Unit-1

INTRODUCTION

1. Background

Nepal is a country of multi-caste/multi ethnic, religious and multi lingual societies where different caste/ethnic people have been living for ages. Among them, Chepang is one and also known as *Adivasi Janajati*. The national foundation for upliftment of *Adivasi Janjati* 2002 defines *Adivasi Janjati* as those group or communities who have their own mother tongue, customs, distinct social structure and written or oral history (UNESCO, 2006).

Change is the law of nature, which denotes a difference in some period of time what is today shall be different from what would be tomorrow. MacIver and Page has defined changes as variation from the accepted modes of life, whether due to alteration in geographical condition, in cultural equipment composition of population or ideologies and whether brought about by diffusion or innovations within the groups.

In this study the phenomenon of 'change' has been dealt with from a sociological stance. The focus has been laid upon a particular community of people and how there society and culture have undergone change. By the term 'change' I refer to the process of adaptation through the alterations in their livelihood strategies due to the differing socio-cultural, economic and physical environment over the past couple of decades. Instead of dealing in details about this environmental change, the intention of the study has been to explore how the particular group of people has made modification in their way of life to adapt to the changing circumstances.

Change is a universal and continuous phenomenon, which is found in all the societies at all time. There have been several changes in the livelihood of Chepangs over the past few decades. For instance, for generations they had lived a semi-nomadic existence, hunting, food-gathering and fishing with the help of varieties of indigenous tools as bows, snares, traps, baskets, hooks as well as some slash and burn cultivation. However, their economy is passing through the transitional phase of natural economy to simple agrarian economy, from forest economy to agroer agrarian field and market economy and from the nomadic life to the settled life. Moreover, along with the development of infrastructure like road construction, education, market extension has played significant role for the changes in their livelihood. These days, some of the Chepang are dependent on local wage labour, business, horticulture, service etc. for their livelihood.

This study intends to investigate and analyze how Chepangs livelihood has been changing over the last one decade and how they are adapting in a changing context. The main objective of the study is to examine the change on livelihood of Chepangs at Mahadevsthan of Dhading district. However, the study has specially focused upon documenting the past and present livelihood strategies of Chepang in the study area.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There are several studies on livelihoods carried out by different scholars (Chhetri 2006, Bhurtel 2006 and Kattel 2006). Their studies have focused on change on livelihood of people of particular communities in a certain geographical areas. Their studies have however focused on the changes in the livelihood of Kumal people of Pokhara and Tumlingtar of Nepal due to modern market, construction of development infrastructure and modern education. Despite these studies, livelihood and change account to still an important and interesting study matter for sociological inquiry and investigation.

Based on their argument I also argued that Chepang livelihood must have undergone change due to the development of infrastructure, modern education and market economy in their area as well as their surrounding. These factors must not have merely brought about changes in their economic life but may have also in socio-cultural life in the study area. For instance, traditionally Chepang followed the semi nomadic life, hunting and gathering, fishing economy for their survival. But in the present context, does their traditional economy still exist? If not what are their present livelihood strategies?

The various studies show that Chepang people had lived a semi-nomadic existence, hunting, food-gathering and fishing with the help of varieties of indigenous tools as bows, snares, traps, baskets, hooks and use of poison as well as some slash and burn cultivation (Gurung,1989). However, their economy is passing through the transitional phase of natural economy to simple agrarian economy, from forest economy to field economy and from the nomadic life to the settled life. Gurung further pointed out that Chepangs do not practice their age-old traditional means of subsistence as food gathering in the jungle due to the over exploitation of jungle. They had to accept agriculture as their source of livelihood because agriculture, cattle or livestock breeding, animal husbandry, basket making and carpentry were the nearest supplements to their traditional economy. The newly built roads have brought them in regular and stable contacts to the outside world (ibid.). In my understanding, it is essential to examine the past studies. Therefore, it is still essential for investigation the change in the livelihood of the chepang people.

Based on the problems raised above, the present study will nave attempt to seek the answer of the following questions:

-) What were the major adoptive livelihood strategies of Chepangs people in the past last one decade?
-) What is their present livelihood strategy?
-) Are their visible differences in their economic life in past (ten decade ago) and at present? If yes what are the noticeable changes in their livelihood?
-) What are the major causes of change in the livelihood of Chepang?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objectives of the study are to understand changes on livelihood among Chepangs people of Ghairang in Dhading district. The specific objectives of the study area as follows:

-) To identify the socio-cultural and economic characteristics of the Chepangs of the study area.
-) To analyze the livelihood strategies of Chepang of the study area,
-) To examine the changing factors of livelihood of Chepang

1.4 Significance of the Study

Basically, this study has aimed to focus on the change on livelihood patterns of Chepangs. This study has tried to provide some new information about change and livelihood of Chepangs. Therefore, the findings of this study have added something to existing knowledge regarding changing factors on livelihood among Chepangs of the study area. Also the information obtained from this study will be a secondary source of data to the prospective researchers.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

This is the study about change in livelihood of Chepang. Therefore I have developed a conceptual framework which describes past and present livelihood strategy along with the contributing factors for the change of Chepang in the study area. They used to mainly depend on hunting and gathering, fishing, handicraft making and subsistence agriculture in the past. Along with the development of infrastructure like road construction, education, market extension was the major factor which brought about a lot of changes in their past adaptive strategies for instance, Chepangs of Ghairang village have taken wage labour, business, horticulture, service as a new adaptive strategies or livelihood optio. The figure 1 shows the past and present adaptive strategies or livelihood option of Chepang and the factors which have played the significance role to bring change in their livelihood options.

Changing livelihood Strategy of Chepang

1.6 Organization of the Study

This Thesis has been divided into seven chapters. The first chapter is a brief introduction including background of the study, statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, the significant of the study, the conceptual framework of the study, and organizational structure of study.

In the second chapter, a review of literature relevant to this study has been done. This chapter basically discusses theoretical review and problem related issues like Chepangs and other livelihood. The third chapter contains the research methods employed in collection of the relevant data and its presentation.

The core section of the dissertation starts from the four chapter. In the chapter an account has been made of the study area. The fifth chapter describes the population under study focusing on the socio-cultural and economic characteristics of Chepangs. The sixth chapter deals with the change in livelihood and impact of economic change on social life has been discussed. In chapter seven, the summary and conclusion of the study have been put.

Unit-2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Theoretical Review

Cultural Ecology: Theoretical Framework of Analysis

Cultural ecology was emerged during late 1950s with the contribution of Julian Steward. Cultural ecology is a discipline of anthropology which examines and describes the relationship between human population and environment. Moreover, it also analyzes the relationship between culture and environment (Ember and Ember, 1990). In this regard Orlove (1980) states that central concern of cultural ecology is the study of the relationship which pertains between environment, population dynamic or demography and human culture and social organization. Therefore, culture is taken as means of adaptation or mediator between environment and human population (Steward, 1955).

Julian steward was interested not only in establishing environmental – Cultural theoretical methodological scheme for understanding development of human societies. According to him, cultural ecology differs from neo-evolutionist conception of cultural history in the sense that "it introduced the local environment as the extra cultural factors in the fruitless assumption that culture comes from culture" (Steward, 1955). He is mainly concerned with the ways in which particular environmental features interact with specific features of culture /society and in the patterns of activity adopted by social groups to exploit a particular ecological niche. Here the crucial biological science is taken to mean that the total environment can be divided into a number of areas within which different groups live and one may study the inter-relationship between a social group occupying one niche (habitat) and these occupying other niches.

Thus, although several social groups may live and subsist in the same geographical area, in fact they occupy quite different niches and have very different subsistence goods. In other worlds, they many develop a symbolic relation. Steward in his analysis of cultural ecology, has carefully demonstrated why a specific group adapts to a specific ecological niche.

Steward's concept of cultural adaptation is theoretically important in that it breaks the circular argument that only culture can explain culture, which in sense remains true. The key to the adaptation of a culture is its technology; the method of cultural ecology developed by Steward stresses upon technology. The method of cultural ecology has three aspects:

- (i) The analysis of method of production in the environment must be analyzed
- (ii) The pattern of human behavior that is part of the methods must be analyzed in order to
- (iii) Understand the relationship of production techniques to the other elements of the culture. However, Steward does emphasize that the extent to which productive activities influence a culture is always an imperial problem.

In this study, I also tried to applied this perspective to analyse the relationship between Chepang population, their surroundings, focusing on the change in their livelihood.

2.2 Origin of Chepangs

There are many controversies about the origin of Chepangs. Some scholars have tried to derive their origin through etymologies.

Regarding the history of the Chepang, no concrete evidence has been found till date. Therefore, it is difficult to say which version is true or authentic. To write about these Chepangs, researcher is compelled to use the help of oral legend and myth. Though this oral version may be exaggerated unreliably due to the lack of evidence, these versions can also be and must be given a place, until the proper evidence is found. The Chepangs claim to be the indigenous tribes of the regions they inhabit. They consider themselves to be the descendants of lord Rama's son Lav (Gautam and Thapa Magar, 1994).

There are various statements in the origin of the word 'Chepang'. In Chepang language 'Che' means 'Dog' and 'Pang' means an 'Arrow'. Likewise, in Chepang language 'chyo' means 'top of the hills' and 'bang' means 'rock'. In this way 'Chyobang' means settler of the top of hills or the cave of the rock. After long time, it has undergone the changes and they are called 'Chepang' (Adhikari, 1989).

In different literature, there are different views about the origin of Chepang. Adhikari (1977) states that a virgin lady, in ancient time, gave birth to a child whose father had been an unknown male. She took the infant into the forest and left it there, pressing it with a stone to show her innocent. But the child survived and grew up by the Mercy of nature in the forest. He was later named 'Chepang' which is the corrupt word of Chepieko or the pressed. Nakarmi (1995), argued that Chepang are the descendant of Gurung and Tamang man and Praja women.

According to the Chepags, they are offspring of Sita's son Lohari or Lava, who is famous in the Hindu Epic Ramayan during the exile of Seeta. She had to stay in the cottage of a hermit Balmiki near a river and she gave birth to son named Lohari- seeing the entertainment of the monkeys with their babies. She took her baby to the river to show the monkeys without giving any information to the holy man of the cottage. He became restless to find the baby missing from the cradle. He blamed Sita. He created new baby resembling the former one out of 'Kus-grass'. Sita was surprised to see another baby in the cradle. The Hermit explained and convinced her own son. The new baby was named Kusari. The Chepangs believed that they are the descendants of Lohari and Kusunda of Kusari (Nakarmi, 1995).

Bista (1972) explained the distinction between two economic groups of Chepang, i.e. Pukanthali and Kachhare. He found that Chepang from eastern Nepal are similar to Chepang of the west. He also explained that Chepang were originated from the stone of Mahabharat Mountain Range. He further writes Chepangs are offspring of the Kiranti (Rai-Limbu) group that inhabits in Sunathali Dolakha in the east.

Basan (1997) and Khatri (2003), argued that The Chepangs are progeny of a holly man called Chewan. Later the word 'Chewan' turned into Chewang and finally in 'Chepang. Though the name 'Chepang' has come to be associated with their primitiveness and backwardness, they prefer to be called by 'Praja', which means subject of the king instead of the Chepang. The Chepangs are known by another Pseudo term '*Praja*'. Previously, they were placed in lower ranking by being called as Chepang. Afterwards there was a saying that late king Mahendra placed importance on them as one of the ethnic groups of Nepal by calling 'Praja'. Therefore, Chepang began to identify themselves as '*Praja*' (citizen).

Unlike some of the Nepalese community, Chepangs have no division, sub division and hierarchy among themselves. All the Chepangs consider themselves of equal status. Either socially or economically they are not grouped or they have no restriction or hindrance on their food and other affairs. Their whole life is centered around very little agriculture, including hunting, fishing and food gathering. They may freely interline and intermarry. In spite of this, some of the terms indicating differentiation are used by them like SunPraja, Lahari Praja, Baisnal Praja and Simply Praja, the Chepangs of makawanpur call themselves Lahari Praja or Baisnal Praja (Bista,1967), But the Chepangs of Dhading, Gorkha and Chitawan clain that they are SunPraja or Simply Praja. It seems that they maintain some kind of hierarchy among themselves, Sun Praja are considered superior to the Praja and Lahari Praja (Nakarmi, 1995).

2.3 Studies related to Chepangs and others' Livelihood

"A livelihood compares the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance. Its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not under mining the natural resource base" (Timilsina, 2003).

The concept of sustainable livelihood is an attempt to go beyond the conventional definition and approach to poverty eradication. The previous definitions were found to be narrow because they focused only one certain aspect of manifestation of poverty such as low income or did not consider other vital aspect of poverty such as vulnerability, social inclusion etc. it is now recognized that more attention must be paid to the various factors and process which are either constraints or enhance poor people's ability to make a living economically, ecologically and socially sustainable matter. The sustainable livelihood concept gives more coherent and integrated approach to poverty eradiction. In this way this approach has to be understood basically as a tool to understand poverty in responding to poor people's view and their own understanding of poverty.

Robert chamber and Gordon Conway were the first in providing the definition of livelihood. In 1992, they propose the following composite definition of sustainable livelihood. A livelihood comprises the capabilities an assets (stores, resources, claims access) and activities required for means of living: A livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance, its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation and which can contribute net benefits to other livelihood at local and global levels and in short and long term (Krantz – 2001 – cited by Tamang 2005)

Chepangs are concentrated mainly in four districts namely Dhading, Makawanpur, Chitwan and Gorkha. In Dhading the Chepangs live mainly at the southern part of the Dhading district. They speak the Chepang language as a mother tongue, similar to the Tamang language. They are living in primary stage of backward communities of the nation (Bista, 1970).

Today the Chepang region is well connected with the highways like Prithivi Rajmarga to the north, Mugling Bharatpur highway to the west, Tribhuvan Rajpath to the east and Hetauda-Bharatpur high way to the south. These days the Chepangs visit the nearest Bazzar like Malekhu Mugling, Bhandara, Manohari and Bharatpur.They are slowly coming in contact with the outside world. Their age –long ecological balance is undergoing rapid change (Gurung, 1989).

No Chepang is known to live outside his traditional regions, consisting of the southern part of Dhading district the western part of Makawanpur, the northern part of Chitwan and the southern part of Gorkha. They live along the steeper slopes of the Mahabharat range at elevation between 2500 and 4000 feet. Tamang live higher and Brahmans and Chhetries, Gurung and Newar live lower than the Chepang along the some range of Mountains. Chepangs are economically disadvantaged compared to the people living around them (Bista, 1970).

The ancestors of the present Chepangs led a nomadic life and didn't practice agriculture. They subsisted on food gathering hunting and fishing. Chepangs still practice a good deal of food gathering and are quite dependent on jungle product. The village deficiency of grain in the village maintains their traditional patterns. In recent years, however, these patterns of subsistence have been threatened by deforestation. The jungle is continuously shrinking, causing land slide which in turn creates the demand for more land. This causes more deforestation until even the steepest and stoniest slopes must be cultivated (Rai, 1985).

Gurung 1989, states that the Chepangs specially eat maize and millet for six months of the year and subsist on roots, fruits and other forest products for the remaining half of the year. They take boiled maize and boiled millet (Dhindo) with pungent vegetable soup. They serve rice hardly on the occasion of festival &ceremonies. They depend on roots, fruits & leaf which are found in the forest. In addition, they grow vegetables like cucumber, bitter gourd; pumpkins and snake gourd etc. The Chepang lead hard life on subsistence level. But there is a visible change these days in different aspects of their life. The Chepangs of road side and Brahmin, Chhetri area have left the tradition of food gathering from the jungle. Besides their settlements are not in the jungle, so they depend on other subsidiary jobs like, wage labour, fishing, weaving etc. for their living.

Although some Chepangs living in the Khas-Bahun area do not practice food gathering and depend on agriculture and subsidiary activities alone in the area of Pandrung, the collection of jungle products is still a common site. Food gathering activities, which should be emphasized, are not exclusively a practice of Chepang. When harvest is bad, all inhabitant of the area with the exception of a few reach Brahman and Newars live on jungle products. Though they would not accept this statement easily, they idealize the past saying that they used to subsist on grains but, now a days, are facing food shortage and sometimes look for jungle products (Rai, 1985).

The main source of livelihood of the Chepang income is farming, livestock breeding and as wage laborers in various areas outside their own prior. Besides the above stated occupations, these people seemed to be living the nomadic hunter gatherer existence like the Rautes do even today and the Kusundas did till the last decade. It is difficult to support their families due to the low output and thus low income from the above stated occupation Therefore, the Chepangs go out do their works like fishing, hunting, weaving bamboo basket, ropes, ghums (bamboo woven roof like shade used as umbrella) and sell them at the nearest market (Gautam and Thapa Magar, 1994).

On the way of living patterns and livelihood of Chepangs, the young writer, Prem Swoveet (1993) writes; Chepangs are living nearly in wilderness. Only for a few years they have stepped toward agriculture but they are not successful to gain benefit from agriculture. So they are poor and almost in widerness. They have no good and plain land but steeply and rocky. They make their own land cutting down the woods. Chepangs' meal is generally dhido and tihun. When they have enough grain (foodstuff) they eat *dhido* and *tihun* and drink Jand when they are in short of food grains, they also boil and eat the leaves of sisnu, tanki, siplighan etc. they boil and eat the flower of banana, Koiralo, etc. they fry and eat the seed of some plants like *bhorla*, *tanki*, *Katus etc.* They eat the fruits like Chiuri, Kaphal, Thakal, Jamuna, Khanue etc. and they eat the root of some Kandamuls like Gittha, Bhyakur, Tarul, Tyagun, Bharlang etc. Chepangs eat some insects like hornets, wasps and other kind of insects. They also eat frogs, crabs, shails, rats ect. They hunt and kill birds, jackals, dear, bear etc. Chepangs do not have any certain occupation but now a days, they have begun to manufacture some kits Doko, basket, Nanglo, string, brush etc and collect herbals. They supply it to the developed villages and by their foodstuffs and clothes. They do not feel any hardness and troubles on their poor and natural life and be ever happy (Bohora, 2002).

Livelihood concept in Nepal is very new. So studies in livelihood are limited. The studies are found some in community based and some are occupation based caste group. These studies have basically focused on traditional occupational change of different groups.

Subedi and Pandey (2002), have prepared a research article entitled 'livelihood strategies of Rai community in Arun Valley: Continuity and Change focusing on the livelihood strategies. Two spatial locations namely *Sitalpati* and *Makalu* two different altitudinal places have been taken for the study. They have found that in both places households have gradually reduced land under khories using more public resource for self consumption and transforming *Bari* (non irrigated sloping terraces) into *Khet* (irrigated slopping terraces).This followed additional inputs in agriculture, adoption of multiple cropping and crop-diversification strategy on the other hand, strategies such as wage laboring, portering, borrowing, crediting and livestock selling activities were the sequence of livelihood strategies adapted under pressure. They have concluded

in land utilization pattern and conversion of land in to more productive categories. The communities have also adapted several activities to fulfill their needs because food sufficiency was limited and agriculture is heavily dependent on nature.

Dahal (2001), in the 'Struggling with Development: A case study of Baramus from western Nepal' has mentioned that the Baramus have changed their livelihood strategies due to the collapsed of *Dole* and *Bani* traditional practices in the society. Finally, he has concluded his study that Baramus need based attitude to utilize the land around area gave passage to the arrival of Non-Baramus in their both the demand side and the factors within Baramus soceity led to the collapse of these system. *Bani* system has changed there due to the opportunities provided by the expanding the market and alternative sources of income. Likewise Dole system has changed due to the awareness among the Buramus and increased practices of late marriage in the higher caste people. So the Buramus are forced to change their traditional way of life and to adapt the new livelihood strategy.

Burtel (2000), has studied the 'Changing livelihood strategies of the Kumals community of Pokhara Valley of westerns Nepal' focusing the changing livelihood strategies of Kumals community of Pokhara Valley with societal context. He has concluded his dissertation with the changing livelihood strategy of Kumals due to the development of market centers and opportunities expanded in society. Kumals are also increasing showing the tendencies to earn rapidly by getting involved in the economy that is based on the market. He further says that the young generation of Kumals has not inherited the skills of making the pots. Instead most of them who have gained achievements in education have not been able to earn their livelihood which according to him made them more vulnerable. The case of labour export from the Gaun to the Gulf countries can be taken as an intense that makes this clear. He further says that because of the improved irrigation facilities and introduction of improved seeds, farming tools, so Kumals has changed their traditional pots making works.

Unit – 3

RESEARCH METHODS

The chapter describes the Research methods applied by researcher to obtain the answer of the research questions. The chapter mainly consists of rational for the selection of the site, type of research design, process of sampling nature and source of data and process of data collection.

3.1 Selection of the Study Area

Ghairang village was selected for the study where some Chepangs inhabited. The study area is located in Mahadevsthan V.D.C of Dhading district. Chepangs have been found to have been living in different places of Nepal like Chitawan, Gorkha, Makawanpur, Dhanding etc. I selected this area because the Chepangs of this area are no longer depending on hunting, food gathering and fishing. As I came to know from the study of various books, magazines, articles etc. Chepangs of Dhading have started to live on wage labor, wood selling, weaving etc. As per the essence of the demand of my study, I wanted to conduct regarding how people of this area have brought about changes in their livelihood and what are the contributing factors to it. Therefore, the site was suitable for the researcher to find the changes in the Chepangs' livelihood.

3.2 Research Design

The research design was descriptive and exploratory in nature. It was exploratory because the study has tried to explore the socio economic condition of Chepangs contributing better understanding of their livelihood. On the other hand, it was descriptive research design since it enabled the researcher to present a clear view of the phenomenon under investigation.

Moreover, in this research, the researcher applied descriptive research design to describe demographical composition and economic activities of the study area.

3.3 Universe and Sampling

Ghairang village was selected as the universe of study. There are 38 households. All households were taken as the unit of analysis for the detailed information. The data was gathered using census survey from the 38 households.

3.4 Nature and Source of Data

Both qualitative as well as quantitative data were used in the research. Those data were collected from both primary and secondary sources. Secondary data was collected from different published and unpublished documents. The sources and the process of collection of both the primary and secondary data have been described in the following section.

3.4.1 Collection of Primary Data

For the collection of primary data, many field instruments were used. The tools and techniques were household survey, field observation and interview.

3.4.2 Collection of Secondary Data

Secondary data were collected from different published and unpublished documents from different source. Basically these data were collected from T.U Library, C.B.S, CNAS Library, CDO (Community development organization), different dissertations, journals, newspapers, VDC office and other reliable sources.

3.5 Techniques of Data Collections

Both, quantitative and qualitative data were collected using various methods such as observation, interview, household survey and key informants interview. The techniques for the collection of data of the study are as follows.

3.5.1 Household Survey

Household Survey schedule provided quantitative data. In this study, it was used to collect basic information like population structure, source of income, education, marital status, age and sex, family size, occupation and their ways of earning livelihood. The data was collected from respondents during the field work of the household level.

3.5.2 Observation

In this study, observation method had been applied to get the relevant information. In most of the studies, observation had been used. This type of data collection technique minimizes the possibility of fallacy and accuracy of information collection.

Basically this technique was used to get the information about the Chepangs' day to day life and their subsistence activities, settlement pattern, food habits, family structure and agricultural practices and to some extent, the economic assets of the households.

3.5.3 Interview

Interview was used to collect the data of qualitative nature. During field work, several interviews were carried out. This helped to gather information on various aspects of the change on livelihood, origin and history of Chepang people and about their sources of income and also economic impact on their livelihood or social cultural practices.

Seven key informants were selected for interview they were taken as the sample, being regarded as an important source of the subject of data collection. The key informant's interview had been prepared to obtain information from the respondents. They represent various economic classes, educational attainments and key informants interview was very helpful for collecting past informations and changing livelihood of the villagers. This information was

used for qualitative analysis in the study. Key informants interview also provided some information about the economic condition of the Chepangs.

3.5.6 Data Analysis and Interpretation

All data information gathered through various sources mentioned were analyzed and interpreted both qualitatively and quantitatively. After the completion of the fieldwork, data analysis and presentation was one of the essential mechanisms of the research. The quantitative analysis has been presented in the simple statistical tools such as graphs, table and percentage, diagram etc. within the framework of society. In the same way qualitative data have been presented in descriptive way. Figures and tables have been used in relevant places to present the socio economic trends and changes on livelihood of Chepangs of study area.

3.5.7 Limitation of the Study

Each and every research study has its own limitations. This study proposes to focus on the change on the livelihood of the Chepang community of Ghairang village of Mahadevsthan VDC, Dhading. This study is limited only to Ghairang community. So the present study may not reflect the livelihood of the whole Chepangs.

The study intended to focus only the changes on livelihood of Chepangs community of Mahadevsthan VDC Ghairang. Thus, finding of this study may not be generalized for the Chepangs living in other communities.

Unit-4

Introduction of the Study Area

4.1 Physical Setting

The Chepangs live along the steeps slopes of the Mahabharat range at elevations between 2500 and 4000 feet from the sea level (Gurung, 1989). The Tamangs live at higher altitudes and Brahmins, Chhetris, Gurung and Newars live in lower altitudes than the Chepang along the same range of mountains [Bista, 1980]. Some of the hilly regions of Dhading, Gorkha, and Makawanpur, districts of Nepal are the traditional home lands of the Chepang.

Dhading District is one of the eight districts of the Bagmati zone (central development Region) of the Nepal. Dhading extends from the middle hill range in the south to the high Himalayas on Nepal's northern frontier and it lies approximately and 27.5° latitude N and 85° longitude E. The elevation of the district varies from 2000 feet to 2200 feet. The northern part of Dhading is cold but the south is warm, with monsoon type of climate with deciduous forest typical of Nepal. Midland region temperature seldom rises above 37°c from April to September or fall below 5°c from December to February. Summer is warm and winter is severely cold. The temperature varies from 32°f to 100° f and average rainfall is about 60" (Gurung, 1989).

Mahadevsthan VDC study area of Dhading which lies 75 km west of the Kathmandu vally. Dhading is considered the least developed district of Bagmati zone. It is linked with Kathmandu by Prithivi Highway. At present a motorable road is constructed from Malekhu Bazzar to Mahadevstan VDC (Taltikhola). This district has the advantage of motorable road with government projects launched in the area in 2063.

The Chepang settlements of Taltikhola are concentrated in Mang, Ghairang, Parlak, Brusubang, Darling, Jhirebas, Chimbang and Bakuram from Malekhu Bazzar to Mahadevsthan VDC. The study area is 25 km far from Malekhu Bazaar upto which there is the facility of bus and again from that we have to walk about one and half hours. This area is fully hilly area. The road is with many ascends and descends.

In the study area, paddy is main crop and millet, wheat, maize and potato are the subsidiary crops. Dhading faces a very high pre capita deficit in cereal grain production, for Nepal's middle hill Dhading has also a very low amount of arable land pre capita though the density of population is not height (Rai, 1985).

Population

According to the census report of 2001 there are 62,759 huseholds in Dhading district. As already mentioned above Ghairang, a village of Mahadevsthan VDC, is the place where the Chepangs live. The number of the total households in Mahadevsthan VDC is 1080 where the total number of population is 7351. The Chepangs which are in the number of 2573 constitute 35% of the total population of Mahadevthan VDC. In Ghairang village there are 49 a household of which 38 households belongs to Chepangs. The total population of the village is 341 including 208 Chepangs in it. Among these 208 Chepangs, the number of male is 102 and the number of female is 106(VDC-Report).

4.2 Natural Resource

There are various types of natural resources available. It is relatively wealthy in terms of natural resources. Natural resources are the primary and most important for the people living in the study area because that has close relation with livelihood. It is the determinant of human livelihood. In the field observation different kinds of natural resources like white stone, water, forest, land, herbs and so on were found in the study area, which are described below.

4.2.1 Water Resource

The main sources of water were Dumbling, Maleku Kholas and and large stream in the village. Besides them there are some small streams which provided water to the villagers. They used it for drinking, bathing, washing clothes, irrigation, etc. There were some taps for drinking water which have been constructed by Rajendra Panday with his financial support of parliament.

As the villagers say, he promised to construct taps if they voted him and helped him win the election. He won the election and constructed the taps to fulfill his vow. He selected the same place for constructing taps because the villagers were deprived of good drinking water facility for long.

However the available water was not sufficient for the villager for irrigation. So they depended on natural rainfall for irrigating the agricultural field.

4.2.2 Forest Resource

The study area has dense forest in the southern part named *Saleni* community forest. There are different types of plants such as herbal plants, great trees. The common trees species includes *Sal, Chilaune, Katus Simal, Utis, Tanki, Koirala, Chiuri*, etc. The most important fruit among the Chepang is *Chiuri* which is also given as the dowry to the daughters during marriage. It is a kind of primitive wealth as it bears fruits which are eaten and the seed is colleced for oil.

Chiuri is a multipurpose tree and it's best quality is its ability to grow at the steepest slopes where no grain can grow. It is an economic wild fruit which has significant contribution in the socio- economic condition of the Chepangs. Besides, wage labour and goat farming, Oil extraction from *Chiuri* seeds is widely practiced by the Chepangs. *Chiuri* ghee is used for domestic cooking Chepang of the study area. *Chiuri* trees have also become the secondary source of income of Chepang. In the study area I found that some Chepang households produced *Ghee* from the plant and sold in the local market for their livelihood.

4.2.3. Land

Land is one of the major natural resources. Land is the main property of this area. The land of the village was either used for houses or for cultivation. The land of the village is very suitable for vegetable and orange farming. In the field observation it was seen that village has sloppy and flat pieces of cultivable land. The villages of Ghairang have categorized the land into three categories, *Khet*, *Bari* and *Pakho*. *Bari* is near from home where orange, maize and other vegetables are grown. The *Bari* is generally neither sloppy nor flat. But *Khet* and *Pakho* are far from settlement area. *Khet* is specially used for growing paddy, wheat, potato and millet, and *Pakho* is used for cutting grass.

4. 3 Settlement Patterns

There are two different clusters, one is Chepang settlement and another is non-Chepang area where mostly Shrestha, Magars, Dalits lived. The Chepangs' houses are situated on the top part of the hill. In past the settlement were separated by the dense forest in the study area. An elderly Chepang informed that the people began to convert the forest into an agricultural land. Thereafter these two settlements were linked.

Change in Settlement Patterns

We can notice much change in settlement patterns of Chepang. They used to construct the houses with stone, mud, wood and grass. Most of the roofs of the houses were made up of grass but now days the structure of this is different. They use stone, mud, wood and tin. Especially roof are made up of stone and tin. They did not have toilet in past but now most of the families have constructed toilets. Few houses have been cemented. Earlier they used to keep their domestic animals in the same houses where they would live. Now they have separate sheds for the animals.

4.4 House Patterns

Most houses of Chepangs are one storeyed with thatched sloppy roofs and supported by wooden logs and stone. The walls are made of mud and some of them are cement plastered. When I observed, I found that the homes of the Chepangs are rough and dirty because the floor is very often scrubbed with mud. Chepangs paint their house walls with red or white mud. They don't have special or separate rooms for bed and kitchen and there is only one room and a little space outside. Some houses have not ventilators or widows. The cow sheds and pig houses are located nearby main house.

4.5 Language

Language is a system of communication or a means of communication through which we can share our idea, thought and felling. According to philologist Chepang language comes under the Indo European groups it is not found in written form. In the study area, the people used Chepang language to speak among their community member. Nepali language is also popular which they used to communicate with other people.

Table 1 shows the language of Chepang in the study area.

Table no: 1

Use of Language by Family in Ghairang

Language	Total	Percentage
Nepali	3	7.90
Chepangs	26	68.42
Both (N+c)	9	23.68
Total	38	100

Source: (Field Survey 2009)

The table above shows the use of language in Ghairang village. Three families which constitute 7.90 per cent of the total speak Nepali. The great majority of

the total populations, i.e. 68.42 per cent speak Chepang language whereas 23.68 per cent people speak both Nepali and Chepang language. Since these Chepangs reside in the area where Brahmins and Chhetris also live, they speak Nepali as well.

Some word used in Chepang community and their translation in Nepali and English are as follows.

Chepang language	Nepali	English
Ama	Ama	Mother
Buba	Buba	Father
Goichocho	Chhora	Son
Mamachocho	Chhore	Daughter
Bhaue	Budha	Husband
Mamacho	Buddhe	Wife
Yosie	Chiuri	Nepali butter tree
Taksie	Аар	Mango
Chue	Chamal	Rice
Те	Pani	Water
Yam	Dhan	Paddy

Table	no:	2

Chepang language with Nepali and English meaning...

Source: (field survey -2009)

4.6 Physical Features of Chepangs

Physically, Chepangs have flat faces, short and flat noses with low or depressed nasal roots, eyes possessing the typical Mongoloid folds with high cheek bones. They have straight short, stocky and black hair. Their height is found to be average, i.e. five and half feet. They are slightly darker in complexion. Their faces, body structure matches with the Tamangs, Gurungs and Magars (Bohora, 2002).

4.7 Social Setting of Chepangs

The Chepangs have a unique socio- cultural setting. Most of the Chepangs speak Chepang language. They are settled in a sloppier area. Chepangs reside in very remote areas. They live in very small huts. In most of the cases, there are other caste groups like Newars and dalits living in area and with them also, they have a harmonious kind of relationship.

4.8 Life Cycle Ceremonies

Basically, the Chepangs of Ghairang are called themselves as Hindus. They observed different rite and rituals according to Hindu culture. The ceremonies they mainly observed have given below.

Baby Birth:

The birth of new baby especially on the birth of new female baby is taken as the happiest event in the Chepangs communities. They think that the child is the gifts of Gods. When labour pain starts, a *sudeni* (a delivery nurse) or neighboring female is informed. She manages for delivery inside the house. Except female members, nobody is allowed to touch the mother and baby. During pregnancy period a woman can not touch food, water and utensils etc. the rationale behind this prohibition is explained that neonate and mother are polluted and unclear. After the 9th day of female and 11th day of male child birth, they observe a name giving ceremony (Nwaran). From this ceremony, she purified from birth pollution by sprinkling cow urine by their priest. No additional diet and care is provided to the pregnant mother. The produce more children are due to the lack of education. In other word, they think that, if they have more children, the children may help in their work.

The male Chepangs feel happy if their wives give birth to daughter because a daughter may supply them more meat, *Jand* and *Raksi* etc after married. But in other hand, if their wife gives birth to son, they have to give more meat, *Jand* and *Raksi* etc. to make pleasure to others.

Nwaran (naming ceremony)

There is name - giving ceremony in the custom of Chepang of the study area. Generally name is given after 9th day of female childbirth and 11th day of male childbirth. Earlier, the names of the children did not carry any significant meaning and is not abide by any rules; they give the child whatever name they firstly think of. But now a day, Chepangs have been influenced by Hindu society and culture. Chepangs would, these days, prefer to give common Hindu name like Sunita, Makhhan, Raja etc. Chepang also give the calling name or nickname to the baby according to their position in the sibling hierarchy of the family such as Jetha or Jethi (eldest son or daughter), Mahila or Mahili (second son or daughter) and kancha or kanchi (last son or daughter) etc.

They observe birth pollution until the day of name giving, the priest sprinkles cow's urine in order to purify the house and ties a yellow thread blessed by him around the wrist of the baby and the parents. Then the pollution period is over for the family members except for the mother of the baby, who observes pollution for 15 days by not touching water and food prepared for other people.

Pasni

In this ceremony, the baby is fed food for the first time. On this occasion, the parents of the child and other relatives put Tika on the forehead of the child and wish for his / her long and happy life.

Hair Cutting

In this ceremony Chepang also observe a hair cutting ceremony for their sons at the age of 5 or 7 years. The hair of the child is cut by his material uncle (Mama)

Marriage

Marriage is a universal institution which admits man and women to family life. It is stable relationship in which men and women are socially permitted to have children implying the right to sexual relation. In the life of human beings marriage is very much important. The marriage fulfills the basic needs of men and women by providing security, companionship and stability.

The Chepang regard marriage as an important family affair. They have their own customs, rites and rituals, which they have to observe. Under the Chepang customs, the restrictions on marriage are on the relationship established by blood and kinship which bears lineal ascendants and descendants. But in practice this is not observed strongly because marital relation among the Chepang are found to be established within the offspring's of six and seven generations too.

The Chepangs do not have their *Gotra* (lineage). Those Chepang who claim to have clans practice clone exogamy whereas the other Chepang who do not have clans many outside, their, *Khalak* within seven generation. Most of the marriages are held among the kins in the Chepang community. All of them are being Chepangs, they ought to be free from the *Jat-bias*. They have no social ranking. Ordinarily, the marriage takes place within their own ethnic groups. Only a few Chepangs were found to have married out of their community. The Chepang have two types of Marriage. These are arrange marriage and elopement marriage.

Arrange Marriage

The arrange marriage is more elaborated and usually planned by the parents. Firstly, the boy's father and some few relatives or neighbours go to the girl's father's house to propose for marriage with bottle of *Raksi* [home made wine]. Both the parties start discussion about marriage with feast of food, Jand and *Raksi* etc. If they come to the positive conclusion, they organize next ceremony with meat and *Raksi*. This ceremony is called 'pung'. At that time the girl's side demands for more *Raksi-Jand* and meat. If boy's side accepted their demand, then they would fix the date of marriage. Then, on the date agreed by the both parties the villagers, relatives and the grown up go to the bride's house where they entertain with meat, *Raksi* and *Jand*. At that time, several girls and boys from the village, arrive, gather and start to joke and mock at the bride groom and his parties. The procession keeps proceeding to the bride's house. Next day, all the invitees of bride's parents put tika on the bride's forehead and give presents of money and then the bridge groom put vermilion on bride's siundo. At last the bride groom has to pay a bottle of *Raksi* and 22 rupees as customary payment. Then all the members of weeding party come back to the groom's house with bride. In this area, daughter is given Chiuri tree (Nepali tree) as dowry. It is done to continue the tradition but as they said this does not carry any important meaning.

Elopement Marriage

Elopement marriage is the most popular form of marriage among the Chepang including elopement, capture and exchange too. Elopement marriage is more frequent than the other forms according to old men. In *Ekadashi Mela/Jatra* boys and girls get together and enjoy singing dancing. At that time, if any boy finds a girl beautiful and wants of marry her, he drags the girl by holding her hand and the girl automatically becomes his wife.

Change in Marriage

Broadly speaking however, marriage may be defined as "a socially sanctioned sex relationship involving two or more people of the opposite sex, whose relationship is expected to endure beyond the time required for gestation and the birth of children".- Mitchells "A dictionary of sociology".

Marriage system has also undergone certain changes. Inter-cast marriage is no more surprising thing for these people. They also marry Magar, Newar. The marriage of two couples has become the example of this kind of marriage. They have started arrange marriage also. Now a days they have discontinued the tradition of giving the *Chiuri* plant as dowry.

Death

Death is the natural process. They classify death into two forms: one is natural and another unnatural death. The death of the person who dies late in his/her old stage is called natural death and untimely death due to the accident or disease is called unnatural death. According to them, there is next world called heaven where people will go after the natural death, but the people cannot go to heaven if they die untimely by accident or disease. The Chepangs of the study area bury the dead body in burial ground. It is ceremonially placed on the round and oils is smeared. Coins are placed by sons on the mouths of the dead bodies. This is done in order to help the soul to pay the fees while crossing the river on the way to the land of the dead.

4.9 Festivals

Festival is major aspect of people's cultural life in this world. Every caste/ ethnic groups have their own types of festivals. The Chepang have various seasonal festivals which are considered helpful for ensuring safety and prosperity of the individuals and the village community. They follow many Hindu festivals like Dashain, Dipawali and Sankranti but the major festivals of the Chepang of this area have been described below:

Maghe Sankranti

This festival is observed on the 1st of the Magh. In this festival, they enjoy themselves by feasting with their sisters as they are not sure whether they will meet together again in the coming year. This festivals anticipates the coming of sorrowful days with famine and distress which last from Magh to Sravan. So, all the family members and relatives are invited and enjoy with their ceremonial foods such as meat, rice, *Jand* and *Raksi*. In addition, all the members enjoy by singing and dancing.

Saune Sankranti

Saune sankranti is a Hindu festivals celebrated by many people in Nepal. But it has separate and indigeneous significance among the Chepangs. The first day of Sharawan is called Saune Sankranti. The festival Saune sankranti comes after six months of maghe Sankranti. Almost all the Chepang in this area undergo starvation each year from Falgun to Ashad. During this period they depend mainly on jungle products such as pas (*vyagur*), *Goi* (*yam*), la (*githa*) hung (*bharlang*). Their agriculture production is expected to sustain them hardly for six to nine months. However, the new crops are ready for harvest around Saune Samkranti. New harvests and fruits start to bring in. In this view, all the family members and relatives gather and celebrate the Saune sankranti by taking their ceremonial food and enjoy by singing and dancing.

Nwagi [Chhonam]

Festivals such as Saune Sankranti, Maghe Sankranti and Nwagi are considered very important among them. It is related to their agricultural activities. Chhonam is the ausipicuous occasion for eating new crops. In Chepang community, before these festivals they have been prohibited from eating some of the agricultural products like *ghaiya*, *pindalu* (colacasio), *ghiraula* (spange gourd) and fruits like *nibuwa* (lemon), without making and offering to their ancestors.

This festival falls on the full moon during Bhadra. The ancestor's worship among the Chepang is full of rituals in honour of the dead. They look up to their ancestors' spirits with filial love and intimacy. Like the other most primitive people, they believe in the survival of the soul after death. So, they propitiate the spirits of ancestors, treat them with veneration and believe in their rebirth. They keep the memory of the dead alive (see Gurung, 1989 also).

According to the elder Chepang, senior clan members of Chepang family or pande worship dead ancestors' spirits by offering new food. Chepangs worship to dead ancestors sprits with great esteem by offering new food and then all the people eat and drink before the performance of worship; they do not eat any thing made by new crops. In this festival, they try to make pleasure to pitries (dead ancestral) by esteem sacrifice for the purpose of prevention of lineage protector.

In *nawagi*, they get together and enjoy by drinking, singing and dancing throughout the whole night. The young Chepangs are interested in Nepali folk music. Besides, the girls also participate in these programmes by singing and dancing. They enjoy by feasting with a nice preparation of meat of pigs buffalos, rice, *Raksi* and so on.

Change in Festival Ceremony

Change is the law of nature. It occurs according to time and situation. It is a universal and natural process. There have been seen many changes occurring in the festivals of the Chepang people of the study area. Now days, they have started to observe Hindu festivals too. The changes in the festival of Chepang of study area can be attributed to the contact with high caste Hindu people and their culture.

Chepangs' festivals have undergone some significant changes. For example, previously the Chepangs of study area used to observe every festival in an expensive way, but they don't spend much these days. They invite only few relatives. But previously, it was compulsory to invite each and every relative. Previously they have their own special type of dancing cloths but now they have given it up. They dance in a group but without special type of dancing clothes. Although the Chepangs of the study area are considered as tribal people, due to the contact with the high caste Hindu festivals, they are regarded as the Hindu people.

UNIT-5

DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CHEPANGS

5.1 Population Composition

This chapter deals with the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the population. The study of population composition is considered to be very important. It shows that economic, social, educational, occupational and other conditions of the society. The term population composition is defined as the characteristics of the population including age and sex composition, education, family types, marital status. It is essential to examine the livelihood strategy of Chepang people in the study area.

5.1.1 Age and Sex Composition

Age and sex composition are important factors of population composition which determines several demographic and socio-economics conditions. Age is an important demographic variable. It provides the information of persons of different age groups at a particular period. Moreover, it also shows the number of economically active persons and the number of dependents. It has been said that age structure records the demographic and, to some extent, the socioeconomic history of population over a period of century. The table 3 shows the age and sex wise population composition of Chepang under study area.

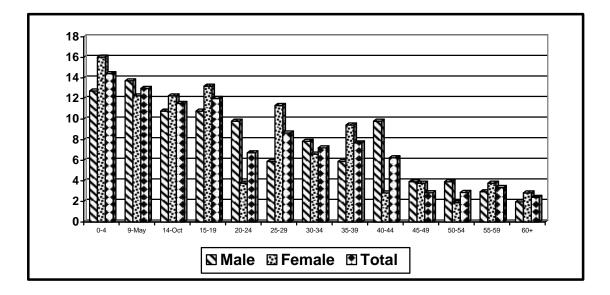
Table no: 3

Age	Male		Female		Total	
group	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0-4	13	12.74	17	16.03	30	14.42
5-9	14	13.72	13	12.26	27	12.98
10-14	11	10.78	13	12.26	24	11.53
15-19	11	10.78	14	13.20	25	12.01
20-24	10	9.80	4	3.77	14	6.73
25-29	6	5.88	12	11.32	18	8.65
30-34	8	7.84	7	6.60	15	7.21
35-39	6	5.88	10	9.43	16	7.69
40-44	10	9.80	3	2.83	13	6.25
45-49	4	3.92	4	3.77	8	2.84
50-54	4	3.92	2	1.88	6	2.88
55-59	3	2.94	4	3.77	7	3.36
60+	2	1.96	3	2.83	5	2.40
Total	102	100	106	100	208	100

Age and Sex wise Distribution of the Population of the Study Area

Source: (Field Survey 2009)

Regarding the total population the highest per cent, i.e. 14.42 per cent was found to be of the age group 0-4, the child group. The age group 0-15 constitutes about 39 percent of the total population. It also indicates the trend of future population increase in high speed than now. Comparatively, the number of the elderly people seems to be lesser than the young people. That means, life expectancy rate is also low among Chepang. The table clearly shows that the proportion of dependent population is high.



5.1.2 Family Structure

Family is the basic and universal social institution. It fulfills various needs of the members, in addition, it performs several function including continuity, integration and change in the society. The family is a group defined by the sex relationship sufficiently precise enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children (Maclver and Page, 1990).

In study area, nuclear and joint family exists. It is observed that in nuclear types of families, husband, wife and their children are predominant. In the study area, very few families live in joint family. So the family structure of the study area has been changing from joint family to nuclear family. Chepang society is patriarchal societies where father is the head of the family levels and other members are avoided by his decision. The table no 4 presents the family structure of Chepang in the study area.

Table no: 4

Family Structure of the Study Area

Household type	Number	Percent
Nuclear	35	92.10
Joint	3	7.89
Total	38	100

Source: (Field Survey 2009)

The nuclear family consists of married couple with or without their offspring. In the study area, 92.10 per cent Chepang people were found to be living in a nuclear family.

The joint family is a group of brothers living together under the command of their father or mother and it may include the people of three or more generation living under the same roof in which there is a joint residence, kitchen and property. There are 7.89 per cent Chepang families who live in joint family system in the study area.

The Chepang community of Mahadevstan VDC, Ghairang lives in patriliniage family. The family structure of the study area has changed from joint family to nuclear family, due to the decline of economic condition and population growth. They don't have enough land for cultivation, which needs a number of workers. They earn a little amount of money which is not sufficient to feed all the members of the large family.

Change in Structure of Family System

The family is a group defined by sex relationship sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of the children [MacIver and page].According to key informants, Chepangs respect their elders no matter whether they are male or female. They think that if a family is large, the working pattern is easy in the field and house. Most of the families were of joint type. This pattern is gradually changing recently. Most of the families are of nuclear type.

The family structure is different from that of the past. Earlier, joint family was very common but now nuclear family has become the choice of the people of study area. The main reason for the preference of nuclear family is that it is economic. Economically weak people can better manage the small family then large one.

5.1.3 Family Size

Family size has important value in change of the life style of the Chepangs people. If they have sufficient members in their family, they can do well in economic activities. The table 5 shows the size of the family in the village.

Table no: 5

Distribution of Family by its Size

Family size	Number	Percent
1-3	6	15.78
4-6	20	52.63
7-9	12	31.57
Total	38	100

Source: (Field Survey 2009)

According to the above data, 20 households have 4-6 members in their family, which seems to be in the higher proportion in the village. It consists 52.63 per cent. On the other hand 6 households have 1-3 members. The family size of 7-9 members existed in 12 households. The data shows that the village does not have much large family size which is the result of the nuclear family. The families which have more members were only the result of more unmarried daughters and newly married son and daughter in laws.

5.1.4 Education

Education means knowledge. Without education, no any kind of development is possible. Education has a prominent role to play in the change and reform of the society. The primitive society has been changed into today's modernized world mainly because of the education being followed by other factors such as industrialization, scientific inventions, trade and so on. So it is a necessary element to make our lives better and advanced. Education helps the people to improve their position.

Education is known as a basic need for the human being in the present time. It has a great importance for the development of any country. Especially in the social development, it is considered as main component. In the world the country which has more educated people are much developed from both the societal and economic perspectives.

In Chepang community due to the poor economic condition of Chepang the children were not being sent to school but nowadays some change have been observed in this area. Some Chepang have realized the importance of education and have started to send their children to school. The table 6 shows the level of education by sex.

Table no: 6

Education level	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
	No		No		No	
Primary	21	70.00	23	85.18	44	77.19
Lower secondary	2	6.66	2	7.40	4	7.01
Secondary	6	20.00	1	3.70	7	12.28
Informal	1	3.33	1	3.70	2	3.50
Total	30	100.00	27	100.00	57	100

Level of Education of Chepangs by Sex

Sources: (field survey 2009)

The above table 6 shows that in Ghairang village, among the total people who have taken education 44 people, i.e. 77.19 percent have taken primary education. Out of that 44 people the number of male is 21 and female is 23 which constitute 70 percent and 85.18percent respectively. In the same way, 4 people have taken lower secondary education and of them 2 are male, i.e. 6.66 percent and 2 are female, i.e. 7.40 percent. Seven people have taken secondary level education. Out of the 6 are male which constitutes 20 percent and one is female which constitutes 3.70 percent. Moreover, two people, i.e. one male and one female have taken informal education.

In every level of education the number of female is comparatively lower than the male. In previous days female would get less priority in education because they had to look after their children. The highest percentage of children has been found to take primary education due to the free and compulsory primary education.

5.1.5 Marital Status

Marital status plays an important part in fertility. The age of bride and groom during marriage affects the rate of fertility and mortality. Fertility study shows that the groups that have a tendency to marry early may have a high fertility rate and vice – versa. The table 7 presents the marital status of Chepangs in the study area.

Table no: 7

Marital Status	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Married	36	35.29	44	46.80	80	43.01
Unmarried	55	53.92	48	51.06	103	55.37
Widow/Widower	1	9.80	2	2.12	3	1.62
Total	92	100	94	100	186	100

Marital status of the Chepangs

Source: (Field Survey 2009)

From the table, it is clear that the unmarried population is higher than the married among Chepang people of the study area. The number of unmarried people is 103 which constitute 55.37 per cent and the number of married people is 80 which is 43.01 per cent of the total. The number of widow and widower is only three, of which one is widower and other two are widows and it constitutes 1.62 of the total.

Thus the table 7 indicates that unmarried males are more than female because most of the males do not marry in their earlier age than female due to the family problems, financial crisis.

5.2 Economic Characteristics of Chepangs

Economic status of the people has been discussed regarding various economic characteristics like occupation. Land holding food sufficiency, livestock and sources of annual income.

5.2.1 Occupation

Agriculture is the main source of livelihood as well as the main source of income of the Chepang community of the study area. Most of the households are engaged in agriculture. Very few Chepangs are engaged in various jobs. Moreover, the number of Chepangs involved in the business is very few, i.e. only one person in the Ghairang is involved in business. They are also involved in other occupations like wage labor, weaving and service. The table 8 presents the main occupation of Chepang Households in the study area.

Table no: 8

Main	No. of	Percentage	Secondary	No. of	Percent
occupation	household		occupation	household	
Agriculture	28	73.68	Agriculture	10	37.03
Weaving	-	-	Weaving	4	14.81
Service	5	13.15	Service	-	-
Wage	4	10.52	Wage	13	48.14
labour			labour		
Business	1	2.63	Business	-	-

Involvement of Chepang People in Main and Secondary Occupation

Source: (field survey 2009)

Basically the source of Chepang livelihood is divided in to two groups, i.e., primary occupation and secondary occupation. 73.68 percent of the household total practiced agriculture as their primary occupation. Service is the second highest sources of livelihood of the Chepangs which constitutes 13.15 percent. The minimum sources are wage labor, business which shares 10.52 and 2.63 percent respectively. They are involved in primary occupation as well as secondary occupation 37.03 percent of the Chepang households are involved in agriculture as their secondary occupation likewise weaving, wage labour are minimum secondary source of their livelihood which share about 14.81 and 48.14 percent respectively.

5.2.2 Annual Income of Chepang

Income is the major factor to know the livelihood of Chepang of the study area. To illustrate further the economic characteristic of Chepangs, their annual sources of income were investigated. The respondent could not say their exact annual income. They were asked about various sources of their livelihood income. The total annual income is derived from different sources calculated in terms of money. The economic condition of the Chepangs people of the study area is extremely low. Agriculture, weaving and wage labor are the main sources of income. Per head land holding size is less so the food grain production is not sufficient to them facility of all land, so they depend on the monsoon. The table 9 shows the annual income of Chepang under the studied household in the study area.

Table no: 9

Income in thousands	Total household	Percent
Less than 10	11	28.94
10-25	20	52.63
30-35	5	13.15
More than 50	2	5.26
Total	38	100

Annual income of Chepangs

Source: (Field survey 2009)

Above table shows the estimated annual income of the respondents. The annual income of 28.94 percent respondent is less than Rs. 10000. Whereas 52.63 percent earn 10-25 thousand rupees per year, which is the largest percent of the respondents. More than13.15 percent respondents earn 30-35 thousand rupees every year and similarly, 5.26 percent respondents have more than 50 thousand annual incomes. The people who earn less than Rs 10000 do not have enough land and completely depend on agriculture but the people who earn more than that are involved in other works like wage labor, weaving etc and also in service.

5.2.3 Size of Land Holding

The occupational pattern indicates that majority of Chepang household depend on agriculture. In agricultural society land is always taken as key resource. It is considered as the main wealth of the agriculture. In the same way, in the study area the cultivable land has a great value for the agricultural use and its value is increasing day by day.

Table no: 10

Area in Ropani	No. of households	Percentage
<3	1	2.63
3-5	7	18.42
6-10	17	44.73
11-15	6	15. 78
16> above	7	18.42
Total	38	100

Land holding size of the studied Household

Source: (field survey 2009)

The above table shows that the land size in *Ropani* of the study area. Just one household has small size of farming land, i.e. less than 3.*Ropani*. It constitutes 2.63 percent only. 18.42 percent have 3-5 *Ropani*. Only 44.73% have large size of farming land i.e. 6-10 *Ropani*. 18.42 percent have extended size of farming land i.e. 16 *Ropani* and above. There is no satisfactory size of land possession although they entirely depend on it for their livelihood.

Table no: 11

Food sufficiency (in month)	No. of Household	Percentage
1-3	8	21.05
4-6	16	42.10
7-9	4	10.55
10-12	5	13.15
13 above	5	13.15
Total	38	100

Food Sufficiency of the Household in the Study Area

Source: field survey 2009

The table above shows the food sufficiency of the Chepangs in the study area. As the above table revels, the Chepangs do not have enough cultivable land so that their crop production is not enough for their family. 21.05 per cent of the total Chepangs of the study area possess food only for three months or less than it. 42.10 per cent Chepangs produce food sufficient for four to six (4-6) months. Various literatures and researches done on Chepang also show the same fact. Not only my study but many other studies also show that majority of the Chepangs possess food that is enough for surviving for four to six months (4-6) only. 10.52 per cent Chepangs produce food sufficient for seven to nine months. In the same way, the number of Chepangs who produce food for ten to twelve months constitutes 13.15 per cent of the total and the same percentage of the Chepangs (i.e. 13.15%) produce enough food for more than twelve months.

Since many Chepangs are involved in their profession except agriculture like wage labour, animal husbandry, service, weaving, they cannot produce enough food for them. As a result of this, only 42.10 % Chepangs, i.e. the large proportion produces enough food only for four to six months.

Table no: 12

Product amount	Paddy	Whet	Maize	Millet	Potato
in <i>Muri</i>	N.of hh	N.of hh	N of hh	N.ofhh	N.of hh
0-1	-	-	1	1	-
2-3	6	1	7	-	1
4-6	6	3	4	2	-
7-9	6	1	5	1	-
10-11	3	-	-	-	-
14 above	7	-	-	-	-
Total	28	5	17	4	1

Crop Production Situation of Households in the Study Area

Source: (Field survey 2009)

The above table presents crop production situation of the Chepangs. Among all, one family produces one *Muri* maize and the next one family produces one *Muri* millet. Six families and one family, seven families and one family produce two to three *Muri* paddy, wheat, maize and potato respectively. Moreover, 4 to 6 *Muri* paddy, wheat, maize and millet is produced by six three four and two families respectively. Likewise six families, one family, five families and one family produce 7 to 9 *Muri* paddy, wheat, maize and millet respectively. Similarly, three families produce ten to thirteen *Muri* paddy and 7 families produce paddy in the amount of fourteen or more than it. In overall, the product of paddy seems to become more in comparison to other crops.

5.2.4 Animal Husbandry

The Chepangs of the study area rear many types of animals. Their animals have economic as well as agricultural value. The domestic animals reared by them are mostly cow, buffalos, goats, chickens, and pigs. These animals are sources of milk, meat, dung and fertilizer. Basically these animals' dung is used in field and fertilizer.

Table no: 13

Livestock	Number	Household	percentage
Cows	109	16	14.72
Buffalo	31	5	4.18
Goats	206	7	27.83
Chickens	313	11	42.29
Pigs	81	36	10.94
Total	740	-	100

Distribution of Livestock in Ghairang by hh

Source: (field survey2009)

The table above shows that 21 households keep cow and buffalos, especially for milk. Those who are involved in agriculture for their subsistence have much more land, and are rearing cows and buffalos only for milk and fertilizer. Basically, animal husbandry is a female business in their society. It is supplementary occupation of earning.

The above table denotes that the number of chickens kept by them is very high, i.e. 42.29 per cent of total households keep them but during the fieldwork it is found that only 5 households have kept such a large number of chickens as their main occupation. Other remaining 6 households rear small number of chickens for own consumption. They keep chickens for economical value but pigs are kept with religious values and for other purposes as well. They sell their livestock for fulfilling their everyday needs.

Unit-6

CHANGE ON LIVELIHOOD OF CHEPANG COMMUNITY

This chapter deals with the changes on livelihood of Chepang over the past few decades. The chapter especially deals about the past adaptive strategies which Chepang developed to cope in their surroundings and how those strategies were changed and how they are surviving in the present changing context. The chapter also discussed about the factors of change in the livelihood of Chepang.

6.1 The Past Livelihood Strategies of Chepang

Change is a universal phenomena and it is observed in any society and in any spatial context. Infrastructures like road, school, health post, modern education, occupation are the important factors for the change on livelihood strategies of Chepangs in the study area. But the changes do not totally give up their traditional livelihood option like hunting and gathering, fishing, handicraft making, agriculture with animal husbandry. However they adopt the new economic life like wage labour, business, services, horticulture as a new adoptive strategies to cope in the present changing circumstances.

In the following topics discuss the past and present livelihood strategies of the Chepangs.

6.1.1. Past Adaptive Strategies

In the past, Chepang had followed the several adaptive strategies for their survival in their environment. The informant informed that they followed the diverse economic adaptive strategies for survival. The main adaptive strategies which they had adopted in the past were discussed under the following subheadings.

Hunting and Gathering

In the past the Chepang people used to hunting and gathering of wild animals, birds, fruits, roots and so on for their survival. The old Chepang people informed me that they lived inside the dense forest. They used to hunt wild animals and collected wild fruits and roots according to their available time. All the fruits and roots and wild animals were not available in certain place. Therefore, they changed settlement according to the available of the fruits and roots in the jungle. In the study area, most of the households informed that they went to forest for collect wild yams and fronts during the scarcity of food.

Fishing

Fishing was one of the main survival strategies of the Chepang of Ghairang village. The Key informants informed me that people caught fishes from the rivers for their own consumption. They used fish as supplementary food rather than staple. Both male female and children went to river for fishing. Generally male went to large river like Malekhu River for fishing where as female and children in small stream for fishing.

In the study area, Chepangs were still found to involve in fishing but their purpose of fishing is gradually changing due to the road construction as well as establish of market. In the study area four household informed me that they regularly collects fishes from the Malekhu River and sell the collected fishes in nearby market called Malekhu *bazzar*. However, the motive of selling of fishes in the market was not found to earn money but fulfill their basic requirement like buying spices, kerosene, cooking oil, salt, rice and so on.

Handicraft Making

Handicraft making was also one of the significant strategies of their livelihood. They used to make *doko*, *dalo*, *mandro* and so on for domestic use as well exchange with food grains among the neighbouring village who did not know for making these items. One of the key informants informed me handicraft like *doko, dalo, mandro* for their own consumption and to exchange other goods like food grains (paddy, maize and millet). Male in involved in making these items whereas female and their children assisted them for preparation. During the field study period, Chepang people did not totally give up their traditional occupation but still found to involve in handicraft making. However, their made these items for their own use like doko for carrying fodder, fertilizer, dalo for keeping food grains and mandro for drying foods grains and bed. Similarly they also exchanged these items with the local villagers with food grains as well as cash. Along with the extension of local market, the Chepang people also began to sell these items in local market in cash. The cash came from selling of these items used for buying the necessary requirements of the family like salt, spices, cloth and education.

Subsistence Agriculture

In the past Chepangs of Ghairang village depended upon subsistence agriculture for their survival. They cultivated the different items in the sloppy land. They produced paddy, maize, wheat, millet and green vegetables for their own consumption by using traditional tools and techniques *like Halo, Juwa, Kodalo*. The key informants informed me that in the production system male were involved in ploughing and digging land, harvesting were done by both male and female during the scarcity of labour. In the family at agricultural peak period, they exchange labour among the Chepang community as *parma* and *saghaune*.

Animal Husbandry

The Chepangs of under the studied households were found to keep domestic animals. I found the diversity in keeping animals among the Chepang people in the study area. They informed me that they kept different types of animals for different purposes like economic and cultural. For instance, cow and buffalo were kept for milk and milk related products and fertilizer. Similay, ox for ploughing the field and buffalos, goat, and pig for meat and sometimes offering to gods and goddess. At present their perceptions was found change for keeping livestock. For example, cows and buffalos were kept for milk and milk related products but not for their own consumption for selling in the local market. Similarly, goat, chicken and pig were also for cash. In this way, livestock has also become the main source of survival for Chepang in the study area. The table 15 presents distribution of livestock and their types and numbers before 10 years and during the study period.

Table No. 14

Animals	10 years age	At present
Cows	85	109
Buffalos	28	31
Goat	156	206
Chicken	110	313
Pig	42	81
Total	421	740

Distribution of Livestock 10 Years Before and Present

Source: field survey 2009

The above table shows that there were 85 cows kept for agriculture purpose 10 years ago but at present 109 cows are kept for agriculture purpose and for milk. Goats are kept for both purpose of meat and income. There were only 156 goats kept 10 years ago but now there has been change in goats keeping. There are 206 goats because there is change on income of the Chepangs. There are, in all households of study area, pigs, chickens are kept for multipurpose, i.e. to offering the god/goddess in religious ritual ceremonies, for selling and meat.

6.2 Present Livelihood Strategy

No thing is static in the world. Thus, Chepang also felt a lot of change in their adaptive strategies from the last decade. In the past, Chepang had followed hunting and gathering, fishing, handicraft making, subsistence agriculture with animal husbandry as adaptive strategies for their survival in their environment. However, the changes in their socio-cultural and economic environment also brought change in their livelihood. Therefore, the Chepang of Ghairang adopted new adaptive strategies like wage labour, horticulture, service, business, market oriented farming which are discussed in detail under the following headings.

6.2.1 Wage Labour

Wage labouring is a common practice among the landless and small farmers in Ghairang area. Most of them sell their labour to the landlord of the village during the agricultural season for ploughing and digging the field, transplanting and weeding of paddy, maize, millet, harvesting these products, and threshing the food products. I found the different sphere of working in agricultural activities in the study area. For instance, generally male above the age of 15 and below the 70 were found to ploughing and digging field whereas transplanting and weeding were female tasks. Similarly, it was informed that harvesting was generally done by both male and female. In the study area, most of the people of study area were land less or small land holders. Therefore, their products did not support of the annual consumption. Thus, the members of those households were found to involve in road construction and other kinds of activities. In the activity, mostly the young male members were found to involve for digging the track of the road. One of the key informants informed that they had gone to Rukum and Kalikot for digging road.

6.2.2 Service and Employment

Service or employment in different institutions or organizations is a new phenomenon for Chepang in the study area. One Chepang was found to employ as teachers in a local primary school and one in Nepal Police. Similarly, two young male members were found to involve in foreign employment. Out of them, one has gone to India and another one in Katar. In this way, the the Chepang of Ghairang were not isolated from the world economy as Wallersteain says.

6.2.3 Small Business

In the study area, One Chepang household was found to involve in the business. He informed me that it was his primary occupation. He run his grocery business in the local market called Archele bazaar which was established after the construction of Malekhu-Mahadevsthan to Bhandra road in 2007.

6.2.4 Horticulture

In the past, the Chepang produced Chiuri, banana, guava, pomegranate, pine apple in their *bari* land which are still found in the surrounding of the resident. However, the purposed of grew of these products was for sell consumption rather than for market. The Change exchanged their products within their community and outside of their ethnic groups in the past.

In the study area the villagers also informed that the expansion of market of horticulture especially orange also helped changed in their livelihood. The orange farming was not traditional adaptive strategy of the Chepang of Ghairang. They started to plant the orange tree in the *bari* land nearly 10 year ago. In the field observation, all the households of Chepang had planted at least 10 trees in their land. The maximum numbers was found 50 trees. Similarly, 42.10 % (16) households had found to selling products (orange) since 4 years and rest of the households had planted recently. Man Bahadur Chepang Chepang sold the orange in Rs 12000 last year.

6.2.5 Market oriented Farming

In present, changes have been seen in the production system of the study area. There is good facility of irrigation. Some farmers here have taken trainings related to production system from some NGOs. Because of the construction of roads, the farmers have access to hybrid seeds and pesticides. And the facility of road has made it easy for them to take their products to the market and sell them. The interest of Chepangs is oriented more towards cash cops than the traditional agriculture system and they have adopted scientific procedures in agriculture. In this way because of the change in production system, there have been changes also in their livelihood. Their main motive was to produce crops like maize, wheat, millet, primarily for their own use. Some of the Chepang households have begun to produce orange, tomato, cauliflower. They produced these items for market rather than their own consumption. Orange production has become the most important source of livelihood in the area. Paddy, wheat, millet (food grain) production gets second priority. Production of food grain is done for subsistence needs only.

The change can also be seen in the division of labour. Although there is still difference in the wages of male and female, both of them seem to be equality active in agricultural works and female also have taken agricultural trainings. Along with the construction, *Archele* market was established at Mahadevstan VDC. The newly established market provided several opportunities for the people of the study area including Chepang. Man Bahadur Chepang, a young and educated Chapang, informed me that they started to sell the local vegetable products like cauliflower, cabbage, ginger, potato, beans, green leafs vegetable and so on. During the field observation, I also found that some of the Chepang people were going to market for selling the green vegetables carrying in bamboo basket. However, they also informed that they sold their products for fulfill their basic needs like buying spices, kerosene, rice, study materials for their children, cloths and so on rather than for profit. The following table shows the size of the land holding among the Chepangs.

Table no. 15

10 years	Present			
Size of land (area in ropani)	No. of hh	Percent	N.of hh	Percent
<3	14	36.84	1	2.63
3-5	7	18.42	7	18.42
6-10	9	23.68	17	44.73
11-15	7	18.42	6	15.78
16>	1	2.63	7	18.42
Total	38	100	38	100

Change in the size of the land holding among the Chepang

Source -field survey 2009

The most important point to be noted is that over the past ten years, there is a remarkable increase in the amount of land owned by many households. Today there are 7 households (18.42) who own 16 *ropani* and above land. The increase in land holding is because of the heavy deforestation. Earlier the forest was dense but now the trees have been cut and the jungle area has been changed into cultivable land. Another thing that has caused it is the need of and the interest in agriculture.

6.3 Factors of Change in Livelihood Strategy of Chepang

We know that development is a continuous process. The development a various facilities has contributed a lot of change in livelihood strategies of the Chepangs. In the study area, one a single factor not played the significant role to bring change in the livelihood of the Chepang people. There were several factors like road construction, modern education, extension of market help the Chepang people to change in their survival strategy. However, I have already stated that Chepang people did not totally give of their traditional occupation but adapt the new occupation as their new sources of survival. In the course of

study, I found the following as the main factors for change in the adaptive strategies.

6.3.1. Construction of Roads

The construction of road provides opportunity of wage labour for the Chepang people in the study area. An elderly informant informed me that Malekhu-Mahadevsthan of Dhading district to Bhandara Chitawan district has begun to construct by the local government. The contractor haired the local people for digging the track and collection of other material for wage labour. It also provided a great opportunity of wage labour for the road was constructed. It has helped them to ease their life and make changed in their livelihood strategies .They sell their product in the market which has been made easier by the construction of roads.

6.3.2. Education

Education is one of the major contributing factors for the change in livelihood of the people including Chepang. Like other educated people, some of the educated young Chepang were also taken their education as a means of their livelihood. In the study area, there was no or very little consciousness about the education one elderly Chepang said. Therefore, they did not send their children to school for education.

During the study period, it was informed that there was a vast change occurred in the consciousness regarding the education. In the household survey, I found that most of the adult and old people (both male and female) were illiterate and very few found literate but the school age children were found to study in different level of school education according to age. Some of the educated people were found to involve in service after completing their education. Man Bahadur Chepang, the teacher of local primary school, also informed me that he was the first person to pass School Leaving Certificate (SLC) and got the job opportunity of teaching in the local school since 2005. Similarly one of the Chepang young male also found to involved in govern service as a Police who also joined in police after complete his SLC.

6.3.3 Facilities of Irrigation

In the field observation, it was found that Chepang settlement was located in the high and their agricultural land in the low land called *Besi* by Chepang. However, there was no facility of irrigation in the past. Therefore, they depended upon rainfall for agriculture. The local Chepang informed that they produced crops only two seasons. They planted maize in the wither season and harvested in summer and paddy planted in summer and harvested in the winter. The rest of the time, the land was generally remained fallow. They also produced small amount of vegetables for their consumption. However, the villagers themselves constructed the canal for irrigation the land in 2009. Along with the construction of canal, the facility of irrigation was also started in the agricultural field of the Chepang. They did not depend to the rain for the plantation of the crop. One respondent informed me that they started to produce non-seasonal vegetable products like cabbage, cauliflower, potato, beans and so on. Similarly, they began to produce several vegetables in their field between the period of harvesting of paddy and broadcasting of maize.

6.3.4 Extension of Market

Along with the development, the new market was also established in study area. An elderly person informed me that they went to Malekhu Bazar for buying and selling of the products in the past. The bazaar was nearly 25 kilometer far form the study area. The newly constructed Malekhu-Mahadevsthan to Bhandara road not only provided the transportation opportunity to the Chepang people but also helped to expansion of market in the road connected points like *Archale* located at Mahadevsthan which was nearly 1 hour distance from the Ghairang, the main area of Chepang resident. As I have already mentioned that newly established market provided several opportunities for the people of the study area. During the study period, one of the Chepang people began the grocery shop in the market and other villagers also started to sell their products like cauliflower, cabbage, ginger, potato, beans, green-leaves vegetable and so on after expansion of new Market. During the field observation, I also found that some of the Chepang people were going to market for selling the green vegetables carrying in bamboo basket and some of were returning form the market after selling their products. However, they also informed that they sold their products for fulfill their basic needs like buying spices, kerosene, rice, study materials for their children, cloths and so on rather than for profit.

Unit - 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary

The studies on livelihood are either related to community or caste groups. These studies have basically focused on traditional occupational change of different groups. The study is based on the change on livelihood aspect and socio economic characteristics of Chepangs of Ghairang village of Mahadevsthan VDC in Dhading district. However, there was no such kind of study in specific area conducted in previous days. The present study attempts to highlight the changes on demographics, socio economic characteristics and change in livelihood aspect of the Chepangs.

This is descriptive as well as exploratory research. Traditional methods of data collection with the help of household survey have also been used to collect the primary data. They perform various types of lifecycle ceremonies, such as birth, *nwaran, pasni*, marriage, death etc. as other ethnic groups practice.

According to the field survey, the village has 38 households of Chepangs and the population of the village is 208 with 106 female and 102 male. The village is rich in natural resources, especially water, forest, herbs, land and white stone. There are many *Kholas*, streams and natural wells in the village. The village has dense forest in the southern part named *Saline* community forest. There are different types of herbal plants; especially *Chiuri* is most important tree. Land is the major natural resource of the village as agriculture is the main occupation of the villagers. They have divided their land in three categories viz. *Khet, Bari* and *Pakho*. The village has some kind of infrastructures of development like electricity, drinking water, schools, health post, roads and so on.

The family structure was found to be of two types' viz. nuclear family and joint family. The Chepangs prefer to stay in nuclear families rather than in joint families. So the Chepangs of the study area were found to be living in nuclear families and few of them living in joint families. Among 38 households, 92.10 per cent live in nuclear families and 7.89 per cent live in the joint family. About 53 per cent households have members between four to six persons in it, 5.78 per cent households have members from one to three persons and 31.57 percent households have family size of seven to nine members in it which is the largest family size.

The literacy rate of Chepangs community was very low some decades ago because there was no adequate educational facility in the past. In the field survey, the researcher found that male and female are equal in primary and lower secondary level but in secondary level education and informal education the female seem to be neglected than the male. When the government granted free and compulsory education for Chepangs children, then the parents started sending their children to school.

According to the field survey of educational status/level, the primary level education constitutes the highest per cent, i.e. 77.19% and the informal education the lowest, i.e. 3.50%. But now a days, female education is increasing day by day because in previous or in old days, parents had a concept to give education to male child only and not to the female child. On the present situation the parents do not make any discrimination regarding the education between male child and female child.

The marital status of Chepangs people of the study area shows that female is married soon at an early age because unmarried male population is higher than the female which constitute 53.92 per cent of male population and 51.06 per cent of female population. The married people constitute 35.29 per cent of male and 46.80 per cent of female population and also 1.07 percentage widows, 5.37 percentage widower among total number of population.

Mostly Chepangs are engaged in agriculture because agriculture is the main source of livelihood. Besides, they practice horticulture activities too. They also practice two types of occupations such as primary and secondary occupation. About 73.68 per cent of Chepangs household are involved in agriculture as their primary occupation as well as 27.03 per cent of the Chepangs household is involved in agriculture as their secondary occupation. Now a days 13.15 per cent people are involved in service, 48.14 per cent in wage labor, 2.63 per cent in business and 14.81 per cent in weaving. In this village business is the least practiced source of their livelihood.

Income is the major factor to know the livelihood of Chepangs of the study area. The economic condition of the Chepang people of the study area is extremely low. 52.63 percent earn ten to twenty five thousand Nepalese rupees per year which is the largest income. 5.26 percent respondents have more than fifty thousand annual incomes.

Animal husbandry is a part of Ghairang village. 21 households keep cows and buffalos for milk production. They are rearing cows and buffalos for milk and fertilizer. The number of chickens kept by them is very high, i.e. 42.29 percent of total household and pigs are kept for multipurpose.

In the study area, according to age and sex composition, the number of the female population is slightly higher than the male population. On marital status, unmarried male populations are more than female because male do not marry soon due to the family problem. Likewise, on educational status, highest per cent is found in primary level because of free and compulsory education up to the age of 15 years. Size of the family of 4-6 members in it has been found to be in very large proportion in the study area. From study, it has been noticed that the Chepangs respondents have been holding very small size of land. In the land, they cultivate different types of crops. The major crops are paddy, maize, millet. On the other hand, major cash crop is orange. The average food

sufficiency status of Chepangs is of 4-6 months. It shows that they have food deficit.

Some changes have occurred in this area in comparison to that of past and slight changes seems to occur also in the lifestyle of Chepangs of Ghairang village as the consequence of this. The major attributors of this change are the changes in their economic status, occupation, road construction, electricity, education etc.

7.2 Conclusion

Livelihood is the process of adapting with environment in particular space and time. There is change in any space and society and we have to accommodate with the societal demands and environmental directions. The conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis made in the preceding chapter have been put in this chapter. The main objectives of this study were to find out the past and present livelihood strategies of Chepangs in Ghairang village of Mahadevsthan VDC in Dhading district. It has also attempted to explore and identify the the socio-cultural and economic characteristics of the Chepangs of the study area.

Chepangs is one of the indigenous tribe of study area. Traditionally, they were dependent upon hunting, gathering and a few of them also depended on agriculture, which was only for subsistence of their life. Due to low level of agricultural production and small size of land holding, they had to depend on other economic activities such as animal husbandry, wage labour, business, service and weaving for their survival. Chepangs are simple, honest, hardworking but uneducated. They have good relationship with other castes. There is notable development in this area regarding the facility of education, health, transportation and electricity. They are still far from the industrial and civilized society. I found good co-operation among villagers. By the interaction with the people of other groups, it was found that a continuous change is occurring in their socio economic and socio-cultural lives.

Agriculture as a primary economic activity of Chepangs is undergoing change. In the past, agriculture was done to meet the subsistence needs only .At present due to constructed road and improved irrigation facilities, the farmers have access to hybrid seeds and the facility of road has made it easy for them to take their products to the market and sell them. In this way because of change in production system, there have been changes also their livelihood.

The most noted attributor for the changes in the village is the constructions of road. The development of rural small market centers and expanding marketing has played vital role in for the change in the livelihood of people in the village. Diversification emerged after the road construction. The way they carry out their ages old means of livelihood have been modified.

Moreover, Chepangs are agriculturist. They practice agriculture and horticulture crops simultaneously. Apart from this, they rear cattle such as cow, buffalo, goat and pigs for their economic betterment. Large number of Chepang people depends upon agriculture as their primary occupation and very few numbers of people are involved in secondary occupations like weaving and rearing livestock.

At last, it may be concluded that most of the Chepangs households are found in poor condition but that Chepangs' social life has undergone significant changes. Road construction, changes on economy are most responsible for change in livelihood. The overall conclusion of this study has been changed that Chepangs past livelihood strategies and improve their social economic status with the adoption of new income earning opportunities.

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HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

1. Respondent's Name:

Male	Female	Caste/ ethnic:	Groups:
Village town	ward No:	District:	

Tole Religion:

2. Details of the household members:

S.No.	Name	Age	Sex	Relation	Marital	Oiginal	Occupation	Education
				with Hh	status	place		illiterate
				head				literate

3. What is your occupation?

Primary occupation	Secondary occupation

4. Is your occupation change?

Yes

No

If yes

Past occupation	Present occupation

5. What types of land holding?

Land	Туре	Own	Area	Renter	Area give	Area
holding					to other	
Khet						
Bari						
Pakho						
Kharbari						
Other						

6. Is your farming production sufficient for the year rural

Yes No

If not sufficient how many month:

Month	Number
1-3 month	
4-6 month	
7-9 month	
10-12 month	
Above month	

7. What are the major areas of expenditure?

Items	Amount (Rs)	
1 Fire wood		
2. kerosene		
3. Education		
4. Treatment		
5.Clothes		
6. Electricity		
7. Transportation		
8. Others		

8. Do you have own land?

Yes No.

If yes please provides the information in the table below

Land type	Occupation land in Ropani
Khet	
Bari	
Pakho	
Kharbari	
Other	

9. Do your family members working else where

Yes No

If yes (i) In Nepal (ii) in India (iii) other country

Which occupation they worked

10. Do your family members works as daily wage labour or monthly wage labour?

If yes, Provide information:

S. No	Name	Sex	Source of	Average	Working place
			income	monthly income	

11. Do you have cattle? Yes

No

If yes, please provide information

Name	10 years back	No	Present	No
1. Cows				
2. Buffalo				
3. Goats				
4. Chickens				
5. Pigs				
6. Others				

12. Major crops growth in your land?

Crops	Production	Quantity	Price
1. Paddy			
2. Wheat			
3. Maize			
4. Millet			
5. Potato			
6. Others			
(specify)			

13. Major fruits grown in your land

Fruits	Quantity	Price

14. What is your approximate annual income

A. Amount of income Rs.

Yearly income in Thousand	10 years ago	At present
Less than 1000		
10-25		
30-35		
More than 50		

15. What are the major sources of income of your house?

Sources	Income (Rs)
- Wearing	
- Agricultural	
- Fracture	
- Wage labour	
- Business	
- Others	

16. Which language do you use at home?

Language	Number
- Chepang	
- Nepali	
- Other	

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1.	Do you have political organization?	
	Yes No	
	If Yes, what are the functions of political organization?	
2.	Which one of the following are the Main causes of the backwardness of	
	the Chepang community?	
	(a) Lack of education (b) literacy	
	(c) Unemployment (d) Exploitation by other caste groups	
3.	How did you do to occupation 10 years and now?	
4.	What are causes of changing your occupation? Give your opinion?	
5.	Is your life style change, Nowadays?	
	(a) Yes (b) No If Yes, what are the cause?	
6.	What is the effect of modernization upon your cultue?	
7.	How is the wage rate for hall and female for the similar type of work?	
8.	(a) same (b) Different In your opinion what development have taken place in and around your	
	village over the pat around your village over the past ten years.	
	(a) Road construction (b) Electricity	
	(c) health post (d) building construction school	
	(e) Others	
	Is this function impact on their livelihood?	
9.	What different rituals are celebrated whole years rituals?	
	Month Rituals	
10.	What's the change of your festivals, before 20 years ago and now?	
11.	Relationship with other caste?	
12.	What is the relation among your community?	
13.	Facility in your village?	
14.	Who is the decision maker of your society?	

15. Give some suggestions how can we improve change rural livelihood

Photos

Researcher interviews with respondents



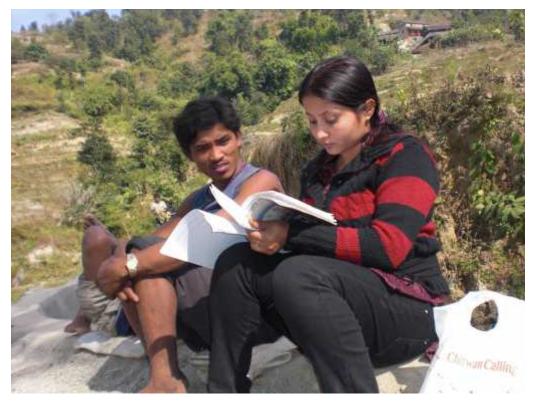
An Interview with key informants



Researcher among the Chepang people



A Chapang woman with her livelihood



Researcher asking about change in livelihood with a youth



Butter Tree (Chiuri) : Dowry for a daughter in her marriage



A Chepang Women at her work



An adult at a work in order to live



An Interview with a respondent