

## I. Dalit as Subaltern in Nepalese Context

This research paper examines the politics of representation of Dalit issues in the two English broadsheets, namely *The Rising Nepal* and *The Republica*, which are similar with – distinct; once. They are similar in the sense that both are broadsheets mainstream newspaper in English in Nepal. On the other hand, they are distinct as *The Rising Nepal* is affiliated with the state which like the ‘traditional intellectuals’ is guided with the traditional concept, whereas *The Republica* is governed by the private sector trying to be as ‘organic intellectual’. The key question of this research is more concerned with the politics of representation of the Subaltern, Dalit people in Nepalese context with reference to these two broadsheets.

Dalits are regarded as Subaltern in Nepal because they are unable to raise voice against exclusion, which has been imposed on them for centuries; they are not represented in social, political, cultural, educational and even in forth organ of the state, media as well. In recent days, as the resistance for representation is going higher, media has given little more spaces to the news and articles related to Dalits. But the question this research tires to raise is the politics of representation of the Dalits in media. The question is more concerned on how they are representated rather than what have been represented about Dalits in Nepalese media. To support this claim, this research draws some theoretical concept from the theory of representation, cultural theorist Stuart Hall, but mostly it will be concerned with the idea of hegemony by Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci explorers the concept of hegemony, or ideological and moral leadership of society, to explain how the ruling-class maintains their dominance and influence over society.

Gramsci states the ruling-class maintaining its dominance over society in two different ways: coercion and consent hegemony. It uses the army, the police, prisons,

courts of the capitalist state to force other classes to accept its role and uses ideas and values to persuade the subordinate class that its rule is legitimate. Gramsci, like Hall, believes that they misrepresent because they control influential institutions, such as popular media which creates identity is constituted not outside but within cultural representation.

Gramsci's notion of hegemony is "a social condition in which all aspects of social reality are dominated by or supportive of a single class" (qtd. in Mayo 35). For Gramsci, hegemony relies on particular notions of state and social reproduction through which the state does not rule only by force employing coercive means (military, police and ruling agents) but by winning the consent; and this consent is won on a complex and uneven terrain by invested actors; the state for him necessarily maintains its power by striking accords between dominant interests and the interest of the resistant groups.

This research basically focuses on how Dalit issues are being represented differently in the print media, state owned newspaper and the private sector in newspaper. Media shapes the cultural representation so their ideologies have to remain the same for all; the true spirit of the news has to be covered by the media. But in case of Subaltern like Dalit, they hardly are represented in media as it is supposed to be. Media misrepresents Dalit issues just concerning to create a discourse and financial interest which violates the rules and ethics of media. In this sense, Hall and Gramsci argue that "Cultural hegemony" is the idea that a particular social group in a culturally diverse society can rule or dominate all other social groups. On the other hand, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak has critically discussed on the issue of Subaltern in her prolific essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Spivak has viewed in her essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" that if in the context of colonial production, the Subaltern has

no history, and cannot speak, the Subaltern female is even more deplete in shadow (28). Here she relates the condition of women and Subaltern. They do not their own history. They cannot speak. That is why, they are assumed as Subaltern.

Entire history of Dalit's communities is not only subjected and discriminated religiously, politically, educationally, economically and socially but in the field of Media also they have been observed and given very less priority. Those communities have long run in demanding struggle for equal treatment of state with equal propositional representation in all sectors. Why have Dalit issues been given less priority? Or why are Dalit issues being twisted while giving space in the media? When the media has no adequate presentation of the marginalized community like Dalit, how does it come true that media is called as a 'voice of the voiceless'? This question takes us to Hall's idea of representation, Michel Foucault's idea of power and Gramsci's notion of hegemony. The primary objective of this study is to examine how the Dalit voices are inadequate and misrepresented in print media. The news that supports for the upliftment of the Dalit community is hardly given coverage as the news published on 20 February, 2018 in *The Republica* entitled "No toilets for Dalits in ODF Rukum". Do you think only Dalit community live in Rukum? Do you think only Dalit community does not have toilets? Does it bring reformative autonomous consciousness in Subaltern community? It is not representation but misrepresentation. Many communities are there who do not have toilets but Media only focuses on Dalits because they are not in power and no more agencies to speak on behalf of the Dalits. It shows how Dalit people are deprived of their basic rights but not an awareness but humiliates them. The media shows the pathetic condition of entire Dalit community but lacks their betterment and solution behind the problem. The news also does not talk about the responsibility of of the government development agencies.

In the context of South Asia, caste system is the basic foundation of the Hindu society, which is based on the 'Varna'. Nepalese social structure is also based on the 'Varna' where different caste groups and individuals interact and are inter dependent each other. The 'Varna' or Caste system is based on primary social classification. Due to 'Varna' system, Dalit become lower class in society which always pushes them back to be inferior. So, they are still Subaltern in Hindu society. According to *Bhaagbat Geeta*, the division of Caste system in the society was based on Brahma's divine manifestation of four groups. These are the Brahmin (Priests and teachers were cast from his mouth), the Kshatriya (Rulers and warriors from his arms), the Vaishya (Merchants and traders from his stomach) and the Sudra (Workers and peasants from his feet). As Nepal National Dalit Social Welfare Organization reports states that "the source for proof for this setup is the *Bhaagbat Geeta*, one of the holy books [sic] of Hindu religion" (10). Gramsci states that history is the domain of power. In the words of Gramsci:

The history of Subaltern social groups of people is necessarily fragmented and episodic. There undoubtedly does exist a tendency to (at least provisional stages of) unification in the historical activities of these groups, but this tendency is continually interrupted by the activity of the ruling groups; it therefore can only be demonstrated when an historical cycle is completed and this cycle culminates in a success. Subaltern groups are always subject to the activity of ruling groups, even when they rebel and rise up: only 'permanent' victory breaks their subordination and that not immediately. (*Prison Notebooks* 54-55) .

Gramsci 'define' the concept of cultural hegemony that can only be understood within a variety of historical and intellectual contexts. Ruling groups impose a direction on social life; subordinates are manipulatively persuaded to board the 'dominant fundamental' express. In course of history, fragmentation of social group it was essential due to different kinds of labour division but later ruling class made it rude for their benefits. He argues that in order to overcome hegemony, the proletariat must develop their own 'counter-hegemony' to win leadership of society.

In the history of Nepal, the caste system first came into existence during the early, medieval period. Bhakta Vishwakarma states that "This system was more formalized and ritualized by some famous Hindu sages like Bhrgu who propounded rules and regulations and formed Manushmriti which provides guidance to the king and further enhanced the caste system" (20). The King, Jaysthiti Malla divided the people into four Varna and sixty four castes under certain belief and criteria in the society. The Sudra are divided into two types, touchable and untouchable. Dor Bahadur Bista states that, "Casteism formalized it under the law in the 14<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of occupation" (21). At the period of the Malla, water touchable Sudra were allowed to worship the god and water untouchable Sudra were not allowed to worship the god and goddess. Gramsci states that in capitalist societies, the ruling-class relies heavily on consent to maintain their rule. He believes that they are able to do so because they control influential institutions, such as popular media, magazines, TV channels etc and forces such as the police force. Thus, regardless of economic conditions seemingly provoking revolution, there will not be one until society no longer accepts ruling-class hegemony which is cultural hegemony.

Dalits are regarded as a Subaltern group of people in Nepal because they are socially, politically, economically and educationally excluded from every strata of the

state. Even in the modern period, king Prithvi Narayan Shah, known as the symbol of national unification addressed the nation, Nepal is a common garden where fourteen castes and thirty sub-caste blossom frothy continueing the traditional social hierarchy placing the Dalit community at the buttomn of the social status. Bista explores, "To Describe the caste hierarchy wide formulated as the Mulukiain the totality of this caste universe had been paraphrases in the code as char Varna Chhatis jat(four Varna and thirty six castes"(38). The phrase shows the familiarity of Nepalese with the Varna system and it is regarded as a main basis of social division.

As described in the myths of Hindu religion, the Brahmins were created from the mouth, Chhetri from the arm, Vaishya from the Stomach and Sudra were created from the foot of the God Brahmin and considered to be lowest as possible. In this regard, Shekhar Parajuli opines, "Later on this category of the Varna system took this form of the caste system" (34). So, this caste system is not recent; it has been rooted for long time.

These castes were further subdivided in many sub castes, which help to stratify the Nepalese society. Krishna Bahadur Bhattachan states, "The Dalits are categories in three groups which are as follows; "Pahadi Dalit (Damai, Kami, Sarki, Gaine) are the main, Madhesi Dalit ( Mushar, Chamar, Dome, Halkher, Tatma, Badi) and Janajati Dalit (Newari, Dalits are Kasai, Pode and chyume)" (9). In the context of Nepal there are many Dalit communities in the south to north of Nepal. They have created such categories, fragmentise among Dalits to rull over them for long run.

The term Dalit is used extensively in different reports, studies, deliberations and day-by-day dialogue, understanding differs as to its definition. The literal meaning of Dalit in Nepali dictionary is "the person who is suppressed" (87). In the context of South Asia, Dalit is a common term used to address socially, culturally,

economically and politically marginalized individuals or communities. Y.B. Kisan, argues that the literal meaning of the word Dalit, is shattered; over burdened; suppressed; squeezed; stepped upon; kneaded; ground down; shamed by being required to bow to someone else's feet; or silenced through suppression" (6). Dalits are the occupational castes and are treated as untouchables in the context of Nepal.

The term 'Subaltern' is etymologically derived from the Latin 'sub' and 'alter' which means under and other respectively. The term Subaltern refers to those who are deprived of the opportunities and do not have access in each and any strata of their state. It represents the most backwarded or oppressed people whose action and deeds are not recorded in main stream politics. The Subaltern people try to raise their question against selected people. They are assumed as the second class people. As an outcome, Subaltern Studies provide Subaltern people with their own history and own voice. Subaltern Studies tries to find out their real existence and their contribution in all aspects.

In entire history of Subaltern community, they do have great role to make history but their history has been sidelined, under representation. Gramsci, Foucault and Spivak focus that Subaltern, do have great history which history should be rewritten from the bottom of the surface. Those people who are unable to raise voice against social discrimination and menial jobs for their survival are known as Subaltern; Dalits, in Nepal. Where the Nepal National Dalit Social Welfare Organisation reports, "Untouchable had to perform the menial jobs and enslaved to work in the field of the landlords, which strengthened the feudalistic structure of rural country and encouraged the landlords with the opportunities of exploiting the labors" (1). The proposed Bill on Dalits in Nepal forwarded by the National Dalit commission defines the term Dalits as "those who by virtue of atrocities of caste based

discrimination and untouchability, are most backward in social, economical, educational, political and religious fields and are deprived of human dignity and social justice" (13). Rajendera Dhital in his MA research paper defines Dalits as, "There are many synonymous term such as 'Pariganit', 'achut', or 'pani nachalne' or 'Aprisya' (untouchable), 'Harijan'(people of god), 'Sudra' (untouchable), 'utpidit jat' (depressed caste) and so on" (14). There are different synonymous of Dalit which has becoming a tool to make them disintegrate among themselves. Which represents somehow lost of identity of Subaltern, Dalits.

Caste system is not bad but it made bad. At the beginning it was just labour division but later on became evil for those people whom gave menial work. They have been suffering since that day till now. News published in *The Republica* on 25 March, 2018 entitled "Dalits enter temple for first time in 960 years" the text presents that Dalits have always dreamt of worshipping at the temple and the dream has now come true. They not only entered the temple but also had the Tika mark placed on their foreheads by an upper caste priest. That moment has been taken as a huge milestone in the Dalit movement. Does it bring positive impact to the reader and entire Dalit community? Number of news is not a big deal but my concern is how it has been represented? Whether it brings reformative consciousness among Dalit community or humiliates. Despite the fact that even having news coverage it is not representation but misrepresentation. A discourse or representation has long lasting impact. Misrepresentation is more dangerous than non-representation. Why does above mentioned news misrepresentation and dangerous? The argument can be "the news is a proof of dalit discrimination even in this 21<sup>st</sup> century. It clearly shows that upto this date there is no Dalit entered into the temple which still represents the marginalization of the same community.



The Dalit communities are facing the discrimination almost like everyday. However, the Constitution of Nepal has passed a bill against Caste based Discrimination and Untouchability, but it lacks in the implementation side. The NDC reports reflect that "constitutionally all people are equal and discrimination is punishable but society is still in practice of traditional concept" (45). The status of Dalit is still lower in Nepalese society. Other caste/ethnic group have dominate Dalits Socio economically, religiously, culturally, educationally and politically. In 2006, Legal Aid and Advisory Division reports, "The social hierarchy is not only reflected in the pattern of social status, Dalits are the social group holding the smallest portions of land, and are economically more vulnerable compared to other social group" (xi). This report manifests how Dalits are deprived of their human rights. The socio-economic status should be upgraded and legally the discrimination should be ended for the national development. However, the so-called higher caste has always paralyzed socio-cultural harmony among the citizens of the same community of the state.

In the context of Nepal, Dalits are a part of Subaltern Studies due to their socio-economic, political status and representation to the state. Ranjit Guha's notion of "Subalternity" was borrowed from Antonio Gramsci following which Subaltern classes are deemed to have limited means of representation. In this regard Guha says:

Gayatri Spivak however addresses the relation of the subaltern and the State for an angle different from that persuaded by Rabusa, Ghosh and Sen by a necessary return to the idea of representation. She begins with the strict definition of the subaltern as the position without identity....There are some of the question we invited the symposium participants to address it the subaltern primarily a political construct...The non recognition of subaltern resistance by the State is a problems of infrastructure, which produced by State is inadequate for subaltern voice

to be heard. The subaltern is after all, that which the State doesn't interpolate. (358-62).

Guha focuses his ideas upon Spivak's concept. The ideas of representation and the identity crisis of Subaltern are shown by Guha. State should uplift the Subaltern voice to come in the mainstream level of the state adequately.

Subaltern Studies focuses on the socio-cultural discrimination as Dalit and Non-Dalit issues in Nepal. Dalits are one among many of Nepalese people. Yet their voice has been far cry. Nepal is a multicultural, multilingual and multiethnic country where various castes are existing here. There are lots of Subaltern groups whose voices are still a far cry. Among them, Dalit community is regarded as a Subaltern group whose voices cannot come fore to us. They are labeled as Subaltern. In the words of Tara Lal Shrestha, "Everyone is not a Subaltern but subalternity is always everywhere. It is within and without text. It is within and without literary text. With the rising of the voice of the voiceless group, subalternity is coming to the core of all disciplines of knowledge" (My trans 42). Subaltern is everywhere. It is coming in the front to merge in all disciplines. The voice of margin is coming to the mainstream level. Thus, Subaltern Studies is an approach to uplift the history-less and voiceless people from the bottom. It is a concept started in South Asia and flourished all over the world. It remained in the central position in the recent time too where development is taken as a primary concern.

This research applies the theoretical insight of Subaltern Studies and cultural representation. It makes significant contribution in the area of critical analysis of media discourse with the help of Stuart Hall's theory *Representation* in association with Gramscian notion of hegemony. It shows how the state media maintains subtly and logically the grand narrative of politics of Dalit issue by representing it with the language which is different as per their interest of the different media houses and their power relation, that can be seen while analyzing the two broadsheets English newspapers *The*

*Republica* and *The Rising Nepal*. Thus, the Subaltern group Dalit in Nepal is under the violent circle of print media, where they are represented but the representation is problematic.

The major concern of the research is to show how and why the Dalits voices are inadequately represented in print media as their voices are generally twisted due to the exercise of power hegemony in the course of representing them. This research paper makes a survey about the ethics of broadsheet dailies like "Dalit woman gang raped in Rautahat" (*The Rising Nepal*), "Warm clothes distributed in Dalit settlements" (*The Rising Nepal*), "26-point resolution to solve Dalits' problems" (*The Rising Nepal*), "When a widow is denied citizenship certificate" (*The Rising Nepal*), "Poor Dalit settlement waiting for warm clothes", "Dalit villages finally get clean drinking water", "NC leader Bhandari announces 300 houses for marginalized people" (*The Republica*), "Poor Nepali Dalits" (*The Republica*) and some others. If we contemplate on these news coverages, we can feel that *The Republica* and *The Rising Nepal* fail to speak reality of the voiceless community. The real consciousness of the oppressed community, that is Dalits is often represented beyond the reality. They just only observing the events of Dalit community from the surface level or capitalistic interest. Representation of Dalits by elites is problematic because they consider Dalits as inferiors.

This research work has been divided into three chapters. The first chapter of the research includes the brief introduction to the project, caste system in general, mass media and representation with literature review. It has been more focused on Subaltern and Dalits in Nepalese context as overall introduction. The second chapter is about reading the newspapers from the theoretical modality that is Subaltern Studies. The third or final chapter of this research contains the conclusion of the whole work with recommendation for securing more secured spaces to Dalit Subaltern in media.

## II. Representation of Dalit in Print Media

Media is one of the most powerful medium of the state to address all major incidents whatever incident takes place in different corners of the state. *The Rising Nepal* and *The Republica* are influential print media of Nepal. It is a source of information for all people which has been creating a distinctive discourse in society representing Dalit issues with the interest of elitist group as well. Representation is one of the most important issues because Foucault and so many critics including Stuart Hall argue that powerful people are always in center. They are over represented and powerless ones are under represented because power creates discourse and only power controls everything. Media is also generally control by powerfull people. That is why representation of powerless people are always under shadow. Even Dalit journalists are helpless despite the fact that they have position in media but they could not act autonomously. Various forms of power politics are associated over there. For example Dalit as a Subaltern, as discussed in the earlier chapter can not be refered to show hardship of powerful to work. So, in the center of the media representation, they generally exist at the corners.

Some references taken from two broadsheets in English can make this claim clearer. *The Rising Nepal* is the most popular English newspaper in the press history of Nepal. It is a national daily newspaper. Since it is published in English medium, the foreign people also learnt useful matters of the country like containing healthy, responsible and entertaining materials form the standpoint of national view point and coverage with feeling of nationality and democratic spirit and about our political, economical, social, historical and the present condition of the country. In the front page of *The Rising Nepal* publishes different kind of news related with the government, whoever is leading the government. In this section hardly we find news

related to Subaltern issues. News should come up with true representation but there has been misrepresentation without proper concern of their sentiment. Some space has been given but not so satisfactory at all. The newspaper spreads news and views of the government including public opinions of publics as well. These can be feedback for the government and the leaders. So, they can make policies to address the public interests. And, they can correct if it is necessary.

In the editorial part of the *The Rising Nepal* mostly we find the concern of governmental activities, titled "Mandate And Mess"; Even after the historic success of three-tier elections, Nepal's political process gets stuck in legal glitches putting a damper on the people's hope to see the formation of new government at earliest...(4), published in *The Rising Nepal* on 3 January, 2018 and entitled "Ensure Effective Security"; Despite the government's commitment to ensuring adequate security for the candidates contesting the federal and provincial polls...(4), published in *The Rising Nepal* on 19 November, 2017 these all news ensures that the news in editorial part mainly concern with the issues of the governmental organizational capabilities and responsibilities. But Dalit issues are not including in editorial part. Is Dalit not integral part of editorial? Why does that the editor not pay attention on Dalit's culture, their activity, performance and way of life? Is it not duty of News editor to address marginal Dalits of the same state? There are several news regarding Dalit community but my question is that how they have been represented? News published in *The Republica* on 25 March, 2018 as the "Dalits enter temple for first time in 960 years" Does it bring revolutionary consciousness in Subaltern community? In spite of having coverage news related Dalits it made me to raise question against of representation because of it is not representation but misrepresentation, there is less

positive hope. In addition at the end part of the *The Rising Nepal* always brings us matters for entertainment especially news related to sport.

*The Republica* is a national daily newspaper published by Nepal Republic Media Pvt. Ltd. in Kathmandu, Nepal. The newspaper began its online edition on 1 January, 2009 and the print edition on 24 April, 2009. *The Republica* is the sister publication of the *Nagarik*. When we talk about *The Republica* we came to know that the front page of *The Republica* covers only with the interest of the different partis and certain groups only but it should be like a source of news which always dedicated toward their readers is to provide them with impartial news, bold views, in-depth analysis and thought-provoking commentary. They have to do this without fear or favor, and they should be guided by nothing but their conscience. *The Rising Nepal* and *The Republica* should bring us news as it happens.

Moreover, in the editorial part it also highlights the issues of governmental issues. Published on 9 February, 2018 entitled "700 and more New decision on Martyre", and on 6 February, 2018 entitled "Federalism and local units" which reads: "with the provincial assembly meetings of Province 1 and 4 held on Monday, all seven provinces have begun their long anticipated federal exercise..." (6). In this regard the media which gives more prioritize the news related the government rather than public issues. The editor should write news being a neutral. In the news there is no more concern and elaboration of the Dalit community.

This paper analyses how the newspaper media exploits the language, ideas and knowledge on the basis of their pre-existing ideology and capitalistic interest and misrepresent. The newspaper professionals would claim that they give their "readers an impartial and well-informed picture of what was really happened" (quoted in Fowler 2). But the newspaper professionals represent the incidents as news as per

their interest. This research dig out the issue of Dalit in Nepal in general and prints media news in particular. It captures the condition of Dalit from past to present.

Media is a voice of voiceless group but in the context of Nepal it has become a voice of elite group. Still disenfranchised groups are from proper access of Media. Dalits are regarded as a Subaltern group of Nepal. Generally, this research have based upon the condition of Dalit community historically. Dalit history has interlinked with the present condition of this community which has been represented by print media. This paper traces the incident of Dalit. Representation of the issue of Dalit in *The Rising Nepal* and *The Republica* is the main concern of this research. Dalits are regarded as inferior not only from socially, economically, culturally and politically but even from the media, which takes the Dalit subject matter as an inferior. So I have taken few news of the *The Rising Nepal* and *The Republica* from time frame of January, 2014 to March, 2018.

This thesis explores how the state owned broadsheet *The Rising Nepal* uses language and politicises to serve the interests of social constructed ideology. It also incorporates analysis of the language and politics of representation from the English broadsheet *The Republica* and *The Rising Nepal*. It focuses on the politics of representation of Dalit issue on two English broadsheets. I have taken these newspaper articles as a primary source for my further research because of these all news articles are relevant. Particularly, it analyzes critically the politics of representation of Dalits issues in print media. The newspaper articles; “Acid attack at Bashantapur”, “The Khukuri Makers”, “Poor Dalit settlement waiting for warm clothes”, “An ex-Kamlari, a Dalit widow become state parliamentarians”, “Poor Nepali Dalit”, “NC leader Bhandari announces 300 houses for marginalized people”, “Dalit woman gang raped in Rautahat”, “When a widow is denied citizenship

certificate”, “26-point resolution to solve Dalits’ problems”, “Cold affects Dalit settlement in Bara”, etc.

In the context of Nepal, Dalit has been excluded socially, culturally, educationally, economically and politically. This is the moment of Republican country and should draw the attention of stakeholders, law enforcement unite and political parties to those group who are excluded from resources and power sharing domains. Whatever condition of Dalit’s community is nowadays that is because of the extreme discrimination and social exclusion.

‘Verna’ or caste system, in Nepal and most part of India as well, Dalits are considered as the lower/schedule caste and untouchable throughout the history of the civilization. Dalits are Nepal’s most disadvantaged large group. They make up more than 13.8 percent of the population and are socially excluded, and economically and politically marginalized. Nepalese society is extremely discriminatory and exclusionary based on caste, sex, ethnicity, class, location, language and culture. While socialization processes, discriminatory and exclusionary mindset has been developed in every Nepali citizen. Due to this, certain groups like Dalits, women, and indigenous nationalities lag far behind in political and socio-economic spheres.

By observing the content and coverage of English broadsheet dalties, *The Rippublica* and *The Rising Nepal*, the research assumes the print media covers news concerning government interest or the interest of the power group. The news published in *The Rippublica* on 25 March, 2018 entitled “Dalits enter temple for first time in 960 years” it represents:

Members of the Dalit community recently took a big step, entering the renowned temple of Bala Tripura Sundari Bhagwati at Tanke Danda of Tripura Sundari Municipality-1, Dolpa for the first time. Though there



are no exact dates for this temple, it is said to have been established in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. It is among the most popular religious sites of the mid-western region. It's not that Dalits had not tried to enter the temple before. But they were barred from doing so... (38635).

I do not think so it is a big step for the Dalit community but in news they represent it as a big achievement those community. It clearly shows that in the media mostly news regarded Subaltern community they represent not as per interest of the Subaltern but of power group. Which proves the indifference of the media house towards the social development of the minorities as the theory of Subaltern study defines that minorities are always left behind, deprived and are not in the situation to enjoy their basic fundamental rights and other cultural facilities. Gramsci argues that “Organic intellectual” always want to change and are against “traditional intellectual”, they represent as it is without being biased. But here seems more concerning stereotyping conservative concept with under representation. Such representation does not bring awareness and positive message in society. They should be conscious not only number of issues but how it should be represent as well. In the name of “Organic”, *The Republica* they are more dissembling Subaltern group of people with problematic representation of their issues.

Media is a forth organ of state and voice of the voice-less group. But in context of Nepal, it is not practically practiced. The representation of the Subaltern group in the media can be the way to raise the voice and put their culture in front of the media. According to *Nepali media Ma Dalit*, about 2% Dalit are only engaged jurnalixtic field where as rest of the jurnalistic field are coverd by non Dalit. In this context how can Dalit ract their operation and trauma? It shows the clear images of the representative of Subaltern; Dalit is very limited compared to other journalists. In

the case of *The Rising Nepal* and *The Republica*, there are no any numbers of Dalit journalists working for them.

Similarly, Dalits are not only deprived and descriminated socially, ecomically, politically, but they are equally sidelined from the mainstream Nepali media as well. An extended research conducted in 18 media houses and publishers, and eight newspapers of Kavre district by Rudra Charmakar in 2010 revealed that "the media has not been paying proper attention to Dalit issues or Dalit representation." Most of the published news items are not given priority on the front page. As the major concern of this proposed research project is to critically evaluate some of the major incidents/events in regards to the Dalit issue published in *The Ripublica* and *The Rising Nepal*, there are numbers of such events throughout the year of 2014 and the beginning quarter of 2015 Such as "Basantapur Acid Attack", "The Khukuri Makers", etc. Most of these published events are not found Dalit community friendly and Dalit sensitive.

Having reviewed the most recent incident on 22 February, 2015 an acid attack on 3 school girls, Sangita Magar of Khaniya- 8, Ramechhap (siverely injured), Seema Basnet of Paurahi 1 Rautahad and Hemu (slightly wonded) took place in Vasantapur in the heart of the capital city Kathmandu. After a thorough investigation by Nepal Police almost for a month finally found out that Mr. Jeevan B. K. permanetly of Phulashi VDC. in Ramechhap and currently residing at Tokha Kathmandu was the attacker and he is currently in police cusdity. As Jeevan himself is a Dalit and belongs to a lower class family, the incident has been presented in many different ways through different media. Many medias presented the incident in their own way and own interest as they have the position which has both power and politics. *The Republica*, a daily broadsheet on 21 March, 2015 publishes the same

incident with the headline of "Acid Attack was for Unrequited Love" as the perspective of love relationship only which is more superficial and far more than the reality. As Stuart Hall's concept of "Misrepresentation" defines that there is a "true" or "fixed" meaning; Problem: meanings are constructed versus "true" or fixed" New meaning: representations as constitutive of events; the meaning depends on who controls the means of representation.

In this way, the meaning that is made on the basis of love relationship between Jeevan and Sangita which ultimately led towards the crime of acid attack by *The Republica* is just a constructed one. As the media hold the control of the means of representation, it always represents any of the events according to their own interest. The unrequited love of Jeevan towards Sangita seems to cause the crime of Acid Attack. While looking at the socio-cultural background and their past relation even their family connectivity reveals the inner reality, the truth behind the attack.

News published in *The Rising Nepal* on 22 March, 2015 mentions that families of Sangita and Jeevan shared the same rented building at Jonchee, Basantapur for the last three years. Once when there was good relation between the two families, Jeevan used to teach Sangita and her younger brother Shantosh at their rented flat. When the family of Sangita knew that Jeevan is a boy from the so-called lower caste community, the relation went sour, Jeevan stopped teaching them and the family relations worsened further. There was quarrel between the families almost everyday when they knew about the love relations between Jeevan and Sangita. In this way, not only Jeevan but entire his family members were tortured mentally, psychologically and also physically from the family of Sangita. It happened only because Jeevan's family belongs to lower caste and lower class. As Marxism believes that when there is constant exploitation and suppression on the lower class, they start

to protest against the oppression/tortured from the exploiter. Here Jeevan has been compelled to fight against the continuous attack and misbehave from Sangita family.

As a result Jeevan happened to commit the crime of Acid attack. Yes, the acid attack is of course a crime which is one thing, but the reason and the ground behind the incident is another thing to be analyzed and most importantly how the incident has been represented is again another part. It is of course a human nature to love to each other as Sangita and Jeevan did. But, it is completely a different thing that both of their love is turned into a serious quarrel not only between Sangita and Jeevan but both of their family as well. The reason behind this change is only because Jeevan belong to a Dalit, lower caste which is not approved by the social and cultural norms of Nepalese society. Jeevan of course after and before the discovery of his caste to Sangita is the same person and did the same behavior and Sangita also loved Jeevan very much but in simple way there is nothing that can prevent Sangita to stop her love for Jeevan; Is that only the Jeevan's Caste and Dalitness? It is also heard that Sangita keeps loving Jeevan even after she knew that Jeevan belong to Dalit community but, her parents and the relatives are the one who forced Sangita to leave Jeevan. Spivak has critically discussed on her essay "Can the Subaltern Speak ?" With the ideas of Subaltern cannot speak because the Subaltern have no agency to speak with the rigid structures of domination and subordination that Gramsci calls the structure of power hegemony. Cultural studies, the typical questions have been raised about the creation of meaning as a cultural process. It is important because they are medium with in which powerful social relationships are played out and possibilities for social betterment are opened up or closed down. "A typical way of posing power questions has been in terms of identity specially where identity is seen as problematic issue and individual collective identities are understood being always created under social

pressures” (Hall 38). The meaning of truth is also shaped by the power holders and when the Subaltern come up with the true, the voices are ignored. This is how the ideology is practice in a society.

The incident can also be interpreted as the process of social transformation and change that both the lovers, Jiwan and Sangita belong to newer generation and their parents represents the older generation. Because of the generation gap and the newer generation being willing to accept the changes and the older generation being stood up against such social transformation ultimately let to the Basantapur acid attack which took a form of social crime. But the way how the national print media represented the incident can be seen as Dalit being a attacker only for love.

Pratima Koirala in her research paper "The Question of Dalit's Representation" explains that:

"...Dalits have been economically deprived, socially denied, politically excluded and treated as ‘untouchables’ for centuries in Nepal. Dalits are still subjected to exploitative labour practices in Nepal. Historical, cultural and social factors have limited the freedom of the Dalits to participate in any kind of social and political decision-making process"...(4121).

The UNDP has also focused on the issue of Dalits in Nepal. The UNDP source book “The Dalit of Nepal and a New Constitution” shares the views, “State owned media should have a policy to ensure that programs relating to Dalit issues should be published, produced and transmitted/ telecast/ broadcast free of costs, and methods devised to ensure that private media also gives faircoverage to dalit issues” (16). However, with the help of these all works we came to know; they are focussing on the Subaltern voices and the role of media to uplift them. It is hardly to say that

Nepali print media does not give priority to the voice of the voiceless people; Dalit. Media is believed to present social, political, economic, cultural, racial, ethnic issue without any partiality. But in the context of Nepal huge partiality could be seen easily. The premise on which it was founded has been violated by the journalists, reporter and or the media person.

The Helvatas Nepal has also focused on the views regarding Dalit' issues must be represented in the media sectors. In "Empowering Dalits", it has been said that: "Explore and utilize various forms of media, including radio, poster & newspaper, to advocate and promote dalit issues within the communities, districts and region" (8). In such a way whatever the stereotypical concept regarding Dalit community that has been deeply rooted in Hindu society, media does not want to change but it always make bad impression in the young generation with the misrepresentation.

With the overview of *The Republica* published about the news on 20 February, 2015 and news entitled "The Khukuri Makers", Which reads:

Khukuri Nepal's national weapon is representative of gallantry and bravery of the Gurkha. That perhaps, to a certain extent, explains why it is also a souvenir of choice for many tourists who visit Nepal. These craftsmen work in a small and unbearably hot makeshift factory of sorts with hard objects around on a daily basis... (6-7).

It, of course, requires a lot of hard work, passion and more importantly incredible creativity and innovation to make a Khukuri for a Khukuri maker. But when it appears on the pages of *The Republica*, it seems as if the creativity, innovativeness and the hard work are all silenced and disappeared before the picture of the Khukuri Maker with poor sanitation with two pages which the media deliberately focussed on. It shows that the beauty of the art and the skills are sidelined and the Khukuri Makers

generally known as black smyth are shown poor, dirty, by focussing the weaknesses only. They still regard Dalit as second class citizens and plant the seeds of injustice and discrimination.

On the one hand, the social injustice and discrimination among the same human beings compelles to commit a crime and on the other hand, the medias get the same news differently; making the case overlooked and doing even an injustice to those marginalized segmentation in our society. As the popular singer, Yes Kumar Nepali sings “Manchhe Manchhe eutai ho ni farak ke ma bho, shrama chalchha, sip chalchha, pani nachalne bho”. (All men are the same, so what is the different, labor is accepted; skills are utilized but water is untouchable). We cannot understand that such a complex system exists in our society that it’s all right to live and enter in the same temple built by the same Dalit, but why they are not allowed to enter and pray in the same temple which was built by themselves. Its completely a rediculous man-made culture against the minorities Dalit community.

Foucault, the French theorist, has been hugely influential in shaping understandings truth in the society which he further says:

These ‘general politics’ and ‘regimes of truth’ are the result of scientific discourse and institutions, and are reinforced (and redefined) constantly through the education system, the media, and the flux of political and economic ideologies. In this sense, the ‘battle for truth’ is not for some absolute truth that can be discovered and accepted, but is a battle about ‘the rules according to which the true and false are separated and specific effects of power are attached to the true’... a battle about ‘the status of truth and the economic and political role it plays’.(Foucault, in Rabinow 1991)

There is always politics over the Dalit issues in the presenting in print media.

Whatever concept regarding Subaltern; Dalit, that has been deeply rooted in Hindu society media want to suppress their voice creating their own discourse.

*The Republica* on 20 January, 2018, entitled “Poor Dalit settlement waiting for warm clothes” in Mahotari, the words used in the title such as “poor Dalit”, “waiting for warm clothes” are extremely humiliating and discouraging for the community. Are they Poor Dalit settlement only waiting for warm clothe? We know there are more poor people too; who are not Dalit community but news reporting is just about the Dalits and misrepresenting only Dalits community. The media did not talk about the reason why they are left behind the mainstream society?, Why they are poor and why they are sidelined in the social development?, but they surficially quench out the bitter outer result that the Dalit are poor and have no substantial items for daily living.

Critically analyzing this situation we understand the Dalit community in Mahattari district in Khairabani rural municipality who are living with social injustice, cultural malpractice, religious superstitions and state’s discrimination and negligence, so the situation and development status of the community became gradually very poor and dependent. The paper further writes “Most of the locals in the settlement are Dalits who are poor and underprivileged lacking almost all basic amenities including drinking water, sufficient food, shelter and schools.” We simply know that this is the responsibility of the government and so-called leaders to start a school in the community install a clean drinking water and other required services and facilities. A question arises; there is no school only because that is the Dalit community? And there is no drinking water because the people belong to Dalit? And they don’t have warm cloth because of their caste? Thus the question to *The Republica* is why the need of warm clothing has relation or a reason to their Dalitness?



In this way, the print media almost all issues of Dalit misinterpret and misguide the actual reality. Similar kind of news was published in *The Rising Nepal* on 19 November, 2017 with titled “Dalit Community Gets Electricity after 10 years” which also proves the ignorance and carelessness of the authorities and state towards the social development of the minorities as the theory of Subaltern Study defines that minorities are always left behind and are not in the condition to enjoy their basic fundamental rights and other social, cultural facilities and services. Hall, Gramsci and Spivak emphasis to dismental the history. Almost all Subaltern community they are deprived from the every strata of state. State and other institutional body focause to the mainstream level because of Subaltern they do not have history and power. Power should be deconstruct and should rewrite the history from the bottom of the surface. The news further writes that “It was 11 years back the poles were erected and cables stretched, but the concerned VDC, DDC and electricity authority continuously ignored the completion of the project till date”. With the reference of this statement also approved that the Dalit community in Mahottara district are still ignored and left behind the mainstream development process. Power always gain from the history but Subaltern group they don't have history and voice less group so they do have compulsion to be silent always whatever discrimination activities that occurs to them.

Media always plays vital role to uplift for the voice less group but in the context of the Nepal, it has totally opposite because media is not in favor of Dalit community. Here in *The Republica* published on 9 July, 2017 entitled "Poor Nepali Dalits" which further reads:

Now we are in the third year of implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In this connection, a voluntary review of the status and achievements related to SDGs is scheduled in New York

later this month; and Nepal will be participating. The National Planning Commission has already prepared a draft report for presentation there. Regrettably, the draft report does not have a single word on Dalits and thus goes against the spirit of the new constitution that emphasizes the country's inclusive development...(7).



Figure1 *The Republica*

In the title of the newspaper there is "Poor Nepali Dalits" here Dalits are poorly represented, they are too helpless. There is no message about their power and creativity. It may harm their autonomous consciousness. It even always humiliates the reader too. Why they want to represent in such a way which harms entire community? Editors do have right to edit article without losing the essence of the article but they hardly care about it all, just published whatever and however they want to present.

While I talked with the writer, Hira Vishwakarma of the same article which he had sent to *The Republica* for publish which he entitled the article "MDG Cheated Dalits SDG should not" which reads:

The MDG phase has just been over and Nepal's achievement in bringing down the poverty and improving basic health of the people

was appreciated by international community. While most of the poor countries around the world are still lagging behind in achieving the MDG goals Nepal came in forefront. The country which was ragged on violent conflict for more than a decade followed by political instability got the reason to be happy with. Did that country's happiness on achieving most of the MDG's goals brought happiness in the lives of Dalits of Nepal, certainly it is not...(text from writer)

Where the title focusing the cheating to the Dalit community and of the poor countries around the world are still lagging behind in achieving the MDG goals; where in Nepal it has good impact and bringing down the poverty and improving basic health of the people was appreciated by international community. But editor changed it into the "Poor Nepali Dalits". The essence of the title totally changed into other form. It shows the great bias and indifference toward entire Dalit community. They always concern towards such filthy words to create social discourse. According to the Foucault, powerful are in center and they always create discourse. Dalits are regarded as Subaltern group in Nepal who are unable to raise voice against social exclusion and cannot represent in social, political, cultural and so no. They are Subaltern because they cannot speak adequately. They are under shadow, they need freedom and power. Spivak argues: "The small peasant proprietors cannot represents themselves; they must be represented. Their representative must appear simultaneously as their master, as an authority over them, as unrestricted government power that protect them from the other classes sends them rain and sunshine from the above" (22).

In this regard here Spivak focuses on the social movement must come to fore and Subaltern voices must be heard. The individual Subaltern can't come along with the voice to raise but it should be heard collectively. The leader must come forward to

raise the voice of marginalized group. The 'rain and 'sunshine' symbolizes as a power, freedom and better future ahead.

The news published in *The Rising Nepal* on 29 December, 2017 entitled "26-point resolution to solve Dalits problems" which reads:

A 26-point resolution was passed here on Sunday in order to solve the problems facing the Dalit communities in the district. At an interaction organized by the joint Dalit struggle committee, Myagdi, on 'Common Agenda of Dalits in Constituent Assembly', political representatives, CA members and stakeholders passed the resolution... (730).

In the news the 26-points is only decision of one particular area Myagdi district. It's not bill of government to eliminate entire problems of Dalits in all over Nepal. But they represented it as if it's the bill of government that will solve entire Dalit community of Nepal. Representation refers to the act of presenting something in a particular way to in its simple meaning. In a broader view, Representation refers to the verbal formation that person to circulate their power in the different strata of the society. Foucault express that, the power always creates a discourse the discourse always become a truth. Same here we can see the false discourse which represented by the elite that the title "26-point resolution to solve Dalit's problem". It's about the issues of the particular one district's discussion program but news has represented the paper passed through the cabinet meeting of the government which is really essential for entire Dalit community of Nepal. They just wanted to make fool of all Dalit community with such foolish news.

In the case of media discourse, Nepal the Dalits issues have always been analyzed and represented in certain ways through the print media with specific

categorization according to their own interest and the world of understanding. As we look at the news on the national print media we can find a lot of such cases.

News about a Dalits woman in *The Rising Nepal* entitled "When a widow is denied citizenship certificate" which reads:

A Dalit woman, married to a Brahmin man around a decade ago, has been experiencing hard times to acquire her citizenship certificate card, following the untimely death of her husband some 18 months ago. Rekha Pariyar had got married to Rajan Prasad Niraula of Dharampur VDC-8 in Saptari district who passed away in a road accident, leaving Pariyar at lurch. Neither did the widow Pariyar had registered her marriage in the local government body nor did she ever felt the need of acquiring her citizenship certificate until her husband was present... (2743).

*The Rising Nepal* is one of the prolific news portals of government which should be conscious with the word selection. 'Widow' itself a negative impressive word in the society which highly denied to use but such a responsible news portal have been using such word which gives negative impact in the society. Dalit community has become a scapegoat of these elite groups. James Paul Gee writes, When language used to make news on the broadsheets, it is not ideologically free. James Paul Gee writes, "Critical discourse analysis deals with whose 'interests' are represented, helped, or harmed as people speak and write" (204). What Gee writes in his introduction to critical discourse analysis is that "language is always political" (7). For him:

Politics is not just about contending political parties. At a much deeper level it is about how to distribute social goods in a society: who gets what in terms of money, status, power and acceptance on a variety of

different terms, all social goods. Since, when we use language, social goods and their distribution are always at stake, language is always political in a deep sense. (7)

When language and visuals are used to make news on the broadsheets, it is not ideologically free. They want to represent on their own passion and interest not concerning with the reality of the incident.

Published in *The Republica* on 24 September, 2017 entitled "NC leader Bhandari announces 300 houses for marginalized people" which reads:

Nepali Congress (NC) central member Chandra Bhandari has announced to construct houses to the marginalized Bote, Majhi and Dalit settlements scattered in different parts of the district. Leader Bhandari made this announcement during a meeting with the district-based government office chiefs at headquarters Tamghas...(28129).

Nepali Congress leader announces 300 houses for marginalized its humorous news. Such kinds of work should be done by the planning commissioner of the government. But see here Nepali Congress he announces for minorities. In reality, there are not houses constructed for the marginalized community. Just they want to make Dalit as vote bank impress for specific purpose. It is a serious case that most of the people of Dalit community are homeless, landless. But they take it as simple issues. In the context of Nepal huge numbers of Dalit people they need such program which should make by the government and it should implement all over the Nepal. The meaning of truth is also shaped by the power holders and when the Subaltern come up with the truth, their voices are ignored. This is how; the politics of representation is practice in society with the help of the media.

Herman and Chomsky argue that, "the powerful are able to fix the premise of discourse to decide what the general populace is allowed to see, hear and think about and to 'manage' public opinion by regular propaganda campaigns" (59). The power holders are the main responsible for the Subaltern by not raising the voice of them.

Published in *The Republica* on 12 February, 2018 entitled “Damai community struggling for livelihood” which reads:

They have a deep connection with music. They say that they learned it while in their 'mother's womb'. Children from poor and marginalized families of Damai community in the remote villages of Rolpa follow their traditional occupation of playing traditional musical instruments during social occasions instead of going to school...(36143).

While observing this article “Damai community struggling for livelihood” Damai are poorly represented, they are too helpless, they are hungry. They are lamenting for food. There is no message about their power, creativity, they can sustain without the lack of musical instrument and struggle for livelihood. Such misrepresentation may harm their young generation and their autonomous conscious too. The title, picture and elaboration should be properly matched each other. About their deep connectivity with music and learned from the mother’s womb etc, what a surficial, twisting

reporting that we can find regarding Dalits news in Media.

## **Damai community struggling for livelihood**

© February 12, 2018 11:24 AM Dinesh Subedi



Member from the Doul community locally known as Damai playing traditional musical instruments in Dewang, Rolpa in this recent picture. Dinesh Subedi/Republica

Figure2: *The Republica*

This truth cannot be considered as an objective truth because it is constructed by the power holder who remain in power and act for the benefit. In this process, there comes a question of partiality and in consequence, the representation turns into misrepresentation. In this context, Louis Montrose states, "representation bears traces of the professor's values, beliefs, and experience-his or her socially constructed subjectivity-and also that it actively-if not always consciously and rarely consistently-instantiates those values, beliefs and experiences" (396). So, representation is a way to spread the ideology to the powerless people for the benefit of power holder.

Are they Subaltern, Dalits free to choose how to think, believe, act, and behave? Of course they do have but structural forces always dominate them. Entire Subaltern group they are political and economic exploited. Rarely, we can find news associated Dalit issues but which in form of derogatory form not Dalit friendly. It might be the lack of proper access of Dalit journalist in media.

Written by Kamal Pantha, Bharat Jarghamagar, Gulariya / Siraha in *The Kathmandu Post* published on 3 January, 2018 entitled "An ex-Kamlari, a Dalit widow become state parliamentarian" which further reads:

Former Kamlari (indentured girl labourer) Krishni Chaudhary has been selected as a member of Provincial Assembly under the Proportional Representation category from the CPN-UML in Province 5. Krishni, 42, of Sangharsha nagar in Rajapur, Bardiya had worked as Kamlari for 17 years since her childhood. She got married to a Kamaiya (bonded labourer) man at the age of 15...

Widow it seems ridiculously uncommon (and thus potential errors) word to women. News it's part of generate state which generate news for all. They should be conscious gender neutral language where can't get any kinds of biasness but why do they do so?



It creates psychological humiliation not only the person whom it indicates but also readers too. It cannot bring reformative autonomous revolutionary consciousness in Subaltern community rather it undermines them. In the context of Nepal Subaltern, Dalits don't have political autonomous power it's compulsion to be silence with their misrepresentation, as inferior person. In Hindu society there is deeply rooted stereotypical concept. Day by day, many Dalits people, they have been victimized due to the caste based discrimination, which our society assumes it's unavoidable. Discrimination is not a problem of elites but its great problem of the Dalit community. Media has to be the voice of the voice less group but it has been the voice of the power center group. They should write news constructively, with the purpose of bring social awareness in the society.

Kanakmani Dixit, in one of the interview taken by *Media Sambhad*, the journal which reports about the media status, has said that: "What to do? Women, Madhesi, Dalits, Muslim, and indigenou related community have to come in the journalism sectors and government should advocate them to come as reporter. This will pave the way towards the newspaper" (My Trans.17).

It's clear that there is not enough Journalist form the Dalit community that is the reason behind no more news related Dalit friendly. All of we should be conscious with proper participation in journalistic field then after it is possible bring positively and to spread all the discrimination whatever they have been facing in the society.

Dalit community in Nepal is not only left behind the development activities but always remains with high vulnerability of being victim of social crime. There should be enough Dalit journalist in media then after there will be chances to write positively and effectively otherwise it's really hard to concern about the Dalit issues in the mainstream media of Nepal.

The news published in *Himalayan Times* on 18 January, 2018 entitled "Dalit hit hard as government fails to build houses in Saptari on time" which reads, "Dalits of Lokharam in Saptari had pulled down their old houses after the government pledged to provide them new and better house. But two months after the pulled down their houses, they are freezing in the cold without any shelter" (6). Yes its news and representation of Dalits but my question is that how they have been represented, this is big issue. The title represents only Dalit community hit the old house to get better after government pledged to provide. There are more other people too who are waiting for better one. Non-Dalit people also hit the old houses but the news only highlight Dalit community hit the house. This representation is not representation but misrepresentation, sympathetic representation. Media is the voice of the voice less community but why do they misrepresent Dalit community only? They do have equal right in every strata of the state. All of they should be treated equal and justice should be equal to all.

Representation of Subaltern, Green argues, "Gramsci was concerned with how literary representations of the subaltern reinforced the Subaltern's subordinated position... In historical or literary documents, the Subaltern may be presented as humble, passive or ignorant, but their actual lived experience may prove the contrary. Hence, the integral historian has to analyze critically the way in which intellectuals represent the conditions and aspirations of the subaltern" (Green 15). This is the misrepresentation of the Subaltern Dalits, which misconduct in the society. *The Republica* associated with private and *The Rising Nepal* is funded by the government both their condition to uplift the Dalits community is in a slow race. So it is clear that the elite group as well as state misrepresent the Subaltern groups. In spite of all hindrance, Subaltern people are paving the way towards the emancipation.

Reading the newspaper is a good habit for the reader but it directly or indirectly benefits the ruling class. The newspaper disseminates its ideology to the layman. But the layman is unaware of the ideology because they are enticed by content and advertisement. It leads to people as a passive receptionist. So the main thrust of the newspaper is to spread the political ideology through the news. Shrestha argues that quest for the history of the history - less or the quest of the voice of the voice-less group of people called "Subaltern". History was written for the advantage of those who are close to the power centers and who work for the interests of the dominant group "In this course of writing history, therefore, small groups of elites in each society have the history and rest of the subalterns remain out of the history as the voiceless and history-less groups. That is why history is taken as a very cruel domain. Sadly, the history is still in the grip of the dominant ruling groups. In the course representing the ruling elites at the centre of history, it corners the subalterns from the mainstream".

The Basantapur Acid Attack achieved the highest pick of national media print because the attacker was Jiwan a socially and culturally a Dalit, low ranking and considered as untouchable, economically a low class, which media presented as a criminal, blind lover and so on. But when there is a Dalit woman having a victim of severe social crime like gang (group of 5-6 men) raped, the national media keeps silence. There was an incident in Rautahat, on Feb 1, 2017: "A Dalit woman was allegedly gang raped" at Bishrampur VDC. The news goes on: "A gang comprising some six persons raped the woman taking her some one kilometer away from home after tying up her husband at the house". Why such a serious criminality mostly with the socially marginalized community? In Nepali there is a well popular saying, "Jo hocho, usko much ma ghocho" meaning those who are weak, often makes them sick).

As the Dalit community constituting them on the bottom level of social status encouraging other group of people psychologically stronger finally compelled to commit such incident to the Dalit in Nepali society. The Dalit woman raped by a gang of 6 men is the extreme point of social crime and misconduct. But the paper still suggests that no one is caught and in police custody because this is also a state ignorance and carelessness towards those poor community. Locally saying, there is no both source and force meaning that the Dalit woman, victim of gang raped doesn't have power and politics. But as the theory of representation and discourse analysis demonstrate how these truths are presented in the paper and print media as per the interest of those power-holders because the truth is constituted through power thus the discourse is created.

In the society the history is a great power and history is always in the grip of the elite group who always rules to the marginalized community; Dalit. Discourse, has been defined differently in post-structuralism, social semiotics and Critical Discourse Analysis. Foucault defines discourse as; “a group of statements which provide language for talking about- a way of representing the knowledge about a particular topic at a particular historical moment” (Hall 72). For Foucault, discourse was both practice and language. Furthermore, Foucault analyzes discourse in relation with knowledge and power. Discourse makes rules about talking, doing, conducting and rules out alternative ways of them. In this way, it creates knowledge. Further, the knowledge is linked to power which makes it true.

Foucault, a post-structuralist theorist, formulates a theory of discourse in relation to power structure in society. He assumes that discourse is involved in power. These types of discourses are deeply rooted in social institution so that social and political power operates through discourse. Such discourse also plays a significant

role in the media while formulating the news. For covering the news, media has certain set of values/standards which has kept the elite people in positive qualities where as the Subaltern people are attributed by negative ones. Power holder formulates these dichotomies and they run the media. This media person created certain standards which neglects the Subaltern people. When they represent the Subaltern in their media, it is indeed misrepresentation. The intellectuals and the political authority lay down the certain issues, that is considered as a truth but in the case of Subaltern, they are regarded as a docile objects. In this case Foucault, "simply identifies truth with the power so that whatever discursive practices are operative or have powers in a given society are true or constitute regime or truth" (102).

Moreover, print media can be decoded to put forward their interest role in raising the voice of Subaltern group. We have to be clever and move beyond to see if the representative as constitutive. The truth remains suspect and we have to dig out to find the many version of truth which is directed by the elite group. In this reference, Stuart Hall vision seems distinct for the elite group. He claims that "nothing meaningful exist outside of discourse" (117). The discourse is only one option to formulate the message. The ideology has direct connection to the state and the elitist/power holder group where media remains a tool to disseminate their thoughts and neglects the Subaltern. Thus, the main task of this research is to show the politics of representation Subaltern Dalit in print media.

On the other hand, Foucault has been hugely influential in shaping understandings of power, leading away from the analysis of actors who use power as a instrument as a tools to represent in the society. Where he further says, "We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms - it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact

power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production” (Foucault 194). Whether it is the case of Basantapur Acid Attack or is the Khukuri Maker, and even why not is the news of “A Gang Raped a Dalit Woman”, all these three publications proofed that the medias have created their own truth using their power and establishes discourses which is in favor of themselves and against the Dalit who are always suppressed and dominated as being a Subaltern group. In Basantapur Acid Attack, the medias never talked about the discrimination, suppression, torture and frequent attack to Jiwan and his family experienced from the family of Sangita. It never gets space on medias the reason why Jeevan commit the crime that Jeevan was forced to commit the acid attack because of suppression and domination. Likewise with the Khukuri Maker, the media only present Dalit as a having poor sanitation as a blacksmith declining their all skills, beauty of arts, dedication, hard work and the nationalism shown from the same Khukuri which has created a history for Nepal and is still being used a presents for national and international visitors.

Similarly, *The Rising Nepal* a state owned national daily print media, bringing out only the surficial news of “A Gang Raped a Dalit Woman” is also not found Dalit friendly at all. The media should have discussed about the public security and responsibility of police authority. It can be critically analyzed that where have been the 24 hours dutiful policemen?; What is the responsibility of local authority and security authority? Why such serious crime over such marginalized and Subaltern woman?

Thus, bringing the references of similar representation of Dalit in Nepalese print media, this study claims and proves that the medias of Nepal specially the print

medias are not found Dalit sensitive and Dalit friendly. Subaltern, Dalits their issues should be a intergaral part of Meida. Though media explore the issues of Dalits, they are not able to express what Dalits have experienced. As Spivak remarks in her book *Can Subaltern Speak ?* History is the domain of power and Subaltern are outside of the history so they are silenced. News published in *The Republica* as “Dalits enter temple for first time in 960 years” on 25 March, 2018 which “ ...They not only entered the temple but also had the Tika mark placed on their foreheads by an upper caste priest...” (38635). It raises the issues of Dalit but it again reflects them as Subaltern group since taking ‘prasad’(offerings) by Brahmin priest is not their concern. Their concern is with their Hindu religion and faith upon Gods. Therefore, they take ‘Tika’ from Brahmin. As Spivak remarks, duty of conscious people is to awaken the latent voice of Dalits but not of subjective analysis of the media.

Foucault formulates a theory of discourse in relation to power structure in society. Discourse are deeply rooted in social institution so that social and political power operates through discourses. Such discourse also plays a important role in the media while formulating the news. Media has certain set of principles which has kepts the elite people in a postive qualities where as the Subaltern people are attributed by negative ones. Power holder formulates these dichotomies and they run the media. While they represent the Subaltern in their media, it is not representation but misrepresentation. The intellectuals and the political authority lay down the certain issues, that is considered as a truth but in the case of Subatern, they are regarded as docile objects. In this case Foucault, “simply identifies truth with the power so that whatever discursive practices are operative or have powers in a given society are true or constitute regime or truth” (102). The meaning of truth is also shaped by the power holders and when the Subaltern come up with the truth, there voices are ignored.

Meida is the voice of the disenfranchised group but in the context of Nepal, it has become voice of the ruling group.

Finally, representation of Dalit in print media is meaningless until positive reporting. As Steven Folmar states that; “ Machha, machha, machha, machaaaaaa – bhyaguta! (fish, fish, fish, fishhhhhhhhhh – frog) These words to a child’s game are spoken by an adult as he wags an index finger, tempting a child to catch it. As the child reaches for it, the index finger, representing the fish, is retracted and the thumb, the frog, is presented in its place” (85). The issues of disenfranchised group of people could not come up with full of internalizing core of truth, almost all news represented derogatory form rather than bring reformative consciousness among Dalit community. They are tempting to catch the fish but always frogs in hand not only in politics, society and education but also in media. Truth remains suspect and we have to dig out to find the many version of truth which is directed by the elite group. Foucault states that “nothing meaningful exist outside of discourse” (117). The discourse is only one option to formulate the message. The presentation has direct connection to the state and the ruling holder groups where media remains a tool to disseminate their thoughts and neglects the Subaltern. It looks the mainstream media has represented issues related to Dalit community. But the question of how Dalits and their issues represented in print media has to be seriously scrutinized from the critical angles. The stereotyping representation can be more dangerous than non-representation. The intellectuals who are more concerned with Subaltern Studies have to be aware of the growing number of representation of the Dalits and their issues in the sense that the voiceless Dalit groups of people might be more silenced in the name of representation.



### III. Representation of Dalit as a Subaltern in Print Media

Subaltern, Dalit community, which has been excluded from the four-fold Varna system of Hinduism since ancient times, is subject to untouchability, exploitation, neglect and humiliation. Forced into the bottom of social stratification, Subaltern, Dalits have been deprived of basic opportunities provided by the state. Subaltern still they are the worst-hit socio-ethnic group under the caste system, their representation at the decision-making level is almost nil. This has indeed hampered the efforts to bring them into the mainstream of development and politics. It is not that there were no political, legal and constitutional interventions to lift the Dalits out of the vicious trap of poverty and economic suppression, but those initiatives were ineffective and paltry.

With the study of English national dailies, *The Rising Nepal* and *The Republica* from the perspective of Subaltern, we reach to the finding that the English Dailies, media are not giving properly space to Dalit because they are Subaltern. They are voiceless; they are powerless. This is the world of capitalism. Representation matters with capital those who are rich and powerful are over represented. How to reform this situation of misrepresentation of Dalit? As we have already discussed in chapter first and second, most of the representations are stereotyping representation. Though they have given little space for Dalit that is dominating, humiliating Dalits rather than making them stronger, owner and autonomous.

First of all, they give little space for Dalit news. If you find the news related Dalit community the most of news represent in derogatory form, in humorously, humiliating way it has been represented. The representation of Dalit Journalist lacks in the Nepalese print media is one of the reasons behind to misrepresent. That is why Dalit are still underprivileged in society and even in print media as well.

Published in *The Rising Nepal* entitled "Dalit woman gang raped" on 1 February, 2017 A.D at Rautahat shows that Dalit woman who was publically asulted and it is a serious case but the media represented on the title of "Dalit woman gang raped", what does it mean? Is this title justifiable for the victimised woman? Does it brings positive impact on both reader and vicitim woman? of course it is not. This case shows that the Dalit community are still a highly underprivileged community in society and even in eyes of media as well.

Dalits are regarded as a Subaltern group of Nepal. they are excluded from the social, economic, cultural, political cohesion. Media is the fourth organ of the state and voice of the voice less group. It should be free from any prejudice and biases. but in the case of Dalit, media does not give justice for their case. The state owned print media *The Rising Nepal* is the manifesto of government. It is role to cover the Subaltern Dalit news is not satisfactory. The private media run by elite class like *The Republica* doesn't play the role of mediator in the case of Subaltern, Dalit. This media gives priority to advertisement and other stuff only rather that the news regarding the Dalit issues.

What role does the government should play to stop untouchability? Why are Dalit still victimized by the Non-Dalit people? What is the Role of Nepal Police for the negotiatiing the Dalit case? What is the importance of rules and regulation against Caste Based discrimination and untouchability? Such types of issues were not published rather the English dailies represents playing the ethos of Dalit people. In *Nepali media ma Dalit* the number of Dalit Journalist, they are shown as Subaltern group. The mainstream English national dailies, *The Rising Nepal* and *The Republica* post have no any number of Dalit Journalist. The media should carry the message that spread awareness to the whole society but it lacks in the case of Dalit community.

Print media have not carried the issue of Dalit community as strongly as they should have done. The national English broadsheet like *The Rising Nepal* and *The Republica* could not cover the Dalit news. It is found that news coverage of Dalit's issue in both *The Republica* and *The Rising Nepal* were controlled by their editorial team. They neglected to raise the voice of Dalit in their newspaper. They could not give the justice to the Subaltern people. Thus, Dalit status remained still the same in the second decade 21st century. The media should provide enough space for the voice of the Subaltern group to bring them without misrepresenting.

This research concludes, *The Rising Nepal* is a manifesto of the Nepal Government; power center group. It has a big responsibility to take proper coverage of the news related to the disenfranchised group of people but coverage is just limited. If you find the news related to the Subaltern group almost all with misrepresented rather than with the positive representation. Gramsci's 'Traditional intellectual' and 'Organic intellectual' where the 'Traditional intellectual' always wants to suppress the marginalized group of the society. They do not want to see change in society and want to continue different kinds of customs, rules and regulations. Hardly give attention to make new rules for the backward community. In the same manner *The Rising Nepal* has seen over here. On the other hand, the 'Organic intellectual' always wants to change and speak in favour of the marginalized. *The Republica* is the voice of the elite group; intellectual elitist. It is trying to be 'Organic' because it covers more than *The Rising Nepal* but it could not come up with full fledged internalizing the real voice of the Subaltern group. The number of the news related to the Dalit community that has been misrepresented rather than represented. Both *The Rising Nepal* and *The Republica* have represented whatever the stereotypical concept regarding the Dalit community that has been deeply rooted in Hindu society which has been changing

gradually but Media has been playing vital role for continue that traditional convention which they really want to eliminate but suppress their voice and on the other hand in the feudal society the Dalit misrepresented in the media to traditional feudal agency itself. The capitalist society the Dalit are misrepresented is the best interest of the capitalists themselves. In both social systems, the Dalits have been misrepresented in specific agencies to their financial environmental interest only. As a researcher, I now think Dalit is very much rooted and still long, so needs critical scrutiny in the issues of Dalit community.

However, we should enhance their human right and make social security of Dalit community they need broader solidarity. Not only Dalit community but also non-Dalits, them we should orient with issues of disenfranchised community. On the other hand in academia field should be make strong including course contents all over the school and university level as well. Dalit community should be attention of the international human right for human right violence. Moreover, political bodies should make more strict for whatever right has written in constitution that rule and regulations should be properly implemented. Representation of Dalit's coverage is meaningless until and unless the reporting is positive. Where all the events of Dalit should equally prioritize as other issues have been given priority. When the events of Dalit's issues get space in media widely in media then their problems could spread in local, national and even in international levels too. Likewise, the chances of reducing different kinds of discrimination is possible; otherwise their condition will be the same forever in Nepal.

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