

In the process of field study I found that more than 60 respondents are doing the traditional or hereditary profession (refer to table no.3). Some of them have started to do job but the many young people from them are deprived to do job due to lack of education. Though very few have started their own business, trade most of them have not enough money to run business. Some of the young Podes are facing the unemployment because other castes people are doing the same job and the KMC started run it with Thekedari system. People see these people who are doing this cleaning job as a hated eyes one side and other side when they are deprived to do job then they compelled to lose their economic status and become the subject of again more hateful people. So, this condition has made the untouchability problem more sensitive the surveyed area.

If one looked at the sweeper community from the outside, one might assume that they are relatively well off in material terms, but, as this research shows, their caste identity still profoundly influences their lives. The material aspect has not translated into valuable human capital like access to and continuity of education or access to employment. Moreover, the material development should probably be attributed to their own painstaking savings over generations and a local system of rotating savings and credit

In terms of employment, both men and women worked as sweepers and maintenance workers. Some were employed by the municipality of Kathmandu; some were employed in private firms; and others worked as cab drivers. Both women and men went outside their homes for paid employment which is cleaning the houses, tole, junctions and the offices which is supposed as dalits occupation as the people think that it is inferior and hateful.

Case Study 3

The Event of Losing my Job due to Caste is ever Unforgettable

Prakash Deula, 51 years old, an inhabitant of Sawalbahal, KMC ward no. 21, recalled his past. Before the rise of Republican System in Nepal, there was severe caste-based discrimination. All of them were treated as untouchable people. Prakash says: "In 2028, I was appointed by Rastriya Banijya Bank in the post of peon. When they asked me about my caste then I compelled to open it. Then after they told me that 'Here is no entry to the people of untouchable caste' so that I was fired from that job is ever unforgettable for me. Fortunately I found a job in a Hotel but I did it keeping secret about my caste."

"Though there is little change in the caste-based discrimination in this new age, still we are suffering from the inhuman behaviors of so called upper caste people. Most of us are not given chance to the post of high level whether in government or in the private sector due this caste-based thinking way. They think that we are the only people of cleaning rubbish. Complains Prakash.

sweepers over many generations. It was land given by the government more than a hundred years ago. The untouchable sweepers were required to live away from one of the major temples nearby. They were sent across the river due to their untouchable status. Some of older respondents told me that if I had visited their locality decades earlier, I would have seen huts, animal sheds, muddy alleys and very dismal living conditions. They were happy to observe this progress in their lifetime. If they had to buy land on their own, it would be impossible because of high land prices in the capital. Today there were no vestiges of the past and it looked like a modern neighborhood. Because of not having land we are compelled to

go cleaning the stinking garbage which profession has pushed up us as a Dalit and untouchables for the past time (from the FGD).

Nepal is known as agricultural country. Land has been always a vital for the farmers for their living and is considered as an important property in Nepal. The field surveyed conducted by the researcher in 2010 in Sawalbahal revealed that all the selected households have not merely a piece of land apart from their owned house-placed land. To run up their daily life they have involved in the job of cleaning which is a burning cause of caste untouchability in the society.

5.5 Religious Factor

Scholars believe that the Newars were predominantly Buddhist in the early period. Later Brahman and Rajputs immigrants from India brought Hinduism with them. From the 13th century onwards political power came into the hands of the Malla kings who were high caste Hindus. This regulated the gradual degeneration of Buddhism. In time they also incorporated the rigid caste formula. However the two religious groups have never antagonized each other to any obvious extent. Only mutual integration has taken place.

As far as the religious practices and worship of the Hindu and Buddhist deities are concerned, neither religious group can be strictly placed in one category. Both parties visit and worship the same deities in Hindu and Buddhist temples. In fact, many of the temples and shrines of the Kathmandu valley have both Hindu and Buddhist deities, often adjacent to each other. Hindus and Buddhist visit both sites to pay their respect.

Almost all of the large religious festivals are observed and participated in both groups in equal enthusiasm. Only domestic ceremonies and rites can be said to be peculiar to one or the other religious group. In Kathmandu

there are many cases of individual Newar families employing a Brahman for some of its domestic rituals and Gubhaju (Buddhist priest for others within the same household (Shrestha, 2001).

Hinduism and its Manusmriti, psychological aspect such as humiliation, festivals and rituals were mainly focused during the field survey.

5.5.1 Hinduism and its Manusmriti

Hindu theology about the origin of Varna is written in the Purush Sukta of the Rig Ved. Here it is said that, "Brahman came from the head, Kshatriya from the arms, Vaishya from the thigh, and the Sudra from the feet of Bishworup Birat Purush ("The supreme man who created the universe or the creator"). The Artharba Ved and the Yajur Ved have the same reference to caste origination (Rig Veda (10/90-11). Later those who established the norms of conduct of within Hindu society explained the origins of caste on the basis of these references.

There is widespread agreement that the Aryans who created Hinduism and Varna system were not indigenous but were rather immigrants to India. There is also agreement that they were from the Indo European, American and Malaysian peoples, it is really accepted that Aryans are part of the Caucasian race (Encyclopedia of social science).

The caste untouchability system was apparently not a part of ancient Aryan society (Shastri, 1997). Hindu theological writings also support the idea that there was no caste system in ancient Aryan society. In fact it is written in the Rig Ved that, "Among people no-one is big and small, all are equal brothers".

This classification system seems to have started in the southern region of India during the Treta yug; in about 1,000 B.C. when iron began to be

used by inhabitants of India. By clearing the jungle and bush and by digging canals, they made the entire Gangetic plain agriculturally usable. It was through this gradual process that India's agricultural age came about. This transition to agricultural increased productivity such that the existing labor force could not keep up with it. Wealth and property had also increased and it is surmised that a system of slavery emerged (Engels, 1959).

In ancient Indian Aryan society there was no Varna. The process of transformation from work based class divisions to hereditary varnas took hundreds of years. Society was first divided into priestly and warrior varnas. Later, during the agricultural period a third Vaishya Varna emerged. The Sudra Varna emerged much later. From the beginning of the classification of Sudra it is clear that they belong to the working class, who in that feudal culture were regarded as inferior. Their social condition was indeed pitiable, but were they considered 'untouchable'?

Information in sacred texts describing the Mahabharat period, indicate that by 500 B.C. Aryan society was already divided into four varnas but the sudras were not yet untouchable. Sudras in Aryan society had some rights and abilities in terms of Varna mobility (Singh, 1993).

Historians, scholars and theoreticians debate whether or not a fifth Varna exists (Dutt, 1968; Pande, 1989; Singh, 1993). Manusmriti denied its existence but in many pieces of Pali literature, in religious scriptures and in Vedic treatises, there is mention of a fifth Varna. Manusmriti and other sages who were the spheres of Aryan society developed four groupings, but they also introduced what might be called an untouchability dividing line with peoples like the Chandala.

Manu laid down social rules saying if people failed to do the work according to their classification, then they "would not remain in their caste". The sudras has also particular work, in that they were required to pay respect and give service to the other three castes. However, if sudras failed to do their required work, then the state could confiscate all their properties and banishes them from the land (Manusmriti, 10/96). Those who did not confirm to these rules were regarded as rebels and they were ostracized from the society. Since these rebels did not confirm to predefined work categories. Their work was considered anomalous activity. These people then formed their own different, ostracized society or Varna. This group of people is sometimes referred to as the fifth Varna, and they were treated as social outcastes. This is a sociological classification, not a religious one.

Over time, change in the fundamental structure of the four Varna model became more and more impossible (Thapa, 1969). However, people such as the Chandals were excluded the from this Varna system (Agibalova & Donskoi, 1965). Thus a need developed to establish a fifth grouping (Hanumanta, 1979). Kautilya attempted to establish an untouchable, fifth Varna (Kautilya, Arthasastra), by placing the chandals below the sudras and not allowing them to perform religious duties (Singh, 1993). Some scholars thus maintain that a fifth Varna was created to accommodate those groups that were not classifiable within the Varna system and this group was considered untouchable.

Although contemporary interpretations of caste have some peoples of Sudra Varna included among untouchables, the original untouchables were this fifth Varna comprised of Chandal, Pukkas, and other peoples. Ancient Pali scriptures describe five untouchable peoples as Chandal, Nishad, Ben, Rathkar, and Pukkas, identified such as by terms like

inferior family, and low caste (Majhim Nikaya). Manu considered a child born of a Sudra man and a Brahman woman to also be Chandal. Manu originally relegated the Chandal and Pukkas to social pariahs. Panini categorized the Chandal and Mritap as Sudra, those whose mere touch on the begging bowls of the Brahmans would result in impurity (Jha, 1992).

These groups of people were regarded as lower than Sudra and outside society's parameters, as early in the fifth century B.C. in the Dharma Sutra kal (Tripathi, 1965). Manu said that the Chandal and Swapach must be removed from the villages. He maintained that they must not own cooking pot and could only keep dogs and donkeys as property. They were required to wear shrouds, eat from broken pottery and wear iron ornaments (Manusmriti, 10/51-52). Over the course of Manu's time, the Chandal had progressed from the stage of being ostracized from society to the stage of being required to live the village periphery. The Chandals are considered to be the first untouchables because of these increasing rigid and severe practices of social inclusion.

The chandals were relegate to social positions outside the four Hindu varnas and were considered ashprishyata. Ashprishyata is a key concept in the context of early Aryan social exclusion and the emergence of untouchability practices. The work that the Chandals did was dirty work. They cleaned the streets, lanes, and toilets and carried out funeral rites. Kautilya said that it was the Chandal's duty to tie up and dispose of the corpses of people who committed suicide (Kautilya Arthasastra 7/4/25). He insisted that the Chandals live in graveyards. Manu said that they could only wear clothes made of shrouds; ornaments made of iron and could only eat from broken clay pots (Manusmriti, 10/51-52).

The Bayu Puran refers to the Ahirs-Abhirs (Gopal-Mahishpal) as among the people considered Mleccha or foreigners. These Mleccha are also referred to in the Baraha Puran, as having ruled before the SuryaBanshi, and are described in the Manusmriti as lower caste. These references support the assumption that non-Aryan, Mongol people referred to as Meccha ruled previous to the Aryans. These peoples are often referred to as Kirat people (B.C. Sharma, 1978).

5.6 Psychological aspect

The caste system created by the Hinduism and its Manusmriti has affected the Pode peoples' psychological aspects such as feeling of humiliation, exclusion of food and publicly organized feast and programs and the social rites and rituals. In the festival of Seto Machchhindranath Jatra Pode Deulas are not involved to do their ritual activities.

Most of the children who are going to school have changed their own surnames because of humiliation and the severe psychological tortures named such as Shrestha, Dangol, Maharjan, Shakya, Ranjitkar, Tamrakar etc. Due to this untouchability problem they have very low level of morality in the social and other activities. This has resulted them as the people of only cleaning the roads and houses of big owners. Due to this reason their mentality is not rising better than this level (from the FSD conducted in Sawalbahal, 2010).

5.7 Rituals and Festivals

All the Rituals and festivals of Pode castes are impressed by the Hindu and some of them are by Buddha religion and their philosophies. The main festivals of Pode people in Kathmandu valley are Dashain, Tihar, Ghodejatra, Shree-panchami, Maghe-sankranti, Nag-panchami,

krishnastami, Seto Machhindranath ko jatra, Gaijatra, Indraajatra and other festivals as other Hindu castes celebrate. They also celebrate Panchare (one day before Gaijatra), Sithinakha, Diwali, Yomari (Purnima), Mahalaxmi, Chunaldevi etc. which are quite similar to the Hindu festivals. These festivals are celebrated according to the calendar of Hindu festivals. At the worshipping time of Mahalaxmi they go to Kagatigaon and at the worshipping time of Chunaldevi they go to Handigaon.

They worship Nashadewa, Digdewa, Aaju, in the local level as their area deity. They offer sacred grains, fruits, flowers to their gods. Podes are also stay as guard to various temples so Poda of this area stay as guard in Kankeswori, Jaisidewal etc which near to Sawalbahal. There was also a small temple that served as the community sacred space and a small community room where people could gather to sing devotional songs prepare for festivals and discuss community events.

Conclusion, Findings and Recommendations

6.1 Findings

The study conducted in Sawalbahal tole of KMC ward no. 21 revealed the facts that there were many significant factors which have contributed to the untouchability problem in Newar society. Among them are mainly political, economic, socio-cultural, and psychological factors.

- Out of total 40 surveyed respondents 33 (82.5%) respondents expressed that the exclusive and discriminatory behavior of state-holders was main cause of untouchability problem in the Newar society. Only 3 (7.5%) respondents said that the government behavior was not so bad and 10% respondents unable to express the behavior of government.
- Most of the respondents exposed their view that all the legal and constitutional provision made by the state are not feasible for them though some of legal provisions are good only in written documents. They commented on the existing constitution as incomplete and exclusive for Poda caste from different angles either from political inclusion or social and administrative angle.
- More than 80% of total respondents are involved in the political program. Among them 18 (45%) out of 40 respondents are involved in political activities actively and 14 respondents out of 40 are occasionally involved in the political programs. But their participation to the policy-making place and others executive body

of government is hardly in zero condition due to the feudalistic thinking method of political parties and the related organizations towards Newar untouchables.

- Out of 40 respondents 87.5% respondents felt that they were treated as untouchables excluding socially. Only 12.5 % (5 respondents out of 40) are not feeling so strong kind of untouchability problem socially.
- A detailed study on occupation revealed the fact that respondents 60% respondents were involved in traditional occupation. Only 40% respondents were engaged in business and other services. The traditional occupation is looked as the inferior one for a long term of history and treated them as Dalits in the society.
- Poverty also became a main factor to the Pode caste. 20% of total respondents found feeling difficulty to live with their daily income. 37.5% were found just managing their daily expenditure. 42.5% respondents had sufficient income to manage their daily expenditure but their source of income was traditional profession which has compelled them to be untouchables.
- Hindu religion and Manusmriti also found to create caste system and untouchability problem in Pode caste as all the Nepalese society All of my key informants agreed that the Hindu religion and its Manusmriti was quite responsible to sink the roots of caste-based discrimination in the Newar society.
- The interview with key informants revealed that though their rituals and festivals are similar with the other Newar castes they are feeling the caste-based discrimination in the same society as Dalits and untouchables. This kind of discriminatory situation has humiliated Pode caste people psychologically in society.

6.2 Conclusion

The study conducted in the Sawalbahal of Kathmandu Metropolitan city ward no 21 deals with the reality of untouchability problem which has affected directly to the Poda caste people. Among the selected 40 respondents and 7 key informants from major political parties and civil society revealed that strongly imposed caste-based discrimination by the old share-holders of state is in practice in Newar society. Out of 40 surveyed respondents 87.5% respondents expressed that they were behaved as untouchables. Only 12.5 % (5 respondents out of 40) were not feeling so strong kind of untouchability problem but they were also agree that they have not equal social and political status as other Newars in the society. There is not possibility of inter-caste marriage, commensality and entrance to the upper caste house. They are called Pani Nachalne Jat (The caste from them water is not accepted) in their society. This kind of situation is also in existence within Newar untouchables themselves as it is found the case study of exclusion from Guthi due to inter-caste marriage in the study area. Although they have almost same type of rituals and rites they are thought as inferior, lower and untouchables as the other Dalits castes in the society. Some of the respondents complained that when they give the god's offerings to those so called upper castes' people that is accepted but the same people behave us as untouchable in the house of them so this it is really the matter of upsetable.

All the respondents are living in only one traditional occupation of sweeping the streets, buildings, houses, courtyards, raising the compiled garbage from different houses and the offices etc. Very few people of them are engaged in the other services and business. Indicating this

situation some of the key informants told me that they have not proper qualification for the good job and having qualified candidates have also no access to the high posts of government job because of state holders' feudalistic concept of thinking.

Out of total 40 surveyed respondents 33 (82.5%) respondents expressed that the behavior of the state generators is exclusive. Only 3 (7.5%) respondents said that the government behavior is not so bad and 10% respondents unable to express the behavior of government. They submitted the reasons behind the exclusive behaviour of government are: lack of proper constitutional provisions and legal system to solve the untouchability problem, negligence towards effective enforcement of existing provision of constitutions and law and not given opportunity in its organs to work and make policy.

The range of involvement in political activities has been growing up unexpectedly than the condition of before. More than 80% of total respondents are involved in the political program. Among them 18 (45%) out of 40 respondents are actively involved in political activities and 14 respondents out of 40 are occasionally involved in the political programs, especially most of the Newar Dalits (untouchables) are involved in the sister organization of political parties but participation in the main party organization is very few. One of the key informants Ram Pujari from NC said that the outlook of the political parties is very narrow to include us in the main organization of the party. Some of other informants accept that the level of awareness to fight for their rights has increased with the ten years people's war and the historical nineteen days 2nd People's Uprising. The participation to the policy-making place and the others executive body of government is remaining in status-quo due to the feudalistic thinking way of political parties and the related organizations towards

Newar untouchables. Therefore, the perspective of some political parties is based on the Brahmanism, Hinduism and its Manusmriti though some of them have positive and progressive mindset. Because of this dominant ideological thought Newar Dalits and other Dalits of Nepal are suffering from inhuman caste-based discrimination in the age 21st century. So, it seems inevitable to be unified for their common issue of caste-based discrimination and untouchability problem in every movement and program to make it effective.

The Nepal is going through the transitional phase of constitution formation after the historic nineteen days people uprising and ten years people's war. In this condition different ethnic and caste groups are coming forward to demand and participate in the whole body on nation. So, Newar Poda (Deula) caste also needs to be conscious to gain their rights and make their different opinions into one conclusion as they have long term caste-based discrimination and inhuman behaviour in the society.

Untouchability problem of Poda (Deula) is caste-based inhuman kind of discrimination existing in the Newar community. To eradicate this complex problem from the Newar Society and build up a equitable and justice able society, the state needs to take steps ahead like special rights or reservation as a compensation of exploitation and domination for a long course of history because this problem is similar to the Aryan Dalit problem. In my field study I've found that Poda (Deula) caste is still suffering caste-based discrimination and dealing with different kind of untouchability problem like social and cultural adjustment such as; they are prohibited from participating in the Seto Machchhindranath Jatra and other different kind of cultural events of Newar community. Now they are struggling for their own identity because they are facing the crisis of

identity whether they are Dalit or indigenous people. To study the nature of their problem they tend to be Dalits so that the state has to take necessary steps to eliminate this evil-culture from the society. The inferior caste-based untouchability problem could not be solved only class-related and ethnic movement, along with this it is inevitable to join this movement to mainstream of Dalit movement.

In fact Dalit is a problem not caste so to achieve the real freedom of Newar Untouchables there must be the provision of special rights in the upcoming constitution as compensation to reach in the equal competition. In my field study the problem of untouchability is still prevalent in the Newar society though getting less than the previous days. Most of the respondents ready to accept this problem and found little confusion whether this problem is named Dalits or something else. The matter is not related only word Dalit rather it is related to the rights of them and get them independent from all kind of atrocities and exploitations. In the upcoming constitution it wouldn't be appropriate to include whole Newars under a same umbrella. If we did so, again the Newar untouchables will be dominated and boycotted by so called upper-class powerful and sophisticated Newars.

6.3 Recommendations

6.3.1 Recommendation to the State

- To use the opportunity of one year extended tenure of CA in writing the constitution of new Nepal incorporating the agenda of Newar untouchables who are suffering from the caste-based discrimination for a long period of Nepalese history. Whether they should be included in the category of Dalits or similar kind of caste

group in the Newar community which can be feasible to address their special problem in the upcoming constitution.

- To ensure the proportional representation of Newar Poda with positive discrimination (especial provision of 20%) in all state mechanisms.
- To internalize the caste-based discrimination is one of the structural causes of conflict in Nepal and take the necessary steps for the effective and meaningful implementation of the declaration of the "Untouchability Free State".
- To ensure the rights of Newar untouchables, set up an autonomous Dalit Commission as a constitutional body in the new constitution.
- To guarantee the enforcement of constitutional provision of untouchability as a serious crime against the humanity.

6.3.2 Recommendation to the Newar Untouchables

- To work together with other organizations which have been set up to fight against the caste based issues.
- The country is going ahead through the most significant period of constitution making so Poda caste and other Newar untouchables must be able to use it as a golden opportunity to address their own problem in this special time.
- They should be unified to eradicate discriminatory caste system set by the old society and culture to make equitable and equal society avoiding own internal disputes and differentiation.
- They should sensitize others about their issues for outstanding value and weight.

- They must be aware to cope with other political sister organizations and civil society organizations for common issues rather than having affiliations or inclinations.
- To widen their role in the political parties along with their issues.

6.3.3 Recommendation to the Political Parties

- Political Parties should take the inclusive policy to participate the Newar untouchables and Poda castes in their organizations manifesto as well as the executive body of the organization.
- As a means of political power they should give special priority to this politically and socially oppressed castes to reach the mainstream of completion as the other dalit castes.
- They can also arrange the program of social adjustment by gathering upper castes and them in the same place to eradicate the feeling of untouchability in the society.
- To encourage and accept the existence of the leadership of the Dalit and Newar Untouchables.
- To internalize and accommodate the position of Newar Dalits in their political parties.

List of Reference

- Acharya, Baburam (1952) “*Nepal Newar ra Newari Bhasa*” Nepal Sanskritik Parisad Patrika, Kathmandu.
- Acharya, L. (1983) “*Introduction to the Pathik’s life and works*” Dharan: Prem Rai.
- Bajracharya, D.B. (1973) “*Lichchhavi Kalin Abhilekh*” Kathmandu: TU Center for Nepal and Asian Studies.
- Baral B. (1993). “*Hindu Samajik Sangathanke Prarup*” (second ed.) Kathmandu Sajha Prakashan.
- Bista, Dor Bahadur (2007) “*Sabai Jat Ko Phulbari*” Lalitpur: Himal Books.
- Bista, D.B. (1992). “*Fatalism and Development: Nepal’s Struggle for Modernization*” Culcutta: Orient Longman Limited.
- Bishwokarma, Hira Bahadur (2005) “*Dalits of Nepal*” edited by Prabodh M Devkota, FEDO, Lalitpur.
- Budhathoki, C.B. (1982) “*Reforms of Jayasthiti Malla*” Lalitpur: Sajha Prakashan.
- Chottopadhaya, K.P. 1980. “*An essay on the History of Newar culture*” Kathmandu: Educational Enterprises repr.from Journal of the Asiatic society of Bengal 19/10 (1923)
- Dahal, Dilli Ram, Yogendra Gurung, Bidhan Acharya, Kamala Hemchuri and Dharma Swarnalkar (2002) “*National Dalit Strategy Report Part 1 Situational Analysis of Dalits in Nepal*” Kathmandu: National Planning Commission.

- Deula, Nirmal (2009) *"The Issue of Reservation and Inclusion of Poda (Deula) Caste in Newa Federal State"* Nepal Samachhar Patra, 2066 Magh, 21, Kathmandu
- Deula, Ramakrishna (2006) *"The Concern of Newar Dalit in State Restructuring"* the paper was presented from the National Forum Against Racial Discrimination (NCARD) in the national workshop Dhulikhel, Kavre.
- DNF, 2006 Annual Report.
- Engels, F. (1959) *"the Origin of the Family, Private Property and State In the light of Researches of Lewis H Morgan"* Moscow: Foreign Publishing House.
- Gellner, David N. and Quigley, Declan 2003 *"Contested Hierarchies: A collaborative Ethnography of caste among the Newar of Kathmandu Valley"* New Delhi: Oxford university press.
- Gellner, David N. 2003 *"Contested Hierarchies"* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Gellner, David N. 2008. *"Newars as Janajatis"* Retrieved March 15, 2009. (<http://www.isca.ox.ac.uk/staff/academic/gellner/documents/NewarsasJanajatis.pdf>).
- Goyal, S.R. (1973). *"Prachin Nepalko Rajnitik aur Sanskritic Itihas"* Varanasi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan.
- Gurung, Om (2009). *"Social Exclusion: Policies and Practices in Nepal"* Occasionally Papers in Sociology & Anthropology. Vol. 11. Kathmandu: Central Dpt. Of Sociology & Anthropology.

- Hofer, Andras 2004 “*The caste Hierarchy and The state in Nepal: A study of Muluki Ain of 1854*” Munich: Universitatsverlag Wagner Innsbruck.
- Haimendorf, Furer, ed, 1980 “*Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon*” Culcutta, Asia Publishing House.
- INSEC, (1993) “*Human Rights Year Book 1993*” (first ed.) Kathmandu: INSEC.
- Ishii, Hiroshi 2003 “*Caste and kinships in a Newar village*” Delhi: oxford university press.
- Jha, Hari Bansh. 2004. “*Dalits and their National Participation in National and Local Governance*” Presented at the National Seminar On Raising Dalit Participation in Governance. Centre for Economic and Technical Studies May 3-4, Kathmandu Nepal.
- Koirala, Bidyanath, (1996). *Schooling of Dalits in Nepal: A Case Study of Bungkot Community*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta.
- Koirala, B.N. (1996) “*Schooling and Dalits of Nepal: A case study of the Bunkot Dalit Community*” University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.
- Kharel, Sambriddhi (2010) the doctorate dissertation on “*The Dialectics of Identity and Resistance among Dalits in Nepal*” submitted to Pittsburgh University.
- Khatri, P.K. (1999) “*Nepali Samaj ra Sanskriti (Prachin ra Maddhyakal)*” Kathmandu: Sajha Prakashan

- Kisan, (2005) *“The Nepali Dalit social Movement”* Lalitpur: Legal Rights Protection Society Nepal.
- Lamsal, Hem (2009) *“Nepalma Sarwangeen samajik samavesikaran”* edited by Shyam Shrestha, Academic Forum for Social Research and Material Development: Kathmandu.
- Levy, R.I. with Rajopadhy, K.R. 1990 *“Mosocosm Hinduism and the Organization of a traditional Newar city in Nepal”* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California press.
- Lewis Todd T (2003) *“Buddhist Merchants in Kathmandu the Asan Twah Market and Uray social organization”* edited in the *Contested Hierarchies* by David Gellner and Declan Quigley New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Marx, Karl (1999) *Working Class* quoted in Francis Wheen: Perish
- Maharjan, Sanu Maiya, (2002) the dissertation paper on “Changing Marriage Practices of Maharjan Community in Lalitpur” submitted to the Sociology & Anthropology Dpt. of TU.
- Nepali, Buddhi (2009). *“Newa Samudayabhittrako Jatpratha ra Newa Dalit”* Journal of Dalit Sandesh: Kathmandu: Dalit Mukti Morcha.
- Nepali, G.S. 1965. *“The Newars, an Ethno-sociological study of Himalayan Community”* Bombay: United Asia Publications.
- Neraula, K (1992). *“Nepal Parichaya”* Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- NNDSWO, 2006 Annual Report.

- Oldfield, H. Embress (1974). “*Sketch from Nepal*” Vol. no. 1 Cosmo Publication: Delhi.
- Olivelle, Patrick (2004). “*The Law Code of Manu /a new translation based on the critical edition by Patrick Olivelle*” Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pandey, Bishnu Bahadur (1997). A Dissertation Paper on “*Chetrapatika Podeharako Yek Adhyan*” submitted to the Dpt. Of Sociology and Anthropology, TU.
- Paudel, Shankarnath, (1997). A dissertation Pater on “*Socio-Economic Condition of Poda Caste: A Sociological Study*” submitted to the Dpt. of Sociology & Anthropology, TU.
- Pode, Radheshyam (2009) “*Newa Samudayabhitarka Poda Deula Jatiko Awastha*” from a Journal Dalit Sandesh, Kathmandu: Dalit Liberation Front.
- Prapannacharya, S. (1994). “*Ancient Indian History*” Varanasi: Kiratewhor Prakashan.
- Quigley, Declan. 1993 “*The Interpretation of Caste*” Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rawal, Nabin (2008). “*Social Inclusion and and Exclusion*” Man Bahadur Khatri (editor) Dhawalgiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology, Dpt. of Sociology & Anthropology MMC Baglung.
- Regmi, D.R. 1965. Medieval Nepal; (4 vols; ii-iv; 1966; Culcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay).

- Rose L. E. & Joshi B. L. (1966) *Democratic Innovation in Nepal*
Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rosser, Colon, 1980 “Social Mobility in Newar Caste-System” in ed.
Christophe von Furer Haimendorf, *Caste and Kin in Nepal, India
and Ceylon*, Calcutta: Asia Publishing House.
- Sagar, D.B. (1999). *Nepalko Kanuni Ihihas ra Jatiya Byawastha*.
Kathmandu: Janauthan Pratisthan.
- Sangroula, Y.(1996) *Nepalko Sambidhan ra Utpidit Jatiko Adhikar*
(working Paper on the Workshop Seminar). Kathmandu: Mukti
Samaj ra Grinso.
- Shakya, Buddhalaxmi, 2009 *Journal of Dalit Sandesh*: Kathmandu: Dalit
Liberation Front, Nepal.
- Shah, Ghanshyam. 2004.(eds). *Caste and Democratic Politics in India*.
London: Anthem Press.
- Shah, R.K. (1978). *Nepalese Politics in Retrospect and Prospect* New
York: Oxford University Press.
- Shastri, R. (1997). *The Rise and the Fall of Hindu Castes*. Allahabad:
Kitab Mahal.
- Shrestha, Alina, 2001. *Custumes of Newars*. From thesis submitted to
T.U.Kirtipur.
- Shrestha, Padam 2007 *the Newar*. Kathmandu: Syasaya Society.

- Shrestha, Prakashman (2003). A dissertation paper on “The Symbolism in Newari Culture” submitted to the Dpt. Of Sociology & Anthropology Patan Campus, TU.
- Sharma, Balchandra (1976). *Nepalko Aitihāsik Ruprekha*. Varanasi: Father Madhav Prasad Sharma.
- Thapa, Bal Bahadur (2010). A Dissertation Paper of Master Degree on “Motivating Factors for the Involvement of Dalit in Maoist Arm Conflict” submitted to the Dpt. Of Sociology & Anthropology, TU.
- Thapamagar, M.S. (1994). *Nepalma Dalitharuko Barema Kanuni Prabhdhan ra Yasko Karyanyoyan Pksha*. Samiksha Saptahik.
- Thulung, N.M. (1985). *Kiratko Nalibeli: Angur Kandanwa*.
- Toffin, Gerard 2008 *Newar Society City Village and Periphery*. Lalitpur: Himal Books.
- Udasi, J. (1999) *Nepalma Bargiya ra Jatiya Prashna ko Antarbirodh*. Kathmandu: Janajati Morcha.
- Vaidya T. & Manandhar T. (1985). *Crime and Punishment in Nepal: An Historical Perspective*. Kathmandu: Bini Vaidya and Purna Devi Manandhar.
- Vishwakarma, Hira. 2001. “Dalitko Paribhasa Dalit Utthan Vidheyakko Sambandhama.” *Kantipur Daily*, April, 2001. Kathmandu: Kantipur Publication.
- Yakha Rai, D. (1996). *Brahmanbad Biruddha Janajati & Utpidit Barga*, Lalitpur: Dhanarani Yakha Rai.

Yami, Hisila (2007) People's War and Women Liberation in Nepal,
Kathmandu: Jahadhwni Publication

Website/Internet

www.wikipedia .com Newar Untouchables: 2010.

<http://wikipedia /Dalit:2010>

(<http://www.nefin.org.np/component/content/article/115information/347-indigenous-nationalities-of-nepal>).

ANNEXES

ANNEX: I

*Data Collection of Newar Untouchables from KMC Ward no. 21
Sawalbahal 2010*

S. no.	Lists of Respondents with Ages	Political condition	Untouchability Behaviour	Cultural condition	Economic condition	Educational Condition	Religious Condition
1.	Dil Babu Deula(50)	active	yes	through Guthi	manageable	literate	Hindu
2.	Maiya Pode(45)	active	yes	„	difficult to live	Adult edu.	„
3.	Rubi Deula (37)	active	no	„	manageable	under SLC	„
4.	Jagdish Nepali (57)	active	no	„	sufficient	„	„
5.	Prabin Deula (30)	active	yes	„	„	I.A.	„
6.	Bhim Deula (30)	conscious	yes	„	„	B.A.	„
7.	Sajesh Deula (29)	conscious	yes	„	manageable	I.A.	„
8.	Junadevi Deula (55)	active	yes	„	manageable	under SLC	„
9.	Purna Pode (46)	I don't know	yes	„	difficult to live	illiterate	„
10.	Prakash Deula (51)	active	yes	„	Sufficient	under SLC	„
11.	Basanti Nepali (42)	I don't know	yes	„	manageable	literate	„
12.	Hiradevi Deula (37)	active	yes	„	difficult to live	illiterate	„
13.	Mina Deula (35)	I don't know	yes	„	sufficient	„	„
14.	Dhanalaxmi Deula (40)	I don't know	yes	„	„	„	„
15.	Rajanmaya	I don't know	yes	„	difficult to live	Adult edu.	„

.	Deula (35)	know			live		
16	Manju Deula	I don't know	yes	„	manageable	under SLC	„
17	Kajilal Deula (37)	active	no	„	manageable	„	„
18	Naicha Deula (36)	I don't know	yes	„	difficult to live	illiterate	„
19	Deepak Deula (37)	conscious	no	„	sufficient	under SLC	„
20	Mandira Deula(30)	I don't know	yes	„	manageable	illiterate	„
21	Dipendra Deual (26)	conscious	yes	„	sufficient	under SLC	„
22	Indra Pode (35)	conscious	yes	„	difficult to live	under SLC	„
23	Sujata Shrestha (23)	conscious	no	„	sufficient	BBS	„
24	Shanti Deula (40)	I don't know	yes	„	manageable	illiterate	„
25	Kalibabu Deula (50)	I don't know	yes	„	„	„	„
26	Dalbir Pujari (45)	I don't know	yes	„	„	„	„
27	Ajay Deula (23)	conscious	yes	„	sufficient	under SLC	„
28	Minbir Deula (44)	active	yes	„	manageable	literate	„
29	Dharma Deula (37)	active	yes	„	difficult to live	under SLC	„
30	Niraj Pode (35)	active	yes	through Guthi	sufficient	under SLC	Hindu
31	Shanta Deula (30)	active	yes	„	„	BBS	„
32	Buddhilal Deula (52)	conscious	yes	„	manageable	literate	„
33	Radheshyam Pode (49)	active	yes	„	sufficient	under SLC	„
34	Nemman Shakya (59)	conscious	yes	„	manageable	under SLC	„
35	Shyam Deula (42)	active	yes	„	sufficient	„	„
36	Puja Deula	I don't know	yes	„	sufficient	+2	„

.	(19)	know					
37	Mohan Deula (36)	active	yes	„	sufficient	under SLC	„
38	Rujina Deula (18)	conscious	no	„	manageable	SLC	„
39	Sumit Deula (22)	conscious	yes	„	sufficient	under SLC	„
40	Uma Deula (26)	active	yes	„	difficult to live	+2	„

ANNEX-II

Lists of Key Informants

Nirmal Deula: He is the inhabitant of Gausala, Kathmandu involved in the CPN (UML) and now he is board member of National Dalit Commission.

Ramkrishna Deula: He is the inhabitant of Makwanpur. He is involved in the UCPN (Maoist) and Central Member of Dalit Liberation Front of Nepal.

Ram Pujari: He is the inhabitant of Lalitpur. He has involved in Nepali Congress and vice president of NNDSWO now.

Radheshyam Pode: He is the inhabitant of Lalitpur. He has involved in UCPN (Maoist) and president of Deula Pode Utthan Manch. He is working as an advisor of Dalit Liberation Front of Nepal.

Maiya Pode: She is the inhabitant of Teku, Kathmandu. She has involved in CPN (UML) and working as a vice president of Nepal Swotantara Saphai Majdur Union.

ANNEX-III

The Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007

Article 13: Right to Equality

On the foundation of 10 years people's war carried out by the CPN (Maoist) 19 days historical people's uprising abolished the 240 years old monarchy and established the new federal democratic republican state of Nepal. The seven party alliance, CPN (Maoist) and Madhesh badi parties promulgated the interim constitution of Nepal which has set up some of its significant provisions as follows:

- 5) All the citizens shall be equal before the law. No person shall be denied the equal protection of the laws.
- 6) There shall be no discrimination against any citizen in the application of general laws on grounds of religion, race, gender, caste, tribe, origin, language or ideological conviction or any of these.
- 7) The state shall not discriminate among citizens on the grounds of religion, race, caste, tribe, origin, language or ideological conviction, or any of these.

Provided that nothing shall be deemed to prevent the making of special provisions by law for the protection, empowerment or advancement of women, Dalits, indigenous ethnic tribes [adibasi Janajati], Madhisi or farmers, labourers or those who belong to a class which is economically, socially or culturally backward, or children, the aged, disabled or those who are physically or mentally incapacitated.

- 8) There shall be no discrimination with regard to remuneration and social security between men and women for the same work.

Article 14: Rights against untouchability and racial discrimination

- 6) No person shall, on the ground of caste descent, community or occupation, be subject to racial discrimination and untouchability in any form. Such a discriminatory act shall be liable to punishment and the victim shall be entitled to compensation as provided by the law.
- 7) No person shall, on the ground of caste or tribe, be deprived of the use of services, conveniences or utilities available to the public, or be denied access to any public place, or public religious places, or be prevented from performing any religious act.
- 8) No person belonging to any particular caste or tribe shall, in relation to production or making available of any goods, services or conveniences, be prevented from purchasing or acquiring and no such goods, services or conveniences shall be sold or distributed only to members of a particular caste or tribe.
- 9) No one shall be allowed to purport to demonstrate superiority or inferiority of any person or a group of persons belonging to any caste, tribe or origin; or to justify social discrimination on the basis of caste and tribe; or to disseminate ideas based on caste superiority or hatred; or to encourage caste discrimination in any form.
- 10) Any act contrary to the provisions of clauses (2), (3) and (4) shall be punishable in accordance with law.

Questionnaires

Name _____ of

Respondent:.....

Sex: Age:.....

Marital Status:..... Date:

1. Education:
 - a) Illiterate b) Literate c) Adult education d) Under SLC
 - e) Higher education
2. Occupation:
 - a) Traditional(sanitation) b) Business c) Service d) Farming
 - e)others
3. Religion:
 - a) Hindu b) Buddha c) Christian d) Islam e) Other
4. Family structure:
 - a) One-three b) three-six c) six – nine d) above nine
5. Respondents household income:
 - a) Less than L5,000 b)5,000-10,000 c) 10,000-20,000 d) above 20,000
6. Is your income sufficient to live?
 - a) Difficult to live b) Manageable c) Sufficient d) Over income
7. Do you own your house?
 - a) Owned b) rent c) destitute d) other
8. Nature of service:
 - a) Bureaucracy b) Army c) Police d) Private e) Foreign
 - f) Unemployed.
9. Do you know about politics?
 - a) I know b) a little c) I don't know d)
10. Which parties do you like the most?
 - a) UCPN (Maoist) b) CPN (UML) c) Nepali Congress d) others
11. Who is your local leader?
 - a)
 - b)
 - c)
12. Have you ever involved in the political program?
 - a) Involved b) occasionally c) never involved d) not interested
13. Have you ever felt discriminatory behavior in political parties? If yes
 - a)
 - b)
 - c)
14. Do you know the constitution of Nepal? If yes:

- a)
 - b)
 - c)
15. How can you take the behavior of government?
- a) Exclusive b) Inclusive c) good d) I don't know
16. How is your social status in the society?
- a) Behaved untouchables b) Prohibited in every spheres c) Discriminatory d) Justice able
17. What kind of marriage system do you follow?
- a) Arranged b) Inter caste c) Love marriage d) Court marriage d) others
18. What are your major festivals?
- a) Dashain b) c) d)
19. What are the main cultural practices in your community?
- a)
 - b)
 - c)
 - d)
20. What is your family deity?
- a)
 - b)
21. What is your area deity?
- a)
 - b)
22. What are the temples in your site?
- a)
 - b)
 - c)
23. Who is the priest or head person of the community?
- a)
 - b)
24. Which is your original language?
- a)
 - b)
25. Comments and suggestion for further improving program action?

Comments	Suggestion
1.....	1.....
2.....	2.....
3.....	3.....
4.....	4.....
5.....	5.....

Check

n with Re

Name:

Sex:

Date:

Education:

Place:

Marital status

1. History of the community
2. Political behaviors by the state-holders & political parties
3. Cultural practices of the community
4. Major occupation
5. Attitude to government
6. Income sources
7. Feeling towards untouchability
8. Collective action and consensus.
9. Decision making process.
10. Comments and suggestion for further improving program action:

Comments

Suggestion

1.....

1.....

2.....

2.....

3.....

3.....

4.....

4.....

5.....

5.....

Check List for Key Informants

Name:

Sex:

Date:

Education:

Place:

Marital status

1. Condition of untouchability problem in the community.
2. Psychological aspect of Newar untouchables
3. Experience of oppressed people.
4. Hinduism and its Manusmriti
5. Attitude towards political parties.
6. Constitutional provisions for Newar untouchables
7. Your present expectation from the government.
 - a)
 - b)
 - c)
 - d)
 - e)
8. Comments and suggestions for further improving program action:

Comments

Suggestion

1.

1.....

2.....

2.....

3.....

3.....

4.....

4.....

5.....

5.....