

THE ROLES OF DALIT WOMEN MEMBERS OF FEDERAL PARLIAMENT  
IN PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIR

**A Thesis Submitted to:**

Faculty of Humanities and Social Science

Department of Sociology

Padma Kanya Multiple Campus, Tribhuvan University

For the partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Master's

Degree of Arts in Sociology

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2024

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**RECOMMENDATION LETTER**

The thesis entitled "**The Roles of Dalit Women Members of Federal Parliament in Parliamentary Affair**" has been prepared by Ms. Devika Mijar under my guidance and supervision. I hereby forward this thesis to the evaluation committee for the final evaluation and approval.

.....

Pradip Mishra

Supervisor

Date:

**APPROVAL SHEET**

This thesis entitled "**The Roles of Dalit Women Members of Federal Parliament in Parliamentary Affair**" submitted by Ms. Devika Mijar in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of Masters of Arts (MA) in Sociology has been approved.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my reverent teacher Mr. Pradip Mishra, for his inspiring suggestions, guidance and support being provided to me without whose guidance and support this thesis would not have been completed. I am highly delighted to his logic, convincing power and intelligible research expertise that I was benefitted well. I extend my acknowledgements to Ms. Jyoti Tandukar, the Head of Sociology Department for her encouragement and inspiration.

I also extend my especial gratitude to the immediate past Federal Member of Parliament Ms. Anjana Bishankhe, Ms. Nira Jairu and Ms. Bimala Bishwakarma for their valuable time to take the information while conducting case studies and shaping this thesis. I am thankful to the key informants who directly provided me with the proper and adequate information which remained very crucial to complete the thesis.

I express my warm love and gratitude to my husband Mr. Dhana Bahadur Mijar who provided me with necessary support and guidance while conducting this thesis. I extend my warm love and acknowledgement to my cutie baby girl, daughter Ms. Dilasha Rokka for her understanding of my study and not disturbing me while writing the thesis. At the end, I would like to dedicate this research to my loving and caring Mother Ms. Parvati and Father Mr. Samser Mijar inspiration and motivation for higher study.

Lastly, I would like to express my warm gratitude to all the persons and academicians of this institution as well as social organizations for their support.

.....

Devika Mijar

## **List of Abbreviation**

CBD & U	-	Cast Based Discrimination and Untouchability
CBS	-	Center Bureau Statistics
CPN MC	-	Communist Party of Nepal Maoist Center
CPN UML	-	Communist Party of Nepal Unified Marxist Leninist
DNF	-	Dalit NGO Federation
FEDO	-	Feminist Dalit organizations
FP	-	Federal Parliament
FPTP	-	First Pass the Post
GAD	-	Gender and Development
GBV	-	Gender Based violence
HoR	-	House of Representation
KII	-	Key Informant Interview
MPs	-	Member of Parliament
MPs	-	Member of Parliament
NA	-	National Assembly
NC	-	Nepali Congress
NDC	-	National Dalit Commission
NGOs	-	Non Government Organizations
PR	-	Proportional Representation
SF	-	Samabeshi Foundation
SIRF	-	Social Inclusion Research Fund
WID	-	Women in Development

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### **1 Background of the Study:**

Nepal has been entered into to the new era of federal democratic republic with secularism after the promulgation of the Constitution of Nepal (2015) and now it has been in the due process of implementation. The constitution has provisioned 31 articles as the fundamental rights. There have been enshrined adequate fundamental rights in the Constitution of Nepal which includes basically the Right to Equality (article 18), Right against Discrimination and Untouchability (article 24), Rights of Dalits (article 40), Right to Social Justice (article 42) basically focusing to Dalits, who are at the bottom of the social hierarchy as per Hindu doctrine. Article 38 has made the provision of Rights of Women as fundamental rights.

The constitution has envisioned three layers of legislative bodies i.e. Federal Assembly (Part 8, article 84 ), Provincial Assembly (Part 14, article 175) and Local Assembly (Part 18, article 221). Three tiers of legislative bodies have their own separate formation and structural features. The federal parliament has bi-cameral assembly i.e. 275-membered house of representative (HoR) in which 60% members be elected from First Past the Post (FPTP system) which is also called directly elected system with 165 federal constituencies in Nepal and 40% members come from proportional representation (PR) system comprising 110 members. Likewise, national assembly is formed with 59 members representing 8 members from each province with 1 Dalit and 2 women members from each provinces which comprises 56 members and remaining 3 members are appointed by the president as recommended by the cabinet (council of minister).

Having reviewed all these constitutional and legal provisions related to federal, provincial and rural assembly, it would be the best option to examine the condition and level of representation of Dalits women in federal assembly i.e. House of Representatives. It would be crucial to carry out the empirical study based on field research, structured interview and literature review from the sociological perspective. For this purpose, “The Roles of Dalit Women Members of Federal Parliament in Parliamentary Affair” has been carried out with the rigorous research and field work from which it has examined the real and exact situation of their representation, their knowledge, skills and capacity to make decision in favor of Dalits community in general and Dalit women in particular. The study further investigates their efforts being made to promulgate the Dalit-friendly Laws, bi-laws, plans, programs and budgets as well as their effort to eliminate the caste and gender based discrimination and violence in their respective local units.

### **1.2 Statement of the Problems:**

There are various discrimination prevalent in Nepali society based on different backgrounds i.e. caste, class, color, gender, religion, language, profession, descent, education, physical features, geographical locations and so on. In case of Nepal, there have been severe level of caste-based discrimination and untouchability (CBD&U) and gender-based violence (GBV). The heinous discrimination against Dalits, the large portion of national population comprising 14.38% out of total population 2,91,64,578 [Male: 1,42,53,551 (48.9%) and 51.1% of women] (National Census result 2021), so-called untouchable segment of society and women, although having population greater than men's, who are considered to be a second grader citizens basically based on the

hierarchical gender structure as mythologized by Hinduism. It is not appropriate to go and analyze totally against any religion but as a researcher, one need to be very critical and some of the provision enshrined under, but not limited to the law of *Manusmriti* are discriminatory. Considered and recognized as Dalits at present, Shudra in past centuries and Das/Serf in past millennia have been highly discriminated, stigmatized, misbehaved, abused, excluded since thousands of years back. One don't need to flashback long, in Nepal, from the reign of King Jayasthiti Malla in 14<sup>th</sup> Century, people were divided based on their profession which was deeply rooted and guided by *Manusmriti*, a Hindu literature, which was propounded by Indian sage Manu, who was also a king then.

According to *Manusmriti*, people are divided into four Varnas i.e. Brahmin, Kshatri, Vaishya and Shudra. Written by sage Manu, who was also a king, it further highlights that Brahmin are supposed to be born from the mouth of god Vishnu and they were assigned the role of preaching, reading holy books, praying for the gods, circulate the message of god; Kshatri are supposed to be born from the shoulder of the very god and they were assigned to rule the nation/people, fight for the nation as warrior; Vaishya were supposed to be born from the thigh of god Vishnu and they were assigned for the role of service provider for Brahmin and Kshatri who usually engaged in business and industry, import and export of goods and commodities; and the last, the Shudra are supposed to be born from the feet of the very god and were supposed to assign the role of providing service to Brahmin, Kshatri and Vaishya by cleaning cities, villages, circulate messages, managing/dragging animal carcasses, preparing shoes, sewing clothes and making home and agro instruments, utensils etc.

Based on these bitter fact, present Dalits have been heinously discriminated, stigmatized, abused, excluded from getting education, economic activities, mainstream society and politics. The Muluki Ain (Country Code) 1853 promulgated by Jung Bahadur Rana had assimilated major provision of *Manusmriti* and applied in Nepal for suffocating and exploiting the Shudra, not named Dalits as today's. This code remained till 1963 and that was the time when King Mahendra, after the end of authoritarian Rana Regine in 1950, issued the *Naya Muluki Ain 2020* (New Country Code 1963) and made some positive provision for Shudra from being discriminated based on superstitious caste hierarchy. Nepal has ratified the International Convention on Elimination of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) by signing and approving it but not providing the report to United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) during 4 years basis which is mandatory provision. Although there has been various constitutional and legal framework at national and international arena, the implementation aspect is pathetic, meager and worst of all.

This research basically deals with following three questions which are crucial for getting the appropriate answers and also help draw the appropriate findings:

1. How Dalit women contributed for their community development as a parliamentarian?
2. How they raise their voice against discrimination in the Parliament?
3. What type of problems Dalit women parliamentarians are facing in parliament?

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study:**

The overall objective of the study is to investigate exact and real condition, situation of Dalit women parliamentarians in decision making processes, investigating

their meaningfulness of representation and impact of their presence in laws and bi-laws.

But the specific objectives are:

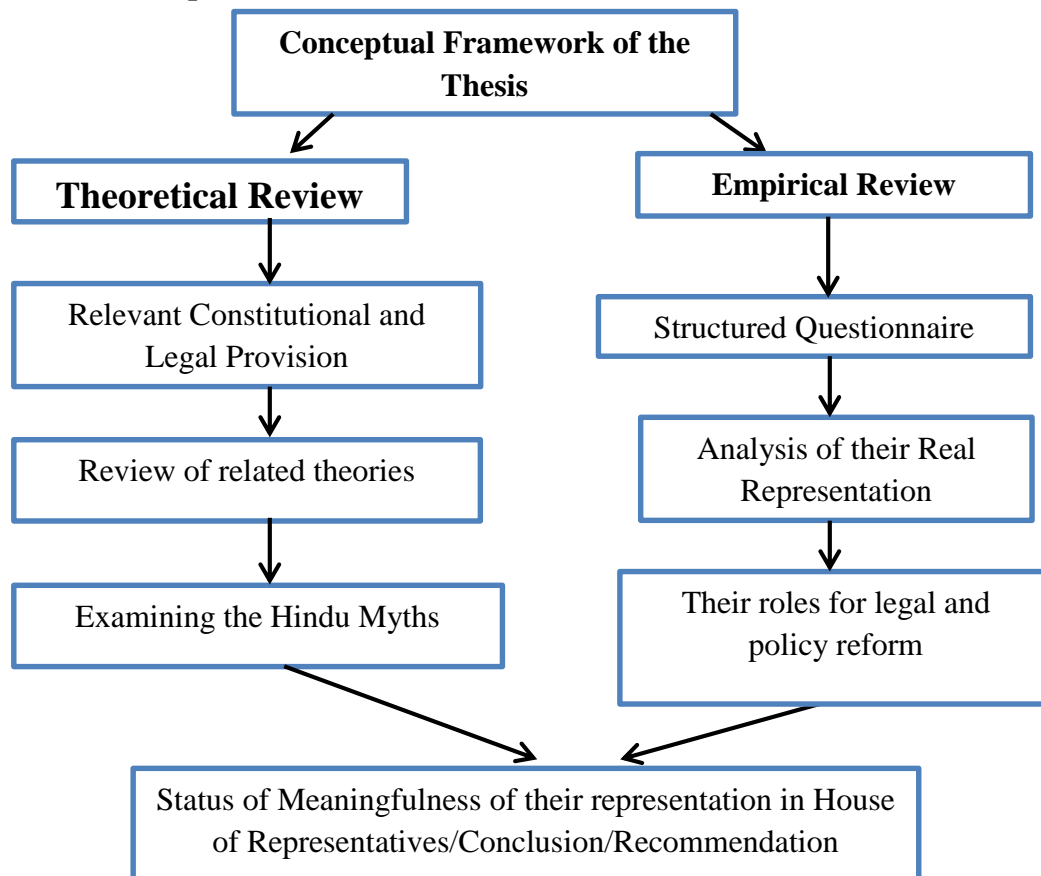
1. To dig out the exact scenario, situation and status of Dalit women parliamentarian in playing the roles as member of parliament;
2. To find out the contribution to their society by taking actions and initiations against discriminations in parliament;
3. To find out the issues and problems facing by Dalit parliamentarian and recommend the key take away to the concerned authorities.

#### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

This research is significant not only in terms of investigating the scenario and gravity of discrimination they are facing in parliament but also significant in terms of finding out an actual status of the representation of Dalit women in Federal Parliament as well as sensitizing Dalit MPs to raise their voices and choices in the parliament. This research is expected to be a reference for lecturers, researchers, policy makers and students equally which creates its significance in itself.

The thesis would be very fruitful to the new comers and the students and academicians equally as it can be the reference for those aspiring researcher and students for getting the new insights about the Dalit women members of parliament and digging out their roles and their achievement in future also. Therefore, it has high rationale and significance to study this domain as a strong portion of a research.

### 1.5 Conceptual framework



### 1.6 Limitation of the study

This research is the outcome of the study only to the Dalit women members of House of Representatives (HoR) elected in 2074 BS. It has referred inclusion status of previous elections also i.e. Constituent Assembly (CA) election and interim parliament of 2007 but it will not be the matter of inferring the conclusion. It is for the fulfillment of the partial requirement of the Degree of Masters of Arts which doesn't rely heavily in field activities and time consuming as such. It will only take sample study of Dalit women members elected from proportionate representation (PR) system which doesn't represent the experiences and feeling of the members of parliament elected through First past the post (FPTP) system. This is not funded and it has time limitation too.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The research is based on the related literatures and pertinent debate and discourse on the Dalit issues in general and Dalit women's issue in particular. The research aims to extract the real scenario of the Dalit women's representation in house of representatives (HoR), the main organ of the federal parliament (FP) of bi-cameral supreme legislative body. Primarily, the research has collected the primary source of data through rigorous key informant interview with the structured questionnaires. And second, the study has reviewed the secondary source of information and related literatures. For doing so, I have applied the methodology of desk review of related literatures, collection of evidences, taking interviews of 12 federal Dalit MPs elected in 2074 BS.

There is heinous discrimination prevalent in Nepali society based on different backgrounds i.e. caste, class, color, gender, religion, language, profession, descent, education, physical features, geographical locations and the like. In Nepal, there have been severe level of caste-based discrimination and untouchability (CBD&U) and gender-based violence (GBV) as well as exclusion of Dalits and marginalized segment of society at large. Although, the constitution has guaranteed the rights to proportionate representation of Dalits and Dalit women at it's all structures and mechanism, the implementation aspects is very weak. The nominal representations of Dalit women and Dalits in general has hampered many legal apparatuses for not fruitful implementation to be providing the results and realization of the change. Dalit women comprise almost 2.5 million populations out of 4.8 million Dalit populations. Due to the lack of meaningful representation of Dalit women, state authorities seem to be apathetic on the issues.

Considered and recognized as Dalits at present, Shudra in past centuries and Das/Serf in past millennia have been highly discriminated, stigmatized, misbehaved, abused socially, excluded in political and administrative arena since thousands of years back. One don't need to flashback long, in Nepal, from the reign of King Jayasthiti Malla in 14<sup>th</sup> Century, people were divided based on their profession which was deeply rooted and guided by *Manusmriti*, a Hindu literature (Kisan 28).

According to *Manusmriti*, people are divided into four Varnas i.e. Brahmin, Kshatri, Vaishya and Shudra. Written by sage Manu, who was also a king, it further highlights that Brahmin are supposed to be born from the mouth of god Vishnu and they were assigned the role of preaching, reading holy books, praying for the gods, circulate the message of god; Kshatri are supposed to be born from the shoulder of the very god and they were assigned to rule the nation/people, fight for the nation as warrior; Vaishya were supposed to be born from the thigh of god Vishnu and they were assigned for the role of service provider for Brahmin and Kshatri who usually engaged in business and industry, import and export of goods and commodities; and the last, the Shudra are supposed to be born from the feet of the very god and were supposed to assign the role of providing service to Brahmin, Kshatri and Vaishya by cleaning cities, villages, circulate messages, managing/dragging animal carcasses, preparing shoes, sewing clothes and making home and agro instruments, utensils etc.

Based on these bitter fact, present Dalits have been heinously discriminated, stigmatized, abused, excluded from getting education, economic activities, mainstream society and politics. The Muluki Ain (Country Code) 1853 promulgated by Jung Bahadur Rana had assimilated major provision of *Manusmriti* and applied in Nepal for suffocating

and exploiting the Shudra, not named Dalits as today's. This code remained till 1963 and that was the time when King Mahendra, after the end of authoritarian Rana Regime in 1950, issued the *Naya Muluki Ain 2020* (New Country Code 1963) and rendered some positive provision for Shudra from being discriminated based on superstitious caste hierarchy. Nepal has ratified the International Convention on Elimination of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) by signing and approving it but not providing the report to United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) on 4 years basis which is mandatory provision. Although there has been various constitutional and legal framework at national and international arena, the implementation aspect is pathetic, meager and worst of all.

The Nepali Dalit Social Movement written by Dr. Yam Bahadur Kisan, as translated in English by Laurie Ann Vasily and published by legal rights Protection Society, Nepal gives a brief historical background of the caste-based untouchability system, historical development of the Nepali Dalit social movement etc. this book is divided into seven chapters along with two appendices.

There will be three types of literature review that I will apply for. One major review will be Theoretical Review, second one will be an Empirical Review and third one will be Plan and Policy Review.

## **2.1 Theoretical Review**

Hilary Silver, in his research-based journal article entitled, "The process of social exclusion: the dynamics of an evolving concept" says that exclusion is multidimensional. "Exclusion is multidimensional. However, which dimensions are relevant and how they are related vary across time and space" (page 2) Silver admits:

Most frequently, the dimensions include both economic and social aspects of disadvantage. But the economic dimensions need not refer only to monetary poverty or insufficient income; scholars have also considered exclusion from land, credit, and other assets, food and other consumption goods and of course the labour market. (2)

The heinous discrimination against Dalits, the large portion of national population comprising 14.38% out of total population 2,91,64,578 [Male: 1,42,53,551 (48.9%) and 51.1% of women] (National Census result 2021), so-called untouchable segment of society and women, although having population greater than men's, who are considered to be a second grade citizens basically based on the hierarchical gender structure as mythologized by Hinduism. It is not appropriate to go and analyze totally against any religion but as a researcher, one need to be very critical and some of the provision enshrined under, but not limited to the law of *Manusmriti* are discriminatory.

*Manusmriti* has not only discriminated to Shudra from being educated, but also fueled for socio-political, educational-administrative, economic and cultural exclusion. By restricting of getting education to today's Dalits, then Shudra, Dalits couldn't get government job for centuries, couldn't be able to engage in income generating business, self-employment as their hotel would not be run as they are "untouchable".

Silver interlinks the social exclusion with structural process to isolation. "Social exclusion is a structural process of social isolation, of stripping away multiple dimensions of social involvement" he claims, "Such disaffiliation voluntary, however it would be hard to call it 'exclusion' (see Berry 2002). Rather it entails an active relationship between excluders and the excluded".

Freedom fighter of American Civil Rights movement Rosa Parks is of the view that freedom is the fundamental rights of all people. She says:

Freedom only for the supporters of the government, only for the members of one party – however numerous they may be – is no freedom at all. Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who thinks differently. Not because of any fanatical concept of "justice" but because all that is instructive, wholesome and purifying in political freedom depends on this essential characteristic, and its effectiveness vanishes when "freedom" becomes a special privilege.

In Theoretical Review, I have basically applied Feminist theories based on the beliefs and interpretations of various of thinker and believers of different ideologies. From the very simple search to find the position of women in history, society and contemporary literature literature with the query and what about women ?it has taken various forms till today, and Feminism theory. For this reason, I will go through some important books like: George Ritzer's *Sociological Theory* (fifth edition), , *Nepali Dalit Social Movement* by Dr. Yam Bahadur Kisan, *Nepalko Barna Bibhed ra Barga Sangharsha* by Ahuti and other prominent writers of Nepal and beyond.

UNDP's Human Development Report (HDR) 2004 has identified the Religion-Related Exclusions i.e. Internal and External Exclusion, and Direct and Indirect Exclusion. At the ground level, the direct and indirect exclusion is pervasive. The report claims that the "practice of untouchability direct and internal religious based exclusion" and "other kinds of exclusions, which is not directly sanctioned by religion and these would not occur if the religiously sanctioned exclusion" (4).

*The Dalits Representation in National Politics of Nepal* by Khanal, K., Frits Sollowijn Gelpe and Uddhap Prasad Pyakurel concludes that bringing Dalits in the political process contributes in including previously disregarded perspective, voices and interest. They admit: “Dalit representative do stand for speak and act on behalf of Dalit in creates a virtues cycle of trust, involvement and policy responsiveness of and towards their constituencies where in the past there was little or none” (156).

After the *Jana Andolan II*, Dalits representation in the cabinet level was fully applied and regular basis. In 2006, interim government was formed under the NC Leadership Girija Prasad Koirala on forth term as Prime Minister of Nepal and appointed Man Bahadur Bishwakarma as Minister of State for Environment and Science and Technology. As there was no minister for that Ministry with full portfolio, Man Bahadur Bishwakarma effectively led that ministry. CPN Maoist joined the Interim Government almost a year later in April 2007. Two Dalit Members—Khadka Bahadur Bishwakarma ‘Prakanda’ from CPN Maoist and Chhabilal Bishwakarma from CPN UML inaugurated into the Council of Ministers. It was the first time that Dalits were included with full ministerial portfolio. Earlier Dalit Member of the Cabinet had only been given positions either as Assistant Minister or Minister of State. For further Detail please see the table below:

**Table 1: Dalit Nominations in the Cabinet 2006-2024**

S. No.	Name	Post	Cabinet	Year
1	Man Bahadur Bishwakarma	Minister for State (Env. Sc and Tech)	Girija Prasad Koirala	2006
2	Khadka Bahadur	Minister for Women	Girija Prasad	2007

	Bishwakarma	Children and Social Welfare	Koirala	
3	Chhabilal Bishwakarma	Minister for Agriculture and Cooperative	Girija Prasad Koirala	2007
4	Mahendra Paswan	Minister Land Reform and Mgmt.	Pushpa Kamal Dahal	2008
5	Nabin Bishwakarma	Minister of State (Local Development)	Pushpa Kamal Dahal	2008
6	Jeet Bahadur Gautam Darji	State Minister for General Admin	Madhav Kumar Nepal	2009
7	Khadga Bahadur Basyal Sarki	State Minister for Health and Population	Madhav Kumar Nepal	2009
8	Kalawati Devi Dushadh	Assistant Minister (Physical Planning and Works)	Madhav Kumar Nepal	2009
9	Mahendra Paswan	Minister (Industry) (Declined to accept)	Jhahnath Khanal	2011
10	Khadka Bahadur BK	Minister (Tourism) (Declined to accept)	Jhahnath Khanal	2011
11	Dal Bahadur Sunar	Minister of State (Irri)	Jhahnath Khanal	2011
12	Gopi Achhami Nepali	Minister of State (Youth and Sports)	Baburam Bhattarai	2011

13	Ramani Ram	Minister of State (Irrigation)	Baburam Bhattarai	2011
14	Daljit BK Shripaili	Minister for Youth and Sports	KP Sharma Oli	2018
15	Min Bahadur Bishwakarma	Minister for Commerce	Sher Bahadur Deuba	2019
16	Maheshwor Jung Gahatraj	Minister for Youth and Sports	Pushpa Kamal Dahal	2022
17	Jagat Bahadur Sunar	Minister for Youth and Sports	KP Sharma Oli	2021
18	Sushila Shreepaili	State Minister	Pushpa Kamal Dahal	2023

*Source: Compiled by author/researcher 20224*

### **Empirical Review**

In this review, I will visit thoroughly some important organizations which are really contributing for the social change and elimination for superstitious caste-based discrimination and Untouchability and initiating campaign for legal and policy reform from Dalits perspectives. I review the reports comprising the major works, campaigns and changes being realized by Dalits which include: National Dalit Commission, Samabeshi Foundation (SF), Feminist Dalit Organization (FEDO) which have provided empirical insights on how Dalits woman members of House of Representatives are treated and how their roles and responsibility bringing about the changes to Dalit community at larger social spectrum.

Samabeshi Foundation (SF) has conducted the research on the roles of members of federal and members of province assembly (PA) by focusing to male and female both and both the federated assemblies. But there was a need of studying the sole perspective of the federal Dalit women MPs only. Likewise, FEDO and other organizations have also studied on it but not focused on the federal Dalit women MPs and their experience. Thus, it is very crucial to study by only focusing to the Dalit women federal member of parliament, especially House of Representatives (HoR).

### **Research Gap**

Different organizations working for the rights of Dalit in general and Dalit women in particular have conducted the research on the roles of Dalit women representatives.

Samabeshi Foundations has conducted the research on the *State and Impact of Dalit women member of Federal Parliament and Provincial Assemblies* by advocate Mr Samir Ghimire and Dr Samriddhi Kharel. "...it is important to identify the progress that Dalit MP have made in terms of effective legislative and policy measures for Dalit and other marginalized communities. Further there is a need to identify the major challenges female Dalit MPs are facing within the Parliament as well as in their own parties and the specific support Dalit MPs need enhance their performance." (Ghimire, S. and Kharel S.

,Samabeshi Foundation, 2019). FEDO has also conducted a research on *Roles of Dalit women Representative in Local Level and their Challenges* by JB Bishwakarma.

Bishwakarma says, "the new constitution has made the provision of mix election system in Federal Parliament and Provincial Assemblies with 60 percent in first past the post system and 40 percent in proportional representation system. Although it has increased

the Dalit representation in parliament, it could not make the proportional representation at all in Parliament” (Page 3).

This research entitled “The Roles of Dalit Women Members of Federal Parliament in Parliamentary Affairs” has mainly been focused on the roles of Dalit women member of Federal Parliament whether they have meaningful participation or not, whether they are able to raise their voices, whether they get the time to speak in the parliament, whether they are able to bring about the changes in laws and policies which are not addressed by those previous researches conducted by different organizations.

This research is mainly focused on the case story collection of at least 3 MPs, interview of 12 Dalit women MPs by following the structured questionnaires and in depth desk review of the relevant literatures and jotting down the key ideas and messages so as to draw the conclusion and recommendation for further improvement that Dalit women member of federal parliament, especially the House of Representatives (HoR) and National Assembly (NA). Since, National Assembly doesn't have any member of parliament from Dalit women category, the thesis does not cover NA.

This research “The Roles of Dalit Women Members of Federal Parliament in Parliamentary Affairs” focuses on the experience of discrimination in their lives of 12 MPs of 2074, first election after the promulgation of the constitution of Nepal (2015) and their roles, their achievement, their future plan, their working duration with their parties, their recognition in their party etc. This is the in-depth research being conducted so far with the target to the Dalit women member of HoR which would be beneficial to the researcher, professors, student, intellectuals alike for digging out the new avenue and thus to carry out the further campaign for social change.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Research Design**

The research is a plan for the collection and analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data. It presents the succinct guidance to enable the researcher to progress in the right direction in order to achieve the set objectives and goal. The design may be a specific presentation of the various steps in the thorough processes of the research. These steps covers: analysis of research problem, presentation of the problem, formulation of hypothesis, conceptual clarity, methodology, exploring and investigating as well as reviewing of relevant literatures and references, data collection, testing of hypothesis, interpretation and presentation of the data and preparing of Bibliographies, overall report writing, editing and finalizing of the thesis.

Principally, the research design would be explorative, investigative, analytical and descriptive; and the diagnostic research design will be employed. It will analyze and explain the various causes affecting their roles and strengthening their roles and responsibilities to work for the betterment of their society. This research will be the blue print or guiding tool for collection of data, measurement and analysis of data. The data are qualitative and quantitative in types and mixed type of data have been presented herein, the thesis.

#### **3.2 Nature and source of data**

This research will be explorative, investigative, analytical and descriptive in nature. The research aims to identify the real scenario, the state (situation) of their representation federal governance. It also minutely examines the roles and

responsibilities of the Dalit women HoR member, their gaps on knowledge and skills to make the Dalit-friendly laws, bi-laws and making access of Dalits in resources available in national government. It further explores the impact of their presence in Laws and bi-laws issued by the respective local units from gender equality and social inclusion (GESI) perspectives.

### 3.3 Key Informant Interviews/Case Studies

There has been taken three case studies i.e. of Hon'ble Lamxi Pariyar (NC), Hon'ble Bimala Bishwakarma (CPN-UML) and Hon'ble Durga Kumari Bishwakarma (CPN-MC) whereas normal interview with structured questionnaires have been received from all 12 (twelve) MPs of House of Representative elected on 2074 BS.

### 3.4 Universe and sampling

Total out of 13 Dalit women member of House of Representatives, Hon'ble Sanu Siwa Pahadi died and 12 MPs are there in HoR. Out of 12, KII or Case Studies will be conducted at least with 10 Dalit MPs of HoR. The list of respondents are given as following as per the research proposal plan.

**Table 2: List of Members of House of Representatives as an Universe**

S.No.	Member of Parliament	Name of Party
1.	Hon'ble Anjana Bishunkhe	CPN (MC)
2.	Hon'ble Asha Kumari BK	CPN (UML)
3.	Hon'ble Bimala Nepali	Nepali Congress
4	Hon'ble Bimala BK	CPN (UML)
5	Hon'ble Bimala Bishwakarma	CPN (UML)
6	Hon'ble Dulari Devi Khatweni	CPN (MC)

7	Hon'ble Durga Kumari Bishwakarma	CPN (MC)
8	Hon'ble Kalu Devi Bishwakarma	Nepali Congress
9	Hon'ble Nira Devi Jairu	CPN (UML)/CPN (US)
10	Hon'ble Laxmi Pariyar	Nepali Congress
11	Hon'ble Parbati Kumari Bishankhe	CPN (UML)/CPN (US)
12	Hon'ble Sujata Pariyar	Nepali Congress

### **3.5 Tools of data collection**

#### **Interview-Structured/semi-structured questionnaire**

I will develop a semi-structured questionnaire for collecting the primary information from the Dalits MPS of House of Representatives. The questionnaire will be finalized after the suggestion received from the supervisor/Lecturer. Questionnaire sheet attached in Annex 1.

For secondary source, I will use already published literatures/books, documents, plans, policies, laws and bi-laws of the respective local units, newspaper articles/features, news etc. Besides, observation, field sites, direct monitoring method will be applied for gathering the quality data for reliability and validity.

#### **3.7 Data analysis and interpretation**

The data will be analyzed, interpreted, assessed, condensed and well edited. This research will apply qualitative and quantitative approaches alike. Descriptive and analytical statistical tools like graphical presentation, tables, and pie charts have been used in this research/thesis to well organized version of the report.

The data have been edited and tabulated as per the need of the report. However, to make the report precise foot notes and other techniques have been applied for and the

chapters have been divided into subchapters and subtopics accordingly. All the qualitative analysis of the data and quantitative presentation in tabulated form have helped draw the conclusion of the research in fruitful and effective manner so as to easing the reader for synchronizing the ideas and take the insights to use in appropriate time and spaces as needed.

### **3.8 Desk Review**

The Desk Review method has been employed to review the hard and digital copies of literatures. Various reports of reputed NGOs, research works, reports, opinion pieces on Dalits representations, websites of Election Commission, Federal Parliament, UNDP and other key stakeholders. This desk review method has helped me very well for drawing the insights, data analysis, describing and drawing the conclusion and recommendation to the respective governmental entities and other key stakeholders who are engaging in the policy advocacy and reform with the wider perspectives.

**CHAPTER IV**  
**QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS AND**  
**PRESENTATION**

While doing the research, in-depth interview following the structured questionnaires, there were altogether 26 questions asked to 12 women members of parliaments from Dalit community. The questions were: 1. Have you experienced any gender-based discrimination as a woman member of parliament?; 2. Have you experienced any caste-based discrimination as a Dalit member of parliament?; 3. Are you satisfied with the current status of Dalit women's representation in parliament?; 4. Are you familiar with your roles and responsibilities as a parliamentarian?; 5. Are you familiar with the process and norms of parliamentary proceedings?; 6. How familiar are you with the legislative and constitutional framework relating to the parliamentary process?; 7. What type of problem/discrimination that Dalit women member of parliament are facing in parliamentary party?; 8. Do you believe that any policy and legal provisions have been achieved from your parliamentary activities?; 9. What is the most important initiatives you have taken as a member of parliament?; 10. How often did you raise the issues or agenda in the parliament?

Similarly, other question includes: 11. What agenda or issues you mostly raised in the parliament?; 12. How receptive were other parliamentarians on your ideas or issues?; 13. Have you received any technical support from any one/ institution on issues to be raised in the parliament?; 14. Did you get any attention/ coverage in media?; 15. Do you think your participation contributed for making a more inclusive nation?; 16. What are major challenges you are facing in parliamentary role?; 17. How long have you been

engaged in politics before getting elected?; 18. Do you have any long-term vision or action plan for your future role?; 19. How frequently and easily are you getting opportunity to present your opinion in parliament?

Likewise, the questionnaire covers: 20. Did your party leaders motivate you to participate in parliamentary proceeding?; 21. What are the motivating factors for you to join the politics?; 22. Do you feel discriminated as compared to directly elected parliamentarians?; 23. What possible impact Dalit women can bring out as a parliamentarians?; 24. What are the Dalit friendly legislative and policy measures that have been under taken during your tenure?; 25. What measures need to be taken to enhance Dalit women parliamentary performance? And 26. Do you have anything to say or share to Dalit and marginalized women to become successful?

The respondent parliamentarians were provided the 3, 4, 5 and 6 options for single or multiple choices for the answer. The response detail have been presented below.

**Table 3. Experience of Gender-based Discrimination (GBD) as a Woman MP**

Response	Yes	No	Don't like to say	Total
Number	12	0	0	12
Percent	100%	0%	0%	100%

The above table on the response of experience of gender-based discrimination as they are women members of parliament shows that all the participants have experienced GBD.

**Table 4. Experience of Caste-based discrimination (CBD) as Dalit MP**

Response	Yes	No	Indirectly	Don't like to say	Total
Number	12	0	0	0	12
Percent	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%

The above table shows that they all MP have faced caste-based discrimination many times in their life and even while becoming the MP. Being elected in MP also, they face the discrimination which was seemingly indirect type.

**Table 5. Satisfaction with current status of Dalit women's Representation in Parliament**

Response	Yes	No	Little bit	Don't like to say	Total
Number	5	0	7	0	12
Percent	41.65%	0%	58.35%	0%	100%

The table shows that 41.65 percent respondent responded they are satisfied and 58.35 percent of respondents say that they are little bit satisfied with the present status of Dalit women's representation in the parliament.

**Table 6. Familiar with the roles and responsibilities as a parliamentarian**

Response	Yes	No	Little bit	Don't like to say	Total
Number	8	0	4	0	12
Percent	66.65%	0%	33.35%	0%	100%

The data of this table shows that total 66.65 percent responded they know the roles and responsibilities as a parliamentarian and 33.35 percent participants know their responsibilities little bit.

**Table 7. Familiar with the process and norms of parliamentary proceeding**

Response	Yes	No	Little bit	Don't like to say	Total
Number	8	0	4	0	12
Percent	66.65%	0%	33.35%	0%	100%

The table presents that 66.65 percent respondents are familiar and 33.35 percent are little bit familiar with the process and norms of the parliamentary proceeding.

**Table 8. Familiar with legislative and constitutional framework (Knowledge)**

Response	Less	Moderate	Highly/adequate	Total
Number	2	6	4	12
Percent	16.67%	50%	33.33%	100%

The abovementioned table shows that 16.67 percent are familiar less while 50 percent respondents are moderately familiar with the legislative and constitutional framework whereas 33.33 percent respondent know adequate knowledge about it.

**Table 9. Types of discrimination Dalit women MP—facing in parliamentary party**

Response	Underestimate	Harassment	Gender	Caste	Total
Number	8	0	2	2	12
Percent	66.67%	0%	16.66%	16.67%	100%

The above table presents that there are maximum numbers they are facing “underestimate” type of discrimination in their respective parliamentary party that they are rarely given opportunity to speak their voices in the Parliamentary Party (PP) and the parliament while they wanted to raise the issues of Dalit, Dalit women other pertinency.

**Table 10. Legal & Policy provision achieved through their parliamentary activities**

Response	Yes	No	Don't know/ observed	Total
Number	12	0	0	12
Percent	100%	0%	0%	100%

The table shows that all respondent replied that they have their significant role to bring about the changes and reform in the legal and policy apparatuses through their parliamentary activities. They have played crucial role in promulgating new constitution, enshrining two fundamental rights of Dalits i.e. article 24 and 40 as well as article 255.

**Table 11. Most important initiative taken as a MP**

Response	Tendered Amendment Proposal	Passed the amendment	Raised national pertinent issues	All above	Total
Number	6	2	2	2	12
Percent	50 %	16.66%	16.67%	16.67%	100%

The presented table shows that 50 percent of the respondent have tendered /registered the amendment proposal, 16.66 percent have passed the amendment proposal, 16.67 percent have raised pertinent issues and other 16.67 percent responded 'all above'. Having presented this data, the Dalit MPs have been able to play the crucial role in bringing about the legal reform and changes.

**Table 12. Frequency of raising the issues or agenda in the parliament**

Response	Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Not given time	Total
Number	6	4	2	0	12
Percent	50%	33.33%	16.67%	0%	100%

The table presents that 50 percent MPs have frequently raised the issues in the parliament and 33.33 percent have raised the issues sometimes and very minimal 16.67 percent respondents had been given the opportunity rarely.

**Table 13. The Issues mostly raised in parliament**

Response	Discriminati on against Dalits	Health and Education	Protection of Dalits Occupation	Youth and Employment	Environm ent Protection	Dalit women's rights	Total
Number	5	1	1	0	0	5	12
Percent	41.67%	8.33%	8.33%	0%	0%	41.67 %	100%

The above table no. 12 presents the crystal clear data that Discrimination against Dalits and about the Dalit women's rights, the Dalit women MPs have raised the issue mostly. A total 41.67 percents respondents each responded in both the categories equally. They did not raise the issue on youth and employment and environment protection rather they have rarely raised such issue but not a significant discourse and debate held in the parliament. A very few of them raised the issue of Health and education and protection of Dalits occupation.

**Table 14. Other MP's Receptiveness on their raised issues in Parliament**

Response	Mostly	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Total
Number	2	6	3	1	12
Percent	16.67%	50%	25%	8.33%	100%

The above table presents that 50 percent respondents, the highest replied that other MPs shown 'Receptiveness' in "sometimes" not mostly. A total of 25 percent responded "Rarely" and 16.67 percent and 8.33 percent responded "Mostly" and "Never" respectively. It means that the other MPs wanted to hear the voices of Dalits women "sometimes" not much time or "Mostly".

**Table 15. Received any technical support from anybody or any institution**

Response	Yes	No	Sometimes	Don't needed	Total
Number	10	0	2	0	12
Percent	83.33%	0%	16.67%	0%	100%

The given table shows that almost all MPs have received technical training on parliamentary proceedings and legal and policy framework, its formulation process shortly. A total of 83.33 percent responded that they have received it.

**Table 16. Got attention from media/Media Coverage of their voices**

Response	Yes	Rarely	Sometimes	Not at all	Total
Number	4	2	6	0	12
Percent	33.34%	16.66%	50%	0%	100%

The above data shows that they have very rare media coverage of their voices in national mainstream media outlets. A total of 50 percent respondent responded that their voices were broadcasted, telecasted or printed “sometimes” from local media outlets and 33.34 percent said “Yes” to media attention of their voices.

**Table 17. Thinking that their participation contributed for inclusive nation**

Response	Yes	No	Little bit	I don't think so	Total
Number	5	0	6	1	12
Percent	41.67%	0 %	50%	8.33%	100%

The abovementioned table shows that a total of 41.67 percent respondents have replied “Yes” on their contribution for making inclusive nation through their participation in the parliamentary affair. Altogether 50 percent respondents replied “Little bit” contribution through their presence in the parliament to make inclusive state.

**Table 18. Major Challenges in Parliamentary Roles**

Response	To raise voices	Less family support	Inadequate study time	Total
Number	4	3	5	12
Percent	33.33%	25%	41.67%	100%

The Dalit women parliamentarian, the members of house of representatives, they face inadequate study time with 41.67 percent response whereas 33.33 percent felt challenges to raise the voices and 25 percent felt that they have less family support.

**Table 19. Duration of their engagement/involvement in party politics**

Response	Below 5 Years	10 Years	15 Years	20 Years+	Total
Number	0	2	6	4	12
Percent	0%	16.67%	50%	33.33%	100%

The data presents that a total of 50 percent respondents have spanned their time for 15 years and 33.33 percent or 4 out of 12 have passed 20 years of politics in their respective party. Only 16.67 percent responded that they spent 10 years time in their party which means that at least 10 years in their party.

**Table 20. Long-term vision/Action Plan for future role**

Response	Yes	No	Not in written form	Might be	Total
Number	4	0	6	2	12
Percent	33.33%	0%	50%	16.67%	100%

The data in above table asserts that there is 50 percent of MPs who don't have "long-term vision or action plan for future role in party" in written form and 33.33 percent have "Yes" response on it. A few of them 16.67 percent have confusion to continue their roles as politicians, they responded "Might be".

**Table 21. Frequency and Easiness to get opportunity to present the opinion**

Response	Frequently	As per wish	Sometimes	Rarely/I haven't asked yet	Total
Number	1	0	10	1	12
Percent	8.33%	0%	83.34%	8.33%	100%

The table shows that there is 0 percent to speak "as per wish", means nobody got opportunity to speak as they wish to but 83.34 percent got the opportunity "sometimes".

**Table 22. Motivation of party leaders to participate in parliamentary proceeding**

Response	Yes	No	Show indifference	Demotivate	Total
Number	4	1	6	1	12
Percent	33.34%	8.33%	50%	8.33%	100%

Above table presents the data that 50 percent of the respondents admitted, the leaders show ‘Indifference’ to motivate Dalit woman leader and 33.33 percent said “yes” they motivate and 8.33 percent each said “No” and “Demotivate”. Demotivating the MP means they harass and abuse against if they request time for speaking. The respondent requesting anonymous to the researcher said that the leaders don’t motivate rather they demotivate if Dalit women member of parliament request the time in parliamentary party meeting or the senior leaders.

**Table 23. Motivating factors for joining them in politics**

Response	Family legacy	School environment	College environment	Friend Circle	Self Passion	Total
Number	2	4	3	1	2	12
Percent	16.67%	33.33%	25%	8.33%	16.67%	100%

The above mentioned table presents the data that the Dalit women were motivated largely with the school environment and college environment. From school environment 33.33 percent were motivated whereas 25 percent motivated with college environment. Likewise 16.67 percent motivated in politics from their family background, or legacy of their father and 1 MP responded she was motivated with friend circle. Similarly, 16.67 percent responded that they had a self passion to engage in politics. In an overall, School and college environment were main motivating factors for their political engagement.

**Table 24. Status/misbehavior to Dalit women MP as compared to FPTP MPs**

Response	Yes	No	I don't feel so	Indirectly	Total
Number	10	0	2	0	12
Percent	83.33%	0%	16.67%	0%	100%

The given table presents the data that 83.33 percent responded “yes” they are misbehaved and underestimated than Member of Parliament elected through first past the post (FPTP) or directly elected MPs. Dalit women MPs, who are all elected from proportionate election system, they are also discriminated as compared to non-Dalit women proportionate MPs which is based on the casteist discrimination indirectly.

**Table 25. Possible Impact Dalit women MP can bring about**

Response	Legal and Policy changes	Structural changes	Nothing	Total
Number	12	0	0	12
Percent	100%	0%	0%	100%

The data shows that there is 100 percent response of legal and policy changes by being them the MPs for the Dalits, Dalit women and marginalized society's cause.

**Table 26. Dalit friendly Legislative and Policy Measures in their tenure**

Response	CBDU Act	Education Act	Labor Act	Civil Service Act	Other – NDC Act	Total
Number	5	1	0	1	5	12
Percent	41.67%	8.33%	0%	8.33%	41.67%	100%

The table shows that Dalit women MP's major role was to draft and promulgate the Caste-based discrimination and untouchability (Offense and Punishment) Act 2068 and NDC formation Act 2074. They more or less contributed also in drafting other laws.

**Table 27. Measures to be taken for Dalit women's Parliamentary Performance**

Response	Regular Training	Seminar/ Workshop	Feedback and Suggestion	Motivation	Total
Number	4	3	1	4	12
Percent	33.33%	25%	8.33%	33.34%	100%

The Dalit women MP responded that the regular training and motivation are the key measures to be taken for parliamentary performance. They responded 33.33 percent in each two categories and few of them said, "Seminar and Workshop" as well as "Feedback and Suggestion" 25 percent and 8.33 percent respectively.

#### **Message for Dalit women for Successes**

Last question was asked them, "How Dalit women can be successful?" They gave clear message that patience, hard labor, organizational discipline are the key elements to get successes in political and other social lives. Almost all MPs responded the same thing that the Dalit women or anybody should have patience, labor and discipline for grabbing the successes in life. Otherwise, one can't get success.

Likewise, self study or university study to have adequate knowledge and skills to tackle the situation and enhancing the skills of training delivery, effective speech delivery, politeness are also supportive for getting the success. So, they appealed all Dalit women and other aspiring political and social personalities as well as administration lucrative jobs, one need to be very knowledgeable, skillful, polite, humble, disciplined, hard working, and patience. The persons with all these things will be definitely get succeeded. Thus, everyone should have patience, hard working culture, discipline, and honesty and humbleness for achieving the success.

## CHAPTER V

### MAJOR FINDING OF THE STUDY

Having thorough study and researching, major finding have been scrawl down as following synopsis. As all finding jotting down may not be possible, but it has been shortly described and synthesized. Some of the major findings are:

#### **5.1 All have faced Gender-based and Caste-based Discrimination**

All 12 Members of federal parliament especially of House of Representatives have faced not only gender-based discrimination, but also faced caste-based discrimination. Although they have been reached in such position, they also feel such discrimination in every steps of their life. For example, they won't be invited in the especially function or public functions such as marriage, chhewar, pasni of the so-called upper caste. Non-Dalit even talk of their culture and tradition to continue such heinous malpractices. As they face gender-based discrimination and caste-based discrimination equally, they also face caste-discrimination within women community at large. Backbiting, bullying, pulling, stigmatizing, negating and manipulating their self-esteem and dignity have been the key theoretical practices women and Non-Dalit apply for their further marginalization and vulnerability. They were largely underestimated for their roles from their leaders and parliamentary party. Altogether 66.67 percent responded that they have been underestimated. And 16.66 percent each in caste and gender based discrimination exposed through the research.

#### **5.2 Dalit women MPs know their roles and they are satisfied little bit**

As the universe taken altogether 12 Dalit women Member of parliament, they are almost all know their roles. Out of 12, 58.35 percent respondents replied that they are

satisfied with their roles and 66.65 percent respondents, they know about their roles as federal member of parliament ‘little bit’. Having discussed them rigorously, it has been found out that the Dalit women MPs need to provide more training and orientation for enhancing their capacity and to play the pivotal role as being the MP of HoR.

### **5.3 They are familiar with the process and norms as well as legislative and constitutional framework**

Having carried out the rigorous study about them, the Dalit women MPs are knowledgeable on the role more or less. Out of total universe, 66.65 percent respondents replied that they know the process and norms of parliamentary proceedings while 33.33 percent said that they know the process and norms ‘little bit’. Likewise, 50 percent respondent replied moderate and 33.33 percent replied as high or adequate knowledge of parliamentary proceeding and familiar with legislative and constitutional framework.

### **5.4 Legal & Policy provision achieved and tendered amendment proposal**

All respondents replied that they have achieved the legal and policy provision as well as some of them taken up constitutional drafting responsibility. Altogether 50 percent respondents responded that they tendered amendment proposal for the betterment of the Dalit and Dalit women as a intersectional community.

### **5.5 They frequently raised the issues and mainly Dalits and Dalit women issues**

The respondents replied that they frequently raise the issues in parliament. Altogether 50 percent respondents and 33.33 percent respondents replied “frequently” and “sometimes” respectively whereas 41.67 percent in each category of Caste-based and gender-based discrimination issues were raised by them. As being a Dalit women member of parliament, it was obvious that they raise gender and caste issues mostly.

### **5.6 Dalits MPs are less heard through media and less accepted by non-Dalit MPs**

As the society is discriminatory based on Hinduism, Dalit MPs' voices are heard less through the different media outlets. Rather national mainstream media did not cover their news and story as well as their raised issues. Altogether 50 percent respondents replied "sometimes" their voices heard through the media outlet especially from local level media. Non-Dalit MPs "sometimes" were receptive of their voices and concern and they rarely accepted the voices of unheard.

There is 50 percent respondents, the highest replied that other MPs shown 'Receptiveness' in "sometimes" not "mostly". A total of 25 percent responded "Rarely" and 16.67 percent wanted to listen them "Mostly". Likewise, altogether 83.33 percent said 'Yes' while asked "have you received any technical support from anybody or any institution?". Almost all MPs have received technical training on parliamentary proceedings and legal and policy framework, its formulation process shortly.

### **5.7 They contributed a lot for inclusive nation**

All total 12 MPs said that they have contributed a lot for making a inclusive state structures and mechanism in terms of policy and legal apparatuses. Some of them were active in making various laws for Dalits like land act, education act, labor act, civil service act, caste-based discrimination and untouchability act, National Dalit Commission Act, legal aid act/bill etc. The almost all laws were to be drafted by Ashoj 1, 2074 and in line with that various bill were drafted, tabled and passed through and Dalit women parliamentarian tendered amendment proposal and some of them have been passed through the House of Representatives which are very fruitful for entire Dalit community in general and Dalit women in particular.

### **5.8 They have more than 15 years engagement with party although there are challenges**

Almost all 12 Dalit women MPs have passed more than 15 years in their party. The very cream lives have been spent in. But there are lots of challenges while doing politics. As a major challenges altogether 41.67 percent respondent replied that they have 'inadequate study time' and 33.33 percent felt that they have challenges to 'raise the voices'. Some of them have also felt that they get less family support to fully engage in politics to enhance their leadership skills.

### **5.9 Neither motivation nor long-term vision for furthering politics**

Dalit women are just kept showcase by the political party leaders. They hesitate to provide a decisive position in government and thematic committee of the HoR. Hon'ble Nira Devi Jairu became the chairperson of the Monitoring of Human Rights and Directive Principles of State Committee and Sushila Shreepaili, Asha Kumar Bk, Bimala Bk, Kalawati Dushadh became the state minister once at their time, but they were not given full cabinet ministry. They have spent more than 20 years in the party politics, but they neither have got motivation nor have they prepared long-term vision for furthering the politics. They have not any written plan, altogether 50 percent respondent replied so.

### **5.10 School and College environment were motivating factors for them**

As other senior leaders of different political party, Dalit women MPs also go through the same legacy. Their motivational factors for coming into politics were mostly school environment and college environment. Family legacy, Friend circle and self-passion were other factors for motivating them to engage into politics. Dalit women were motivated largely with the school environment and college environment. From school

environment 33.33 percent were motivated whereas 25 percent motivated with college environment. Likewise 16.67 percent motivated in politics from their family background, or legacy of their father and 1 MP responded she was motivated with friend circle. Similarly, 16.67 percent responded that they had a self passion to engage in politics. In an overall, School and college environment were main motivating factors for their political engagement.

### **5.11 They are misbehaved severely as compared to FPTP MPs**

The constitution has made the provision of mix election system for forming the HoR, and Provincial Assemblies i.e. First Past the Post System (FPTP) and Proportional Representation (PR) system. There are 60 percent MPs who come from FPTP system out of 275 making 165 and 110 would come from proportional representation system in HoR. It is the thinking tendency that the MPs elected through PR system are second grader MPs as they have less power to become the Minister and allocate the budget as per their decision and wish for. So, Dalit women MPs have been severely misbehaved and discriminated as compared to FPTP member of parliament. Out of total sample, 83.33 percent responded that they feel misbehaved from leaders as compared to FPTP parliamentarians. Only 16.67 percent replied that they “don’t feel so”.

### **Other discussion and responses**

There was a crystal clear plan of the study area i.e. the members of Federal Parliament (FP) being elected and having tenure of 2074-2079 BS. The total universe of the study was set of 12 (twelve persons) Members of parliaments all from Dalit women community. The well management of the time with them was a herculean task and I did it very nicely with the rigorous communication and coordination, and collaboration.

Nepal's Constitutions (2015) has adopted a federal structure with 7 provincial and 753 local governments which include 6 metropolitan cities, 276 municipalities and 460 Rural Municipalities in addition to the central Federal Government Center or Federal Government based in Kathmandu, the capital. Following the accomplishment of all three spheres of elections in 2017, all provincial and local government have started functioning as per their constitutional mandate.

The transition from a unitary model of governance to federal is historic move to transform Nepal's structural problems to make it more equitable and just in order address historical subordination and suppression of marginalized and excluded communities like Dalits. Therefore, the process of federalism is seen as means to tackle the issue of exclusion, marginalization, and alienation, Federalism provides an opportunity to ensure more accountable, responsive and inclusive governance in Nepal.

Although, there has been a great provision of inclusion for Dalit women from local to national level political positions, this research has only focused to the Federal Parliament members, especially of the House of Representatives. There is not any other.

### **Opportunity to raise voice in parliament**

The survey aimed to explore opportunities for Dalit women MPs to raise their voice in parliament. 80% of responded that they can very easily raise their voice as there is no obstacles from their party or other MPs to raise their issue. However, only 63% reported that they get easy access to raise their voice and 37% said they get frequent opportunity to raise their voice in the parliament. None of the responded that it was not easy to raise their issues in the parliament.

During the interview, many respondents shared that as member of parliament and it cannot be curtailed by anyone. In other words, they assert their rights. They can raise their voice whenever they wish in Zero hour, in which 1 minute is given. However, none of the Dalit Female MPs have ever got the opportunity to speak in “special hour” which is of 3 minutes, as it is only allotted to big leaders and for issues of national importance. Respondents also said that, while they fully utilize Zero hours and raise issue of Dalit, it is rare that non-Dalit MPs even get opportunity to speak and raise issues of Dalit and Dalit women in special hour so I think special hour is for special leaders not for special issue.

### **Level of satisfaction among Dalits MPs**

The result shows that the level of satisfaction among Dalit women are even higher compared to overall response as 80% of Dalit women MPs reported that they are satisfied with the current position whereas 17% reported that they are satisfied with some extent and only 3% reported that they are not satisfied with the current position. Most of the Dalit women MPs during the interviews acknowledged that the position they have got is very significant and expressed their gratitude towards their party for giving them the opportunity. However, they also expressed that they are worried about whether they could live up to the expectation of the people they represent and make a real contribution or not. Also, while they are satisfied with their position, they also acknowledge that they must do a lot to prove that their representation is really meaningful and contributory to the lives of Dalits.

### **Other Challenges in their roles as MPs**

Elected Dalit MPs are responsible to perform various roles as a member of parliament. They need to take active participation in the parliamentary process, raise voice and concerns of their constituencies, participate in other development initiatives in their constituencies etc. Respondents were asked to report what are the major challenges they have been facing that has created obstacles for their effective role in the parliament. While the majority of the MPs perceived that they have been trying to perform their roles effectively, they reported that their role and participation would be even better if they receive more support on capacity building cooperation

Interviews also revealed other challenges:

The lack of coordination between the center and province. We are lost about our rights. In terms of implementation, federalism is in a difficult situation- Male PA member.

Many MPs emphasized the importance of support in different areas.

- There should be a Dalit Commission in the provinces as well as Dalit Women's Development Office.
- There needs to be support for technical knowledge and skill development.

A female Dalit MP expressed her concerned accordingly:

Even though Dalit women have come into politics after a lot of struggle, their leadership and capacity are not accepted and they are not given decisive roles./responsibility and this leaves Dalit women unsatisfied.

Another MP noted:

For Dalit women, there are challenges and problems from all sides. Economic deprivation, family responsibilities, weak educational status, social and gender discrimination many challenges.

### **Dalit Women MPs response on Treatment in Political Parties**

Dalit women MPs were also asked how they were treated in their own political party. Only 14% Dalit women MPs reported that they are treated fairly in politics and they have same level of opportunity, space, trust and confidence from their party and political leaders whereas 52% reported that they are moderately treated and over one third (34%) reported that they are unfairly treated in politics (figure 29). allowing them to work for the rights of Dalit and vulnerable communities. However, they also reported that they have not been able to get regular guidance from party leadership which would have motivated them more to perform their roles and responsibilities. Dalit women MPs also raised the issue of rare discussion within the party about political inclusion of Dalit and other vulnerable communities and their capacity building issues. Also, the comparative study on the level of satisfaction and motivation from gender perspective shows that Male MPs are overwhelmingly (73%) satisfied with the level of party support and motivation as only 20% reported that they get limited party support and only 7% reported that they don't get party support.

### **Community Attitudes: Acceptance in Community after being elected**

Political leadership among women has multiple effects at many levels of society, community and family. All Dalit women MPs responded that the level of acceptance, respect and recognition has significantly increased since they were elected as MPs. Initially there were undermined being Dalit, however now society and community

respect them as people's representative. They are invited to various programmes organized at the community level and consulted for advice and suggestion. The interviews also revealed that Dalit MPs are actively involved in community development activities besides their participation in the parliament. However, many female MPs, during the interview, also revealed that the respect they received in the society is because of their position only and in reality, they are still not fully accepted by society.

### **Changes experiences after being elected**

To gauge the change in social status after being elected, respondents were asked, "What are the changes you experienced after being elected as MPs". As figure 36 indicates, 36% respondents stated their level of confidence has increased as they now feel more confident and empowered. Also, 31 percent said they are receiving more family support and 38 percent said social respect from the community has increased. The level of acceptance towards their ability has increased.

### **Treatment for Dalit women MPs in Politics**

The survey respondents were asked about how they perceive the treatment they receive in politics. By treatment, we meant the space, exposure, responsiveness, trust and confidence, opportunity Dalit MPs including Dalit Female MPs receive in their political parties and from their political leaders. It is generally assumed that due to the patriarchal mindset, women MPs are not treated equal as compared to male MPs. The situation is likely to be more severe for Dalit women MPs as they may not be treated very well even from Dalit Male MPs.

Although, most of the Dalit MPs and political parties leaders praised the representation of Dalit women MPs and emphasized to strengthen their participation

during interviews, figures show that the perception level of Federal MPs regarding treatment of women in Politics is more negative as only 33.33% Federal MPs reported that women are treated fairly in politics, 33.33% reported that women are treated moderately whereas 66.33% of Federal MPs think women are treated unfairly in politics. Overall, only 8.33% MPs reported that Dalit women are treated fairly in politics, 41.67% reported that they are treated moderately and 25% reported that they are treated unfairly. Result clearly indicates that there is a trust deficit between Dalit women leaders and political parties as they don't feel they are adequately recognized and acknowledged and whatever representation they have in the parliament is the result of compulsion caused by mandatory constitutional provisions rather than willingness or sensitivity of the political parties. A Provincial Assembly member noted, "Our political participation is limited because there is discrimination in budget and we are not informed when there are meetings."

Dalit women MPs pointed out during interviews that the issue of participation of women are hardly discussed within the party and generally there is a tendency not to assign women in any significant role within the party. Also, there is lack of trust about their ability to execute their role as they are mostly seen as "Non-Influential" MPs, unlike male MPs who are considered more "Powerful" and close to political leadership. One Female Dalit MP of Federal parliament stated that political parties would have never nominated them as Member of Parliament had there been no constitutional obligation. Another Dalit female MPs stated that, though there are some changes observed in the structure of Parliament due to representation of Dalit women,

they have to overcome two major challenges - first they need to prove their worth and significance; and second they need to change the negative perception about Dalits.

### **Enabling factors for political participation**

Respondents were asked about their perception of enabling factors that are needed for active political participation and long term political career. Most of the MPs reported that political parties should respect the spirit of the constitution and they need to be more receptive towards the representation of Dalit women members in the parliament. Also, respondents emphasized on the need for economic empowerment for women, strong coordination and relationship with senior political leaders and MPs, capacity building and exposure visit. Many respondents also highlighted the need for family support, technical knowledge, and skills as key to enabling women for long term political career. Respondents said there is confusion about the federal system and its functions. Elected representatives were confused regarding their roles and responsibilities, rule of law and provincial rights and jurisdiction. Majority of respondents especially from Federal MPs acknowledged that they have received various orientation and capacity building programmes from different organizations mostly from civil society organization. However, members of provincial assembly are getting relatively lesser technical support such as induction, orientations, capacity building trainings, exposure visits and learning and sharing sessions, expert advise and mentoring support etc. The section below highlights some of the supporting factors for political participation.

## **PERCEPTION ABOUT SIGNIFICANT ROLE THAT INFLUENCED LEGISLATION OR DECISION**

This section presents findings on the perception of MPs about any significant legislative and policy changes or decisions that have resulted due to their interventions. According to the respondents' perception about their significant role in terms of legislative or policy change for Dalits, over two-thirds (66.33%) male MPs think they have been able to make significant changes in the legislation due to their contribution and effective role whereas only 33.33% of female MPs think they could make a significant contribution in terms of legislative and policy changes for Dalits. During the interview, many female MPs particularly MPs from provincial assembly reported that they have not been able to make any significant policy and legislative change due to various reasons including lack of conceptual clarity about the jurisdiction of federal parliament, lack of coordination among Dalit MPs and lack of effective technical support. MPs also reported that as Provincial Assembly is a new practice in Nepal, it has not been running very smoothly due to uncertainty about its jurisdiction, lack of capacity and many other reasons which have created obstacles for their roles as well.

## **INFLUENCE IN LAW AND POLICY CHANGES**

It is expected that the proportional representation of Dalit in parliament is expected to strengthen the collective voice of the Dalit MPs which will contribute to influence law and policy-making process in favor of Dalits. However, the study reported that Dalit women MPs are not happy with their achievement so far in terms of making any influence on the

lawmaking process in favor of Law. Barring to province 2 where Dalit women members took active initiative for the amendment of the Police Act and ensured 50 percent reservation for female, other MPs' role has not been able to influence any major policy decisions.

As figure 18 indicates, only 33.33% Dalit MPs reported that their participation has contributed for positive legislative changes for Dalits whereas, in Federal parliament, nearly two-thirds of Dalit MPs reported that they have contributed significantly for legislative measures for Dalit especially in laws related to the implementation of Fundamental Rights.

Many MPs of Federal Parliament responded that they have been playing an active and effective role for the protection and promotion of human rights of Dalit, women and other excluded and vulnerable community. Most of the Dalit women MPs of federal parliament has reported that they played a very active role in the lawmaking process related to the implementation of various fundamental rights. They actively participated in various discussion and consultations with various stakeholders to obtain views, feedback, and concerns. They proposed an amendments to the draft legislation to make the laws more responsive and progressive towards safeguarding and ensuring fundamental rights for the most vulnerable and marginalized communities including Dalits.

Federal MPs also reported that their role has contributed to making amendments in legislation relating to Free Education, the amendment in Caste-Based Discrimination and Untouchability (Prohibition and Punishment) Act 2068. Similarly, they reported that they performed an effective role in the discussion in relation to land reform

legislation and maternal health-related legislation. Contrary to the Federal MPs, the result shows that although Dalit women MPs of provincial MPs are raising issues and concerns related to Dalit and other general issues related to life and well-being of the people, there has not been any legislation made for Dalits as a result of Dalit women MPs efforts or interventions. Province two has recently drafted Bill on Dalit rights which is significant and welcome move; however this initiative is led by the government itself, not the Dalit MPs.

Qualitative data reveals that Dalit women MPs rate their role as very effective or effective considering their active participation and pro-activeness to raise different issues despite being less experienced in the parliamentary process. For example, a Female Provincial Assembly member noted: Its easy to raise issues relating to Dalit women in the parliament as we are Dalit women MPs. Whether we are heard or not heard, we have raised our issues. We discuss these issues in the committees. Before there was no inclusion in the committees. Now we are included in committees. The response on the effectiveness of Dalit women MPs is very much similar to the overall response of Dalit MPs (Figure 20). Only 20% Dalit women MPs reported that they think their role as Member of Parliament is very effective whereas 57% MPs reported that their role is effective. 17% reported that their role has been less effective, 3% reported that their role has not made any effect whereas 3% Dalit women MPs said they cannot rate their effectiveness at the moment.

### **Familiarity with their roles and responsibilities**

Survey participations were also asked about the level of familiarity with roles and responsibilities as MPs. Out of 11 respondents of Federal parliament, 6 said they are familiar with the roles and responsibilities.

### **Opportunity to raise voice in parliament**

The survey aimed to explore opportunities for Dalit women MPs to raise their voice in parliament. 80% of respondents that they can very easily raise their voice as there is no obstacles from their party or other MPs to raise their issue. However, only 63% reported that they get easy access to raise their voice and 37% said they get frequent opportunity to raise their voice in the parliament. None of the respondents that it was not easy to raise their issues in the parliament.

During the interview, many respondents shared that as a member of parliament and it cannot be curtailed by anyone. In other words, they assert their rights. They can raise their voice whenever they wish in Zero hour, in which 1 minute is given. However, none of the Dalit Female MPs have ever got the opportunity to speak in “special hour” which is of 3 minutes, as it is only allotted to big leaders and for issues of national importance. Respondents also said that, while they fully utilize Zero hours and raise issues of Dalit, it is rare that non-Dalit MPs even get opportunity to speak and raise issues of Dalit and Dalit women in special hour so I think special hour is for special leaders not for special issue.

### **Level of Satisfaction among Dalit Women MPs**

The result shows that the level of satisfaction among Dalit women are even higher compared to overall response as 80% of Dalit women MPs reported that they are satisfied

with the current position whereas 17% reported that they are satisfied with some extent and only 3% reported that they are not satisfied with the current position.

Most of the Dalit women MPs during the interviews acknowledged that the position they have got is very significant and expressed their gratitude towards their party for giving them the opportunity. However, they also expressed that they are worried about whether they could live up to the expectation of the people they represent and make a real contribution or not. Also, while they are satisfied with their position, they also acknowledge that they must do a lot to prove that their representation is really meaningful and contributory to the lives of Dalits.

### **Interviews also revealed other challenges**

The lack of coordination between the center and province. We are lost about our rights. In terms of implementation, federalism is in a difficult situation. Many MPs emphasized the importance of support in different areas. A female Dalit MP expressed her concern accordingly .

- The state and the party should bring special packages, programs and trainings.
- There needs to be support for technical knowledge and skill development.

Even though Dalit women have come into politics after a lot of struggle, their leadership and capacity are not accepted and they are not given decisive roles./responsibility and this leaves Dalit women unsatisfied. Another MP noted, “for Dalit women, there are challenges and problems from all sides. Economic deprivation, family responsibilities, weak educational status, social and gender discrimination many challenges.”

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### **Perception about Significant Role that Influenced Legislation or Decision**

This section presents findings on the perception of MPs about any significant legislative and policy changes or decisions that have resulted due to their interventions. According to the respondents' perception about their significant role in terms of legislative or policy change for Dalits, over two-thirds (67%) male MPs think they have been able to make significant changes in the legislation due to their contribution and effective role whereas only 34% of female MPs think they could make a significant contribution in terms of legislative and policy changes for Dalits. During the interview,

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women and other excluded and vulnerable community. Most of the Dalit women MPs of federal parliament has reported that they played a very active role in the lawmaking process related to the implementation of various fundamental rights. They actively participated in various discussions and consultations with various stakeholders to obtain views, feedback, and concerns. They proposed amendments to the draft legislation to make the laws more responsive and progressive towards safeguarding and ensuring fundamental rights for the most vulnerable and marginalized communities including Dalits.

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women in the parliament as we are Dalit women MPs. Whether we are heard or not heard, we have raised our issues. We discuss these issues in the committees. Before there was no inclusion in the committees. Now we are included in committees.

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### **Obstacles for Women in Political Participation**

The survey attempted to obtain the respondent's perception of obstacles for women in political participation. Two thirds (66%) of the respondents rated economic condition as the most common obstacle followed by lack of family support while (55%) of respondents considered historical structural imbalance caused by feudal mindset and patriarchal mindset and attitude and low level of literacy (52%) as obstacles for women's political participation. Also, 55% responded cited Caste and Gender-based discrimination as obstacles for women's participation in politics.

It is true that the quota system has resulted in significant number of Dalit women elected representatives across the country today. Unfortunately, however, political representation through quotas is not enough for effective and meaningful participation of Dalit women. The main obstacle is the multiple discrimination Dalit women face arising from the entrenched caste hierarchy, lack of family support, chronic poverty and patriarchy.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

#### 5.1 Summary

##### **Dalit women MPs have faced Gender-based and Caste-based Discrimination**

All 12 Members of federal parliament especially of House of Representatives have faced not only gender-based discrimination, but also faced caste-based discrimination. Although they have been reached in such position, they also feel such discrimination in every steps of their life. For example, they won't be invited in the especially function or public functions such as marriage, Chhewar, pasni of the so-called upper caste. Non-Dalit even talk of their culture and tradition to continue such heinous malpractices. As they face gender-based discrimination and caste-based discrimination equally, they also face caste-discrimination within women community at large.

##### **Dalit women MPs know their roles and they are satisfied little bit**

As the universe taken altogether 12 Dalit women Member of parliament, they are almost all know their roles. Out of 12, 58.35 percent respondents replied that they are satisfied with their roles and 66.65 percent respondents, they know about their roles as federal member of parliament 'little bit'. Having discussed them rigorously, it has been found out that the Dalit women MPs need to provide more training and orientation for enhancing their capacity and to play the pivotal role as being the MP of HoR.

##### **Familiar with the process and norms and legislative and constitutional framework**

Having carried out the rigorous study about them, the Dalit women MPs are knowledgeable on the role more or less. Out of total universe, 66.65 percent respondents replied that they know the process and norms of parliamentary proceedings while 33.33

percent said that they know the process and norms 'little bit'. Likewise, 50 percent respondent replied moderate and 33.33 percent replied as high or adequate knowledge of parliamentary proceeding and familiar with legislative and constitutional framework.

### **Dalit women MPs frequently raise issues mainly of Dalits and Dalit women**

The respondents replied that they frequently raise the issues in parliament. Altogether 50 percent respondents and 33.33 percent respondents replied "frequently" and "sometimes" respectively whereas 41.67 percent in each category of Caste-based and gender-based discrimination issues were raised by them. As being a Dalit women member of parliament, it was obvious that they raise gender and caste issues mostly.

### **Dalits MPs are less heard through media and less accepted by non-Dalit MPs**

As the society is discriminatory based on Hinduism, Dalit MPs' voices are heard less through the different media outlets. Rather national mainstream media did not cover their news and story as well as their raised issues. Altogether 50 percent respondents replied "sometimes" their voices heard through the media outlet especially from local level media. Non-Dalit MPs "sometimes" were receptive of their voices and concern and they rarely accepted the voices of unheard.

### **They contributed a lot for inclusive nation**

All total 12 MPs said that they have contributed a lot for making a inclusive state structures and mechanism in terms of policy and legal apparatuses. Some of them were active in making various laws for Dalits like land act, education act, labor act, civil service act, caste-based discrimination and untouchability act, National Dalit Commission Act, legal aid act/bill etc. The almost all laws were to be drafted by Ashoj 1, 2074 and in line with that various bill were drafted, tabled and passed through and Dalit

women parliamentarian tendered amendment proposal and some of them have been passed through the House of Representatives which are very fruitful for entire Dalit community in general and Dalit women in particular.

### **More than 20 years engagement with party although there are challenges**

Almost all 12 Dalit women MPs have passed more than 15 years in their party. The very cream lives have been spent in. But there are lots of challenges while doing politics. As a major challenges altogether 41.67 percent respondent replied that they have 'inadequate study time' and 33.33 percent felt that they have challenges to 'raise the voices'. Some of them have also felt that they get less family support to fully engage in politics to enhance their leadership skills.

### **Neither motivation nor long-term vision for furthering politics**

Dalit women are just kept showcase by the political party leaders. They hesitate to provide a decisive position in government and thematic committee of the HoR. Hon'ble Nira Devi Jairu became the chairperson of the Monitoring of Human Rights and Directive Principles of State Committee and Sushila Shreepaili, Asha Kumar Bk, Bimala Bk, Kalawati Dushadh became the state minister once at their time, but they were not given full cabinet ministry. They have spent more than 20 years in the party politics, but they neither have got motivation nor have they prepared long-term vision for furthering the politics. They have not any written plan, altogether 50 percent respondent replied so.

### **School and College environment were motivating factors for them**

As other senior leaders of different political party, Dalit women MPs also go through the same legacy. Their motivational factors for coming into politics were mostly school environment and college environment. Family legacy, Friend circle and self-

passion were other factors for motivating them to engage into politics. Dalit women were motivated largely with the school environment and college environment.

### **They are misbehaved severely as compared to FPTP MPs**

The constitution has made the provision of mix election system for forming the HoR, and Provincial Assemblies i.e. First Past the Post System (FPTP) and Proportional Representation (PR) system. There are 60 percent MPs who come from FPTP system out of 275 making 165 and 110 would come from proportional representation system in HoR. It is the thinking tendency that the MPs elected through PR system are second grader MPs as they have less power to become the Minister and allocate the budget as per their decision and wish for. So, Dalit women MPs have been severely misbehaved and discriminated as compared to FPTP member of parliament. Out of total sample, 83.33 percent responded that they feel misbehaved from leaders as compared to FPTP parliamentarians. Only 16.67 percent replied, they “don’t feel so”.

### **5.2 Conclusion**

This study shows that despite the constitutional provisions of proportional representation, the status of representation of Dalit is very low compared to the number of seats that should have been allocated. The situation is even worse for Dalit women since no Dalit woman was elected from FPTP system. While the representation of female Dalit MPs is a welcome step and it provides hope for the more inclusive and responsive governance, there is a strong need for continuous efforts to strengthen the capacity of the newly elected Dalit women members at both federal and provincial level as per the spirit of the constitution.

Women's participation in politics and parliament, as this research has shown, has varied impacts. While it provides an opportunity for newly elected Dalit women parliamentarians to engage in parliamentary processes to advocate for more equitable and Dalit friendly legislative and policy measures to address caste-based discrimination and human rights violations against Dalit, it has also strengthened overall political governance in Nepal. It has also empowered Dalit Women Parliamentarians. The state, especially Federal Parliament secretariate should launch series of training and orientation to the Dalit and Dalit women MPs so as to enhance their capacity and they need to be motivated well.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Dalit women Parliamentarians need strong support and assistance to enhance their technical capacity, leadership skills so that they can continue their political career beyond this parliament. Political Parties should develop a system to provide strong support, encouragement to create enabling an environment for Dalit women MPs.

Dalit Women's limited access to resources and inability to participate in public life is one of the core problems which should be addressed through a political leadership program. Dalit women Parliamentarians have relatively lesser experience and exposure in politics. Limited political experience puts them at a great disadvantage in understanding the larger structures and processes. Therefore, support initiative such as mentorship programs are vital for learning and building confidence and should be provided to newly elected Dalit women parliamentarians.

Nepal's Constitutions (2015) has adopted a federal structure with 7 provincial and 753 local governments which include 6 metropolitan cities, 276 municipalities and 460

Rural Municipalities in addition to the central Federal Government Center or Federal Government based in Kathmandu, the capital. Following the accomplishment of all three spheres of elections in 2017, all provincial and local government have started functioning as per their constitutional mandate, but they all need to be provided with some fruitful and effective training, coaching and orientation as well as exposure to expedite their roles and responsibilities.

The transition from a unitary model of governance to federal is historic move to transform Nepal's structural inequality to make it more equitable and just in order address historical subordination and suppression of marginalized and excluded communities like Dalits and Dalit women. Therefore, the state must be very serious and attentive for the upliftment of the Dalit women's position while overseeing and programming to non-Dalit women at large.

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Annex I: List of Federal MPs of Dalit Community

Annex II: Structured questionnaire. Developed by Researcher. 2023.

**THE ROLES OF DALIT WOMEN MEMBER OF FEDERAL PARLIAMENT IN  
THE PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIR**

**Annex I: Targeted MPs' List for the Research**

S.No.	Member of Parliament	Name of Party
1.	Hon'ble Anjana Bishunkhe	CPN (MC)
2.	Hon'ble Asha Kumari BK	CPN (UML)
3.	Hon'ble Bimala Nepali	Nepali Congress
4	Hon'ble Bimala BK	CPN (UML)
5	Hon'ble Bimala Bishwakarma	CPN (UML)
6	Hon'ble Dulari Devi Khatweni	CPN (MC)
7	Hon'ble Durga Kumari Bishwakarma	CPN (MC)
8	Hon'ble Kalu Devi Bishwakarma	Nepali Congress
9	Hon'ble Nira Devi Jairu	CPN (UML)/CPN (US)
10	Hon'ble Laxmi Pariyar	Nepali Congress
11	Hon'ble Parbati Kumari Bishankhe	CPN (UML)/CPN (US)
12	Hon'ble Sujata Pariyar	Nepali Congress

**THE ROLES OF DALIT WOMEN MEMBER OF FEDERAL PARLIAMENT IN  
THE PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIR  
RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE**

**Name of the Researcher: Devika Mijar**

**Name of Mentor/Supervisor: Tap Raj Joshi**

**Consent: To be read out to the respondent MPs**

Namaste! I am Devika Mijar, Researcher for writing MA Thesis for Sociology at Department of Sociology, Padma Kanya Multiple Campus, Bagbazaar, Kathmandu. I am conducting a research on the *Roles of Dalit women Member of Federal Parliament in the Parliamentary Affairs*. Thus, I would like to request you to provide me with the consent for receiving the interview with you. I make the commitment for maintaining the highest level of confidentiality of information. No information shall be published or disseminated without the prior information or permission of respective MPs.

Thank you for your time and cooperation!     *Name of MP:* .....

*Consent Given: (Sign)* .....

1. Have you experienced any gender-based discriminations as a woman member of parliament?

Yes  No  Don't like to Say

2. Have you experienced any caste-based discrimination as a Dalit member of parliament?

Yes  No  Indirectly  Don't like to Say

3. Are you satisfied with the current status of Dalit women's representation in parliament?

Yes  No  little bit  't like to Say

4. Are you familiar with your roles and responsibilities as a parliamentarian?

Yes  No  A little bit  't like to Say

5. Are you familiar with the process and norms of parliamentary proceeding?

Yes  No  A little bit  't like to Say

6. How familiar are you with the legislation and constitutional framework relating to parliamentary processes?

Less  Moderate  Highly

7. What type of problem/discrimination Dalit women parliamentarians are facing in parliamentary party?

Underestimate  harassment  er  Ca

8. Do you believe that any policy and legal provisions have been achieved through your parliamentary activities?

Yes  No  Don't know/Observed

9. What is the most important initiative you have taken as a member member of parliament?

Tendered Amendment Proposal  Passed the Amendment

Raised National Pertinent Issues  All above

10. How often did you raise the issues or agenda in the parliament?

Frequently  Sometimes  Rarely  Not given time

11. What agenda or issues you mostly raise in the parliament?

Discrimination against Dalits  Health and Education

Protection of Dalits Occupation  Youth and Employment

Environmental Protection  Dalit Women's Rights

12. How receptive were other parliamentarians towards your ideas views in parliament?

Mostly  Sometimes  Rarely  Never

13. Have you received any technical support from any one/ institution on issues to be raised in the parliament ?

Yes  Rarely  Sometimes  Don't needed

14. Did you get any attention/ coverage in media?

Yes  No  Sometimes  Not at all

15. Do you think your participation contributed for making a more inclusive nation?

Yes  No  Little bit  I don't think so

16. What are major challenges you are facing in parliamentary role ?

To raise voices  Less family support  Inadequate study

17. How long have you been engaged in politics before getting elected?

Below 5 years  10 years  15 years  20 years+

18. Do you have any long-term vision or action plan for your future role?

Yes  No  Not in written form  Might be

19. How frequently and easily are you getting opportunity to present your opinion in parliament ?

Frequently  As per wish  Sometimes  Rarely  Never/I haven't asked yet

20. Did your party leaders motivate you to participate in parliamentary proceeding ?

Yes  No  Show indifference  Demotivate

21. What are the motivating factors for you to join the politics?

Family background  School environment  College  
environment  Friends circle  Self passion

22. Do you feel discriminated as compared to directly elected  
parliamentarians?

Yes  No  I don't feel so  Indirectly

23. What possible impact Dalit women can bring out as a parliamentarians?

Legal and policies changes  Structural changes  Nothing

24. What are the Dalit friendly legislative and policy measures that have been  
under taken during your tenure ?

CBDU Act  Education Act  Labor Act  Civil Act  Other

25. What measures need to be taken to enhance Dalit women parliamentary  
performance?

Regular Training  Seminar  Feedback  Motivation

26. Do you have anything to say or share to Dalit and marginalized women to  
become successful?

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.....

Date collected by

Devika Mijar, Researcher

Signature:

Date: .....