

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

Humanity has come to new millennium, even while there are new forms of exploitation, torture, war, racial and class division developing and continuing in contemporary Nepal. Nepal is not just the youngest republic of the world but also has highly diverse geographical, cultural and religious pattern within its mere political area of 147,181 sq. km. It is a country of highly diverse and rich geography, culture, and religions. Being so much culturally and geographical diverse with political categorization of the state into 14 zones and 75 districts, grouped into 5 development regions, Nepal also is colored with 92 indigenous languages spoken in various parts of the country and Nepali as the official language. Nepal is a country which exhibits ethnic and cultural mosaic and cultural plurality. Nepali society possess as with the various religious, cultural, ethnic and linguistic constituents, which sought shelter here at various period of the history.

Not only that, frequent massive political movements have their own effect on the population making political affluence major part of the society along with the educational and economic factor. Being one of the poorest countries, Nepal's gross domestic product (GDP) for 2008 was estimated at over \$12 billion (adjusted to Nominal GDP). The annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is about US\$ 4.3 billion. About half of the population live below the international poverty line with earning \$1.25 a day. (*Wikipedia*)

In Nepal, caste is the hierarchical differentiation of ritual status and operates as an institution or a system. The caste system is traditionally based on ritual an organization classifying the members of society according to the occupation they held, organizing better division of labour

in the community, which now has evolved as social groups. Though ethnic groups have horizontal formation, caste system operates vertically with Brahmins, Chhetris occupying the upper most spots and Dalits occupying bottommost rungs in caste hierarchy.

Caste system is the basic foundation of Hindu society. Caste system is based on Varna system, where different caste groups and individuals interact and interdependent upon each other. The caste or Varna system is based on four primary social classifications. These are the Brahmin (Priest), the Kshatriyas (Warrior or Administrator), the Vaysha (Trader), the Sudras (Labour) and the untouchable or polluted.

Especially Sudras were specified for the high born societies. This study had focused on the Kami, a specific group among Dalits (Sudras). Traditionally this dalits used Patron-client relationship, where they received Jajmani and Bali from the high born society. But now the Bali system is loosing its roots in the society. The Kamis had totally left adopting Bali system. Since few years they not only work in Bali system but also left their occupation (B.K; 2006). Not that every occupation has a caste identity, but that each caste has an occupation or group of related occupations. The caste structure is fundamentally a labour structure, a system of interrelated services originating in specialized groups as traditionalized in a religious matrix. Due to this history they were always been exploited by high born societies

The term dalit is generally used to identify those castes which stand on the lowest rung in the caste hierarchy. They are categorized under untouchables in the society and rather than it conveying the sense of in-born inferiority, the word is taken as an inherent denial of pollution, fate and justified caste hierarchy. (*ILO Dalits and Labour in Nepal:*

*Discrimination and forced Labour, 2005*. It is seen that Dalits are usually categorized to those families or population who usually performed manual labours, either it be through artistic approach or physically enduring approaches, like Kami (metal workers), Sarki (cobblers), etc.

In Nepal, the main source of wealth is Land and the Dalit community hardly has any land of their own to work on. Since the ancestral time, the Dalit people have deprivation in the ownership of the land. In this context, both male and female counterpart of the Dalit community dispossesses any land. Dalit are mostly backward in almost all the sector of the society: education, knowledge, skill and efficiency. They do not get any chance to increase their living standard. Since they do not get proper opportunity, it led to degrading economic and social condition of the dalit community.

Division of labour and occupational structure are important indicators of nature of society in the analysis of urbanization. Change in occupational structure and occupational mobility has been analyzed as significant element in the process of urbanization. Parajuli (1999) had found the following through his imperial study as:

- (1) Modern kind of occupation are replacing the traditional occupation pattern in Pokhara,
- (2) The socio-economic background of the respondents determines the change of the occupation,
- (3) The selection of occupation in being governed by modern values rather than by traditional values and
- (4) Migrated people are more occupationally mobile in comparison to the residents of the city

The agricultural related works and labour were considered as low status and least income generating occupation, business services and

miscellaneous occupation were considered as high status and more income generating occupation. Therefore, the agricultural related work as an occupation is losing its attraction and non-agricultural occupations are gaining popularity in respect of status and income in urban societies.

The 1854 Civil Code had explicitly listed 2 groups of low caste people as *pani-nachalne* and *pani-chalne*. Some consider only *pani-nachalne* as dalits where as other considered both the groups as dalits. As per the Civil Code, the ranking within these groups is also hierarchical where Kami occupied the highest rung among *pani-nachalne* untouchables and Chyame the lowest. However, the caste categories is actually said to be diverged from the four Varnas of the classical Vedic model and instead had three categories to accommodate the tribal peoples between the pure and impure castes. These were further classified into five hierarchies with the following order precedence. (*HarkaGurung 2005:3, Occasional Papers in Sociology and Anthropology*)

**Figure 1.1: Hindu Caste Group as per the 1854 Civil Code**



- I. Thagadhari, (Wearer of holy cord: Janai)
- II. Matwali
  - ) NamasyaneMatwali (Non-enslavable alcohol-drinkers)
  - ) MasyaneMatwali(Enslavable alcohol drinkers)
- III. Panina chalne choi choto halnu napanne, (Impure but touchable castes)
- IV. Pani nachalne chio choti halnu parne, (Impure and Untouchable castes)

Kami means blacksmith/goldsmith/metal-specialist in Nepali language. They compose of 3.9% of total population of the country with 28563377 (13988644 men and 14574733 women). The Kami are still working with outdated manual machinery, many people despite changes are still known as Kami or blacksmith and are treated as outcaste as untouchables. (*EBS Documentary 'World Travel with a Theme' made in 2010-wikipedia and CIA world fact book –and EU-Wikipedia*)

Composition of the society and history are not only the responsible factors for the underdeveloped social exposure and development of Kami. There are various major factors or key issues contributing to the social exclusion of Kami among which the traditional occupation backed by outdated machinery can be considered to be one of the influencing factors.

The Kami's main job in Nepal is making and repairing iron tools, horseshoes, occasional religious images and agricultural implements like axes, grass-knives etc. But those living in Doranda are employed as military service. Though there are 51 blacksmiths by caste but they are all employed as Sepoy. Their traditional work has therefore completely vanished (Kumari; 2000)

Industrialization and modernization of economic reveals a pattern of change in the occupational composition of workers employs in manufacturing and urban service rise and the proportion in agriculture declines because factory workers are recruited from rural areas. It is widely recognized fact that the economic changes play important role to change the structure of the society. Due to the materialist world as well as the market economy which has penetrated each and every corner of our society, Dalits have undergone considerable and significant changes. This has help to bring number of change in the socio-cultural pattern of the Nepalese society. This has resulted to bring changes in the traditional occupation among the Dalits rapidly. So, it is very important to understand and investigate the nature and pattern of such changes, which will help to understand the Dalits in their natural and changing sitting.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The major problem that has pushed Kami community to the darker circle of the deprivation is the socio-economic problem.

Discrimination against Dalits still exists in rural areas in the private sphere, in everyday matters such as access to eating places, schools, temples and water sources. It has largely disappeared in urban areas and in the public sphere. Some Dalits have successfully integrated into urban society, where caste origins are less obvious and less important in public life. In rural Nepal, however, caste origins are more readily apparent and Dalits often remain excluded from local religious life, though some qualitative evidence suggests that its severity is fast diminishing.

Kami are metal specialist on agricultural tools and basic domestic tools related to iron. Kami means *blacksmith/goldsmith/metal-specialist* in

Nepali language. They compose of 3.9 of total population of the country with 895,954. Kami are treated to be untouchable and very low caste in Nepalese community. From this, can be seen that Nepalese society is clearly split into touchables and untouchables, have no marital relation with them, and do not allow them to enter their house. In the far-western part of Nepal, they also practice sprinkling water (act of purification). The low-caste people are deprived of utilizing most of the temples, funeral places, drinking water taps and wells, restaurants, shops and other public places. There is also practice of untouchability with so called low-caste people.

Kami are settled all over Nepal, the statistics shows they contribute a little in the national economy with minimum contribution in GDP, having majority of the population below poverty line. This is particularly because of their limited profession. The socio economic status of Kami in Nepal is very poor. Low income and minimum social awareness have straightened education and other life sustaining need as privileges or material of luxury, clearly unattainable. They are illiterate and very few are in business, civil service and agriculture. They do not have adequate land for agriculture. The trend of employment in western Nepal is going to India in search of job and Kami contribute a bigger share to such employment seeking population, who in India, work there as manual labour like vendor, guards etc. Moreover, due to low income and big family, they are not habituated to saving and are not capable to start their own business. They have a big family where only one or two are employed, more precisely self employed. They have many children who rarely go to any primary schools even though they are admitted.

Due to ‘untouchability’ a major social taboo, they are prohibited from the use of the common food and water sources domestic violence especially to

female members of the society is very persistent. Gender inequality is more prevalent in this community than most of the other deprived communities. Early marriages and domestic violence are the key issues. Family planning has not been a success in this community with higher child and mother mortality rate which make it a bigger unseen problem. Though they make up a good chunk of total population of the country with good share in the results of electoral polls, they are still way far from participating in the mainstream politics.

Moreover, Kami are still working with outdated manual machinery, many people despite changes in profession are still known as Kami or blacksmith and are treated as outcaste. Due to misinterpretation and ceased evolution of some preservative systems like '*Bali Pratha*' as well as many other factors like illiteracy, unawareness, misinterpretation, centuries old customs and proper study of the cultural history Kami are still way back than the 21<sup>st</sup> century world of global market competition and development.

Hence the problem of the study is to understand the extent of change among Kami of Chinnedanda-18, Pokhara. The study inquires to study as to what extend Kami has been sanskritized. Attempts has been made to study their present condition, occupational pattern as well as their present situation attempted to find out the new sources of livelihood and whether they have been benefited from the development activities or not.

### **1.3 Objective of the Study**

The general objective of this study is to find out the patterns of occupational shift among the Kamis in Chinnedanda of Pokhara Municipality. The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

- ) To identify the social exclusion problems in the Kami.



- ) To understand the socio economic profile of the Kami in Chinnedanda-18, Pokhara
- ) To describe the status and perspective of their traditional occupation and exclusion.

#### **1.4 Importance of the Study**

The entire population of a state or nation plays significant role in the development of a nation. Their involvement is vital at the household, society and at the national level also. All types of activities are spread over various sectors of society. This study has emphasized the prevailing situation of Dalit community. This study looks upon the prospect of the social exclusion of Kami through the prospective of their traditional occupation and how it can contribute to their inclusion as well. It looks towards the relationship between social inclusion and profession.

As the study aims to look at the new dimension of analysis of social inclusion i.e. contribution of traditional occupation to the social inclusion, when not carried out would miss the opportunity to link up the entanglement of occupation with tradition and social exclusion. The main focus is to know the present trend of occupational changes among Kamis. Changing occupational pattern is found to be one of the biggest problems not only in urban society but also to the every corner of the country. Anthropological approaches have proved to be very effective in solving such human and cultural related problems. The traditional occupation was an important and reliable means for the fulfillment of the local needs, at least in context of the Hindu Socio-Religious system. This study addresses the reason behind the occupational change pattern and socio-cultural patterns and life styles of the Blacksmiths residing in the study area i.e. Chinnedanda-18, Pokhara Municipality. This study is expected to be one of

the valuable additions to the Dalit literature enhancing the existing knowledge of the academicians.

### **1.5 Limitation of Study**

This study is based on small sample size and the status of the Kamis of the Chinnedanda in Pokhara Municipality, Kaski district. All research problems have had limitations due to error of logic, measurement, and omission. For the purpose of this study, only the Kamis dalits were selected as samples. So the universe of this study is small.

The research work was being done in a particular area of Pokhara Municipality. The generalization from this study may not be applicable to all the Kamis of Nepal due to its limited sample size and nature of study area. And the conclusions may be relevant to similar situation only. The study focuses only on ward number 18, Pokhara Municipality, Kaski.

The research was bounded by a limited time period and cost. The reliability of the study is dependent upon response of respondents. Respondents were generally hesitant to talk to strangers. Hence, some in-depth insight may have been missed due to this factor.

### **1.6 Terminologies used in the study**

**Caste/Ethnicity:** A system of social inequality in which people's status is permanently determined by the birth based on their parent's ascribed characteristics.

**Dalit:** Dalit are considered outcaste in Nepali society, the lowest step of caste hierarchy who are regarded as untouchables and are socially excluded.

**Education:** Any kind of formal means of attaining knowledge is taken as education.

**Focal Group Discussion (FGD):** A focus group is a form of qualitative research in which a group of people are asked about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs and attitudes towards a product, service, concept, advertisement, idea, or packaging.

**Household chores:** Any chores that usually goes unpaid and taken as familial responsibility is taken as household chores.

**Income:** Earning of family per day, week, month or year is taken as income.

**Kami:** People belonging to Kami community. They are iron-workers and use basically traditional means of manufacturing the agro tools from iron. They are dalits and are socially excluded and dominated.

**Lohar (Terai):** They are the iron workers in Terai and considered to be Terrain-counterparts if Kami (Lohar) but are not considered to be untouchables.

**Lower caste:** Dominated in caste hierarchy, the bottom-range classes who are socially discriminated and dominated are lower caste

**Non-dalit:** All the caste, usually upper caste who are not regarded as untouchables.

**Non skilled labours:** Untrained labours are the non-skilled labours. Basically, those labour who have no training or specialisation come under this category.

**Poverty:** The economic poorness of Kamis, their traditional occupation and income they earn which is not sufficient for the survival of the family.

**Size of the family:** A number of directly related people living under a roof and sharing the same kitchen are considered to be family.

**Social Discrimination:** It refers to the deprivation of Kami community in participating and involving in different social and cultural activities.

**Social-economic status:** This refers to the position of the Kami community in society, which is determined by various social and economic variables such as education, occupation, material possession, size of the family and the extent of social participation.

**Social Exclusion:** Social exclusion is a concept used in many parts of the world to characterise contemporary forms of social disadvantage.

**Social Inclusion:** It is the antidote of social exclusion where the individuals or community are socially accepted and treated with equal and respectable status.

**Traditional occupation:** In this study, the traditional occupation stands for the iron work done by Kami using traditional means of producing agro tool i.e. by using ‘aaran’

**Touchable:** Castes or community whose touch would not be considered to be contaminating or sinful are the touchables.

**Upper caste:** Socially included and fairly treated classes who dominate the caste hierarchy like Brahmins and Chhetris are the upper caste.

**Untouchable:** Dalits or people of those communities whose touch is considered contaminating and sinful are untouchables. They are made to drink water from different tap and are not touched by other castes.

**Youth:** People under 35 years of age are taken as youths in this society.

## **1.7 Organization of the Study**

This dissertation is organized into six chapters. *First chapter* is related to introductory part, which starts with the background information and includes Statement of Problem, Objectives of the Study, Importance of the Study, Limitations of the study and Organization of the Study.

*Second chapter* is devoted to the review of literature. In this chapter various books, articles and reports related to the present study are reviewed.

In *chapter three*, research methodology adopted for the study is discussed. The methodology chapter is further divided into research, design, sampling and sample size, rationale for the selection of the study area, sources of data, data collection method data processing and analysis and limitations of the study.

*Chapter Four* is a core chapter of this study. It particularly deals with the brief profile of the study area and respondents. It includes socio-economic and demographic background of the study site, which is supplemented by the data collected from the field.

*Chapter Five* deals with Kami's occupation, occupational status, occupational earning, organization involvement and groups of social interaction influence the opinion and perception of people.

*Chapter Six* is for summary, conclusion and recommendation drawn by the study.

*The last part* of the thesis ends with the references list and annexes.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Focusing Kami community and their socio-economic status, this discusses the relevant literature available on different aspects of the Kamis such as social discrimination, low paid occupation, their involvement in development activities and their overall status in the society. This chapter deals with the theoretical overview and reviews empirical studies on the Kamis and their socio-economic status. Many scholars have propounded various theories for sociological and anthropological research. To be precise, this chapter mainly exhibits the available literature related with the component on sociological, economical and cultural aspects of Kami community. Literature review section of this research help to verify the statement expected at the end of the study.

#### **2.1 Conceptual Review**

##### **2.1.1 Structural Functionalism**

Structural functionalism means the social structure and systematic adjustment among the parts of social structure in a 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, 2060)

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 contribution and it makes to social integration. Similarly, Francis (2000) mentioned that the Structural-Functional perspective also seeks to delineate

the way in which the different structures are coordinated and integrated to reserve the unity of society as a complete system.

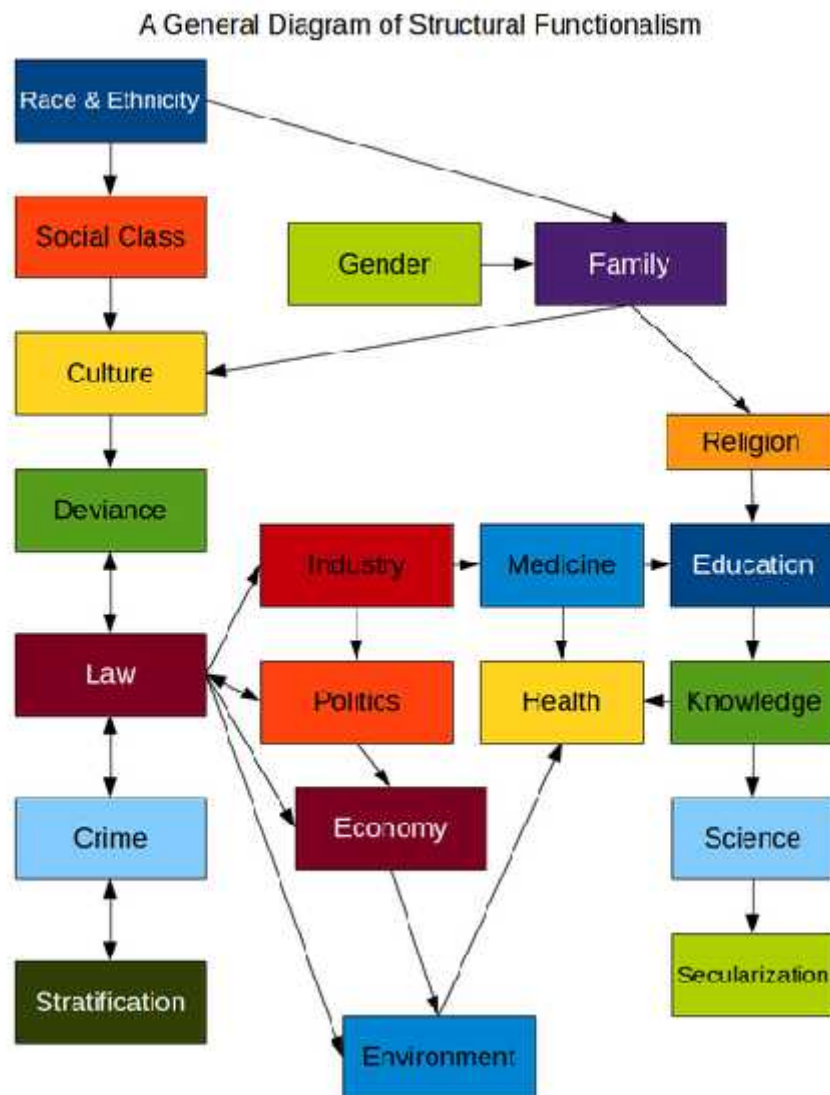
Spencer (2001) has compared the society with human body structure. As there is inter-relationship among different parts of the body for existence, there should be unity among different units of the social system. Only with the help of the united role and its function, the society can remain in existence. Similarly, 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 behaviours 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. In the same way, Merton (2000) had viewed structural functionalism in this way. The elements of society or culture not only functions but dysfunctions too. The function only cannot 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 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 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 relationships and observed regularities. Magill (2000) said that a theory which focuses on the way the various parts of society and works together maintain stability and order in the social system as a whole.

**Figure 2.1: General Diagram of Structural Functionalism**



### 2.1.2 Sociology of Occupation

Sociology of Occupation is the new branches of Sociology. It deals with the problem of examining how the occupational structure and particular occupations associated with other segment of society like the family, the economy, the educational system, the political system and the system of



social stratifications. Its investigations concentrate upon the following themes:

- i. The division of labour, its causes and consequences.
- ii. The study of specific occupations of the people like the prostitute, the dockworker, the clerk, the architect, the physician etc
- iii. The function and meaning of work and related phenomena such as leisure, unemployment and retirement.
- iv. Researchers also undertake on such topics as the amount and method of remuneration, recruitment and training, career patterns, conflicts inherent in the role, the relation between personality and occupation, interpersonal relations at work, the public image of the occupation, and the distribution of power and prestige within the occupation.

In relation to the social importance of work and occupation, Rao (2001:382-383) further states that:

“Work and occupation have assumed utmost social importance today. They have not only social importance but also economic, psychological and human significance. Because they satisfy the need of the man as well as it fulfills social and psychological needs too, as work gives them a valued status in the society”.

He further states about the co-relation of work-occupation and mental health:

“Work and occupation have great therapeutic qualities for mental illness. Man has often been restored to external occupations in order to keep the mind healthy and free from the mischief. Dr. H Simon, the director of Gettersloh mental hospital in Germany, recommended as a remedy for mental patients meaningful occupation both internal and external with which the mental patients are threatened. He stresses in particular. The necessity of finding an occupation especially suited to the patient as an individual”.

### 2.1.3 Division of Labour

In general, division of labour means the work divided into different occupations requiring specialization. A distinctive characteristics 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. Durkheim, 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, 2063).

**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 are engaged in similar activities and had similar responsibilities, hunting and gathering age.

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

Marx (1869) gave the most basic view of the division of labour and it was set forth in his distinction between the owners of the means of production and those produce them. Who must sell their labour time to the owners in order to survive more specifically, Marx was interested in the tendency to structure work so that people are forced to specialize in even more minute tasks.

#### **2.1.4 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 class. Every society determines the level or class for its members on the basis of income, occupation, property, caste, religion, education, race, 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).

The term “Social Stratification” is an imperfect analogy because it suggests that different layers of society representing its identifiable groups are like the stacked strata in geological formations (Weber, 1990). In all societies, at least some scarce resources are distributed unequally. Thus, it could be said that some form of social stratification exists on all societies, in a sense these patterns of stratification can be thought of as ranking system within societies. People can be ranked on the basis of how much the society’s scarce stare of scarce resources rank high; those with a small share rank low. The most important theory of social stratification was presented by Karl Mark, “the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle. Class struggle arises due to division of society into classes

having opposite interests. Each class supports particular class consciousness giving rise to class conflict in classes having opposite interest”. (Marx, 1969)

Similarly, social stratification refers to a phenomenon that exists in all complex society, the hierarchical ranking of groups of people according to such criteria as a relative economic wealth, political power and social honour. (Margill, 1990)

### **2.1.5 Social Prestige and Occupation**

In relation to the occupational pattern, Emily A Schultz and Robert H Lavanda (1998), the cultural anthropologist has stated that, “Jatis (caste) are distinguished in terms of the food they eat as well as their traditional occupations, these features a ritual significance that affects interactions between the members of the different Jatis. In the Hindu belief certain foods and occupations are classed as pure and other as polluting. In theory, all Jatis are ranked on the scale from the purest to most pollute. Ranked highest of all are the vegetarians and the lowest ranking Jatis are “unclean” meat eaters, and leather workers occupations that involves slaughtering of animals and torching polluted thing are themselves polluting.

Parajuli (1999) in his article in Journal of Political Science stated the way off disappearing the traditional occupation, as modern kinds of occupations are replacing the traditional occupation pattern in Pokhara, the socio-economic background of the respondents determines the change of occupation, the selection of occupation is being governed by modern value rather than by traditional values and migrated people are more occupationally mobile in comparison to the residents of Pokhara.

He further states that agriculture related work and labour were considered as lower status and least income earning occupation, business service and miscellaneous occupation were considered as high status more income generating occupation. Agricultural occupation is losing its attraction and non-agricultural occupations are gaining popularity in respect to status and income in urban societies. Occupation is a good index of position and achievement in present society. Previously traditional occupations are available on the basis of caste and family as an ascribed as an achieved status of an occupation holder. He also mentioned the reason for shifting the occupation due to following facts:

- a. Low income
- b. Low status
- c. Rough and Hard work and
- d. Family dissatisfaction

Caste is perhaps the oldest form of social stratification in Nepal. Sanctified by religious texts and solidified through norms of inter-marriage and inter-dining, the caste system essentially orders different groups in the Nepali society into an occupation- based hierarchy. The Brahmins and Kshatriyas at the top undertake relatively purer tasks. They are followed by the Vaishya and at the bottom the Sudras and the erstwhile untouchables who engage in demeaning and stigmatized occupations. In functional terms, thousands of *jatis* or sub-castes are the operative units. (Loury, 1999).

In the American journal of sociology a collection of articles on occupation mobility and occupational career pattern in vol.57, Lipset and Bendis (1952: 494-504), write; *the occupation of an individual is correlated highly with his social placement, by the member of the same community. An individual work career is judged by his occupational rise or fall, it is judged because occupation combines to some extent with economic, with prestige aspect of social class.*

Whereas Harold (2000:226) in his writing states that, “Most commonly recognized class inequality is income. The usual assumption is that working class people receive below-average incomes, the middle class receives the average incomes, and the upper-middle-class professionals and managers receive above average to high incomes. These traditional assumptions about class income inequality are becoming much more of a reality today with the growing inequality and ever lower pay for working class position”.

### **2.1.6 Social Mobility and Occupation**

Social mobility refers to the movement by individuals or group from one social role to social status to another. Most of the studies of the mobility have focused on men’s intra-generational mobility, comparing sons with fathers. An important work of Peter and Duncan (1967) shows *The American occupational structure developed a former model for investigating the ways in which father occupational structure does and does not influence the status and mobility of sons.*

Generally industrialization and modernization of economics reveals patterns of the change in the occupational composition of the labour forces. When industrialization begins, the proportion of workers employed in manufacturing and urban services rises and population in the agriculture declines because factory workers are recruited from rural areas. Occupational mobility may be discussed by examining both the mobility of the occupation themselves and individual movement from one occupation to another. Mobility may involve changes in locus, function, income, prestige, power, independence or other occupation. (William, 1994)

Thus, in cultural change terms, change occupation is not only the matter for the study rather it also convey strong message that the gradual change in occupation makes a great impact in the social solidarity. So the continuation of such occupation is must. Therefore, the pattern of change must be studied in the right time, to bring these groups with their traditional skills to build new Nepal, as well to bring them in main stream of development. Likewise, cultural change also provides important guidance and help to study the change that occurs and the elements that influence to provide change.

While recognizing that life is a complicated ongoing process, they attempted to discover and trace a sequence of the life events and social variables. They found that father's education and occupation each had about an equal influence on the son's occupation. The son's education had the most significant impact on eventual occupation and the family background could play a role in occupational choice even after the formal education was completed.

Occupation has also been the key structural component of the studies of social mobility, whether in the inter-generation or within the careers. The chances for sons to exceed the occupational ranks of their fathers constitute a measure of properness of any institutionalized system of social equality. Thus in properly technical sense the term is "stratification". (Lipset and Bendix, 1959)

### **2.1.7 Social Inequality and Occupation**

Occupation has come to be recognized as a principle factor or determinant over a wide band, of other significant social variables; life styles and life cycles (Wilesky and Lawrence, 1979). Moral, social participation and

especially, social status or rank, income, power and authority, and prestige all are linked to occupation, not only by correlation analysis and regression equation, but also at least in part by constituting attributes of jobs rewards for work. Education, which alone with occupation and income is standard component of combined measures of socio-economic status, figures primarily as a mode of assess to occupations and occupation careers. Generalized social ranking, if it makes any sense at all except as an analyst exercise, is likely to reflect these entire mode of different valuation.

Existing national legislation to prevent caste based discrimination in south Asian countries have not been efficient due to poor implementation, which itself is the result of a lack of political will of the governments involved. In spite of the various legislations implementing agencies and monitoring bodies constituted. Severe discrimination has only intensified in recent years as evidenced by the alarming rise in violent atrocities and massacres against Dalits. Caste-based discrimination also afflicts a vast population of Dalits in other south Asian countries, namely, Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Marginal communities in the Japan, Senegal, Nigeria and Europe also suffer from a similar kind of discrimination based on decent and occupation. All these communities, constituting an enormous section of the global population, also require urgent and immediate attention and action. Despite completing more than 50 years of Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international communities and UN bodies have failed to adequately address this major crime against humanity (Sharma, 2001).

An occupation comprises a more or less precise set of remunerated activities (Moore, 1977). If occupation is to be used as one major component of social inequality, social mobility within the careers methodological problems hamper procedures.



## 2.2 Empirical Overview

Caste is corporate social units which are ranked and generally defined by descent, marriage and occupation. Caste needs never meet as whole in one place but members of one caste share a concern for its rank and morality. The general characteristics of caste system can be compared with other system of stratification such as those based on class or race. Undeveloped forms of caste exist in many parts of the world but caste organization and ideology are elaborated to such extent in Hindu societies that some scholars have considered caste uniquely Hindu phenomena. In Hindu society, caste ranks is hereditary and linked to occupational pursuit.

The theory of *Varna* serves as an illustration. *Varna* developed in Vedic society and reached its most elaborate form in the classical code book *Dharma Shashtra* (200 BC – 200AD). In late Vedic society, 4 *Varnas* were defined. Three of them are the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas. The twice born because they became divinized by a ritual second birth. The other was defined as Sudras, once born. Untouchables were outside this division. The Sudras were opposed to the twice-born. (Smith, 1994)

Blacksmith (Kami) or Bishwakarma are the member of the occupational and untouchable caste group locally called by different names such as Bishwakarma, Kami, Sunar, Chunara, Lohar, Sobha, Nepali etc. (Parajuli, 1995). He further states that Bishwakarma surname is started to write only after Sarbajit's suggestion to the Badahakim that they should not be addressed as "untouchable Kami", but they should be addressed as "Brinchiu" or "Bishwakarma". The one who gave suggestion was arrested by police in complain of high castes' people to the "Badahakim" in 2003 BS. If we go to Vedic history, we come to know that the Bishwakarma were created from the leg of God Brahma. Thus; by this origin they were

placed in the lower category with time bearing which took the shape of Kami caste. But according to other argument, they are the descendents of God Bishwakarma and they are a adapting their surnames in his remembrance. The Biswakarmas participants of Focused Group Discussion (FGD) had informed that they are the descendents of Brahmins. Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva and Nathu were the four sons of Acharya Brahmin. Among these sons, Nathu Acharya, the youngest one is their ancestor. Like this, the Churanas are the descendents of Khadka Chhetris, other Kamis the descendents of the “Poudel Brahmins” and say that they were pushed to lower caste.

**Table 2.1: Caste Category of Muluki Ain (of 1854)**

<b>Hierarchy</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Social Group</b>
A	Wearers of Holy Cord	Parbate upper castes, Newar, Brahman, Indian Brahman, Newar upper caste
B	Non-enslavable Alcohol Drinker	Magar & Gurung (associated with Gorkhali Army), Sunuwar (Hinduised), Newar (non-Hindu)
C	Enslavable Alcohol Drinkers	Bhote (Buddhist), Chepang, Kumal, Hayu (ethnic minorities, Tharu (Terai ethnic), Gharti (progeny of freed slaves)
D	Impure but Touchable	Lower caste Newar, Muslim, Christian
E	Impure and Untouchable	Parbate artisan castes, Newar scavenger castes

In the book “Tribal Ethnography of Nepal”, write Gautam et.al. (1994) state that Kami people anywhere in the kingdom are mostly dependant on their traditional occupation which is running a smithy, for their livelihood. It may be said that they have no custom of practicing agriculture. Those Kami are good in their profession as blacksmith, seem to be diligently pursuing their traditional occupation and earning a lot more today than in the past. Due to social stratification, Kamis are low in the ladder and in addition their economic condition is not pleasant to observe as they are still

seen to be living in primitively at place and also their attitude have not changed much.

Untouchability and discrimination are the main characteristics of Verna system for Dalits to be exploited and hated socially and culturally. Geographically, Dalits live in complicated areas. Dalits are not allowed to enter into the temples, although they are not legally prohibited. They can not use the same tap water, well which other people use. They have to use separate one. If they have no separate well or tap, they have to ask for water with higher caste people. If they touch the water pot or food of higher caste people, they have to bear hateful behaviour and punishment. Even they are not allowed to enter hotel, restaurant and canteen in public places. They should clean the utensils themselves. They are supposed to clear out dead animals, clothes of corpses and so on. If they do not perform such tasks, they should be punished severely. Dalits are not permitted to enter the house of higher caste people (Darnal, 2058).

### **2.3 Review of Previous Studies**

Social exclusion is a multidimensional process of progressive social rupture, detaching groups and individuals from social relation and institution and preventing them from full participation in the normal, normatively prescribed activities in the society where they live bringing about social alienation or disfranchisement of certain people within the society. Being a multi-faceted problem, social exclusion has its roots from the components of the society itself and varies from place to place with only known counter-attack *social inclusion*. Social inclusion is the affirmative action, thus a strategy to combat social inclusion, but it is not making reparations or amends for past wrongs as in Affirmative Action. It is the coordinated response to the very complex system of problems that

are known as social exclusion. The notion of social inclusion can vary according to the type of strategies organizations adopted. (*Wikipedia*)

The social discrimination of Kami due to traditional occupation has in a deeper sense operated as a factor for the social exclusion of the community. As all the previous studies have relevantly studied the other factors and situation this study will contribute to the other dimension to exclusion of the community, a reason laying within the community, a major contributor to the sanskritized categorization of division of labour- their traditional occupation.

In brief, two types of definitions are used while defining Dalits in Nepal: i) the national level definition of Dalits as defined by the Dalits Vikas Samiti or Dalit Ayog, and ii) the local definition of Dalits in the sense of untouchables. Following Hira Bishwakarma (2001) and the Old Legal Code of Nepal of 1854, the term Dalits is used here in a narrow sense or the local definition. The term Dalits refers only to “*Pani Nachalne*” and “*Chhoi Chito Halnu Parne*” groups or castes from whom water is not accepted and whose touch requires sprinkling of holy water. In other words, they are “untouchable castes” in Nepal. In the overall Nepali ethnic/caste framework of today, Dalits still represent the lowest in social structure in Nepalese society, whether this social structural model is the Hindu, the typical Newar or the ethnic/tribal one.

According to Dr. Dahal, the Kami are not allowed to enter the fair held annually at Dehimandau in Baitadi district and open stalls. Three years ago they filed a petition to the Chief District Officer for their entrance, but so far no action has been taken in this regard. Similarly, the Kami are prohibited from entering Jagannath temple at Khalanga, Baitadi. At many

places there also exists the practice of sprinkling water for purification. Milk and milk products are not given to the Kami to drink and eat. It can be said people are following such types of myths for a long time. Boys and girls of the community are discriminated even at public schools. They have to use separate pots for drinking water. They have also to sit separately in the class as ink is defiled with their touch. The Kami have to stand outside restaurants for eating and wash plates twice. There are separate taps - the lower one for low castes and the upper one for high castes (*Dahal et al 1999*).

The untouchability within untouchable communities themselves is also getting minimized with the campaign of growing equality among the Kami. Consequently, untouchable castes have started organizing common feasts, though untouchability in old generation and household still persists and inter-marriage is still not permitted. However, the practice of sprinkling water for purification among the Kami (Lohar) has now disappeared. (*Harka Gurung 2005:3, Occasional Papers in Sociology and Anthropology*)

In India, the term Dalits is a common usage in Marathi, Hindi and many other Indian languages, meaning the poor and oppressed persons (Shah, 2001). In Nepal, however, the definition of dalit differs from one source to another. According to Koirala (1996) “Dalits” refers to “a group of people who are religiously, culturally, socially and economically oppressed, who would belong to different language and ethnic groups”. He believes that Dalits is not a caste group per se but a politically coined word used to refer to a socially backward caste community in Nepal. In this definition, we could even include many *Indigenous Nationalities* such as Chepang, Raute, Majhi, Kumhal, Bote and others who are equally backward in terms of

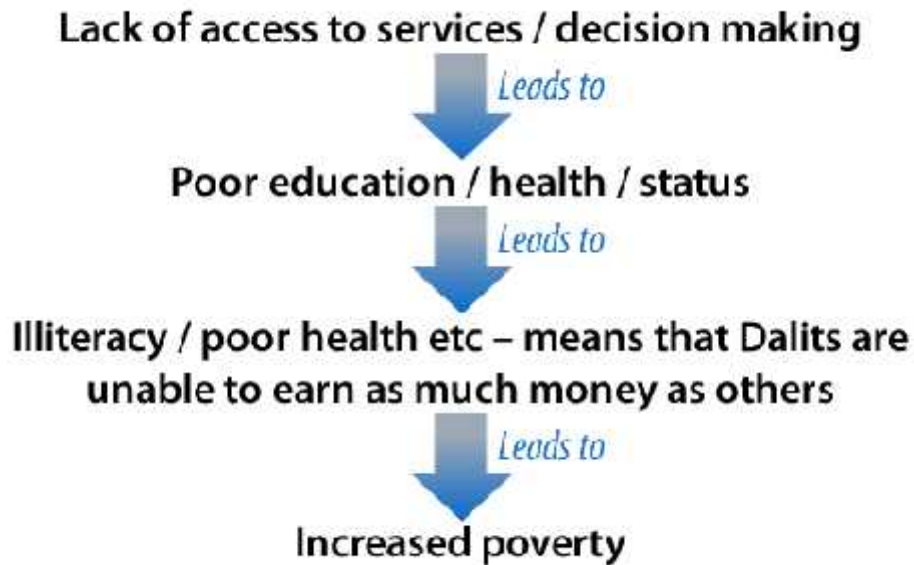
social and economic indicators. Rijal (2001) in the similar format notes “The word Dalits is used in Nepal to identify a vulnerable and poor group of people, who are discriminated against on the basis of their caste”. On the other hand, Bishwakarma (2001) prefers to use the term Dalits exclusively only for so-called “untouchables” of Nepal. He notes that the term Dalits is in use in Nepal over the last 33 years, it is less derogatory than the term “Harijan” as used in India since the 60’s and the term is synonym to untouchable caste as defined in the Hindu *Varna* model and in the Old Legal Code of Nepal of 1854.

A micro study on “A Sociological Analysis of Dalits Occupational Caste Groups in the Hills of Nepal” was done by Chhetri (1999), which analyses the socio-economic prejudice of a caste society prevalent against the social/cultural tradition of occupational caste people responsible for a tendency among them to abandon their traditional occupation and performances of the three caste groups; Kami, Damai and Sarki. The study carried in 1993 and data were collected from five districts from eastern region, Chitwan from central and 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% Dalits were following occupation related to their caste and 77% engage in other occupations. The highest frequency occurs in the “waged labour”, which is a major occupation for 38.34% of the total respondent. As caste bound occupation do not provide full time employment to the most of the Dalits 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 is willing to switch off their traditional occupation. Such characteristics explicitly show that dalit occupational caste group in general is challenged by the economic

imperatives. 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% of the respondents are continuing and 40% has already abandoned their traditional skills. Among these continuing, only 24% has some sufficiency from their occupation and depends only practically on such skills. So that portion of people who can no longer live by their traditional occupation and who have not much land are obliged to look for jobs as agricultural workers. The study also makes a simple measurement of the land holding as a socio-economic basic of small farmers. It explores occupational caste group not only pose little, but also poor quality of the land.

Nepalese culture is rooted in discriminations based on religion, which have perpetuated both practice of untouchability and the exploitation of women (UNDP, 2004). Disadvantaged Groups has been defined as “those groups of people who are identified to be historically, socially and economically discriminated against and/or who have been denied opportunities and access to resources thereby leading them to further poverty and exploitation” (CARE Nepal, 1996). Disadvantageous- ness is relative and compare among people and communities by caste, race, gender, class etc. Among all ethnic groups, the socio-economic condition of occupational caste people is low because they are mostly illiterate, extremely poor and exploited (UNDP, 1998). The untouchable castes all around the country contribute about 12% of total population (UNDP, 2004)



In the survey on the existing practices of caste based untouchability in Nepal and strategy campaign for its elimination, Bhattachan have qualitatively studied 104 household. He is able to establish the relationship between discrimination and upper caste and indigenous to the untouchables. But in his study he talks about the discrimination from other sources and haven't talked about the exclusion due to the occupation or any internal issues contributing to it regarding traditional division of labour. Despite localized changes, there have been modest changes for Dalits in the aggregate. The space of mobility has probably been limited due to the initial conditions for Dalits (for instance their lack of assets, poor access to markets and social networks). Yet the caste is far from the immutable frame that Weber (1958) seemed to suggest it was.

Micro studies across Nepal suggest that Dalits are still slotted into their traditional occupations, which are manually based and really a form of low level wage employment (Thorat, 2007). Those who do think of moving into self-employed ventures fail to do so out of fear of social pressure and potential loss of sub-caste networks that serve as sources of mutual insurance (Munshi and Rosenzweig, 2006). Second, to circumvent their



disadvantages in building networks across social groups, Dalits tend to strengthen their internal bonds and use these for economic purposes.

Ultimately perhaps “opportunity travels along the synapses of social networks”, as the American economist Glenn Loury so eloquently says (Loury, 1999). Desai et al (2010) states that Dalits also lack access to credit, markets and raw materials. This means that, even among the Dalits who were self employed, a majority remain in low-end manual trades that do not require much capital or raw material to start up. The few that try out something new are limited by their initial conditions. On average, returns to education seem to be lower among Dalit men than among others. In fact, education appears to disadvantage Dalit men in rural areas. This anomaly perhaps reflects three things: first that all men with education in a rural, primarily agricultural context area penalized; second, that Dalit men feel these effects more if they have post-primary education; and third, that growth of jobs in rural areas has not kept pace with the increase in the supply of educated Dalit men. In urban areas, education increases the likelihood of participating in the labour force for all men but the effects among Dalit men are not statistically significant (Deshpande and Newman, 2007).

For the report for Save the Children US in (1994) carried out in 5 districts namely Kaski, Surkhet, Chitwan, Kailali and Jhapa, Mr. Sharma talks about the social, economic and health status of dalits in those districts but about Kami (Lohar) and factors of exclusion he hasn't talked about the traditional occupational issues. In the research report Mr. Thapa (2059), has clearly mentioned that, very often the Kamis are badly treated by the society. He further says that though the law of 2020 BS declared the end of untouchable practice or punishable if untouchable practice is found in any

group. But still the so called high caste Brahmins and Chhetris use to exploit or discriminate the Kami groups even in the public place. They are still compelled to face the ill treatment of the Brahmins.

Dr. Dahal too have studied about Kami community basically in far western region and precisely in Baitadi districts. Here he talks about how and in which way are they excluded, discriminated and shunned in the society. He is able to present the burning issues. But as far as traditional occupational point of view of exclusion is concerned, it has failed to get space in this study too.

In Demographic and Socio-Economic Survey of Dalits by NNDSWO, six districts is focused, namely Baitadi, Surkhet, Kapilvastu, Gulmi, Mahottari and Saptari. Broadly the survey talks about the population, education, economic activities of dalits in this region. It basically focuses on the socio economic livelihood of the communities helping in identifying the exact size of the population and to help in the implementation of plans, projects and programmes by collecting reliable information. It has basically focused on the quantitative side of the coin. And though it talks about the economic aspect of the occupation of dalits even those with traditional occupation, the exclusion issue due to traditional occupation still remains unscratched. In ethnographic study done by NNDSWO on hill dalits, it has broadly visited the area of study of Kami population along with other dalits, it has thoroughly gone through history, descent and inheritance, population and distribution, physical feature, language, life cycles, etc but traditional occupation is spoken only as cultural inheritance and in history. It doesn't talk about economic status of dalit that too targeting the traditional occupation.

Human Society holds together this big mass of individuals each with distinctly apart individuality on common grounds of culture, nationality, as well as social solidarity. Being originated from the French word 'société', it indicates 'friendly association with others', thus highlighting on the common aspects of the individuals.

Parimal (1989) has written about the base of exploitation to the lower caste people with the traditional occupation been followed by them, as "Jajmani" which is derived from the Vedic term "Yajman" term who is Vedic times conducted "Yajna" or fire sacrifice to appease the Gods. The term denotes a significant person and in the village context, a landowner. The people who rendered services to him, the priest, the carpenter, ironsmith, washer man, barber, potter, were collectively known as "Prajā". Gradually, the upper castes such as Brahmins and Rajputs, remained as Jajmans. For their services rendered to the Yajmans. The Praja received payment in kind which provides economic security.

It is argued by Chhetri (1999) in his article that the socio-cultural prejudices prevalent in the country and economic imperatives may be the factors leading the occupational caste group in the hills of Nepal to gradually abandon their traditional skills. He further says that education has critical role in eliminating the prejudices against castes and the practice of untouchability among both the discriminators as well as the discriminated. He further mentioned that the people were divided into a number of castes on the basis of their occupational persuasions or the service they provided. According to the occupational divisions as derived from the Varna model, Kamis are blacksmiths and goldsmiths. Kamis are further divided into sub-group of Kamis are carpenters and masons; Lohar are Blacksmiths and Sunar are goldsmiths. The tradition continued and castes or occupations

became hierarchy over the time. Thus Kamis make and repair agricultural implements, arms, construction tools for masons and carpenters.

In far-western region, there is a tradition for the Kami to insert 'Ram' in the middle of their names, like Brahmins and Chhetris, who write 'Prasad' and 'Bahadur'/'Dhwaj', respectively. For identification, they must use surnames indicating their untouchable status (e.g. Sunar, Kami, Dhobi, Darji, Badi, etc.) in their citizenship certificates, land ownership certificates and appointment letters (e.g. Nari Ram Kami (Lohar), Pratap Ram Kami (Lohar), etc.). While enrolling themselves at a school at Barakot-6, Ram Singh Lawad and BhaskarDevLawad had to modify their names as Ramu Ram and Bhaskar Ram, respectively. (*Dahal et al 1999*)

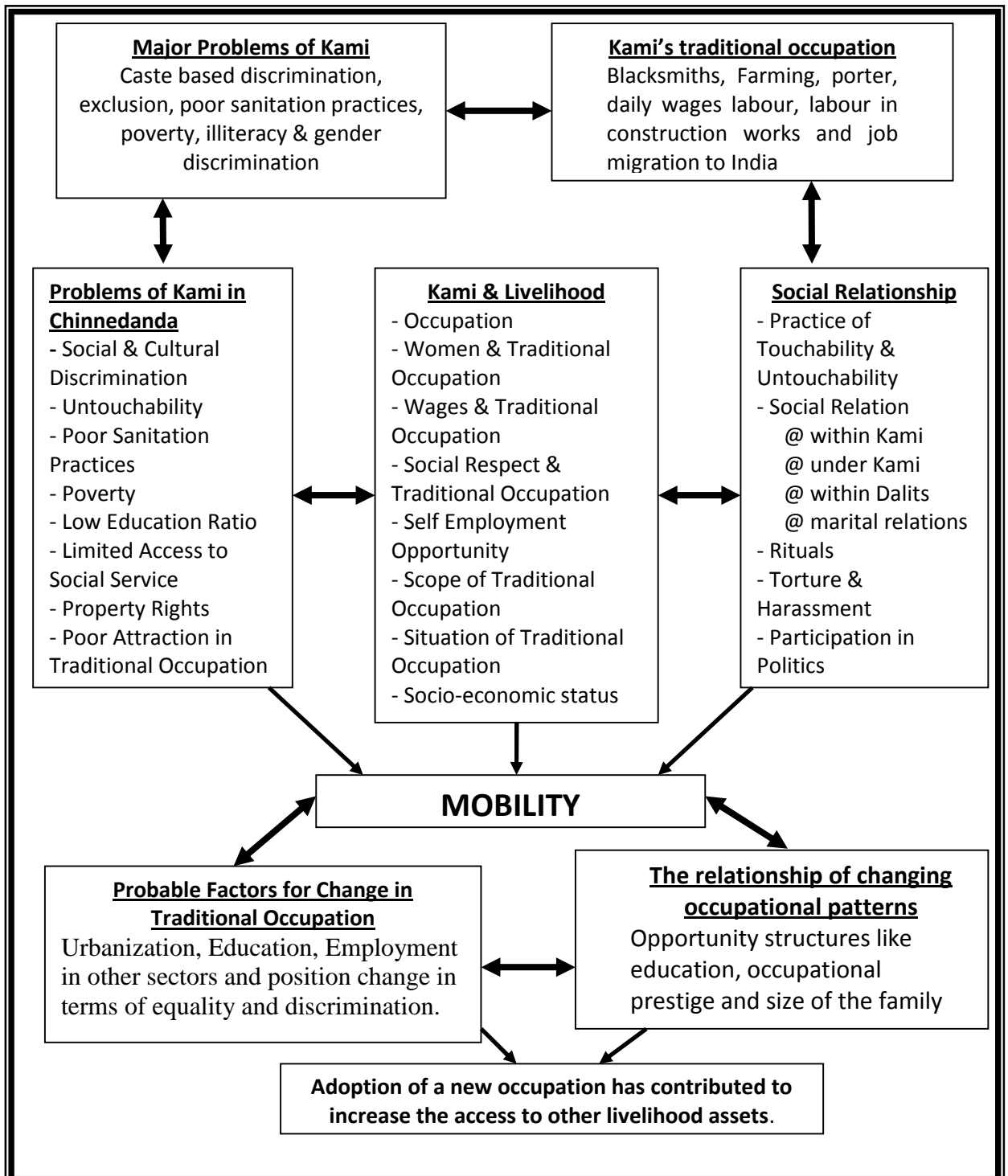
Various studies show that Dalits in Nepal have the smallest and marginal landholding. They are economically deprived, socially oppressed and politically excluded in the development process (Gurung; 2006). Traditionally hill dalits worked as artesian, mason, carpenter, painter, builder, labour, tailor, tiller, musician, iron worker, shoe maker, worker producing and manufacturing different types of goods from metal, wood, leather and so on. But now owing to the growth of economic, commercial and industrial activation; development intervention and urbanization, a sizable number of hill dalits are shifting their primary source of income generation (Parajuli; 2007).

Most of the writer has stated that the Dalits are socially and economically exploited, but they fail to describe or the knowledge being lag to describe the changing pattern of occupation. So, in this study, researcher has tried to describe the factors that lead to change the traditional occupations of the backward group; the "Kamis" among the Dalits

## 2.4 Conceptual Framework Espoused in the Study

A conceptual framework is used in research to outline possible courses of action or to present a preferred approach to an idea or thought. Conceptual framework is a type of intermediate theory that attempt to connect to all aspects of inquiry.

**Fig 2.2: Conceptual Framework Espoused in the Study**



## **CHAPTER III**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Prologue**

The basic objective of this study is to access the interrelation of caste based occupation of Kami and their social exclusion. So as to pursue this objective, certain methodology of research has been followed. In this chapter, research methodology has been presented research design, place of the study, population and sample, sampling procedures of information collection and how they have been interpreted. Research methodology is the way of collecting information for every research work. The tools and techniques of information which has been used for this study are mentioned below

#### **3.2 Study Area and Rationale for Selection**

This study is conducted in Chinnedanda, Ward Number 18, Pokhara Municipality of Kaski district. The research is based in Kaski district, a part of Gandaki Zone, is one of the seventy-five districts of Nepal. The district covers an area of 2017 km<sup>2</sup> and has a population (2011) of 492098. It is one of the developed districts of Nepal. Pokhara Sub-Metropolitan city covers the area of 55.22 km<sup>2</sup> and has a population (2011) of 264991.

Pokhara, the district headquarters, a town in Kaski supporting a functional domestic airport. A regular road exists from Kathmandu, Bhairawaha and Baglung. It is considered to be one of the regions prevailing with acute social exclusion despite being developed comparatively to adjoining districts. Chinnedanda, as seen has 27 houses of the Kami and economically they are considered to be weak. They are socially and economically excluded, this can be realized by field observation. The study area represents the mid-western and hilly semi-urban area of Nepal.

### **3.3 Research Design**

The research design is the complete framework of the research project, in other words, it refers to the conceptual structure within which research is conducted. It includes the specification of method and procedures for acquiring the information to solve the problems. A research design is concerned with turning a research question into a testing project. The best design depends on the research questions. Every design has its positive and negative sides. The research design has been considered a "blueprint" for research, dealing with at least four problems: what questions to study, what data are relevant, what data to collect, and how to analyze the results.

Since the objective of the study is to examine the relationship between traditional occupation and social inclusion of Kami, the study seeks to collect, verify and analyse systematically the observations to arrive at the certain conclusion. The members of the community dealt in the study are considered to be a much deprived community. Thus gaining right information from them is only possible through analyzing their answers from different dimensions which is only possible through questioning them from various related angles. Moreover, the method is believed to deliver accurate condition of the community chosen to study as well as a good approach when it comes to time-value.

This study mainly focuses on socio economic condition of Kami through the perspective of traditional occupation the changing occupational pattern among the Kami in Chinnedanda, ward number 18 of Pokhara Metropolis, Kaski, Nepal. It tries to find out the changing occupation of Kami in the study area. For this purpose, descriptive cum exploratory research design have been followed which attempts to obtain a complete and accurate description of the complete situation. Economic, social and cultural impacts

are been evaluated to fulfill the objectives of the study. This study is basically based on primary data. In order to collect primary information, the majority of findings for primary information have some questionnaires, interviews that have been taken of various sample groups.

### **3.4 The Universe and Sample**

By Universe we here mean the Population. By Population we mean any set of people or events from which the sample is selected and to which the study results will be generalized. Sample is a group of people or events drawn from a population.

A research study is carried out on a sample from a population. The goal is to be able to find out true facts about the sample that will also be true of the population. The sample is described thoroughly in terms of clinical and demographic characteristics in the methods section of a research so that others can draw conclusions, apply the results, and compare one investigation with another. It is not the target population, but rather a group of individuals who are actually studied.

The population of this study refers to the Kami, dalits and non-dalits of the study area and districts. The youths, male, female, children and non-dalits will be included in the focal group discussion comprising of 10 individuals. Since the study will follow qualitative approach 4-5 highly extroverts, informative and reliable people from various background of class and ethnicity will be chosen for the interview.

This study tried to apply a more holistic approach. For that the universe of this study site of Kami household build in Chinnedanda, is taken as a whole. The total population of this ward is 3374. There are 698 households,



among these 27 households are of Kamis. The study will be done by taking all the 27 households for study. From each household, head male has been taken as respondent and in the absence of head male, the head female has been chosen as the respondent.

### **3.5 Sampling Procedure**

The method employed for the proposed study was that of purposive sample. A detailed list of the Kami was obtained from various sources to ascertain the total number of traditionally occupied Kami (Kamis) in Chinnedanda. Qualitative Method was used and study was focused on key informants' interview and FGDs was carried out with checklist with highly extroverts, informative and reliable people were chosen. Focus group discussion was carried out in five groups: Kami male, Kami female, mix group of men women of all caste groups present in the village, mixed group of Dalit men and women and youth of Kami. Case studies of individual male, female, youths were diversely collected.

While selecting the sample, the researchers bear in mind that to the fact that the representation of the individuals from various social backgrounds in order to ascertain the validity of the findings. Thus, it was decided that the same questionnaire would be followed in every group discussion.

### **3.6 Nature and Source of Data**

The collected and used data and information are both qualitative and quantitative in nature and had been collected from both primary and secondary sources. During the study, the quantitative data was obtained from members' survey where as the qualitative data's through the field observation and key informants. The primary source was the field survey, which had been conducted by the researcher in order to generate and obtain

the primary data whereas many published and unpublished materials provided were the sources of secondary data such as research articles, books, journals, co-operative reports etc

### **3.6.1 Primary Data Collection**

On the basis of research objectives, questions and the types of data required for the study, the following techniques were adopted to collect the primary data:

**Field Observation:** Field observation was also the key factor of the survey which had been accomplished similarly during the field study. Observation technique was adopted in various steps in order to study various aspects in the study site. Frequent observations on Kamis were made in different time period during the field visit and field work. Observation adopted was both structured as well as unstructured.

**Schedule for Personal Interview/Household Survey:** A set of questionnaire was used to interview the selected households of the study area. The questionnaire included both open and close ended questions. The entire questionnaires were filled up by the researcher.

**Household Enumeration:** All the household in the universe were enlisted on the basis of house number given by the Pokhara Sub-Metropolis. All households are selected for the research and meet with research objectives.

**Informal Discussion:** Informal discussion with key informants, cooperative members, government offices, field staffs and other concerned agencies were held during the survey.

**Focus Group Discussion (FGD):** For focus group discussion, a check list was prepared. The issues of the group discussion were the casual factor for the occupational change among the Kamis and the objectives of the study. 2 FGD were organized to get the views and opinion on various economic

and non-economic activities from respondents as well as from non-respondents of the study area.

**Case Study:** Six separate case studies with the participant were carried out to know the major aspects of the changing occupational pattern and its impacts on them. The case study was carried out with the permission of the respondent and every ethical value were cared properly and mentioned. All the information which the participant agrees has been kept in the dissertation.

### **3.6.2 Secondary Data Collection**

The secondary data and information had been collected from various sources. These are primarily collected through reports and records of the Pokhara Sub-Metropolis office, reports/booklets published by the government offices, other published and unpublished sources, text and reference books on Dalit's role and participation in economic and non-economic activities were consulted throughout the study. Apart from these above mentioned sources, various online sources are also been explored during the course of secondary data collection.

### **3.7 Validity and Reliability**

The validity of the instrument was maintained by consulting the experts and concerned persons. Extra emphasis has been given to maintain the objective of the data and avoid data error by comparing them with different data collected from different sources. Likewise, reliability of the data has been ensured by careful planning of the questions in the interview schedule in the non sampled area after the necessary changes were been made in it.

### **3.8 Data Processing and Analysis**

A huge mass of data had been generated during the study period. To handle it conveniently the collected raw data were processed in a computer in the beginning by means of sorting, grouping, frequency distribution and tabulation presented in the forms of table, pie-chart and bar-diagrams etc. Both qualitative and quantitative data had been analyzed with appropriate statistical tools accordingly. In case of quantitative data; average, mean and percentage had been used. On the other hand, descriptive method of analysis had been applied for qualitative data. After collection information, respondents were categorized following manner for analysis the data.

1. Education: Education is categorized into 3 groups-
  - a) Illiterate
  - b) School drop-out
  - c) High school drop-out
2. Occupation: Occupation is categorized into 2 groups:
  - a) Traditional Occupation
  - b) Non-Traditional Occupation
    - i) Job in business and non-profit organizations
    - ii) Other manual works
    - iii) Government jobs
3. Gender
  - a) Women
  - b) Men
  - c) Mixed Group
4. Age
  - a) Women
  - b) Men

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA**

#### **4.1 Prologue**

The basic objective of this study was to access the interrelation of caste based occupation of Kami and their social exclusion. Information of various focus group discussions given by key informants, targeted population (Kami) men, women, youths and children and other key informants, information from secondary sources and personal observation are analyzed to meet the objective. The focus of the analysis is based on the traditional occupation and social pattern of the exclusion according to it.

#### **4.2 Location and Physical Feature**

Kaski District, a part of Gandaki Zone, is one of the seventy-five districts of Nepal, a landlocked country of South Asia. The name is disambiguated from Kaskikot, the ancient Kaski Kingdom. The district, with Pokhara as its district headquarters, covers an area of 2,017 km<sup>2</sup> and has a population (2011) of 492098. It is one of the developed districts of Nepal. Pokhara Sub-Metropolitan city covers the area of 55.22 km<sup>2</sup> and has a population (2011) of 264991. The geographical locations of Kaski is 28° 16' 0" north to 83° 53' 0" east. Pokhara is also the regional headquarters for Western Development Region. The district covers parts of the Annapurna mountain range, and the picturesque scene of the mountains can be observed from most parts of the district. It is one of the best tourist destinations of Nepal. The centre of Nepal lies in this district. (Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), Nepal: 2011).

Out of 201700 Hectare land, 24.27% land is used for cultivation, 6.54% is main agricultural land, 37.31% is covered by forest, 11.87% meadow land,

10% covered by residence, 5.60% is covered by snow and 3.38% is other remaining land. This district has 43 VDCs, 1 sub-metropolitan, 1 municipality, 13 Ilakas and 4 election areas. Pokhara, being district and zonal headquarter, is fledged with proper transportation and other basic facilities. Pokhara sub-metropolitan city is divided into 18 wards and is situated in the northwestern corner of the Pokhara Valley, which is a widening of the Seti Gandaki valley that lies in the midland region of the Himalayas.

The climate is sub-tropical; however, the elevation keeps temperatures moderate: summer temperatures average between 25 to 35 °C, in winter around - 2 to 15 °C. Pokhara and nearby areas receive a high amount of precipitation. Lumley, 25 miles from the Pokhara city center, receives the highest amount of rainfall (> 5600 mm/year or 222 inches/year) in the country. Snowfall is not observed in the valley, but surrounding hills experience occasional snowfall in the winter. Summers are humid and mild; most precipitation occurs during the monsoon season (July - September). Winter and spring skies are generally clear and sunny (Chris Taylor, 1999).

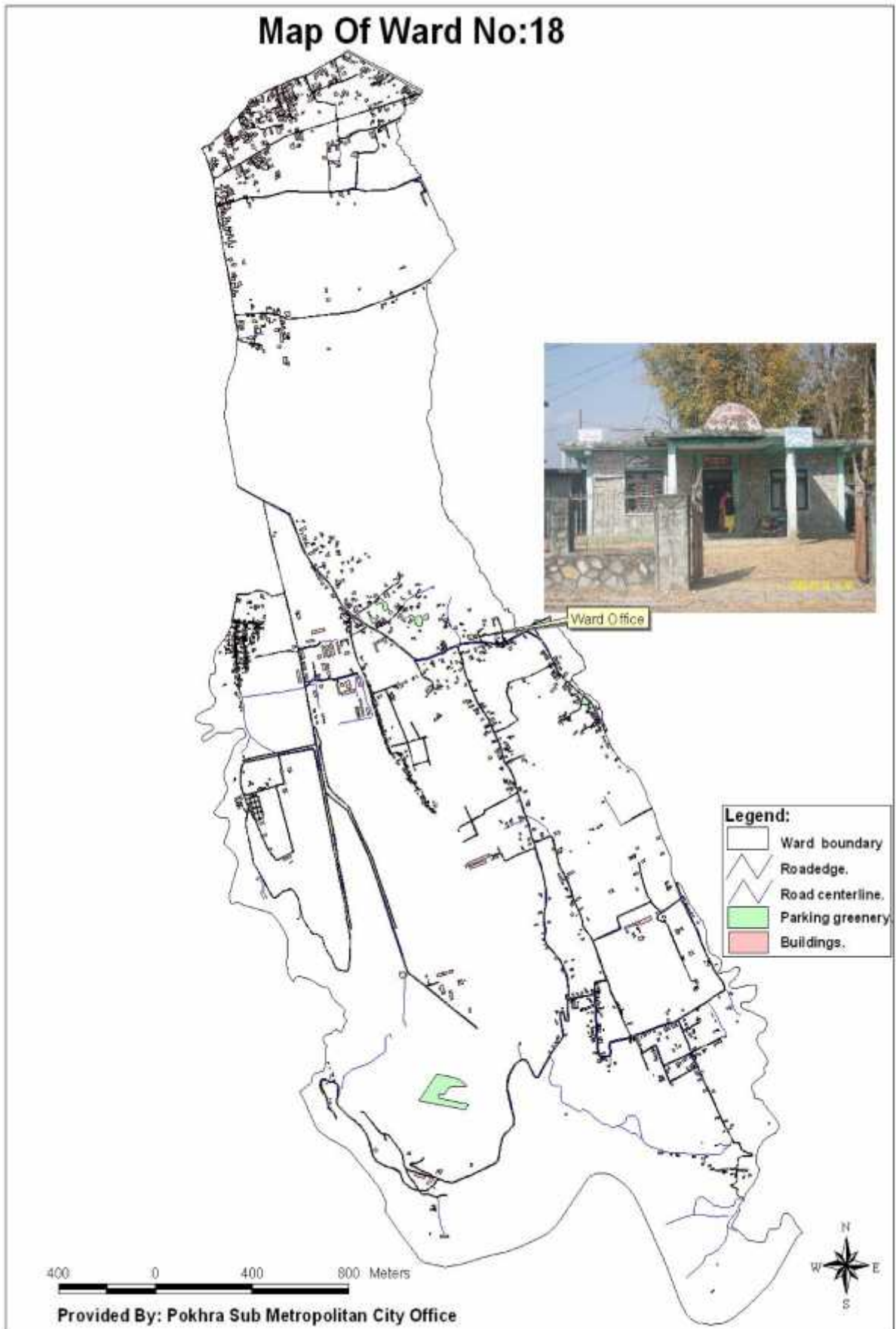
Pokhara and connecting areas have good facilities but rest part of the district does not have same privilege. Remote and rural parts of Kaski district have hard life. The main habitants are Brahmins, Chhetris, Gurung, Kami, Magar, Newar, Damai, Kami, Sarki, Tamang, Gandharva etc. Main source of income are agriculture, foreign employment, industries, trading and employment.

Literacy rate is comparatively higher, migration rate is high due to population increase and agricultural production is decreasing every year.

Economic growth is nominal and landslides and desertification is big concern. The religious secularism tolerance and co-existence are the unique characteristics of cultural components of Chinnedanda. Nepalese is the language of majority as well as its linguistic like: Newari, Gurung, Magar, Thakali, Gaines etc are other local dialects of Chinnedanda, Brahmins form the majority and group and it is followed by Gurung, Chettri, Kami etc. are minority groups.

Cultural cradle of Chinnedanda is the land of festivals with rich cultural heritage of people of Indo-Aryan as well as Mongoloid stocks. Now-a-days, some are seen following Christian religion and festivals. More than 90% cultural ceremonies and activities are of religious origin. Out of these Tihar, Mata Tirtha Aausi, Saune Sakranti, Maghe Sakranti, Sri Panchami, Krishna Janmasthanimi, Teej, Lhosar, Tohte Parva, Gai Jatra, Fagu Purnima etc. are religious. During the celebration of Lhosar, cultural activities such as dancing and signing, repeating lore and legends are performed as ceremonial rites and rituals in Chinnedanda. These are the most fascinating cultural phenomena of the particular society. Apart from Hindu and Buddhist festivals, Christmas Day, Easter, Good Friday etc are also observed by minority Christian groups.

Map 4.1: Map of Ward Number -18, Pokhara, Kaski District (Study Area)





## 4.2.2 Population Composition of Pokhara Sub-Metropolis

The population composition of Pokhara Sub-Metropolis varies in different wards and caste/ethnic groups. The ward wise distribution of population by sex in Pokhara is given below in the Table 4.1 (including the study area):

**Table 4.1 Ward wise Population Distribution by Sex (2011)**

Ward No.	Household	Female	Male	Total
1	4541	7617	7896	15513
2	2464	4261	4468	8729
3	2750	4543	4919	9462
4	2491	4388	4731	9119
5	3973	7430	7373	14803
6	3869	7008	7721	14729
7	3451	6540	6335	12875
8	7138	12541	13539	26080
9	4295	8053	8573	16626
10	4912	9522	8948	18470
11	3449	6338	6000	12338
12	3014	6172	5441	11613
13	3186	7124	6030	13154
14	1682	3238	3189	6427
15	4328	9247	7780	17027
16	4126	7496	7454	14950
17	6944	13982	12770	26752
18	1623	3727	3071	6798
<b>Total</b>	<b>68,236</b>	<b>129,227</b>	<b>126,238</b>	<b>255,465</b>

**Source: Pokhara Sub-Metropolis Office**

The above table shows that ward number 18 which is our study area is not that highly populated ward of Pokhara, with female population of 3727 and male population of 3071. The total population of ward number 18 is 6798. The total number of households in the study area is 1623 (CBS, 2011).

## 4.3 Socio-economic status of Kami

### 4.3.1 Educational status of the Kami

The education is a key variable in the exploration of the social status of the Kami. Education plays an important role in raising the economic status of the Kami. Study shows the rise in social adjustments when it comes to the comparatively educated individuals from the Kami community. Moreover, the study also shows the tendency of occupational divergence in relation to

higher education as it acts as a revolutionary force to liberate them from their subjugation and exploitation.

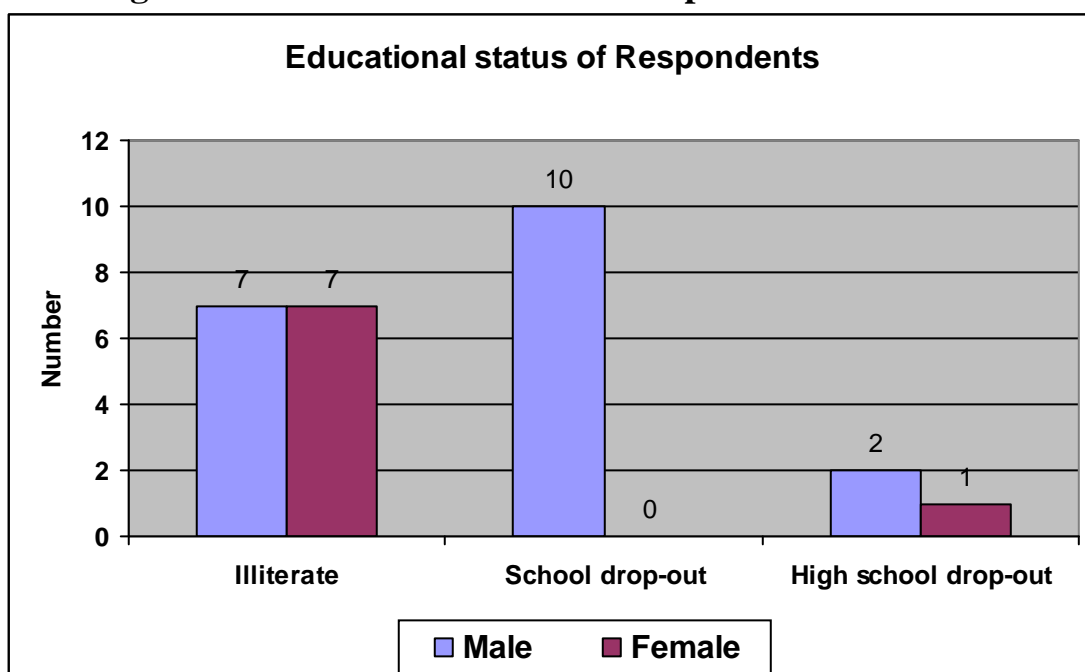
**Table 4.2: Educational Status of the Respondents**

Education	Male	Female	Number
Illiterate	7	7	<b>14</b>
School drop-out	10	-	<b>10</b>
High school drop-out	2	1	<b>3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>27</b>

*Source: Field Survey, 2013*

The above table 4.2 shows that out of total 27 Kami respondents, 19 were male and 8 were female. Among 19 males, 7 are illiterate, 10 are school drop-outs and 2 were high school drop-outs. Among 8 females, 7 female are illiterate and only 1 woman was literate. It was also observed that the one who is literate was married to Kami from Bagmati district.

**Figure 4.1: Educational status of Respondents**



*Source: Field Survey, 2013*

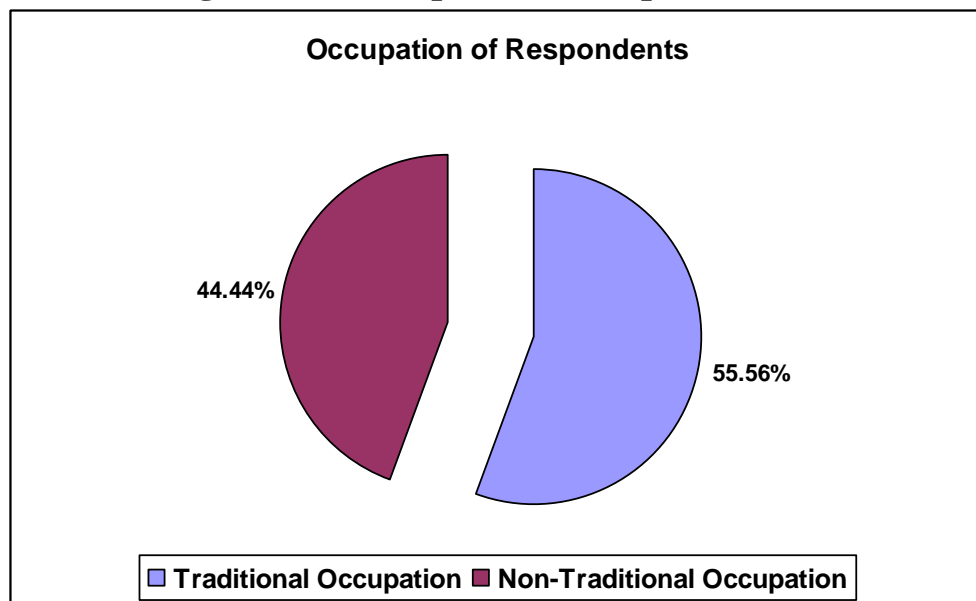
The above figure presents the educational status of the Kami respondents. The data shown on above chart reveals that 52% respondents from Kami community are illiterate, 37% are school drop-outs and 11% are high school drop-outs among them 3% are female. In the observation female came from

out district and married to men of Kathmandu. It shows that education statuses of Kami found to be very low and female are quite far behind in education than men.

### 4.3.2 Occupational Status of Respondents

In this modern age, occupation is very important factor in the determination of socio-economic status. In recent times, Kami's social participation has shown impact from occupation as they are also entering into other occupational field. Basically, Kami are found to be involved in traditional as well as non-traditional occupation. In non-traditional occupation their involvement is in manual jobs that requires physical labour like substantial agriculture; businesses and non-profit organization. But their involvement in government is found to be nil.

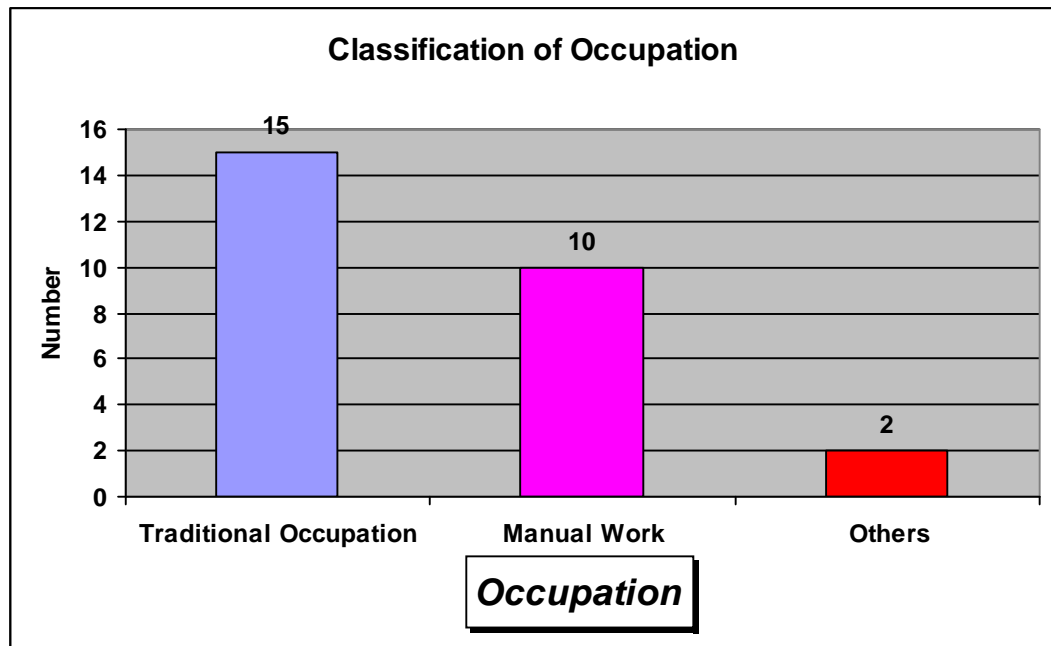
**Figure 4.2: Occupation of Respondents**



*Source: Field Survey, 2013*

The above mentioned chart presents the occupational involvement of respondents with 55.56% (15) involved in traditional occupation whereas 44.44% (12) involved in non-traditional occupation.

**Figure 4.3: Classification of Occupation**



*Source: Field Survey, 2013*

Out of 27 respondents, 55.56% (15) were earning their means of living by traditional occupation, 37.04% (10) were involved in manual work like agriculture and 7.40% (2) were working in business and non-profit organization and none were involved in governmental services.

#### **4.4 Findings through FGD responses**

FGDs with different groups like Kami men, Kami women, mixed groups, youths and children were organized. Formal questions were asked and interaction was made during the discussion. There was active participation of all sectors of participants, key informants, and targeted groups. Some different and some common answers on the traditional occupation and socio economic condition of Kami were discussed. Analysis of the all FGD is given below in several headings

##### **4.4.1 Problem of Kami in Chinnedanda**

###### **a) Social and cultural discrimination and untouchability and its effects:**

Men of Kami have raised concern on social and cultural discrimination and

untouchability which they have been facing generations to generations. They are facing inequality and exclusion in social behaviour and practices which has put an impact on their accessibility to opportunities and deprived them from development. They feel inferior; having carrying out the caste based traditional occupation as their means of earning as the earning is really low and they are victimised of social-exclusion due to the low economic condition and social stigma.

**b) Poor sanitation practices:** Kami men responded that they feel they have poor sanitation and due to the poor sanitation practices, their health especially of infant and children is not good. Their voices were backed by the women of their community. Family who have poor sanitation practices are either illiterate or they did not have education and exposure.

**c) Poverty:** poverty is main problem among Kami. Most of the Kami of the region have poor economic condition and hardly make decent livelihood. There are several reasons for it. It is difficult for them to get sufficient order of iron work and wages for their work and wage rate is not properly fixed. Due to low education background and proper trainings, it is also difficult to get good job in the market.

**d) Education:** Education status of Kami is lower in comparison to other castes and ethnic groups. Women of the Kami community have less access to education. Most of the Kami children whose parents have other means of earning other than traditional occupation are seen to have got chances to go schools because of better earning in the family. Youths, among whom many were students, raised issues of the shortage of course books, poor infrastructure and playing ground/spaces in schools and economic problem which has impacted continuation of their study. Sometimes, they informed

they feel inferior getting scholarship being Dalit. According to men and women of the Kami community, hundred percent scholarships are distributed to the Dalit children who are in schools but some of them have not send their children to school because their elder child helped them in rearing and caring of their other younger children and in household work. According to a local school teacher, there are still out of school children and school dropout rate is also high.

**d) Access in social services:** Kami women have less access in education, health, economic activities and opportunities than male has in the same family and community. And even in the community, women are even more restricted in enjoying such services.

**e) Property rights:** According to women, owners of their household are male in the Kami community. Women do not have family property in their name and they have less decision making power on their own earning as well. Women do not have direct role in iron work but they support their husband and father and brother.

**f) Poor attraction in the traditional occupation of Kami:** No modernized equipments are used. Manual and hard work is required. There is no fixed rate to their production/work and they are not getting actual price of their labour and efforts. Likewise price of the raw material is quite high since last few years so it has become difficult to meet the market competition and survive from the traditional occupation. Thus, attraction in the occupation is very low.

**g) Gender discrimination:** Status of women is lower as a second class citizen than male, in Kami community alike many other castes. There is

discriminatory division of work. Male are involved in cash work and women are mostly involved in the household chores. They have less access in education, health and other opportunities. Women are deprived from decision making in their own family.

#### **4.4.2 Livelihood of Kami and Occupation**

All Kami are not in traditional occupation. It was important to know the position of Kami according to the occupations and linked practices and perceptions with the occupation.

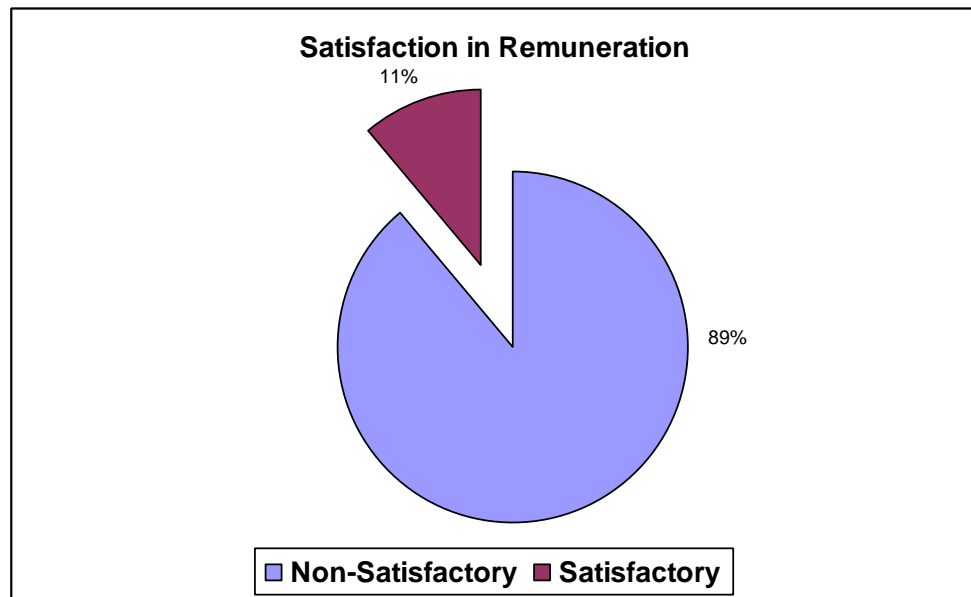
**a) Occupation:** Iron work (traditional occupation), construction works, manual work (daily wages, agriculture and porter etc) were popular among the community and job migration was high in the region. Still, there were more than half percentage of Kami (56%) engaged in traditional occupation (iron work). They get crops or cash for their labour but they had very less income. So, most of them were also engaged in other occupation like: agriculture, porter, construction work and other labour works to maintain their livelihood. Besides, some were in politics and in NGOs.

**b) Women and traditional occupation:** Women of the Kami community were not directly involved in Iron work but they supported their man indirectly. They were mostly engaged in agricultural works, household chores, etc to run their household etc

**c) Wages and traditional occupation:** Kami get both cash and crops as the wages but mostly crops. Practice has been to give crops as wages in yearly or half yearly basis. Participants said in FGD that practice is not realistic which does not have any calculation of hour or measurements of work for payment. So, traditional occupation has been taken in lower status by Kami themselves and society also looks it is a work of lower grade of earning. Earning by the traditional occupation (iron work) is not sufficient to run

their family so they themselves and their families are also involved in other manual or agricultural work for extra earning. Whether Kami themselves and their family were satisfied with the remuneration of traditional occupation or not were tried to identify through question which is given in table below:-

**Figure 4.4: Satisfaction in Remuneration**



*Source: Field Survey, 2013*

Out of 27 respondents, 89% (24) expressed that their remuneration is not satisfactory but only 11% (3) expressed their satisfaction on whatever they are getting. People who had replied positive answer have also expressed that getting employment being illiterate and unskilled labour is harder task in the competitive world so they are satisfied whatever they are getting.

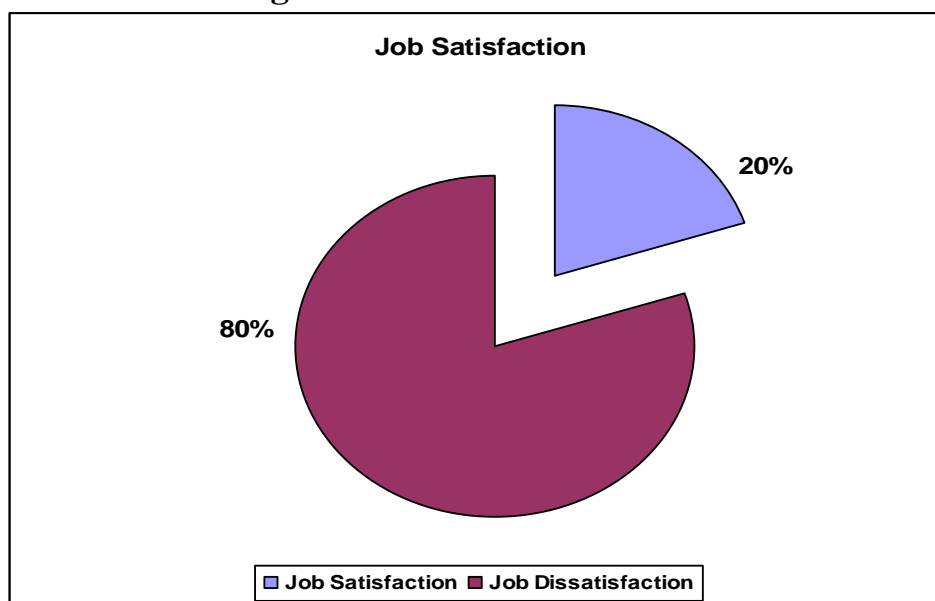
#### **4.5 Situation of Traditional Occupation**

According to youths earning by traditional means is getting harder with each preceding day so they find it difficult to work as only blacksmith, so they engage themselves in other occupation these days. Most of the youths who were in non traditional job were involved in physical labour although they do not have regular and sufficient earning being non skilled labour and not



highly educated they had not got good job but still they have better earning than traditional occupation holders. It was interesting to and important for the study to know the factor of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among Kami and a question was asked regarding this. The response of the queries has been given below:-

**Figure 4.5: Job Satisfaction**



*Source: Field Survey, 2013*

Out of 15 respondents in traditional occupation, only 3 (20%) have job satisfaction but 12 (80%) respondents have job dissatisfaction. A large number of respondents were dissatisfied from the traditional job so the reason for job dissatisfaction was also analyzed:-

**Table 4.3: Reason for Job Dissatisfaction**

Reason	Frequency	Percentage
Wage	6	50.00
Social Discrimination	5	41.67
Other	1	8.33
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100</b>

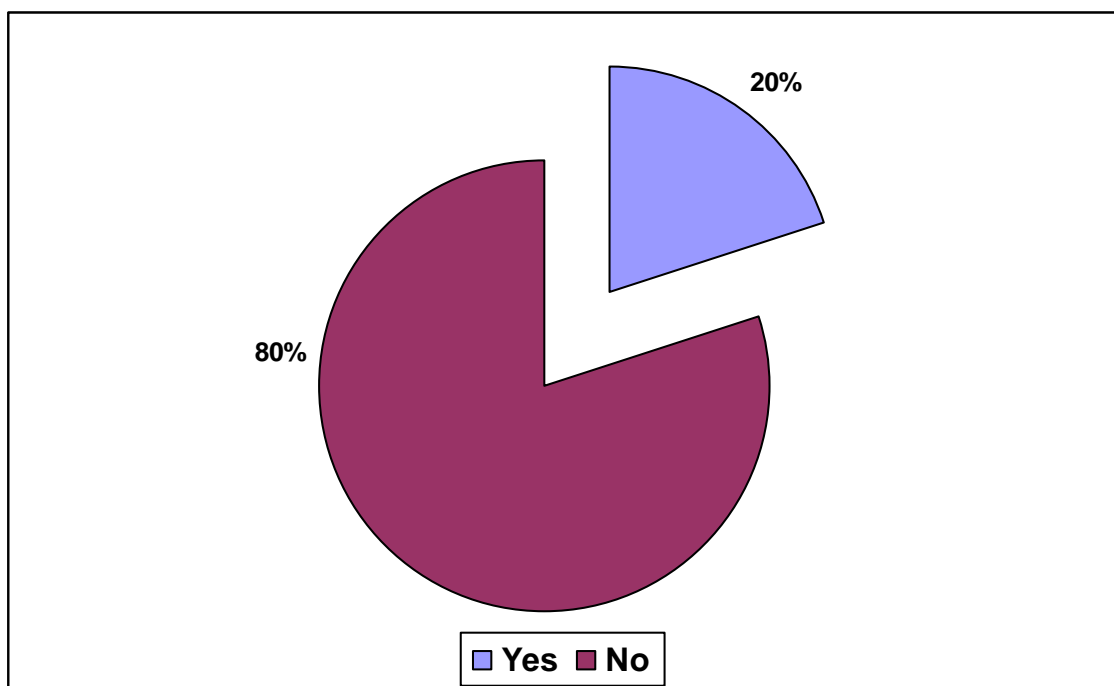
*Source: Field Survey, 2013*

Among the total of respondents (12) who were asked about job dissatisfaction, 50 % respondents had indicated main reason of it was unsatisfactory wage. Likewise 41.67 % respondents expressed social discrimination and 8.33 % had other reasons.

#### 4.6 Scope of traditional occupation

Most of the Kami men, women, youths, children and other community people do not believe that iron work could be continued by youngster and they could survive only from that occupation but they think modernizing the occupational tools and standard rate for their labour could be motivating factor because still there is scope to be self-employed by traditional occupation.

**Figure 4.6: Kami Youth and Preference in Traditional Occupation**



*Source: Field Survey, 2013*

Respondents were asked questions whether their new generation will give continuation to the traditional occupation or not. Only 3 (20%) respondents have given positive answer but in the same place 13 (80%) respondents gave negative answer.

#### 4.7 Social respect and traditional occupation

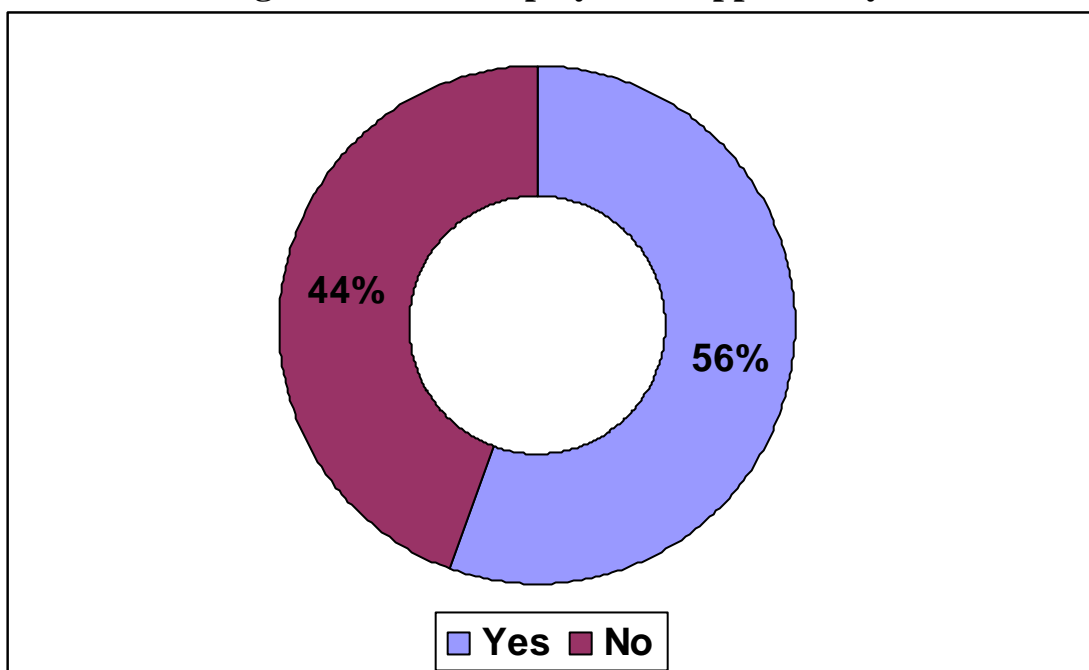
Youths and children consider that Kami who are in non-traditional occupation get social respect more than people in traditional occupation. Traditional occupation holders do not get regular order for work so

sometimes they are busy and sometimes they do not have job. Socially, these occupation holders get lower status in the society due to their occupation so youths have poor attraction on traditional occupation.

#### 4.8 Self-employment opportunity

To know the self-employment opportunity was important for the study therefore the question regarding the self-employment opportunity was asked to Kami respondents. Response is given below.

**Figure 4.7: Self-employment Opportunity**



*Source: Field Survey, 2013*

Out of total 27 Kami respondents, 15 (56%) respondents said that traditional occupations (Iron works) have self-employment opportunity but 12 (44%) respondents do not think that occupation has such opportunity. Respondents also said in discussion about the modernization of occupation as very much essential aspect. Agricultural tools still have demand in the local market as people are dependent subsistent farming and local manufacturers of tools.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP IN STUDY AREA**

#### **5.1 Social relationship and traditional occupation, customs and practices**

Occupation, occupational status, occupational earning, organization involvement and groups of social interaction influence the opinion and perception of people. It also determines the position so it was focused in the discussion and is analyzed below.

During discussion it was clearly expressed that Kami are ranked in the lower status in the social stratification as so called Dalit by the caste system, due to which, they are discriminated and treated unequally as well as ignored and excluded.

##### **5.1.1 Practice of touchability and untouchability**

Traditionally touchability and untouchability is socially accepted ill-practice in the Nepali society in the past. This practice has been restricted by laws but it still exists, basically in rural areas. For Kami, there are following restrictions and unwritten social practices:

They are not allowed to enter the house of other so called upper castes and ethnic community, temples and community buildings. They are not allowed to touch cooked food and water, water tap. They have to stay/sit in separate place in social gathering and religious and cultural ceremonies so that they do not touch things. It is in practice that if they touch eatable things, goods or water those things will not be useable. Kami in traditional occupation feel dominated and discriminated than the ones in other occupations.

These days Kami feel this practice are little flexible. They visit tea shops and hotels in the market and Melas which occurs during Dashain, Tihar and other time as well. But still some restrictions are the same and followed compulsorily like Kami do not participate in the religious procession and religious festival.

Kami who live out from the country or districts and who are in the non-traditional jobs, which have high mobility have no such degree of experiences of caste based discrimination in comparison to others, within their own community. Likewise, youths and children whose family are from non-traditional occupation feel little less discriminatory behaviour in community. Others too have lesser experiences in caste based discrimination when they are in schools. They mix up with the community youth and children. They equally participate in the child clubs and sport teams.

Kami who are literate and are in NGOs or political party feel change in practices when they participate and join workshops, seminars, meetings and social gatherings. But most of the female are illiterate and they have less participation in social function and they have strong experiences of such traditional ill-practices. They have been strongly maintaining distance with other caste people.

## **5.2 Social relations**

### **a) Social relation within Kamis**

Within the Kami caste, there are also several ranks. Goldsmith has higher status than Kami, who make iron items. There is no marital relationship accepted among them.

**b) Social relation under Kami**

There are also lower castes under the Kami (Lohar) like Sarki, Damai, Wadi and Gandharva. No marital relation with so called lower caste with Kami (Lohar) so far. Kami (Lohar) are has been applying the same caste based discriminatory practices with them. There is also touchability and un-touchability.

**c) Social relation within Dalit**

There is so called lower castes under the Kami like Sarki, Damai, Wadi, Gandharva etc. Kami have followed all the traditional rules, touchability and untouchability, restrictions, social relation with them as of the caste systems.

**d) Marital relation**

There is no marriage practice among higher castes, ethnic communities and Kamis including Kami. Kami also do not establish marital relation with so called lower caste than them like Sarki, Damai, Gandharva so far. Young girls and boys prefer marital relation with the family having non-traditional occupation for marriage. Kami including Kami mostly do not invite to non-dalits in marriage ceremony but youth invite their friends. If there is marriage in outside the home non-dalits also participate in the marriage. They also accept the food or fruits if it is cooked or offered by non-Dalits.

Love marriage issue was also spoken by women, they say they will allow their daughter and son to choose their partner but would oppose if she/he is of the other caste as – upper caste would bring trouble and lower caste would “disgrace” their family.

### **5.3 Rituals of Kami**

Kami have more or less same types rituals in marriage and other religious and cultural functions as Brahman, Chhetri, and some other castes have. Dowry system is not as prevalent in them as in other castes. Bride side gets some amount before marry. *Nwaran* (naming of new born child) and first time food offering to the baby are same as other castes have. But they have their own priest as Brahmins do not enter their houses or touch them to perform any rituals.

Funeral ceremony of Kami is same with other castes. They use priest from their own caste but books read by them is same as that of Brahmin and Chhetri. Community people help each other in any difficult or happy movements but mostly there is less participation from both sides as Dalits and non-Dalits in the functions. There is practice to go in funerals however they do not touch dead body as well. But they should collect the fire woods for last rituals.

### **5.4 Torture and harassment**

Unknowingly Kami are tolerating a type of social torture and harassment. Still, they are not confident enough to report about it or take any legal action. There is fear of getting out casted from the society.

### **5.5 Participation of Kami in politics**

There are all the national level political parties in Pokhara. There is representation of Kami in district level different committees of the political parties especially of those who are educated and who do not have traditional occupation but they do not have active role. They do

not have experiences of any special program by political parties which could address the problem of Dalits including Kami.

Youths are not ready to tolerate ill and discriminatory practices and they are not happy with political leaders who did not work as per the promises and their expectation to uproot such inhuman practices.

### **5.6 Kami and their organizations**

Children and youths are involved in child clubs and youth clubs. Kamis or Kami do not have their separate *Guthi* or other organizations but they have NGOs.

### **5.7 The Case Studies and Key Informant Interviews**

Individual case study has been developed to analyze the socio economic condition of the traditional iron workers called Kami .For this, the key informants were observed for days before they were asked for the interviews. Their day to day activities, their responses in the focal group discussion were all observed and noted down. Being quite informant and intently observed, they make very good case studies for the study. The names of the individuals have been changed as per their request of their confidentiality.

**Table 5.1: Caste status of the respondents in case studies and key informant interview**

<b>Caste Group</b>	<b>Interview Base</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Number</b>
Kami	Case Study	3	1	4
Chhetri	Key Informant	-	1	1
Brahman	Key Informant	1	-	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>

*Source: Field Survey, 2013*



### **Case study 1: Mr. A wants his children in non traditional occupation**

Through **Mr. A**, the study is able to analyse the prospect of traditional occupation holder and also that of political parties. He even highlighted the drawbacks of traditional occupation and payment methods. He is constant companion during field visit and it is his house where I started my field visit. His economic conditions were very poor though he is considered known leader in the community. He says his proudest moment is when people especially government officials have cup of tea with him at a local tea shops when the same people hesitate to do so with his own nephew.

He says it is his political exposure that has helped him though he complains that leader of his own party neglected him recently. He himself responded that how he is not much responded by leaders when he asks them to dine at his home. He says, “There is a district-based meeting and gathering of political party I am affiliated to a month ago. I am well known in the district for the political cause. I am active in the party and well known in the region. When I asked the regional chief to dine at my house, he showed various reasons and indirectly declined to dine with us. What do you make out from this?” According to him, exposure matters when it comes to exclusion.

He opines, “If we are able to modernize the equipments we use and commercialize our products, believe me we are going to get much respect. Though our occupation, we do not earn much economically and all the crops we get as a form of payment doesn’t last longer than 3 months. I depend much on social, political and other involvements apart from traditional occupation that helps me to get adjusted little easily than my other community members.” He does not want his sons to follow his traditional occupation. “If they are going to modernize the occupation and earn some real earning, then only I wish them luck with this occupation, otherwise they better use their luck somewhere else where they can be well accepted in the society,” he says

### **Analysis of the case study 1**

The case study of **Mr. A** shows traditional occupation holder has representation in the political party. After getting reputed post, exposure or recognition in the society, people present show quite positive attitude and dealings outside the home/community but level of social exclusion and practice of un-touchability still exists within the community. Earning of the traditional occupation cannot help to manage household more than 3 months in a year so traditional occupation holders do not want their sons to follow the same occupation. Actually payments methods are main drawbacks of traditional occupation.

If this occupation is well equipped, modernized, commercialized the products and income increased than after social respect and occupational attraction will be increased automatically. Not just this, people will stop having social prejudices with regard to this occupation and social inclusion will be promoted.

### **Case study 2: Mr. B in NGO**

**Mr. B** was born in Kaski. He studied in Kathmandu. He has completed school education. He works in NGO. He has many friends. His father is in traditional occupation. He has sisters and brothers in his family. He has less experiences of social discrimination in social functions and social gathering but his parents, brothers and sisters have different experiences that the community people treat them differently. Due to this he can compare how he is treated differently than them.

He says occupation, income and exposures are some of the factors which determine social respects. He does not want his children in traditional occupation. He says, “I have also seen how people behave when you leave this district. The same people who have been humiliating you behave as if nothing as such ever happens once they leave this district and meet you outside.”

“As I have studied in Kathmandu, I know how life is outside. Working in NGO has made me more confident, more forward. When I see people treating me differently than my father or brother, this makes me sad and happy at the same time. I feel like I have achieved something and also feel bad for them. This is how I have learnt that traditional occupation interferes in your exclusion and I would like my children to stay away from it as for now.

### **Analysis of case study-2**

Kami youth working in NGO having school education had different and better experiences than his parents, brother and sisters have regarding the social discrimination and exclusion. It shows that youths regard their traditional occupation and low income generated by it as the major factor for the social exclusion. They seem to consider exposure and strong economic condition to favour their transition from exclusion to inclusion in the society. Occupation, income and exposures were identified as the determining factor for social exclusion or respect. The main reason for dissatisfaction on the traditional occupation was low earning and social exclusion.

### **Case study 3: Literate Mrs. C in same position**

**Mrs. C** had come in Chinnedana after her marriage. She is high school dropout. She is housewife. She says social discriminatory practices are strongly followed in Chinnedanda and other remote areas. She does not feel caste based discrimination when she goes to other districts and town areas. Despite education she says she is treated badly because other women are illiterate and are not exposed as the men in the society.

She says, “When I set my foot outside the house, I feel extremely inferior but when outside this region honestly I feel I am no less. The discrimination here makes you doubt yourself.”

According to her, all women and men have to be aware against social discrimination and exclusion to change the societal ill practices. She wants to work for empowerment of Dalit women. She gets tortured from other women because she is literate and does not respect illogical and irrational practices. But youths and children come to her to get her support. Like girls comes to her making request to convince their parents to send them schools.

She says there are poor sanitation practices due to unawareness about health and hygiene, Chhaupadipratha and unscientific conservative believes prevails pushing this community more backward.

### **Analysis of case study-3**

**Mrs. C**, the representation of low literacy rate among women in Chinnedanda who too have come from outside the district. Being literate, she sounds confident and knows what is socially and legally acceptable. She feels caste based discriminatory practices in remote rural community than town areas. Educated women are also helpless due to the illiterate community. Especially girls are in need of support for their education and development.

Despite of being literate, she is forced to follow many rituals and is discriminated. Her study shows that literacy rate should rise in order to bring about change in the society. Illiteracy supports the ill-practices and stands in the way for positive changes.

#### **Case study 4: Mr. D in Engineering Workshop**

**Mr. D** has come to Kaski from Lamjung district twenty years ago. He opened his aaran (iron making shop) in Pokhara and started to produce Hasiya, Khukuri, Kodalo, Khanti, Jhampaletc but it was difficult for him to make good earning. Slowly he bought light welding machine and some other equipment and tools. He started to get enough work there. Slowly he expanded his shop with heavy equipment and some helpers were hired. His earning is good. Now he has his own land and home in Chinnedana-18, Pokhara.

His children have completed Bachelor Level. Some of his friends and villagers used to come to his house and accept water even food offered by him. In the beginning, it was not accepted. He had observed when he goes to his own village people do not discriminate him like in the past.

He says, “Economic condition, sanitation practices, living style, modern technologies, and family education makes difference in exclusion and social discrimination.” He also thinks if traditional occupation is modernized and income level increases, people of this occupation will not have to feel inferior and excluded due to occupation.

#### **Analysis of case study-4**

Case study of Bal Bahadur Kami who lives in Chinnedana-18, Pokhara shows economic condition, good maintains good sanitation, living style, modern technologies, and family education makes difference in social discrimination and exclusion. If there is high income in the occupation, people will not be discriminated and there will not be occupation wise inferior feelings.

New generation have little experiences of exclusion especially with them who are in city area. It shows that place where economic welfare is possible, there are aspects to grow and get new opportunity and gives good exposure can change the scenario of the society and individuals.

**Mrs. X** owns small fast food hotel in Chinnedanda. Her husband works as a transporter of various goods. She says she is uneducated but is good with money as she learned basics with her husband to run the fast food business. She says that she cannot socially exclude her customer as it would hamper her earning. “Her hotel is the meeting point of various youths, thus people are little aware and alert also because of political and social agendas from NGOs and INGOs so excluding them exclusively is out of point.” But she is seen making them wash their own cups and plate to the community members are of inferior quality. She is seen to behave well with Mr. A when he had once dined with the researcher there and he is fairly treated. She says she cannot do same with him as he is well known in the locality. Mr. B has reported that he is fairly treated than his relatives by the Mrs. X family whenever he is there because he works at NGO and doesn’t rely on their wages.

She is not seen practicing untouchability though she says she feels they do not maintain hygiene to some extent and her making them wash their dishes is for the same reason. She admits people are sometimes reluctant to drink water from her and accuse her of overstepping her social boundaries. She says, “I have to maintain some of the rituals. And if I don’t, people of other community would not come to have tea or food over my place. It, she says, took lot to convince people that dalits are treated with difference and exclusion is maintained in kitchen and food-water in her hotel.

### **Analysis of Key Informant Interview I**

Story of Mrs. X indicated women of other caste has been stepped out to catch up outside business where as Kami women has been staying inside the home deprived from various opportunities. Customers were equally served and treated in the fast food hotel of Mrs. X in a convincing way to other customers maintaining kitchen, food and water putting out of reach of Dalits which has minimized the social exclusion practices.

In Mrs. X's observation awareness levels of people was quite high through the political and social activities of NGOs and INGOs. People who were in political party and NGO were treated in a better way but much discriminatory behaviour was still in practices and Kamis from traditional occupation were treated traditionally. Sanitation practices were observed as the major reasons of untouchability/Pani nachalne to some extent.

### **Key Informant Interview II: Teacher and his behaviour**

Mr. Y is a head teacher of primary school at Chinnedanda. He claims to treat everyone equally and attitude and behaviour of the society has improved in comparisons with his and his father's time. "I have no problem with any such exclusion issues. Being a teacher, I cannot practice all this. I have to be fair and approachable to all," he says.

According to him, it is the dalit community who had fear of social restrictions and practice is without giving it a second thought. "Being of upper caste, I can say that we do not feel or compel them to practice all this social non-sense. It's they and their psychological thing that restricts them as they feel people may object. No one will, I can guarantee that. The feeling of equal has come to us now," he opines.

He says he invites Dalits in his family functions. Dalits are allowed to enter his house and he eats food cooked or offered by Dalits but villagers say that he discriminates a lot and they deny what he says. There are many people like Bhim who speaks but do not apply in practice.

### **Analysis of Key Informant Interview II**

The case story of Mr. Y, shows that the school teacher, who stands against discrimination, exclusion and ill cultural practices and claims to treat everyone equally has been also following the traditional ill practices in the real life in same way. The study also shows the attitude of the upper caste and their behaviour, participation in social exclusion. Though they deny their participation in such activities, they are promoting such activities in their own way. But it also shows that people know social exclusion is an evil practice and feel ashamed to admit they follow it. It shows gradual change in the attitude of the people. They seem to realise that such practices are not regarded proper and are not proud of it.



## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, the summary of the findings generated from the data analysis and interpretation, conclusion and recommendation have been included in the best possible manner in respect to my level of knowledge and comprehension.

#### 6.1 Summary

This study has centrally focused on the changing occupation pattern among the Kamis of Chinnedanda-18, Pokhara, Kaski. The general objective of this study is to find out the patterns of occupational shift among the Kamis in Chinnedanda of Pokhara Municipality. The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

- ) To identify the social exclusion problems in the Kami.
- ) To understand the socio economic profile of the Kami in Chinnedanda-18, Pokhara
- ) To describe the status and perspective of their traditional occupation and exclusion.

Basically, this is an academic study in regard to socio-economic condition of Kami through the perspective of traditional occupation. The study has mainly focused on the causes and the factors lay behind the shift of occupation and socio-economic condition of Kamis. The Kami's traditional occupation is an economic activity and this study is primarily a case study one. During the course of study, the traditional skill, occupation, the involvement and causes for the mobility in occupation as well as the new preferred occupation has also been given due focus. Similarly, social relationship of Kamis in relation to various aspects has also been focused. Additionally the literatures on work, occupation and Dalit studies have

been reviewed along with Dalit studies in Nepal. Also, literature on Kamis occupation in Nepal and the cause for change also have been reviewed.

Due to the various constraint such as budget, time, human power etc all Dalits of the study area were unable to include in the study. Besides, the universe is of small population size of 27 households. Since this group is reflecting more shifts from traditional occupation, 15 (56%) respondents are found of involved in their traditional occupation. This is an exploratory as well as descriptive study so it has followed both of these two types of research designs. The households built in the Chinnedanda have taken as universe and had made included in the study. The total population frame was 27 households for the reliability of the data. For the purpose of the study observation, interview schedule, focus group discussion and two of the case studies were adopted as data collecting technique to collect qualitative and quantitative data. Thus, the data collected for this study is dominantly primary. When needed, some of the important secondary data have also been incorporated. The above mentioned data collecting tools were devised very carefully in order to ensure their validity.

To begin with, the interview schedule prepared was firstly pre-tested and the results from this were used to refine the question in the interview schedule. Both structured and unstructured observations were made in the field work process. Case studies and focused group discussion which were primary unstructured one also conducted. Observations, Focused Group Discussion (FGD) and case study have yielded qualitative data, while interview schedule has yielded both types of data. The FGD participants were the representative of Kami and the personal that have long experience of the work has been provided by Kamis Blacksmiths to them and learned man from Dalit and Non-Dalit community. The collected data have been

analyzed by using computer program SPSS while qualitative data have been arranged manually and analyzed descriptively. Results of qualitative data analysis have been shown by using various tables, charts and diagrams.

As Kami a major occupational caste bears very important place in the society, they perform work to the so called upper caste people and manufacturing and repairing of the agricultural tools as well. This has showed somewhere as functional interrelationship between the different groups of the people. But, these days the Kami are leaving their traditional occupation and adopting new job. The government policies and societal attitude are found to be the most prominent factor for shift of occupation. Since, the occupational castes in Nepal are unable to survive, due to the mechanization, industrialization, globalization and the behavioural attitude of the society are found to be main factor for the shift from the traditional occupation. Besides the fact the low income generation and job dissatisfaction are main bases for shifting of occupation.

### **Major Findings**

During the study, it has been explored and explained the importance of occupational caste to Nepalese society as well as various discoveries were been made. The major of such discoveries are listed below:

- ) Kami are tolerating a type of social torture and harassment. Still, they are not confident enough to report about it or take any legal action. There is fear of getting outcasted from the society.
- ) Out of total 27 Kami respondents, 19 were male and 8 were female. Among 19 males, 7 are illiterate, 10 are school drop-outs and 2 were high school drop-outs. Among 8 females, 7 female are illiterate and only 1 woman was literate.

- J 55.56% (15) Kamis are involved in traditional occupation whereas 44.44% (12) involved in non-traditional occupation.
- J 55.56% (15) were earning their means of living by traditional occupation, 37.04% (10) were involved in manual work like agriculture and 7.40% (2) were working in business and non-profit organization and none were involved in governmental services.
- J Kami are facing inequality and exclusion in social behaviour and practices which has put an impact on their accessibility to opportunities and deprived them from development. They are victimised of social-exclusion due to the low economic condition and social stigma.
- J Kami's felt they have poor sanitation and due to the poor sanitation practices, their health especially of infant and children is not good.
- J Most of the Kami have poor economic condition and hardly make decent livelihood. Due to low education background and proper trainings, it is also difficult to get good job in the market.
- J Kami women have less access to education. They have less access in education, health, economic activities and opportunities than male and do not have family property in their name and have less decision making power on their own earning as well. They do not have direct role in iron work but they support their male family members. They were mostly engaged in agricultural works, household chores, etc
- J Most of the Kami children whose parents have other means of earning other than traditional occupation are seen to have got chances to go schools because of better earning in the family. But there are still out of school children and school dropout rate is also high.
- J There is poor attraction in the traditional occupation of Kami due to lack of modernized equipments, expensive raw material and market

competition. There is discriminatory division of work. Male are involved in cash work and women are mostly involved in the household chores.

- ) All Kami are not in traditional occupation. Position of Kami drawn according to the occupations and linked practices and perceptions with the occupation. Iron work (traditional occupation), construction works, manual works were popular among the community and job migration was high in the region. Traditional occupation has been taken in lower status by Kami themselves and society.
- ) More than half percentage of Kami (56%) engaged in traditional occupation. Others are in other occupation like: agriculture, porter, construction work and other labour works to maintain their livelihood. Besides, some were in politics and in NGOs.
- ) Earning by the traditional occupation is not sufficient to run family. Many Kamis are also involved in other manual or agricultural work for extra earning. 89% (24) respondents expressed that their remuneration is not satisfactory but only 11% (3) expressed their satisfaction on whatever they are getting. Earning by traditional means is getting harder with each preceding day as they do not get regular order for work so sometimes they are busy and sometimes they do not have job.
- ) Getting employment being illiterate and unskilled labour is harder task so they are satisfied whatever they are getting.
- ) Youths who were in non traditional job were involved in physical labour although they do not have regular and sufficient earning being non skilled labour and not highly educated they had not got good job but still they have better earning than traditional occupation holders. Youths and children whose family are from non-traditional occupation feel little less discriminatory behaviour in community.

- J Out of 15 respondents, only 3 (20%) have job satisfaction but 12 (80%) respondents have job dissatisfaction and the dissatisfaction being: 6 (50 %) respondents reported unsatisfactory wage, 5 (41.67 %) respondents expressed social discrimination and (1) 8.33 % reported other reasons for not being satisfied.
- J Only 3 (20%) respondents of new generation will give continuation to the traditional occupation but in the same place 13 (80%) respondents gave negative answer. Youths and children consider that Kami who are in non-traditional occupation get social respect more than people in traditional occupation.
- J 15 (56%) respondents said that traditional occupations (Iron works) have self-employment opportunity but 12 (44%) respondents do not think that occupation has such opportunity.
- J Kami are ranked in the lower status in the social stratification as so called Dalit by the caste system, due to which, they are discriminated and treated unequally as well as ignored and excluded. Traditionally, touchability and untouchability practice has been restricted by laws but it still exists.
- J Kami who live out from the country or districts and who are in the non-traditional jobs faces no such experiences of caste based discrimination in comparison to others, within their own community.
- J Within the Kami caste, there are also several ranks. Goldsmith has higher status than Kami, who make iron items. There is no marital relationship accepted among them. There are also lower castes under the Kami like Sarki, Damai, Wadi and Gandharva. There is no marriage practice among higher castes, ethnic communities and Kamis including Kami. Kami have more or less same types rituals in marriage and other religious and cultural functions as Brahman, Chhetri, and some other castes have.

## **6.2 Conclusion**

The study found that caste based discrimination, exclusion, poor sanitation practices, poverty, illiteracy, gender discrimination were major problems of the Kami community. Findings show the interrelationship between traditional occupation and exclusion though there are other supporting factors like poor economic condition due to traditional occupation, old technology, caste based practices and customs biased perspective related to it. As a whole, the study seems to verify many issues related to social exclusion basically resulting from traditional occupation and supporting factors to it. Basic problem of Kami's is untouchability; due to this they always feel inferior. This exclusion has deprived them from getting proper education and access to opportunities which are the basic reason to be economically and academically back and has hinder them from establishing better and equal status in the society. From the responses of the community members, the social exclusion can be diminished but time factor plays a major role in this. Most of the people both educated and illiterate know social discrimination and exclusion are bad social practices and restricted from the Laws. They do not have any logics to treat in that way. But still so called higher caste people and ethnic group treat Kami unequally and discriminatorily although there are few noticeable changes which could be clearly observed.

Higher education, new occupation, better earning and high economic condition and changing the places has brought countable changes in the existing attitude, practice, behavior and traditional customs. Other than traditional occupation Kami's were engaged in farming, porter, daily wages labour, labour in construction works and job migration to India. Business like hotels, tea shops were not acceptable occupation for them due to practices of untouchability. Youth were in nontraditional occupation

although they were in manual work because of illiterately or non-skilled labour but they had better earning than traditional occupation holders and better condition in society. The ones with other means of occupation are respected; or rather not much dominated when it is compared to his traditional occupation holding counterparts which relates with caste system profession. Actually Kami's traditional occupation is in risk due to low income. If incomes increase, charm in this occupation will be increased and people from other casts also come to respect and Kami will not feel inferior having this occupation. Socio-economic status of Kami having traditional occupation in Nepal is very poor but urbanization, education and employment in other sectors have brought about changes to some extent in the position in terms of equality and discrimination.

The income presently earned by the respondents performing different occupation besides the traditional one is an undeniable significant component of the study area economy. Majority of the household of the respondents in the study site could not satisfy their needs by adopting traditional occupation. So, they are compelled to choose the alternative occupation for the fulfillment of their needs. Caste exploitation and discrimination is the main cause for the low earning from the traditional occupations. This had also remained a source of subordination to the Dalits. Different social practices, rough and hard work, low income earning and low social prestige had forced the Kami to seek a new means of livelihood. Adoption of a new occupation has contributed to increase the access to other livelihood assets. In this respect, the respondents of the study site also are socialized to be familiar with the adoption of new occupation leaving the traditional one. The relationship of changing occupational patterns is also examined with reference to several aspects of opportunity structures like education, occupational prestige and size of the family.



### **6.3 Recommendations**

The new constitution must state that untouchability is an abomination that is contrary to the constitution and must be abolished and prohibited in public as well as private places. Effective means must be devised to end impunity and ensure that untouchability is treated as a serious social crime and a crime against the State and humanity. The Constituent Assembly must ensure that Dalits are represented properly and consulted during the crafting of the new constitution. The new constitution must ensure that the fundamental and human rights of Dalits are not violated in the name of social norms and values. Special provisions should be made in the constitution to address Dalits' problems and ensure Dalits are not disadvantaged by autonomous states in a federal system.

Program, seminar or training must be given to emphasize the traditional work of the Blacksmiths as currently they face caste based discrimination, ranking them to a low grade in the society. Their work is important but the works is not counted as productive. The relevant agencies must focus their special interest towards the Kamis Modernization of their traditional skill is the single alternatives for strengthening their economy in coming days as Kami's occupation is getting less popular within them. The new constitution must guarantee Dalits access to employment of their choice and priority in the economic sector, including practice of affirmative action.

The state must take seriously the Right to Development for which it has voted in United Nations forums. Illiteracy within Kami must be ended through active education system by the trained teacher. The right to education should be incorporated in the constitution and be enforceable in court. The reservation policies should not be only for economic upliftment, but it must be for social upliftment too. Special programs must be launched

for the control of population growth so that the mass poverty can be reduced or eliminated. Some hard effective programs must be formulated to preserve and promote the traditional occupation of the Kami as the government policies fall short over the years.

Unity among the Dalit organizations is needed to achieve the goal and common vision: equitable and just society for the Dalits. It is strongly recommended to formulate and implement special and effective programs for uplifting Kami in the society by guarantying the equal right and opportunities to the Kami people. There must be more media attentions to Kami suffering and oppression, as well as information about the positive activities carried out of them.

Government must arrange all necessary requirements for the traditional occupation such as raw material and proper market for the upliftment of the traditional occupation. Human rights should also bind the private sector and NGOs and INGOs. There should be strong provision of penalty and punishment for those who are guilty of discrimination and untouchability against them. The upliftment plans, policies and programs should be from the bottom for the socio-economic upliftment.

Legal provisions must secure representation of Dalits in all structures of the state in proportion to the population in the country. An accurate census should establish the correct number of Dalits. Recognizing the difficulties faced by Dalits in the education system, the age limit for Dalits should be fives years higher than for other candidates applying for positions in both the public and the private sectors.

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## Questionnaire cum Schedule

कामीजातिको अविकास र वहिष्करणमा उनीहरूले गर्ने पेशापनि एउटा कारण हो भन्ने अध्ययन अनुसन्धानकालागितयार पारिएको प्रश्नावली समुदायकाअगुवासंग लिइने अन्तरवार्ताको प्रश्नावली (यीअगुवाहरू कामी र गैर कामीहरू मध्ये राजनैतिक नेता, शिक्षक, सरकारी वा गैरसरकारी कर्मचारी, अगुवामहिलाजो पनिहुन सक्छन र तीमध्ये कम्तिमापनि सबैको प्रतिनिधित्वहुने गरि पांचजनासंग लिनु पर्ने छ, तलउल्लेखितप्रश्नमध्ये कुनै कुनैको जवाफनआएवांकीप्रश्नको उत्तर खोज्नु पर्छ )

नाम:

उमेर:

लिंग:

जात:

शिक्षा:

पेशा:

ठेगाना

मिति:

कार्यरत क्षेत्र:

१. यो गाउँमा रहेका कामीहरूका मुख्य मुख्य समस्याहरू के के हुन भन्ने लाग्छ ?

२. उनीहरूले आफ्नो गुजाराका लागि के के पेशाहरू अपनाएका छन् ?

३. उनीहरूका परम्परागत पेशाहरू के के हुन? (सुनचाँदीको गहना बनाउने, तामा पित्तलको भाँडा बनाउने, फलामका औजार बनाउने, वांस चोयाका सामान बनाउने, काठको काम गर्ने, घर टहरा बनाउने वा अन्य कुनै छ की ?

४. यहाँ भएका कामीहरू मध्ये कतिले आफ्नो परम्परागत पेशा अपनाएका छन् ?

५. परम्परागत पेशा अपनाएकाहरूले ज्यालाको रूपमा के पाउँछन्? नगद वा अन्न वा अन्य कुनै वस्तु?

६. यदि अन्न वा वस्तु पाउँछन भने त्यो वालीघरे, खलो वा के प्रथाको रूपमा प्राप्त गर्छन्?

७. परम्परागत पेशा बाहेक अन्य के काम गर्छन् ? (खेतिपाती, ज्याला मजदुरी, भारतमा रोजगारी, अरव वा मलेशियामा रोजगारी)

८. परम्परागत पेशा गर्नेले आफ्नो परिवारको आवश्यकता धान्न सक्छ ? यदि सक्दैन भने अन्य उपायहरू के अपनाउँछन् ?



९. यहां भएका कामीहरू मध्ये परम्परागत पेशा गर्ने र नगर्ने विचमा कस्तो अन्तर देख्नु हुन्छ ? (परम्परागत पेशा गर्नेको स्थिति राम्रो छ वा नगर्नेको ?

१०. कामीहरूलाई यहां कस्तो व्यवहार गरिन्छ ? उनीहरूलाई छुवाछुतको व्यवहार गरिन्छ की गरिदैन ? यदि गरिन्छ भने कहाँ कहाँ र कस्तो कस्तो ठाउँमा गरिन्छ ?

११. उनीहरूलाई छुवाछुतको व्यवहार कस्ले गर्छ र किन गर्छ ?

१२. कामीहरूले आफुभन्दा तलका दलितहरू (साकी, दमाई, वादी, गन्धर्व)लाई छुवाछुतको व्यवहार गर्छनकी गर्दैनन?

१३. परम्परागत पेशा गर्ने कामीहरू र नगर्ने कामीहरूलाई छुवाछुत तथा अन्य भेदभाव कस्तो छ ? परम्परागत पेशा गर्नेहरूले वढि भेदभाव खप्नु पर्छ ?

१४. यहां मन्दिरहरू कतिको छन् ? ती मन्दिरहरूमा कामी तथा अन्य दलितहरूलाई कस्तो भेदभाव गरिन्छ ? के उनीहरूले स्वतन्त्ररूपमा मन्दिर भित्र पस्ने तथा पूजा गर्न पाउँछन् ? के उनीहरूले चढाएको प्रसादहरू ग्रहण गरिन्छ ?

१५. यहां मेलापर्व तथा जात्राहरू के के लाग्छन् ? ती जात्रा तथा मेला पर्वहरूमा छुवाछुत वा अन्य भेदभावहरू गरिन्छ ?

१६. कामीहरूले विवाह गर्दा के कस्तो रिति रिवाजहरू अपनाउँछन् ? उनीहरूको चलन अन्य जातिको भन्दा कतिको फरक छ ? उनीहरूको कर्मकाण्डमा कस्ले सघाउं छ ?

१७. कामीहरूले विवाह गर्दा अन्य जातिका व्यक्तिहरूलाई निम्ता गर्छन्, यदि गर्छन भने गैरदलितका व्यक्तिहरू भोजभतेरमा सामेल हुन्छन्? त्यस्तो भोज भतेरमा उनीहरूका भान्से छुट्टै हुन्छन वा संगै पकाएको खान्छन्?

१८. कामीहरूले विवाह गर्दा अन्य जातिका व्यक्तिहरूलाई निम्ता गर्छन्, यदि गर्छन भने गैरदलितका व्यक्तिहरू भोजभतेरमा सामेल हुन्छन्? त्यस्तो भोज भतेरमा उनीहरूका भान्से छुट्टै हुन्छन वा संगै पकाएको खान्छन्?

१९. कामीहरूका आफ्नै गुठी वा अन्य परम्परागत संघ संगठनहरू छन्? यदि छन् भने तीनीहरूले के गर्छन्?

२०. कामीहरू जन्मदा के के व्यवहारहरू गर्छन् ? उनीहरूले गर्ने व्यवहार र अन्य जातिहरूले गर्ने व्यवहारमा के फरक छ ?
२१. कामीहरू मर्दा मलामी को जान्छन्, सजातीय मात्रै वा अरू पनि जान्छन्?
२२. उनीहरूको मृत्यु संस्कार अन्य जाति भन्दा फरक छ वा उस्तै हो ?
२३. कामीहरूको परिवार तथा समाजमा महिला पुरुष विच कस्तो सम्बन्ध छ ? महिलालाई भेदभाव र अपमान गरिन्छ वा समान व्यवहार गरिन्छ ?
२४. कामीहरू विचमा छाउपडि प्रथा कस्तो छ ? त्यसले महिलाहरूलाई कस्तो प्रभाव पारेको छ ?
२५. यहां कुन कुन राजनैतिक पार्टीहरू छन् ? त्यसमा कामीहरूको प्रतिनिधित्व कस्तो रहेको छ ?

२६. राजनैतिक पार्टीहरूले कामी तथा अन्य दलित समुदायलाई समेट्ने खालका कुनै कार्यक्रमहरू गरेका छन्?

२८. यहां अन्य संघ संगठन तथा संस्थाहरू के के छन् ? ती संस्थाहरूमा कामीहरूको पहुँच र प्रतिनिधित्व कस्तो छ ?

२९. राजनैतिक पार्टी तथा संघ संस्थाहरूमा पुगेका कामीहरू मध्ये परम्परागत पेशा गर्ने र नगर्ने मध्ये को वढि पुगेका छन् ?

३०. नगरपालिकाले दिन सेवा सुविधा र विकासमा कामीहरूको कस्तो पहुँच छ ? उनीहरूले कतिको फाइदा पाएका छन् ?

३१. कामीका ६० वर्ष नाघेका वृद्धवृद्धाहरूका गाउँमा कतिको छन् ? भएकाले वृद्ध भत्तो पाएका छन् की छैनन्?

३२. कामीहरूको शैक्षिक अवस्था कस्तो छ ? बालबालिकाहरू स्कूल जान्छन् की जाँदैनन् ? यहां कामी मध्ये सबै भन्दा वढि कति कक्षा सम्म पढेका छन् र कति जना छन् ?

३३. स्कूल जाने वालवालिाकाहरूले स्कूलवाट छात्रवृत्ति पाउंछन की पाउदैनन ?

३४. स्कूल जाने मध्ये परम्परागत पेशा गर्नेका छोराछोरी धेरै छन वा नगर्नेका ?  
यदि फरक छ भने किन होला ?

३५. स्कूल जाने वालवालिाकाहरूले कहिल्यै भेदभा खेप्नु परेको छ की छैन ?

३६. स्कूलमा सरस्वती पूजा हुन्छ ? यदि हुन्छ भने दलितका वालवालिाकाहरू  
त्यसमा सहभागी हुन्छन् की हुदैनन ?

३७. स्कूलमा व्यवस्थापन समिति तथा शिक्षक अभिभावक संगठनहरू छन् की  
छैनन ? यदि छन् भने त्यसमा कामी तथा अन्य दलितहरूको पहुंच र प्रतिनिधित्व  
कस्तो छ ?

३८. स्कूल व्यवस्थापन समितिमा भएका कामी मध्ये परम्परागत पेशा गर्ने वा  
नगर्ने मध्ये को वढि छन् ?

३९. यहां कामीहरूले विवाह गर्दा अन्तरजातीय विवाह पनि गर्दछन् ? यदि गर्छन् भने कुन कुन जाति संग भएको छ ? त्यस्तो विवाह गर्दा के कस्तो समस्या आई परेको छ ?

४०. जसको परम्परागत पेशा छैन उनीहरूको आम्दानीको मुख्य श्रोत के के हुन ?

४१. परम्परागत पेशा गर्ने र नगर्ने विचको सम्बन्ध तथा फरकहरू के के छन् ?

४२. परम्परागत पेशा गर्ने तथा नगर्नेलाई कामीहरू आफैले कसरी हेर्छन् र उपल्ला जातिहरूले कसरी हेर्छन् ?

४३. परम्परागत पेशा गर्नेहरूले आफ्नो पेशा भावी पुस्ताले पनि गरौस भन्ने चाहन्छ वा चाहदैन ? यदि चाहन्छ वा चाहदैन भने किन ?