

# Chapter-I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background:

Nepal is a multiethnic and multilingual country. According to the classical model of Hindu caste hierarchy there are four castes (Brahman, Chhetri, Vaishya, Shudra). In Hindu religious books, there is evidence that Shudras were not originally considered untouchable (Kisan, 2005). Manu, in his book Manusmriti, laid down social rules that if people failed to do the work according to their classification, they would not remain in their caste and called untouchable. The state could confiscate all their property, banish them from the land and regard as rebels (Bista, 1991). In this way, the socio- economic deprivation and exploitation started since the Manu's age. However, the caste system further deepened in Nepali society in the reign of Jayasthiti Malla. He was imitating what the Manu had done in India, creating and enforcing discriminatory rules and regulations for lower caste people. During Prithivi Narayan Shah's regime, the caste system was strengthened. Prithivi Narayan Shah not only spread the social organization system of four Vernas and thirty six caste division, but he also made this system more rigid. Provisions were put in place such that nobody was allowed to either change own or other's caste status (Kisan, 2005). Civil code of 1854 divided its people into five groups: Brahmans (Tagadhari), Khas, Matwali, Pani Chalne (touchable) Vaisya and Pani Nachalne (untouchable) Shudra (Dalit) during Rana Regime. This civil code legally systematized the caste discrimination and caste based exploitation. Old legal code had put the Dalit into the bottom of the caste hierarchy. There are more than hundred castes and ethnic groups in the country. (Annex-1)

According to CBS report, the Dalit population is 2.8 million which represents 12.5 percent of the total population. Prithivi Narayan Shah, the unifier of Nepal, had said, 'Nepal is a garden of 4 castes and 36 verna (sub castes)'. According to the Mahendra Lawoti (2001), the meaning of that saying was to convert all Nepalese into orthodoxies Hindu instead of Nepal as a common garden of all castes. With the expansion of Gorkha Kingdom; Gorkhali king started the process of Hinduization to all Dalits and indigenous population. The expansion of Gorkha Kingdom was made based on arms in place of consensus. However, it is said that, Nepalese history is peaceful, tolerance, harmonious and cooperative from the past because there is no any evidence of clash and conflict in the name of caste.

Dalit is most marginalized and disadvantaged groups of Nepal. Historical facts show that the exploitative Hindu caste hierarchy based stratification of Nepali society compelled Dalits to be excluded in every sphere of social life. They are socially exploited because of untouchability that is still prevailed in Nepalese society. Dalits are politically powerless and under- represented and economically poorest segment of the society. Their fundamental Human rights have been grossly violated. In number of places, this segment of population could not get social respect in practical sense due to the caste based system though termed illegal and inhuman behavior because of ineffective enforcement of the Acts, which has made the caste system punishable (NPC, 2002).

The legal code, 1963 treats Dalits as equal as to other ethnic and caste groups. The legal code stated that all kind of discrimination on the basis of caste, birth, races are punishable. Dahal (1995), comments that the introduction of New Legal Code was bold attempt in the traditional Nepali society. But it could not function effectively because of poor economic system of people as a whole. The Dalits depend on high caste and Janajati for their survival. Such kind of

dependency further marginalized them. Considering the fact that inclusion policy of government is bias. People from Dalit and marginalized group in education are very less in Nepal due to various reasons such as traditional division of labour and government policies adopted in the past. Culturally, the profession of the people divided into different groups according to their caste. Brahmin became the priest and got the chance of education but Dalits counted as a liquor drinker and Achhoot (untouchable) and they were allowed to education and other trainings. Exclusionary policy in education made Dalits community more vulnerable and again that made them unequal in every sector of bureaucracy and politics

The caste hierarchy with caste based discrimination is one of the major causes of less access of Dalits in resource distribution. It is fact that Dalits are the richest source of art, skill and culture of Nepalese society. They are highly dependent on higher castes for livelihoods. Their living standard is also very low i.e. per capita income of Dalit is 39 US\$ as compared to 240 US\$, for national per-capita income (BK, 2004).

Nepal is governed by the multi-party democratic system since the political change in 1990. The principles of the democratic system are excellent but apparently, the way in which they are out in to practice is not indicative good governance. Inclusion policies have been formulated and adopted in different laws but they are not as effective as expected. Because of the problems of implementation, the policies cannot become effective. Proper implementation of policies calls for commitment on the part of decision makers from the centre to grass roots level. By considering these issues, present study observes Dalit representation and their social, cultural and economic status from some selected government office located in Kathmandu.

## **1. 2. Statement of the Problem**

There are very few publications related to Dalit issues and concerns. They are neither systematically compiled nor documented. Even few publications are able to picture the situation of Dalit, their problem and the issues. They have been neglected, even though they have significant contribution to build the nation in either democratic movement or people's movement I and II through the varieties of means, or in society through their occupational skill and knowledge. It means Dalit's contributions are in shadow due to the lacking information/documentation update. In addition, the information is very important to sensitize and aware Dalits and excluded groups for fighting their rights and against discrimination.

In changing contest, the issues of Dalits have been recognized. Government and non- government organizations have taken initiatives for Dalit. Open discussion has been started on reservation and inclusion of Dalits in political and intellectual circle. However, there is no or very few studies have been made in Dalit's representation in government. Hence this research focuses on how is the social inclusion of Dalit in Government and other state apparatus of the country? What is the intra- office social and cultural status of Dalit bureaucrats? What problems are they facing within an organization? This research also emphasizes the comparative study in social and cultural status of service holder and non- service holder Dalits.

According to caste system upward social mobility of Dalit is restricted. If a Dalit marries with a high caste, their off springs automatically become untouchable. Economically, Dalit are in lower position compared to other high caste groups. The average landholding size per households among the Dalit is 6.96 ropani (0.36 hectares) compared to 19 ropani of land (0.95 hectares). The

HDI Value of Dalit is the lowest that is only 0.239 compared to the Newars 0.457 and average 0.325 (NLSS, 2004).

The political change of different time could not address the problem and issues of Dalits. Governments of due time became unable to touch the problem of inclusion of Dalits in Nepal. Now, government has brought the policy reservation to uplift the present status of Dalits in Nepal. Does the reservation help to solve all of above-mentioned burning issues? This is the questions to be asked. Different researches have been made to calculate the status of Dalits in Nepal. Most of these research works are based on problems and causes of untouchability. Similarly, some of others have been done about caste hierarchy, social inequality and discrimination against Dalits in Nepal. This present research focuses on how Dalits are represented in bureaucracy in Nepal. Therefore, this research aims at answering some of the following questions.

- a) What is the socio- cultural status of Dalit working in different offices?
- b) How the caste discrimination and untouchability are practiced against Dalits in government offices?
- c) How is the trend of the representation of Dalits in state governance and other apparatus of the country?

### **1. 3. Objectives:**

The general objective of present study is to examine socio- economic condition of Dalit bureaucrats and their relationship with non-Dalit staff in an office. The research will look different dimensions of representation and perception of Dalit and the causes or perspectives of less representation of Dalits in bureaucracy.

The specific objectives of this research work are:

1. To find the social and cultural status of Dalits working in government office in Kathmandu.
2. To compare the socio-cultural change among Dalit service holders.
3. To examine non-Dalit's behavior against the Dalit staff in working place.

#### **1. 4. Signification of the Study:**

This research will help to the government and other concern authority to increase either participation or role of Dalits in state governance or in other apparatus of the country. It will also help to understand the socio-cultural status of Dalit service holders. My aim is to bring the fact of representation and help to increase the number of Dalits in decision-making position. This research also deals about the impacts of exclusion and violation of human right and explores the latent strategy for the protection of right and dignity. It has its own academic importance. This research helps to understand social and cultural status and change among Dalit bureaucrats. It helps to know about the representation of Dalits in governance and the inclusion policy of government. In the other hand, this research will help to understand the application of conflict approach in Nepalese society especially in Dalit community.

#### **1. 5. Organization of the Study**

This study report has been completed into seven chapters of general and analysis section. Chapter one, two and three have been categorized in general section because of their nature and general use.

Chapter one includes introductory part such as introduction, statement of the problem, objective of the study, significance and importance of the study. This

chapter describes about short introduction of study title, reason why the topic was selected as a prior problem, what things are going to study and find about the selected topic and importance of the study. Chapter two, deals about explanation of theoretical and empirical study that has been carried out already in related topics. Similarly chapter three deals about research methodology used in this thesis. What data have been used in the reports? How they are collected? What methods are used to analysis and interpret the collected data? It is organized using different sub heading such as organization of the study, site selection and rationale of site selection, data collection, sampling, research design, analysis and interpretation of data.

Chapter 4 deals about the study people. This chapter explains about the Dalit community in Nepalese context. How is their position determined by law, history, society, religion? What are the different thought and political idea towards them in Nepalese political arena? Similarly, chapter 5 is related to the social and cultural status of Dalits respondents. How many Dalit bureaucrats are there? From which sex and age are they? What is their position in Nepalese government? etc. Chapter six explains about the cultural and social change seen amongst the Dalit bureaucrats and last chapter is the summery and conclusion part.

## Chapter – II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### 2. 1. Theoretical Studies:

There are different models and approaches such as evolutionary model, equilibrium model, physical model, mathematical model, gender model, world system model, conflict model, ethno methodological model etc. to look society and culture. Conflict approach/model is one of the important for analyzing the social and cultural process of society and culture. Structural functionalism gives high emphasize on social consensus and de- emphasizes on conflict. However, conflict approach focuses on social change and social tension; racial discrimination etc. Conflict approach argues that societies experience conflict and dissension arising through the competition for power and advantage between the different groups. The dominant social process, therefore, is not the steady effort to restore harmony or equilibrium, but the endless struggle between those without advantages, who wish to secure them, and those with privileges who wish either to get more or to prevent others from taking what is available.

There is not much research on social inclusion since it is a newly introduced subject in Nepal. Likewise, there is very little literature and studied on Dalits. The issues have been taken after the dawn of democracy in 1990 and it was seriously taken after the second people's movement in 2063 when the Dalit community organized at various levels and because of its advocacy and campaigns, some people and organizations started working with Dalit and conducted studies on their issues. Out of Nepalese and foreign Sociologist and Anthropologist, most of them are working in the field of indigenous groups like Tharu, Sherpa, Tamang, Rai, Limbu etc. Scholars like Prayagraj Sharma and



Dor Bahadur Bista have done some work on Dalit issues. Sharma (1997) analysed the caste, social mobility and Sanskritisation in Nepal. The legal code of 1854 has tried to comprehend the pluralistic cultures of Nepal into a single scheme of the Hindu caste universe (Sharma, 1997: 132). Only, very few studies have been tended towards Dalits in Nepal. Among the Nepalese anthropologist, Dor Bahadur Bista has made an attempt to put various ethnic groups of Nepal together in his book 'People of Nepal' (1987) and described briefly most of the ethnic groups with their socio- cultural settings.

Each sociologist and Anthropologist carries in his head one or more models of society and man which greatly influence what he looks for, what he sees, and what he does with his observations by way of fitting them, along with other facts, into a larger scheme of explanation. The conflict perspective views conflict as a normal part of social life deriving from competition among group for society's resources. It believes in social mobility and change. Similarly, conflict approach is an assumption that believes there was and is conflict in every time / period of each society. In the chronological order of socio-cultural development, Karl Marx and Engles explain about the conflict theory in scientific way. Although, Machiavelhi, Bodin, Hobbes etc had explained and analyzed conflict approach as political philosophy before them. They had described the conflict in the separation and balance of power in the state. Economics of Kautilya (380 BC), Political struggle of Polibious (250 BC), Struggle for the existence of Darwin, Conflict between agrarian and nomads of Ibn Khaldun etc are the examples that who had already explained about the conflict approach before Karl Marx and Engles. Similarly, in 20<sup>th</sup> century, some of the social scientists such as C.wright mills, Ralf Dahrendrof, Irvin Lewis, Lewis Coser, Herbert Moracus, Randal Collins, and Andre Gunder frank

emphasized on conflict approach and brought in climax to analyze society and social change.

The role and effect of industrial revolution of Europe in 18<sup>th</sup> century have had a great contribution in the development of conflict approach. After the industrial revolution, different classes have been aroused in the society. Conflict began between capitalist and proletariat, haves and haves not, poor and rich, ruling and ruled, farmer and owner etc after that revolution in Europe as well as rest of the world. Different social process such as Urbanization, Metripolization, industrialization etc started in the society that brought rapid change in whole social structure. Various issues and questions been raised for the existence of such change and that helped to develop and establish conflict approach to explain and understand the society and culture.

Conflict is the overt struggle between individual and group within a society or between states. Conflict often arises because of competition over access to, or control over, scarce resources or opportunities (Collins Dictionary of Sociology). Social conflict includes all activities in which men contend one another for any objective. Therefore, the nature and causes of conflict are not the same. The nature of conflict can be divided in social conflict, economic conflict, political conflict, exogenous conflict etc. So, any society cannot remain alone from conflict but all these conflicts may not be always violent and manifest. The cause of conflict may different according to society, nature and culture. Major causes of conflict are: Caste system, racial variation, socio-cultural diversity, emergence of the elite group and majority of lower class people, political cause, unemployment, illiteracy, poverty, frustration, exploitation, economic cause, alienation, unequal development and centralized development policy etc. One or more causes work together for creating the conflict in a society. Most of these causes are actively working for conflict in Nepalese society. Conflict approach is more useful to study the dynamic

process of society. Conflict is in every step of society i.e. between family, community, individual, political parties, association, organization etc. the society is changed due to conflict and adopts new system. It is universal law and social system. It does not destruct only, it contributes in social unity, development and change in the society.

The specific aim of this research is to apply conflict theory for the observation of social, cultural and economic status and changes occurring in Dalit community especially between Dalit service holder and non-service holder and to document the discriminatory behavior against the Dalit staff in working place and inside the bureaucracy. Similarly, this study applies conflict approach to find the discrimination on Dalit from past to present. Dalits are doing very hard struggle for their survival even today. There is conflict in side the office between Dalit and non- Dalit staffs. Therefore, this study focuses on conflict approach to find the causes of conflict.

## **2. 2. Empirical Studies:**

Prayag Raj Sharma (1977) analyzes legal code of 1910 BS. as a major cause of caste division in Nepal. He examines legal code, caste system, social mobility, rule of verna system, caste based profession, law, social status and role etc from historical and anthropological perspectives that are explained in old civil act, 1854. He has shown the caste hierarchy as mentioned in the act like below.

- a. Tagadhari (Twice Born Caste)
- b. Matwali (Liquor drinker)
- c. Achhoot (Untouchable)
  - i. Chhoichhito halnunaparne

## ii. Chhoichhito halnuparne

Although there are more and more incidents of caste system in manusmirti according to Hindu Mythology, but that legal code gave the legality of caste and their work division in Nepal. According to that legal code, caste system was divided in to Tagadhari (twice born caste) and Matwali (liqueur using caste), (Panichalne/ choichito halnanaparne) touchable caste and Paninachalne, chhoichhitohalnuparne (untouchable caste). The legal code gave the priority to upper caste people and they started to discriminate lower caste people. Due to these reasons, lower caste people deprived of their right and they became worker in getting their right and in access of resources that increase the backwardness on them and could not compete with upper caste people that decrease the number of participation in administration.

The book 'Priest and Cobblers' (1972) is written by A.P.Caplan studying the relationship between upper caste (Brahamin) and lower caste (Saarki) in a Hindu village, in west Nepal. The book shows conflict between upper caste and lower caste people for social, political and economic positions and resources. Similarly, she has described the political conflict of Bali Bhurtel and sharma and lower caste people are divided in favor and against of these two castes. Condition and different aspects of less access of occupation, job opportunity and administration has been described very clearly. The book shows that the social discrimination between upper caste and lower caste in Nepalese Hindu society.

Bista (1973) describes social and cultural situation of different groups of Nepal. It was great contribution in the study of different castes and sub castes and their cultures in Nepal. Similarly, in his book, "Fatalism and Development," (1991), he has preseted many cases of exploitation of upper caste (Brahaman and Chhetri) upon lower caste (Dalits). These (Dalit and Marginalized people)

castes are out of easy access of natural resources due to the exploitation of upper caste. He further describes that Favorism and Nepotism are the major cause of less participation of lower caste in administration. They are deprived of educational right, which increased the discrimination between lower caste and upper caste. Brahmanism became a cause of all these situations and Nepalese believe in their fatal. Therefore, he has coined that 'one can only have what is written on the fore-head but can not have what on sees'.

Kisan (2005) sheds lights on the historical aspect of the exclusion among Dalits. The study starts with the historical background of the origin of the untouchability in the caste system. In Hindu religious books, there is evidence that Shudras were not originally considered untouchable. Manu, in his religious book Manusmriti introduced what might be called an untouchability dividing line with peoples like the Chandal. Manu laid down social rules that if people failed to do the work according to their classification, they would not remain in their caste.

The Shudras also had particular work, in that they were required to pay respect and give service to other three castes preferable to the Brahmins. However if the Shudras failed to do their required work, then the state could confiscate all their property, banish them from the land and regard them as rebels. Manu also restricted Shudras from wealth attainment. In his Manusmriti, women, sons and Shudras did not have authority over money. Manu allowed Shudras to own dogs and donkeys as property, but the ultimate ownership even on these properties remained with their masters. In this way, the socio-economic deprivation started since the Manu's age. The caste system grew in India and emerged in Nepal during the Kirat age.

Different dynasty and rulers gave the priority in caste system in Nepal. During the Rana regime, the government divided its people into five groups: Brahmans

(Tagadhari), Khas, Matwali, Pani Chalne(Touchable) Shudra and Pani Nachalne (Untouchable) Shudra by promulgating the civil code in 1854 to govern the diverse communities. The civil code legally systematized the caste discrimination. The civil code has specified the work/ occupation as per their caste. Although the new civil code 1963 in Panchayat era had been promulgated the social practice continued on the basis of civil code. The surprising thing is that we can observe clearly the residual of that old code in practice even today. However, undoubtedly, Kisan analyzed different dimensions of untouchability and caste discrimination. This study is more on social movement; he has not captured the economic and cultural exclusion of Dalits.

Our social cultural domain is entangled with traditional superstitions and upper caste chauvinist concepts that encourage discrimination against Dalit for years. Our mind has been preoccupied with superstition and evil practices, unless we get rid of exploitative thinking through activities of good social-cultural process. The evil practices against Dalit will restrict to increase the participation of Dalit in government. Due to this mala- practice, they will be compelled to survive under injustice and exploitation. They must be liberated from such social cultural restriction. (Khanal, 2007)

Unfair distribution of wealth, lack of economic justice unequal land holding system denial of equal human rights, lack of inclusive policy of government, lack of clear vision and understand for the protection of Dalit and Marginalized people. Lack of implementation of national, regional and international commitments of Nepal government became disadvantage to Dalit and Marginalized people. Therefore, it can be said all human being are naturally good and pure (born free) but society and societal rule has made us evil and twisted (in chain) in which one started to exploit another in long run.

Various development reports such as human development report (2004) clearly shows that Dalits are lowly benefited from development result. Most of them depend on traditional profession such as conventional farming, cattle herding, sheep farming, herbal collection, fishing, boating porting, traditional healing, carpentry, pottery, both by wood carving and ceramics, dwelling clay workers fire wood and grass collection and so on. In the present times, many of the Dalit's children are used for domestic help for urban elite. Significant number of them mainly the girl children are found victims of human trafficking within the country and abroad. Majority of the Dalit group population falls to low-income group since they have to survive simply on the traditional skills blessed by nature commonly called as unskilled labor. In several events of history, they were deliberately denied education and other means of capacity building the situation inhabited to enriching them making capable to cope with forth coming situations that needs special skills and knowledge to meet emerging needs for modern development efforts. (Khanal, 2007).

Dalits are the most tangible victims of exploitation and denial for opportunity in the civic life. Many occasions, many communities do not want them to see rich, wealthy and dignified. Therefore elite in the communities rudely exploited them deliberately, which resulted in to socio-economically erroneous consequence. Hence almost none of Dalit stayed free from poverty and impoverishment those innumerable degrading treatments and merciless social hatred obviously crippled down their representation in government, human rights and dignity at the bottom of compassion. (Khanal, 2007)

Dalits are probably the most vulnerable, living in poverty and lowly benefited in terms of social justice and enjoyment of human rights, economic, social, cultural, civil and political. They are the least proficient beneficiaries of the dividends of national development endeavors. In practice, they are not free from

oppression, hatred and denial. School attendance of their children is probably the lowest among all sections of communities; they are still far behind at literacy level. This situation appeared in absence of government post. (Khanal, 2007)

The issues of Dalits have not been taken seriously until the Government's Ninth Plan. The Ninth Plan focused on capability enhancement of Dalits, reservation in scholarship, compulsory and informal education system, fixing certain portion of grant in the local government authorities for the upliftment of Dalits. Nevertheless, these plan and policies of Ninth Plan could not implement as well due to Maoist revolution and unstable government. National Dalit Strategy report (Dahal, 2002) was prepared for the National Planning Commission in 2002. It suggested some top priority area such as: cultural, religious, educational, social, economic, political, administrative, legal, and academic and data bank to focus in five year plan. This broad study tries to include a wider range of issues for the upliftment on Dalits in Nepal.

The Tenth Plan with respect to the poverty reduction strategy paper recognizes the centrality of socially inclusive development. It focused in mainstreaming the excluded groups to ensure equitable access for all and providing targeted program to hardcore poor. Thus, it has emphasized on various welfare programs. Such programs are: employment for Dalits, preferential provision in foreign employment, sensitization programs against untouchability at the local level. Similarly, encouragements of Dalit women for schoolteachers, scholarship programs, housing arrangement for homeless Dalits etc. are also emphasized. Skill promotion for income generation, training for modernizing their traditional occupations, arrangement of leasehold forest within community forests for Dalit forest users, provision of grants to poor Dalit for micro-irrigation, provision of focal point in government agencies for Dalit issues,



abolish all discriminatory provisions enacting new special law, mandating political parties to nominate Dalits in each level are also prioritized.

The Tenth Five year Plan has given due importance to economic growth, distribution of resources, human resource development, social balance, empowerment and social transformation. But this Plan could not be implemented properly due to the political instability, escalated conflict in the beginning, and changed political context in later period. The Tenth Plan has provisioned 'Affirmative Action' as a main tool of social inclusion. Now the country is moving towards making new constitution through constituent assembly and restructuring the state under the inclusive democratic phenomena. There are demands of proportionate representation with special provisions.

'Is there room enough' ( Save the Children USA and INSEC, 2004), a research report specifically looks through the number of Dalits employed by these agencies and the type of jobs held by them, the priority placed by the these agencies on recruiting Dalits, the existence of Dalit recruitment policies and the challenges faced in implementing their policy. Report also tried to identify Dalit experiences with recruitment and workplace discrimination. This study also made some recommendation- to develop clear policy to recruit Dalit staff, give opportunity to develop professional skill to current staff members, consider a wider net to search Dalit candidates for the vacancies. The study has focused in the employment sectors especially inclusion in the development agencies which is a sector of the economy. But, this study also does not discuss about socio-economic status and representation of Dalits in bureaucracy.

Another study conducted by Man Bahadur BK on the 'Representation of Dalit in State Governance of Nepal' and published a book called 'Dalits in State Governance' (2005). It has collected information regarding the inclusion of Dalits in state governance (civil service and legislature) since Rana Regime.

The study shows that there is no significant change in power structure of the state since 1854. Since administration and political powers are interlinked, there are similar findings for political power also. Whatever may be the regime, people of Brahmin and Chhetri caste have monopolized the administrative and political power. The study found that the access of Dalits in higher education is very low, despite such opportunities aiming to include the deprived people. For example, among those gone to overseas for study 70% are Brahmins 12% are Chhetri 12% are Newar, 4% are from ethnic groups and 2% are Dalits (Dalits in State Governance, 2005). Since the study relied on secondary data and examined only the participation in state governance especially in high position of civil service and in legislature, it did not cover the representation of Dalits in other sectors such as local bodies and economic opportunities.

There are limited studies and literatures regarding to Dalit in Nepal. The available literatures are mainly focused on social transformation, legal code analysis and caste system. The study of Dalit's representation in government sector is really less. I have found a study entitled with Dalit in state Governance, done by Man Bahadur BK in 2005. Despite this, I did not find any study and report with the topic and work related to the representation and inclusion of Dalit in government offices. Therefore, this study will be a milestone for all academicians, researchers, intellectuals, development professions, development activists, volunteers, policy makers and planners.

## **Chapter- III**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1. Site Selection and Rationale of the Selection of the Site**

Dalits are marginalized group of people. They are distributed all over the country. It is difficult to collect data from all parts of the country because of time and money. Therefore, the data were collected from 11 offices in Kathmandu. This study deals about the Dalits inclusion in bureaucracy. Therefore, the study has been generalized from Kathmandu Metropolitan city and the governmental offices located in Kathmandu. There are few studies that have been carried about the Dalits. This study focuses on Dalit bureaucrats working in different offices. The issues and problems of Dalit community are neglected from researcher, research institution, NGO, INGO and governmental offices. Thus, this area and subject matter is useful and rationale for the study.

#### **3. 2. Research Design**

This study is based on descriptive as well as exploratory research design which considers as an appropriate and best for the analysis of this type of research work. I have collected qualitative and quantitative data and these are described in descriptive way. Quantitative data were collected using the questionnaire techniques and they are presented in descriptive way.

#### **3.3. Nature and Sources of Data**

Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected from primary and secondary sources.

##### **3. 3.1. Primary Sources of Data**

Primary data were collected from questionnaire, interview and case study from different institution association related to Dalits communities. Questionnaire

was used to collect data from individual respondents. Other tools such as interview case study were used to generate qualitative data.

### 3.3.2. Secondary Sources of Data

Different published and unpublished books and reports, Newspapers, Magazines, publication of different institutions and related organizations were as secondary sources of data in this study.

### 3.4. Universe and Sampling

According to annual report of Public Service Commission, 2064, there are 3523 Dalit in bureaucracy. They are distributed in different government offices of the country. The research applied systematic random sampling method of data collection in this study, where each item in the population has an equal chance to be selected. First of all, I made a list of different offices located in Kathmandu and 11 offices were being chosen using purposive sampling method. Similarly, interview, case study and life history method have been conducted through un-restricted sampling method in this dissertation.

Table –1: Number of Total Bureaucrats and Dalit’s Representation

S.N	Offices	Location	Total	Dalit
1.	Tourism Board	Bhirkutimandap	26	3
2.	Epidemic disease control office	Teku	19	-
3.	Road department office	Babarmahal	37	17
4.	Internal Revenue office	Babarmahal	23	6
5.	District education office	Tahachal	34	6
6.	Supreme Court	Singadurbar	22	-
7.	Office of the Attorney General	Singadurbar	17	3
8.	Agriculture and animal department	Pulchowk	9	-
9.	Human right commission	Pulchowk	25	6
10.	Ministry of local development	Pulchowk	38	9
11.	Public service commission	Kamal pokhari	31	7
	Total		281	57

Source: Field Survey, 2066

### **3. 5. Methods of Data Collection**

The most important issue in research especially in all social research is to collect data. The collection of accurate data depends on the foolproof system of data collection method. Primary data were collected through the following technique.

- A) Interview
- B) Questionnaire.
- C) Field observation
- D) Information from key informants
- E) Case study

#### **3.5.1. Interview**

Interview is one of the important tools for collecting primary data. I have chosen this tool to collect reliable data from different offices. I have asked the questions to the Dalits and non Dalits bureaucrats. 11 respondents were chosen for interview. They were from different selected offices and political parties. Interview was taken from Man Bahadur Bishwokarma, Ramprit Paswan, Padam Lal Bishwokarma, Mitha Ram Dhukhi, Meghlal Biswokarma, Dilli Rasaili, Kumari Khahi, Kul Bahadur Nepali, Hiralal Nagarchi, Bishnumaya and Rashmi Darji. Similarly, the interview was made with the help of different questionnaire.

#### **3.5.2. Questionnaire**

A questionnaire technique was used as a key format of collecting the primary data in this study. I have selected 57 respondents from 11 offices of Kathmandu to collect the primary data. The data were collected by filling up the questions from 57 respondents of selected offices. The format of the questionnaire is listed in annex.

### **3.5.3. Field Observation**

All demographic data were collected from the field observation. All the functional and cultural activities of the people were recorded as need according to the objective. I have visited 11 offices in Kathmandu to collect various data and behavior of staff towards Dalit staff, friendship between Dalit and non Dalit staff, nature and work load given to Dalits and non Dalit staff.

### **3.5.4. Information from the Key Informants**

Information is collected from Man Bahadur Bishwokarma, Ramprit Paswan, Padam Lal Bishwokarma, and Mitha Ram Dhukhi as key informant's interview in this research report. By the method, to mitigate the purpose the researcher has been given the topic and respondents narrated the incidents of his life, his feelings and reaction pertaining to it. While going to take an interview to the informants, I have studied his or her biography, family life, political and economic situation etc. as more as possible and the informants were taken randomly.

### **3.5.5. Case Study**

It is a comprehensive study of an individual, social unit, community or society. For the primary data collection, study of life history is as more useful technique as case study. It helps to understand the social and cultural mobility of a person, family or a society. We can generalize the whole society from the social circumstances study of a person. Therefore, I have chosen to collect the primary data for this dissertation by studying the life history of three Dalit bureaucrats as case study.

### **3.6. Data Analysis and Presentation**

The available data are being classified into various categories as required. The method of analysis is descriptive and exploratory. The collected data are analyzed using various demographic and anthropological perspectives and techniques as more as possible. The quantitative data have been presented in different tables, bar charts and pie charts, component element charts, organizational chart, graphs, histogram, frequency polygons etc as possible and as required. Tabulation, editing, coding, classification, ratio, proportion, and percentage are being used to analysis the available data in this research. Nevertheless, the qualitative data have presented in different ways, as it is to make the argument strong and meaningful for its easy understanding. My intention is not to provide national estimates but to suggest the direction of magnitude of the problem as found in the data.

### **3.7. Limitation of the Study**

However, this study possesses following limitation

- a) The word Dalits refers a community in this study. It is not used as discriminatory as humiliated word here.
- b) The study is mostly based in Kathmandu and the government offices located in Kathmandu. Therefore, it may not applicable in all the parts of the country.
- c) Some data have been used from secondary sources without measuring their validity. In this study
- d) Although, different maps, views, case study, field observation etc are the sources of data, these data may not cent percent correct.

# **Chapter-IV**

## **HISTORY AND DALIT**

### **4. 1. Historical perspective and Dalits**

Caste based discrimination is a challenge against human dignity. Dalits are discriminated against in the society and ignored in the national plans and policies on one hand, and the provisions and decisions made by governments remains in the paper only about which Dalits are unknown on the other. Furthermore, the periodic plans are in complex. Therefore, with the aim of disseminating governmental budgetary decisions and allocation of budgets have not accessible to them. As a result of that Dalits are backward. This is the manifestation of historical fact that the exploitative Hindu caste hierarchy based stratification of Nepali society compelled Dalits to be excluded in every sphere of their living. They are socially exploited, politically powerless and under-represented and economically poorest segment of the society. Their fundamental Human Rights have been grossly violated. They are striving for their human rights by forming organizations at different levels in the present days in Nepal. However, because of lingual problems they are unaware of human rights provisions stated in different international conventions and treaties. In a number of places, this segment of population could not get social respect in practical sense due to the existence of caste-based system though termed illegal and inhumane behavior because of ineffective enforcement of the Acts, which has made the caste system punishable. Caste based hierarchy and stratification is one of the prominent causes of exclusion and exploitation of lower caste from the past in Nepal.

Caste based discrimination has existed in Nepal for centuries. Gross human rights violations are committed against Dalit communities due to discrimination



in social, economic and cultural spheres. Effective measures by Nepal's government have yet to be taken to end these practices. Furthermore, there is still a need to identify each facet of life that these human rights violations pervade.

The expansion of Gorkha was not made without any blocked. It is also known that the expansion as Gorkhaization, Hinduization, Sanskritization and Nepalization it is mentioned that before the unification there was conflict between ancestor of Shah Dynasty and indigenous. There was upheaval in different part of the sen state during that period. In this way; different historical evident are witness that Nepalese state built through insurgency, murder or through 'Gorkhe Lauri' and helped in Hinduization of multilingual and multicultural Nepalese society. It was the conspiracy of Brahmanism that they tried to divide Nepalese society in upper caste and lower caste. Nepal was increasingly gravitating towards the influence of caste hierarchy and fatalistic faith. Generally, the people tolerated that incoming new system as long as it did not try to contradict their own religious faith and practice. The local chief and upper classes had no problem in adopting the social forms of this religion as it gave them a hierarchic structure wherein they could attain high positions of power and authority for themselves without having to give up any of the privileges, which they already enjoyed, this was the beginning of the process of stratification of the Khas society and the infusion of the fatalistic faith into it. The Hindu purans have been fashionable teachings, adding prestige and status as well as a sense of modernity.

#### **4.2. Old legal code and Dalits**

In the process of Hinduization, the civil code (Muluki Ain) of 1910 is one of the prominent stone that divided the country on Hindu Verna system and declared the place of the people based on work. Before the legal division of Nepalese

society, Jayasthiti Malla(1382-1395), Mahendra Malla (1569-1574) and Ram Shah (1606-1633) had divided the caste but their division was in limited area. Table 2 helps to understand the caste system of Nepal.

Table -2: Caste division of Muluki Ain, 1854

<p><b><u>A.Tagadhari</u></b>            Brahmin            Rajput (Thakuri)            Jaisi Bahun            Chhetri            Newar            Madhesi Brahmin            Sannysi            Other Talla Jaisi            Some group of Newar</p>	<p><b><u>D. Pani na chalne, Chhoi-chhito</u></b>  <b><u>Halun neparne</u></b>            Khadgi            Kusale            Dhobi            Kulu            Musalman            Malechh (Kuire)</p>
<p><b><u>B. Namasinya Matwali</u></b>            Magar            Gurung            Sunuwar            Some other group of Newar</p>	<p><b><u>E. Pani NachalneChhoi-Chhito</u></b>  <b><u>halnu Parne, Achoot</u></b>            Kami            Sarki            Kadara            Damai            Gaine            Badi            Pode            Chyame</p>
<p><b><u>C. Masinya Matwali</u></b>            Bhote            Chepang            Kumal            Hayu            Tharu            Gharti</p>	

Source: Hofer, 2004, cited from Nepali Rajya ra Adibasi Janajati, pp13

In this way, the civil code of 1854 became a cause of Brahmanization and that developed the fatalism among the low caste people. It was a conspiracy of exploitation of lower caste people. Similarly, the civil code gave more priority to the Bahun, Thakuri and Chhetri of hill. They became elite and other under privileged group. According to Verna system, the access of property and resource benefits was also divided. Land was one of the main sources of economy and it was distributed to high caste Hindu. By the system, upper class people became master of land and lower caste servant.

From the past, there is admittance of high- class in the structure of Nepalese state. This unequal depiction does not lead the nation in right path of development. The racial chauvinism is in every sector of government from legislature to civil society. Hindu caste has more complex and stratified than among the non-Hindu. There is a difference in the perspective of caste hierarchy in the eyes of the Bahun- Chhetri and that of the other ethnic group and the perspective is changing even more radically in the eyes of younger people today. Although, Nepalese society is rooted by laden ritual and cultural practices from the high class Hindu people. Historically, untouchable-racial discrimination and social classes have been seen due to the caste based system in Nepal. By the injustice and prejudice situation from the past that deter the number of Dalit in governance even today.

#### **4.3. Political perspective and Dalits**

After the unification of Nepal in the eighteen century, the concern of the government was with consolidation in rule and with battling against rebellious group. With this emphasis on control, its form was largely military. Most of the Janajaties joined in the military force in sense of security of the country. The Sugali Treaty of 1816, which fixed the political boundaries of the nation helped provide the sense of security that allowed the government to be less pre occupied with military affairs and to turn to other things. Much of the effort of the ruling class turned towards the cultivation of personal ambition.

In course of time, due to the intra-palace machinations, Junga Bahadur Rana, who came to power in 1847 with the ill-famed Kot Massacre and run a defacto Rana rule. The orientation of the Ranas was towards furthering the fortunes of their family, not of the country, and patriotism was even regarded suspiciously as a threat to their personal interest. Ranaji ruled over the country for 104 years establishing Chakari System.

A change occurred during the reign of the late king Tribhuvan. A parliament was formed giving the power to cabinet and the civil service bureaucracy. Nevertheless, Chakari and afno Manchhe system and fatalistic value of people could not down rather than that aroused simultaneously during 1950-1960 in Nepal. In 1959, a general election was held to create a democratic parliament. The election won by the Nepali Congress with two-third majority and formed the government. Nepali Congress could not act according to the interest of the country and its people. There was widespread unrest in different parts of the country against the Congress government. In 1960, King Mahendra decided that this party system is not appropriate system to facilitate rapid development. He declared all parties illegal, closed down the parliament, arrested and imprisoned all cabinet members and took the power into his own hands in the name of the party less Panchayat system. This system ruled over the country continuously for 30 years. Panchayat system also could not remain far from the Chakari and afno manchhe system. Most of the human right and fundamental rights of the people sized. All the power was centralized on the hands of so-called higher class people. There was all round chaos and no administrative efficiency in Nepal. The autocratic rule had made a mess of everything. Administrators, from root level to top had sunk deep in political corruption. The poor and middle class people suffered at the hands of privileged classes and were over burdened with heavy exploitation. Under the autocratic rule of Panchayat ruler including King, there was hardly any freedom for the people.

No one disobey the king because he had Divine Right protected from the constitution. No warrant was need for arresting to people either they are accused or not. Nepotism and favoritism reigned supreme in the government.

People raised the voice against the undemocratic ruling in Panchayat but no one eavesdrop the voice of the people. Just the ruler amended the constitution for three times and made a party less election of Rastriya Panchayat. It was brought

only for showing to the neighboring countries, as we are a part of democratic norms and values. However, people were not so dumb and deaf; they united and fought against the Panchayat system in 1990 AD. Nepali Congress led the movement with the help of united left front. With the hard struggle of 50 days, party less Panchayat system ended and re stored the democracy in Nepal.

In fact, the mass movement of 1990 was raised with the slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity. This revolution was a great event to change old social, economic, political concept and traditional thought in bureaucracy. However, people could not achieve any newness during a decade except political change in Nepal. Nepotism and favoritism bloomed like a flower after the end of Panchayat system than previous one. Bureaucracy became more corrupted and filled up only by their kilns. A political dirty game started in Nepal. No opportunity was given to Dalit as well as educated person. There was political instability during the 18 years of re stored democracy.

King Gyanendra, the last king of Nepal, dissolved the elected government of Sher Bahadur Deuba and run once again direct ruling. People reunited and fought against the direct rule of King that is known as people's movement II and raised the voice of 'Loktantric Ganatantra'(democratic republican). Maoist, a rebellion political party, came into peace process supporting the democratic republican. Dalit, Janajati and Madhesi also came in the street with the slogan of reservation and inclusion. Different political parties and civil society supported them. Nepalese history came into turn of change once again. Constitutional assembly with proportionate of Dalit Janajati, Minorities, Women and Madhesi held on 28<sup>th</sup> Chaitra, 2064. (10 April, 2008). Constitutional assembly of 601 parliamentarians formed in the country to promulgate the new constitution in Nepal. According to table 3, Dalits representation in constitutional assembly is 8.1%. This representation is more in comparison with previous Legislative Parliament. Table 3 presents the

representation of Dalits in Legislative Parliament in comparison with other castes from 1959 to 2008.

Table- 3: Comparative chart of Representation in Legislative Parliament

year	Dalit	Bahun	Chhetri	Janajati	Madhesi	Muslim	Other	total
1959	0.0	27.5	31.2	22.9	16.5	1.8	0.0	109
1967	0.8	24.0	37.6	28.8	8.8	N.A.	0.0	125
1978	0.8	21.3	36.3	30.0	11.0	0.8	0.0	127
1981	0.0	12.5	36.6	40.1	8.9	1.8	0.0	112
1986	0.0	20.5	38.4	32.2	8.9	0.0	0.0	112
1991	0.5	37.6	19.1	30.3	10.2	2.4	0.0	205
1994	0.0	42.0	19.5	24.8	11.7	2.0	0.0	205
1999	0.0	37.6	21.5	26.9	12.7	1.0	0.5	205
1999*	6.7	46.7	8.4	28.4	8.3	1.7	0.0	60
2008	8.1	20.7	-	33.3	34.0		3.8	601

\*National Assembly

Source: Extracted from Dalits in state Governance, BK, Man Bahadur (2005) and National Election Commission.

Table 3 shows that the inclusion in Legislative Parliament was very less in 1959 and 1967. The participation of Dalit during that period in Parliament was only one. It indicates that Dalits were far from public participation due to the exploitation among them. The situation remains same up to the time of constitutional assembly, 2008, the 1<sup>st</sup> and historical movement in the history of Nepal. The representation of Dalit increased positively and reached their representation 8.1, this is because of political awareness, Maoist revolution, and reservation of Dalit as a result of people's movement II, 2007/08. However, it is not as much as positive of their population ratio of 12.3%.

Different governments have been formed in different time. They made their own council of minister. Some government gave the priority of inclusion in the council of minister but some government turn off their head in inclusion. Dalits representation in council of minister seems very low in Nepal. This is because of the exploitative nature and traditional practice of Brahmins and Chhetri who

were in government since then. Table 4 indicates about the Dalit representation in government from 2007 B.S to 2065B.S.

Table -4: Representation of Dalit in Government (2007-2065)

S.n	Name of prime Minister	Dalit	Janajati	Other	Total
1.	Mohan Shumser,2007	-	-	10	10
2.	Matrika Prasad Koirala,2008	-	4	10	14
3.	Matrika Prasad Koirala,2010	-	2	11	13
4.	Tanka Prased Acharya,2011	-	1	7	8
5.	Dr. K.I. Sing, 2014	-	2	9	11
6.	Mahendra Shah, Chairman	-	-	5	5
7.	Biseshor Prasad Koirala,2015	-	7	12	19
8.	Mahendra Shah, Chair man	-	2	7	9
9.	Panchayat era, 2017-2046	3	-	-	-
10.	Krishna Prasd Bhattra,2047	-	-	11	11
11.	GirijaPrasad Koirala,2048	-	4	11	15
12.	Manamohan Adhikari,2051	2	7	9	18
13.	Sher Bahadur Deuba,2052	-	N.A	-	-
14.	Lokendra ahadur Chand,2053	1	6	7	14
15.	Surya Bahadur Thapa,2054	1	3	8	12
16.	Girija Prasad Koirala,2054	-	-	-	-
17.	Girija Prasad Koirala,2055	-	-	-	-
18.	Girija Prasad Koirala,2055	-	-	-	-
19.	Krishna Prasad Bhattra,2056	-	-	-	-
20.	Girija Prasad Koirala,2056	1	-	-	-
21.	Sher Bahadur Deuba, 2058	-	-	-	-
22.	Gyanenedra Shah, Chairman	3	-	-	-
23.	Girija Prasad Koirala,2062	-	9	17	26
24.	Puspa Kamal Dahal, (Prachanda) 2065	1	9	16	26

Source: Political History of Nepal and International Forum, Monthly Magazine

Different governments have been formed before and after the restoration of the government. Some time mono government, some time government of majority, some time collation government and some time government of minority have been formed in Nepal. But, these governments never adopted the inclusive policy Political parties, in the majority government, tried to make government of their nearer and dearer. Similarly, collation and minority government also do

the same like as of majority government. They forget multilingual and multicultural social structure of the country. The table-6 shows that the inclusive situation of Dalit and other castes in the state government/ cabinet after the end of Rana rule.

Cabinet, from 2007 to 2065, have been restructured more than 25 times. Different politician became prime minister once, twice or thrice and more but no Prime Minister is from Dalit in Nepal up to now, only very few ministers are from Dalits. There was due hope of more Dalits representation in Cabinet for new Nepal. Maoist, which run 10 years arms revolution in the courageous support of Dalits in Nepal. Maoist revolution could not success without the help of Dalits community. They have had the great hope of real address of Dalits in Government of Puspa Kamal Dahal, the first Prime Minister of Republican Nepal. Unfortunately, that government also could not show its interest of including Dalits in its Cabinet. It is not regrettable; it is another beginning of exploitation of new government in new Nepal. It can be said, if they are either Maoist or Puspa Kamal Dahal, they are only new characters in old drama and they are not far from the exploitive nature. They do not like to empower Dalits because again they would have to rule over them. It shows that the inclusion in Legislative is not practice in Nepal even today.

Table-4 explains that the weakness in the formation of the government. The sense of the democracy is to govern by majority with respect of minority but in fact, minority is ruling to majority in Nepal. If the government or bureaucracy has not given the chance to Dalit and minority people or if there is no equal chance to all the people, there is impossible of equal development and that bring conflict between the people.



#### **4.4. Educational Perspective and Dalits**

In early days, practically the Lichhavi period, Kathmandu valley society clearly had a substantial body of highly skilled and professional laborers, including engineers and architects. These accomplishments were acquired in relatively sophisticated educational institutions, perhaps these institutions were Buddhist Stupa or Bihar.

The advent of the Sankaracharya in the eleventh century seems to mark a turning point for these educational resources in Nepal. Buddhist institutions were attacked and the products of their work destroyed, with widespread book burning due to the Saivitic thought. He started Hindu system of education that was quite different from that of Buddhist; the model was that of Gurukul, with prime emphasis on the guru and student relationship. Education traditionally consisted of learning, ritual, prayer and the reading of religious text. To be educated one had to be born into a high caste where such an education was appropriate. This type of education ceased practical skill such as engineering application and replaced with this more narrow orientation towards ritual life. With time, education ceased to have relevance for the majority of the population who had to work for living. Eventually Sanskrit schools were introduced for high caste children. The schools those educated here had the opportunity of admission in Sanskrit college at Banaras. Those who were able to go to Banaras came back with highest prestige, as all pundits were initially from there. For high caste people, teachers were available to teach religious texts and ensure a basic literacy, necessary for purposes of administration. In the education of upper class and high caste students, bound for careers in the government as experts in foreign affairs.

During the Rana period, the British system of education was introduced in Nepal as part of modernization program. It was accessible only to Rana children. Later, it was theoretically open to all; in effect, it remained open only

to those in the Rana family and upper class closes to them. The curriculum was derived from the English model and included courses in English, Mathematics, History, and Geography. For the next forty years no other schools were added. The Ranas in some administrative posts employed all graduates of the school and came to symbolize power and prestige. In this way, education drew a demarcation line between high caste people and low caste people.

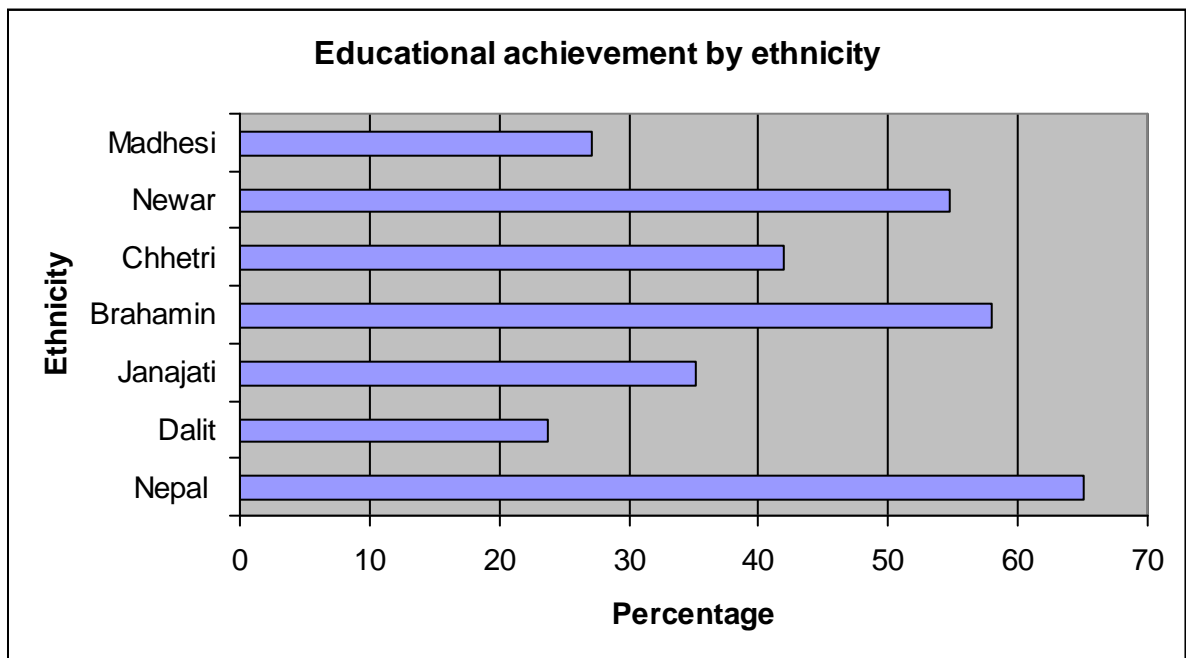
Table-5: Literacy Rate of Dalit in Comparison with other Castes

Caste	Nepal	Dalit	Janajati	Bahun	Chhetri	Newar	Madhsi
Literacy %	65.0	23.8	35.2	58.0	42.0	54.8	27.2

Source: CEDA report, 2001

In comparison with Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar, the literacy rate of Dalit seems very low. It is just 23.8%. Most of the developed countries have 99.9% literacy rate but in Nepal it is 65%. The situation is very miserable in the sense of development. Every one should have the equal right of education. That is why the representation of Dalit in bureaucracy is less.

Fig.1: Educational achievement by ethnicity



The access of Dalit in higher education is worse; it is because of poverty and

discrimination in education institution. In Nepal, even today, some schools do not admit to the Dalit students as well. Children of Dalit community are not allowed to study with the children of high caste and class people in most of the schools of rural Nepal. Therefore, Dalit should be united for against of such kind of ill practice.

Table-6: Graduate and Above by Ethnicity/ Caste. 1991-2001

Caste/ Ethnicity	1991		2001		Increase
	Number	%	Number	%	
I. Caste Group	61438	65.2	251951	74.5	4.1
A. hill caste	47814	50.8	212185	62.7	4.4
1. Higher	47424	50.3	210371	62.2	4.4
2. Dalit	390	0.4	1814	0.5	4.7
B. Terai caste	13624	14.5	39764	11.8	2.9
1. Higher	13387	14.1	39200	11.6	3.0
2. Dalit	237	0.3	564	0.2	2.4
II. Ethnic Group	29057	30.8	76447	22.6	4.8
Others	3745	4.0	9950	2.9	2.2
Total	94240	100	338348	100	3.6

Source: Gurung, Harka, Exclusion to Inclusion, 2006

Table 6 shows that only 0.35% Dalits are getting the chance of higher education. The literacy increasing rate of Dalit is positively forwarded in recent years. However, it is not satisfactory rate as need of time and situation. Empowerment and social inclusion play complementary roles in promoting equity and sustainable prosperity of all. However, it is adverse due to the exploitation and discrimination in education in Nepal. The table below shows that the access of Dalit in education.

Most Nepalese of the present generation especially from the Brahmin and Chhetri castes have been brought up according to belief system that posits that a supreme deity has determined one's circumstances; that their lives have been fated. Many poor Nepalese, mostly from Dalit and minorities, have a habit of cursing themselves to express their frustrations over failures, miseries and

sufferings. However, some of from Dalit thought that they are greater than those of similar caste. Because they are rich, educated and have job. Their lifestyle, social status and economic standards little bit improved than that of jobless people. Table 7 shows the access of Dalits in education.

Table-7: Access of some Dalits in education

S.N	Dalit	primary	secondary	SLC	school	Total	Literacy %	Women %
1.	Gaine	15.7	3.7	0.3	0.1	19.8	31.3	18.3
2.	Damai	15.2	3.2	0.3	0.1	18.7	28.9	17.1
3.	Kami	13.7	3.1	0.3	0.1	17.3	26.8	14.22
4.	Dhobi	8.9	5.2	0.9	0.1	15.8	21.5	8.7
5.	Sarki	12.6	2.5	0.2	0.1	15.4	25.0	13.1
6.	Badi	10.1	2.4	0.4	0.1	12.8	21.5	11.8
7.	Khatwe	5.4	2.4	0.4	0.1	8.3	12.3	3.7
8.	Chamar	4.8	1.9	0.2	0.1	7.0	10.7	3.3
9.	Dusad	4.2	1.8	0.3	0.1	6.5	10.7	4.0
10.	Musahar	1.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.8	4.85	2.4

Source: Concept of Restructuring of State in Context of Dalit and Madhesi

Today, most of the educated come from upper caste and upper class groups dispersed throughout the country. Most local ethnic groups still feel the need for higher education although an increasing number of their children are attending the primary schools that have been opened in their local areas. The dropout number increased rapidly after the primary school because most of the students were from a major portion of economic workforce. In a majority of cases, where agriculture is the main subsistence, children have to play an active role in augmenting the workforce of the family. Children in such situations collect all the cattle of the village, take them to a common grazing area and look after them while adult members of the village are busy with agricultural work during the peak seasons.

#### **4.5. Religious and cultural perspective and Dalits**

Nepal is governed by the multi-party democratic system since the political change in 1990. The principles of the democratic system are excellent but apparently, the way in which they are out in to practice is not indicative good governance. Because of Hindu caste hierarchy, Dalits are dominated and they have no right and access of celebrating Hindu religion and culture, although they are Hindus. They are not allowed to enter and worship the God in temple. They are not allowed to perform any ritual activity according to Hindu religion like the Brahman and Chhetri. Similarly, Dalits are prohibited to presence and participate in public ceremonies and public areas. Upper caste people do not accept qualification, ability and existence of Dalits. Upper class people do not buy any kind of goods. So, they do not run any business. In this way, Dalits are neglected in every sphere of social and cultural life. Therefore, they do not have access in bureaucracy.

# Chapter- V

## SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF DALIT BUREAUCRATS

### 5.1. General Background

This chapter deals about the social, economic and cultural situation of the respondents. This chapter bases on the case of 57 Dalit respondents. I have concerned with 267 persons from 11 offices of Kathmandu, out of them 57 were Dalit respondents. This chapter is basically based on primary data i.e. field work, observation, questionnaire and interview.

### 5.2. Social and Cultural status of respondents

#### 5.2.1. Education:

Education is primary qualification to enter into bureaucracy. Education itself is also of critical importance in the study of development because it is through education that the nation's work force resources for development acquired. Table 8 shows that the educational backgrounds of total respondents.

Table- 8: Educational status of Dalit respondents

Level	Dalits no.	percentage
Under SLC	9	15.7
SLC	27	47.3
Intermediate	14	24.5
Bachelor	4	7.1
Master	3	5.3
Total	57	100

Source: Field Survey, 2066

Table 11 shows that the required education of Dalit bureaucrats is less for their promotion in upper level. Therefore, they have to satisfy in low level position in bureaucracy. The percentage of Dalit in lower education is higher than upper class educational status. The percentage of below SLC is 15.7, SLC passed percentage is 47.3 and the percentage of IA passed seems 24.5 but the

percentage of bachelor and master is 7.1 and 5.3 respectively. Therefore, the high class position of Dalits is less in bureaucracy.

The most highly regarded qualification is the Bachelor's Degree, which allowed one to qualify for higher-level government job. Therefore, the reason of less representation of Dalit in Nepalese bureaucracy is lack of required education.

### 5. 2. 2. Age and Sex of Dalit Respondents:

Age and sex composition of population plays an important role in number of earning individuals and the number of dependent individuals. The situation of Dalit respondents that who are involved in bureaucracy based on age and sex is given in the table below.

Table-9: Age and sex status of Dalits Respondents

Age group	Male	Female	Total
16-20	3	1	4
21-25	13	5	18
26-30	11	4	15
31-35	9	-	9
36-40	3	1	4
41-45	2	2	4
46-50	1	-	1
51-55	-	1	1
56-60	-	-	-
60+	1	-	1
Total	43	14	57

Source: Field Survey, 2066

In this way, male representation is more than female in bureaucracy. Out of 57 Dalit respondents, 43 or 75.4 % were male respondents and just 14 or 24.6 were female respondents. Similarly, 21-25 age groups seem more from both sexes in bureaucracy. Nearly 60 percent of respondents were from 21-30 age groups.

### 5. 2. 3. Birth place of Dalit Respondents:

Kathmandu is the city of dream to most of the Nepalese. People come here with different aims and interest. But bureaucrats move with their post in

different parts of the country. I have collected the data of Dalit respondents from selected offices to know their birth places. Table 10 shows birth place of Dalit respondents.

Table-10: Birth place of Dalit Respondents

District	No. of responds	District	No. of responds
Kathmandu	14	Jhapa	1
Nuwakot	9	Dhanding	5
Kaski	4	Ramechhap	6
Baglung	2	Kavre	7
Parvat	3	Sindhupalchok	5
Tanahu	1	Total	57

Source: Field Survey, 2066

According to the table, more respondents are from Kathmandu. 14 respondents were from Kathmandu out of 57 total. Second position occupies Nuwakot district. Third position is of Kavreplanchowk district. Tanahu and Jhapa are least counted districts that Dalit have worked in Kathmandu. Despite these districts, there is representation of Dalit in bureaucracy but they are not taken in my study.

#### **5. 2. 4. Marital status of Dalit Respondents**

Marital status represents social and cultural situation. During my study, I have collected the data of married and unmarried respondents. This collection aims to know the social and cultural background of Dalit respondents and also indicates their economic condition. What role plays in job holding due to marital status in their office and time management?

In general, early marriage is prevailed in Dalit society. Moreover, child marriage was very common in Dalit community. I have asked the marital status



of Dalit bureaucrats during my field visit. Table 11 concludes the marital status of Dalit respondents.

Table-11: Marital status of Dalit Respondents

Marital status	Male	Female
Married	36	14
Unmarried	7	-

Source: Field Survey, 2066

From the table 11, we can understand that all women have been married and out of 43 male respondents, 36 or 83.7% are married and 7 or 16% does not have married yet. Some of them answered, they are going to marry soon and some of them have no plan of marry or they won't marry for life.

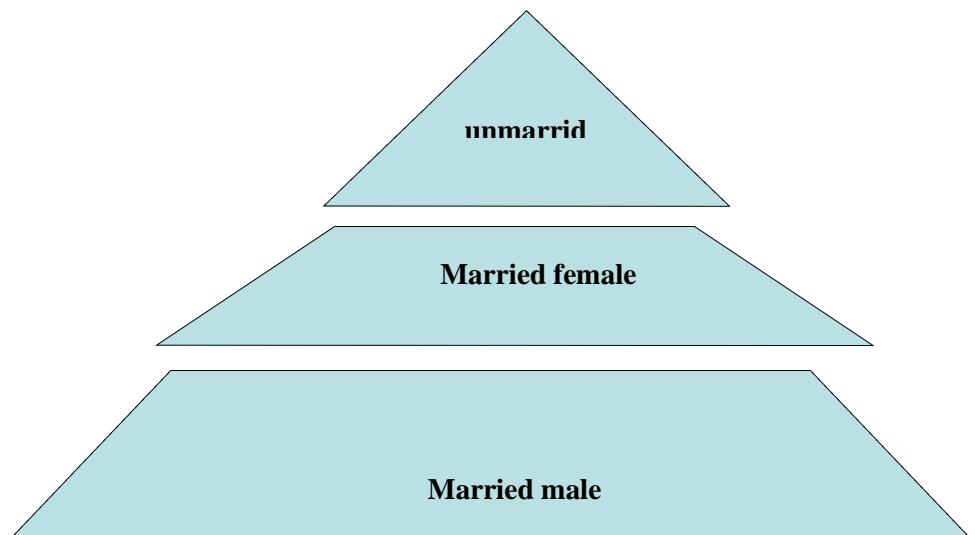


Fig.2: Marital Status of Dalit Respondents

### 5. 2. 5. Family Size of Dalit Respondents

A family size indicates the total number of population in a house. According to the family size, we can estimate whole social and economic status of that house or family. If the family size is small that can provide the basic needs of all members easily. If the family size is large, it is very difficult to provide the basic needs such as education, food, nutrition, clothes, medicine etc. to the

whole family members and that effect in long run of economic status. In Nepalese context, the family size in Dalit community has relatively large. Therefore, the economic condition seems low in that family. There is always dispute and quarrel between the family members in large family. Table 14 indicates the family size of Dalits respondents.

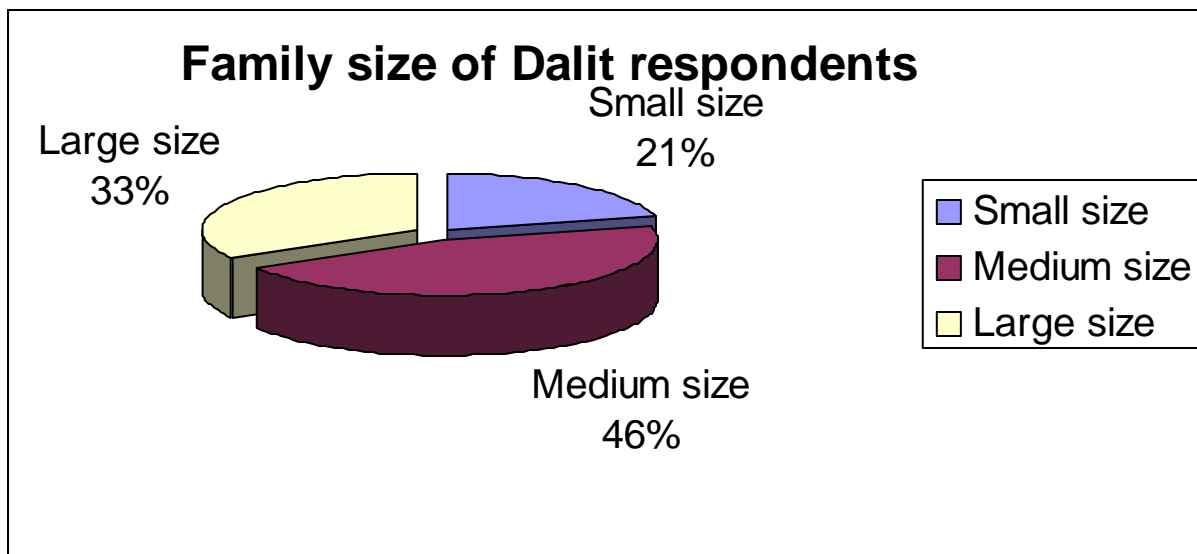
Table-12: Family size of Dalit Respondents

Family size	No.	%
1-5 members	12	21.05
6-9 members	26	45.61
More than 10 members	19	33.33
Total	57	100

Source: Field Survey, 2066

According to the table 12, medium size family having 6-9 members in the family seems more in Dalit community.

Fig.3: family size of Dalit Respondents



The diagram shows that the medium size family is larger than small and large family. It shows the pattern of family has been changed in Dalit community. The pattern of large family has changed into small and medium size family structure nowadays.

### 5. 2.6. Dalit's Position in Bureaucracy

Nepalese governance is most respectful and competitive. It is called bureaucracy, the 2<sup>nd</sup> organ of the state. Most of the people want to enter in Nepalese bureaucracy. However, there is very difficult to enter in bureaucracy. Those who have money, whose relatives are in the leading post and the candidate is from which caste are the determinant factors of getting chance in bureaucracy. Due to these factors, the right person cannot success in bureaucracy. Therefore, some of the criticizer criticizes it as a dumping site and only a group of failure.

Table- 13: Dalit Position in Bureaucracy

Post	Male	%	Female	%
Kuchikar	2	3.5	9	15.8
Peon	7	12.2	3	5.2
Non- gazette	28	49.1	2	3.5
Gazette	6	10.5	-	0.0
Total	43	75.5	14	24.5

Source: Field Survey, 2066

According to the table, most of the Dalit are working in lower class position. The percentage of non-gazette position is 89.9. Among them, female's position is miserable than of male position. However, the condition of female seems satisfactory when we analyze the table as a whole. Similarly, very few Dalits have been worked in gazette level. It occupies just 11.1 percent of total respondents but the number of female in gazette level is zero. The reasons behind this outcome are that Dalit candidates are less qualified, ingrained caste, discrimination system, lack of confidence among Dalit candidates and fewer Dalit applicants.

### 5. 2.7. Religion

Followers of different religions are found in every country. Our country has also the followers of different religions. They live together and cooperate each other. In Dalits respondents, the majority of them are Hindus. Table 14 shows the religious status of Dalits respondents.

Table- 14: Religious Status of Dalits Respondents

Religion	Dalit	%	Non- Dalits	Percentage
Hindu	43	79.8	165	78.5
Buddhist	12	19.3	28	13.3
Christian	2	0.8	15	7.1
Islam	-	-	1	0.4
Other	-	-	1	0.4

Source: Field Survey, 2066

According to table, 79.80% Dalits are Hindus, 19% Dalits are Buddhists they are mostly from Newar community and 0.8% Dalits' composition is from Christian.

### 5. 2. 8. Caste Composition of Respondents

Nepal is a multiracial country. It has 4 caste and more than 90 sub castes live together harmoniously in Nepal. Among the Dalits community, there are different sub castes. Nepali, Biswokarma, Rasaili, Pariyar, Sunuwar, Dum, Chamar, Kashai, etc are such sub castes in Dalit community. I have collected the data of different racial groups of Dalits. Table 15 shows the racial composition of Dalits in selected offices of Kathmandu.

Table- 15: Classification of Dalit bureaucrats by sub groups

Sub group	No.	%	Sub group	No.	%
Damai	8	14.03	Gaine	4	7.01
Kami	18	31.55	Dhobi	2	3.50
Sarki	6	10.52	Other	19	33.33
Total				57	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2066

The table shows that the intra racial situation of Dalits in bureaucracy. In this way, Kami's representation is more in Nepalese bureaucracy. They occupied 31.55% position and second is of Pariyar (Damai) in bureaucracy. Similarly, Gaine 7.01%, Mijar (sarki) 6% and Dhobi's position is 3.05% in governance. Pode, chame, kasai etc from Newar community are included in other group. They do not like to say their caste or sub group. They have been occupied 33.3% in the bureaucracy.

### **5.2.3. Economic Status of Dalit respondents**

#### **5.2.3.1. Income**

Income is one of the prominent factors of economy. There is in an intimate connection between our beliefs and our institutions, our valuations and our socio-economic relationships. Income of the people depends on job and that determined their position in the society. I found a miserable situation of Dalit respondents in income because of lower position in government.

#### **5.2.3.2. Land Holding Size**

Nepal being predominantly an agrarian and rural economy, a large majority of the people of the people derives at least a major part of their income from cultivation of land. Land holding is thus the key to economic, political and social status of any person. Table 16 shows the land holding and land less situation of Dalit respondents.

Table-16: Percentage of Landholding and Landless Respondents

Land holding		Landless	
No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
7	12.2	50	87.7

Source: Field Survey, 2066

Table 16 indicates that only 6 Dalits respondents have the ownership of land which occupies 12.2 % and a large number of Dalit people have no land in their own name. According to the table, 87.7% or 50 Dalit respondents have no land and home anywhere in Nepal.

### 5.2.3.3. Own House and Problems in Getting House Rent in Kathmandu

Dalit are vulnerable people of a country. Most of the Dalit are very poor from the past. They have neither home nor any land to make home. During my study, I have asked how many Dalit have their home in Kathmandu. What problems they have faced in search of house rent in Kathmandu? Table 17 shows total respondents having home in Kathmandu.

Table-17: Total Respondents having Home and Land in Kathmandu

No. of respondents having own home	%	No. of respondents having land	%	No. of respondents having no home no land	%
2	3.5	5	8.7	50	87.7

Source: Field Survey, 2066

Table 17 informs that only 2 respondents have their home in Kathmandu and 5 respondents have no home but they have land in Kathmandu. More respondents i.e. 50 or 87.7% have neither home nor land in Kathmandu. They live in rental house. They have been facing different problems in getting house rent. A problem faced by Mitharam Dukhi, an official in Tourism Board Bhirkutimandap, in his own word is given below:

I was born in countryside in Chuwa VDC of Parvat district at poor economic family in 2019 B.S. at that time, the society was rooted by untouchability. My family had a profession of blacksmith, a traditional profession of Biswokarma. It was difficult to feed my family from that work. After my SLC, I got a job in primary school. I affiliated in Nepali Congress politically. As a politician, I elected a member of NC Mahasamiti and got chance to come Kathmandu at first in 2048 B.S. again I elected in central committee member in Nepali Congress. I decided to stay at Kathmandu and resigned from my school job. It was very difficult to get room to Dalit in Kathmandu. I changed my surname from Biswokarma and made me 'Dukhi' and search room. Few days struggle I got a room at Maitidevi. But unfortunate, my house owner knew my real caste after some days. When he knew my caste then he scolded me and informed to search another room.

### **5.3. Non Dalits Behavior against Dalit Staffs in Working Place**

The relationship between Dalit and non Dalit bureaucrats is based on social structure. Nepalese society is over rooted by traditional thought and believes. The impact of such superstitious belief is in the bureaucracy too. High caste people are mostly represented in government administration in Nepal. Many of these high caste people regard such placement as their natural right. Therefore, the Nepali civil service is not inclusive because of the high caste and afno manchhe tendency. Bureaucratic practices have been strongly influenced by caste-class attitude and decisions made with the bureaucracy are strongly guided by same attitude. I found different situation against the Dalit bureaucrats within an office from contemporary friends.

#### **5.3.1. Untouchability**

Though Nepal is considered to have long been Hindu, and our society is influenced by the rituals and practices of Hindu religion. Due to the Hindu system, there is verna system in Nepal. According to the verna system, there are different caste and tribal groups. They are also divided into high caste and low caste. In really speaking, they are divided into touchable and untouchable.

Nepalese bureaucracy is also affected by the religious orthodoxy and the concept of touch ability and untouchability. I have asked the question to the non-dalit respondents; do you eat together with the Dalit bureaucrats? Table 18 answers to that question.

Table- 18: Number of non-dalit respondents for eating together with Dalits

Answer	No.	percentage
Yes	169	80.48
No	41	19.52

Source: Field Survey, 2066

Out of 210 non-Dalit respondents, 80.48% respondents answered yes, we eat together with them within office premises and outside because it is twenty first century and we should not discriminate people in the name of caste and religion. Mostly, these respondents were young. Similarly, some respondents (19.52%) replied do not like to eat together with them because of caste system. It is our practice from generation to generation; we should not break the social norms. From the answer given from the non-dalit respondents, we can generalize that the system of untouchability is still practice in Nepal although it is punishable by law.

### **5.3.2. Caste discrimination:**

Racial discrimination is one of the great problems of Nepalese society.

People believe in caste hierarchy. High class caste has many opportunities and access in every sphere of social life but low caste people has less opportunity and chances. They are already determined by their specific work. They have no chance to work as their wish and qualification. They are discriminated in decision making process and so on.



I am Meghlal. I am from Tanahu district. Now, I work at the Ministry of Local Development. I am from Damai community. I don't say my caste to other While introducing me, I say either Meglal or Meghlal 'Dai'. When I say Dai, some people surprise and ask with me, what type of caste is Dai? I don't say anything to them. I am frank. I have so many friends. Everyone calls 'Dai' or Meghu. Every one eats with me. All my friends go cafeteria with me and we eat together. But I have a bitter experience of untouchability. When I was at kaski, my boss didn't eat with me and never invite me in any feast. He always used to call me using an inferior word. This was because of caste system. He was well-known about me and my cast. From that incident, I began to say me 'Dai.'

### 5.3.3. Discrimination in Refreshment Training and Study

Dalit bureaucrats have very less chance of getting refreshment training. Different institution and organizations provide different trainings for the refreshment of personnel. Government also provides such training for the capacity building of bureaucrats every year. Table 19 shows the situation of Dalit bureaucrats in getting chance either in study or seminar and training.

Table- 19: Dalit Bureaucrats in Refreshment Training

Office	Total official	Dalit official	Total training	Dalit participation	%
Office of the company register	26	3	8	0	0
Ministry of local development	38	9	11	1	1.1

Source: Field Survey, 2066

Data were collected as a sample study for the Dalit's chance in official facilities. Table 19 indicates that the rare chance goes to the part of Dalit bureaucrats. In Ministry of local development, a training quota was separated to the Dalit bureaucrats. Therefore, a Dalit got the chance in training out of 11 training held in the office.

### 5.3.4. Less Chance and Discrimination in Other Sector

Dalit bureaucrats were discriminated in different sectors of the governance. I have collected the information from Dalit and non-Dalit bureaucrats during my

field visit. From this information, I found there is discrimination in different sectors of the government. These discriminations and discriminative behavior of Dalit bureaucrats are summarized below.

- Less chance and discrimination in official visit.
- More work load to Dalit bureaucrats than non-Dalits in office.
- Some non-dalit officials used non respective language to Dalit bureaucrats.
- Discrimination in feast and festivals.
- Discrimination in religious ceremonies in the house of high official of the same office.
- Duty after office at the home of high officials.

# **Chapter-VI**

## **CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE AMONGEST DALIT BUREAUCRATS**

### **6.1. Cultural Change**

Culture is the man made thing or man made environment that is to fulfill his basic needs and various requirements. In one aspect culture is valuation; in another it is expression and it is the very nature of culture to undergo change. Every age has its own valuation, concerning to literature, thought-forms, techniques and many things. Culture changes with times. It is a regular process. Culture is symbolic system that transmitted from one to another and one generation to another generation. We have materialistic and non- materialistic culture. Man has to live safely avoiding heat, rain wind etc so he made houses. He purchases various things like bike, motor, television, computers, clothes etc for his comfort. These are materialistic things and known as materialistic culture. Similarly, there are some things those, which we cannot be seen or touched. For example, customs, values, norms, traditions, religion, belief, moral etc. these are non-materialistic things and known as non- materialistic culture.

Moreover, within every complex community there is a great diversity of cultural interests. The valuation, the motivations, families, classes, occupational groups, religious and so forth- are at variance. Each seeks influence, prestige, and control party at the expense of others. Every change of circumstance, every advantage accidental or contrived, changes the status of groups with respect to one another.

Mostly I am talking about the materialistic and non-materialistic cultural change among the Dalit bureaucrats here. What type of cultural change can be seen among the families of their own from birth to cradle? How do

globalization concepts have brought the socio-cultural change in Dalit bureaucrats? How does the Dalit bureaucrat have changed their tradition and culture as the impact of globalization? Today we see there is classical change among the new generation. All of these changes are due to the affect of developmental activities; migration, modernization, westernization, and sanskritization.

## **6.2. Changes seen in Dalit Bureaucrats**

The majority of Dalits do not have many job choices since occupation is determined by birth. For upper caste people this means an accretive determination of occupation and for the lower caste people a determination by other cultural and economic circumstances. In either case, people are not accustomed to thinking a choice of profession but learn, from generation to generation, the same professions from elders within the family, mostly in Dalit communities. Juniors learn different occupational and cultural practices from the elder. However, due to the occupational change, there is cultural mobility in new generation. In this study, I found many materialistic and non-materialistic cultural changes among the service holder and non- service holder Dalits. These cultural changes can be summarized in the following points.

### **6.2.1. Involvement in Sat Sang and Change in Social Behavior**

Change can be seen in the behaving pattern between service holder and non service holder Dalits. Those Dalits, who are in bureaucracy, have more friends from upper caste than those of non service holder. Socially, job holder Dalits are less discriminated than jobless Dalits in the society. The service holder Dalits are more conscious in their social behavior and their status is higher in the society than of non service holder.

### 6.2.2. Acceptance of New Food Culture and Changes in Life Style

Economic sources are the major causes of changing lifestyle. Nowadays, changes in lifestyle of Dalit bureaucrats are seen more prosperous than of non-service holder Dalits. According to the respondents, they used to eat local launch and dinner twice in a day but now they eat breakfast, dinner, launch. Fast food like momo, chaumin, pizza, noodles and that replacing their original eating like Dindo, bhaat, dal, gundruk, pitho, buff, makai etc. they wear jeans clothes, leather jacket, dingo shoe and other ready made clothes instead of home made traditional wearing. Now children instead of playing Kabbadi, Dandibiyo, they have access to internet, play video games, etc. They have different way of entertainment. They go to disco and dohari club for recreation. However, the situation of non-service holder is same of previous one.

### 6.2.3. Acceptation of Using New Technology

Even more Dalits are under poverty. However, those who are resided in city and have job, are being changed using the modern means of technology. Various new instruments and invention i.e. T.V., Radio, Telephone, Mobile, Computer with internet facilities can be seen at the home of them. I found the lifestyle of job holder Dalits has been changed due to the use of technology in comparison with jobless Dalits. Table 20 shows that the use of new technology used by Dalit respondents.

Table- 20: User of New Technology

Means	No. of user	%
T.V.	50	87.7
Radio	15	26.3
mobile	45	78.9
computer	2	3.5
Phone with internet	1	1.7

Source: Field Survey, 2066

Due to the technological revolution, most of the Nepalese have access of modern technology such as T.V., Phone, computer etc. the impact of modern means of communication is more in Dalit bureaucrats too. By the above table, 87.7% Dalit bureaucrats have television, 26.3 have radio and nearly 80% Dalit bureaucrats have mobile and have computer and phone with internet facility. But the situation was just opposite before 5 year and with non service holder Dalits. It shows that Dalit bureaucrats have been attracted towards modernization. It is one of the cultural changes among them.

#### **6.2.4. Acceptation and Change in Education, Politics and Health**

Changing attitude can be felt in the family of Dalit bureaucrats in educational, political and health sector. In the past, children were not sent at school. They were not politically aware and they used to believe only to the local witch doctors (Dhami and Jhankri) as do the same non-service holder Dalits now but the attitude of the educated and service holder people has been changed. They sent their children at school as well as in expensive private boarding school. They are directly and indirectly involved in politics and they go to hospital or in the clinic when they get sick. Table 21 shows that the school and schooling of Dalit respondents to their children.

Table- 21: School Used by Dalit Respondents to Their Children

School	Respondents
Government	5
Boarding	51
No where	1

Source: Field Survey, 2066

According to the field survey, I got most of the service holder believe in Private Boarding school instead of government school. 90% Dalits bureaucrats have been sent their kids in boarding school and 8.7% bureaucrats sent their children in public schools.

### **6.2.5. Struggle for Changing Economic Behavior**

Now, different economical institutions have been set up everywhere. Cooperatives and Finance companies have been established in rural and remote areas too. So, the Dalits, instead of borrowing money from landlords or elite people rush towards such financial corporations and banks. This situation has been seen more in job holders Dalits than of jobless and rural dwellers.

### **6.2.6. Acceptance of New Dialects and Change in Traditional Thinking:**

Dalits were fatalistic but they are adopting materialistic and scientific thoughts now. The way of traditional concept of untouchability is being changed. They can go to the home of their friends and can enter in public places and ceremonies. People are against women trafficking, exploitation, slavery, Kamlari, Badi, Haliya system.

Most of the Dalits have their own local dialects and tongues. Table 22 shows some of such local dialects and tongue of Dalit community but now these tongues have been replaced as like as of Brahman and Chhetry's tongue. During my study, I found any Dalit bureaucrat speaks such local tongue nowadays.

Table: 22: Comparative Study of Dialects Used by Dalit Bureaucrats

<u>Dalits tongue (local)</u>	<u>presently spoken</u>	<u>English meaning</u>
Thiya	Thiyo	was
Gardiako	Gareko	Done
Bhandiako	Bhaneko	Said
Aka- thiya	Aayakothiyo	Had come
Lyaera	Lyaeko	Brought
Hamurko	Hamro	Our / ours
Bista/ Braju	malik/ shahu	owner/ high class

### **6.2.7. Acceptance and Adaptation of Modern Dressing**

I found great modification in the pattern of dressing. Instead of home made and traditional dress, we see tie, coat, pant; hat and girls wear skirt, pant, mini skirt, T-shirt etc as of higher caste people in place of gunio-cholo/ sari-blouse. We see boys are making long hair and wear mundra and girl are cutting their hair to be punks and hero. It is seen more in educated and service holder families.

### **6.2.8. Encouragement for Arrange and Love Marriage and Discouragement against Other Marriage**

There was common practice of arrange and chori or capture marriage system among the Dalits. Arrange marriage system was very rare among them. Child marriage was also common practice among Dalits communities. However, the system of arrange and love marriage is increasing in bureaucrats. They are conscious about the child marriage. Therefore, child marriage is less practice nowadays in the family of educated and bureaucrats hence child marriage and capture marriage is still practice in non-service holder Dalits.

Table: 23: Way of Marriage

Type of marriage	No.	%
Love marriage	22	38.5
Arrange marriage	28	49.1
Chori or capture marriage	0	0.0
Unmarried	7	12.2

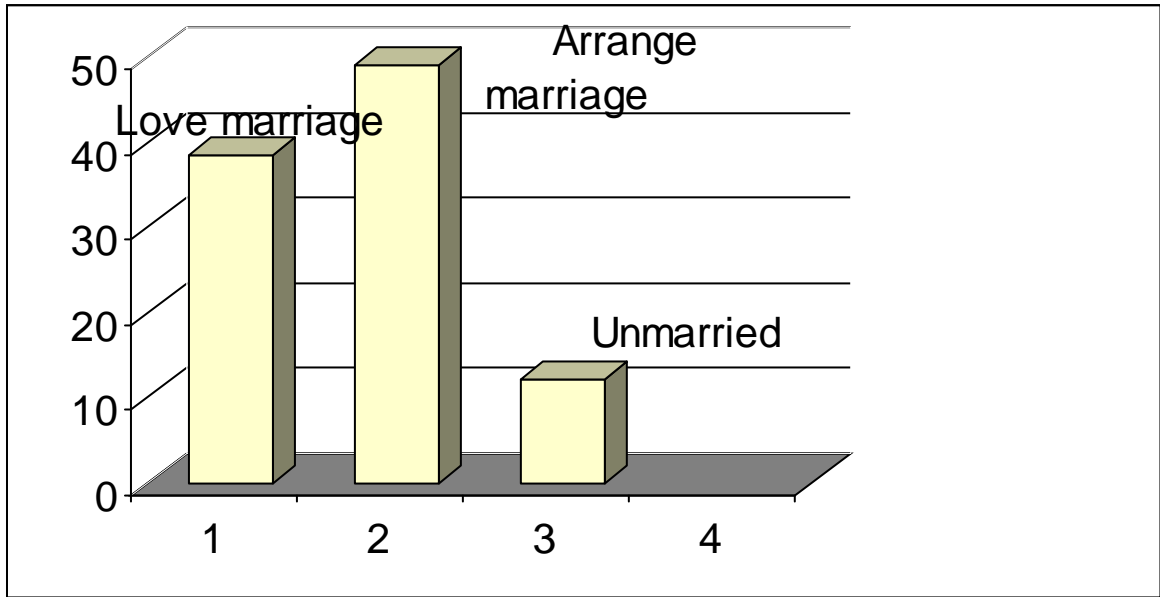
Source: Field Survey, 2066

The ways of marriage system also have been changed in Dalits bureaucrats. Generally, chori or capture marriage was prevailed on them in the past but now they believe in love and arrange marriage. The percentage of love and arrange marriage seem 38.5 and 49.1 respectively. This is because of education and change accepted by Dalit community. Most of the Dalit bureaucrats believe in arrange marriage. Unmarried bureaucrats also want to do either love or arrange



marriage. It shows that the trend of marriage in Dalits community has been changed.

Fig. 5: Ways of Marriage



According to the bar graph, the system of marriage has been changed in Dalit community. The percentage of doing arrange marriage is high and love marriage also following the arrange marriage in that community in the recent days. In the past and even in non- service holder Dalits have the tradition of child and capture marriage but the service holder Dalits do not like such type of marriage. According to them, such marriage system is illegal and we should discourage such marriage.

### 6.2.9. Change in Religious Thought and Ritual Activities

Although, all Dalits are Hindus but they are not allowed to enter in Hindu temple and to perform Hindu rituals. They do not have right to read Gita, Puran, Ved etc. (holy books of Hindus) and other religious book. This is because of untouchability and traditional belief of Dalits and they do not dare to break the social and cultural norms and values. However, some educated Dalits capturing

and inflowing in the temple, which were closed to them from past. Their perceptions towards the temple and worshipping the God have been changed. Similarly, there is change in ritual activities between service holder and non service holder Dalits. Mostly, service holder and educated Dalits do not believe in reborn and ritual activities after death. Dalits, who are the residence of the city and working in Bureaucracy go to temple and worship the God as they like.

#### **6.2.10. Changing Behavior in Occupation and Caste**

Traditional occupations have been replaced due to new emerging occupational opportunities. Dalits bureaucrats and their family do not do the traditional occupation. For example, most of them left the tailoring, playing musical instrument (Panche Baza), Khalati (Work of Bishwokarma), making clay pot (Work of Kumal), ploughing the field etc.

Likewise, most of the Dalits have changed their caste (Thar) and making like of Brahaman. New generations hesitate to write their original caste. This is because of humiliation and touch ability. They write, poudel, Nepali, Bhattra, Shai, Gahatraj, Dayal etc. instead of their original caste.

### **6.3. Social Change**

#### **6.3.1. Health**

Health care facilities are very poor in Dalit communities and they adopt traditional methods of treatment. Mostly they believe in Tantric treatment. They do not like to go hospital either in their case too. If they get sick, they first contact Dhamis or their traditional doctors instead of going hospital, this is because of that they are still unaware about health status. Most of the Dalit communities are still back warded condition, socio-economically as well as educationally. However, in the educated and employee people, the concept of

health is differing than the traditional and illiterate people. The table-24 shows the use of health institution and their satisfactory rate of the Dalit bureaucrats.

Table-24: User of Different Hospital

Type / institution	No.	%	Satisfied %
User of government hospitals	16	28.07	25.6
User of private hospital	34	59.64	75.06
User of Aayurvedic ausadhalaya	5	8.72	98.5
User of traditional treatment (witch doctors)	2	3.50	50.0

Source: Primary Interview, 2066

Out of 57 people interviewed 28.07% are utilizing government health services. Similarly, 59.6% of the respondents are using private health services. Rests of other, 12.2% respondents are still concerning witch doctors and aayurvedic hospital. At first, they go to the Dhami/ Jhankri and later on hospital.

Among 57 Dalit respondents, 16 respondents have been used government hospital. 25.6% users satisfied with the facilities provided from such hospitals. Out of 34, 75.06% satisfied with the facilities provided from private hospitals. Similarly, 98.5% user of aayurvedic ahsadhalaya satisfied with the facilities provided by such treatment. From this table, we can generalize that the traditional concept in using hospital and medical treatment is totally changed in the people who are employee; this is because of awareness and due to instant money for curing their diseases.

### **6.3.2. Education and Traditional Thought**

The survival and smooth functioning of the society is possible only when there is social harmony and social solidarity. It is possible only by the educational change and change in traditional concept. I have already discussed literacy has been increased in Dalit bureaucrat's family. The traditional superstition and belief has been rooted out from them. They are being modernized and have been changed as fast growing modern society.

### 6.3.3. Social Mobility and Stratification

Social mobility may be understood as the movement of people or groups from one social status or position to another status or position. For example, the poor people may become rich; the Mukhiya (non-gazette personnel) may become Kharidar (upper level than Mukhiya) and so on. The reason of social mobility and stratification is wealth and other dimensions such as power and prestige. I see high living standard of bureaucrats than of non- bureaucrats. The social status of such person is higher than jobless Dalits in the society. The families of them are more educated and they have positive thought. I found materialistic social stratification among the bureaucrats and non-bureaucrat Dalits.

### 6.3.4. Alcohol Drinking

From the past, Dalit community is considered as liqueur drinker. Most of the parents and grand parents of Dalits respondents drink alcohol even today. I have asked a question to the Dalits respondents to know about the test or habit liqueur using. Table 25 shows that the result of liqueur user and non user among the Dalit respondents.

Table: 25: Percentage of Liqueur User and Non User

% of Liqueur user	% of Not habitual	% of Not tested yet
13.1	85.6	1.3

Source: Field Survey, 2066

The table explains that the 13.1% Dalit respondents are habitual. They drink any kinds of alcohol after their duty. 85.6 % respondents answered that they have tested and use sometimes with friends and in the feast and festivals. They are not habituated in drinking. 1.3 % dalit respondents have no test of alcohol. It means, Dalits are also changing their social behavior.

## **Chapter VII**

### **SUMMERY, FINDING AND CONCLUSION**

#### **7.1. Summary**

Social inclusion and empowerment play complementary roles in promoting equity of governmental agencies and sustainable prosperity for all. However the representation of Dalit community in bureaucracy is very less. From the very beginning, the situation of Dalit people is exploitive in all the sectors. They were given neither the opportunity nor political rights. Therefore they could not compete with educated and politically powered group. Similarly, they could not grab the opportunities that increase the economic crisis among them. They are humiliated and discriminated by different laws and governmental policies. The decision made in different time by Supreme Court and government is against of Dalit. New Civil Act (Muluki Ain) of 2020 ended all of the discrimination and untouchability from Nepal but the government could not implement those laws practically. Therefore, the situation of untouchability is still practice in every part and sector of the country. During my study, I found discriminatory practices rooted in governmental offices even today. Likewise, historic exclusion and undermining policies towards Dalit candidates can be seen in some offices of the government.

The study found that out of the 57 employed respondents, the percentage of Dalits employed is only 2.2% (6 individual) in high post, Adhikirt level, of the government, 11.3% (30 individuals) Nayab Subba and 7.8% (21 individuals) in lower post(class less) of the government. It shows that the government does not guarantee and adopt the placement / inclusion policy to increase Dalit staffs in Governance. Dalits are discriminated in the society and are ignored in the national plans and policies of the government. As a result of that Dalits are backward. It is also found that empowering the Dalit cannot take place without

deeper and faster social, economic and political transformation towards the development of an equitable, non-exclusionary society and a democratic, right based policy.

## **7.2. Finding**

Equal access of all the caste is required for all round development of the country. Government should be flexible for the appointments in different offices of its. But in my study I did not find equal opportunity and access of Dalit in comparison with other castes. The findings of this study are pointed below:

1. Very few Dalits are employed in government offices. Most of them are in low position.
2. Very few Dalits have been worked in gazette level. It occupies just 11.1% of total respondents but the number of female in gazette level is zero.
3. Dalits are exploited from the since time. Therefore, they are not getting equal chance in all sectors.
4. I found discriminatory practices rooted in government offices between Dalits and non- Dalits worker even tody.
5. Capacity building training and education hardly goes to Dalits officials.
6. Dalits are being vulnerable and they have long been excluded, ignored and deprived in every sphere of life in Nepalese society.
7. Dalits are richest source of art, skill and culture of Nepalese society. They have been practicing their traditional caste-based occupations and selling the products to their clients to make their living.
8. Dalits are united and have raised the voice against exclusion and exploitation of them.
9. The impact of modernization and westernization has been seen in new generation of Dalits.
10. Society behaves differently to job holder and jobless Dalits. Job holder

Dalits are less discriminated than jobless Dalits in the society.

### 7.3. Conclusion:

The larger majority among the Dalits represent rural population residing mainly in the interior parts. They seem forgotten or excluded, if not neglected, during long journey of development endeavors. Majority of them and their children have been discriminated, denied and excluded from various opportunities for their empowerment, development and dividends of development results as well. Most of them are excluded from all kinds of social benefits and bound to live in poverty and impoverishment.

In several events of history, they were deliberately denied education and other means of capacity building. The situation inhibited to enriching them making capable to cope with forthcoming situations that needs special skills and knowledge to meet emerging needs for modern development efforts. Minority children were hardly taken care of, in terms fulfillment of their basic needs and capacity building by training and education. Due to this, this situation of Dalits is even worse, and found unrepressed in many of the social and economic walks of life. Personal inability to expose them on the one hand and low attention paid to their voice on the other, led further aggravation to the situation. Ignoring interest of Dalit to this extent of government was a blunder for the promotion of their rights and representation in governance.

History is evident that higher caste children were allowed to pursue basic education at home and schools of oriental studies particularly reserved for them. However, this facility was available to a limited number of students representing the children of elite groups and upper caste. Lower caste people were prohibited to acquire education and they were not allowed to go to those learning centers merely because of the caste division. Dalits were prohibited

from attending schools and other form of education that increased caste based discrimination.

High caste Hindus and other who have been influenced by it are strongly represented in government administration. The civil service plays a considerable role in the political life of the country. Over the past forty years, it has been the effective body of government. Bahun- Chhetri and Shrestha, who are so called higher class, have a speedy placement regardless of actual need within the bureaucracy. Many of these high caste people regard such a placement as their natural right. Nepalese bureaucratic practices have been strongly influenced by caste and class- wise thought.

The high caste people are in a minority, and their value system is not prevalent value system among the majority of the people in Nepal. Without adopting the inclusive policy in bureaucracy, the attempt of the development may not success. Therefore, it is strongly suggested that to the concern authority to make an effective policy to increase the number of bureaucrats from different ethnic minorities, though only overall development is possible in Nepal. Nepal's further hope lies in its ethnic culture whose simplicity provides a greater flexibility and thus a greater propensity to development and change. It is a fact that Dalits are richest source of art, skill and culture of Nepalese society that contribute to civilization of society since down of society. Historically, Dalits have been practicing their traditional caste- based occupations and selling the products to their clients to make their living. They not only make simple agriculture tools and household utensils, if we modernize them, they will be modern means for science and technology. Therefore, it is the best way to utilize them in bureaucracy and other apparatus of the country.



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### **Terminology and definition**

1. Afnomanche: relatives or nearer person of family members or of their own.
2. Dalit: The term 'Dalit' is understood as untouchable or Achhoot or the term connotes in the sense of Old Legal Code of 1854, 'Pani nachalne chhoi chhito halnu parne jat,' (caste from whom water is not accepted)
3. Old legal code: main law of the country before 2020 BS. It was promulgated in 1910 BS by Rana Prime minister Junga Bahadur Rana.
4. The words 'chakari and afnomanche' have directly used from the book Fatalism and Development written by Dor Bahadur Bista.

## Annex-1

### Population Distribution by Caste and Ethnicity-2001

Caste/ethnicity	Total Population	percentage
High caste-hill	7023220	30.50
Ethnic groups-hill		
Magar	1622421	7.01
Tamang	1282304	5.54
Gurung	543571	2.32
Newar	1245235	5.76
Thakali	12973	0.05
Rai	635151	2.74
Limbu	359379	1.55
Bhujel	117568	0.50
Sherpa	174133	0.74
Other	271285	1.16
Ethnic groups- Terai	2733956	11.80
Mushlim	971056	4.19
Caste groups-Terai	3464249	14.96
Dalit-Tarai	1118919	4.53
Dalit hill	1616592	7.11
Unidentified Dalit	173401	0.74

Source: Statistical Pocket Book, 2002

Annex-2

Spatial Distribution of Dalit Population in Nepal

S.n.		Caste	Pop.	%	S.n	Caste	Pop.	%
1	Hill dweller	Kami	8595954	3.94	11.	Tamta	76512	0.34
2.		Damai	390305	1.72	12.	Santhal	42698	0.19
3.		Sarki	318989	1.4	13.	Wantar	35839	0.16
4.		Gaine	5887	0.03	14.	Kahar	34531	0.15
5.		Badi	4402	0.02	15.	Mali	11390	0.05
6.	Terai	Chamar	269661	1.19	16.	Dome	8931	0.04
7.		Musahar	172434	0.76	17.	Halkhor	3621	0.02
8.		Dushad	158525	0.7	18.	Patharkata	522	-
9.		Dhobi	73414	0.32	19.	Unidentified	173401	0.76
10.		Khatwe	74972	0.33	20.	Other Dalit	142935	0.61

Source: Jagaran media, Nepal

### Annex-3

#### Caste Division according to Legal Code

Groups	Characteristics
Tagadhari	Twice-born castes (literally thread wearing castes) i. Upadhaya Brahmins(Purbiya and Kumai) ii. Rajputs ( Thakuri) iii) Jaisi Bahun iv) Chhetri
Matwali	Alcohol-drinking castes i. Unenslave able (Newar, Magars, Gurung, Rais, Limbus) ii. Enslveable (Bhotya, Chepang, Majhi, Danuwar, Hayu, Darai, Kumal, Pahari)
Paninachalne chhoi chhitohalnu-na-parne	Caste from which water could not be accepted but whose touch does not require aspergation of water.
Paninachalne chhoi chhito halnu-parne	Untouchable castes (Kami, Sarki, Damai, Gaine, Badi, Chamar, Halkhor etc)

Source: Adopted from Legal Code of Nepal (1910B.S.) and Sharma, (1977)



## Annex-4

### Representative of Various Races on the Main Status of State

<u>Main level of the state</u>	<u>Brahmin and Chhetry</u>	<u>Nationalities group</u>	<u>Terai</u>	<u>Dalit</u>	<u>Newar</u>	<u>Total</u>
Constitutional commission	181	4	18	0	32	235
Minister	14	2	3	0	6	25
General administration	20	4	5	0	3	32
Legislative	159	36	46	4	20	265
Political leader (in central level)	97	25	26	0		166
Local governance	106	23	31	0	30	190
National trade and business	7	0	15	0	20	42
Educational sector	75	2	7	1	11	96
Cultural academy	85	6	0	0	22	113
Science and technology	36	2	6	0	18	62
Civil society	41	1		0	18	64
	1011	108	170	5	231	1525

Resource: NIMD 1999 in Neupane 2002