

Chapter-I

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

This is an ethnographic study of Danuwar, an ethnic group, and the changes on the way of life of Danuwar and interaction with other emigrated Parbatiya caste/ethnic groups in Bhalwai of Kamala Khonch, Sindhuli district. Kamala Khonch is a well known traditional Danuwar homeland. Since 1960, after the success of anti-malaria campaign, different caste/ethnic groups (Parbatiya) from hills and indigenous Danuwars have been living there together. Bhalwai is an example of heterogeneity of Danuwars and Parbatiya mixed settlement. Viewing the local Danuwars' perspectives on the socio-cultural continuity and changes in the area, I present the contexts by which the Danuwars shape their distinct identity uninfluenced by urban ethnic movements of recent decades.

Danuwars have a long but not properly researched history in the country. Their settlements are basically in the inner terai and river valleys and parts of the lower terai. Today, the Danuwars are scattered over the several districts of hills and terai of central and eastern Nepal- from the Narayani Zone in the west to Mechi in the east. Terai, Nuwakot, Lalitpur, Sindhupalchowk, and Kavre districts also accommodate the Danuwars (Khatry 1995). According to CBS data of 2001 A.D the total population of Danuwar is 53,229 and the population of Danuwar in Sindhuli district is 12,244 (CBS 2001). Interestingly, Danuwar language speakers are 14,358 i.e. higher than the total Danuwar population in the Sindhuli. Hodgson (1880) introduced Danuwars as one of the "Awaliya" groups primarily settled in the lowlands, formerly a malaria-affected area (Awal, lowland). They are supposed to represent the remainders of an indigenous people. Currently, most of Danuwars are peasants; partial occupational activities (fishing) however are to be observed among them. The old civil code in 1854 recognized and provided Danuwars jati a status. It puts them under caste group of the 'Enslaveable

Alcohol-Drinkers' (Masinya Matwali) (Hofer 1979). Danuwars have close physical and cultural proximity with Tharus of the Terai (Bista 1987).

'Danuwar' is the commonly applied title used for the various Danuwar subgroups; largely Rajhan, Kachhade, Rai-Danuwar and Tharu Danuwar. They have further divided subgroups which are expressed on written form of their last name. Most of the terai Danuwars call themselves Rajhan Danuwar and write their surname as Singh, Raya and Thakur. Siraha, and Saptari districts are their main settlement area. Wearing sacred thread as high caste Hindu, they regard themselves higher than the rest of all Danuwars. They invite Maithali Brahmins on their ritual ceremonies. Rai-Danuwar live in central hills of Nuwakot, Kavre and Sindhupalchowk districts. They write their last names as Rai. Whereas Kamala valley Danuwars call themselves 'Kachhade' and write Adhikari, Kumar and Dhami as their surname. Tharu Danuwars are scattered in central and eastern terai and indicate themselves as Chaudhari. This is the main cause of census misrepresentation. This was not specified in Muluki Ain and other government CBS record, where all these groups were subsumed under the collective term 'Danuwar' represent as a single jati (Caste/Ethnic groups). Eventhough central Danuwar Jagaran Samiti (DJS), a Danuwar jati organization, published an appeal to all of them to write their last name Danuwar (Kantipur 2057/1/17). They have not written so. Danuwars are Hindus, and worship family deities too. According to Ram Dayal Rakesh (1994), they entered into Nepal when there was Muslim attack on India in 14th century. They celebrate Dashain, Tihar, Thulo-Akadasi, Maghe Sakranti, Holi and Chandi Purnima. They worship Bhimsen, Mahadev, Kamala River, Forest God and Kul Puja. They offer goats, pigeons to the gods and goddess but they do not follow Hindu cultural norms and festivals as high-castes Hindus follow. Danuwars have distinct birth, marriage and death rituals. Danuwar Jagaran Samiti claims that due to strong influence of Hindus these days many Danuwars follow Hindu religion and celebrate Hindu festivals and also regard themselves as Hindu (NEFDIN 2005:94).

Danuwars have their own judicial administration named the Manjani System like other jati assembly at local level, since the times of King Surendra

Bikram Shah. The Manjan was the chief Judicial-administrative head, equal to that of today's judge and Chief District Officer (CDO), but the Danuwar court followed unwritten, customary laws handed down by tradition (Khatry 1995). After 2028/29 B.S. when Panchayat system became strong the job of the Manjan system slowly phased out (ibid). Since then, there have not been any other Danuwar jati judicial organization (but there were village heads-Jamindar), who exercised socio-political power. Since 1992 Danuwar Jagaran Samiti (DJS), a registered center level organization located in Danusha district, has been working to unite the Danuwar Jati. DJS works under the directive principles of Janjati Mahasangh, an umbrella organization of all registered Nepali ethnic groups. The main goal of the DJS is to shape Danuwars' identity by following traditional culture and to raise jati (caste/ethnic) consciousness¹. On the other hand Parbatiya is a term commonly ascribed to the Nepali speaking, hill population. It comprises of high-castes, hill ethnic groups and occupational castes. Danuwar and Parbatiya interaction in Bhalwai, a small heterogeneous socio-cultural setting in middle of Kamala valley, presents the contexts of continuity and changes and shapes caste/ethnic identity and consciousness.

Throughout this thesis I present social contexts of Danuwars-Parbatiya interaction, continuity and change to Danuwar's culture, livelihood strategies, identity, ethnic consciousness and influence of ethnic movement at local level in Bhalwai of Kamala Khonch.

I use the term consciousness, for the purpose of this work, only caste/ethnic group feeling, awareness, and jati based interaction. It is limited sense of in-group feeling and manifestation separate Danuwar identities. In Marxist literature consciousness has been used to refer class consciousness which means the, proletariat will develop an accurate conception of how capitalism works and how it affects them; it is not about individual consciousness. G.Smmel had a sense of individual conscience and of the fact that the norms and the values of the society become internalized in individual consciousness (Ritzer 2000)

1.2 Problem Statement

Danuwar constitutes the third largest ethnic group after Kumal and Majhi in Inner Terai of Nepal. Darai, Bote, Raji and Raute are other smaller ethnic inhabitants. Danuwars have been living in '*Duns*' from the very beginning of their arrival in Nepal. Their supposedly long history and culture has not been recorded. Despite their unique way of life, Danuwars of the in inner terai failed to attract attention of both native and foreign researchers. Very few scholars have written small articles about general characteristics of Danuwars. Eventhough Danuwar is categorized as a highly marginalized and economically backward ethnic group (NEFEN 2005), deep ethnographic study has not been conducted. Existing literatures present Danuwar as close kin-people with Tharu ethnic group of Terai and show socio-cultural similarity between the two groups (Bista 1987, Gautam and Magar 1994). Bulky volume of ethnographic studies of many ethnic and caste groups have been carried out by both native and foreign anthropologists. However, most of the scholars concentrated research on either higher geographical altitude-mountain dweller or relatively purer ethnic groups (Shah 2004). There is extensive literature on the Sherpas, Tamangs, Gurungs, Thakalis, magars, Rais-Limbus from mountain and middle hill regions. These types of one-sided studies contribute to create false notion about caste/ethnic group's composition (Cameron 1998, Shah 2004). Large numbers of Himalaya and hill ethnic group studies "contributed to the false notion that Nepal is a country composed of primarily Buddhist "Tribal Groups"" (Cameron 1998:17, quoted by Shah 2004:18). I chose Danuwar because of their marginal space on academic documentation, in other word relatively pure ethnic group.

It is said that ethnic identity can be saved through preservation of past as it is. In the name of identity, these days, ethnic groups are trying to revive their cultural past. They claim that ethnic people have explicit caste ethnic consciousness at all levels. I am interested to test my hunch whether rural common people have shaped caste/ethnic consciousness as reflected in urban intellectual and political apparatus or not. I mean whether the formation of ethnicity is genuine cultural interest or beyond it. Change is also considered threat

for identity. Another aspect of ethnic group I want to be clear is whether socio-cultural and livelihood strategies changes cause loss of identity and threat of existence or they provide new outlets for shaping identity and existence in new manner. In media and politics, it is depicted that ethnic groups have almost antagonistic relationship with Hindu caste groups. How far do these relationships reflect in local Danuwar community and how do they perceive their own larger ethnic formation?

Danuwar and emigrated parbatiya groups' interaction is quite interesting research topic because previous literatures present that Danuwar prefer the isolated settlement. They do not want to meet new people. If new comer visits their settlement many of them go to either to the forest or river (Baral 2057). They are 'peaceful and honest nature, thus they do not prefer to go to police offices and law courts to sort out cases' (Gautam and Magar 1994:129). Danuwar' (as peasants and fishermen) perception to the outer world and people especially hill emigrants is expressed on their everyday life experiences. On the other hand Danuwar, as an ethnic group, have their own ethnic organization. This type of ethnic organization plays a prominent role in the ethnic movement and developed homogeneous perceptions as ethnic groups are exploited, marginalized and Sanskritized due to high-caste Hindu cultural hegemony (Bhattachan and Gurning 2005). Danuwar of Bhalwai do not have any existing ethnic organization nor did they have much knowledge about the ethnic movement until my field work. The people of this region have been divided into three groups: Danuwar-Majhi, Parbatiya and Madesi. Hill ethnic groups and Dalits are also included together into Parbatiya group. The ideal of ethnic unity, persistence of tradition in the name of identity have different practices in Danuwar day to day life.

Cultural change is considered as threat to identity but the process of change is inevitable (Jenkins 1996). Danuwar can not escape from that process of social and cultural change. There is various change agents that influence Danuwar change on their culture and livelihood strategies and there is something that helps them keep up tradition. Persistence of a cultural past is ideal, while practices reality compels people to change way and mean of making adjustments

in the group boundaries (Chhetri 1990). Ethnic groups have choices to follow other culture and resist them (Caplan 1970). J. Fisher argues that social interactions are the very foundation of social systems. The social interaction does not "lead to liquidation of ethnic differences through acculturation, cultural differences persist in spite of interethnic contact and interdependence" (1987:184). In the same vein changes in a Danuwars tradition, culture and livelihood strategies strike me for further study.

My argument is Danuwars of Bhalwai have different perspectives on caste/ethnic relationship; socio-cultural change and identity. Based on above mentioned problems this study answers some questions: Who are Danuwars? What are their perspectives on caste/ethnic groups' interaction? What are influencing factors of their changes? What is their perception on identity and role of Danuwar Jagaran Samiti (DJS)?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this work is to produce an ethnographic monograph of Danuwars of Bhalwai. The specific objectives are:

To trace out history and myths of origin of the Danuwars.

To analyze changes on Danuwar culture, identity and livelihood strategies.

To analyze Danuwars' perceptions and relations with other caste/ethnic groups.

To explain Danuwars' perceptions on ethnic movements.

1.4 Rationale of the Study

The first goal of this research is to fulfill the partial requirement for master degree in anthropology from Tribhuvan University in Nepal. Based on long term field work, employing a theoretical and substantive anthropological approach, this research focuses on changes on everyday practices of Danuwar, their interactions with hill emigrants (Castes/Ethnic groups). Danuwars and Parbatiya groups have co-operation as well as tension on certain issue. Both groups learnt one another

culture to some extent. The influencing factors of changes are modernization, caste and development process: the advent of transportation, communication, education, etc. Bhalwai Danuwars are not much influenced by the urban ethnic movement. They are co-operative with all Parbatiya caste/ethnic groups equally. Thus, it shows an outline of the relationships between caste/ethnic groups in remote village, which will be helpful for policy making on different levels.

1.5 Chapter Organization

This work is divided into six chapters. Following these introductory remarks, chapter two presents concept of continuity and change and sketches the history of ethnic study, concepts of ethnicity, ethnic identity and existing literatures about Danuwars. Third chapter is about anthropological research methodology. It presents my field stay and techniques of data collection. In the fourth chapter I have described geographical setting of the research area, history, culture and livelihood strategies and changes on Danuwars. Chapter five is about Danuwars perception and relations with parbatiya caste/ethnic groups. Political change, Danuwars' perception on DJS movements, Danuwars' identity and their world experiences in Bhalwai is presented in this chapter. Finally, concluding remarks and overall findings are presented in the sixth chapter.

Chapter-II

Literature Review

The literature I have reviewed here focuses on: concept of continuity and change, historical linkage of study of ethnic group, ethnic groups and identity, ethnic concepts, ethnographic texts related to ethnicity and change, and existing literature about Danuwars. Ethnic identity and change processes are thematic issues of this section. I have picked up Anthropological base of ethnographic study. The issue of ethnic identity is narrowed down to Nepalese ethnic studies and Danuwar at last.

2.1 Continuity and Change

Continuity underlies Stability. Because of social continuity group members come to expect definite types of behavior which do not normally change with an abruptness that makes adjustment to group life difficult. Social change results from the pull between innovating tendencies and tendencies that make for the continuation of existing cultural forms. Encyclopedia of the social sciences defines that the continuity of culture rests fundamentally upon the process whereby the past is brought into the process and extended into future. Perpetuation of the culture whereby continuity is achieved may be through processes that are unorganized and informal or highly systematized and formalized (1970:316). The persistence of traits from earlier periods into a period when condition of life have been modified gives rise to social conservatism. On the other hand, change goes on every where and at all times. It may be induced by factors and forces spontaneously arising within the community or it may take place through the contact of different culture.

For Malinowski “cultural change is process by which the existing order of society- its organization, beliefs and knowledge, tools and consumers’ good-is more or less rapidly transformed” (Malinowski 1945: VIII). Change implies several parts of social heritage. This heritage may be classified for the present purpose under material objects and non-material culture including organization,

sciences, art, philosophy, literature, religion, customs and the like. F. Barth (1981) points out that in order to understand social change. We need to describe all of society in such terms that we see how it persists maintains itself and change through time (Barth 1981:105). As is clear from Barth's statement, continuity and change ought to be considered simultaneously. David Mandelbaum's (1961) argument is that traditional and modern cultural traits coexist in some societies. He says that there is the possibility of traditional societies modernizing without necessarily abandoning their traditional institutions, beliefs and values. Continuity of past and acceptance of new things go at the same time.

M.N. Srinivas's concept of sanskritization is also important to analyse continuity and change with in a caste or tribal group. Interactions among different categories of the population over a long time might have motivated many of the 'tribal' groups or even the caste Hindus to change their "customs, rituals, ideology and the way of life in the direction of high caste" (Srinivas 1966:6). He argues that Sanskritization is a unilineal process in which non-caste and low caste groups consciously adopt the high caste practices and customs to acquire high caste status (1966). The theoretical ideas of continuity of people and cultural enclaves maintaining ethnic boundaries provide a frame of reference for Danuvars, a ethnic group of kamala Khonch. They spontaneously tend to maintain boundary around them as well as accept some new cultural traits to fulfill the gap of defunct practices.

2.2 From Tribe to Ethnic Group

One of social anthropology's traditional theoretical engagements has been a concern with corporate groups and social systems. During the colonial and post-colonial periods the subject matter of the discipline was marked "primitive peoples and culture" (Firth 1958:6, quoted Jenkins 1986). These so-called primitive peoples were commonly organized into tribal groups. Malinowski (1922) developed the notion of 'the tribe', as a real social entity which caused both theoretical and methodological development of anthropology:

...with his tables of kinship terms, genealogies, maps, plans and diagrams, proves the existence of the extensive and big organization, shows the construction of the tribe, of the clan, family ... Ethnographer has in the field, the duty before him of drawing up all the rules and regularities of tribal life, all that is permanent and fixed, of giving an anatomy of their culture, of depicting the constitution of their society (Malinowski 1922:10-11).

This yields two important things about tribe: distance tribal society from the civilized and framework for the cross-cultural comparison of primitive social organization. For R. Jenkins (1986) "the notion of tribe draws the distinction between 'them' and 'us' and basic similarity between different sort of 'them" (1986:173). F.Barth identifies four features of anthropological model of the tribe: biologically self-continuity, shared basic cultural values, a bounded social field of communication and interaction, and members are identified by others and identify themselves (Barth 1969:10-11). This anthropological notion of the tribe implied that such groups are isolated, backward (so-called primitive) and especially non-western.

The classical analytical framework of ethnographic studies is put into question, when they illustrated controversy like whether the 'Nuer', as documented by Evans-Pritchard (1940), is really the Dinka (Newcomer) or whether they are both distinct components of a single plural society (Glickman 1972, Jenkins 1986). Jenkins argues "the event which most clearly marked the paradigm shift within social anthropology from 'tribal society' to 'ethnic groups' was the publication of 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries' by F.Barth in 1969a" (Jenkins 1986:173). Barth insists ethnic group and its production and reproduction in routinized social interaction are to be taken as problematic features. For him, ethnographer must examine the practices and processes where by ethnicity and boundaries are created. So the starting point for such examination must be treated as ethnic group are categorize of ascription and identification by actors themselves (Barth 1969b:10). He focuses on individual and group interaction rather than ethnic group's cultural stuff.

In south Asia, scholars distinguish 'tribes' from 'castes' in terms of their social organization. D.R. Dahal (1979) argues that 'tribes' were associated with a particular territory and considered to "subsist in isolation". In other words tribes were conceptualized as territory bound homogeneous group living in isolated village (Dahal 1979). In India, legislation distinguished sharply between, tribe and caste, but the Nepalese Muluki Ain 1854 (Old Legal Code) treated all the tribes equally as castes, and hierarchized them along with everyone else (Sharma 1977, Hofer 1979). According to William Fisher (1993) Nepal Janjati Mahasangh applied the term nationalities rather than the previously more frequently used tribe. He argued that this translation indicates a shift to self-definition from externally based identification and draws attention to their conviction that Nepal consists of a number of equal nationalities which collectively constitute the nation rather than a set of tribal who stand in opposition to the nation (Fisher 1993).

D.R.Dahal argues that researchers show cultural incompatibility and present a conflict model among castes and ethnic groups which is confusing and meaningless in the context of Nepal. His argument is many of Nepalese caste/ethnic groups have shown considerable cohesiveness and ability to adapt to new condition through an acculturation process (Dahal 1979). He notes that "foreign researchers have portrayed terai-ethnic and hill ethnic groups as socially, politically and economically inferior to other Hindu groups in Nepal. They have shown that these groups as economically depressed, unchanging, ahistorical, traditional and conservatives" (Dahal 1979:220). Thus, the meaning and relationship between ethnic group and other people vary according to time, place and social contexts.

2.3 Ethnic Group and Identity

The word 'ethnic' comes from the ancient Greek 'ethnos' which seems to have referred to a range of situations in which a collectivity of humans lived and acted together which is translated today as 'people' and 'nation'. Eriksen defends

the analytical use of the concept and suggests that it should be taken to mean "the systematic and enduring social reproduction of basic classification differences between categories of people who perceive each other as being culturally discrete"(Eriksen 1992:7). The linked concepts of ethnicity and ethnic group have passed into everyday discourse and become central to the politics of group differentiation and advantages on the culturally diverse societies.

Max Weber argues since the possibilities for collective action rooted in ethnicity are imprecise, 'the ethnic group' and its close relative notions can not easily be precisely defined for sociological purposes. His arguments are: Ethnic membership does not constitute a group; it only facilitates group formation of any kind, particularly in the political sphere. On the other hand, it is primarily the political community no matter how artificially organized, that inspires the belief in common ethnicity (Weber 1978, quoted Jenkins 1996).

Everett Hughes has different arguments about ethnic group and degree of measurable or observable difference from other groups. It is an ethnic group, on the contrary, because the people in it and the people out of it know that it is one; because both the ins and the outs talk, feel, and act as if it were a separate group. His focus is thus: "ethnic cultural differences are a function of 'group-ness', the existence of group is not a reflection of cultural difference" (Hughes 1994:91 quoted Jenkins 1997).

Some anthropologists doubt that ethnic relations can be separated out from the general range of social interactions. 'Us'-'Them' distinctions, after all, are essential to social grouping of any sort. Wallman (1986) argues, basing on Barthian framework that: "ethnicity is the process by which 'their' difference is used to enhance the sense of 'us' for purposes of organization or identification... Because it takes two, ethnicity can only happen at the boundary of 'us', in contact or confrontation or by contrast with 'them' and as the sense of 'us' changes so the boundary between 'us' and 'them' shift. Not only does the boundary shift, but the criteria which mark it change" (Wallman 1986:3). By this definition, ethnicity is transactional, shifting and essentially impermanent. Benedict Anderson's notion of communities, nation and ethnicity formation undergo same process of

imagination. He argued that communities are to be distinguished not by their falsity and genuineness but by the style in which they are imagined. "It is imagined because the member of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 1983 :6). So, ethnic boundaries are always made of and one of the key issues becomes the manipulation of perceived significant differences. Therefore, ethnic phenomena are not natural, inherent or eternal.

D. Gellner (2001) argues the various ways of construction of ethnicity. There are many times and places where people have no particular ethnic feelings," their ties to other people are much more local, and their religious or political allegiances may go for beyond the ethnic group" (Anderson 1983:94, Gellner 2001). In his another study, he argues that when a given population shares a common language, a culture and a common attachment to a given territorially or at least historical line to these shared features, it thereby constitutes an ethnic group (Gellner 1997).

F. Barth (1969) offers a model of ethnic and social identities as somewhat fluid, situationally contingent and the perpetual subject and object of negotiation. His proposition is that "it is not enough to send a message about identity; that message has to be accepted by significant others before an identity can be said to be 'taken on'. Ethnic identities are to be found and negotiated of their boundaries where the internal and external meet". In this way ethnic identity can be understood from the dialectical interplay of process of internal and external meanings. Barth's argument is "ethnic identities are flexible, if not totally fluid"(1969:18). On the context of politics of Swat in Pakistan, he focused on how political groupings develop and change as the result of inter-personal strategizing and transactions. His understanding that collective forms are not fixed, but separated by or emerge out of interaction was taken further in models of social organization (Barth 1969, Jenkins 1996). Thus, the focus of the study should be the membership of ethnic group recruitment rather than simply assuming an obvious process of birth and death.

The distinction which Barth (1969) draws between 'boundary' and 'content' (cultural stuff) allows a widened distinction to be drawn between nominal identity and virtual identity. The former is the name and latter the experiences of an identity what it means to bear it. It is possible for ethnic groups to share the same nominal identity and for that to mean very different things to them in practice. Guneratne gives an example that the name can stay the same-Tharu for example while the experience of being a Tharu can change dramatically (Guneratne 2002). Similarly, the experience may stay relatively stable while the name changes. For better understanding of ethnic identity formation, ethnic concepts and arguments need to be reviewed.

2.4 Concepts of Ethnicity: Primordial, Modernist, Constructive/ Synthesis

There are several ways in which the problem of origin may be approached. One is the position adopted by Yinger (1986) who uses the term 'primordial' to refer to that aspect of ethnicity which expresses "genuine culture to which the sense of long-standing attachment is experienced"(1986:5). He sees genuine culture is only one source of ethnic strength. According to primordialist, the ethnic identity has been an aspect of social identity that has received more or less unchanged from the pre-modern past (Guneratne 2002, Gellner 1997). This approach goes back toward deep-past, immutability and 'naturalness' of the particular groups. "Ethnic concept of modern world is usually explained in terms of ancient hatreds whether it involves Hutus and Tutsis in Ruwanda-Burundi, Sihalese and Tamils in Srilanka or Hindu and Muslim in India" (Guneratne 2002:2). Macfarlane (1997) argues that Gurungs are reviving their ancient cultures. Many Gurungs agreed that "the traditional Gurung priests are the pa-chyu, and the Lehbri lamas are a more recent addition" (1997:185). In Hindu context gotra is main symbol to search origin of different castes. It is very difficult task of drawing line between pseudo-ethnicity and ethnicity where the primordial element plays at least some part.

Instrumentalists on the other hand emphasized that ethnic distinctiveness is to gain some political or economic advantages. Interest based ethnicity expresses stratification or material symbol. Some modernists argue that interests are well served by ethnically based movement precisely because, as J. Milton Yinger notes, "they combine an interest with an affective tie"(Yinger 1986:27).Herbstein presents the flexibility of ethnic unity "Despite class, racial, language, and religious differences among people, they develop organizations and leaders as adaptive mechanisms to deal with their shared circumstances" (Herbstein 1983, Yinger 1986:97).

D.Gellner (1997) argues most of the ethnic activists are motivated solely by the pursuit of economic or political advantages either for themselves or for the group. Holmberg (1989) clearly mentioned about the formation of Tamangs, who are people not based on a single culture. "The Tamang as a named category of ethnic group like many other group emerged not out of time immemorial from hidden past of Himalayan valleys but with the formation of the state of Nepal" (1989:12). The fiction of ethnicity simply disguises the interest basis of some group conditions. Ethnic groups are made of on the processes of social interaction in different times Therefore formation of ethnicity is beyond cultural interest. "Ethnicity is not only primordial nor it is simply the product of elites manipulating the consciousness of the subaltern classes and inverting traditions, but it is the outcome of specific historical processes that shape a society's experiences"(Guneratne 2001:3). He argues articulation of Tharu consciousness and ethnic commitment varies greatly between the modernized Tharu elites and majority of the Tharu on the grassroots level (ibid).

Anthropologists have been very much influenced by F. Barth's constructive model or attack on static views of ethnic groups and culture. D. Gellner analyses dual status of Barth's position about ethnic concepts. "Barth is clearly not a primordialist, since he emphasizes that there may be no continuity to the 'cultural stuff' or 'genuine culture' enclosed by the boundaries, nor a modernist, since he assumes that ethnic groups have existed at all times and in all places"

(Gellner 1997:15). Some of the scholars consider ethnicity as a political phenomenon and relate ethnicity to group competition over scarce resources.

After close study in context, anthropologists conclude that the importance of ethnicity grows as modernization and globalization proceed and that ethnicity as understood and experienced today is, at most modern phenomenon. It must be explained as a response to contemporary pressures and not as a left over of some precious type of society (Gellner 1997). Similarly Cohen concluded " Ethnicity is thus basically a political and not a cultural phenomenon, and it operate with the contemporary political contexts and is not an archaic survival arrangement carried over into the present by a conservative people" (Cohen 1969:190).

For Berreman, "The distinctiveness of a ...cultural group corresponds with the degree, duration and kind of isolation of the people involved these cultural drift, the process of divergent or differential cultural change" leads to differences between ethnic groups (Berreman 1960:787). Whether ethnicity is primarily cultural or political, the important point is that it has to be created. It is not an essential and universal aspect of human condition. These models of ethnicity is, rather than seeing people as passive recipients of the forces of modernization, Hinduization or the nation-state, prefers to see them as potentially active manipulators, negotiations, and transformers of the cultural forms these processes generate and of the contexts in which they interacts. It requires the analysis of how ethnicity is internally felt as well as how its external boundaries are created or imposed. Judith Butler (2003) cited Gayatri Spivak's argument named "operational (strategic) essentialism", a false ontology of women as a universal category of oppressed irrespective of multiplicity and discontinuity of the rebel against the univocity of the sign, but she suggests that they need to use it for strategic purpose (Butler 2003). I agree with Spivak's operational essentialism in the process of ethnic unity in Nepal. I have reviewed some ethnographic works in Nepal that present creative use of common symbol to organize them in spite of multiplicity and discontinuity.

2.5 Review of Ethnographic Texts

In this part, Thakali, Gurung, Tamang, Magar, Rai, Limbu Tharu and other minorities ethnic groups' literatures have been reviewed to show internal contradictions of current phenomena of 'one group one culture' identity, internal hierarchy within the group, multilateral ways of cultural change and continuity reshape identity in new manner. Continuity and change are processes of managing both ethnic identity and livelihood. The connecting points among different groups are construction of ethnicity and identity in new context of social interaction.

W. Fisher (2001) by presenting Thakali case argues that ethnicity is not inherent quality that is passed on from generation to generations; it is dynamic process and emerges fully only through interaction and conflict. The recent attempts by the Thakali to define their identity and clarify their history and cultural practices suggest that "to return to tradition they must first create it-or recreate it-but this process of recreation establishes it in a way in which it has never existed before" (Fisher 2001:5). Thakalis are not clear about their traditional culture of Hinduism, Buddhism or pure Shamanism. Fisher notes one of the Thakali speakers on conference as he said, "Without a clear tradition to which to return, we ought to embrace Hinduism because it is the dharma of our forefathers and because it is the most practical dharma for our future" (2001:5). It shows that ethnic identity and history are changing through political change. Changes on political and new context of social interaction reshape identity on new manner.

In March 1992 Gurung activists held a conference in Pokhara and passed three resolutions that "Gurung history had been destroyed by Brahmins, that there were no superior or inferior Gurung clans, and the original Gurung priests were pa-chyu and Lehbri"(Macfarlane 1997:185). Macfarlane (1997) with the help of Pignede's 1966 argues the internal contradictions of history and culture, among Gurungs. Char Jat has nothing to do with Gurungs specifically. "Char Jat actually referred four Hindu Varna, namely Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra". These four fold caste division was later absorbed into the Gurung system (Macfarlane 1997:194). Harka Gurung argues "There were indeed superior and

inferior clans among the Gurung but the issue regard to the status cleavage among Gurung was in its Brahmanic interpretation ascribed by some of their elites" (Gurung 1997:508)

But Pol Gurung, a Gurung priest argues that Gurungs' priestly texts do not tell any history and origin of Char Jat (Gurung 2007) These contested views on Gurung identity have become frequent issue of debate among Gurungs. According to Pol Gurung they have gone to court to solve superior identity. When the court could not solve the issue they themselves made decision saying all Gurungs are equal. But a number of different interpretations of what Pignede called the charjat and sorahjat have different origins, origins in the north and south. Macfarlane summarizes that the main route was down to Burma and then westward through Assam and eastern Nepal to their present settlements. One legend tells how "the Gurungs were wandering shepherds who came down through the high pasture of Tibet; through the kingdom of Mustang to settle the southern slopes of Annapurna range, yet other traditions suggest a dual origin, with the 'four jat' as they are known coming from the south, from the northern India, and the 'sixteen jat' coming from the north" (Macfarlane and Gurung 1990:1-2).

Pignede argues that Gurungs are divided into the status groups namely the higher ranking Charjat and the lower ranking Sorahjat. "The Charjat for their part, comprise four clans: the Ghale, Ghodane, Lama and Lamichhane. The status declivity between Charjat and Sorahjat is reflected among other things in the fact that the latter had until recently been regarded as the servant of the former and that even today lamas are village headlines (Kiroh) are exclusively member of the Charjat group" (Pignede 1966, Hofer 2004:121).

Levine argued that "Tibetan speakers long were considered Bhatiya. Some decades ago they were instructed by government representatives that their Jat had become Tamang ... and that change in jat was to their advantage being of higher caste status" (Levine 1987:79-80). Holmberg's (1989) argument is that the historical and social conditions behind the emergence of the Tamang reinforced some quasi-tribal features. "Tamang culture ...was much created as undermined in the genesis of contemporary Nepal...an insular or 'tribal' character of Tamang

culture emerged in response to the evolvement of socio politics in the greater Himalayas where the local sector Tamang turned in upon themselves in a process of involution" (Holmberg 1989:15). He describes the notion of pan-Tamang identity is a recent phenomena in which many different groups were mixed. Ethnic identities in Nepal are subject to interaction context and strategies of creative use. The social meanings of particular terms vary from local levels to national frames, from the grounded to the imaginary, generating incongruence and misrecognition as to how identities are constituted at different levels (Campbell 1997). People may agree to be Tamang in linguistic terms but deny this identity in dietary and cultural terms.

Shaubhagya Shah (2004) presents the mutual influences of culture between the caste and ethnic groups. Hindu castes adopt liquor drinking habits and other Matwali practices which he calls Matwalization. This process of desanskritization as Srivastava termed has been noticed in some Nepalese villages. His argument is "cultural flows are not only unidirectional -going down from the Hindu caste- they also travel in the reverse direction as well"(Shah 2004:18). In the same vein, Andrew Russell argues by referring the case of Yakkha-one of Rai groups of eastern Nepal-that far from "one-way process of acculturation there is a yakkhification of Hindus as well as a Hinduization of the yakkha" (1997:348). He argues that yakkha success for their identity management by applying different strategies of negotiation, manipulation and subversion of others culture. Yakkha selectively accept Hindu's culture, such as their adoption of the caste system and some Hindu festivals the yakkha are at least superficially 'Hindu'. However, "the Hindu order is being manipulated and subverted even in these avowedly Hindu domains" (Russell 1997:339) in terms of languages and religion, "there is a tendency to incorporate new cultural elements into the yakkha's own, the absorption of Hindu practices and values has been selective and does not necessarily mean old forms have been completely done away with" (Russell 1997:339). There are limits to the borrowing that fit the pre-existing and shifting matrices of yakkha culture This is also a good example of change and management of identity in own way.

Charles Ramble analyzed that the Tibetan-speakers of Northern Nepal have never mobilized the fact of their common religion, language and culture as the basis for an ethnic forum (1997). The indigenous Tibetan speakers comprise a 'Bhotiya' Lamaist group embedded in a wider society that is distinguished by a markedly different Hindu culture. But they lack common culture, language and close interaction because of geographical barrier. These groups present themselves as, orthodox Hindu or devout Tibetan Buddhist in order to gain acceptance and, ultimately, material profit, within the appropriate milieu. All the time however these traders retain a 'real' cultural identity which is kept hidden from observers and their identity is focused on certain tribal ritual performance that periodically takes place in their heartland (Ramble 1997:404). He presents different Tibetan ethnic groups living in Trans-Himalayan valleys in contrast with Madheshis living in the south, is still no evidence of any strong sense of ethnic solidarity amongst these Tibetanids which might bind them together. Ramble links the rise of ethnicity directly to the economic and political benefits it can bring to the group concerned.

The legal code of 1854 endorsed the idea of the inviolability of customary practices of different Jatis (Hofer 1979). Even during Rana regime many social and cultural groups were left free to follow their customary tradition and practices, gave adjudication on disputes over infringements of customary practices on customary rights of the specific caste or ethnic groups (Sharma 1997). The terms to describe a caste (Jat) and an ethnic group (Jatis) in the Nepali language stem from a common root. The word Jat, in early writing referred to a person's ethnic status as to his caste. It might be possible to interpret Prithvi Narayan Shah's use of the expression "Char Varna Chhattis Jat" to describe the social universe of his state. In fact Varna could be said to allude to the people of the caste order, while Jat referred to the ethnic multiplicity of Nepal (Sharma 1997:481). The spirit of inclusion of all castes/ethnic groups was derived with legal code of 1854. One outcome of it was the promulgation of single national hierarchy (Sharma 1997; Hofer 1979). But "this hierarchy must be understood as only a loose arrangement, leaving enough room to the various ethnic groups to

enjoy their customary traditions freely within it "(1997:418). Along the historical process of Hinduization, Hinduization happened neither in the same degree nor in a uniform manner against all groups and individuals. The Hinduization process never cut deeper than the imitation of the Hindu high castes mannerisms by the others (Pfaff-Czarnecka 1997).

Since the political changes of 1990, ethnic politics has become a permanent fixture in Nepal's multiparty democracy. Today, most of all ethnic groups have own cultures forum or association. A large organization called the Nepal federation of nationalities (Nepal Janjatis Mahasangh) was established in 1990 to bring all the smaller forums under a single umbrella. They started with seven such groups and nineteen in 1993 and 21 in 1995. "This federation claims to speak on ethnic matters on behalf of all its federating units, and non-political organization but the 17-points charter it submitted to the government in 1993 includes very much political demands" (Sharma 1997:484).

Being Nepali means different things to different Nepalis and we need to be constantly aware of the gap that may exist between official aspirations and the actual feelings of a population devoted along ethnic, caste and class lines. Shaubhagya Shah (1993) analyzes how different organizations emphasize difference and ignore commonalities. He quotes Malla K. Sunder, a journalist and vice – president of the Nepal Bhasa Manka Khala as saying, "the Newar carry a psychology of the vanquished at the subconscious level and view the Khas as the victors" (Shah 1993). Some ethnic groups rejected Dashain and Tihar festival to emphasize their differences. Shah notes G.S. Nepali's statement for the need for "generating awareness and creating pride in indigenous traditions, heritage and personalities, but we fail to recognize the contribution of our own Khas, Kirat and other local heroes"(Shah 1993). Some outsiders (researchers) are actively engaged in the process of the creation and re-interpretation of ethnic identity.

L.Caplan (1970) argues that the cleavage created between Limbus and Brahman by the land confrontation is expressed in and reinforced by attitudes of hostility, by the absence of reciprocal and cooperative relations and social or religious ceremonies of others. His statement is "The political hierarchy created

centuries ago by Brahman dependence on him by land grants gradually collapsed and was replaced by one in which the Brahman have become the most powerful"(1970:9).

Arjun Guneratne argues that the development of ethnic consciousness among Tharu is as Aderson's 'imagined community' because the different Tharu groups from east to west in Nepal have very little in common culturally except their common ethnonym (Guneratne 2002). "Prior to modern times, the Tharu of different regions did not think of themselves as all belonging to the same jat, but Tharu identity of belongingness has emerged from the condition of modernity" (Guneratne 2002:6). Guneratne says Tharu ethnicity is socially constructed out of preexisting cultural orders and social & political elites are significant actors in this process; so in this process elites manipulate common symbol, but even where a common symbol does not exist in an objective sense, it can be creatively imagined. He argued that a system of symbols is not a necessary precondition for the development of common ethnic identity that needs cultural labor of elites as in Tharu ethnic identity. "But Tharu ethnic activists received cultural raw material from the past or they did not start off with a cultural tabula rasa on which it inscribe the particularities of the identity they wish to promote" (Guneratne 2002:193).

Singun Odegaard argues that Tharu are changing from castes to an ethnic group which is different forms of social organizations based on different principles (Odegaard 1997). Her point is that the previous stratification among Tharu subgroup is going to form an egalitarian ethnic group by the help of Tharu elites. She argues that the cultural and ethnic consciousness of elites and grassroots have great gap where Tharu of grassroots do not assert their Tharuness in a similar self conscious way as the Tharu elite (Odegaard 1997,McDonaugh 1997).

J. Fisher argued that ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction but are, the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built and social system, interactions doesnt lead to the liquidation of ethnic differences through acculturation; cultural difference persist in spite of interethnic

contact and interdependence (Fisher1987). He insists that "among Tarangpurian rather than either sanskritization or Tibetanization a process of religious transmutation is under way for the descendants of the few high-caste Thakuri families who settled and intermarried and were 'magarized', the process is even more complex" (1987:190). He tried to trace out the material and ethnic transactions that connect Tarangpurians to one another and to the rest of the world and this process are slowly engulfing the people of Tarangpurian blurring and maintaining boundary mechanisms between them and the rest of the ever approaching world beyond their valley. He argued that "despite the internal cleavages of wealth, status and power, interpersonal relations in the Tarangpurians are pervaded by an aura of diffuse reciprocity "(Fisher 1987:177).

R.B. Chhetri (1990) argues that the identity of Tibetan Refugee in Pokhara is characterized by dialogue between the ideal and the practical. The ideal consists in persisting as distinct people in Tibetan Buddhists while practical reality leads them to find ways and means of making adjustments in their group boundaries. So it is in their process of dialogue that persistence and change in their behaviors and practice. He makes clear that "Tibetan refugees have a set of markers to draw a boundary between Tibetan refugees and non-Tibetan so persistence and change among Tibetan Refugee in Pokhara seems to revolve around the perception of Tibetan vis-avis the non-Tibetans" (Chhetri 1990:8). His argument is that many Tibetan refugees do not want to return back their ideal homeland because they developed new strategies of adaptation here and they will face more difficult problems to exist on their changed behaviour.

2.6 Existing Literature of Danuwars

Dor Bahadur Bista is the first anthropologist who compares Danuwars, Majhis and Darais with Tharus of the terai. He argues that Danuwars are not much different in their appearance; attitude and behaviors from Tharus (Bista 1987). "They have striking cultural and physical similarities to the Tharu and inhabit neighbouring regions in the terai forests and inner valleys. They are very

dark and seemingly bony, yet have great health and strength like the Tharus. They are considered to have developed immunity against malaria. They live in vary malarial areas in proximity with the Tharus but are more dependent on fishing and less on forest game and farming" (Bista 1987:130). He argues that Danuwars have reached at the stage of organizing their communities into social religious, economic or political organizations, whatever divisions and social rules they have are largely influenced from Tharu people, they live in proximity too (ibid). Gautam and Magar (1994) describe Danuwars general nature and attitude toward the state mechanisms. If any disturbance occurs within them, the tribal council tries the case and the justice is dispensed accordingly (Gautam and Magar 1994).

Shaubhagya Shah (2004) analyzed Danuwar's and Majhi's socio-economic position before and after Parbatiya emigrants in the Kamala Khonch. They are said the earliest settler into the Kamala Khoch. When the hill migrants began to settle there elementary forms of cultivation and exchange were their substance. They did not have sense of accumulative and extractive apparatuses. He argues that the growing influx of land-hungry hill peasants since the 1960s sharpened the competition for the land and other resources. They brought not only different culture and politics but also different economies; commodity economy-intensive production and surplus accumulation (2004).

Prem Khatri analyses the Manjani system of the Danuwars in which a person or group of persons, clan and dynasty hereditarily enjoying special, respected status and powers invested to that status in a given community or social system (Khatri 1995). He shows different status of Danuwars within Manjani system that got government authority. His article shows that the traditional system of political judicial structure and institutions remaining in operations in the Danuwar state of the kamala valley until the recent past.

Ram Dayal Rakesh (1994) summarizes the whole socio-cultural aspects of Danuwars. He argues that Danuwars have own language but most of them speak Maithali and Nepali, they are Hindus and workshop home dities, they are very closely associated with Kamala River (Rakesh 1994). He also compares them with Tharu "most of Danuwars follow the pattern of Tharu social organization"

(1994:154). He notes that danuwars do not believe in modern medical science, because they are used to go village healer when they fall ill and they highly believe in Tantras, mantras and ghosts (ibid).

Krishna Bhattachan and Om Gurung (2005) argue that Danuwar are at the verge of extinction due to growing pressure from outside and due to lack of control and access to the natural and local resources. They claim that Tarai Danuwars lost their cultural heritage and adopted Hinduism but hills Danuwars are maintaining tradition and language (2005:94). Their survey shows that Danuwars worship ancestors and called as 'Kul puja'. Due to strong influence of Hindu, they follow Hindu religious festivals and called themselves Hindu (ibid). They note that Danuwar emphasized the need of protecting and promoting their language and cultural tradition. Danuwars want to retain their ethnic identity as 'Danuwar' even though, some of them are interested to write 'Rai' in stead of 'Rai-Danuwar' (Bhattachan and Gurung 2005).

Jan Salter and Harka Gurung (1999) argue that "Danuwars may have originated in the hill region between the Newar and Sunuwar home lands and later on they went through step migration from hill to inner terai and then to the terai. Apparently Danuwar resemble with Tharu and closely link with kirat's. They are Mongolian; speak Indo-Aryan language" (1999:73).

Rishiram Poudel (2057 B.S.) depicts the living culture of Danuwar in Sindhupalchowk eventhough they have been living with other people. They have their own process of marriage and death rituals that communicate cultural differences with others (2057:8). They practiced exchange marriage in which the groom's father has to promise to give his own daughter to bride's brother, this is known as Sato. If they don't have daughter groom has to pay bride price as demand of parents which is called 'Chayanta' (ibid).

Ram dev Ray Danuwar (2061 B.S.) claims that danuwars are living descendant of King Janak of Mithila as Tharus are descendant of Gautam Buddha (2061:9). Eastern terai danuwars wear sacred Thread and they claim they are Chhetri (ibid). Danuwars are similar physical appearance with Rai, Limbu, Magar, Sunuwar and Tamang and very close with Tharu. They lived near the

jungle and riverside to protect themselves from the enemies. He claims that Baburam Acharya, historian, also recorded that eastern terai Danuwars as Chhetri because they are only sacred thread wearer after Brahmin (Danuwar 2061).

D.B. Shrestha and C.B. Singh (1987) depict Danuwars are very much straight forward, illiterate, mostly exploited and suppressed. They are afraid of litigation. So they are ready to pay any cost against court litigation. They argue that Danuwars daughters are also supposed to have claim to the ancestral property. So when daughters are given away in marriage they are given some portions of land and some cattle. About commensality Danuwars have no sense of cleanliness and women do not observe social restrictions as not cooking food or offering food to others etc, during menstrual period.

Sita Sapkota (1959) argues that modernization, education, and caste system caused changes of cultural values and identity of the Rai Danuwar of Nuwakot. They call Brahmin priest, imitation of Hindu culture and modernization globalization caused their traditional cultural identity under threat. Danuwar, out of 75 districts, spread on 41 districts of Nepal but concentration degree is different. She generalized that they do not speak own language and follow all Hindu festival. Dead bodies are buried near river and 3 to 10 days mourning. Sabin Bahadur Zoowa (2002) argues changes and modernization made Danuwar dependent with other people but their living standard is uplifting. The ward chairman indicates they have also capacity of political leadership. Danuwar of Panchakhal of Kavrepalanchowk district introduced commercial vegetables farming and new agricultural systems (2002). Narayan Prasad Dhungana (2056) argues Danuwar women in Panchakhal VDC practice high castes' ritual pollution. Their social status is high in comparison to other caste/ethnic groups around them. Above mentioned literatures present that the Danuwars are the earliest inhabitants of the inner terai. They have socialized subsistence economic system whereas the Parbatiya carried monetized or accumulative economy that threatened their way of life. There is no uniformity about their present socio-cultural practices and perceptions. The sense of dislocation among the Danuwars after interaction with other groups of people is expressed in different aspects of their lives. The

differences among them vary in degree in term of geographical location, education, economic status and political linkages In the process of relocation Danuwars of Bhalwai have experienced both persistence and change. In next few chapters I present their history, cultural identity, economy, and their perception on ethnic movements.

To sum up, various authors have mentioned Danuwar as a separate tribal or an ethnic group without establishing linkages and relationships with the caste and ethnic groups. Few Master's Dissertations have picked up Danuwars near Kathmandu who are far from their own traditional culture. None of them has addressed ethnic identity and change issues in a holistic manner which present study attempt to cover among rural Danuwars of Bhalwai. The mentioned conceptual discussions over the ethnic identity, ethnographic writing, changes, and Danuwar literature have laid the foundation for the analysis of the field data.

Chapter-III

Methodological Approach

3.1 Choice of Place, People

There are a number of causes of attraction to choose Danuwar- Parbatiya interaction in Sindhuli Kamala Khonch; Bhalwai of Hatpate VDC wards no. 4, 5 and 6. The World Bank provided me an opportunity to be Bhalwai for six months both as qualitative research of measuring empowerment and social inclusion (MESI) during construction phase of Bhalwai-Drinking Water and Sanitation Project, and master degree dissertation on suitable subject matter of this area. In October 2005, for the first time I went to Bhalwai with the help of a staff of integrated rural development society (IRDS), NGO conducting water programme there. My initial observation of social, cultural and geographical beauty of Bhalwai struck on mind. I came to know the geographical-environmental setting and socio-cultural background of the people in general.

As I came to know, this area is homeland of Danuwar indigenous group; Parbatiya emigrants of late 1960's turned social mosaic. This social setting helped foregrounding my hunch of caste-ethnic discourses. Then I started brainstorming about the relationship between host and guest people in this area with the help of water project staffs. I was introduced as Danuwar researcher with both Danuwar and Parbatiya people.

After 10 days general survey I started to search existing literature about ethnographic and Danuwar in particular. During my three months stay in Kathmandu I made frequent communication with the people of Ratanpur-Bhalwai and I decided to include Ratanpur Danuwar settlement of sixty household under study of my previous selection of Bhalwai. The reason of inclusion of Ratanpur Tol is continuity of cultural practices.

Another aspect of selection of Bhalwai was purely for anthropological field exercise. Anthropology is unique among scholarly disciplines which combines intellectual tradition with both the sciences and field realities. I have not

been this part of the country and Danuwar are completely new ethnic group, new culture and new language reinforced me to conduct research. Interms of infrastructural development, Kamala Khonch had been overshadowed eventhough it lays near terai and central development region in Sindhuli Because of inaccessibility in monsoon, researchers did not prefer this area for long term research. Therefore researchers escaped hill, mountain, natural beauty and adventure or plain terai mosaic of caste/ethnicity. So the next cause to choose Bhalwai was virgin area as well as backward ethnic group. Population composition of these two settlements represents diversity interms of pure Danuwar and Danuwar Parbatiya mixed groups.

3.2 Data Requirement: Nature and Source

Since the study is anthropological, the collected data are descriptive in nature. Considering the social context, data needed for this study to be collected from individuals as well as group levels. The individual level data include caste/ethnicity background, cultural practices, political experiences, livelihood strategies and perspectives of viewing own group and next group of people in terms of caste/ethnicity. Basically focus was given to the individual experiences of Danuwar and strategies are individual level data. To gain detail information about history and interaction of both groups: feeling, perspective on politics cooperation's, qualitative research method have been used.

Data for this study was obtained from both primary and secondary sources. At first to set background about the ethnicity and Danuwar secondary sources were used. Primary data have been obtained during my six month field stay with the host community by using different data collection techniques. Some informants have been given pseudonym to protect their privacy and identity.

3.3 Tools and Techniques of Data Collection

In late march, 2006 I went Bhalwai for the second time for my long term study. I clarified the people there that I had gone there as a pure researcher (purposes) and wanted to stay in a house of Ratanpure Danuwar. I met two Ratanpure Danuwar young boys who were constructing toilet at Brahmin house at Bhalwai. I requested them to find a room in their houses. Dinesh Kumar called me next morning to see the room. I went next day and decided to live in his house.

Before I moved into Ratanpur settlement I stayed at IRDS's office room with two staffs at Bhalwai. Both migrated Brahmin (the house owner) and staffs of IRDS's office spoke Danuwari language to make jokes upon me. Other all people at Bhalwai Ratanpur knew me as a student of Danuwari language and made funs by speaking Danuwari language. I talked with Danuwar male and female of Bhalwai when they came to work on water project. I came to know many Danuwar people understand basic Danuwari language. In order to get better access to the Danuwar culture and social interaction I lived at Ratanpur. As the Danuwar are known for their liquor drinking habits I was afraid of too close relationship with them. I wanted to eat as general Danuwar as possible. I managed to eat in the house of Dhorpa Ba which is thought as good starting point. Living in a house does not automatically imply access and acceptance. Then, I started teaching some of the Danuwar children that helped establishing trust and gaining working relationship with them.

3.4 Participation and Observation: Watching and Listening

Ethnography brings continuity to the anthropological effort that connects the past with the present and leads us into the future. The best ethnography is per force collaborative, it emerges dialogically where the researcher doesnot necessarily control knowledge production (Holmberg 2006:13).

It is commonly stated that a fieldworker is varying 'observe' and 'participant'. My fieldwork was no exception from this general rule-hence a mix of participation and observation, watching and listening. During my field work especially in April and May I joined fishing on my leisure time. I did not know to

throw fish net but I caught fish by Duwalo method of fishing. I was also invited to go for hunting with a group of Danuwar. I carried a stick, other carried homemade nets and Bhalo (spear). Dhorpa Ba, home-stay father, gave me general idea of hunting accordingly I hid little far behind big tree. I not only observed but also listened to their talks of getting possible victim. They warned me not to come near the net because of possibility of tiger and leopard.

In June and July, the busiest agricultural period; most people remain in the fields, and even during the peak seasons, they have almost hour leisure at noon because of extreme hot weather. They gather under mango Gachhi (tree) and share their experiences of oxen, types of paddy, water canal, history and new comer, wage and labor exchange. As a farmer's son I too knew general idea of ploughing field, I helped them by giving turns. Danuwar are surprised because they assume that I have not such practices. Group work was very interesting when we shared food at evening. Danuwar women started to joke at me by calling 'Haruwa' (Hali in typical Nepali who tills land).

I became a kind of village reporter whose presence was wanted in local user group meeting of drinking water, irrigation, community forestry, road, school, wedding, funerals, ritual celebrations and I was taken as a mediator of conflict management among the people especially on development among the people especially on development activities, public affair and even family affair too. 'Come on Giri sir, there is a meeting' the villagers often told me. Danuwar asked me about their confusion on wage labor amount and their affairs with Parbatiya groups. I won trusts of the villagers so they reported each and every events and information they knew. They reported me about school's corruption, road and drinking water budget transparency, political events and illicit relations of villagers.

During the field work, I was able to collect so much data and information from key informants which I could not obtain from my presence. In this purpose, I sought help of some selected community people who were old, knowledgeable about history and society. Danuwar and high castes informants helped to solve my queries as much possible as they could. In my study, case study method was

employed to obtain detail historical change, politics and caste/ethnicity integration and tensions among Danuwar and Parbatiya caste groups. These cases helped to know grassroot situation of caste/ethnic interactions.

Contexts are emphasized as the crucial 'thing' in ethnographic research, because contexts are so important for understanding 'ongoing life'. To better understand 'ongoing life', it is important to inscribe oneself into 'otherness'. Such an inscription is what deserves the term participation (Hastrup 1989, quoted Odegaard 1997:22). In order to grasp reality, it is therefore necessary to have experienced it, and here in lies the concrete challenge of the ethnographer. The study of Danuwar, Parbatiya groups implies a study of social contexts for caste/ethnic consciousness and cooperation. Throughout my field work I felt and experienced things. Although I don't base my analysis of Danuwar on my own experiences of being 'we'/'other' these experiences made me aware of the flux and fluidity in such processes.

3.5 Field Experiences

“To call the social fact total is not merely to signify that everything observed is part of observation but also, above all the observer is of the same nature as his object of study, the observer is himself part of observation” (Levi Strauss 1987:29).

Apart from ten days initial survey, my field work started on March 2006 and completed on September 2006. This was the first time for me to stay long time field work in such serious academic research. I was not exception from the normal challenges faced by anthropologists in establishing local rapport. I depicted my feelings and villagers' perception about my presence in following lines:

Baisakh 2, 2063

I have full time leisure at this busiest time in the village. I thought ethnographic field work is worthless and unproductive in terms of villagers. I felt loneliness and estrangement effect of natural and cultural environment. Another major problem I faced was political: all parbatiya

and Danuwar groups did not want to reveal their social reality because I was Maoist activist on their eyes. They maintained distance and talked only events of the society. On the other hand Maoist doubted upon my presence as a government spy. They gave me pressure to show my document of writing and field notes. They indirectly observed my activities. It was double pressure to maintain neutrality and win the trust of the villagers. I have chunk of questions for myself and turn into inner discovery of my presence at Ratanpur-Bhalwai. Why am I here now? I donot get way to enter my objectives and ideal theories are absent on my mind. After lunch I walked around the village and people asked me dozens of questions: what is your purpose of wondering here? What did you see interesting aspect to choose this area?

When I entered into the Danuwar settlement first time women and old men turned their heads other side. First they hesitated to speak with clean dressed stranger and second they thought that I was Maoist and I would give unnecessary tension. My skills of playing volleyball helped to introduce with young-boys and they became my friends. They organized volleyball game at evening in school. It was another gate to inter into society. I frequently went to school and talked to teachers. They organized tea party at evening and I enjoyed there. More than this higher secondary teacher, Ishwori Parsai was my class mate at T.U. He shared his experiences of villagers, teachers and students. I preferred old people, because they are store house of local knowledge. In Shrawan, the caravan of Bol Bam (large group of Hindu pilgrimage from terai and India) came to Mahadevsthan of Hatpate VDC. It is four hours up hill walk from Bhalwai. I went Mahadevsthan with the request of old villagers which have been immemorial long walk throughout jungle and the caravan of Bol Bam.

Another joy of my field stay was one woman called me '*Mit Chhora*' (Fictive son) because according to her my body and facial structure was almost similar to her son- who used to stay at Kathmandu. She treated me as son. She always gave feedback and other villager's perception to me that help me to tackle

other behavioral problems. She frequently invited me for dinner and told secret events of the villagers. I respected her as mother and called *Ama*. Another very interesting event was snake chased when we (Danuwars and I) were sitting under mango tree. Some of Danuwar boys tried to kill it, but it was chasing again and again. I was interested to take photograph but I failed. I used to call elder male Danuwars *Kaka* (uncle) and elder female *kaki* (aunt).elder Danuwars preferred to be called Kaka/Kaki.

Before the end of field study I went to Sirthauli and Harsai VDC, where I spent a week. Sirthauli is two hours walk southeast along the Kamala river. Danuwars are educated, rich and socio-politically dominant there. I stayed with Manaka Kumar Danuwar; ex-Pancha Pradhan of the village; Bisham Lal Adhikari Danuwar-UML party secretary of Sindhuli district; and Hem Raj Kumar Danuwar school teacher. I got difference between Bhalwai and Sirthauli. By the end of my field work many Danuwar and parbatiya people invited me for dinner, I at least visited everyone's house and said goodbye but I promised them, that I would come next time. After spending the very busy day of field work in Ratanpur-Bhalwai I expressed my feeling on my personal diary:

Bhadra 22, 2063

It is last night of field work but I felt as last night of my whole life and I can not sleep. I experienced completely different than what I expected. First and six months field stay changed my personality and opened my third eye. This community gave my space as a member by calling me on meeting and decision makings processes. Five families invited me for dinner for today, when I turned back from my field work. I lost nothing but I gained love of the people: Danuwars, Bhujel, Dalits and high caste Parbatiya. Six months passed but I am excited to my pains and gains and realized field work is a rite-of-passage.

3.6 Limitations of the Study

As a student, I was carrying out the research for the partial fulfillment of the requirement for the master's degree in anthropology. It is not fair enough to conclude that a student researcher's findings are limited because of its applicable and academic knowledge, however the resources I invested to obtain data and method of presentation were limited. Next, what I conclude about the caste/ethnic consciousness of Danuwar and parbatiya migrants groups may not be applicable to generalize the relationships of caste/ethnic consciousness of other areas and other ethnic groups, because the conclusions emerging from this study are based on spatial temporal and social context specific. Societies are in constant flux, and my interpretation is the result of my interaction with 'my' informants. At the end, it only rests to emphasis that all understandings are partial, and my understanding is no exception from this rule.



Photograph 1: Danuwars' usual gathering under mango tree during hot afternoon talking about local and national socio-cultural and economic issues



Photograph 2 : Parted Danuwar house and three brothers with their children

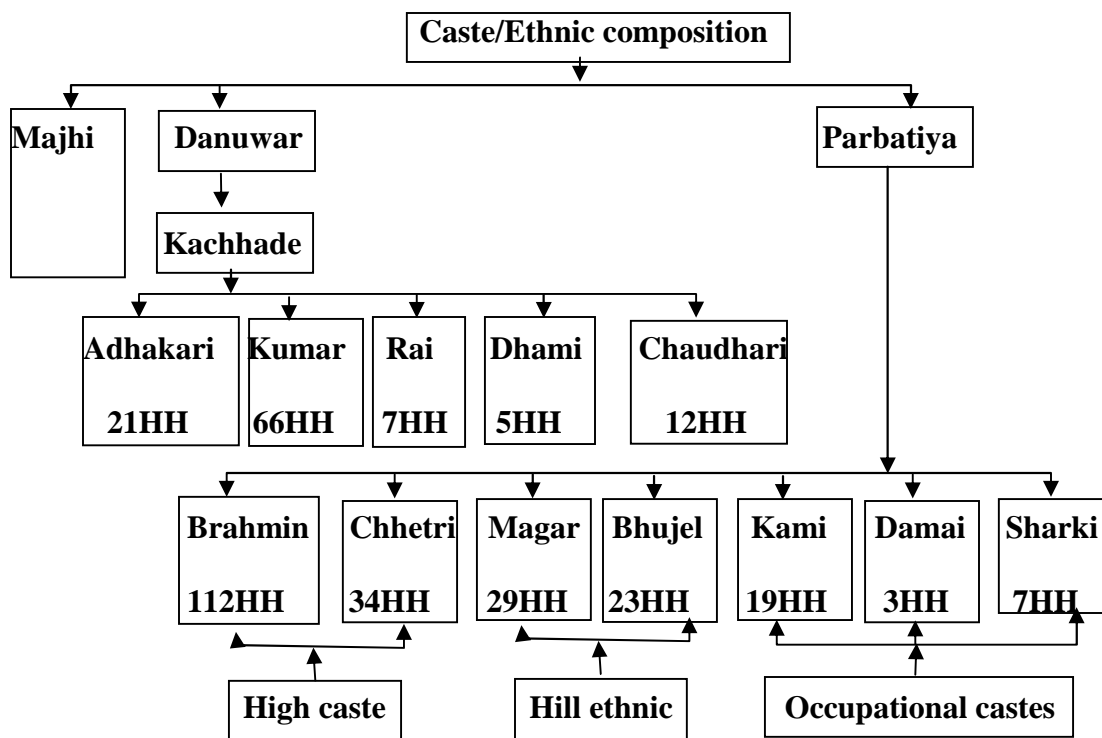
Chapter-IV

Danuwars of Bhalwai: Continuity and Change

4.1 Bhalwai Village and Danuwars

Bhalwai is a rural settlement in the Hatpate VDC along the middle Kamala river basin, inside the Chure system. It lies 34 k.m. southeast from Sindhuli district headquarters, Sindhulimadi. The settlement is linked to Viman, Sindhulimadi and Bardibas by a seasonal motor road across Kamala river side. The settlement contains a higher secondary school, sub-health post, sub-post office, ten shops and two medicals. One can reach to this place by approximately one and half an hour bus drive from Bardibas or an hour bus drive from Viman. During monsoon, few river-skilled people can cross and help others on flooded Kamala River to reach Bhalwai. Bhalwai is the inner terai surrounded by Siwalik hill (Chure jungle) and Mahabharat range-forest in the south and north respectively. The climate of the Bhalwai is hot and humid in the monsoon, cold during winter (December and January) and moderate in rest of the year. It lies 350m above the sea level. Because of rich fertile soil, Kamala basin is considered as food basket of Sindhuli district. Since two decades Kamala River has been cutting fertile rice field on its sides and creating wide stony banks.

Danuwars and Majhis are considered indigenous tribal groups in this area. After the success of the DDT –spraying campaign of malaria, Parbatiya people from upper Sindhuli, Okaldhunga, Ramechhap migrated there either buying land or making Ailani land by encroaching forest. Gradually Parbatiya people bought Danuwars' 'Pakho' land. Danuwars had not wanted Pakho because they had sufficient rice field. These days many Danuwars are gradually turning to be landless because of Kamala River which has largely disturbed their fertile land.



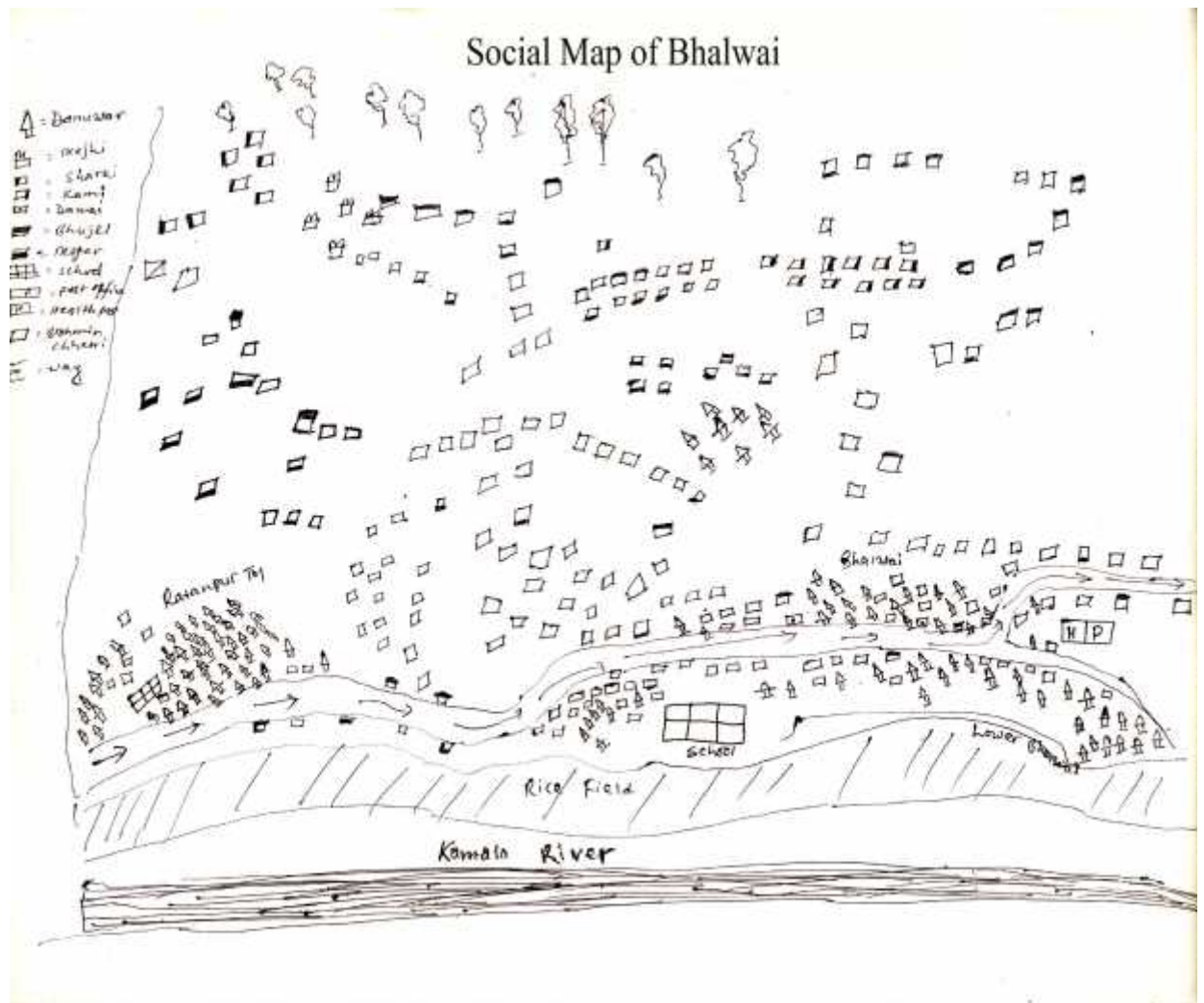
Population composition of the settlement

Ward No.	Tols	Total population	Danuwar Male	Danuwar Female
4	Ratanpur	421	196	225
5	Upper Bhalwai	112	62	50
6	Bhalwai	285	122	163
6	Lower Bhalwai	143	68	75
Total		961	448	513

Source: Field work (August 2006)

These days, caste/ethnic composition of Bhalwai is Danuwars, Majhis, Bhujels, Magars, Damai, Kami, Sarki, Brahmins and Chhetris. The settlement pattern in Bhalwai is based on Jaat to some extent. There are four different Tol (clusters) named: Lower, central and upper Bhalwai and Ratanpur. Lower

Bhalwai and Ratanpur Tols are purely Danuwar settlements, central Bhalwai is mixed settlement of Danuwar and Parbatiya whereas upper Bhalwai is largely Parbatiya area. The total number of the Danuwar households is 111 whereas Parbatiyas have 227 households. The caste and ethnic diversity is reflected in their ritual practices and language. Both Nepali and Danuwari are languages of communication in public domain but Nepali speakers are dominant. Regarding the spiritual life, different groups of people practice different forms of Hinduism, animism and other life-cycle rituals.



4.2 History

There is no uniformity of saying Danuwar origin and history among Danuwars themselves. Most of the Danuwars at Bhalwai agree that their ancestors came from India almost six hundred years ago. Mangala Kumar-Danuwar at the age of 75 argued that Danuwars were originally from Mongolia, then came to India and entered into Nepal to save them from Muslim attack in India. Junga Bahadur Rai-Danuwar school teacher told me that Danuwars came in Nepal from where Tharu came, because Tharu and Danuwars were two brothers. He told me Danuwar myth of origin:

There was a family who had two sons. They had only one plate to eat food. One of the sons used to eat food on metal plate (Thal), another deprived to get that plate and he used Duno (small plate made of leaves of the tree). One day they quarreled for the Thal. At the same time king came in their house and solved the case. The elder brother who used to eat on Thal got Thal forever and his descendant became 'Tharu' and the younger brother who used to eat on 'Duno' got 'Duno' forever and his descendent became 'Danuwar'.

Another etymological meaning of the word 'Danuwar' is derived from the word 'Dun'. The word 'Dun' in Nepali language means 'inner terai'. Bista (1987) argues that the term Danuwar is derived from the geographical structure 'Dun' and dwellers of Dun are later called 'Danuwars'. But the Danuwars of Bhalwai do not agree with him because all Dun dwellers are not Danuwars. To talk about Danuwar history at Bhalwai they can't tell when Danuwar arrived there. They are the earliest people to move into the Kamala Khonch and set up their settlement along the forests at least hundred and twenty five years ago (shah 2004). They came on the process of fishing on Kamala River and hunting in the dense forest. There was sufficient land on the river side, and then they started agriculture, animal husbandry too.

Since the nineteenth century, descendants of Bir Shamsheer, one of the powerful Rana prime ministers held a large 1200 Bigha Birta estate in Kamala valley. When the Rana rule was ended in 1950 the new government that came into

power desired to abolish Birta and the Birta estates including Kamala valley were finally nationalized in 1959. Because of Malaria, only Danuwars and Majhis lived by making permanent settlements. Unlike Danuwars and Majhis, few Parbatiya people who have land along the river basins climbed down only during the day to work and returned back at the Hatpate hill before night. Parbatiya came during winter to live in Bhalwai.

4.3 Culture: Name Giving, Marriage, Death Rituals

Danuwars of Bhalwai have their own typical cultural practices. The clear visible distinction between the Danuwar house and the Parbatiya house is color of the floors. Danuwars apply white mud on their floor everyday even if the floor does not worn out whereas Parbatiyas apply the mixture of red soil and cow dung. I felt uneasy to step upon soaking pasted floor early morning in the Danuwar family. One can notice the pasted walls, of the house and the with white soil yard which is the identification of the Danuwar household. They believe that white color is the symbol of god. They do not follow all Hindu cultural practices even if they claim themselves as Hindu. Their celebration of Dashain and Tihar is also different from parbatiya caste/ethnic group' celebration. They worship their own 'Kul Puja', in which they worship the sacred soil which they keep in one corner near the hearth inside their house. They allowed me to sit near the sacred soil. They donot worship any picture neither they worship metal statue of god and goddesses. Even on the occasion of Dashain they worship the same soil. They do not worship 'Durga Puja'. They kill goats to eat meat and not for the sake of god. Danuwars celebrate Dashain, Tihar, Thulo-Akadashi, Maghe Sakranti, Holi, and Kul-Puja. They worship soil, Bhimsen, Mahadev, Kamala River and Jungle God. They do not believe on Menstrual Pollution and Ausi (full dark night) and purnima (full moon day) the day for not ploughing for the Parbatiyas. Budhiya Kumar made a fun with me, "Danuwars lai Na Aunsi na Purnima" resembling to a famous saying in Parbatiyas' culture-'Kano Goru lai Aunsi na Purnima'. Literally,

Danuwar donot care about Ausi and Purnima. Danuwars' life-cycle rituals are unique and some of them are gradually changing these days.

Danuwars practice birth pollution only for 4 / 5 days. In the past they used to invite their priest (Thakur) who would color the nails of both mother and newly born child. Then both mother and baby would take bath. Thakur would give name of the baby on the basis of the name of the birth day. Most of the old Danuwars names are derived with the names of their birth day such as Mangala, Budhiya, Somana, Aaita, and Saniya. They have to give at least 2 Mana (about 1 kg) rice. They do not have 'Janma-Kundali' (birth paper based on astrology). Nowadays, they do not invite 'Thakur' on naming rituals. Some Danuwars started to invite Parbatiya Brahmin on naming rituals and many of them manage giving name by elder member of the family. Ram Abtar Kumar of Ratanpur Tole called parbatiya Brahmin for naming rituals of his grandchildren. He said, "Thakurs live in the terai. We donot have Thakur in Kamala Khonch. It is expensive and time consuming to call them". From last 7/8 years none of Bhalwai Danuwars has invited Thakur on their rituals. Some of the Danuwars invite parbatiya Brahmin because they are around their settlement. At Ratanpur Tole Danuwars started to give name themselves without calling Brahmin or Thakur.

Marriage is regarded the most important ritual among Danuwars too. In the past they were endogamous usually boy was younger than girl. If married brother died, younger brother had been allowed to marry with sister-in-law. I have not found a single case of levirate marriage in this area. The whole idea of endogamy has been described and pointed out that "endogamy is a corollary of hierarchy, rather than primary principle"(Dumont 1980:113).Endogamy has had a special position and functioned as the prime boundary between Jats (Guneratne 1994). To accept intercaste marriage, Dumont argues, can also be seen as acceptance of food. Intercaste marriages in general presuppose that the two parties can eat together (Dumont 1980). The Danuwars of Bhalwai kept on their endogamous ideals largely but not completely since few of young Danuwars started intercaste marriage. When they talk about wedding celebrations, they would normally tell that they were going to participate curd-beaten rice party and

Sariyati. Both Parbatiyas and Danuwars in Bhalwai invite and participate each other's party.

Usually boy side seems active to search for bride; boy goes to girl's house and proposes with parents, if parents ask some amount of money which is called 'Bharna' (bride price) not compulsory these days, the amount is to be given. It is taken as marriage expenditure for the girl's parents; and they give dowry according to their capacity. During the ceremony bride's family is considered to be higher in status than the groom's family and they must speak in very respectful manner to the bride's family. Wife giver family is always considered more important than wife taker's family. Son-in-law is considered lower status and whenever Pahuna (son-in-law) visits in-law's house, the host family always involves him in fishing and agricultural work. The most interesting thing on Danuwars marriage is guests have to carry food to eat. Whoever is invited on boys' side, s/he should not participate with empty handed, and they have to carry some food or presents. On girl's side many of kins and neighbours share food and guests have to carry some presents which are taken as 'exchange gift' in their term, hosts also later will return almost same amount of presents. This makes easy for economic burden for girl's parents.

Sariyati is another very famous practice among Danuwars. When groom takes bride in his home, a large group of people from bride side also come with bride and stay one or two days on boy's house. This group is called 'Sariyati'. They come to examine boy's household economy and livelihood security. Boy has to give big feast for them too. But nowadays this practice is slowly disappearing.

On Danuwar marriage feast yogurt and beaten rice are the must. They have to buy yogurt from Parbatiya or go to Janakpur- market to buy milk. This long process of making yogurt is too expensive. Thus, Danuwar Jagaran Samiti (DJS) has declared that yogurt is not inevitable on Danuwar marriage and other feast. Consequently, few educated and urban Danuwar, instead of curd, they have started mutton meat. Bishamlal Adhikari Danuwar who is also member DJS Sindhuli and a chairman of Sirthauli VDC said, "I have slaughtered 5/6 goats on my sister's marriage". Talking about the shift from curd to mutton meat is

interesting. This is so because Danuwars of Sirthauli did not want to buy curd from Parbatiya's households. Another reason was they had to go Janakpur two days earlier, give order and carry to house which they considered difficult job. Conversely, goats are available in the Danuwar community. It is easier though it is more expensive than curd.

Danuwar of Bhalwai, on the other hand, are still practicing beaten rice and curd on marriage feast. They buy it in local Parbatiya households. For that they have to inform before two days. The local price of curd in Bhalwai is RS 12 per Mana (almost 0.5 Kg). Mangala Kumar analyzed the economic difference between curd and meat. For general Danuwar marriage feast they need 6 to 8 Pathi (24 to 32 Kg) curd that costs Rs 600 to Rs 800. But if they buy a goat at least Rs 3000 is necessary. Instead of buying meat Danuwars of Bhalwai have started to make vegetable curry and beaten rice. Danuwar symbol of power and hunting is clearly represented by a big sword which is carried by boy's side. At the time of Sindhur (vermillion), groom first offers on sword and then sprinkles the vermillion to the bride's head. Since, 1990's few Danuwars have been practicing intercaste marriage and marriage with parbatiya caste groups. At Bhalwai-Ratanpur four girls and three boys have got intercaste marriage.

Danuwar's death ritual is their identity marker. Dead body is taken for the cremation at kamala river side by close relative like sons, brothers, and cousins. They worship river god first and dead body is put on firewood. Son, brother or other close relative can give fire on dead body whenever dead body started burn, all procession returns home. Next day three-four relatives have to observe remaining parts and put on fire again. They covered ashes putting on clean soil and a stone on third day. They called this process 'Chhor Jhappi' on Danuwar language. After Chhor Jhappi they decide Kriya Putri (mourner). Unlike Hindu castes, all sons and daughter-in-laws do not act as Kriya Putri. Eventhough all sons shave their head, only one son or grandson or cousin acts as representative of all family members. Priority is given elderest or youngest son but they can decide anyone. An old Danuwar told me, "Grandson could be Kriya Putri even if sons stay in the same family". They can replace Kirya-Putri if he has any trouble and

sickness. Kirya-Putri ties one piece of white cloth on his neck which was used to wrap the dead body and another piece is tied on a small stone which he carried from the river on the first day. This piece of white cloth is called 'Uni' and when they replace Kriya Putri the same Uni has to be tied. Women do not perform Kirya-Putri. Kirya-Putri is not forbidden to go out and touch with other people. Fish, meat and breads are forbidden food at mourning period. Danuwars practice death rituals 10 to 12 days. On 10th day, they called 'Dasari', they have party, and they drink local alcohol and goat meat. Adhikari Danuwar mourns 13 days. Danuwars do not practice 'Sarad' (Annual remembrance of the dead as other Hindus). At Bhalwai I saw Badhawa Kumar Danuwar, a mourner of mother's death five days ago. He is sitting with other Danuwars outside his house. He has a small white peace on his neck and no hair on his head. This is only sign to identify real mourner. He has usual dress on his body. He is smoking cigarette. Time and again he exchanges that cigarette. He said other all family members are free to work and any other activities. Female do not practice mourning. He is going to call Parbatiya Brahmin on 10th and 11th day to conclude mourning. Other days Brahmin's presence is not compulsory.

Nowadays, eventhough dead body is completely burnt at fiest day but they follow tradition of three days cremation at least nominal level. They left calling 'Thakur' their traditional priest because 'Thakur' are not available over their neighbouring villages.

4.4 Livelihood Strategies: Traditional and Changed Occupations

Most of the Danuwar in Bhalwai are peasants and practice a subsistence farming, if possible with some of the surplus for sale. Among Danuwars of Bhalwai Tole only one Danuwar is a teacher rest of all are peasants. They don't have much land now. Some of them became squatters. Few Danuwars had a surplus for sale. The main crops grown during summer are rice and maize, wheat, mustard seeds and various kinds of lentils are winter crops. It is common to distinguish between Pakho-Bari (rain-fed, dry field) and Khet (irrigated, wet

field). The main Pakho-Bari crops are maize, mustard, pulses, wheat and dry rice whereas rice is the main wet field crop. I did not find Danuwars start cash crop cultivation except pulses.

Danuwars' traditional occupations were agriculture, fishing, and hunting. For agriculture and animal husbandry they were very specific. When land was sufficient they only cultivated rice, and kept oxen and cows. They left straw on the field to graze oxen, but later they collected and managed it. When they contacted with Parbatiya emigrant groups Danuwar started to cultivate wheat, maize, mustard and mix-crops of lintels and vegetables. Old Danuwars said, "Nowadays Danuwars have varieties of vegetables but 20/25 years ago, if we hadn't got fish and meat, we had to eat rice only with salt". Gradually, Danuwars started rearing goat, ducks, and chickens. By selling them, they earned good amount of money. This was what happened as the cultural exchange between Danuwars and Parbatiya groups.

I did not see single buffalo in the Danuwar's barn in Bhalwai and Ratanpur settlements. They do not tame cows for milking purpose. Milk is considered favorite food of Dai (evil eye, witch). Danuwars believe that if they keep milking animals their houses would be the shelter for *Dais* and the household is to bear great loss. Ramabatar Kumar Danuwar recalls pathetic story of a Danuwar household who lost all domesticated animals and a family member when he dears to bring a milking buffalo. He adds, " We are condemned to produce milk but free to eat by buying from other castes". Few Danuwars have cows for production of oxen. A calf in the Danuwar's barn seems healthy and well-fed because of milk. They can make good amount by selling calves. Animal husbandry is taken as integrated part of agricultural activities.

Thirty years ago, Danuwars planted only rice in monsoon season and were busy at fishing and hunting rest of the year. They planted rice on irrigated field. They did not plant wheat, pulses, maize and other vegetables. When rice was rip they harvested only the seed (Bala), the straw was left on the field. They grazed their oxen on the straw throughout the winter and the remaining straw which would rot and become fertilizer for the cultivation. Since late 1970's and 1980's

from the interaction with Parbatiya slowly they started to cultivate maize and white on the field, Danuwar imitated Parbatiya straw collection for winter season for cattle and for sell too. These days Danuwars also collect straw. They do not eat maize and wheat even now; they either sell or make alcohol (Jand).

For vegetables they depended on either fishing or hunting. They like fish and meat very much. Recently they started to cultivate vegetables and different kinds of pulses. They bought improved seeds and started commercial vegetables farming. Though agriculture is primary occupation, but it is not for the food necessary for year. One cause of food shortage is they consume large quantity of food for local (Jand) and alcohol. They don't use chemical fertilizer on the field. Danuwars like fish very much. There is saying among danuwar and Parbatiya 'Danuwars eat rice with a smell of fish or one fried fish on the top of rice'. There is another saying among parbatiya 'Danuwars leave dead body (urgent work) for the sake of fishing when river is flooded'. Danuwars spend 2-3 hours everyday at river for fishing. Every morning Danuwar children go to the river and they return with 1 or 2 pieces of fish. Rice with fish-curry is regarded delicious and prestigious food. When they are free, they pass time at river side; play on river but very few Danuwars want to sell fish. Most of them consume themselves. They apply indigenous knowledge and methods of fishing.

Changing river bed by making dam or new outlet is collective fishing method. When the previous water bed dries they easily catch all fish and this method is called Duwalo. This method is labor intensive but the quantity of water and structure of outlet determine man-power. If they can not control water completely; they use local herbal poison which is easily available to kill fish. First they collectively work and later they divide fish equally for all the participants. They do not feel easy to share with non-participant. Jal (net) is quick and individual means of fishing. Though it is expensive to buy or make, many of them use and make themselves. Jal can be thrown wherever there is possible place of fish. Khunga is equipment for fishing made of bamboo. In this method single person can fish. At one end it has big open mouth and other end is tightly bound.

They put it in very narrow part of water and fish is trapped in it. Each household has at least a Jal and 3 to 5 Khungas.

For fishing, till ten years ago they had certain area, or they could not enter other village's area. They had to use only traditional methods of fishing. From last 7-8 years some Danuwars and Majhis used chemical poison and destroyed the regeneration power of fish. According to them, until 1990, there were sufficient and varieties of fish, but now, fish on Kamala River are endangered and almost in disappearing condition. They don't find varieties of fish. They said fish enables their immune power to resist dangerous diseases like malaria. Now Danuwars are planning to make rule against poison on river.

Hunting is the second most favorite occupation after fishing as the source of entertainment and consumption on leisure time. For traditional hunting, they use fiber nets to trap the prey on it. Usually they take 4/5 nets and spread them at possible ways where their preys run and try to escape. There are 15 to 40 members in a group. When they enter into the jungle, they divide work. Few persons prepare and spread nets and secretary hide near by nets, if prey comes over nets then they trap it and beat by big stick on their hands. If the prey is tiger or leopard, cleverly, they have to climb on the big tree. Very skillful persons take responsibility of this work of trapping and killing the prey.

Rests of the persons silently go around the jungle in circular way. One group from right hand side covers the area at the distance of 20-30 meters for one, and similarly from left hand side other group goes up trapping the possible residence of the prey; when they reach all possible places from where prey can escape. They start shouting and rolling stones in all other areas except the net spreading area. All persons shouting and coming inward from all sides, if there is prey it will come from the net spreading way, if not, they move on other place for hunting. Dhami promises to offer a pigeon for Kamala River or jungle god, then the god becomes happy and next time on next place, they will succeed to kill prey. So they use both physical power and spiritual power to succeed hunting. When they succeed to kill desirable animal deer and wild pig then they take it near by village and chop it. They divide it as for the people who had participated

on hunting. Each net gets equal part as a person gets. The meat is very small portion, but whole family becomes happy to have soup of hunted animal. If they kill fox or undesirable animals, some of them use it to make alcohol.

Before Maoist insurgency they had guns. But later Maoists took their guns and they returned back to their traditional method of hunting. Though hunting is illegal but no one complains about Danuwars hunting. When forest was turned into community forest Pahadiya groups banned for hunting, but Danuwars kept on hunting. Now Danuwars are allowed for hunting within community forestry too. Parbatiya group did not complain to district headquarters. Maoists also did not disturb, but made them aware about possible dangers on the forest form government and Maoists side.

Carpet-basket weaving is also traditional occupation, mostly women engage. Danuwars use local own bamboo and mostly they go to Chure jungle where according to them, is sufficient bamboo. Male family members bring it and female members make it slice and wave. Danuwars said bamboo materials/products don't have proper price at local market because they have sufficient product. If they take them to Janakpur, Narayangarh and Kathmandu they will get reasonable price. But most of them don't like to supply out because of lack of business knowledge. To talk about division of labor in family and community, male members engage on wage labor, agriculture, seasonal migration and outer work, fishing and hunting whereas female engage in household work of cooking, washing, cleaning, weaving and fishing. Boys and girls are engaged in grazing animals, fishing and few of them go to schools.

New shift in livelihood has been followed among the Danuwars of Bhalwai. Many young boys and girls have been working as manual worker in Kathmandu, Janakpur and Pokhara. They usually work on construction companies and household labor. Among the Danuwars of Bhalwai-Ratnpur; only five young boys are in gulf countries. They sent good amount of money which is deposited on the bank by their parents in Sindhulimadi. Only a boy has been working in Nepal army. Few Danuwar boys are learning skillful works like carpentering; house making, plastering, plumbing and weaving. These days, old Danuwars are happy

with new generations because they don't have to borrow any labor for their village work.

Danuwars earn some extra cash during monsoon season. General people can not cross the Kamala River so Danuwars are requested for help. During whole Shrawan (July-August), the caravan of 'Bol Bams' (Hindu pilgrimages) from different parts of terai and India come to Mahadevsthan of Hatpate hill. Three years ago three 'Bol Bams' were swept away by the Kamala River. Now Bol Bams also request Danuwars to cross the river. Whole month many of Danuwars and non-danuwar opened hotels at Ratanpur-Hat bazaar. This is recently started destination for pilgrimages. Gujuwa Kumar Danuwar, a hotel owner said that Danuwars are very co-operative, helpful for all human beings. Youths are busy to cross river to them and earn Rs.300 to 500 per day .Economically their water skill helps them to earn during monsoon and co-operative with other Parbatiya castes. Whenever there is the flood in the river all parbatiya people say, 'Danuwar Layera Kamala Tarnu Parcha' (Danuwars help to cross river).

4.5 Irrigation

Farmers become the busiest in Ashadh. They used to say 'Mana Ropera Muri Phalaune samaya' and 'Ashadh ma Kam Garne Ra Barsa Bhari Khane'. On Ashadh 13, 2063 I met a large group of people gathered under mango trees. Later, I came to know that they had come there to make *Kulo*. I also participated with them. Both Danuwar and Non-Danuwar people were waiting 'Metha'(authoritative parson)'. One of the participants said that Palta (Metha)-Junga B. Rai Danuwar had not come because they had to go to the source of Kulo. I asked one of the participants why Palta was necessary to go to the source of 'Kulo'. He replied Palta is Metha; he has to divide work according to the land size of the participants and all 'Kulo' users.

Palta came with a long bamboo stick and a register and shouted by using vulgar words. Then all participants moved to the source of the Kulo. He ordered some of them to carry fodder to make the dam strong and tight. Others went with

their tools to dig and make dam. When we reached at the source, I saw 'palta' measuring Kulo with bamboo stick according to their register record of land holding size. The more land they had, the more portion of kulo they had to dig. Those who had less than 5 Katha irrigated land from that kulo, they had to pay Rs. 1000- per year and they were not obliged to go to dig Kulo. If the owner had more than 5 Katha his/her family was informed by Palta to go to Kulo, owner had to go each time whenever palta informed, otherwise they would have to pay fine. At the last of rice harvesting each owner had to give two-pathi rice to Palta (Metha). Fine also was determined according to the land holding size of the kulo owner. Other local people said that, palta (metha) was only person who could control all 'kulari' to work because he used vulgar words whoever tried to cheat the communal work. Palta had also land to irrigate but he did not need to work, because he was the one to supervise and control all 'Kulari'(workers). This year there were 8-10 female Kulari but last years no women can come kulo because 'Palta' used to use extreme vulgar words to make fun.

Prakash Koirala, one of the earliest emigrants, traces the history of the agricultural kulo of Bhalwai. Three years ago, people decided to change 'Metha' because Palta did not keep record appropriately. When Palta was terminated, one Parbatiya was appointed as Metha, but he could not succeed for the well management of Kulo. Ratanpure Danuwars did not allow Bhalwai people to run kulo without the Danuwars' headship. Without co-operation of Danuwar, it was difficult to manage 'Kulo'.

4.6 Communal Cattle Grazing System

Communal cattle grazing system is famous among people of Bhalwai and Ratanpur. Basically Danuwar girls and old persons take cows, oxen and goats of many households. Those who look after cattle are called 'Chharuwa'. Those households who own only oxen and few cows are interested to pay certain amount of rice on annual basis for the Chharuwa. Both Parbatiyas and Danuwars who do not have own family manpower to graze cattle contract with Chharuwa. There is

a system of paying to the chharuwa. If anyone takes responsibility to graze two oxen of other household, the owner has to pay 25 Pathi Dhan (almost 75kg raw rice) per year. Danuwar Chharuwa takes responsibility of all whoever wants to make him chharuwa irrespective of castes and ethnic groups. Chharuwa is treated as one of the family members. Cattle owners invite Chharuwa feast and festivals. Pani Lal Kumar Danuwar is landless but his family survives by this way. "I do not have any cattle, but my one daughter takes 10-12 oxen (1 Hal = 2 oxen) to graze at riverside or jungle everyday. The owners of oxen give 25 Pathi rice or equal cash price per year. Some of them give a pair of clothes for her. I take small piece of land for sharecropping. My other daughter is working in Kathmandu." Similarly Parmeswor Adhikari Danuwar said that his son does not like to go school. He left school and wanted to be Chharuwa. From last year he is given 12 oxen of both Danuwars and Parbatiyas. He earns almost 7 Muri of rice which is a main source of livelihood of his 5 member family.



Photograph 3: Participation of villagers to make 'Kulo' (dam) on the Kamala river. Danuwar Metha is standing with stick and ordering everyone.



Photograph 4: Checking attendance of 'Kulo' owners by Metha with measuring bamboo stick during repairing time.



Photograph 5: My participation on ploughing field with oxen, Danuwars and Danuwar women are planting paddy



Photograph 6: A scene of communal participation of Danuwar women during paddy plantation season.

Chapter – V

Danuwar Identity: Local Practices and Ethnic Consciousness

5.1 Identity

Ethnicities are local contingent, freely chosen. Rights of identity are absolute, and self representation is the only authentic form of representation (Jenkins 1996).

Bhalwai Danuwar do not know the exact meaning of recently used term *Janjati* (ethnic group). Many of them get angry when politicians talk about Danuwar as a janjati group. Gujuwa Kumar Danuwar said, "We are not untouchable or lower caste janjati group. We neither allow lower caste to enter into our houses nor do we eat buff-meat (those who eat buff-meat are considered lower caste). Other parts of country people considered Danuwar as lower caste. Four years ago, being Danuwar I got out of the house of high caste in Kathmandu". Whenever they go out of Kamala Khoncha, they do not like to introduce themselves as Danuwar. They usually tell their clan names as Kumar, Adhikari, Rai, Dhimi and Chaudhari. He added, "We knew Nathuni Singh (elected Danuwar parliament member from Siraha) but we did not know he is Danuwar until he was parliament member. He had sacred thread and called himself Chhetri. How can he become Danuwar?"

"The term janjati is emblematic of both the highly contested and politicized nature of ethnicity discourse in Nepal in recent years as well as the inadequacy of various conceptual terms to carry the complex and dynamic character of identity. Janajati is self-ascriptive term recently adopted by the leadership of the various Tibeto-Burman groups to distinguish themselves from the Hindu Jat/caste" (Shah 2004:12). Fisher argues that Janjatis are regarded in opposition to the Varna system or Non-Hindu is fundamental character (fisher 1993). They do not know another recent phenomenon of writing Danuwar in bracket at last of their name. In 2057B.S. DJS meeting decided to write Danuwar in bracket at last and appeal all the Danuwar to follow it (Kantipur, 2057B.S.).

I turned the pages of school registration book, not a single Danuwar has written the surname as Danuwar. School teachers told me whoever writes Kumar, Dhama, Rai, Chaudhari, are all Danuwars. There is problem to distinguish between Brahmin Adhikari and Danuwar Adhikari. To find out Danuwar students' number I had to ask with class teachers. According to Jung Bahadur Rai (Danuwar), a teacher said only writing Danuwar in bracket doesnot save real identity. Danuwars have different language, dress, food and cultural practices. "If any Non-Danuwar comes in my house, she/he will notice different taste of our food, our language and dress at least", he says these are identity markers of Danuwars.

When I ate Danuwar food in Hem Raj Kumar's (high school teacher of Sirthauli) house in Sirthauli village (Sirthauli is also dense populated Danuwar village almost six kilometers southeast from Bhalwai), it was completely different from Danuwari food I used to eat in Bhalwai. In Sirthauli, they are educated, politicians, rich, and ethnic activists. Manaka Kumar Danuwar (ex-pancha pradhan of Sirthauli, now active politician) gave me sophisticated food that I have eaten only few parbatiya people in Kamala valley. In term of language, they speak both Nepali and Danuwari clearly. Their dresses are not different than other Parbatiya people. Many of them are educated and some of them got their education from urban areas. School teachers and rich Danuwars sent their children Sindhulimadi and Janakpur in private boarding school and Kathmandu for higher education. Hem Raj Kumar elder son is in Kathmandu for his higher education and youngest son is in Janakpur boarding school; daughter reads in class 10 in local government school.

She writes her complete name-Sabita Kumar (Danuwar) on her note books. Hem Raj Kumar said that "I have passed on written exam of permanent teacher many times, but each time I failed in interview only because of being Danuwar. Danuwars donot tell their danuwar identity to save themselves from discrimination". From the last 3-4 years few urban dweller Danuwars have been writing their last name but 'Danuwar' in bracket.

But Junga Bahadur Rai Danuwar of Bhalwai said, "Those who write their last name in bracket they are trying to show their identity only nominal level, virtually they lost their identity and imitate high caste and foreign culture. They orient other common Danuwars to promote and preserve traditional culture". He disappointed with educated and urban dweller Danuwars because they enroll children in private schools; socialize urban way of life, foods, and dresses. In the name of empowerment and reservation educated and elites control opportunity and resources. On the other whenever they meet common people or organize formal program, they appeal for preservation and revitalization of tradition and culture. Virtually common Danuwars' language, dress, food, etc. show Danuwarness whatever they call themselves.

5.2 Language

Danuwar have their own language which is spoken mainly in Kamala Khoncha. They claim terai Danuwars speak Maithali and Bhojpuri languages and hill Danuwars also do not speak Danuwari. Bal Krishna Pokharel, a linguist argued that Danuwari language belonged to Magadhi language, one branch of Indian language family (Pokharel 2032). Keshab Baral, head master of Kamala M.V. in Bhalwai, said that Danuwari language is influenced by Hindi, Maithali and Bhojpuri languages. It sounds like Maithali.

Before 1990, only main leader or Jamindar danuwars hardly understood Nepali language; because of their visits to district headquarters. Other Danuwars didn't understand Nepali language. Danuwars hesitated to talk with Parbatiya group they did not share ideas and problems with Parbatiya people. They did not share ideas and problems with Parbatiya people. Only the village leader dealt with Parbatiya groups. Now almost all Danuwars speak Danuwari. Few old Danuwars can not speak Nepali properly but they understand Nepali too. Sabita Kumar, A Danuwar female teacher teaches non formal education class in both Danuwari and Nepali languages. Among themselves they speak their own language but when

they meet Parbatiya people, they speak both Nepali and Danuwari. Many Parbatiya people can speak and understand Danuwari language. Parbatiyas prefer Danuwari when they interact with Danuwar people. When I got up into the Viman-Dakaha local bus all people communicated on danuwari language. Junga Bahadur Rai-Danuwar, only Danuwar teacher in Bhalwai said that he always preferred Danuwari language for the beginners in the class room. Other local teachers also use Danuwari for small Danuwar children.

5.3 Dress and Ornament

Danuwar have their own typical dress which they link with their myth of dress and death together. Their traditional dress is pure white (without tailor fitting) cloth. Males wear white Langoti (loincloth) and females wear a long white sari. The myth behind the white dress is:

There were two Danuwars brothers. Older one was just married. He accidentally died. There was 'Sati' (wife must cremate with husband) system. Younger brother took sister-in-law for cremation. There were a few processions too. When husband and wife were made ready for cremation, wife escaped and entered into the jungle. Brother-in-law followed her by carrying white clothes which was used to cover death bodies; before cremation. After long time brother in law found sister-in-law. She was naked. She pleaded him not to burn her rather they can marry and live other part of the country. Brother in law also agreed and gave white clothe that was carried to tie her. Then they started hunting in the jungle, fishing on the river and gradually came into sedentary life in Kamala Khonch. On the other side, dead body of brother was put on fire wood and all procession returned because the responsible brother did not return. Next day relative came and put fire on some remaining portion of dead body. Only third day they finished.

But now Danuwars wear colorful and fashionable dresses. Hardly 10 to 15 old Danuwars wear traditional white Langoti and Sari in Bhalwai. Rest of the Danuwars wears shirt, and long half-pant. Young boys wear like other Parbatiya

people but they do not put on cap. Young women wear colorful sari and blouse. Children at the age of 8 are naked. Those started school wear clothes. In winter Danuwar male usually wear two shirts at same time. Most of households have single blanket for night sleep. They used bamboo carpet and a blanket beside the fire (hearth). Those Danuwars who had a quilt, that family was counted as rich family. But now many young Danuwars have bought quilt when they came home from urban places. One Danuwar joked "when Danuwar had to visit long day for relative, he took a shirt and a pair of sandal on the hand and went to relatives house, when he reached nearby house, then he put on shirt and sandal", this saying is very popular among old Danuwars.

Danuwar's women traditional ornaments are made up of silver. Their jewelries are 'Haseli' on neck, 'Nattha' on nose, 'Anata'/'Kasaudi' and 'Matha' on wrist, 'Hataya' on arms. All women have tattoos on their hands and legs which they regarded as permanent jewelries. Now few young women wear golden ornaments like Har and Kasaudi.

5.4 Chhodaki Nach

Entertainment is the main objective of using vulgar Danuwari words among themselves. For the sake of enjoyment they organize different types of dance programmes during winter. Danuwars of all age, irrespective of gender enjoy watching dance. Chhodaki Nach (a type of Danuwari dance) is very famous among them. This dance is based on short episodes of religious texts and other oral stories. This dance is organized on the occasion of festival or leisure time. This dance continues 2-3 nights also. Danuwars from other villages also come to watch Chhodaki Nach. The host household has to fix amount for the dancer groups. The dancer group can come from Terai. The dancer group can collect money from audiences too. They performed some comedic drama to present social issues. The main aims of the characters are to create laughter among audiences. Dramatic characters with disguised faces performed dance on the stage. All characters are male and some of them play the role of female. For the sake of enjoyment, they caricature social and cultural phenomena.

They have another type of dance which is called Badaki Nach (literally big dance). It was big at nominal level but actually it was easy dance. To perform Badaki Nach, they do not make stage and dramatic characters. They play Madal and sing songs. This type of dance was not expensive and they can organize any time. In comparison with Chhodaki Nach, Badaki Nach was not interesting. For Chhodaki Nach, there is grand preparation of local alcohol, money and stage. Mangala Kumar Danuwar said that Danuwars of Bhalwai have not organized Chhodaki Nach since 2055 B.S. because different political parties organized dance programmes and Danuwars get entertainment from these dances. According to him Chhodaki Nach was expensive so Danuwar left to organize it. He analyzed that there were not other means of entertainment, T.V., film, haat bazaar, party programs. So Chhodaki Nach was only main entertaining program but now there are T.V., films, party's cultural programs which are the main causes of disappearance of Chhodaki Nach. One of the dancers of Chhodaki Nach named Natuwa Kumar Danuwar started to dance when he talked with me about Chhodaki dance. He expressed nostalgia of those gone days entertainment.

Another occasion of organizing dance is Thuli-Akadashi (which falls 7-8 days after Tihar). Unmarried young girls are main organizers of this dance. This day both unmarried boys and girls take bath and observe fasting. Girls take small pot of water and visit different temples and holy place of river and jungle. They give money to small children who sit on the road. At evening these girls dance with Amkhora (small water tool) and Thal (plate). They put Amkhora on the head and Thal on the hand. This dance is also very famous among Danuwars. Both parbatiya and Danuwars participate to see the dance. Parbatiya people are interested to see Akadashi dance. These girls invited special dance group from terai too. Dance group was to give entertainment for the Danuwars. They present dance whole night. For the preparation of dance unmarried girls collected Rs.50 to 100 from each of them. They have to pay for dance group too. On the occasion of Akadashi all unmarried girls return their houses, if they are out of family. They wear new clothes and visit each Danuwar houses. Akadashi dance is still popular among the Danuwars of Bhalwai.



Photograph 7: Crowd of Hindu Pilgrimages (Bol Bam) at Mahadevsthan on the top hill of Hatpate.



Photograph 8: Danuwar Natuwa is singing and dancing on the remembrance of chhodaki Nach.

5.5 Commensality

One of the traditional distinctions between high castes and others is reflected in the different practices towards alcohol. For high castes alcohol is scripturally and traditionally a polluting drink, while ethnic groups consider alcohol as a ritual and social drink. The first Muluki Ain (1854) actually divided the entire society into two moral-legal categories in terms of liquor consumption: Tagadhari (who wear sacred thread and abstained from liquor) and Matwali (liquor consumers) (Hofer 1979). The new civil code (1963) has removed the legal discrimination and inequalities laid on caste and drinking. Few high castes Hindu secretly start liquor drinking and express liberal attitude toward food consumption and touchability.

Hindu cultural value orientation and attitude towards liquor, buff and beef are forbidden. After democracy in 1990, some of the local high caste people started liquor and buff consumption openly though beef has been strictly prohibited. There is no restriction of liquor and any kind of meat among high caste Hindu of Ratanpur-Bhalwai. Liquor drinking, buff-eating and card playing are defining characteristics of local elites. Traditionally, Danuwars are liquor drinking group, both male and female and even children used to drink home brew rice-beer early morning as breakfast and main course meal too. But Danuwars do not eat buff and beef. Within Danuwar one clan-group is prohibited even to touch chicken, ducks and pig. Other groups freely enjoy chicken and duck. High caste Hindu consumes liquor and buff without hesitation where as Dalits are regarded untouchable by the same reasons. There is haat bazaar every Wednesday and at least one male buffalo is killed there. According to the butchers, high caste- especially Brahmin consume more than Dalits and other ethnic groups. Danuwars are strict about their commensality of food taboo and boundary maintenance. They do not follow high caste behaviors blindly.

5.6 Contexts of Social Interactions

Wherever I went in Danuwar settlement both Parbatiya and Danuwars would ask me why I had come down to this part of the village. When I explained I was there to study about the Danuwars in this part, first Parbatiya people started to talk about Danuwars and their culture. Danuwars would usually remain silent, but after we (Danuwar and me) were alone, Danuwars complained about Parbatiya ways of talking by saying "parbatiyas want to make fun about us with outsiders, actually they have dual character, many Brahmins of this area pretended as pure but they secretly came in our houses to drink alcohol during late evening. Many of them openly eat buffalo-meat and local alcohol openly". When Danuwars and Parbatiya met, such meetings were dominated by Parbatiyas.

Bhalwai Drinking Water and Sanitation Project is big project (28 Lakhs budget) in local context. The project is characterized by local resources mobilization and community contribution in the service delivery right from the beginning. The community shares the cost of water supply and sanitation services. Few users did not collect cash money but participated on free labor work. Pitam Bahadur Bhujel, executive committee member of water user group gave warning of quick collection of the cash, if not committee will decide to cancel the names of user even if they worked. This warning was focused to the Danuwars. In user group formal list contains only fifteen households. Pitam Bahadur said that the Danuwars were not interested on that program so they were not listed but none of them could be excluded. In the meeting Danuwars do not have any complaints against the Parbatiya. I talked with Sakadi Kumar Danuwar, an active Danuwar woman and member of VDC about Danuwar's participation. She mentioned her dissatisfaction with the distribution of water taps and transparency. She said, "I paid for five Danuwar households. User committee should give economic subsidy to all Danuwar households. We do not get any subsidy though I heard provision of subsidy for the poor households". Her disagreement is Parbatiya people do not give information but the Danuwars do not raise questions on meeting. Many Parbatiyas are cheaters. Some Danuwars who are very close to Parbatiyas

considered themselves as clever people. Danuwars themselves secretly talk against Danuwars too.

Many Parbatiya commented upon the Danuwar food habit and sanitation. They also demonstrated to me sanitation problem around their houses. The Parbatiya women, who are school teacher at Ratanpur tole, asked me how I managed with my food in the Danuwar house. When she saw me eating rice with Danuwar, she seemed very surprised. Because of sanitation and quality, Parbatiya generally did not eat rice in a Danuwar house. Danuwars can eat rice with salt, if they do not find any curry. She also wanted to know how I managed to eat the very spicy and salty Danuwars food. When I said this was not the problem, she hardly believed me. Some Parbatiya friends were different and did not talk about Danuwar in the humiliation. Khet Raj Adhikari, a Parbatiya shopkeeper in Bhalwai, frequently eats in Danuwars' houses and he also invites them in his house, Ram Abtar Adhikari and I were invited to have dinner in his house. His family does not hesitate to eat with us. Arjun Bhujel and Sakadi Kumar Danuwar exchange vegetables, rice and delicious cooked food. Many Parbatiyas and Danuwars practiced '*Paicho*' (borrowing things by promising to return back later) of money, food and labor

Mangala Kumar is an old Danuwar who used to sit under mango garden. It is open garden so he takes care of mango fruit. Actually he told me that garden belonged to Mahili Bajai (Dhakal family), who used to live in Janakpur and Kathmandu since last 15 years. They have good relation with Dhakal families. Dhakal's left houses for Danuwars and garden are take care by Danuwar on the basis of sharecropping. Mangala said he has to send some fresh mango to Dhakal families then they will give clothes as gift. When Dhakal lived there, they were just like one family. He is weaving basket to give his neighbours as a gift. He gave a small basket to a Dhungel woman who would graze goat on the field. Then she asked about his food and vegetables. Mangala doesnot have vegetables, and then she promised to give him potatoes and other dry vegetables too. Danuwars give jackfruit and mango to the Parbatiya people and Parbatiya people give them other vegetables.

To observe everyday interaction among Danuwar and Parbatiya groups, discriminations are created on the basis of economy and level of understanding, rather than castes and ethnic groups. Among ethnic groups, Parbatiya ethnic groups-Bhujel, Magar, and Newar are more intimate with Parbatiya castes than Danuwars and Majhi. It doesnot mean that Danuwars and Majhis have antagonistic relationship with Parbatiya high castes. Many Danuwars at Bhalwai have trust on Parbatiya groups more than Danuwars because Parbatiya people also help them to solve their problems.

5.7 Politics

According to Babu Lal Adhikari Danuwar and other old Danuwars, there was Manjan System (Judicial-Administrative pattern) among Danuwars of Kamala valley. 'Manjan' is the title for the judicial administrative chief of all Danuwars. This title was first given by Jung Bahadur Rana to Kari Dhami Danuwar of Patringa village. Only his family's descendants elder son could hold Manjan title. After Kari, Dasai Dhami, Fekna Dhami, Hira Lal Dhami and Jitnarayan Dhami became Manjan respectively. Jitnarayan Dhami, about 60 years now was the last Manjan, who served until Danuwar customary judicial structure suffered greatly by local Panchayat system in 2028 B.S. Manjan called 'Saurahat' (Jati Assembly) each year. All the Danuwars had to participate and listen different cases of Danuwars. This Danuwar assembly imposed strict sanctions on those who violated basic codes of the jati. Violators of Danuwar customary rules were often made to leave the village. There were other important functionaries such as Sabhapati, Gorait, Gauro, Jamindar, Pagari, Gaumasta and Bhandari in different Danuwar villages. The hierarchy and authorities of different permanent bodies consisted as following.

Manjan: the highest leader of all Danuwars

Sabhapati: speaking chief of the Danuwar assembly

Pagari: an assistant as well as secretary to the Sabhapati

Gaumasta: an advisor to the Sabhapati

Bichari: who made cases against the convict and put to Manjan

Jamindar: who arrest the convicted person

Gorait: who go to the village arresting people

Bhandare: store keeper

Babu Lal reflects on his past and remembers the heyday of his father, the Jamindar, arrested convicted people and took the Saurahat. Saurahat continued 10 to 15 days on the basis of number of cases. It was organized as feast and festival. They had to carry rice and cooking materials. When Babu Lal was 25 years old, he went to participate Saurahat at Sirthauli village. Paruwa Kumar Danuwar was the Sabhapati of that assembly. Most of the cases were about illegal marriage especially with lower and untouchable castes, adultery and illicit relationship, physical attack, fighting and abuses. All these cases were decided by the Manjan after long discussion among authoritative bodies. The Manjan listened to the opinions and pitiable voices of both offenders and victims and then he gave ultimate decisions. Offenders had to face different types of punishment according to the degree of offence.

Babu Lal mentioned the most famous type of punishment called 'Thadi' that was given one of the Danuwar of Bhalwai. The basic meaning of Thadi is standing with Supari (betel nut) on hand. The authority put big water pot on that hard nut of the head. At the same time the convict was showered with cow dung all over the body to generate continuous pain and cold. This punishment was given to confess the crime he was committed. When he confessed, again he was fined cash money Rs.36, for each crime and offence. The most common fine would be Rs.36 which was base value among Danuwars. If anyone commits many crimes he/she would be fined two-36, three-36, and four-36 and so on. Instead of saying total amount, Danuwar used to say number of time and 36 which represents number of crimes. The entire punished amount was finished on the same occasion of Saurahat. Danuwar of Bhalwai authorized Jamindar and Bhandare post in Manjan system. When Manjan system was defunct, Danuwars of Bhalwai started to participate in Panchayat system and local elections. Bhunuwa Kumar, Danuwar of Bhalwai was the first elected vice-Pancha Pradhan

of Hatpate Panchayat in 2034 B.S. Because of his honest behaviour, both Parbatiya and Danuwars preferred him. He was continuously elected for vice-Pancha Pradhan two times where as Pancha Pradhan was from Parbatiya group. After Bhunuwa, Danuwar could not succeed to win election for the higher post but many Danuwars were elected as the chairperson at ward level. Biriksha Kumar Danuwar lost on the post of Pancha Pradhan in 2043 B.S.

After the restoration of democracy in 1990, Bhalwai Danuwars were divided into two major political wings named United Marxist and Leninism (UML) and Nepali Congress (NC). There were few Danuwars who supported Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP). Durgi Adhikari Danuwar became chairman of ward no.4 in 2048 B.S. Ratna Kumar, Ram Abtar Adhikari, were ward members from Danuwar community. At the time of election both Danuwars and Parbatiya people walked together to ask votes on their sides. Durgi Adhikari Danuwar said most of the Parbatiya people also caste vote on his side in ward no.4 in 2048 B.S local election. He doubted Danuwars because they were lured by other political parties. In 2054 B.S, Gurulal Adhikari Danuwar, Shree Hari Ghimire and Dinesh Raut were elected on the post of ward chairperson in ward no. 4, 5 and 6 respectively. All of them were from UML side. Sakadi Kumar Danuwar and Laxmi Adhikari Danuwar were women elected members. Gujuwa Kumar, Ram Abtar Adhikari were elected member of ward level in 2054 B.S. They got votes from both Parbatiya and Danuwar groups.

To talk about major political events of this village, Prem Nath Adhikari, ex Pancha Pradhan and prominent leader of NC of Hatpate was killed in 1998 A.D. Maoists accused him of conspirator and helping to arrest their cadres. After his death, police have arrested many people of both Danuwar and Parbatiya groups. Durgi Adhikari, Ram Abtar Adhikari, Hansha Charan Ghimire, Bajre Bahadur Bhujel, Surya Bhujel were arrested from Bhalwai. Surya Bhujel is still in central jail on that case in Kathmandu. Mangala Kumar Danuwar recalls those gone days that army and police knocked his door at midnight. They entered into his house with guns. He compared his fear with wild animals when there was dense forest during his childhood. He expresses his fear saying "Aba ta Bagh

Bhalu ko Dar Chaina Manche Ko Matra Dar chha"(there is no fear of tigers and bears but they have fear of human now). He was lucky not to be arrested on that night.

In the next years in 2001 A.D. Hatpate VDC building at Bhalwai was burnt. Kumar saw a group of Maoists setting fire. At the same time, Sherman Kuwar's (a famous Maoist commander of this area) 13 years old daughter named Sarita Kuwar requested not to burn the building which is joined with her school. Maoists did not care her voice. The building was burnt down in an hour and school was saved. Sarita lived with her grandmother in Bhalwai. She studies in grade eight in Kamala M.V. After a month army and police came in search of Maoists. Army took Sarita at riverside and shot. All the villagers were horrified by seeing the death body of very young girl. She was accused of being Maoist. Her both parents were listed on red list of the Army. When Sherman heard, large number of Maoists came and buried dead body of the girl. She was only one child of their family and she was talented and intelligent girl of the school. After a week under the command of Sherman, Maoists army attacked Viman police camp in 2002 A.D. More than four dozen (49) policeman were killed and this became national news. According to Kumar, Viman attack was a revenge taken by Sherman because he lost his only children. Unfortunately, after a year of Viman attack, Sherman was caught and killed by the government army in the terai. After Sherman's death his wife has been continuing commandership.

During my field work, Kalpana Pokharel a Maoist army from Bhalwai was arrested in Mahotari district. Luckily she was saved and kept in jail. People's movement-2 was started right that time and government was changed. Political parties and Maoist promised to conduct peace process. Kalpana was released after a couple of months. When I was on field, hundreds of Maoist army frequently came and conducted their activities. They doubted upon myself and put different political questions. They asked me why I did not conduct my dissertation about Maoist war. The commander assured that they were ready to manage all my expenditure if I studied. Mangala has different perspectives about Maoists. Bhuwan Sharki, a local Maoist activist frequently entered into his house without

his consent and he also entered other Brahmin's house and touched the cooked rice which was forbidden for him. Kumar thought his house was polluted by Maoist. He argued due to Maoists that behaviors not a single Danuwar joined Maoist party.

5.8 Danuwar Ethnic Movements

Danuwar Jagaran Samiti (DJS) is so far only Pan-Danuwar organization which tries to bring Danuwars all over the country together. It is exclusively jati organization in its origin and activities. The DJS was established in 1990 by terai Danuwars in Janakpur. From the very beginning DJS is dominated by elites of terai Danuwars who are culturally considered non-Danuwar. Guneratne (1994) defines, "wealthy landlords, salaried workers, professionals and college students belong to elites"(Guneratne 1994:13). Jay Karan Singh Danuwar, the present chairperson of DJS is from terai. The main objective of the DJS is unity and preservation of unique Danuwar cultures and language. It always works for the welfare of the Danuwars. It is also considered authoritative organization to make important decisions for the Danuwars betterment. Its one branch is in Sindhulimadi that is occupied by the elites of lower Kamala valley. At public level, DJS'S members talk about the marginal and poor Danuwars. They give anti-high caste speech and orientation. They claimed that they have village level Danuwar organization in each village of Kamala Khonch but I didn't get any Danuwar organization in Hatpate VDC. Danuwars of Bhalwai said that they did not have Danuwar organization in the village. They are not informed any Danuwar activities organized by DJS. Danuwars of Bhalwai said they only see DJS office in Sindhulimadi but they did not participate any meetings and activities. When I was in Sirthauli there was DJS meeting about Danuwars student's scholarship. Bisham Lal Adhikari chaired the meeting in Manaka Kumar Danuwars house. The DJS decided to give scholarship to Danuwar students of Sirthauli, Dudhauri, Harshai and Ladhavir village. The DJS called an application from the interested student's applicants to select on the basis of talent and

economic status of the family. To talk about Danuwars of Bhalwai, none of them got information of Danuwar student's scholarship. Bisham Lal Adhikari Danuwar said "Bhalwai Danuwar never pay attention about DJS programme. They are backwarded because they are not interested about education. They are not ready to form Danuwar organization at Bhalwai, without participation, DJS can not select them for scholarship". Durgi Adhikari Danuwar of Bhalwai is not satisfied with DJS activities. The DJS always selects lower Kamala Khonch for income generating activities, trainings, education, etc. He accepts the weaknesses of Bhalwai-Danuwar because "We did not go for application of our demand then who will come to search us".

Since 1993, DJS has been associated with ethnic umbrella organization, the Janjati Mahasangh which has become an important political and cultural voice for various ethnic communities in Nepal. Janjati Mahasangh is translated as 'The Federation of Nationalities' and each community under it claimed themselves indigenous. The DJS also has to follow certain regulation of Janjati Mahasangh. Lila Raj Adhikari Danuwar, a central committee member of DJS said that Janjati Mahasangh is dominated by anti-Hindu ethnic activists. He argues the Danuwars were also non-Hindu indigenous group since they are biologically close relative of the Tharus. He points out the Tharu myth of Buddha's descendent. "What the Buddha story says is that the Tharus are descendent of Buddha (and thereby Adivasi), not that they are Buddhists" (Odegaard 1997:167). The Buddha myth of Tharu gives them new insight for making religious differences. He rejects Hindu belonging and inferior status of the Danuwars given by Hindu caste system. The Buddha myth acts in a potentially unifying manner (a unification of ethnic groups). The DJS members mostly speak against Hindu caste system.

5.9 Danuwar-Parbatiya Consciousness

The category 'Parbatiya' includes all Parbatiya people of different castes and ethnic groups. Inside Parbatiya group, Nepali language (all Parbatiya emigrants of Bhalwai speak Nepali language) and geographical origin Parbat

(hill) are common among them. Besides Brahmin and Chhetri, Kamis, Damai and Sharki (occupational castes) Magars and Bhujels ethnic groups are called Parbatiya people. Among occupational caste groups in Bhalwai all Sharki and the most of kami are peasant. Only Damai and few kami practice their traditional occupation. Among Parbatiya groups, the degree of caste consciousness is expressed on their settlement pattern. Sarki's have one separate cluster, Kamis have another separate cluster where as high castes and Parbatiya ethnic groups have mixed settlement. Most of the Danuwars also preferred separate settlement. Lower Bhalwai and Ratanpur Tole settlements are typical Danuwar clusters. The center of Bhalwai is mixed settlement of Danuwars and Parbatiya.

Danuwars perceive Parbatiya high castes and ethnic groups equally. Old Danuwars donot want to build house in purely Parbatiya settlement. Ram Abtar Kumar aged 60 did not allow his son to build separate house in Parbatiya settlement eventhough he has land there. He said, "Danuwars are helpful but Parbatiya are selfish". He built new house in his yard for his son. Young Danuwars have different perspective. Shakti Lal Kumar Danuwar aged 35 built his separate house in parbatiya settlement in front of Kamala school. According to him "Danuwars are socially backwarded there in comparison to Parbatiya people. Some of the criteria for this characteristic are related to illiteracy, bad dietary, improper dress as well as behaviors. We can learn at least these things from Parbatiya groups. Until and unless we keep us out in this modern period we will have more disadvantages". Danuwars consider Dalits as unclean people because they eat dead animal particularly buffalo. They do not eat with Dalits. Danuwars think Dalits are lower caste and untouchable by birth. Other Parbatiya groups as considered touchable eventhough they knew some non-Dalits Parbatiya eat buff-meat. In each Danuwar family, at least one male member does not eat food touched by non-Danuwars. He is regarded sacred person conducting all religious worshipping in the family. Both Danuwars and Parbatiya people have different derogative words to tease each other. Parbatiya people are called 'Mohi Ganayo' (bad smell of curd) and Danuwars are called 'Ghugi' (small water animal like fish). Parbatiya people eat mohi and Danuwar eat Ghugi but they do not like if

other people tease them using these words. Sense of Danuwarness and Parbatiyasness are expressed in this level too. On the other hand there is intra-hierarchy and inequality among Danuwars in terms of culture, economy and power-politics. Adhikari-Danuwarns are rich and dominant in Bhalwai-Ratanpur community. All the Danuwars do not fall on the same poor class.

Chapter-VI

Continuity and Change - Some Concluding Remarks

Throughout this thesis, I have discussed the process of continuity and change among the Danuwars of Bhalwai in Sindhuli district. In the preceding chapters, I have explained that spontaneous identity in the present study is characterized by continuity and change in practices and beliefs of Danuwars. The study has more specifically focused continuity and change in rituals (naming marriage and death), agricultural practices, traditional occupations (fishing and hunting), Chhodaki Nach, Manjani system and way of life of the Danuwars of Bhalwai.

Since the main objectives of the study are to analyze continuity and change of Danuwars culture, identity livelihood and their interaction with Parbatiya imigrants as well as Danuwar ethnicity, I have tried to explore areas of spontaneous continuity and change, their cooperation and conflict with Parbatiya people and their caste/ethnic consciousness. The theoretical concepts of continuity and change an ethnic identity have been framework for organizing the discussion in the study. It has been argues that continuity and change in practices and beliefs could also be regarded as strategies of locally informed boundary management and livelihood. Barth's (1969) concept of ethnic boundaries, W. Fisher's concept of fluid identity, Anderson's concept of imagined community and Guneratne's concept of ethnic consciousness were relevant in developing the conceptual background of continuity and change presented in chapter two. From obtained information we can conclude that there are practices in which Danuwars have shown to be more attention, like traditional occupations of hunting, fishing, beliefs in gods, marriage Sariyati and cremation rituals. The change of practices, on other hand, can be observed dress-ornament, agricultural activities, Chhodaki Nach and Manjan system.

Methodologically, this study has applied a number of methods to answer a set of research questions. Participatory observation, listening, formal and informal hangouts with Danuwars, case study, life history, and interviews are tools to obtain

presented data in this study gathered by means of ethnographic interviews and observation have more contextual information in the writing.

Both caste and ethnicity (Parbatiya and Danuwar) can not be studied exclusively as schema for exclusion and inclusion, or non-Hindu and Hindu. Among the Danuwars of Bhalwai, the idea of being part of a greater Danuwar ethnic entity is not exercised practically, although they may have in their mind-set to some extent. DJS organized third general assembly meeting in Janakpur on 17-18 November 2005. More than thousand Danuwars participated from 20 plus districts. Unity of Danuwars and extension of DJS in each village of Danuwar settlements are main objectives of the meeting (NEFEN 2006). DJS is not satisfied with the total number of Danuwar population. It claimed the Danuwar population is more than 75000. DJS assumes the census 2001 misrepresents Danuwars because Adhikari-Danuwar are counted in Brahman group, Rai-Danuwar are counted in Rai ethnic group and Chaudhari-Danuwar are counted in Tharu group. To solve this problem DJS decided to follow up previous decision of writing Danuwar last name and other ethnic programmes. This recent phenomenon has been brought forth by modernized and well-educated elites. The Tharu story of Buddha (Buddha was Tharu) and Danuwars' proximity with Tharu can be a crucial symbol to create Pan-Danuwar consciousness that will be found not different from the overarching concept of ethnic organizations. 'Buddhism' thus provides practical symbol creating common ethnic identity. The actors find it meaningful to define themselves as Buddhists and non-Hindus. Therefore, the DJS is playing role for changes (redrawing the boundaries) of Danuwars by organizing them in new cultural orientation. The continuous influence of Anti-Hindu orientation and gradual consents on Loshar as common among nationalities, 'Loshar' will be national festival for all ethnic groups. The idea of being part of greater Danuwar ethnic or ethnic nationalities as a whole is a recent phenomenon. The Pan-Danuwar ethnic movement will create sense of anti-Hindu and anti-caste mentality. Parbatiya ethnic groups and Danuwars will have consensus for new culture and history. On the other hand the Danuwars of Bhalwai perceived themselves Hindu and continued worshipping Hindu and

nature gods. They do not have any idea of Buddhism and Loshar .They categorized people on the basis of geographic origin rather than caste/ethnic groups and religion.

There are several factors which have contributed to shape new boundaries of the Danuwars. These factors I pointed out are both external and internal ones, and I described some of them in chapters 4 and 5. One major factor of change is parbatiya migrants into the Danuwar settlement area after the malaria eradication project in 1960's. In the process of transformation from isolated tribal group into cultural 'melting pot' Danuwars imitate Parbatiya and vice-versa. Although Danuwar changed their cultural, social and economic behaviour but they retain their identity as non-Parbatiya rather than non-Hindu. On the other hand Parbatiya groups have been changing from their historic cultural principles (especially caste principles) to multicultural aspects of modernity. This means intercaste marriage, alcohol and buffalo-meat consumption new norms and values have been exercised. Very few researchers talked lost identity and antiquity of high castes. In this mixed society both groups (Danuwars and Parbatiya) have been changing from close system to natural processes of acculturation.

Bhalwai Danuwars comment ethnic elites because they thought it is another way to control backward people. According to them culture should be practical and changeable. "No one can keep on the tradition of hundreds year culture as it was" Junga Bahadur Rai Danuwar said. Danuwars are not worried about their changed culture but they are worried about their backwardness in society and inside ethnic organizations. The Danuwars look upon themselves as different caste to some extent and maintain their mutual boundaries. Language, marriage and death rituals communicate continuity among them.

Danuwar and Parbatiya talk negatively about each other's dietary habits but Parbatiya themselves eat and drink liquor with Danuwars. Participation on marriage party and acceptance of intercaste marriage are symbol of food acceptance. When I observed local contexts both the process of 'Sanskritization' (Srinivas 1996), 'Nepalization' (Bista 1982), 'Matwalization' (fisher 1987, Shah 2004) or 'Danuwarisation and Parbatiyasation' (my coined) and at broader level

globalization are taking place simultaneously. People prefer Danuwari language at informal situations and Danuwars also followed Parbatiya culture and both Parbatiya and Danuwars are culminating toward globalization through T.V., V.C.D. market penetration. Danuwars hired TV and VCD to watch Nepali and Indian films. Some Danuwars went to third countries and brought TV, VCD and new generations are fond of foreign culture. I saw many school children buying postcard on the occasion of New Year 2063 B.S. among them both Parbatiya caste/ethnic groups and Danuwars below 15 years old are excited to give their friends.

To talk about Danuwar organizations, there is not single organization to promote caste/ethnic unity and sense of ethnic consciousness in Bhalwai. The Danuwar villagers at certain level are excluded from Parbatiya groups from in some social and development activities. But, at the same time both groups wanted each other to participate more actively. This may seem as a paradox, but I have seen this rather as an indication of the pragmatism inherent in the Danuwar identity maintenance as well as the ambivalence in relation to each other. At the same time as Parbatiya are blamed as cheater and clever simultaneously they are also admired for their education and proper livelihood. Danuwars have learnt many practical aspects of art of living from parbatiya groups. In Bhalwai the attachment between Danuwar and Parbatiya groups seem more intensive and cohesive even though they have sufficient micro-level conflicts. They thought Bhalwai Danuwars are distinct from the Danuwars of other areas.

To summarize, Bhalwai Danuwars define themselves as Matwali group and maintain their identity according to changing contexts. There are various aspects of Danuwars which are manifested differently as identity continuation, maintenance and change. They keep on tradition of fishing, hunting, life cycle rituals, beliefs on gods and festivals to some extent. The shift from curd to mutton meat on marriage party, Chhodaki Nach to film and T.V culture, white dress to colorful dress, intercaste marriage, new strategies of livelihood are processes of modernization rather than sanskritization. While some elites Danuwars

increasingly interested identify themselves as an ethnic group, others may conceptualize themselves as a Matwali Hindu.

As the proposed objectives of this study, I have tried to look society through the eyes of the Danuwar of Bhalwai. Including myths and history, their perceptions on identity and traditional culture have been recorded. Their understanding of ethnic movements and cultural identity differ with other Danuwar elites and activists. Social interaction between the Danuwar and the Parbatiya groups reflect cooperation as well as conflict on certain contexts.

At the end, I would like to conclude my dissertation by highlighting the major findings of this research that reflect the main identity makers and change within Danuwars of Bhalwai Danuwars.

Major findings

According to local Danuwars, their ancestors would have entered into Nepal to save them from Muslim attack in India in 14th century. They are the earliest people to move into the Kamala Khonch least hundred and fifty years ago. Danuwari language, (both Danuwar and non-Danuwar speak) white dress-ornaments, soil worshipping, marriage Sariyati, three days cremation of dead body are main identity markers of the Danuwars of Bhalwai. They are still following their traditional occupations: fishing, deer hunting, and basket weaving. Agricultural practice of mono-crop rice cultivation was changed. Manjani system (Jati assembly) has become defunct and Chhodaki Nach, white dress-ornaments, three days cremation and provision of Thakur priest are on the verge of disappearance.

Danuwars and Parbatiya people are experiencing both conflict and cooperation on local level for instance, invitation of Parbatiya people on rituals of the Danuwars, intercaste marriage, labor, animal, cash and food exchange, and unity on agricultural activities. Similarly household level conflict can be realized at the matters of land resources, derogative names of each other (Gungi for Danuwars and Mohi Ganayo for Parbatiya), and distribution of drinking water and forest resources.

Danuwars call all hilly emigrants (high caste, ethnic and Dalits) as Parbatiya group but Dalits are regarded as polluted lower caste. Danuwars of Bhalwai put hill ethnic groups and high caste people in same distance. They do not have ethnic consciousness nor any proximity with ethnic people as presented in urban socio-political level. Sanskritization and desanskritization are reflected when high caste people started liquor drinking and buffalo-meat consumption, and Danuwari language speaking.

Danuwars of Bhalwai are backwarded but they are not picked up for the membership of Danuwar organization. Without knowing DJS's decisions, they are practicing traditional (virtual) Danuwar way of life which is spontaneous, locally informed and product of relationship with the Parbatiya people. Changes are the outcome of Parbatiya emigrants as well as penetration of modern socio-economic system.

At the end, Continuity and change are not random processes because Danuwars continued some of their traditions for distinct identity and they adapted new phenomena as strategies of life. Danuwars and Parbatiya people have developed consensus about local issues. They do not have communal antagonistic relationships rather they have mostly realized supports on local socio-economic and art of living.

Glossary of Danuwari Terms

Kinship Terms

Buwa	–Father
Ama	–Mother
Chhauda	–Son
Chhaudi	–Daughter
Kakaa	–Uncle
Kaki	–Aunt
Bahin	–Sister
Pahuna	–Son-in-law
Sari	–Sali (wife's younger sister)
Kaniya	–Bride
Dulaha	–Groom

Rituals Terms

Jamlo	–Birth
Biha	–Wedding
Marlo	–Dead
Dai	–Witches
Sariyati	–A group of bride's relatives come with bride to observe groom's status
Uni	–A small piece of white cloth tie around neck by a mourner
Dasai	–Tenth day of death ritual
Chhor Jhappi	–Cremation of remaining part of dead body and cleaning the cremation space on third day of death ritual

Food Terms

Bhat	–Food (Rice)
Tihuna	–Curry (Common name of all curry)
Maas	–Meat
Machha	–Fish

Matha –Jaad (local liquor)

Rota –Bread

Namak –Salt

Khursan –Chilli

Ornaments

Haseli –Name of ornament on neck

Nattha –Name of ornament on nose

Mattha –Name of Bengal on wrist

Patha –Thick wrist ring made of silver

Kundal/Kanai –Name of ornament on ear

Hari –Name of ornament around neck made of silver coins

Kasaudi/Bai –Name of ornament on upper arm

Animals and Birds

Bhayasa –Buffalo

Gai –Cow

Barada –Ox

Sogara –Deer

Nariha –Jackal

Khasi –He-Goat

Bakhara –She-Goat

Murga –Chicken

Hasin –Ducks

Parewa –Pigeon

Sap –Snake

Pronoun Terms

Ham –I

Hamara –We

Tui –You

Ukara –He/She

Other Terms

Kalu –Tomorrow

Parsau –Yesterday

Parbatiya –Hill (Immigrants) people

Sentence structure

Ukara Bat Bujhi –He understands language

Tui Bhat Khaila Ki Na Khaila –Did you eat rice?

Tui Bhat Khela –You eat rice

Ham Bhat kheliyaa –I ate rice

Ham Bhat Khewa –I eat rice

Ham padha Jaichhiyaa –I go to read

Yamde Aa –Come here

Jo –Go

Chhal re –Let's walk

Katha Chhal rahi –Where to go/walk

Fishing Equipments

Jal –Fishing net made of Nailan thread and iron ball

Thitri –Fishing equipment made of bamboo

Khunga –Fishing equipment made of small pieces of bamboo

Kuina –Fishing equipment made of small pieces of bamboo

Sariya –Fishing equipment made of small pieces of bamboo

Duwalo –Method of fishing by making new stream bed

References

- Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spreads of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Baral, Bimal. 2057. Social structure of Danuwar community. *Unknown Magazine*.
- Barth, Fredrik. 1969b. *Ethnic groups and Boundaries: The social organization of cultural Difference*. Oslo: Universitetsforleuget
- _____. On the study of social change. In *F. Barth selected Essays of F. Barth*. Vol. I London: Routledge and Keagan paul.
- Berremen, Gerald D. 1963. *Hindu of the Himalayas: Ethnography and change*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bhattachan, K.B. and Ganesh Gurung. 1996. *Emerging Ethnicity and Aspects of Community Adaptation*. In *Occasional papers of Socio/Anthro Central Dept. T.U.*
- Bhattachan, K.B. and Om P. Gurung. 2005. *Rapid Appraisal on livelihood Analysis and need Assessment: Highly marginalized Janjatis*. Lalitpur: NEFDIN.
- Bhattarai, Mohan Prasad. 1997. *Socio-economic status of Danuwars: A case study of Piple VDC, Chitwan*. M.A. Dissertation: T.U.
- Bista, Dor Bahadur. 1987. *People of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- Butler, Judith. 2003. *Gender, Trouble, Feminist Theory and Identities*. Cowley Road: Blackwell publishing.
- Cameron. Mary M. 1998. *On the Edge of the Auspicious: Gender and Caste in Nepal*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Campbell, Ben. 1997. *The Heavy loads of Tamang Identity*. In *Nationalism and ethnicity in a Hindu kingdom*. David N. Gellner, Joanna Pfaff-czarnecke and John Whelpton. Eds. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publisher.
- Caplan, Lionel. 1970. *Land and Social changes in eastern Nepal: A case study of Hindu-Tribal Relations*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- _____. 1990. Tribes in the Ethnography of Nepal some comments on Debate contributions to Nepalese studies 17 (2): 129-145.
- CBS. 2001. *Population Monograph of Nepal Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics*.
- _____ 2061. *Gilla ek Chinari: Sindhuli*. Kathmandu: CBS.

- Chhetri, Ram Bahadur. 1990. Adaptation of Tibetan Refugees in Pokhara, Nepal: A study on persistence and change. Ph.D. Dissertation. UMI Information service.
- Cohen, A. Thomas. 1969. Custom and politics in urban Africa. London: Rowledge and Kegan Paul.
- Dahal, Dilli Ram. 1979. Tribalism as an incongruous concept in modern Nepal. In *Asie du Sud. Traditions et changements* (eds) M Gaborieau and a. Thorner. Paris: CNRS.
- Danuwar, Ramdev Ray. 2061. Danuwar Jatiko Aetihask Ruprekha: Siraha: Vikas ra Sewa Kendra.
- Dhungana, Narayan Prasad. 2056 B.S. Panchakhal Ga. Bi. Sa. Ka Danuwar Mahilako Bartaman Avasha: ek Samajik Adhayan. M.A. Dissertation: T.U.
- Dumont, Louis. 1980. *Homo Hierarchicus: The caste system and its Implications.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Encyclopedia of Social sciences 1970. Vol. XIII New York: Macmillan company.
- Erickson, Thomas. 1992. *Us and Them in plural societies.* Scandinavian university press.
- Fisher, James. 1987. *Trans-Himalayan Traders: Economy, Society and Culture in Northwest Nepal.* Delhi: Motilal Publisher.
- Fisher, William F. 1993. Nationalism and the Janajati. In *Himal March/April 6 (2)* :11-14.
- _____2001. *Fluid Boundaries: Forming and transforming identity in Nepal.* New York: Colombia University.
- Gautam, Rajesh and Ashok Thapa. 1994. *Tribal Ethnography of Nepal. Vol.-1,* Delhi: Bookfaith.
- Gellner, David N. 1997. Ethnicity and Nationalism in the World's only Hindu State. In *Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom: The politics of culture in contemporary Nepal.* David N. Gellner, Joanna Pfaff-czarnecke and John Whelpton. eds. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publisher.
- _____2001. How should one study Ethnicity and Nationalism? In *contribution to Nepalese studies Vol. 28, No.1 CNAS/TU.*
- Glickman, M. 1972. The Nuer and the Dinka :A further note, *Man NS 7 586-94*
- Greetz, Clifford. 1973. *The interpretation of culture* New York Basic Book.

- Guneratne, Arjun. 1994. *The Tharu of Chitwan: Ethnicity, class and the state in Nepal*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Chicago.
- _____ 2002. *Many Tongues one people: The making of Tharu identity in Nepal*. Cornell University Press.
- Gurung, Harka. 1997. *The politics of culture in contemporary Nepal*. In *Nationalism and ethnicity in a Hindu kingdom*. David N. Gellner, Joanna Pfaff-czarnecka and John Whelpton. eds. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publisher.
- Gurung, Pol. 2007. *An Ethnographic study of Ritual Processes among Gurung Community of Siklesh Village*. M. A. Dissertation T.U
- Hodgson, B. H. 1880. *Miscellaneous essay relating to Indian Subjects*. London: Trubner.
- Hofer, Andres. 1979. *Caste Hierarchy and the state in Nepal: Muluki Ain of 1854*. Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner.
- Holmberg, David. 1989. *Order in Paradox: Myth, Ritual and Exchange among Nepal's Tamang*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- _____ 2008. "For Ethnography". In *social sciences in a multicultural world: Proceedings of the International conference*. Kailash N. Pyakuryal et.al kathmandu: SASON.
- Jenkins, Richard. 1996. *Social identity*. London: sage publication.
- _____ 1997. *Rethinking Ethnicity: Argument and Exploitations*. London: sage publication.
- _____ 1986. *Social Anthropological models of inter-ethnic relations*. In *theories of race and ethnic relations*. John Rex and David Manson eds. Pp, 171-185. London, Cambridge University Press.
- Khatry, Prem. 1995. *The Manjani system of Danuwar of the Kamala valley: A brief study of an egalitarian Judiciary*. *Contributions to Nepalese studies*, Vol. 22 No. 1 (43-55) CNAS/TU.

- Kolenda, P. 1978. *Caste in contemporary India: Beyond organic Society*. Waveland Press, INC.
- Levi Strauss, Claude. 1987. *Introduction to the work of Marcel Mauss*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Levine, Nancy E. 1987. Caste, state and ethnic Boundaries in Nepal. *Journal of Asian studies* 46 (1).
- Macfarlane, A. 1997. Identity and change among the Gurungs of central Nepal: In *Nationalization and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom* David N. Gellner, Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecke and John Whelpton, eds. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers.
- Macfarlane, A. and Indra Bahadur Gurung. 1990. *A Guide to the Gurungs*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- Malinowski, B. 1922. *Argonauts of the western pacific: An account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London: Keganpaul Trench Trubner.
- _____ 1945. *The Dynamics of cultural change: An inquiry into Race Relation in Africa*. New Heaven Yak University Press.
- Mandebaum, David G. 1961. "Content to cultural continuing in India". In the journal of *Asian studies* Vol.2 No. 4. August P. 427-434.
- Mc Donough, Christian. 1997. *Losing Ground, Gaining Ground: Land and change in a Tharu community in Dang, west Nepal*. In *Nationalism and ethnicity in a Hindu kingdom*. David N. Gellner, Joanna Pfaff-czarnecke and John Whelpton. eds. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publisher.
- NEFEN. 2005. *Livelihood analysis and need Assessment*. Lalitpur: NEFEN.
- Neupane, Anju. 1999. *A socio-economic life of Danuwar of Panchakhal V.D.C*. M.A. Dissertation: T.U.
- Odegaard, Singun Eide. 1997. 'From castes to Ethnic group: Modernization and forms of social identity among Tharus'. Oslo.
- Pfaff-Czarnecka, Joanna. 1997. *Vestiges and Visions: Cultural change in the process of nation building in Nepal*. In *nationalism and ethnicity in a Hindu kingdom*. David

- Gellner, Joanna Pfoff-Czarnecka and John Whelpton, eds. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic publisher.
- Pfoff-Czarnecka, Joanna. Et al. 1999. Ethnic future: The state and identity politics in Asia. New Delhi.
- Pignede, B. 1993. The Gurungs: A Himalayan population of Nepal, tr. And ed. S Harrison and A. Macfarlane. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- Rai, Narayan Kumar. 2000. A socio-economic status of Danuwar. Kath: T.U. M.A. Dissertation.
- Rakesh, Ram Dayal. 1994. Cultural Heritage of Nepal Terai. New Delhi: Niroula publication.
- Ramble, Charles. 1997. Tibetan pride of place: or, why Nepal's Bhotiyas are not an Ethnic Group. In Nationalism and ethnicity in a Hindu kingdom. David N. Gellner, Joanna Pfaff-czarnecke and John Whelpton. eds. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publisher.
- Ritzer, George.2000. Sociological Theory New Delhi: McGraw-Hill Book.
- Rosen, E. 1989. Creating Ethnicity, The process of Ethnogenesis news way park sage publications.
- Russel, Andrew. 1997. Identity Management and cultural change: The Yakha of East Nepal. In Nationalism and ethnicity in a Hindu kingdom. David N. Gellner, Joanna Pfaff-czarnecke and John Whelpton. eds. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publisher.
- Salter, Jan and Hark Gurung. 1999. Faces of Nepal. Patan: Himal Book.
- Sapkota, Sita. 2059 B.S. Nuwakot Gilla Choughada V.D.C. Ko Danuwar Jatiko Samajik Tatha Sanskritik Adhayan. M.A. Dissertation. T.U.
- Shah, Saubhagya. 1993. Throes of a Fledging Nation. Himal. March/April. 6(2): 7-10.
- _____ 2004. A project of Memoreality: Transnational Development and local Activism among Rural women in Nepal. Ph.D. Dissertation. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University.
- Sharma, Prayag Raj. 1997. Nation-Building, Multi-Ethnicity, and the Hindu state. In Nationalism and ethnicity in a Hindu kingdom. David N. Gellner, Joanna Pfaff-czarnecke and John Whelpton. eds. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publisher.

- _____ 1978. Nepal: Hindu-Tribal interface. *Contribution to Nepalese Studies* 6(1) 1-14.
- Shrestha, D.B. and C.B. Singh. 1987. *Ethnicity groups of Nepal and their ways of living*. Kathmandu: Himalayan Booksellers.
- Sing-Danuwar, Nathuni. 2061. *Danuwar Jatiko Samchhipta Itihas*. Lalitpur: NEFIN.
- Srinivas M.N. 1966. *Social change in Modern India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wallman, Sandra. 1986. Ethnicity and the boundary process in context. In *theories of race and ethnic Relation*. John Rex and David Manson. Eds. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Yinger, J. Milton. 1986. Intersecting strands in the theorization of race and ethnic relations. In *theories of race and ethnic relation*. John Rex and David Manson. Eds. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Zoowa, Subin Bahadur. 2002. *Impact of development and social change in ethnic: A case study in Danuwar in Panchakhal V.D.C. of Kavrepalanchowk district*. M.A. Dissertation: T.U.
- [http://www.goole.com/nationalities in Nepal/NEFEN notice 2006](http://www.goole.com/nationalities%20in%20Nepal/NEFEN%20notice%202006).
- <http://www.nethakur.itgo.com>, maps of Nepal.

MAP OF NEPAL
SINDHULI DISTRICT
nethakur.ngo.com

