

CHAPTER-I

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Nepal, a country of beauty, exhibits ethnic and cultural mosaic and cultural plurality. According to Bista (1991), Nepal is a heterogeneous society with a complex ethnic mixture of linguistic diversity that has been the pedigree of the nation. In this context, Eagle (2000) highlights that Nepal is a meeting point of great cultures in South Asia.

Historically, Nepali society is deeply rooted in the Hindu caste system, with hierarchy of different groups of people within the system named Varnashrama. Dalits or untouchables are one of the groups of people within this Hindu caste, whose social, economic, health status and political conditions are lowest compared to other groups in Nepal. It is because there is strong faith on the Varnashrama system. According to this System, Brahma from various parts of his body, created the four groups named Brahmin, Chhetri, Vaishayas, and Sudra. Exactly this Varnashrama has created social strata by this the highest among the caste Brahmin, enjoy respect; devote themselves in religion, ritual performance, and learning and teaching. The Chhetries are ranked next as rulers, defenders, and warriors. Similarly Vaishayas become the cultivators, artisans and traders. The most bellow of them in the rank were Shudras, Sudars are ranked the lowest, who engage to impure and menial tasks.

Similarly, the Old Legal Code, (1854) defined the Dalit group as Pani Nachalne Choi Chhito Halnu Parne, meaning “those groups from whom water is not accepted and whose touch require sprinkling so called holy water to purify them”. National Dalit Commission has listed twenty two Dalit castes living in Nepal. Out of these twenty two castes, only five castes; Gandharva, Damai, Kami, Sharki, Badi are found inhabiting in hill regions and are termed as Hill Dalits.

The dominant Hindu society and culture have placed Dalit at the bottom of the social hierarchy and they have been facing the problem of discrimination. Caste discrimination has been became main barrier to development and transformation of the community. Nepali Dalits live under the deplorable condition. They are not only

victimized from caste discrimination but also they are socially deprived, culturally dominated, economically disadvantaged, educationally backward and avoided from the exercising of human rights.

According to Bista (1991) earliest dominant caste group came in Kathmandu valley at the time of king Jayasthiti Malla (1382-1395) during 14th century. King Malla introduced caste principles and codes of conduct according to the Manusmriti code of Hindus. That medieval organization of caste-based division was further consolidated by Jung Bahadur Rana promulgating the first Legal Code of Nepal (Muluki Ain or State Law) in 1854 AD. The division did not only promote groupies among the people but laid the seed of conflict on the bed of country forever. Some people cherished the power and superior life standard while other serve to them and posed lower quality. Dalit is defined as the different caste groups which are economically exploited, socially disadvantaged, politically marginalized away from education and They are kept back in religious and untouchable ethnic community (NDC, 2003). Basically there are four types of Dalit, hill Dalit , terai Dalit, mountain Dalit and ethnic Dalit. Among hill Dalit Kami, Damai, Sarki, Gaine, Badi, are major. Similarly among terai Dalit caste groups Dusadh, Musaar, Chamar, Dom, Holkhor, Banther, Khatwe, Tatma are some of the identified. Among Newar Dalit are Kasai, Pode, Chame, with in ethnic Dalits (Insec, 2005).

The system polarized the significant chunk of population as the 'lower caste' or untouchables and graded them at the bottom of the vertical social hierarchy. The lower people or the untouchable are known as Dalit.

According to the census report 2001, Dalit people hold more than 15 percent of the total population. Dr. Bhattachan, (2000) raises an issue that no clear figure of Dalit people is out. He adds Dalit people are suffering from the 'crisis of identification by the state'. Census report 2001 shows around 3 million population is Dalit while; the estimation from non-governmental sectors are different from the figure. According to them, 4.5 million people are Dalits throughout the nation. Deauja (2003) had noted that more than 90 percentage Dalits are below the poverty level and 22 percentage are land less. Even the condition of Dalit people from one region to other is also quite unequal. Similarly the average land owning per household among the Dalit groups is

2.46 ropani of khet land 4.5 ropani of pakho land. About 50 of the Dalit households surveyed had the food deficiency (TEAM consult 1998). Sharma et.al 1994 found that 21 percentage of the household produce food grains for less than 3 months, 19.5 percentage for 4 to 6 months, 15.4 percentage for one year and 5.1 percentage produce surplus grain.

Various government and non-government reports and documents show that there are wide status and cultural gulf between high caste and Dalit caste people. This social and caste based discrimination to Dalit is found not only from higher caste Hindus but also equally observed within Dalit even in today (Mahat: 2001). In the case of education: the overall literacy rate of Dalit is 22.8 percentage. This total literacy rate among Dalit is almost 18 percentage lower than that of the highest national average of 39.6 percentage (CBS: 1991). Similarly political status of Dalit is also very low. There is only a single member in parliament elected by the people (2048), same in the case with local election (Rajesh: 2001).

The government of Nepal defiled the previous legal discrimination among the different caste groups only after the eleventh decades of the state law, promulgating the Legal Codes (Naya Muluki Ain) of 1963 A.D. After the restoration of democracy in 1990, the constitution of Nepal (1991) banned caste discrimination and legalized the assumption of the equality of every individual before the eye of law. However, the caste identity has not even been terminated neither have the traditional caste based socio-cultural practices ended in reality.

In the recent decades, especially after the restoration of democracy several initiations have been taken in governmental and non-governmental sectors on the part of improving socio-economic conditions of Dalits. The tenth five –year plan has taken strategy to implement focused program to them. The National Dalit Commission (NDC) has been established to prepare laws and polices to enhance the rights and welfare of Dalit. The various other organizations are working to empower Dalit people and bring them in the main stream of national development. Despite the involvement of the number of organizations on the part of Dalits, there is a lack of clear approaches and program to address the issue of ownership of Dalit people.

From the very beginning, Dalits have been tied in Patron-client relationship, where they received Jajmani and Bali from the high born society. But now the Bali system is losing its roots in the society. The caste structure is fundamentally a labor structure, a system of interrelated services originating in specialized groups as traditionalized in a religious Matrix. Due to this history, they were always exploited by high castes people which caused Dalits as deprived from education, developmental, political and other puritical works. As a result, they are limited on most impure, menial and honest physical work.

The plowing work is also recognized as of same menial category. In fact, there is an assumption that the Brahmins of western Nepal should not plough field so they employ someone else for performing this tasks. Normally this is a Dalit, and there is special relationship to this system, known as Hali system (Riti). Joining Hali is one of important tasks for both Hali and Bista. For the process of joining Hali, verbal talks between Hali and Bista starts initially and this talks turn in agreements if they accept each other. Some times Bista may provide some cash or grains for Hali to solve the immediate problems of Hali in the beginning of contracts to make agreement sure.

Thus, the plough man–master relationship can be said a corollary of the caste system. The assumption that Brahmin should not plough leads to keep plough man for their farm work while other household like Dalit proform this. However, by the relationship of this type, both Hali and Bista take advantages from the system accepts some interference. The Brahmin people have to be paid more cash and grain if they hire other labors instead of Hali and Hali also find some how securities in arrangements of livelihood. They get support by small amount of cash and grain after work. This shows the interrelationship between Hali and Bista. But in another hand, some cleavages and controversies also prevailed on the plowing time. So this study tries to found all of drawbacks and strength of Hali system of Hansapur VDC-1, Kaski, Western Development Region Nepal.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Dalits are socially, economically, politically and educationally back warded people. The Dalits people who covered around 15 to 20 percent of the total population of

country are suffering from caste discrimination which is very ridiculous in the world. They ranked in a lower grade of vertical social hierarchy. Still several Dalits must have serve the higher caste people to meet the livelihood sufficiency. Dalit have been marginalized from various social and economic opportunities. According to HD Report (2000), 90 percentage Dalit are below the poverty line. The traditional occupations of Dalit people are being in danger and could not continue further because of industrial production and open market (Sharma, 2001).

Dalit related campaign, institutions and movements are raising the issues on education, awareness, untouchables and caste discrimination. While the issues of Hali of hill people and land ownership of hills Dalits and its impact to Dalit community are not marked. Until and unless people do not raises the awareness on this types of Halis issues, the fundamental basis of economic security and rights of Dalit Hali would be hardly possible.

Same like, the Hali (plow man) has very low access on land. Because of unequal division of land resources, higher castes people required assistance for production while Dalit has not adequate land to plough and to meet their hunger as well. Similarly the political fate of Dalit is also similar. Though the political change occurred on different time (2046, 2063/063) and take place of democracy, Loktantra etc, which bring the new constitution and legal code focusing equal right to every citizen, but the cause of poor implementation and lack of Dalit access on implementation level , the fate of Dalit in every sphere is same as well on previous. They neither get out from vicious circle of poverty nor free from traditional local autocracy.

The all of above mentioned facts shows that the future of Dalit has not improved as well. As a result, most of Dalits are involving lowly paid and non profitable jobs like ploughing. In other hands none of the laws putting Halis rather laws have insured minimum wage and physical wellbeing of labor. Their rights to fair wage and dignity have been seriously violated.

In order to analyze the status of Dalit Hali of the study area, research questions have formulated and looked answer for the study period. The questions that have to be raised are as follows:

- i. How is the general condition of Hali in Hansapur?
- ii. What is their social, political and economical status in society?
- iii. What is their relationship with master (Bista)?
- iv. What problems are faced by ploughers during the plowing activities?
- v. How much do they do and earn from ploughing activities?
- vi. What is their perception towards their masters?
- vii. How does Master look at the plowman?
- viii. What changes/mobility have taken places on Hali system?
- ix. What are the determining factors that Hali system continues to till date?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objectives of the study helps to understand and explore the contemporary status of Hali among Dalit of Kaski District in Hansapur VDC and analyze the factors that hinder better relationship and explore better opportunities to improve their livelihood. The specific objectives are as follows:

-) To assess the basic socio- economic condition of Dalit Hali of the study area.
-) To explore the changing pattern of Hali system in Hansapur, VDC, Kaski.
-) To find out the Hali related problems and determining factors of Hali occupation.
-) To investigate the status of discrimination on occupation (wage, labor, contract, time etc)

1.4 Rationale of the Study

The Hali system is not new tools of wage labor either in Hill or in Terai. Only few researches and studies have been conducted on this issue. That is the cause that the status of Hali people, neither in national level nor in district is clearly outlined. Various governmental and non governmental agencies are said to be focused on Dalit in their programs and projects in the name of development, empowerment and poverty alleviation. However, none of concrete programs and studies have been made to deal the issues of Hali people. Likewise, there are not any clear strategies followed by these organizations to extend and modify the Hali related activities.

In national level, Dalit commission is established and various NGO's and donor agencies are working on right base approach taking the issues of Dalit. However, most of their approaches are not addressing the issue of certain wage of labor and dignity of Hali people clearly. In the absence of the substantial information and analysis, none of the approaches have got sound result. Therefore this study will be very much helpful to analyze the real situation of Hali and their economic status and it also projects the direction where the life of Dalit people are heading in front of all concerned people and institution.

In district level, income generating program is implemented in Dalit community by Rural Urban Partnering Program (RUPP) and Poverty alleviation Fund (PAF) in joint collaboration with the governments mechanism which focus to enhance the economic empowerment of Dalit people but it is not sufficient to promote their economic security, social justice, self-respect and others different issues of Hali.

Therefore, the outcomes of the study will be applicable to formulate strategies and plans to execute the programs on the Right Based Approach (RBA) on the issue of Hali and Dalit for the projects. In micro level, especially the poverty of Dalit people is related to the issue of their wage, labor and employment as well as their land in the present study. While the findings of the study will have special importance to both governmental and non-governmental organization and also Dalit people themselves to advocate their condition on different forums. So the study has wider importance from local to national level.

1.5 Definition of the Term

Some basic terms which have been using in this study are defined as follows:

Adhiya Bari: A certain types of land where the farmers produce crops and share production fifty and fifty between themselves and the owner of the land.

Argus/Majuri: Some amounts of food or grain which is provided to Hali instead of a wage of plowing activities

Bista: Masters or land owner (especially High caste people).

Dalit: The term 'Dalit' is understood as 'Achhut' or so-called untouchables or it includes Pani Nachalne, Choit Chiito Halnu Parne Jat (Caste from whom water is not accepted and whose touch requires splinkling of holy water).

Hali: Halis are the persons who plough the land of masters.

Hali System: A system where Hali (Plow man) plough the land of his master (land owner) for a whole agricultural season instead of getting some share of harvest or grain.

Hal: A proportion of land which a Hali can plow in a day

Halo: The wooden tools which dig the field with the help of two bulls.

Juwa: The wooden tools which alliances two bulls.

Khar: Mud grass (a dry grass which is used on house roof especially by poor people).

Khet land: Land with irrigation facility, where farmer produce paddy.

Khetala: a person who work as an agrarian labor.

Kodalo, Kuto: Small hand equipment for cultivating land.

Kind: The amount of wages which is not paid in cash, but in food grain.

Nara: A small tools made by animal's leather (especially of buffalos) which set on plough on in the middle of Juwa.

Pareli: A person or house who keeps one bull and makes relationship with another persons or individual for cultivating the land with sharing each other.

Pakhobari: A land which have no facilities of irrigation.

Untouchables: It is the term used for the so called lower class people or schedule caste people whose water is accepted in society.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

The study represents one of small VDC, named Hansapur. It is the micro level study, so the conclusion drawn from the study might not equally be applicable to other parts of country at macro level. This study is limited to the problems of Dalit ploughers so not related to other ploughers belonging to different castes and groups. Another limitation is very low availability of these kinds of previous studies. As the study is intensively field based and represents the remote areas, it requires enough resources like time, money and human resources.

1.7 Organization of the Study

This study consists of eight chapters and some preliminaries containing approval sheet, acknowledgement, table of content, abbreviation, list of tables and figures, maps, etc. The first or introductory chapter presents the background, statement of the problems, objectives of the study, its limitations, significance, and basic assumption. The second chapter deals with the theoretical overview and review of related literature. The third chapter deals with methodology of the study with sub chapter like rational of the study, research design, universe and sample, data collection techniques. The fourth chapter deals with the general overview of the study area.

Like wise, chapter fives devoted the socio economic condition of Dalit Hali. The sixth chapter is about changing pattern of Hali system and chapter seven seven presents the Hali related problem and determining factors and the last, the chapter eight is about the conclusion, summary and findings. The bibliography, appendices, questionnaire schedule as well as list of FGDs, maps etc are given at the end of dissertation.

CHAPTER-II

Literature Review

This chapter deals with theoretical review along with the review of relevant literature. Especially, Marxian theory and functional theory have been reviewed as theoretical review. Like same, different literatures, works and research reports (published or unpublished) concerning caste system, Hali (plowing) occupation, Dalits and their traditional based occupations etc have been reviewed in this chapter.

2.1 Theoretical Review

2.1.1 Structural Functionalism

Structural functionalism means the social structure and systematic adjustment among the parts of social structure in society. A society is always dynamic and active. So it is studied from different perspectives. The theory which studies the adjustment of the functions of the social organs and social structure is structural functionalism (Acharya, 2006).

According to Collins Dictionary of Sociology (1995) Structural Functionalism is a theoretical approach in which societies are conceptualized as social system and particular features of social structure is explained in terms of their contribution to the maintenance of these systems. For example, religious and ritual are explained in terms of the contribution and it makes to school integration.

Similarly, Francis (2000) mention, that the structural Functional perspective also seeks to delineate the way in which the different structures are coordinated and integrated to preserve the unity of society as a complete system.

Structural functionalism has been viewed differently by different scholars. In this regard, Strauss (1963) said that 'social structure' is difficult to define with precision and clarity. It could mean so many things to so many people. It touches upon the borderlines of many disciplines. For example, Sociology defines its concept and meaning: Anthropology describes the structure of a given society and its relations between parts; religion provides the interpretation for the background of its values and

norms, and history traces the origin of the process of its evolution in all its different forms. Thus the term social structure many one of the most famous theoretical anthropologists of on time refers to a group of problems the scope of which appear so wide and the divination so imprecise that it is hardly possible for a paper strictly limited in size to meet them fully.

In the same way, Spencer (2001) has compared the society with human body structure. As there is interrelationship among different parts of the body for existence, there should be unity among different units of social system. Only with the help of the united role and its function, the society can remain in existence.

Similarly, Malinoski, an individualist, functionalist, sociologist and anthropologist (2000) has described about individualist functionalism.

In this regard, Durkheim (2001) focused on society rather than an individual. His most outstanding works is 'The Division of Labour'. He is known as societal functionalist because he believes that all the behaviors and activities are done by an individual directly affect the whole society.

Brown (2001) has also given his views on structural functionalism. He is also known as structural functionalist because he believes that the process of organization and inter-relationship among different units within it, and social structure should be studied to understand the society.

Merton (2000) has viewed structural functionalism in this way. The elements of society or culture not only functions but dysfunctions too. The function only can't be dynamic but it might be motionless as well.

Modern sociological theory has been profoundly influenced by functional analysis, which became enormously popular at the turn of the century. Functional analysis is not a new theory: it has a long history in both the natural and social sciences. It was borrowed heavily from biological science, especially the social extension of the many analogies between society and organism. Although the early organism with its emphasis on almost total integration of parts with the whole is now abandoned, its

theoretical consequences persist in such central concepts as structure and inter relatedness of elements. Functionalism is simply a view of society as a self-regulating system of inter related elements with structured social relationship and observed regularities.

Magill (2000) said that a theory which focuses on the way the various parts of society and works together to maintain stability and order in the social system as a whole.

2.1.2 Division of Labour

In general, division of labour means the work divided into different occupations requiring specialization. A distinctive characteristic of the economic system of modern societies is the development of a highly complex and diverse division of labour (Turmin, 1989).

As there was no labour division in the ancient time, men went for hunting and gathering food, and women would be busy for household works, looking after the children. Durkhem, in his book, has called it the age of hunting and gathering. At that time, people worked together in the society. As the society was civilized, the society became complex and diversity occurred in human needs and desires. As a result, the need of division of labour was realized for social product. In 1893, he published his French doctoral “Thesis, the division of labour in society”. Durkheim based his analysis in the division of labour in society on his conception of two ideal types of society: Mechanical Solidarity and Organic Solidarity (Adhikari, 063).

I. Mechanical Solidarity

Mechanical Solidarity has a relatively undifferentiated social structure, with little or no division of labour, tend to occupy very general position in which they perform a wide verity of tasks and handle a larger number of responsibility people in primitive were all engaged in similar activities and had similar responsibilities hunting and gathering age.

II. Organic Solidarity

A society characterized by organic solidarity is while together by the differences among people, by the fact that they have different tasks and responsibilities because people in society perform a relatively narrow range of tasks. They need many other people in order to survive.

According to Rue (1994) one important different between mechanical and organic solidarity is worth mentioning. Because people in societies characterized by mechanical solidarity are more likely to be similarly to one another in terms of what they do. There is a greater likelihood of competition among them and societies with organic solidarity differentiation allow people to cooperate more and resource.

Similarly, Karl Marx (1845) pointed out that division of labour is another structured component of capitalism. He is known to the world as the architect of socialism and the champion of communism. He was a German scholar, an economist, a political propagandist, a journalist, a great humanitarian and a philosopher (Rao: 2000). He specially devoted himself to the cause of the exploiting rich or the capitalist class. His views and thoughts were so powerful and influential that more than one third of the world's population was under their grip until recently.

Marx and Engel traced the origins of the modern division of labor to the early family, 'Where wife and children are the slaves of their husband'. He also gave the most basic view of the labour division. He expressed that the distinction between the owners and labor is created by means of production. Laborers always sell their labor and time to the owners in order to manage their livelihood.

Weber, (1990) refused to reduce stratification to economic factors (or class, in wipers terms) but saw it as multidimensional. Thus, society is stratified on the bases of economic status and power on resulting implications is that people can rank high on one or two of these dimensions of stratification and low on the other. People who shared situation are a possible and sometimes base, bass for action by the group.

Accordingly, people of untouchables or ritually lower castes have low status because of their association with polluting activities, such as skinning dead cattle. This means

that none of the clean castes will take food or water from them and will avoid physical contact whenever possible. Although, untouchables consider themselves Hindus, they are not served by Brahmin priest and indeed are considered as being outside the formal Hindu hierarchy by members of clean castes. Untouchables are however, necessary to the proper functioning of the caste system.

2.1.3 Social Stratification

The unequal level or the structure of the society determined on the basis of power, prestige, wealth, caste, occupation, gender and religion is called social stratification. Social stratification is a kind of system which divides the society into higher or lower classes. Every society determines the level or class for its members on the basis of income, occupation, property, caste, religion, education, race and post etc. It decides the outline for different divisions for the members in the society. So, social stratification is such a division which determines the social status of every member in the society (Magill, 1996).

2.2 Review of Studies

The important study related to this study is AP Caplan's 'Priest and Cobblers', which deals about the socio-economic-politico-cultural changes in broader spectrum. It is also co-related with caste based conflict along with their causes, processes and consequences. The main concern of the book is how high caste Hindu exploits and dominates the low caste especially on resources.

According to Caplan, the people perform social, political and economical activities and conflict exists while doing their activities. She emphasizes on the transformation of vertical conflict i.e. caste based conflict (conflict based on ascription) into horizontal conflict. She also explores that caste system is the social system in which low caste or untouchables do not allow participating in public sphere as well as in the higher rank in the society. They are not provided the easy access to participate in economic and political as well as religious sphere of life. High caste always denies participating untouchables in socio-politico-economic sphere. So, Caplan concentrates on to look out the process of change in social relation and social structure with the perspective of political-economical conflict in Dauri village (Caplan, 1972).

Caplan's study, however, lacks the quantitative expressions of the economic status of the people studied and the way of using resources they had. The use of resources that was productive, in general might reveal the overall features of village economy.

Similarly, other work related to this study is by Bhattachan et al. (2060, 51-53). According to them, "The forced labour cases, which Dalits have to do, as discussed by Bhattachan et al.(2060:51-53) are: (a) continual of traditional caste based occupation, (b) bonded labour (Bali Ghare and Haliya System) (c) work with no wages or (d) dispose off dead animals (e) carry dola (Hammock).

They also find out that the various services of Dalits are supplied in the context of an ongoing relationship between a client and craftsman or a system also known as patron-client relationship. (Indigenous Nationalities and Dalits as well) are known by different name in different parts in Nepal, such as Bali Ghale (Eastern Nepal), Khalo Pratha (Western Nepal) and Khan system in Terai. The Service of Dalits are paid mostly in kind (grains) and some time cash as well depending upon the amount of land holding (for Black smithy groups) and the number of member of tailors in the clothes, etc). The client craftsman relationship is renewing every year.

Along with agricultural production, the ownership of land, the other major means of livelihood of Dalits are the sale of their traditional caste occupation and selling it to their clients to maintain their livelihood. For example Kami not only make new agricultural tools and households utensils such as sickles, knives, axes, hoes, plough tips but also repair these tools and utensils as per when needed. A goldsmith makes golden or silver ornaments as demanded by their clients. In the Damai groups, both men and women work as tailors, they sew clothes for their clients and get both cash and kind. The Sharkis are leather workers who make shoes from the skin of dead animals such as cattle and water buffaloes. The Gaines play musical instruments. However in these days, their all caste based occupations are decreasing day by day. For example, Blacksmith are hard hit by the availability of factory-produced farm implements, Damais by the availability of ready-made clothes and Sharkis by the availability of cheap food wear (Sharma et al. 1994:52).

The Haliya System is a Nepalese version of indentured servitude where a family borrows money from owners and in return, must work on the landowners' land, often

for life. The family does not receive any salary for what they produce; accept only a small share of the harvest. A majority of the Himalayas families come from the Dalit community. It is a form of bounded labour where the agricultural workers borrow money from a landlord and work for him until their debt is paid back. Often there is no formal accounting how much is owed, and the lenders frequently charge various rates of interest that guarantee servitude for life. Pressure has been mounting in Nepal to end this labour system, especially from the Haliya liberation movement in the western part of the country but the practice endures (LWF, 1998).

This directly linked to the practice of caste discriminations which affects low caste ethnic groups or 'untouchable' castes. Indebted Haliya are forced to plough for up to 20 hours a day. They are bound to work for up to 10 months of the year and sometime for all to the year.

In an article entitled “socio-economic Condition of Dalit Women”, Bhattachhan (2000) gives a brief introduction about Dalit referring various sources. A committee under Ministry of Local Development identifies 22 ethnic groups as Dalit. Sharma (1993:3) notes the 50 Dalit ethnic groups. McDonald (1998 3:282) reviews 18 ethnic groups defined by state Law (Muluki Ain as the untouchables. Similarly, INSEC in Human Right Year Book (1993) states nine types of Dalit based on their assign traditional occupations.

The relation of Dalit caste groups to the other caste groups is more or less antagonistic. A. P. Caplan (Caplan, 1972) points out that high caste control over resources is significantly large to that of ‘untouchables’ which ultimately has load on the later groups either to migrate or to divest from the property. Once they loss their land, they need more cash for the food, which make them more dependent upon the high caste who are landowner, and moneylender of the village. They have to provide their labour service both to get food and to get a rented and live in their mercy in the absence of other opportunities in the area.

Caste based occupation does not provide full time employment to the most of the Dalit people; they are forced to take other jobs (Chhetri, 1990). The highest frequency

occurs in the village is 'wage labor', which is also a major occupation of the Dalit people.

The Hali System itself is form of exploitative forced labor where large numbers of families are bounded to plough for land lord with very nominal wage in the hill of western region of Nepal. They give their full time to land lord and their livelihood depends upon little things given by them (Bista, 1989).

According to Chetri (1999), the socio-economic prejudice of a caste society prevalent against the social/cultural tradition so as occupational caste people are forced to abandon their traditional occupation. This study was carried out from 5 districts comprising 1 district from each region, Kaski, Surkhet and Kailali from western, mid-western and far western respectively consisting 483 households with a population of 2930.

The study finds that 23 percentage Dalit are following occupation relating to their caste and 77 percentage engage in other occupations. The highest frequency occurs in the 'wage labourer', which is a major occupation for 38.34 percentage of the total respondent. As caste bound occupation do not provide full time employment to the most of the Dalit people, they are bound to take other jobs. On the other hand, it is reported that if other skills are provided to them, the majority of Dalit can improved their caste occupation and continue their occupation professionally. Such characteristics explicitly show that imperative. Factories have replaced their production at cheaper price because they produce in mass scale.

Dealing with the livelihood sufficiency of the caste-based occupation the study reveals that 60 percent of the respondents are continuing and 40 percentage has already abandoned their traditional skills. Among those continuing only 24 percentage has 'some' sufficiency from such occupation and depend only practically on such skills. So that portion of people who can no longer live by their traditional agricultural workers. The study also makes a simple measurement of land holding as a socio-economic basis of small farmers. It explores occupational caste group not only poses little but also poor quality of land. Further, the study says that there are variations in land holding size among the different caste groups.

Discrimination causes poverty by creating barriers to all aspect of human life like education, employment and health. In Nepal, members of Dalit ‘the lower or untouchable’ caste are considered unworthy and unclean. Higher caste members often refuse to associate with them. Though illegal, this social segregation can prohibit Dalits from owing land, using community water taps, even visiting a religious site or teashop (CARE, 2003).

A consequence of debt bondage is the loss of freedom and human dignity and decency. In many instances there is also injury to human life and limb resulting incapacitation, with educational deprivation of working children. Therefore there is used for a various interventions to deal with this consequence (Mishra, 2002).

Mishra further focuses to eliminate the forced labor and mention that the subject of forced/bonded labor in India which has multiple forms. Regardless of this multiplicity, it is a negation of inalienable human rights an affront to dignity decency and worth of human existence and anathema to civilized human conscience. More over the prevalence of forced/bonded labor is also in compatible with decent work.

The source materials have a very wide canvas. They address the historical origins of forced/bonded labor in India and contributing factors to the phenomena. Purely characterized by landlessness, loss of control over natural resources and helpless dependence on money lenders are some key factors. Similarly, landlords acting as middle man for obtaining loan/debt/advance for personal consumption, ceremonial projects and meeting other family needs also contributes to the vulnerability of poverty level groups.

INSEC's study on ‘Bonded Labor in Nepal’ is the first detailed analysis of the Haliya System of agricultural labour: a system characterized by bonded labour, forced labour and serf-Dom. According to this study, there are roughly a million landless wage laborers in Nepal. Due to low wages and poverty, debt bondage is common among them. This bondage is used to not only extract excessive labor but also as labor source imposed on family member. Must widespread debt bondage labor systems are the Huliya/Haruwa System and the Kamaiya system.

“The Haliya system is practiced in the hill districts of Nepal. The laborers are given a small loan at the beginning of the contract and they continue to work for the same employer until the loan is repaid. Such laborers are required to do all the ploughing work of the employer, and are paid an annual wage for the work.” Usually the amount taken as a loan is much larger than the annual wage and is beyond the capacity of the laborers to pay back.(INSEC, 1992).

In all the above cases, families are deprived of basic human freedom of mobility to choose employer and to take decisions about their work. Excessive hours, low wage and the recruitment of family labors to work for the same employer constrain them and make their exit from this system impossible.

United Nations Economic and social council, commission on human rights reports have shown that of a total six million agricultural laborers in Nepal, about two million are waged workers. Half of these waged workers are totally landless. One six of them works as permanent laborers. There is a wide variation in the terms and conditions under which permanent laborers work. Because of rampant poverty and low wages, debt bondage is found with in permanent labor relationship and it operates in the form of i) extraction of excessive hours of work ii) extraction of labor services from family members and iii) indebtedness, specially the Haruwa System and the Kamaiya System. There are 46000 labours under the Kamaiya System and 260,000 in the Haliya/Haruwa System in Nepal.

The Haliya System is practiced in the hill districts of Nepal. The labor are advanced cash in the region of rupees 10,000 at the beginning of the labor contract, and they continue to work for the same employer until the advance is repaid. Such laborers are required to do all the plowing work for the employer and are paid an annual wage for the work. The amount taken as loan is much danger than the annual wage and generally beyond the capacity of the labours to pay back.

In the Haruwa System which is in practiced in the Terai (plan) district of Nepal. In this system, an advance taken at the beginning of the contract but it is not in written form or mentioned on norm. Labours incur debt with in the contract period, but such debt is generally paid back with in the contract period. It is possible to do so because

Haruwa labors receive a small share of the harvest as part of the wage payment. Similarly, other family member (particularly the women) also work for the same employer in a pick farming season and are paid a fixed daily wage, which is lower than the market rate. Thus they go to search other better opportunity to get higher rate. (INSEC, 1991)

Based on research carried by Robertson (1995-1996) describes in detail about the plight of the untouchables in rural Nepal, and provide the first detailed account of how and why of thousands of agricultural works and their families are enslaved under the system of bounded labor.

Bounded labor and servitude in Nepal is said to be confined to the their community. In the far western region where the Kamaiya System operates, forced to plough provide ample evidence that bounded labor and servitude are wide spread across the country. Haliya is the Nepali term given to agricultural laborer, many of whom are board by debt to work for landlords. The authors stress that the problem is not simply a matter of poverty and indebtedness; it is deeply rooted in the complex caste system which discrimination against groups identified as 'untouchable' by higher caste and the caste system locks them to a servile status in relation to high caste Nepali land owners.

The hardest months are Jestha and Ashar (May,June,July).Some time, people have to work form dawn until its very dark. As per necessary, people start work from midnight and continue up to night. Instead, workers are provided two meals a day and get a sack of grain.

Summarizing the review of all studies, most of above mentioned studies reflect the extreme exploitation scenario in plowing occupation. However, there insight lack to explore the hidden potentialities for flourishing this Hali occupation, mutual understanding between two parties: Hali and Master and their cooperation. Indeed, in practice, both domination/exploitation as well as coordination was observed during the field survey.

CHAPTER-III

Research Methodology

Definitely, the results of a research depend on the carefully applied research methods. Various but appropriate methods and techniques which have been used to carry out this study are presented below.

3.1 Rational of the Selection of Study Area

The study has been conducted in Hansapur VDC. There were different reasons to select the area for the present study. It is located in the mid western region of Nepal and also it represents broad socio-economic, ethnic, cultural and geographical diversity. So, various social issues are still existing in this area. Similarly, Hansapur VDC is known as one of the highly literacy accorded VDC in district but still Hali Riti (plowing occupation) is being practiced in this VDC. Dalit people are highly inhabited (20.25 percentage) in this VDC, but the socio economic and political status of Dalit is not well because of bitter practice of untouchability. The other important cause of selection of this study area is that the researcher himself is one of the inhabitants of the same VDC, who is very much familiar to the Hali System and his mother land. So he is interested to select this VDC as a study area.

3.2 Research Design

This study has adopted descriptive as well as exploratory research in nature. It is exploratory because it explores Dalit ploughers technologies, skills, labors, their insights with sociological perspectives. Similarly, it is descriptive because the study describes socio-economic condition of Dalit Hali and their cultures and rituals. First, the situation of study area has been analyzed based on available secondary information. Second, extensive field information were gathered and analyzed to evolve a comprehensive understanding of the study linking to the existing situation of Dalit plougher, participation and inclusion among the development in the VDC level.

3.3 Nature and Source of Data

This study is based on both qualitative and quantitative information / data collected from the field level from primary as well as secondary sources. The quantitative study provides information on socioeconomic characters of Dalit Halis households.

Similarly, qualitative information obtained from administering in-depth checklist of focused group discussions and also from personal observations, note keeping, and informal discussions. In another hand, Hali System among Dalit is a new topic in the context of the research study. So far, no detail related studies were carried out by Pokhara Nager Vikash Committee and Kaski districts development office. Therefore, there is a limitation of secondary data due to lack of previous research study in the sector. Hence, mainly primary data and information have been used in the absence of enough recorded data.

3.4 Universe and Sampling

The universe of the study consists the households of Dalit Ploughman of Hansapur VDC. Since it was not convenience to study all households and population of the study area, a small size household was taken as a sample universe. All together, there were 9 wards where the total households are 1017 and total population is 474. Similarly, the Dalit Household comprises 186 where Dalit Halis households are 97. So, the 60 Dalit Halis Households out of 97 of this VDC have been taken as a sample size of this study. Dalits Halis households were purposively chosen for this study, because they involve in plowing activities which helps to understand socio economic status of Dalt Halis as well as problems and changing pattern among system. The researcher had used simple random sampling method to choose the sample of respondents. For this a list of all 97 Dalits Halis households were listed and then sixty percent of these total population and households of Dalit Halis was taken randomly for the study by lottery methods. The sample universe and size is presented in below table.

Table 3.1: Sample Size and Population

Ward No.	Total		Dalit		(Sample universe) Dalit Halis		Sample (60 %)	
	Households	Population	Households	Population	Households	Population	Households	Population
1	160	742	13	67	8	41	5	25
2	84	433	46	237	24	124	15	75
3	115	556	33	170	19	98	11	59
4	127	593	37	191	18	93	11	59
5	115	567	8	42	3	14	2	8
6	107	528	40	206	21	109	13	65
7	40	196	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	144	539	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	125	587	9	47	4	21	3	13
Total	1017	4741	186	960	97	502	60	304

Source: VDC Profile of Hansapur, Kaski, 2001.

3.5 Data Collection Technique

3.5.1 Questionnaire Schedule

A household survey was conducted over the sixty selected households of the four ward of Hansapur VDC using a semi-structured questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted with forty questions in total. The questions were related to the socio economic condition of plowman, changing pattern in system, problem related on Hali System, their relationships and grievances. The household survey was conducted using translated version of the set of questionnaire in Nepali.

3.5.2 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussion is used to collect various respondents: aspects, perception and attitude. For this purpose all of respondents were categorized in to two groups, one was ploughmen's groups and the second was master's groups. In both groups female had also participated and all participants of groups shared ideas and knowledge openly. Like same the researcher had taken part in the discussion in both groups. The discussions were guided according to the checklist.

3.5.3 Personal Observation

Researcher himself made personal observations of the time of plowing. He also observed attitude, behaviors and deed activities of both Masters and plow men of the study area which is helpful and useful to verify the answer made by the respondents. Informal discussions were also carried with plowmen, Masters/Bistas, teachers, social workers, teachers, Dalit leaders, and local politicians which supported to know how the Hali Riti is existing in this VDC from both *emic* and *etic* perspectives.

3.5.4 Note Keeping

The researcher kept a note about what he saw, what he did and also about where he visited during the period of discussions and field work. The note helped in report writing and data analysis process as supporting documents.

3.6 Reliability and Validity of the Data

The reliability of the data depended primarily upon the respondents. So, the clear and short questionnaire was developed in close consultation with supervisor and the data from house hold survey and secondary sources were verified each other by various methods of crosschecking and triangulation. Similarly, to reduce the limitation of an interview, the clarity of purpose and the implication of the study were disclosed. Similarly, it is the same VDC, where the researcher burn, learn and grow up. Therefore, various data were crosschecked using his lifelong observations and experiences in addition.

3.7 Data Processing and Analysis

Data collected from various sources were arranged in various forms, simulated and presented in tables and charts. The description follows on four major headings: Socio-economic condition of Dalit ploughers, contribution of plougher in farming system, problem and challenges of Hali System and changing pattern in Hali Riti. Data analysis consisted of both descriptive and inferential statistics. The data collected during the field survey were categorized into separate variables. The data were logically interpreted along with simple table and charts mainly by SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science) methods.

CHAPTER-IV

Overview of the Study Area

This chapter consists of general introduction of the study area, i.e. Hansapur VDC including physical setting, socio-economic setting and cultural settings.

4.1 Physical Setting

Hansapur VDC is renowned hill station that lies east-south of the kaski district of Gandaki zone in western Nepal. According the topographic survey, the area of the VDC is 17096 sq. km. The study area falls on east of kaski where its geographically location is east of Lekhanath municipality, south of Mijure data VDC, west of Lamjung and the north of the Thumki/ Rupakot VDC. Similarly it is located at the attitude of 300 miters to 1500 meters and the weather is neither so hot nor so cold. The average temperature of this study area is 8 degree Celsius. It lies 16 Km far from Pokhara.

4.2 Socio- Economic Setting

Hansapur VDC has its own historical and cultural background. Different castes/ communities such as Brahmin, Chhetri, Gurung, Mager, Newar, Damai, Kami, Sharki are the major inhabitants of this VDC. Newar settle especially on Besi (Where land is fertile and small market) and Gurung and Mager are at the hill area. Other castes/ communities were settled with mixing up. Various festivals are celebrated here every year. Among them, Dashain, Tihar, Baishak Purnima, Jainai Purnima, Shivaratri, Fagu Purnima, Tinj are famous.

4.2.1 Caste and Ethnic Composition

4.2.1.1 Population and Household

The VDC has 4741 total population, where the Dalit population is 960. In another hand, the total 2630 with 55.47 per cent population is represented by female and the total 2111 with 44.53 per cent population is represented by male in this VDC. According to this data, average family size and the total households of nine wards are 4.3 and 1017 respectively.

Table 4.1: Ward-wise Household and Population Distribution in VDC

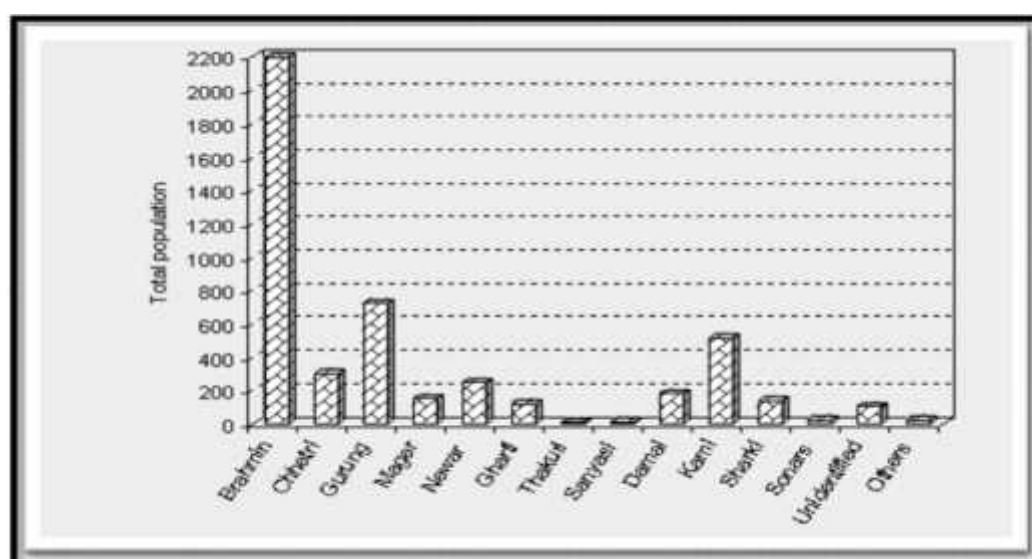
Ward No.	Households	Female		Male		Total
		Population	percentage	Population	percentage	
1	160	412	55.53	330	44.47	742
2	84	228	52.66	205	47.34	433
3	115	297	53.42	259	46.58	556
4	127	328	55.31	265	44.69	593
5	115	321	56.61	246	43.39	567
6	107	301	57.01	227	42.99	528
7	40	103	52.55	93	47.45	196
8	144	307	56.96	232	43.04	539
9	125	333	56.73	254	43.27	587
Total	1017	2630	55.47	2111	44.52	4741

Source: VDC Profile of Hansapur, Kaski, 2001.

4.2.1.2 Caste and Ethnicity Composition

It was observed that people of different caste/ethnicity groups have tendency to live in same cluster in their community. In this study area, different caste and ethnicity groups like Brahmin, Chhetri, Gurung, Mager, Newar, Thakuri, Sanyasi, Damai, Kami, Sharki were found to be living together. The Brahmin and Chhetri dominantly stay in ward no 1, 3, 4, 8 and 9. Similarly, Newars are in ward no. 2, Gurungs are in ward no. 4 and 6 and Dalits are with mixing up. Among them, Dalits (Damai, Kami, Sharki, Sunar) were found to be most deprived community groups comparatively to others. More importantly, the Dalit Halis (plow man) were rather vulnerable among Dalit groups. The population of caste and ethnicity is shown in below figure.

Figure 4.1: Population Status of different Castes/ Ethnicity



Source: VDC Profile of Kaski, 2007.

4.2.2 Education

Education helps to break the darkness of ignorance and bring the people into the light of right path. However, due to the traditional perception in the society (in past there was deliberate denial of schooling to Sudras), most of the low caste people and the girls have been deprived from education facility. The average literacy rate of this VDC seems to be quite good comparatively to the other VDC of the district. Out of the total 4149 (above six years population) 67.5 percentage are literate where female literacy is 57 percentage and male literacy rate is 78 percentage. However, the literacy rate of Dalit is only 45 percent which is very less average literacy rate of this VDC. It can be also said that it is the scene of the social discrimination in education from *Vedic* period (the time at when Sudras were not allowed in schooling) to this modern age.

4.2.3 Economic Condition

Generally, the main source of economy in the present study area is agricultural activities. Each and every family of this village is directly or indirectly involved in agricultural activities. Here is lack of other industrial and tourism development. Thus, people have no other better alternatives. The people of this VDC produce rice, millet, maize, vegetables, oranges, coffee, etc. The villagers' sales their surplus foods grains and buy other necessary goods and services. Especially, Khet land and up-land are used for production of food grains. The forest and thatched land are also the subsidiary land for the firewood, thatch and grass collection. Similarly the Khet land has the irrigation facility only in monsoon. It shows that the proportion of irrigated land is very low. It means that the VDC has very poor agriculture land with inadequate irrigation facilities. Instead of land based farming, livestock, husbandry is the subsidiary activities of the agricultural system adopted by villagers. Most of the villagers rear livestock units i.e. cattle, buffaloes, goats, fowl, hen, ducks, etc. Among them, buffaloes and goats are the dominant livestock types raised by villagers. Besides all of this, huge population of the VDC has been facing food insufficiency, which forced to them to rely on other occupation.

4.2.4 Occupation

The people of Hansapur village engage in different jobs for earning a living. Since, production of agriculture is not enough for fulfillment of the need of villagers, people move forward to search other alternative jobs like government services, service in I/NGOs, joining force (Especially in Nepal Army and Indian Army), wage labour, traditional caste based occupation like goldsmith, work with irons (making utensils), tailoring, and ploughing etc. Some people have been living house for foreign employment where most of them go to in India, and Arabian country and few of others goes in Hongkong, America and Japan etc.

4.2.5 Religion and Festival

Almost all the people of Hansapur VDC follow Hindu rules and regulations. But strict rules are not followed here in these days. Being Hindu, people celebrate Hindu festivals like Janai Purnima, Teenj, Dashain, Tihar, Shree Panchami, Shiva Ratri, Fagu Purnima, Chaite Dashai etc where Dashain and Tihar are celebrated with great enthusiasm. People of this village established different spots (Than) to worship different God and Goddess like Devi, Jhakri, Bhayar, Mai, Naag, Kul etc. Hindu people also celebrate Buddha Purnima though it is a festival of Buddhist and Buddhist of this area also practice Hindu culture and festivals. So we can see high cultural and religion tolerances by both Hindu and Buddhist people in this VDC.

4.3 Infrastructure Setting

Infrastructure is the basic requirements for the overall development of any places and area. Villagers of Hansapur VDC have basic facilities in health, education, communication etc but not have enough facilities on electricity, road accessibility, drinking water, agricultural service etc. This means that the VDC is relatively underdeveloped in comparison to other villages of Kaski district. Similarly the development of the infrastructure has not progressed so far and villagers of the village had not taken sufficient benefits form these facilities.

4.3.1 Road Accessibility

Though Kaski district has good access to road service comparative with other districts of the nation, Hansapur VDC has just earthen paths for motor and has not even touch

to the every wards of same VDC. It is just links Lekhanath Municipality (Begnass Taal Bus Park) to Thul Besi (The last border of VDC). The bus service is not in all weathers. It means people can not get bus service in the monsoon periods.

4.3.2 Schools Facilities

The VDC has 10 primary, 2 lower secondary and 1 Higher Secondary (10+2) school. But still people send their child to Pokhara city or other cities for qualitative and further education.

4.3.3 Health Facilities

Health services are the most require service for the local people. Hansapur VDC has the primary health facility. Here is one Sub Health Post at Ramkot ward no. 6 and one Aurvedic Aushadhalaya at Dangsimarang ward no. 1.

4.3.4 Communication Facilities

Though postal services and telephone services are the major public means of communication, people of Hansapur are getting benefits from postal services and telephone especially by CDMA. There are very few land lines telephone for communication over the VDC, however CDMA phones and mobile phones are being popular and increasing in these days. The other services like Fax, Email/Internet are not available in this VDC.

CHAPTER-V

Socio Economic Condition of Dalit Hali

This chapter tries to present the overall socio economic condition of Dalit Hali. While studying the socio economic condition of the society or a groups, numbers of factors should be accounted for. Here, this chapter is concentrated to discuss about social, educational and political as well as economical status of Dalit Hali.

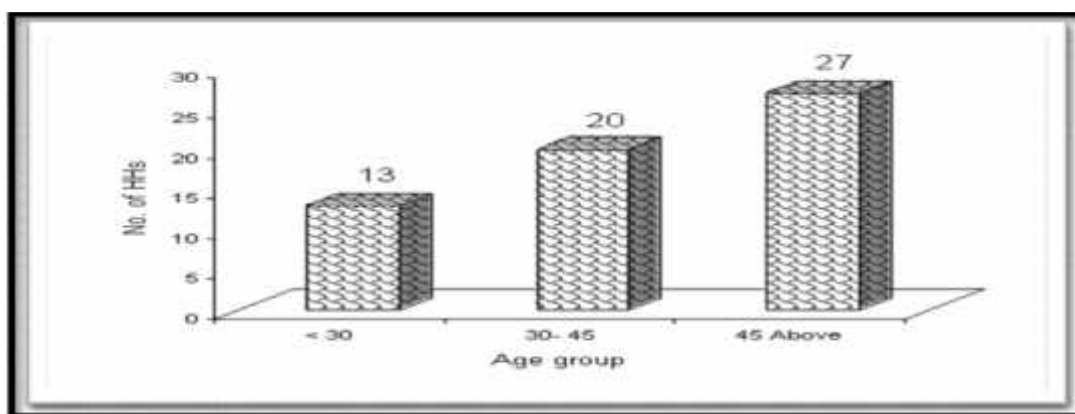
5.1 Social Status of Dalit Hali

In this study area, Dalit Halis are found to be in all wards settling with mixing to other caste and ethnic people. The Dalit households and population is 186 and 690 respectively in this VDC where Dalit Halis household and population is 97 and 502. The Hali among Dalit are considered as lower, inferior and oppressed among other. The detail of social status is presented in this sub chapter as far as possible.

5.1.1 Involvement in Plowing Activities by Age Group

The plowing work is recognized as a harder job. Generally, people try to search better jobs in their young age. However, they want to live with their family in matured age. In another hand, there is not easy to get other jobs around their VDC by which they can get support to their livelihood. So, they are ready to join in plowing job as a Hali for Bista, who are also searching Hali for their support in agricultural production. Even though, there is not age limitation for being a Hali, most of Halis are representing from 30 years to 60 years which is also be a productive age.

Figure 5.1: Involvement in plowing activities by age



Source: Field Survey, 2007.

Figures 2 show the involvement tendency of Dalit Halis by age group. The data shows that 21.7 percentage Halis are representing from below 30 years, 33.3 per cent are represented from 30-45 age group and 45 per cent are represented from 45 or above.

5.1.2 Household Head by Sex

The household head was defined as the person who takes decision on household activities. Table shows that in Nepalese society, there is huge domination of male in decision making; women would be household heads only when there were no elder men to be the household head. The table given below shows the house hold head by sex in the surveyed households.

Table 5.1: Household Head of The Surveyed Households

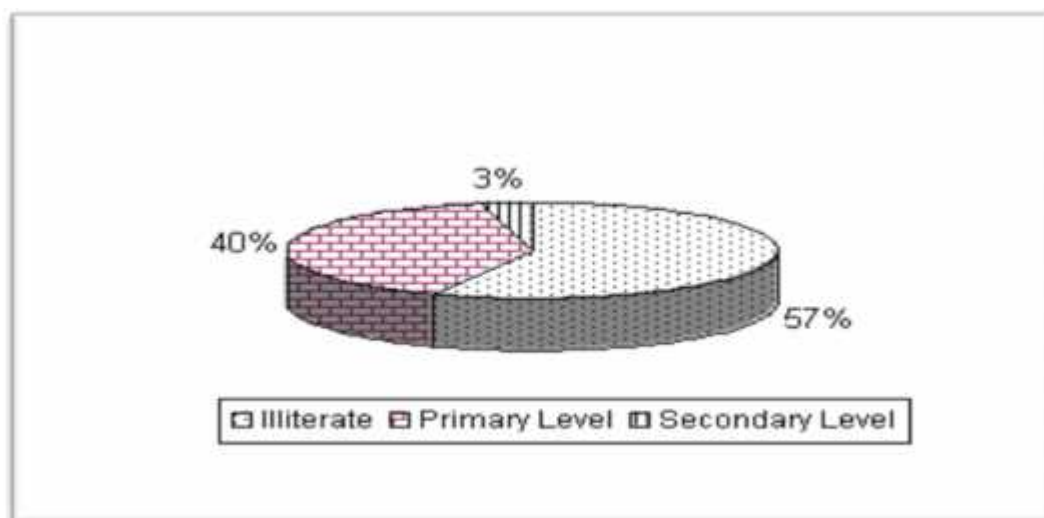
S.N.	Gender	Respondent	Percentage
1	Female	13	21.66
2	Male	47	78.33
Total		60	100

Source: Field Survey, 2007.

5.1.3 Education

Education is an important factor for development in every aspect of life. If education is not well acquired and imparted, development seems quite difficult to achieve. Among Dalit Halis student, very few have passed the higher secondary level education degree, ie. 10+2 level. Most of the children were found to have left school before secondary level education. Regarding the educational aspect of the Dalit Hali, the rate of literacy has been found very low. Previously, before 25/30 years, Dalit Hali were not sent their children to school but at present, Dalit Halis children are also found going school. Still now, huge majority of Dalit Halis elder men and women are not literate. It may be due to the lack of educational opportunities in their young age.

Figure 5.2: Literacy Status of Dalit Halis among Surveyed Households



Source: Field Survey, 2007.

The figure 3 indicates the level of education of Dalit Halis in the study area. Among the total 60 Hali respondents, 57 percentage are found illiterate and 43 percentage are found literate. Similarly, among literate Dalit Halis respondents, 40 percentage Hali get primary level education and only 2 percentage of Hali get secondary level education.

5.1.4 Political Status

On the context of changing political situation, every caste/ethnic, cultural groups, and excluded segments people have to participate proportionally on every political and developmental sphere. The Halis are also represented from such deprive and excluded segment peoples. The data given below shows the participation and political status of Halis.

Table 5.2: Participation in Different Sphere

S.N.	Particulars	Respondents	Percentage	Remarks
1	Political Parties (NC, CPN, RPP)	6	10 %	2 of NC & 4 of CPN UML
2	Civil Society (NGOs' Groups, Clubs)	4	6.6	3 of Clubs & 1 of NGO's Groups
3	Local Users Committee(School, CFUG)	5	8.3 %	3 of Schools & 2 of UFCCG
4	VDC Election (Ward Member elected)	4	6.6 %	All are CPN UML

Source: Field Survey, 2007.

Note: CFUG- Community Forest Users Group

The table shows that 10 percentage of Hali are general member of political parties among them 2 of Nepali Congress and 4 of Nepal Communist Party UML in out of 60. On the context of civil society 6.6 percentage people are member on which 3 are member of Hansapur Youth Clubs and one is member of Local NGO named Samajik Sewa Samaaj, Hansapur. Like same 8.3 percentage (5) persons are member of local users committee (3 are member of school management committee and 2 are general member of CFUG). Same like 4 Hali persons were elected as a ward member in out of 60, which covers 6.6 percentage of respondents.

The above-mentioned participation in different section shows very miserable political status of Dalit Hali. In political parties there is an inclusive point that there should reserves some seats for Dalit but instead of this point political parties do not able to increase the Dalit participation and access in parties. Dalit members are elected just in wards in meaning less position. Similarly, on the other sectors like School management committees, UFCG, Clubs also have no significance participation of both Dalit people as well as Hali. The data clearly reflects that the Halis participation is very low in political sphere. The participation number which could see is also not at remarkable places. They are shown just in front not at place of decision making and power hold position.

5.2 Economical Status of Dalit Hali

Economic aspect is one of the most important aspects, which determines the social and other aspects of an individual. To understand the economic status of the surveyed household; land holding pattern, agricultural production of Dalit Hali, food sufficiency, livestock rearing and earning of Hali were analyzed in this sub chapter.

5.2.1 Land Holding Pattern

As Nepal is a country of an overwhelmingly agricultural based economy, the primary source of economy of the people is land. Therefore, it is necessary to look at ownership of land to understand the extent of basic economy of Halis population. Respondents of the study area has possessed very small land holding. Most of them have a small plot of land which is only that plot where they have their present home. 'Khet' is confined to the high caste people. This community has small plot of 'Bari'

the less irrigated land which is unable to meet the requirement of the family even for 3 months. The respondent also had reported that they have small land or no land for cultivation. The land ownership pattern of the respondent is shown in the table 5.

Table 5.3: Food Sufficiency of Dalit Hali

S.N.	Land Group	No of Households	Percent
1	Land less	3	5 %
2	Less than 3 Ropani	36	60 %
3	3 Ropani to 5 Ropani	14	23 %
4	More than 5 Ropani	7	12 %
Total		60	100 %

Source: Field Survey, 2007.

The table shows that the majorities of Dalit Hali households are poor and have very limited land. Sixty percent Halis have less than 3 ropanis land, twenty three percent Halis have 3 to 5 ropanis land, five percent Halis are landless and twelve percent Halis have more than 5 ropanis land. Similarly, majority of Dalit Halis hold very small landholding and even most of the Dalit Halis owned had no irrigation facilities and they had to rely on monsoon. Due to this fact, the Halis family members were either compelled to move in order to seek other alternative jobs for the fulfillment of the family requirements. Some Hali households also adopted share cropping (Adhiya Kamaune) if their master provided land for them.

5.2.2 Dalit Halis Agricultural Production

The major crops produced in this area were mainly paddy, wheat, maize, finger Other crops produced in the study area were oilseeds, cereals and vegetables. Crop production in the study site has not been made wide due to insufficiency of land to the Dalit Halis and lack of plot agricultural knowledge. The agricultural product in the study area is quite low amount. They grow different crops and grains but the production is not sufficient. The Halis agricultural production observed during the field work is shown in below in table.

Table 5.4: Agricultural Production by Halis Family

S.N.	Crops in	No of respondents	Respondent Percentage	Average (Muri)	Min (Muri)	Max (Muri)
1	Paddy	41	68 %	14.26	2	35
2	Wheat	12	20 %	1.20	0.20	5
3	Maize	58	97 %	3.62	0.50	10
4	Finger millet	58	97 %	3.67	0.50	12
5	Pulses in pathi	32	53 %	0.50	0.04	2

Source: Field Survey, 2007.

The above table shows that 68 percentage Dalit Hali produce average 14.26 muri rice and 32 percentage Dalit Hali do not produce rice because of the lack of Kheet land. On the other hand 20 percentage Hali produce average 1.20 muri wheat, 97 percentage Hali produce average 3.62 Maize and 3.67 muri finger millet. Similarly few of them (53 percentage Hali) produces average half Pathi pulses.

5.2.3 Food Sufficiency

Food sufficiency is concerned directly with landholding in a given village. The large land lords who store food were generally the people of high status and have sufficient food for their livelihood. Like as, people who hold less land suffer from food deficiency and were considered as the people of low status.

Table 5.5: Food Sufficiency of the Respondents

Food Sufficiency Months	No. of HHs	Surplus	Percentage
Below 3 Months	37	0	62 %
3 to 6 Months	12	0	20 %
6 to 9 Months	9	0	15 %
9 to 12 Months	2	0	3 %
Total	60		100 %

Source: Field Survey, 2007.

Table 7 clears that the Dalit Hali of the study area are suffering seriously from the food deficit problems. Among 60 Dalit Halis households, 62 percentage Halis households grow the food for less than 3 months, 20 percentage households grow

food for 3 to 6 months, 15 percentage households grow food for up to 6 to 9 months and only 3 percentage Halis households grow the food sufficiency for 9 to 12 months.

According to the field survey, most of the Dalit Halis families grow food for less than 3 months. They have very limited land which is not productive and fertile. They do not have their own land, so they sometime hire others land for maintaining their livelihood. Most of them work for other caste people. Basically, their livelihood depends upon their physical labor. Thus, they have to seek the wage labor and other means of sources of income to survive. The women generally do work in the agriculture fields with their master's (Bista) families to solve food problem in their family.

5.2.4 Livestock Keeping

Livestock is important source of income of rural people. It is taken as supplementary income activities from Hali households. The importance of domestic animals is not limited only to economy but also have socio culturally and religious importance since most of people are the followers of Hindu religion.

The Hali households raise different types of domestic animals such as hens, buffaloes, goats, pigs etc which is also presented in below table.

Table 5.6: Livestock Rearing

S.N.	Cattle	Households	No. of Cattle		Total	Percent
			Self	Adhiya		
1	Buffaloes	43	67	8	75	15.24
2	Cows/Oxen	6	14	2	16	3.25
3	Goats	28	85	12	97	19.72
4	Hens	52	270	0	270	54.88
5	Pigs	12	34	0	34	6.91
Total		141	470	22	492	100

Source: Field Survey, 2007.

Table 8 reveals that Hali household keeps hens and chicken in high number while pigs are in little number. They also keep buffaloes, oxen/cows and goats as Adhiya (sharing). The Halis household holds buffaloes for milk and dung, cows/oxen are for

milk and ploughing field and goats hens/ducks, pigs are for meat. Sometimes they sell their animal and get money which is uses in their food expenses.

5.2.5 Housing Condition

Housing condition is also an important indicator that reflects the relative economic condition of people in the rural areas of Nepal. The better the house, the better the economic condition of the particular family. Normally, in the rural context the rich people have RCC cemented house while poor people have mud and stone houses with thatch roofs.

Most of Dalit Halis houses of the study area are made up from wood, mud, grass etc and roofs made up from Khar (dry grass), tin and slate. Out of 60 surveyed house, 72.7 percentage Hali use Khar, 25 percentage house use tin and 3.3 percentage house use slate for making their household roofs. There is no single RCC cemented houses of a Hali found in the study area.

In summing up this chapter, the socio-economical status of Hali is more vulnerable. Their literacy population is only 43 percentage while the average literacy population of the concerned VDC is 57 percentage, Dalit Halis political representation is very nominal. It is rather surprising that more than 88 percentage Halis households are facing food insufficiency. Their houses are made up from wood, mud grass etc. This shows that the Halis families are unable to grab the basic needs for maintain their livelihood and even far from the touch of basic human rights.

CHAPTER-VI

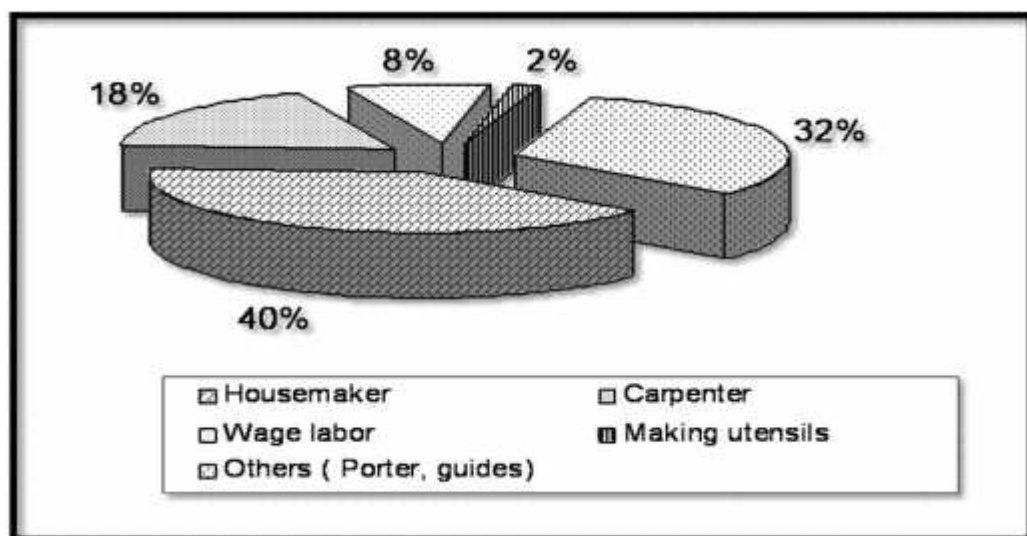
Changing Pattern of Hali System

In the traditional social structure, occupations were followed on the basis of caste identity. Hali System is one of the existing examples of this type. In these days, Hali people are involved in other types of job from what they cash instead of traditional caste based occupation. This chapter deals with the changing pattern on Hali System of the study area and subsequently the cause and effect that fostered the occupational mobility. To analyze the pattern and causes/effects, this chapter is further divided in to several sub chapters. The chapters are: changing /mobility to other occupation, change on inner Hali System, changing on plowing tools and changing on attitude or behavior.

6.1 Changing/ Mobility to Other Income Activities

Halis plow the field of their master and support them to the whole year. In return of this, Hali get the 'Bali' in a year for the work which is not enough to cover the daily expenses of their family. They need more money for purchasing different goods and services like daily need goods (Tea, sugar, soup, salt, etc), festivals, clothes, grains for food, etc. To fulfill all of these requirements, Hali family member involved in other work such as wage labor, agricultural related works, caste based traditional occupation, carpentry, porter etc.

Figure 6.1: Involvements of Halis in Different Jobs



Source: Field Survey, 2007.

The above data reflects that Hali has been started to involve in others different types of jobs instead of plowing occupation, if they get cash. Most of Hali people are house maker. 40.7 percentage make houses. Furthermore 11 of 60 (18.6 percentage) works as carpenter, 8.5 percentage do labor works and 19 of 60(30.5 percentage) Hali involve in other types of jobs like porter, guides etc. Similarly, the wage from plowing occupation is very less with compared to the other types of job. The table 6.1: shows the daily wages pictures in below.

Table 6.1: Average Wage From Other Activities

Description	Received wage in Rupees per days		
	Average	Min	Max
Different jobs	300(60)	200	400

Besides plowing occupation, Hali people get average 300 rupees per day from other jobs. Hali people get minimum 200 rupees to maximum 400 rupees per day according to nature of jobs. But in plowing activities, a Hali gets only average 2 Pathi of paddy (rice). If it is converted in cash, it is equal to Rs 100. Hence, Hali people prefer to be chosen other jobs rather than plowing occupation. Similarly, on the time of Focus Groups discussion, participants of the FGD had said that “the ratio of involving plowing occupation is drastically decreasing in these days”. That is because of the development of education, communication and also the cause of modernization and globalization. Not only this, Hali started to go to the foreign country like India, and other Gulf countries for the income, where other non Dalit and Dalit people goes. So the rest of Hali people feel comfort to join other carpentry, house building, and wage labor works because of high chances for getting jobs in local level. In these works, Hali get comparatively more money and the jobs are also easier rather than plowing occupation. So, the Hali system is slowly decreasing in these days, which make uncomfortable especially to the Bista for getting plougher easily.

6.1.1 Change in Plowing Equipments

In previous day’s, all ploughers use wooden plough (Halo), Juwa and Saya which are made by Hali himself. But now about 60 percentage (50 out of 60) Hali feels comfort to use modern *Halo*, *Saya* (Iron made tools) in plowing activities. Similarly the *Nara* is also not made by Dalit in these days, because of the disappearance of leather work

(traditional occupation). Instead of Nara, Hali uses the rope made by of plastics or other while they are plowing. According to the plowman, more land can plow in same time by the iron Halo. Similarly, tractors are also being used for plowing in the flat and widen field (especially in Bensi), however this is not possible in small and narrow sized land.

6.1.2 Changing in Attitude / Behavior

By the change over time, plougher are being started to choose other types of job from where they get cash immediately. There is not safety and sustainability in the plowing occupation. So, Hali people want to come out from this plowing occupation. In this way, the Hali (Riti) system is declining day by day. In other hand, different awareness raising program like social equity, human right, and different interactions related to increasing participation of Dalit to the development activities helps to bring positive change in thinking toward Dalit groups. So, we can observed various positive changes in behavior and attitude of both master and the Dalit people.

The table of below also reveals the changing status in attitude/ behavior and changing status of agricultural tools.

Table 6.2: Changing status in attitude and behavior

Description	Increase	Decrease	Same
Use of wooden plough	1.7	70	28.3
Tools made by Hali	-	71.7	28.3
Nara made by Sarki	-	100	
Iron tools made by Kami	93.3	-	6.7
Argus given to Hali	18.3	-	81.7
Honorary to Hali	80	5	15
Ploughing by upper caste	83.1	15.3	1.7
Hali system as a whole	18.6	69.5	11.9

Source: Field Survey, 2007.

The table reveals that 70 percentage of the respondents say that the use of wooden plough is decreasing. Like same, 71.7 percentage respondents say that the use of tools made of Hali is decreasing. Similarly, total 100 percentage respondent accepted that the work of making Nara is totally disappeared. More importantly, whole Hali System

in gross is also decreasing which is answered by huge proportion of the population 69.5 percentage. In the case of Argus (wage) about 81.7 percentage respondents say that similar: neither increase or nor decreased since long. But the 80 percentage respondents say that the honorary to Hali people is increasing. Likewise, 83.1 percentage respondents say that the plowing by upper caste people is increasing in these days.

Similarly Bista/master do not discriminate in food variety and food given dish which was discriminated in the past. In other hand, the ratio of caste discrimination is also decreasing. In past, Hali were called and behaved as their bonded slave where as these days, their master shows respects to Hali and their work. The doing attitude and behavior with Hali and Dalit by of upper caste people is positively changing. Some Upper caste people called Hali on their party, marriage ceremony and started to give them food in inner side of the houses. These all of statements show that the social respect and dignity of Dalit and Hali has been increasing hopefully.

CHAPTER-VII

Hali Related Problems and Determining Factors

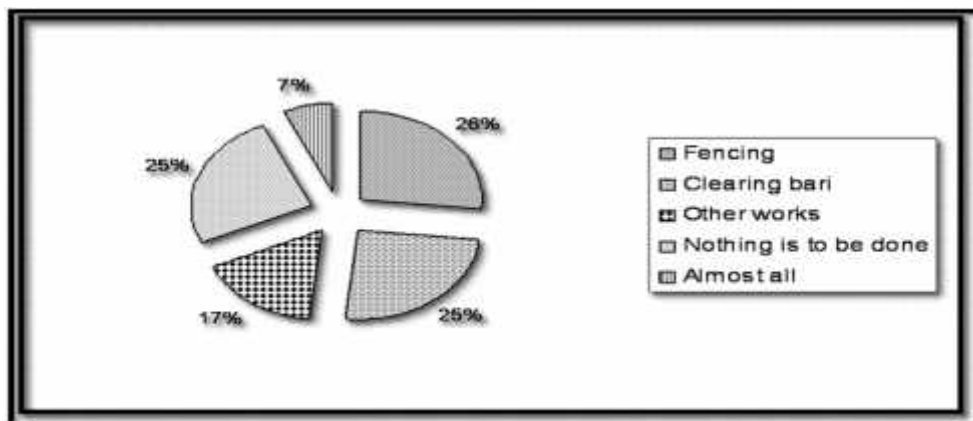
This chapter mainly deals with the Hali related problems faced by the plowman and master. It also highlights the causes of the problems acquired during plowing tenure. In order to understand different problems and determining factors of this study, this chapter includes Lack of certain wages for doing extra agricultural activities, problems of providing bulls on plowing time, absence in plowing and discrimination in inner households and out sphere.

7.1 Lack of Wages for doing Extra Agricultural Activities

Hali occupation is existing in this VDC from the very beginning. There is no age limitation to be a plowman and to join as Hali, But a Hali should be physically strong and matured because he has to plough field whenever on the sunny or rainy day from morning to evening.

During the periods of plantation and harvesting of rice, large numbers of labors are required to master. At that time not only Hali but also whole family members of Hali supports their master for launching overall agricultural activities. For example, women helps for making field cultivatable by carrying fertilizer in Khet and Bari, preparing seedlings and Hali helps by fencing the Bari , clearing Khet, and also making Kula (small irrigation canal) for preparing irrigation. The figure 7.1 below shows the Halis involvement in different activities.

Figure 7.1: Involvements of Farm Related Work Besides Ploughing



Source: Field Survey, 2007.

The figure 7.1 shows that Hali also engaged in different others work along with plowing. According to the figure, 26.6 percentage Hali helps to the master for fencing, 25 percentage of Hali helps for clearing bari. Similarly 25 percentage of Hali do nothing.

Table 7.1 : Wages for Other Farm Related Activities

Providing wage	Frequencies	Percentages	Total percentage
Yes	14	23.3	100
No	46	76.7	100
Total	60	100	100

The table 7.1 shows that huge proportions of Hali (76.7) do not get wages for doing other agricultural work (like clearing bari, fencing, making irrigation canal etc.). But, 23 percentage Hali get something from their master for same types of works. There is no clear legal or written provision to control such unequal behavior. So, those Hali, who do not get something become anger with their master. This turns to quarrel at some time between them.

7.2 Bulls Related Problem

Bulls play very crucial role in rural agricultural system. They are especially used for plowing and their excrement can be used for fertilizer. So, most of the master keep two bulls/oxen, while poor master keeps only one. Oppositely, very few of plowmen keep one bull, while most of other has no bulls. The Hali, who had one bull, needed another bull for making couple and plowing field. Similarly, the master, who had one bull has also same problem. Thus, both master and plowman who have one bull make understanding to provide bull each other at plowing time as according to the need; this type of relationship is called 'Pareli'. Both master and Hali feel easy to cultivate land because they could get another bull from their Pareli. But, it is harder to get bulls for Hali for plowing at proper time. The table 7.2 shows the tendency of receiving bulls from the master.

Table 7.2: Receiving Bulls From Master

Description	No. of Respondents	Percentage
As per needs	11	18.3
Understanding each other	19	31.7
After the Completion of Master work	30	50
Total	60	100

Source : Field Survey, 2007.

The table 7.2 shows that the 31.7 percentage Hali gets bulls according to the understanding between each other and only 18.3 percentage Hali gets bulls for plowing as per the needs. In other hand, huge majority of Halis get bulls after the completion of their master's works. It means that most of Hali misses the proper time of cultivation their land. That is the cause that why Hali produce less in same types of land in same area. Instead of using bulls, Hali pay cash or agricultural labor (Khetala) to their Master. One bull is counted as equal to one Khetala. If Hali is unable to pay the Khetala or cash as equal to the using no of bulls, he will be given less Argus (total sum of wages in a year) calculating from his total Argus.

7.3 Absence in Plowing

There are two types of absence in plowing activities observed during the study. One is at when a plowman is unhealthy or engages in some types of other tasks. Another is on while the plowman finally left the plowing activities. In both cases, some tension will become to the Master and Hali. That is presented in below.

7.3.1 Short Time Absence

In this case ploughman asked to the Bista about the absence causes. It makes easy to hire another Hali to the Master for this absent days. The Hali also have to pay something for his absence in the work, which is shown in below table.

Table 7.3: Short Time Absence

Action to be Taken	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Deducting wages from Argus	38	63.3
Cash paid	5	8.3
Khetala paid (agricultural labor)	14	23.3
Nothing to do	3	5

Source : Field Survey, 2007.

The table 7.3 shows, 8.3 percentage respondents have said that the Hali pays cash. Similarly 23.3 percentage says that Hali paid agricultural labor calculating as according to absence days and 5 percentage respondents answered that nothing is doing. But the majority of respondents of Halis 63.3 percentage answered that the wage is deducted from their Argus at when they get Argus. The data reveals that majority of respondents (95 percentage) said that the Hali have to paid either cash or deducted same price of rice from the Argus. In fact, Hali earned about 2 Pathi of rice per day (in cash, it is about 100 rupees). But if Hali do absence in one day, he has to be paid about Rs. 200 rupees or deducted same price of rice. Hali people think this is not fare, but he could not open his mouth before his Master. But this comes out at once since both Hali and Master working together. That has slowly turned in to the conflict between them.

7.3.2 Long Term Absence

The contract of Hali is over after when Hali leave the plowing occupation or after when Master employ the new plowman as Hali. On the case of when Hali leave plowing occupation in mid agricultural session, 80 percentage respondents says that Hali get his wage calculating from his whole wage (Argus) at the periods of harvesting time. Similarly 20 percentage respondents say that nothing is provided to Hali. In practice, Bista/Master will have fallen in problems because Master has to contract next ploughman. It is not easy to get new Hali immediately at mid season, because every Halis have been joined already to some other Masters.

7.4 Discrimination

Constitutionally speaking, it is supposed to be no discrimination of any kind in terms of race, ethnicity, caste sex and so on in Nepalese society. But in practice there exist different types of disparities. Most of them are generated by the caste hierarchy. It helps to increase the social injustice and also increases problems in the societies. So it is taken as a problem of Bista and Hali in this chapter. On the periods of study there were special two types of discriminations observed. One is inner house household discrimination and the second is outer sphere discrimination.

7.4.1 Inner Household Discrimination

On the observed household, the Hali gets different behavior on the context of given food items to Hali, washing pots, purification pots by sprinkling water, etc. which is shown in table.

Table 7.4: Discrimination Activities and Types

S.N.	Discrimination	Yes %	No %	Total %
1	Food Items	17	98.3	100
2	Washing eating utensils	98.3	1.7	100
3	Purification by sprinkling water	98.3	1.7	100
4	Untouchability practice	98.3	1.7	100
5	Eaten food plates/dishes		100	100
6	Stay out side while eating	98.3	1.7	100

Source : Field Survey, 2007.

The table shows that the huge proportion of the Hali (98.3 percentage) still washes eaten dishes, 98.3 percentage Masters households purified Hali eaten food by sprinkling water, practice untouchability and give food Hali in outside of the house. This clearly reflects the ethnic discrimination and untouchability has not been eliminated even today in the scientific age of 21th century.

7.4.2 Discrimination in Outsider Sphere

The Dalit Hali not only faced discrimination in inner side of households, but also faced in out sphere. So called higher caste people denied entrance of Dalit Hali in their festivals, ceremonies, marriage party and other public gatherings. On these types of functions, Master called Hali and Hali family to participate but put separately in outside of the houses. The field survey shows that more than 96.7 percentage higher caste people are doing same till now. But, 3.3 percentage higher caste people are not doing that type of discrimination to Dalit and Dalit Hali. They put Halis and Halis family together with them in inner house. This is the very positive behavior which helps to bring positive change in Dalits social status.

However, most of so called people practised domination, oppression or discrimination to Dalit people as well as Dalit Hali in public places like tea shops, public water taps, milk collection center, hotels, temples etc. Due to such practice, Dalit people are not

able to involve in social work. Some of them who involved in such social work are found to be suffered mentally and physically. They are compelled to suppress their capacity and talency inside themselves. They have not got chance to use their talency and capacity for any creative work. Due to the feeling of untouchability and discrimination, the higher caste people do not want to uplift the Dalit. Dalit and Dalit Hali can't run tea shops, hotel and others business because of representing from so called lower caste. They are not appreciated even though they work some important work. Instead there may be conspiracy not to give them a chance to do any important work. Due to such social practice, both Dalit and Hali people are compelled to confine themselves in to their own occupation, harder job or remaining jobless. Thus, social aspect is also the one of major causes of economical backwardness of Dalit Hali.

CHAPTER-VIII

Summary, Findings and Conclusion

This chapter summarizes the whole study, sketches the conclusions and makes some recommendations for future improvements and advancement in socio-economic status of Dalit Hali, their socio economical problems and relationship with the Master. From the analysis and discussion of above information: the summery, conclusion and recommendations are presented as follows:

8.1 Summary

This study 'Hali system among Dalit' centrally focused on the Hali system of Hansapur VDC, Kaski District. The study has the general objectives of studying the socio-economical and political condition of Hali, their challenge and problems: while the following are its specific objectives.

-) To find out the basic socio- economic condition of Dalit Hali of the study area.
-) To explore the changing pattern of Hali system in Hansapur, VDC, Kaski.
-) To find out the Hali related problems and determining factors of Hali occupation.
-) To investigate the discrimination on occupation

Basically this is an academic study but it has yielded important information which can be very very fruitful in understanding whole Dalits as well as Dalit Hali's challenges, problems, and situations. The study has mainly focused to found out reality about Hali system, its problems and mobility. Similarly it has focused to concerned authority in formulating various policies about minimizing the socio-economical, political gaps between Hali and Master/Bista. During this study, the literature on traditional occupation, occupational change, labor, social inclusion, untouchability, agricultural and farm related work and Dalit related sociological studies has been reviewed.

Owing to limited resources such as budget time, manpower, etc the whole Kaski district and universe of whole Halis has not been covered. Thus the Hansapur VDC; Halis has been selected as the study area. The people who involves in ploughing of master (Bista) were the universe of this study.

This is an exploratory as well as descriptive study and so it has followed both of these two types of research designs. Keeping in mind the universe of this study, only Dalit Halis households were listed in the sampling frame, who may be an experienced agricultural farmer and effected from the system most. In this way a sampling frame having 60 Halis households in out of 97 houses has taken as sampling universe and has made census study.

For the purpose of the study; observation, questionnaire schedule, interview, focus group discussion were adopted as data collecting techniques. Thus the data collected for this study is dominantly primary. When needed, some of the important secondary data have also been incorporated. The above data collecting tools were devised very carefully in order to ensure their validity.

Similarly, the interview schedule prepared was firstly pre tested and the results from this were used to refine the question in the questionnaire schedule. Both structure and unstructured observation were made from time to time while in the field work process. Observations and focus group discussion have yielded both qualitative data , while questionnaire schedule has yielded both types of data. The FGD participants were represented from both higher caste and Dalits who have long experience and knowledge on Hali system. The collected data have been analyzed by using computer programme SPSS while qualitative data have been arranged manually and put descriptively. Results of quantitative data analysis have been shown by using various tables, charts and diagrams.

As a basic research, this study confines three main points: socio-economic condition of Dalit ploughers, problems of the Hali system and on changing/mobility on Hali system. Furthermore, the study has rise several significant issues or problems and real figure of Halis people. More significantly, it contributes to the debate on social justice, identity, social discrimination of and fare wages of the Hali people.

8.2 Major Findings

Various findings/conclusions are derived from this research study. The major findings are as follows:-

Hali system is one of traditional occupation. It is adopted by Dalit who have very miserable socio, economical and political status in village. Dalit Halis are still treated in humanely as untouchables in the society. The level of education in the study area is satisfactory. Average 67 percentage people were found literate and only 33 percentage were found illiterate. The percentage of male literacy is 78 percentage where as female literacy is 57 percentage. It shows that the male were well literate than females. Similarly, Dalits literacy rate is just 45 percentage and Dalit Halis literacy is 43 percentage which is very less comparison with the VDC average 67 percentage.

The political status of Dalit Halis is very poor. Only 10 percentage Halis are general member of political parties, 6.6 percentage are members of civil organization and 8.3 percentage are member of government users committee. This presented participation is not in meaningful level. They are put as show piece not for power sharing and decision making position. This shows very nominal representation in political parties but not fulfill the proportional participation in every developmental sphere as required of this age.

Although, agriculture is the main source of livelihood in the study area, Dalit Hali followed wage labor, plowing, carpentry, traditional caste based occupation like goldsmith, work with irons (making utensils), tailoring etc as other alternative jobs beside the plowing occupation. Primary crops grown in the study area were paddy, wheat, maize, millet, oilseeds, cereals and vegetables. Similarly, the primary animals related in the study area were buffaloes, cows/bulls, goats, hens and pigs.

The Dalit households and population 186 and 690 respectively in this Hansapur, VDC where Dalit Halis household and population is 97 and 502. The Hali among Dalit were found to be the most deprived and considered as lower, inferior and oppressed among other. Most of Hali families are poor and they have very limited land. Among them, sixty percent Halis have less than 3 ropanis land, twenty three percent Halis have 3 to 5 ropanis land, five percent Halis are landless and twelve percent Halis have more than 5 ropanis land. Similarly, majority of Dalit Halis hold very small landholding and even most of the Dalit Halis owned had no irrigation facilities and they had to rely on monsoon.

Like same the Dalit Halis of this study area are suffering seriously from the food deficit problems. Among 60 Dalit Halis households, 62 percentage Halis households grow the food for less than 3 months, 20 percentage households grow food for 3 to 6 months, 15 percentage households grow food for up to 6 to 9 months and only 3 percentage Halis households grow the food sufficiency for 9 to 12 months. The Hali families grow different crops and grains but the product is not sufficient for them.

Hali household holds hens, pigs, buffaloes, oxen/cows and goats as domestic animals. They holds buffaloes for milk and dung, cows/oxen are for milk and ploughing field and goats hens/ducks, pigs are for meat. Sometimes they sell their animal and get money which is uses in their food expenses.

The houses condition also reflects the socio economic status of the people. Most of the Dalit Halis houses of the study area are made up from wood, mud, grass etc and roofs made up from Khar (dry grass), tin and slate. Out of 60 surveyed house, 72.7 percentage Hali use Khar, 25 percentage house use tin and 3.3 percentage house use slate for making their household roofs. There is no single RCC cemented houses of a Hali found in the study area.

In the context of income from plowing activities, a Hali gets average 5 Muri paddy o average 51 plowing days. This shows the Hali gets average 2 pathi paddy of a working day. If it is calculated, it is equal to 100 rupees on this time. But they get average 300 rupees in other types of jobs. They are showing their dissatisfaction on this occupation and starting to change this occupation gradually. Thus this traditional Hali occupation faces some change and mobility in recent days. There are two types of change occurred in occupation. One is changing in plowing equipment and the second is change arising in behavior/attitude. In first case, 60 percentage Halis feel convenient to use modern plough (Iron plough) instead of traditional Hallo. Tractors are also taking place for plowing in Bensi (wide and flat land). On the other hand, some positive changes have been observed in the attitude and behavior of the people in this plowing occupation. Now a days, Master do not discriminates in food variety and good given dishes/plates which could discriminated in past. It helps to increases the social respect of Hali in their community.

Similarly, mobility has also taken place in this occupation. Besides this plowing occupation, Hali started to join other different types of jobs from where they get cash. The survey shows that the 40,7 percentage Hali involved in house making, 18.6 percentage involved in carpentry, 8 percentage are involved in labor and 32 percentage are involved in other jobs like guide, porter ect.

The problem of discrimination to both Dalit and Dalit Hali is still existed in the society. The study reveals that different types of discrimination, domination are still bringing on practice, even though there is supposed to be no discrimination of any kinds of terms of race, ethnicity, caste, sex, religion by constitution in Nepal. This discrimination helps to increase social injustice, inequality, and also increases backwardness in societies. Hali suffered discrimination are categorized in two types. One is inner household discrimination and the second is out sphere discrimination. Still, 98.3 percentage Hali stayed out side of the their Masters house while eating something and washes their eaten dishes and also sprinkling water on Hali touched dishes to make them pure by Master family. It also reflects that the 98.3 percentage Master Families are still practicing the caste system.

8.3 Conclusion and Recommendations

The Hali occupation has been facing various challenges and disappearing gradually due to unfavorable existing socioeconomic situation since civilization of Nepali Hindu society. This Hali occupation neither deserves hidden potentiality for its flourishing nor creates better economic opportunities to the new generation. The Nepali Hindu caste system has making this plowing occupation as socially inferior, less prestigious and less dignified. Consequently, youth people do not prefer to continue these occupations. In such context, there is an ongoing debate for modernization of Dalits caste based occupation. Therefore, state has to take special initiatives for its modernization by formulating domestic policies and institutional reform in response to globalization and WTO. Similarly, Nepali Dalits movement should also raise voices of up scaling or upgrading these occupations, which might be strong basis for overall socioeconomic transformation of Dalit community rather than only focusing caste based discrimination and Dalits' human right. Similarly, it is also imperative to organize occupation-based group to raise their voice for collective

bargaining with state and newly emerging private organizations. In another hand, Government mechanisms most manage frequent service related to the agricultural service, in same time the Hali and Master should adopt new agricultural technologies/equipments according to the need of time. Moreover, it is also better if state provided agricultural inputs like improved seeds, chemical fertilizer and other modern equipments to farmer on time and in reasonable price.

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Appendix: 1

Questionnaire/interview schedule

Name of Respondent:

Age:

Tole:

Education:

Ward:

1) General Information

Family information General information of family

SN	Name	Age	Sex	Education	Occupation
1	-	-	-	-	-
2					
3					
4					

2) What are the livestock units which you rear in your house? (E.g. cow, ox, goat etc).

A -

B -

C-

D -

E -

F -

G -

H -

(3) Do you have ox? If no, how do you bring ox to cultivate your land?

- a) Pay by agricultural labors
- b) Paying Cash
- c) House of master
- d) Others

(4) When did you start to plough Bista's land as a Hali?

(5) According to your acknowledgement, when did Hali system start?

(6) What kind of land do you have?

- a) Pakhobari
- b) Khetland
- c) Adhiya Bari
- d) Others

(7) How many days do you plough you spend to pakho bari?

(8) How much is your pakhobari in Hall?

- a) Aana
- b) Hal
- c) Ropani
- d) Bigaha.

(9) How much khetland do you have ?

- a) Aana
- b) Hal
- c) Ropani
- d) Bigaha

(10) How much is your Adniya Bani?

- a) Aana
- b) Hal
- c) Ropani
- d) Bigaha.

(11) How is your agricultural production?

S.N	Name of Crops	Pathi	Muri
1	Paddy		
2	Wheat		
3	Mize		
4	Finger Millet		
5	Pulses		
6	Others		

12) How many days does your family hold food sufficiency from the agricultural production hold food sufficiency for your family?

13) How is your house roof made?

- a) Khar b) Jasta sheet c) Slate d) Others

14) How does the contract of Hali System Start?

- a) Verbal with given some cash/gram
b) Written with cash/gram
c) Verbal with out giving some things.
d) Written with out giving some things.

15) What is given to Hali as a wage?

a) Cash

b) Grains

c) Both

16) Have you changed Bista's house, If yes why did you change like this?

- a) Less Argas b) Controversies
c) Have more land d) Others

17) How many days do you plough for the Master in total?

18) Have you calculated your wage? How much do you get equal to one days works?

- 19) What other occupations do you do besides this system?
- I) House Building II) Carpenter
 II) Wage Labors IV) Others
- 20) Do you use modern agricultural tools for ploughing?
- a) Yes b) No
- 21) Which tools/Equipments do you prefer most among modern tools (Iron Halo) or Self made previous tools?
- a) Modern tools made b) Self made previous tools
- 22) What other agricultural work do you do of your Master excepts ploughing activities?
- a) Fencing b) Cleaning bari land
 c) Almost all d) Others
- 23) Do you get wage from these types of Jobs?if yes how much do you get per day?
- a) Yes b) No
- 24) How much do you get wage when you involve in outside Jobs?
- 25) Which job is comfortable compared with Hali and other Jobs?
- a) Ploughing activities b) Others Jobs
- 26) When did you receive ox for your own purpose?
- a) After there work is finished
 b) As when required
 c) Understanding each other
- 27) What do you provide to your master when you his ox?
- a) Cash
 b) Provide labor
 c) Argas deducted
 d) No thing being paid

- 28) What do you do if you were absent on given ploughing day?
- a) Deducted Argas from his annual income
 - b) Cash paid
 - c) Agricultural labor paid
 - d) Nothing to do.
- 29) Are any controversies arisen between your Master and you if yes mentioned the frequencies of controversies between you & Master?
- 30) How much social respect do you get as a Hali in society?
- a) High
 - b) Medium
 - c) Low
 - d) Very low
- 31) What changes have come in this system, what is the decreasing /increasing status on following?
- a) Use of wooden plough decrease increase some
 - b) Tools made of Hali himself
 - c) Nara made of Sharki
 - d) Total spade made of by Kami
 - e) Total given Argas to Hali
 - f) Total Honoree to Hali
 - g) Total invite to Hali on festival
 - h) Total ploughing by upper caste
 - i) Total discrimination on fooding
- 32) What discrimination was found in the past in the following activities?

SN	Description	Yes	No
1	Food items		
2	Washing eaten dish		
3	Purification by sprinkling to Hali		
4	Types of utensils to Hali		
5	Untouchability practice		

33) What discrimination activities still continue today?

- a) Food items
- b) Washing eaten dish
- c) Purification by sprinkling to Hali
- d) Types of utensils to Hali
- e) Untouchability practice

34) How do you present yourself in Bista's program?

- a) Stay separately
- b) Stay with them house

35) How do they feed to you?

- a) Separate
- b) Sitting with together

36) Do you clean plate after fooding?

- a) You must wash
- b) Wash and need to purification
- c) Nothing

37) Are you member of political party?

- a) Yes
- b) No

38) Do your family member involve in political party? if yes, give the following answer?

Name of political party	Post	Time	Relationship with you

39) Are you involved in any government body? if yes, can you tell about us?

Name of Organization	Post	Time	Relationship with you

40) Are you or your family member involved in NGO? if yes give answer of following points?

Name of NGO	Post	Time	Relationship with you

41) How these following activities have been completed?

SN	Description	Bista only	Hali only	Both
1	Total harvesting of Bista			
2	Total Rice plantation of Hali			
3	Plantation of Bista's Bari crops			
4	Plantation of Halis Bari crops			
5	Weeding of Bari crops of Bista			
6	Weeding of Bari crops of Hali			
7				

42) What are main obstacles on Hali System?

- a) ----- b) -----
 c) ----- d)-----

44) What are your suggestions to continue Hali System for a long?

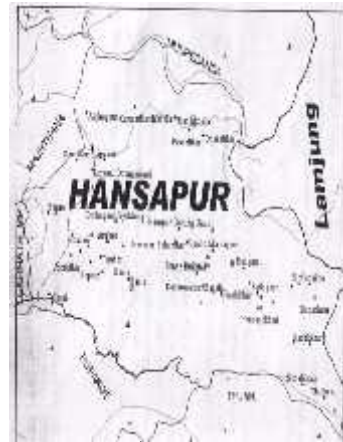
- a)----- b)-----
 c)----- d)-----

The End

Appendix: 2

Maps: District, VDC, Nepal

Location of the Study Area



Appendix: 3

Name list of FGD

Group 1:

- a) Mahesh Pariyar
- b) Yam Bahadur BK
- c) Surya Bahadur BK
- d) Sharmila Pariyar
- e) Kanchha Magrati
- f) Budh Bahadur Gotame
- g) Krishna Bdr Nepali
- h) Shamsar Bdr Nepali
- i) Dil Bdr Nepali
- j) Dhan Bdr Pariyar

Group 2:

- a) Ram Chandra Bhattraai
- b) Basanta Bhattarai
- c) Arjun Shrestha
- d) Kedar Poudel
- e) Ram jee Poudel
- f) Krishna Nanda Giri
- g) Saraswati Poudel
- h) Kalidas Subedi
- i) Ananda Subedi