

# CHAPTER-I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

Humanity has come into new millennium, even while there are new forms of exploitation, torture, war, caste, racial and class divisions developing and continuing in contemporary India and Nepal. There are ten of thousands of people suffering within the Varna system created by the Hindu religion. Those categorized at the bottom of this Hindu social organization system have been designated as "Untouchable", or Dalits, despite thirty years having passed since the ratification of the International convention on the elimination of all form of Racial Discrimination (ICERD). Half a century have been passed since, a declaration of the 'Universal Human Right' the Dalits in this subcontinent have not achieved social justice. Nepali law has declared caste discrimination a crime, but those who would implement laws themselves practice the untouchability. Additionally, a deeply rooted ingrained sense of inferiority within Dalits has been difficult to eradicate among themselves, Dalits practice untouchability, argue and fracture their own unity (Kisan ; 2005: Pp3).

Nepal is a country which exhibits ethnic and cultural mosaic and cultural plurality. Nepali society possess as with the various religious, cultural, ethnic and linguistic constituents, which sought shelter here at various period of the history. Caste system is the basic foundation of the Hindu society. Caste system is based on the Varna system. Nepalese social structure is based on the Varna system, where different caste groups and individual interact and interdependent upon each other. The caste or Varna system is based on four primary social classifications. These are the Brahman (Priest), the Kshatriyas(Warrior or administrator), the Vaysha(Trader), the Sudra(Labour) and the untouchable or polluted.

Especially Sudras were specified for the high born societies. This study had focused on the Bishowkarmas a specific group among Dalits (Sudras).

Traditionally this Dalits used Patron-client relationship, where they received Jajmani and Bali from the high born society. But now the Bali system is losing its roots in the society. The Bishwakarmas had totally left adopting Bali system. Since few years they not only work in Bali system but also left their occupation (B.K; 2006). Bishwakarmas a major Dalits group have further sub- branched as a Kami, Sunar, Tamata, chunara and Kadra, which have traditionally adopted the occupation as iron work, gold work, copper work, wooden work, and animal husbandry respectably.(Pandey,2005). Not that every occupation has a caste identity, but that each caste has an occupation or group of related occupations. The caste structure is fundamentally a labour structure, a system of interrelated services originating in specialized groups as traditionalized in a religious Matrix. Due to this history they were always been exploited by high born societies.

Castes are corporate social units which are ranked and generally defined by decent, marriage and occupation. Caste needs are never meet as wholes in one place but members of one caste share a concern for its rank, and mobility. The general characteristics of caste systems can be compared with other system of stratification such as those based on class or race. Undeveloped forms of the caste exist in many parts of the world, but caste organization and ideologies are elaborated to such an extent in Hindu societies that some scholars have considered caste a uniquely Hindu phenomenon. In Hindu society caste rank is hereditary and linked to occupation pursuits. Nepalese law states that all occupation is equal in the eyes of law. No discrimination shall be made on the basis of occupation. However it is still not found in practice. The deep rooted cultural tradition and customs help to exist the discrimination among the people which had indirectly lead to ranked the societies into two blocks as: the one which enjoys all the political and economical power of the state, on the other hand, some of the groups are fully exploited and are oppressed, which is the real scenario of Nepal. It may be because of the occupation on which they practice is regarded as low status. Out of such exploited and oppressed groups,

hill Dalits of Nepal are major marginalized group of Nepalese society which constitute approximately 7% percent of the total population of Nepal (Parajuli; 2001). There is an underlying assumption in Marx's view that human nature requires us to have meaningful work that can be identified as an extension of ourselves, to fulfill psychological needs. When the conditions of labour remove this identity with work, then the work has no control over the work process, the result is unfulfillment and alienation (Kumari; 2000).

Divisions of labour and occupational structure are important indicators of nature of society in the analysis of urbanization. Change in occupational structure and occupational mobility has been analyzed as significant element in the process of urbanization. Parajuli (1999) had found the following through his imperial study as;(1) Modern kind of occupation are replacing the traditional occupation pattern in Pokhara, (2) The Socio-economic background of the respondents determines the change of occupation, (3) The selection of occupation is being governed by modern values rather than by traditional values and (4) Migrated people are more occupationally mobile in comparison to residents of the city. The agricultural related works and labour were considered as lower status and least income earning occupation, business services and miscellaneous occupation were considered as high status more income earning occupation. Therefore, the agricultural related work as an occupation is losing its attraction and non-agricultural occupations are gaining popularity in respect to status and income in urban societies.

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

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

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Dalit people who cover around 15 to 20 percent of the total population of the country were suffering from the caste based discrimination. They were ranked in a lower grade of vertical social hierarchy. Still several Dalits have to serve the higher caste people to meet the livelihood sufficiency. Dalits have been marginalized from various social and economical opportunities. According to human developing report (2000), 90 percent of Dalits were below the poverty line. The traditional occupation of the Dalits people were threatened and could not continue further because of industrial production and open market (Sharma; 2001).

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

primary source (domestic and foreign) as well (Prajuli: 2007). The occupation of an individual correlates highly with his social placement by the member of the same community. (Lipset and Bendix: 1952) In respect to the Dalits of Nepal different scholars, researchers have expressed their view through their writing. Empirical studies on occupational mobility; perception of Dalits towards their own traditional occupation satisfaction is still unanswered by them.

Thus, to summarize, this study has mainly focused on searching the answer to these research question.

- i. What traditional skills do still exist of these Bishowkarmas of Hemja?
- ii. What is the main basis of livelihood among Bishowkarmas?
- iii. How much do they earn from the traditional occupation?
- iv. What do Bishowkarmas feel about on own traditional occupation?
- v. What is the Respondent's perception towards their occupational shift?
- vi. What do Bishowkarmas view the real causes for such shift?
- vii. Among the Bishowkarmas which new occupation is mostly preferred?
- viii. How much do they earn from the new occupation?
- ix. Are they really satisfied in the shifted occupation?
- x. What do they expect from society and state?

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

General objective of this study is to find out the patterns of occupational shift among the Bishowkarmas in Hemja VDC the specific objective are here under stated.

1. To study the changing patterns and occupational preferences of among the Bishowkarmas.
2. To assess the factors that fostered shift in their occupation.
3. To find the Dalits expectation from the society and the state.

#### **1.4 Definition of the Terms**

**Patron-client relation:** The system where lower caste (Dalits) are given something once in every year as Bali for their work by the high class or caste group.

**Traditional occupation:** the occupation that is continuing from the ancestral period or generation after generation.

**Hill Dalits:** the Kami, Damai and Sarki are the so called hill Dalit but in my study the Kamis are only taken as the hill Dalits.

**Sepoy:** soldier working in military service of government.

#### **1.5 Limitation of the Study**

Basically, this is an academic study. It has been undertaken within the boundaries of limited time, budget and other resources. Though it had studied the changing occupational trend among the Dalits but has focused especially on Kami and Sunar of this Bishowkarmas caste due to the lack of appropriate sample for other groups. The research is based on fully descriptive and explorative analysis, but it had not studied about gender related aspect neither it had seen the impact of migration. But, the study reflects the realities of changing occupation patterns that is observable in selected area of Hemja VDC thus, the findings and conclusion drawn from this study may not be widely generalized exactly in the same manner for other cases of changing occupational pattern on other group of Dalits in Nepal. Obviously, some generalization can be made while considering the cases of changing occupational pattern in other groups of people in Nepal. It can also be generalized in same geographical/ecological condition and same caste and religious situation.

#### **1.6 Basic Assumptions**

The following are the basic assumption of this study.

- i. The Bishowkarmas' traditional occupation is changing due to lack of resources.

- ii. The traditional occupation is changing due to the use of industrial goods and the open market policy.
- iii. The changing of occupation leads to change the socio-economic status of the Bishowkarmas.
- iv. The educated youth are adopting new sources of occupation for higher status and income.
- v. The traditional occupation can be preserved and promoted.
- vi. Use value of traditional goods is decreasing due to modern technology.

### **1.7 Expected Outcome and Significance of the Study**

The study is small with the help to have a socio- cultural understanding about Bishowkarmas. This study will also help to know the present trend of occupational changes among the Bishowkarmas. Changing occupational pattern is found to be one of the biggest human problems not only in urban society but also to every corner of the country. Anthropological approaches have proved to be the very effective in solving such human, cultural related problems. The traditional occupation was an important and reliable means for the fulfillment of the local needs. The traditional occupation occupies a vital place in the Hindu socio- religious system. The recent trend is an alarming in relation to the Bishowkarmas and hence threatening the smooth running system of the people. In short the changing occupation had made great problem in the rural work force, which is needed to be identify in the right time. It is expected that this study will be able to provide concerned parties with information and suggestion that can be very useful in formulating appropriate policies regarding the marginalized groups the Bishowkarmas. Thus, ultimately it may help to make the provision for long run of the traditional skills of the concerned group. Likewise, the rural craft and technology will again be regained to its past strength.

It is also expected that this study will uncover the issues of grievances of such people who were exploited and are compelled to shift the occupation. Similarly, this study is expected to be one of the building blocks in the Dalits literature enhancing the existing knowledge of the academicians.

## **1.8 Conceptual Framework**

**Figure 1.1: Conceptual Frame Work for Occupational Change Among Bishowkarmas of Hemja.**



While studying different sources, researcher had drawn the following conceptual framework for the occupational changes among the Bishowkarmas. Here, researcher had drawn two different dimensional aspects for the shift from traditional occupation as 'society and culture' were one of the prominent factors for the change.

Kamis are blacksmith, who are along with their traditional caste occupation of making and repairing iron tools and also practice agriculture. Historically, they were economically dependent on their clients for livelihood and used to provide their services to their clients through the traditional *Jajamani* system such as *Bali*. The worse scene is the public relationship or attachment with one another. Much of the cases been found that the so-called high caste people attitudinal untouchability such as if one sees Kami early morning it is inauspicious or if one is a Dalit teacher, children of high caste group will not attend the school and so on. In the same way people were badly cheated by the government policy maker and the different organization concerned to them. All this were the societal behaviour to change the traditional occupation by the occupational caste group of Nepal.

Likewise, modern trend of culture is also found to be the responsible to the shift of traditional occupation by the Bishowkarmas. It is widely accepted fact that mechanization has penetrated each and every corner of the people life. The industrially manufactured goods are easily available in the market with minimum affordable price. So, the popularity of traditionally manufactured goods is getting decreased. So the case-base occupational groups were changing their traditional occupation and shifting to the new occupation for better earning.

## **1.9 Organization of the Study**

The present research is divided to eight chapters, according to the nature of the study. It begins with the introduction and ends with the summary, conclusion and recommendation. The first chapter deals with introduction of the study

along with the statement of the problem, research objective, and conceptual framework, significance of the study and the operational definition of the terms. Relevant literature has been reviewed in chapter two, which deals with theoretical overviews and the review of related literature. The third chapter includes the methods adopted in this study and the fourth chapter presents the socio-economic and demographic background of the study site.

Similarly, chapter five is about changing patterns of traditional occupation and the occupational preference, and sixth chapter is about the Current Status of the traditional occupation. In the same way chapter seven is about the Bishowkarmas expectations from the society and the state. Likewise, the last or the eight chapters includes the summary, conclusion and recommendation. At last schedule used in the study, check list of the FGD, pictures etc are presented.

## CHAPTER- II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents theoretical review along with the review of relevant literature.

#### **2.1 Theoretical Review on Sociology of Occupation**

Man is not only a social being he is also an economic being. He is incessantly engaged in what are known as economic pursuits or activities. These economic activities are so multifaceted, varied and complex they constitute what is known as economy. All the human activities that involve expenditure of the energy cannot be treated as work. The activity peculiar to work is essentially central on the object. The term 'work' would seem to have a perfect unambiguous meaning in our modern society (Rao, 2001).

Sociology of Occupation is the new branches of Sociology. It deals with the problem of examining how the occupational structure and particular occupations associated with other segment of society like the family, the economy, the educational system, the political system and the system of social stratifications. Its investigations concentrate upon the following themes;

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

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

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

He further has said about the co-relation of work-occupation and mental health as,

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

### **2.1.1 Occupational Pattern and Social Prestige**

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

In the American journal of sociology a collection of articles on occupational mobility and occupational career pattern in vol.57, Lipset and Bendix (1952: Pp494-504), write; *The occupation of an individual is correlated highly with*

*his social placement, by the member of the same community. An individual work career is judged by his occupational rise or fall it is so judged because occupation combines to some extent with economic with prestige aspect of social class.*

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

He further had state that there is an underlying assumption in Marx's view that, "Human nature requires us to have meaningful work that can be identified as an extension of us, to fulfill psychological needs. When the conditions of labour removes this identity with work then the work has no control over the work process, the result is un-fulfillment and alienation." (Harold: 2000:Pp.226) Where as John (1995), state that, "Beyond generating income occupation also sense as an important source of social prestige. We commonly evaluate each other according to the kind of work we do, envying some looking down on their usually prestige to low prestige occupation."

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

He further states that agriculture related work and labour were considered as lower status and least income earning occupation, business service and

miscellaneous occupation were considered as high status more income earning occupation is losing its attraction and non agricultural occupations are gaining popularity in respect to status and income in urban societies. Occupation is a good index of position and achievement in present society. Previously traditional occupations were available in the basis of caste and family as an ascribed as an achieved status of an occupation holder. He also mentioned the reason for shifting the occupation due to the following facts.

- a) Low income,
- b) Low status,
- c) Rough and hard work and
- d) Family dissatisfaction.

### **2.1.2 Occupational Structure and Social Mobility**

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

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

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

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

As we know that any thing that is adopted by man, from the environment for his survival is termed as culture. Human as a social being from the very beginning had adopted certain occupation, as demarcated by their culture. It may be internal factor such as new inventions may lead to an increase in the supply of food and population growth or external factor such as invasion may bring cultural changes in every society. The study of the culture change provides an integrated framework for understanding the real cause for the change in the patterns of occupation. The real value of studying culture change lies in helping human to see previously unrecognized relationships between the occupation of the people and the change pattern of culture (Evon. 1964)

Occupations are the component of the culture, not a social structure. This is an important point, because occupational structure becomes essential system of beliefs to which people are oriented, not a system of activities that people perform. Occupations are quite different from jobs. A job may be defined as a role ordinarily performed primarily for the purpose of earning of livelihood in a commercial economy. It is a component of social structure. An occupation is

more or less publicly recognized cultural category, into which certain people are both popularly and officially classified; because they have hold, in some cases at one time have hold. Jobs exhibiting that particular set of characteristics which constitute the criteria for inclusive in that particular occupation category. Occupations are thus culturally defined by jobs in common, distinction between jobs and occupation are not uncommon in the literature (Moore, 1977).

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

### **2.1.3 Occupational Prestige and Social Inequality**

Occupation has come to be recognized as a principle factor or determinant over a wide band, of other significant social variables; life styles and life cycles (Wilesky and Lawrence, 1979). Moral, social participation and especially, social status or rank, Income, power and authority, and prestige are all linked to occupation, not only by correlation analysis and regression equation, but also at least in part by constituting attributes of jobs rewards for work. Education, which alone with occupation and income is standard component of combined measures of socio- economic status, figures primarily as a mode of assess to occupations and occupation careers. Generalized social ranking, if it makes any sense at all except as an analyst exercise, is likely to reflect these entire mode of different valuation.

Existing national legislation to prevent caste- based discrimination in south Asian countries have not been efficient due to poor implementation, which itself is the result of a lack of political will of the governments involved. In spite of the various legislations implementing agencies and monitoring bodies constituted. Sever discrimination has only intensified in recent years as



evidenced by the alarming rise in violent atrocities and massacres against Dalits. Caste- based discrimination also afflicts a vast population of Dalits in other south Asian countries, namely, Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Marginal communities in the Japan, Senegal, Nigeria, and Europe also suffer from a similar kind of discrimination based on decent and occupation. All these communities, constituting an enormous section of the global population, also require urgent and immediate attention and action. Despite completing more than 50 years of universal declaration of human right, the international communities and U.N bodies have failed to adequately address this major crime against humanity (Sharma, 2001). An occupation comprises a more or less precise set of remunerated activities, (Moore, 1977). If occupation is to be used as one major component of social inequality social mobility with in the careers methodological problems hamper procedures.

#### **2.1.4 Work and Non-Work**

Most people worked in the field or cared for livestock. In modern societies, by contrast only a tiny proportion of the population works in agriculture and farming itself has become industrialized. It is carried on largely by means of machines rather than by human hand.

Work can be defined as, whether paid or unpaid as being the carrying out of the task requiring the expenditure of mental and physical efforts, which has as its objective the production of the goods and services that cater to human needs. Work is in exchange for a regular wage or salary. In all cultures work is the basis of economy. In traditional societies, non-agricultural work entailed the mastery of a craft. Craft skills were learned through a lengthy period of apprenticeship, and the worker normally carried out all aspects of the production process from beginning to end. But with the raise of modern industrial production, most of traditional craft have disappeared altogether, replaced by skills that form part of larger scale production process. Dalits people who cover around 15 to 20 percent of the total population of country were suffering the caste discrimination. They were ranked in a lower grade of

service to the higher caste people to meet the livelihood sufficiency. Dalits have been marginalized from various social and economic opportunities. According to human development report (2000) 90% of the Dalits were below the poverty line. The traditional occupations of the Dalits people were threatened and could not continue further because of industrial production and open market (Sharma 2001).

Work is not merely a physical and mental activity, but social and economic activity that typically produces some goods or services for others. There are broadly speaking two ways in which we can understand the meaning of the work and stratification. It gives people the experience of work to a direct work producing and a bored worker with little or no job stratification. On the other hand, one can say that it is the attitude workers bring to their job that is more important in determining work experience and what they could expect of work. In the second case the worker might find their jobs boring but may expect little else and in this sense it seems sensible to try to understand both the nature of work and orientation workers have on it (Rao, 2001).

### **2.1.5 Origin and History of the Bishowkarmas**

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

The theory of *Varna* serves as an illustration of this. The concept of society had been *Varna* developed in Vedic society and reached its most elaborate form in the classical code book *Dharma sastra* (200Bc-200AD). In late Vedic society

four Varna were defined. Three of them are the Brahmans, the Ksatriyas and the Vaisyas. The twice born because they became divinized by a ritual second birth. The other was defined as Sudras, once- born. Untouchables were outside this division. The Sudras were opposed to the twice- born. (Smith, 1994)

Bishowkarmas are the member of the occupational and untouchable caste group locally called by different names such as Kami, Sunar, Chunara, Lohar, Sobha, Snehi Nepali etc. (Parajuli, 1995). He further stated that Bishowkarma surname is started to write only after Sarbajit's suggestion to the Badahakim that they should not be addressed as 'untouchable Kami', but they should be addressed as 'Brinchi' or "Bishowkarma". The one who gave this suggestion was arrested by the police in complain of high caste's people to the 'Badahakim', in 2003 B.S.

If we go through the Vedic origin to the 'Varna' and 'Caste', we come to know that the Bishowkarmas were created from leg of god Brahma. Thus; by this origin they were placed in low category with time bearing which took the shape of Kami caste. But according to another argument, they are the descendents of god 'Bishowkarma' and they are also adapting their surname in his remembrance. The Bishowkarmas participants of Focused Group Discussion had informed that they are the descendent of Brahmans. Brahma, Shiva, Vishnu and Nathu were the four sons of Acharya Brahmin. Among this sons Nathu acharya, the youngest one is their ancestor. Like this, the Churanas are the descendents of Khadka Chhetries, other Kamis the descendents of the 'Poudel Brahmans' and say that they were pushed into low caste.

In the book 'Tribal Ethnography of Nepal', writer Gautam et. al. (1994) state that, Kami (Bishowkarmas) people anywhere in the kingdom are mostly dependant on their traditional occupation which is running a smithy, for their livelihood. It may be said that they have no custom of practicing agriculture. Those Kami good in their profession as blacksmith, seem to be diligently pursuing their traditional occupation and earning a lot more today than in the

past. Due to social stratification, the Kamis are low on the ladder and in addition their economic condition is not pleasant to observe as they are still seen to be living in primitively at place and also their attitude have not change much.

## **2.2 Review of Related Studies**

In relation to the study in Dalit society research had started in the recent decade. Writing about them started only 1950s in the south Asia. In relation to the study on the Dalits a number of foreign scholars including anthropologists and sociologists came to Nepal to undertake various studies about the Dalits of Nepal. Bhandari (2005), Haimendorf and F.E Okada were the initial prominent scholars to carry out anthropological study here. Then gradually a number of native as well as foreign anthropologists carried out large scale and systematic study of Nepalese society and culture 'based on various anthropological and sociological models'. This has been continuing till now as well. Some of the foreign and native anthropologists and the sociologists have also carried out the study focusing the low caste people and their unheard exploitation from the high caste people.

Jatis (caste) are distinguished in terms of the foods they eat as well as their traditional occupations. These features have a ritual significance that affects interactions between members of different Jatis. In Hindu belief certain foods and occupations are classed as pure and others as polluting. In theory all Jatis are ranked on a scale from purest to most polluted rank. Highest of all are the vegetarian, the lowest ranking Jatis are "unclean" meat eaters, the leather workers. Occupations that involve slaughtering animals or touching polluted thing are themselves polluting (Schultz, 1998). The important factor in economic change throughout Nepal and India has been land reform designed to help oppressed people such as untouchables. The implementation of these laws has coincided with new ways of making up cash grain deficits by means of other than borrowing and the drying up of credits consequent upon the new

laws has not as yet too many difficulties. In some parts of India however, lower created caste have lost their traditional credits facilities and have found no alternative way to make ends meets. Moreover, where they used to work land for the high caste, they have been depriving of their tenancies, and so find their position much worse than before. The relation of Dalits caste groups to the other caste group is more or less hostile. She points out on her book "Priest and Cobblers" as high caste control over resources is significantly large to that of 'untouchable' which ultimately has load on the later group either to migrate or to divest the property. Once they loss their land the need for food and case grows further, which make them dependent upon the high caste who are landowner and money-lender of the village. They have to provide their labour service to get mercy in the absence of other opportunities in the area. (Caplan, 1972)

The author had mention that in India the case of lower caste as; the constitution of India prescribes protection and safeguard for the Dalits and the tribes and now even for other backward classes. With the object of removing their social disabilities and promoting their varied interests the main safeguards are; abolition of untouchability, protection from social injustice and various form of exploitation, throwing open religious institutions of public character to all sections, removal of restrictions on access to shops, restaurants, wells tanks, and roads giving them the right to move freely and acquire property, giving them the right of admission to educational institutions, receiving grants out of state funds, permitting the state to make reservation for them in services, giving them special representation in the Lok Sabha and state Vidhan Sabha. Setting up separate department and advisory councils to promote their welfare and safeguard their interest, prohibition, of forced labour, and making special provision for the administration and control the backward areas. He further had also mentioned about the crime against the backward caste as the national reports of every year have reflected an increase in the number of crime against the schedule castes. Most of the backward caste women are the victim of rape

by upper caste man. And the low caste man on the other hand are exploited by upper caste by usurping their lands giving them low wages, using them as bonded labour and so forth. (Ahuja, 1997: Pp.158-170)

Kumar (2005: Pp.514) code the argument of Jawaharlal Nehru in his article 'Situating Dalits in Indian sociology' as,

It is true that we are tied up with certain rules and convention about helping the schedule castes and tribes. They deserve help but, even so, I dislike any kind of reservation more particularly in service ... If we go in for reservation on communal and caste basis we swamp the bright and able people and remain second rate of third- rate.

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

At present, in most of the villages in India, the Jajmani arrangements are not seen in the village economy. In fact this system declined after introduction of British rule in India. In some villages it has completely disappeared, it persists in some ways in some parts of north India. We may further note that jajmani relationship is now increasingly being supplanted mainly because more money is now used in village economy and also because modern transport makes market transaction more feasible.

Where as Rao (2001) stated the following reasons for the decline of the traditional occupation as, the ardent of industrialization almost put an end to the guild system and the traditional skills of Indian artisans. Indian cotton, silk

and calicos could not be sold in England due to the competition from the factory made goods. The British tariff policy was also against the Indian interests. Indian markets became flooded with cheaper British goods. Indian hand-made goods lost the markets in the competitive economic race. By 1880 the decline of handicraft was an accomplished fact. Many artisans had to find an alternative means of livelihood. They were forced to become agriculturists or to sell their skills as laborers in the new industries, railway or mines started by the British Capital. Indian had been reduced to a colonial agrarian appendage of British. Not only in Indian, in other countries also wherever industrialism spread, had traditional skills declined.

As in the words of K.C (2000), 'Dalits are considered as one of the most disadvantaged group because the process of social stratification and job distribution in the past have resulted in their present socio-economic plight and their entire and perpetual backwardness. Hence, most of the Dalits even today remained the poorest of the poor. Even though many of the Dalits carry on with their caste based and service oriented traditional occupation as well as agricultural work, the insignificant return on the service they render and landlessness have become helpless to make up for the loss by adopting new enterprise or entrepreneurship (Ibid). If the long achieved skill of the Dalits are properly accumulated and strengthened, it can emerge as a potential for the nation'.

A micro study on 'A Sociological Analysis of Dalits occupational caste groups in the hills of Nepal' was done by Chhetri (1999), which analyses the socio-economic prejudice of a caste society prevalent against the social/cultural tradition of occupational caste people responsible for a tendency among them to abandon their traditional occupation and performances of the three caste groups; Kami, Damai and Sarki. The study carried in 1993 and data were collected from five districts comprising one district from each region. The districts were Jhapa from eastern region, Chitwan from central and Kaski; Surkhet and Kailali from western, mid- western and far-western respectively,

consisting 483 households with a population of 2930. The study finds that 23% Dalits are following occupation related to their caste and 77% engage in other occupations. The highest frequency occurs in the 'waged labour', which is a major occupation for 38.34% of the total respondent. As caste bound occupation do not provide full time employment to the most of the Dalits people, they are bound to take other jobs. On the other hand, it is reported that if other skills are provided to them the majority is willing to switch off their traditional occupation. Such characteristics explicitly show that dalit occupational caste group in general is challenged by the economic imperatives. Factories have replaced their production at cheaper price because they produce in mass scale.

Dealing with the livelihood sufficiency of the caste-based occupation the study reveals that 60% percent of the respondents are continuing and 40% has already abandoned their traditional skills. Among these continuing only 24% has some sufficiency from such occupation and depends only practically on such skills. So that portion of people who can no longer live by their traditional occupation and who have not much land are obliged to look for jobs as agricultural workers. The study also makes a simple measurement of the land holding as a socio-economic basic of small farmers. It explores occupational caste group not only pose little, but also poor quality of the land.

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



and masons; Lohar are Blacksmiths and Sunar are goldsmiths. The tradition continued and castes or occupations became hereditary over the time. Thus Kamis make and repair agricultural implements; arms; construction tools for masons and carpenters; and metal utensil.

Bhattachan, (2001), raises an issue that Dalits people are suffering from the crisis of identification by the state. Census report 2001 shows around 3 million population is Dalits while the estimations from the non-government sector are different from the figure. They say 4.5 million people are Dalits throughout the nation. Dalits people who designates more than 15 percent of the total population is not only socially and economically exploited but discriminated by the inequalities status of occupations too.

The INSEC report (2053 B.S), states that, 'Dalit is defined as the different caste group which are economically exploited, socially disadvantaged, politically marginalized away from education and kept back in religious and untouchable ethnic community (NDC,2003). Basically there are four types of Dalits, hill Dalits, mountain Dalits, Terai Dalits and ethnic Dalits. Among hill Dalits Kami, Damai, Sakri, Gaine and Badi are major (Insec, 2053). Basically there are four types of Dalits which are as under hill Dalits, mountain Dalits and ethnic Dalits. Among hill Dalits Kami, Damai, Sarki, Gaine and Badi are major'.

In relation to the condition of the Dalits of Nepal the Human development report writes;

The educational attainment of the Dalits remains below the national average. Two third remain illiterate despite an approximate 10% rise in the literacy rate for both sex between 1991 and 2001. And in relation to the health a dearth of data, the health status of Dalits, appears to rank well below the nation as a whole.

Whereas in case of access to resources and control over them, in Nepal land ownership translated into wealth, power and social prestige. About 15% of the hill *Dalits* are landless and the figure is increasing. The vast majority of the rest

own only subsistence plots. Despite of the wealth of skills related to their traditional occupations, *Dalits* almost invariably work at these trades under discriminatory and exploitative conditions. The transition from traditional to modern market economy has marginalized their knowledge, skills and products without creating alternative occupational opportunities for them. More than 54% of the *Dalits* population engages in the agricultural activities, another 15.7% in services, and an additional 14.2% in non-farm. Wage earning and the remaining 6.1 are in casual farm labour and other low wage activities. (UNDP: 2004; 60)

In the research report Mr. Thapa (2059), has clearly mentioned that, very often the Bishwakarmas (Kami) are badly treated by the society. He further says that though the law of 2002 declared the end of untouchable practice or punishable if untouchable practice is found in any group. But still the high Brahmin and Chhetris use to exploit or discriminate the Kami groups even in the public place. They are still compelled to face the ill treatment of the Brahmins.

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

## CHAPTER-III

### RESEARCH METHODS

This study mainly focuses on the changing occupational pattern among the 'Bishowkarma' in the ward No. 1, 6 and 9 of Hemja VDC, Kaski. This study has intended to gain the information on their position and the expectation from the society. Therefore, this study has employed a broad framework and tried to apply a more holistic approach to fulfill its objectives. This section discusses research methods employed to accomplish the study objectives.

#### **3.1 Rationale for the Selection of the Study Site**

This study has covered an area of the ward No. 1, 6 and 9 of Hemja, city oriented VDC, which is situated on the northwest of Pokhara sup-metropolis, of Gandaki zone at Kaski district. The research site was selected purposively. It is widely recognized fact that economic change can play decisive role to change the structure of a society or a group. Bishowkarma a major Dalit group has no exception. Market economy has penetrated each and every corner of the society. This has brought up different level of social and economic change. In this process the traditional occupations and the social relationships are changing rapidly. In this connection, it is very enviable to investigate the nature and pattern of such overwhelming change. Without understanding these changes it is not viable to develop realistic framework that aims at mainstreaming and uplifting the Dalits population in Nepal.

The study site is a city oriented VDC, and the Bishowkarmas are highly concentrated in this selected wards. Most of them are employed abroad (VDC profile 2060 B.S). The young generations of this group are detracting from their traditional occupation and more often they like to go to abroad for the foreign employment. Researcher has a personal experience through the observation for half a decade; as the researcher is also working in the related area since 5 year as a teacher in a private school. This is very helpful to

understand social setting, ways of life and to have social contact. That is why I have selected this area for this study.

### **3.2 Research Design**

The major emphasis in this study is to analyze and explore the causal factor for the changing occupational pattern among the Bishowkarmas. It has set objectives to analyze the pattern of change in and among the Bishowkarmas and changes in social setting. This study tries to explore the perception of the Bishowkarmas in their present situation. Considering all these facts, both exploratory and descriptive research design were chosen in this work. Exploratory research design is used to understand the patterns of change in the traditional occupation among the Bishowkarmas. Descriptive research design is used to describe the changing factor for the occupational shift. In this study the people's perception and the social adjustment of new change of Bishowkarmas have been studied.

### **3.3 Nature and Source of Data**

Both the primary as well as secondary data were employed in this study. But, the primary data and the information were extensively utilized as the main source of this research work. By nature the primary data were both qualitative as well as quantitative. Emphasis had been given to both quantitative as well as qualitative data. Quantitative data were collected mainly from the interview schedule, and qualitative data from the focus group discussion and in case studies methods. Some secondary data and information were also extracted from the different published and unpublished sources; such as journals, books, articles, village profile, etc. as per the requirement to the research.

### **3.4 Census Study**

This study tried to apply a more holistic approach. For that the universe of this study site of Bishowkarmas household build in ward no. 1, 6 and 9 of Hemja VDC, is taken as a whole. The universe of this study site is only 60 household. Due to the small population size, researcher has conducted census study for his

research. From each household head male has been taken as respondent; in the case of his absence, the head female has been the respondent. Table 3.1 shows the ward-wise distribution of respondent households.

**Table 3.1: Ward Wise Distribution of Universe of Study**

Ward no.	Total no. of household*
1	24
6	33
9	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>

*\*Household was taken as unit of analysis.*

**Source:** Field survey 2007

### **3.5 Pre- Testing the Tools and Technique**

In order to test schedule, a pre-test (pilot survey) was carried out. For the purpose, the pilot survey was carried in the 'Sanik' a small rural town in Bhandardik Lekhnath Municipality among the 10 households on 30<sup>th</sup> September, and 1<sup>st</sup> of October. The result of pre-test were tabulated and analyzed. This analysis helped to refine the questions in the schedule and to discover the new aspects about the changing pattern of occupation among the Bishowkarmas. Some important inferences and insights obtained from this procedure were incorporated into the schedule before printing its final version. For example, before pre-testing most of the questions were of open nature. But as provided the inferences of pre-test, some questions were changed into closed ended in order to facilitate the collection of desirable data. Likewise, in some cases, the pre-test provided more options for some questions, which were previously not noticed. And some questions which appeared to be difficult to draw answer from the respondent were reconstructed.

### **3.6 Primary Data Collection Techniques**

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

### **3.6.1 Household Enumeration**

In the first phase of the study, household enumeration was conducted. All the household in the universe were enlisted on the basis house number given by Hemja VDC.

### **3.6.2 Observation**

Observation technique was adopted in various steps in order to study various aspects in the research site. Frequently observations on Bishowkarmas were made in different time period during field visit and field work. But, important observations were made during the political addresses by the leaders of the people and the government policies for the foreign employment. Observation adopted was both structured as well as unstructured, but most structured observation was done to get more qualitative data. During this time their out going record were recorded.

### **3.6.3 Interview Schedule**

This technique has been the main basis of collection of primary data. To collect required data an interview schedule both open and close ended question were prepared and pre-tested. A careful attention was provided while constructing of structuring the schedule. Questions included in the interview schedule framed in such a way that they can provide with both qualitative and quantitative data. Importantly the questions in the interview schedule were structured type.

### **3.6.4 Focus Group Discussion**

For the focus group discussion, a checklist (Appendix-2 and 3) was prepared and finalized by the help of thesis supervisor, colleagues and with the cordial support from Mr. Amrit Kumar Bhandari lecturer of Anthropology P.N.campus Pokhara. The issues of the group discussion were the causal factor for the occupational change among the Bishowkarmas and the objectives of this study. Two FGD sessions were hold with the respondent and non-respondent of the interview schedule were called. Both the session were attained by 8-10 members.

### **3.6.5 Case Study**

Two separate case studies with the participant and their groups were also carried out to know the major aspects of the changing occupational pattern and its impacts on them. The case study was carried out with the permission of the respondent and every ethical value were cared properly and mentioned all the information which he has agreed to be kept in the dissertation. To get special insights on certain aspects and to collect more important qualitative data, this case study has also triangulated the collected qualitative data.

### **3.7 Problem of Field Work**

During the field work researcher had to face a lot of problems. It was very difficult for researcher to meet the respondent in time. Researcher had to visit them frequently. Many of them had asked the question repeatedly by suspecting on researcher. Many a time they ask the researcher the question that if he belong to a party of a Maoist. The respondents were badly treated by different groups in the name of the political parties. It also became very difficult to collect the information on income they earn and the possession of the immovable property. It was also very difficult to manage Focus Group Discussion session and to gather the participants.

### **3.8 Validity and Reliability**

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

### **3.9 Method of Data Analysis and Presentation**

All the collected data has been analyzed both qualitatively as well as quantitatively. Quantifiable raw data have been analyzed by using computer

software SPSS. 11. for windows. While presenting the data, simple statistical tools like; frequencies and percentage have been used. Likewise, tabulation and graphical representation have also been made.

The non-quantifiable qualitative data have been managed manually and analyzed descriptively. In order to present some quantitative data figures, charts, diagrams, have been used. Some case studies reports were also included in this report to support the analysis and discussion. Similarly, suitable photographs taken during field visit were inserted for better illustration and reinforcement and the evaluation aspects, of the report (Appendix-4).



CHAPTER-IV  
**SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF  
THE STUDY AREA**

This chapter includes the socio-economic and demographic background of study area and the respondents. It includes the study site description, location, cultural setting of the study site, climate, historical perspective of the study site, social organizations, social ranking, education, economic structure, occupational structure, land holding, demographic structure, family size, age and sex composition. This chapter begins with a brief study of the study site description.

**4.1 Study Site Description**

This study covers an area of ward No. 1, 6, and 9 of Hemja VDC (Figure 4.2), a city oriented VDC of Kaski district. It is situated to the north west of the zonal headquarter Pokhara sub-metropolis in Kaski district of Gandaki zone. The study site's geographical location is located to 28°24' - 28°30' north latitude and 83°58' - 84°00' east longitude, the land topography varying from an altitude of 860 meter to 1415 meters above the sea level. The study site is plain which is known as Hemja Bensi. It has a fertile land formed by the river surrounding it to three sides. To its southeast it has Yamdi River and to its northeast it is bordered by Seti River, they meet at Yamdi to the border of Pokhara. Lamachaur and Simpani to its east, Dital, Dhampus, and Dhikurpokhari VDC. In the west, Puranchuar and Lahhachowk VDCs in the north and Sarangkot and Kaskikot VDCs in the south. Through the center of this VDC, it runs the 70km. long Pokhara- Baglung highway touching near all the wards of this VDC, connecting it with the rest part of the country. It has created an easy access to come in contact with the urban people and work in the factories. At the same time, it also helped the people to increase economic and social development of the study area (VDC Profile Hemja, 2003).

#### 4.1.2 Cultural Setting of the Study Area

The total population of the entire district is 3,80,527 (CBS 2001), out of which 10,203 people having 4,317 men and 5,286 women in 1902 household reside in this VDC(Hemja Village Profile, 2003). The profile 2003 states that the Bishowkarmas residing in 64 households, with the ratio of 3.36 percent in this VDC. Most of the houses are cemented and few houses have thatched roofs. Every part of the study area has well access to the motor-able road and transportation facility.

#### 4.1.2 Population Composition of Hemja VDC

The population composition of this VDC varies in terms of different wards and caste/ ethnic groups. The ward wise distribution of the population by sex in Hemja VDC, is given below in the Table 4.1

**Table 4.1: Ward Wise Population Distribution by Sex 2003**

Ward No.	Household	Total population	Male	Female
1	308	1637	768	869
2	198	1044	488	556
3	128	634	308	326
4	195	1041	504	537
5	114	583	288	295
6	323	1912	922	990
7	136	771	380	391
8	241	1267	614	653
9	259	1314	646	668
<b>Total</b>	<b>1902</b>	<b>10203</b>	<b>4317</b>	<b>5286</b>

Source: VDC, Profile Hemja, 2003

This table shows that ward no.1, 6, 9 and 8 are highly populated and ward no.5 is less populated then other. The total number of female is higher than that of males, due to higher birth rate of females.

#### 4.1.3 Caste/Ethnic Composition of Hemja VDC

Hemja VDC is a multicultural VDC. The beauty of the area is the settlement of the different groups of people in the study site. The facts can be seen from the table below.

**Table 4.2: Ward Wise Population Distribution by Caste 2003**

Ward	Brah.	Chhe.	Newar	Grg.	Magar	Thakali	Kami	Sarki	Damai	Gaine	Other	Total
1	72	97	50	8	7	6	24	22	7	0	15	308
2	38	92	32	0	2	0	5	24	4	0	1	198
3	23	69	24	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	6	128
4	95	54	0	5	0	0	0	31	4	0	6	195
5	28	70	2	0	0	0	0	8	1	0	5	114
6	187	14	2	9	27	6	32	10	17	11	8	323
7	125	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	5	136
8	172	29	27	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	8	241
9	104	125	3	4	0	0	3	5	0	0	15	259
<b>Total</b>	<b>844</b>	<b>553</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>1902</b>

**Source:** VDC, Profile Hemja, 2003

Hemja VDC is inhabited by heterogeneous caste/ethnic groups. This VDC is dominated by Brahmin (44.37%), followed by Chhetry (29.07%), Newar (7.36%), Bishowkarma (3.36%) and other Dalits (7.94%). This exhibits ethnic and cultural plurality. This society from thousands of years has been successful in synthesizing the various religions, culture, ethnic and linguistic constituent.

#### **4.1.4 Climate**

The study site has a monsoon type climate. It gets rain basically from June to October. It also bore the rain in winter season through western disturbances. During the summer the temperature ranges from 23°C to 27°C. Due to the valley and mountain breeze it remains comparative cooler at night than the days. And the winter here are excessively cold due to the open site and nearness of mountain Annapurana range. It remains dry during November to May. It also bears the occurrence of the hail stone in the month of September to February (VDC Profile Hemja, 2003).

#### **4.1.5 Natural Resources**

This VDC contains several types of natural resources. Forest, Pastureland, Soil, Water, Stone etc. are the main natural resources available here. The soil is

mainly 'Lacustrine' type; colour of the soil is black and is considered as more fertile. Stones are another important natural resource of this VDC which are sold to the Pokhara city for the constructional work and mainly located in the bank of river. Some slate stones mine are also available in this VDC. These mines are under the control of private sector.

Likewise, forest and pasture land resource are of great significance for sustaining the economy of the village and the villagers. Forest/pasture resource of the upland is assisting livestock sector with feed/ fodder. In the same way forest resource is important and facilitating the people with timber and non-timber forest products. Similarly, water is another important resource coming from water wells and small streams. Most of the low land areas are irrigated by water. Ghatte-Khola is the main sources of water. This has important role in agricultural production and productivity.

#### **4.1.6 Historical Perspective of the Study Site**

The local old aged and knowledgeable person has reported that '*Hangjha*' was named after the term '*Yahimaja*'. As per the report the people from Bhot came for the business purpose and settled here. If someone asked the reason for their settlement, than they said '*Yahimaja Chha*'. After that it being *Yahimaja*, Later in the course of time it turned to "*Hemja*". Where as Adhikari,(2006), reported that, "*Hangjha* was named after the Tibetan word, where '*Hang*' means flatland due to river and '*Jha*' means settlement. He further reported that king of Kaskikot, Kulmandan Shah, had come to perform his customary rules in the Seti Ghandaki River of *Hangjha*. During that time he was enjoying a lot of bath into river, and then name was changed as *Hemja* by him.

#### **4.2 Social Structure of the Study Site**

Demographically *Hemja* represents mixed caste/ethnic society. The study site has dominated by Brahmin (61%), followed by Chhetry (22%), and then by the Dalits (17%). Dalits are found to be the most deprived community group in the research site (*Hemja Village Profile, 2003*).

#### **4.2.1 Social Organization**

This VDC consists of 15 education institute out of this one is a private campus, one government higher secondary school, two government secondary schools and two private secondary schools and nine primary schools (VDC Profile, 2003). The developing social organizations working in the village including a VDC office, health post, co-operative banks, MSDO (multi-Sector development organization) and different youth clubs and a drug rehabilitation and consultancy center, which is established by INF Pokhara. Besides this lots of social organization are also establishing in the ongoing days.

#### **4.2.2 Social Ranking**

*The NDMM believes that religious conservation is simply yathasthibadi, which in reality moves Dalits from one bad situation to a worst situation.*

**Balaram Bishowkarma**

(Cited in the Nepali Dalit Social movement, 2005)

From the fact above we can conclude that the study site is dominated by the high caste people. Due to that most of the high post jobs were fully under the control of high caste groups. Dalits are considered a low caste and so-called untouchable community in Nepal by the higher caste, and is the victim of caste based discrimination. These groups are under-privileged by different development interventions. Traditionally, these groups have been treated inhumanly as untouchables, a category abolished by the law in 1963 but it is still found in practice in the rural as well in the semi urban areas, and in the study site too. Most of the respondents had reported that the caste based discrimination is mostly practiced by the women of high caste. The literate respondents also marked that a different fact, for the practice of the caste system government had made the provision of reservation to the Dalits which is another kind of showing the caste based discrimination or social ranking. They further reported that the government should provide an equal opportunity in every kind as like the high caste, only than it will be able to equalize the society. Some of them also had said that there should only be two caste as

'male' and 'female' in the society to end the caste based discrimination, otherwise it is not possible to end such a social evil.

All these facts indicate a clear ranking or hierarchy in the society. Privileged village groups are relatively enjoying the better socio- economic status. Similarly, these were belonging to higher caste groups such as Brahmin and Chhetries. Unprivileged are certainly the backward groups the Dalits. In the gender hierarchy, males are in higher position than that of the females.

### 4.2.3 Education Status of the Respondent

Koirala (1996) very well very discusses the education status of Dalits in Nepal. According to him "the Dalits in Nepal never had a written tradition". In the past, the schooling system was based on the *Varnashram* model during *Vedic* and post-*Vedic* period as well. There was deliberate denial of schooling to Sudras. Education helps to break the darkness of ignorance and brings the people into the light of right path. However due to the traditional perception in the society, most of the low caste people and the girls have been deprived of educational opportunity. Table 4.2 shows the education status of the respondent in the study site. Due to the social discrimination, the respondents were deprived from the access of the higher- level of education. Only 11.6 percent of the respondents obtained SLC, and higher education; out of which 1.66 percent is female. 40 percent of the respondents are illiterate and 35 percent were able to read and write.

**Table 4.3: Education Status of the Respondent**

Education	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
Illiterate	11	13	24	40.00
Simple Literate	11	10	21	35.00
Lower Secondary Pass	5	2	7	11.66
Test pass	1	—	1	1.66
Secondary Pass	3	1	4	6.66
I.A. and above	3	—	3	5.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: Field Survey, 2007

Education of the Bishowkarmas had been limited up to class 8. i.e. 11.66 percent in which male occupies 8.33 percent and the female with 3.33 percent. The percentage of the people having education of primary level or literate is found i.e. 35 percent. The analysis of table 4.3 shows that percentage of the Bishowkarma people's education above SLC is very low. Only 7 of the respondents were found in the education level of SLC or above. Maximum level of the education to this groups is limited to I.A. none of the respondent were found of studying in bachelor level.

### 4.3 Economic Structure

Generally, the main source of economy in the present study area is agricultural activities. Most of the people of this VDC are small or large farmer. Here is lack of industrial development. Thus, people have no other better alternatives. Rice, Maize, Millet, Wheat, Barley, Potato etc are the main crops of this area. Similarly, fruits (i.e. orange, guava, banana, lemon etc.) and vegetables are produce in the massive rate to meet the requirement of the people of Pokhara city.

#### 4.3.1 Occupational Structure

In Bishowkarma community, agriculture and caste base occupations were found as the main occupation up to few decades ago. From the third five year plan when the government had given special privileged to this community for the abroad employment the occupational structure has been changed since then. This had been proved by the data collected from the field. Occupational distribution of the respondents is given below in the table 4.3

**Table 4.4: Occupational Distribution of the Respondents**

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Agriculture	15	25.00
Labour	17	28.00
Foreign employment	18	30.00
Traditional Occupation	3	5.00
Other	7	12.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: Field Survey, 2007

The table above clearly denies the statement of Adhikari (2006), who stated that " *Dalit perform their caste base occupational work*". The collected record states clearly that just 5 percent of the respondents were employed in caste base occupation and the majority of the respondent had reported that the household head's main occupation is foreign employment. In abroad they performed as store keeper, driver or plumber. The percentage is followed by wage labour (28%), and agriculture (25%). The collected data clearly signifies that foreign employment is the main source of income of the Dalits.

#### 4.3.2 Land Holding Pattern of the Respondent

As Nepal is a country of an overwhelmingly agricultural based economy, the primary source of economy of the people is land. Therefore, it is necessary to look at ownership of land to understand the extent of basic economy of Bishwakarmas population. Respondents in the study area has possessed very small land holding. Most of them have a small plot of land which is only that plot where they have their present home. 'Khet' is confined to the high caste people. This community has small plot of 'Bari' the non-irrigated land which is unable to meet the requirement of the family even for 3 months. The respondent also had reported that they have small land or no land for cultivation. The land ownership pattern of the respondent is shown in the table 4.5.

**Table 4.5: Land Holding Pattern of Study Population**

(N=60)

Land Size (in Ropani)	Land Category and Percentage				Total	
	Khet	Percent*	Bari	Percent*	Frequency	Percent*
No land at all	28	40.00	28	47.00	28	47.00
Less than 2 Ropani	24	34.29	18	30.00	27	45.00
2 - 4 Ropani	5	7.14	5	8.00	2	3.00
Above 4 Ropani	13	18.57	9	15.00	3	5.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.00</b>

\*Denote the percentage of column

Source: Field Survey, 2007

Majority of them hold very small landholding due to this fact they were compelled to move in order to seek an alternative job for the fulfillment of the



family requirements. The young generations are fully detracting from the agricultural work.

### 4.3.3 Food Situation

*The Dalits do not have sufficient land to make ends meet. They don't even have ownership of land they till or which they build their house. This land has either been claimed by somebody else or has never been entitled. A landlord can displace the tenants at his will or retain them under his control.*

**Ram Ganesh**

(Cited in Society and Education, 2007, Vol-1)

The main crops grown in the study area are Paddy, Maize, Millet, Wheat, Barley, Potato etc. in accordance with the land holding pattern case the seem of the people suffer from food deficit. Only few families can meet food requirement around the year from their land and its yield. Few families had food sufficiency because the land is situated in the area where there is irrigation facility sufficient and the major crops in a year can be grown. Production in this VDC is relatively more than other VDC. The food situation (sufficiency and deficits) was also surveyed on the basis of the knowledge of the respondents during field work period which we can observe in the table 4.6.

**Table 4.6: Food Sufficiency at Household by Month**

(N = 42)

Sufficiency Months	Households	Percentage
No land	28	47.00
Up to 3 Months	18	30.00
3-6 Months	11	18.00
6-9 Months	1	2.00
9 Months and Plus	2	3.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: Field Survey, 2007

As per the collected fact by the researcher from the field among the total 60 respondents who responded on food sufficiency issue, the food deficiency as a whole was reported by 42 households. After studying the figures of the table, it

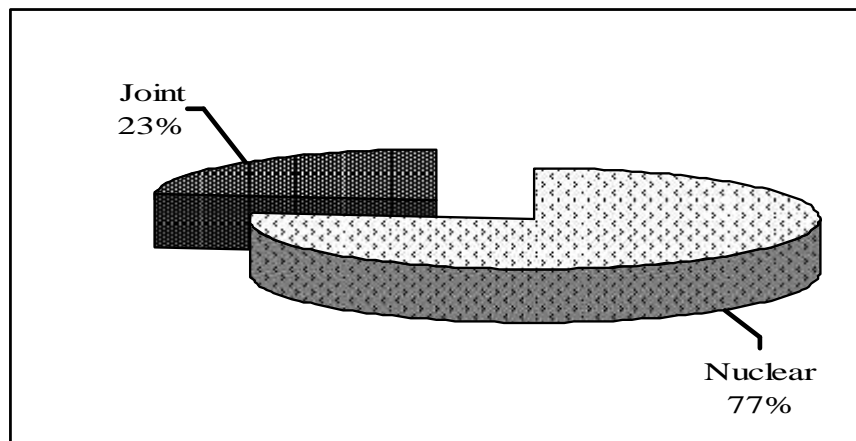
is obvious that only 2(3%) household can meet their food requirement for more than 9 months from their own production. 1(2%) household can meet 6-9 months, followed by 11(18%) can for 3-6 months and 18(30%) can for just meet up to 3 months. Thus, we can conclude that there is food deficit among the Bishowkarmas.

#### 4.4. Demographic Structure

##### 4.4.1 Family Size

Family size is another important variable which effects the direction of mobility. It is also proposed to explore whether family size has any association with occupational mobility rates. The specific questions raised for exploration are; what is the effect of family size on the occupation mobility of the Bishowkarma? Has it any bearing on gross as well as the upward occupational mobility rate?

Household size of the respondents ranged from a minimum of 2 to a maximum of 11 members, the average being 5.5 members. It is generally believed that larger the family size, lower would be gross as well as the upward occupational mobility and vice-versa. This aspect has dealt with only one time phase dimension namely, the intra-generation occupational mobility. Here it is expected that lower the family size greater would be the intra-generation gross and also the upward occupational mobility. Though the family size is comparatively large, even then the types are found a bit different that can be seen from the given figure 4.1.



**Figure 4.1: Types of Family of the Respondents.**

Source: Field Survey, 2007

As the above figure clearly states that 77 percent of the respondents have lived in nuclear pattern whereas, 23 percent of the respondents live in the joint family. From the above fact it can be stated that due to nuclear family the respondents bears a little idea concerning towards the traditional occupation. If they live in the joint system of family the children might have learn the traditional skills from their grand fathers.

#### 4.4.2 Age and Sex Composition

The collected data speaks that majority of the respondent (58%) range between 34-64 years out of which (60%) were of males and (40%) were females and the second is of the age group between 20-33 years i.e. (38%) that include the (45%) male and (55%) females. Similarly, the lowest percentages of the respondents (3%) were from the age group between 64 and above.

**Table 4.7: Age and Sex Composition of the Respondent**

Age groups	No. of Respondents	Percentage	Males	Percentage	Females	percentage
20-33	22	39.00	10	31.00	12	43.00
34-64	35	58.00	21	66.00	14	50.00
64 and above	3	3.00	1	3.00	2	7.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: Field Survey, 2007

Table 4.6 presents the general information about the percentage distribution of the respondent by age and sex. The largest percentages of the respondent were from the age group of 34-64, which has been followed by the age group of 20-33 and the least were from the age group of 64 and above.

**Figure 4.2: Map of Hemja V.D.C. Showing Studying Site**

CHAPTER-V  
**CHANGING PATTERNS AND PREFERENCE**

This chapter deals with the changing patterns of traditional occupation of the Bishowkarmas and subsequently the occupational preference of these people. For the analysis, it includes the following heads of the traditional occupation of Bishowkarmas; involvement in traditional occupation, reason for continuing traditional occupation and preferred occupation of the Bishowkarmas.

**5.1 Traditional Occupation of the Bishowkarmas of Hemja**

Traditionally, the Bishowkarmas of Hemja were employed mostly in iron related work, which includes the manufacturing and repairing of the agricultural tools. In return these people get the '*Bali*' in a year for the work they performed to the people. Besides this, they were found of involved in other works as; agricultural related works, copper work, gold work, wood work etc. The following table 5.1 is enlisted to get the clear picture of the traditional occupation of the respondents of the Hemja VDC.

**Table 5.1: Knowledge of Traditional Occupation by the Respondents**

<b>Occupations.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Agricultural works	3	5.00
Copper work	1	1.70
Don't know	1	1.70
Gold work	7	11.70
Iron work	45	75.00
Wood work	3	5.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Field Survey, 2007

As the table 5.1 clearly demonstrates 75 percent of the respondents reported iron related work as their traditional occupation. In this occupation the involved population used to manufacture and repair agricultural tools. Similarly 11.7 percent of them reported gold related work, 5 percent each stated agricultural work and wood work respectively as their traditional occupation. It includes

working in the agricultural field as '*Hali* and *Bause*' where as 1.7 percent of the respondent had reported that they do not know about their traditional occupation, since none of their known ancestors had followed any static occupation

On the basis of the given data, we can conclude that the traditional occupation of the Bishowkarmas of Hemja is Iron related work or 'Blacksmith'. Majority of them had reported so.

## 5.2 Involvement in Traditional Occupation

Though the traditional occupation of the respondent is Iron related work as well as gold, copper, wood and agricultural work. Even though due to the gradual change in the socio-political scenario of the state and the advent of education had made these groups to realize their status in the society. So the young generations are detracting from the traditional occupation. When they follow the traditional occupation it ranked low in the society. So, they started some new occupation. The given table 5.2 shows the numbers of respondents family members involved in the traditional occupation.

**Table 5.2: Involvement in Traditional Occupation**

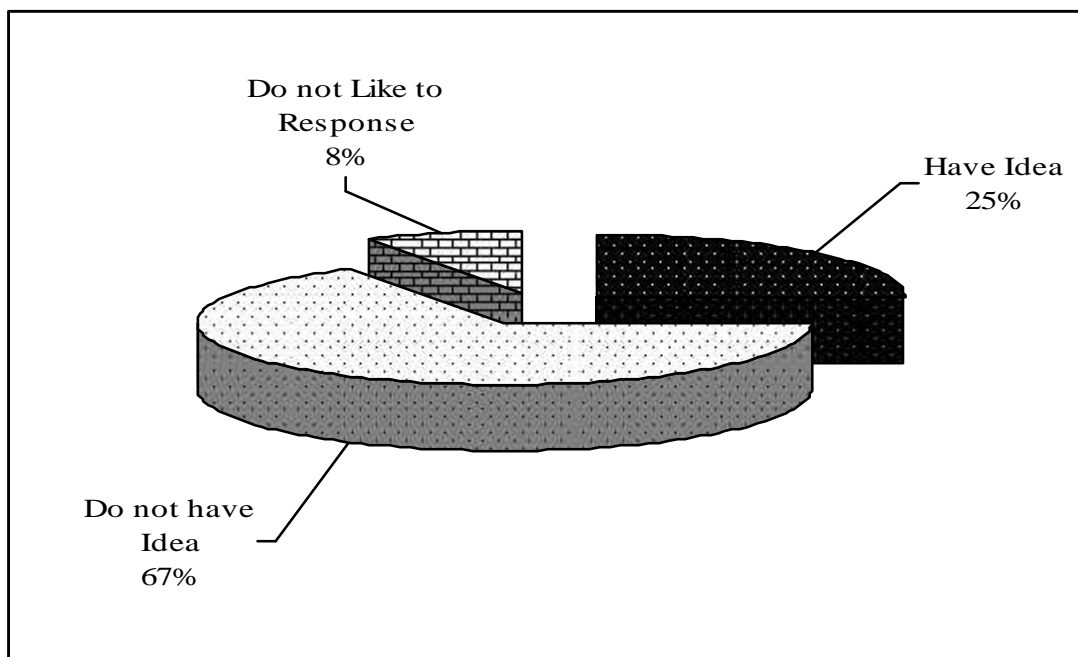
<b>Involved Members</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
1 Person	8	13.30
2 Persons	3	5.00
3 and above	2	3.30
no one	47	78.30
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Field Survey, 2007

The above table 5.2 clearly demonstrates that 78.3 percent of the respondents had reported that no one from their family is involved in the traditional occupation whereas only 13.3 percent of the respondents had reported that one of the family members is involved in the traditional occupation. Similarly, 5 percent of the respondents had reported that two of the members from the

family were involved in traditional occupation. Just 3 percent of them had stated that more than five members of the family were involved in traditional occupation. The collected data shows that gradually these groups had the caste base occupation. If the trend goes on continuing on the same pattern then one day it will disappear from the society.

Similarly, respondents were asked about the knowledge towards their traditional skills. They had reported that the following fact shown on the figure 5.1



**Figure 5.1: Knowledge of Traditional Occupation**

Source: Field Survey, 2007

The above figure shows, that 67 percent of the respondents had reported that they do not know the traditional skills whereas 25 percent had reported that they knew the skills of their own caste base occupation. Similarly, 8 percent of the respondents had not liked to response the question.

From the above fact too, we can assume that the majority of the people from this community liked to shift or already had left their traditional occupation. They also had reported that in the modern period one should adjust him/herself with modern skill for survival. Even though 16 percent of the respondents had

reported that they had learn this skill from their own father and 3.3 from their grandfather.

### 5.3 Reason for Continuing Traditional Occupation

While in the field work, researcher had observed that the one who were following 'traditional occupation', Researcher noticed a fact that the larger family size and with low earning capacity people are basically found of doing or continuing the traditional art. Despite this the researcher had asked to the respondents about the view towards the reason for continuing the traditional occupation. The multiple responses have been found that had shown in the given table 5.3

**Table 5.3: Reason for Continuing Traditional Occupation**  
(N=13)

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
Good Income	2	4.20
It is quite easy to follow	3	6.30
To give continuity to Tradition	15	31.30
Lack of alternative	7	14.60
For self dependency	21	43.80
<b>Total</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Field Survey, 2007

Given above table 5.3 is the response of those who favour the continuation of traditional occupation, 43.8 percent of the respondents had reported that the continuation of own occupation will help for self-dependence and to the communal identity. Likewise, 31.3 percent of them had reported for the continuation of tradition and cultural norms. Despite the fact 14.6 percent of the respondents had reported that due to the lack other means for the survival. Similarly, 4.2 and 6.3 percent had reported for good income and easy to follow respectively.



### **Case 1<sup>st</sup>: Involved in Traditional Occupation.**

*Indraman B.K is one among those who had adopted the tradition occupation as the main livelihood. He is 62 years old, and a permanent resident of Hemja-6, Kamithar. He has 6 sons out of which 2 of the sons were employed in the foreign employment and rests were waged labours. He had reported that he is satisfied with the work adopted by him because he can meet the family requirement of three; his wife and a son rest were living in their own home.*

*He had reported that the high caste people of the society had never treated him as equal to them, which had always realized him of being of low caste. They simply had treated him as agricultural tool repairer. He also said that he has no alternatives of choosing the job because he does not possess skill on other occupation. He says that the organizations simply use their name to fulfill their needs they do not work for them.*

*According to him, due to the massive use of industrial goods by the people the traditionally made goods are disappearing, he further says that the globalization also has made effects on the traditional occupation. The young people are copying the global patterns of living and the occupation which is also responsible for the disappearance of traditional occupation.*

*He wants his children to be employed in some better government job so that they will not be discriminated in the name of caste.*

Therefore, the collected fact shows clearly that with the special incentives from the state they would like to glue to the traditional occupation.

#### **5.4 Preferred Occupation and the Causes**

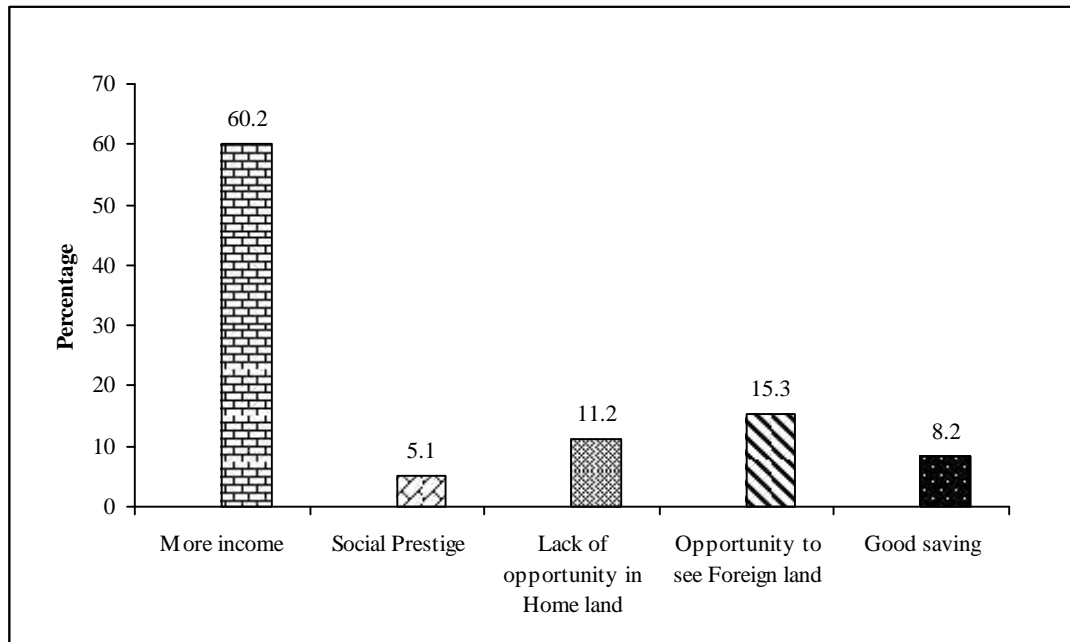
*Professions traditionally adopted by the Dalits are looked down by others in the community. They are forced to take up certain new professions.*

**Ram Ganesh**

*(Cited in society and education, 2007, Vol-1)*

This study had shown that very few respondents were involved in traditional occupation. The young generations do not like to follow or to learn the

traditional skills. The case is more found to the literate peoples who do not like to glue in the old traditional mode of production. That is why; they were more often likely to be mobile from their traditional occupation. When the researcher had interviewed to the respondents, the following facts were discovered for the preference of new occupation. This has been shown in the figure5.2



**Figure 5.2: Cause for the Preference of New Occupation**

**Source:** Field Survey, 2007

As per the figure 5.2 it is very clear that 60.2 percent of the respondents prefer new occupation. They stated that for the higher earning of the income. For which they are forced to go abroad and to work there. When they are asked by the researcher, why had you people chosen the foreign employment? 11 percent of the respondents had marked that they had no job opportunities in the native homeland. Similarly, 15 percent of the respondents had reported that they can get an opportunity to see the foreign country.

It is widely recognized facts that the traditional caste based occupation are in the declining trend. The younger generations slowly or rapidly shift to new occupation. To measure the fact researcher had interviewed with the respondents about the intergenerational occupational mobility then the researcher had discover the following facts, the facts collected are listed below in the table.

**Table 5.4: Adoption Trend of Traditional Occupation by the Generation**

<b>Adopted Generation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Grandfather	25	41.70
Father	10	16.60
Themselves	3	5.00
Have no Idea	22	36.70
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Field Survey, 2007

From the above table we draw the fact that the trend of leaving the traditional occupation is very high among this group. 41.7 percent of the respondents had reported that their grandfather was involved in the traditional occupation, where as 16.6 percent of among the total respondents had reported that their father had been involved in the caste based occupation. Similarly, just 5 percent of the total respondent had reported that they are involved in their own traditional occupation. Remaining 36.7 percent of the respondents were neither involved in the traditional occupation nor do they have any idea about the involvement of their ancestor's traditional occupation. This inter-generational occupational mobility figure shows that the younger generation people are gradually leaving their traditional occupation.

When it is found that the trend of occupational mobility is very high the researcher had interviewed with the respondents about the new preferred occupation type. Then the following facts were discovered. The collected information is listed below.

**Table 5.5: Preferred New Occupation**

Occupational Type	Frequency	Percentage
Store Keeper Abroad	5	8.80
Cleaner "	4	7.00
Heavy Truck driver "	4	7.00
Sales Man "	5	8.80
Sepoy	5	8.80
Work in factory	12	21.10
Helper in Constructional Work	7	12.20
Own Business	3	5.20
Seasonal Agricultural Labour	12	21.10
	<b>57</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Field Survey, 2007

When researcher interviewed about the type of occupation, they preferred as new for them with the one who had that they are involved in other occupation besides than the traditional occupation of iron related work. The following information mentioned above has been recorded by the researcher. The respondents had reported they basically go to abroad as a manpower for cleaner, salesmen, store keeper, heavy truck driver, sepoy and some of them had reported that they love to work as an industrial labour. The respondents also reported that the work in some of the constructional work in daily paid basis whereas some of the respondents like to be involved in their own new business, like emporium, cosmetic shops etc. Therefore, the collected data demonstrates that most of the Bishowkarmas liked to work in foreign country for better earning. These groups normally prefer the occupation that had higher social prestige, good earning, greater opportunities, and equality in the society.

### **5.5 Factors for Adopting New Occupation**

The reported fact shows that the main traditional occupation of the Bishowkarmas of Hemja VDC is '*Blacksmith*' and the subsidiary occupation is iron and agricultural related work. Despite this fact, very few are found of being involved in this occupation. When the researcher wanted to test the occupational preference of the respondents, most of the respondents had

reported that the foreign employment or the job helps them to earn more. Besides this gradually the groups were leaving the traditional occupation. To raise their social status as well as to make the coming generations future secured by earning more and with saving.

Some of the important facts had been discovered by the researcher which was clearly shown through the different sub heads.

### **5.5.1 Socio-economic Factors**

As Bishowkarmas groups were socially devalued people; their works were not counted as productive by the society. The most important base is that they cannot meet their family requirement by simply adopting the traditional mode of production as base for their living. 60.2 percent of the respondents had reported that they had adopted the new occupation for the better earning. They also had reported that those have higher earning have higher social prestige and their social status will also be high. So they shifted for better earning.

### **5.5.2 External Factor**

Different amendments were made by the constitution in the course of time, and have guaranteed the equal right and opportunities to the people, but still marginalized group like Bishowkarmas are lag behinds in using the facilities provided by the state. They are still not allowed or not given opportunities to use the public facilities. This had remained as one of the main factor for the shift in the occupation. They had reported that if they glue to the traditional occupation, they have to bear more caste based discrimination. Due to that fact they had reported to shift from their traditional occupation. They had further reported that the one who draft the law they themselves were partial to the same law.

### **5.5.3 World View as a Cause**

The respondent of the study site had stated that now a days all the goods for any kind of use been produced from the industry in a low price which has even

penetrate in the rural economy too. So the traditionally made goods were unable to compete with the modern industrial products goods. That is why this group of people became compelled to shift to new occupation. They even says that it is not their wish rather it is their compulsion or the need of time. 11.2 percent of the respondent reported that they lack opportunities in the native land or were unable to compete with the mechanized world.

#### **5.5.4 Livelihood Factor as a Cause**

It became the general trend that one who returned from abroad or involved in sumo business have higher standard of living and way of life. That has even tempted the people to move to abroad for foreign employment. Among them 5.2 percent of the total respondents had reported that they can make the better saving from the foreign employment. The respondents had stated that the foreign employed people used to state much about the comfort and the luxury life in the foreign country. That makes the people wished to go abroad to feel the new life. That had also remained as one of the main factor for the shift in the occupation.

#### **5.5.5 Commercialization**

Due to the traditionalism the caste based occupation is getting low popularity among the Bishowkarmas. 6.7 percent of the respondents had reported that it is very hard and rough to practice the caste based occupation, whereas it is not the same when they work in the office or in any business. They have to work for the specific time period as 6-8 hours in a day and get monthly salary. They had stated that the work is relatively light as compare to the caste base occupation. The price of every thing is getting high so one cannot meet the requirement with just involving in the traditional occupation. It is an era of industrialization that has penetrated to each and every corner of the rural life. That has lead to devalue the traditional manufactured goods. They believe that it is only the factor to shift to new work. The Important fact discovered was that none of the young people are following their traditional work. They even lack knowledge and skill towards their traditional occupation. This may be because the lack of interest towards it.

The miserable fact discovered by researcher is that, the one that are involved in traditional work is due to lack of alternatives. Otherwise these people too might leave to do so. Another fact was that the rate of mechanization is very high. That is replacing the traditionally manufactured goods, as well as other caste people were also found of adopting the similar occupation, that is also leading the disappearance of traditional occupation.

### **Case 2<sup>nd</sup>: Involved in Non- Caste Base Occupation**

*Prem Bdr. Sunar is 41 years old. His permanent address is Hemja-9, Kaski district. He has passed SLC from the Mahendra Madhamik School Lahachock, and had topped the Kaski district in SLC. He had worked as Nb/Subedar in Assam Rifles. He was appointed in the Company as a sepoy in the year 1985 and as Nb/Subedar. Now he is retired from his job from 1<sup>st</sup> of February 2007. He states that he had got an opportunity to earn handsome salary, due to which his social status has become high or comparatively better than those of early childhood days. He says that even today we cannot deny that in the village people still practice the caste discrimination. Especially to those who are employed in the caste base occupation. During his school life he got less chance in every aspect of life in society. In campus level he was free from such orthodox practice from the people. It was comparatively easier then those of young life span in the village.*

*Due to the nature of his work he frequently is being posted to different location. He feels normal and happy because he won't experience any kind of discrimination in the name of caste. But, the moment when he comes to village, he realized of being of low caste. Generally, they do not feel comfortable to stay with him. But it is not as hard as like that of past.*

*As per Mr. Sunar, some of the most important factor for the Dalits upliftment will be the better job opportunities to the Dalits youth. And in relation to the promotion of traditional art of Dalits, it intensely needs mechanization with the effort of all and proper market for it. He also suggested that we must cut off the import of agricultural tools from abroad which will help to promote our arts and craft. The most important fact is that this group is exploited and dominated since from our traditional past. So every value words remain only in the speeches. If the economic progress is to be made than the out going Dalits people must be stopped with special government incentives. Only then the development of the nation will be possible.*

## **CHAPTER-VI**

## CURRENT STATUS OF TRADITIONAL OCCUPATION

In this chapter, discussion has been made about the factors responsible for 'changing traditional occupation, and the preference of the new job by Bishowkarmas'. Likewise study has been made about the traditional skills that are getting disappeared, and the cause for its disappearance. Similarly, the behaviour of the other caste towards the respondents occupation has also been studied, as well as the cause of the unpopularity of the traditional occupation has been presented below.

### 6.1 Traditional Skills that are Getting Disappeared

Despite the minority the respondents have been involved in traditional occupation of Hemja VDC, they had reported that much of the traditional skill have been disappeared or are on the way to get disappear. The following fact can support with the collected data listed in the table no6.1 below.

**Table 6.1: Traditional Skills Getting Disappeared**

(N=13)

Skill that are getting disappeared	Frequency	Percentage
Making Agricultural tools and weapons	18	30.10
Ancient art	11	18.30
Making Jewellaries	2	3.30
Don't know	29	48.30
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: Field Survey, 2007

This table demonstrates that the traditional skill is getting disappeared. 30 percent of the respondents had reported that making agricultural tools and weapons been changed. That is because of the easy and cheap availability of the tools from the agricultural industries whereas the traditionally manufacture goods were comparatively higher in prices. So, the traditional worker to sustain in the market, they had started producing the low quality goods. Similarly, 18.3 percent had reported that due to westernization the ancient skills were devalued. So they were compelled to manufacture the goods base for the



contemporary market. Due to which, wood working is completely on the way to lose its originality. Likewise 3.3 percent had reported that in making gold ornaments had also the skills are getting disappear; they reported it as due to the fashionable demand of the market. Old ornaments like "Tilahari", "Bulaki" etc are getting disappear whereas 48.3 percent had remain silence because they had already left the traditional occupation by one or two generation earlier.

## **6.2 Cause for the Disappearance of the Traditional Occupation**

*No one would like to be treated as inferior whatever may be is age, sex and occupation and other accomplishments in life. It is a universal fact of human nature that every body wants to be respected and recognized. Not that they would like to be treated as princes and kings and great personalities but as simple humble human beings who are to be recognized and respected.*

**Dr. E. Desingu Setty.**

*(Cited in Dynamics of Dalits Development.2007)*

As the table 6.1 Show that the traditional skills were getting disappeared, so the researcher had interviewed with the respondents about the cause for the disappearance of traditional occupation. Then researcher had tabulated the reported response in the table 6.2. The table below clearly shows that due to the lack of proper organization in relation to the preservation of the traditional occupation it is gradually getting disappeared from the society. The growth of industries and use of industrial goods in low price is found to the prominent factor the disappearing of the traditional skills. Furthermore the youth of this group no more wants to stick on the native occupation due to low earning.

**Table 6.2: Reasons for Disappearance of Traditional Occupation**

<b>Reasons</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Other castes are also following it	3	5.00
Carelessness	1	1.70
Do not know	31	51.70
It is quite difficult to follow	4	6.70
Lack of resources	9	15.00
Low income and discrimination	4	6.70
Modernization and low income	3	5.00
More use of industrial goods	5	8.30
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Field Survey, 2007

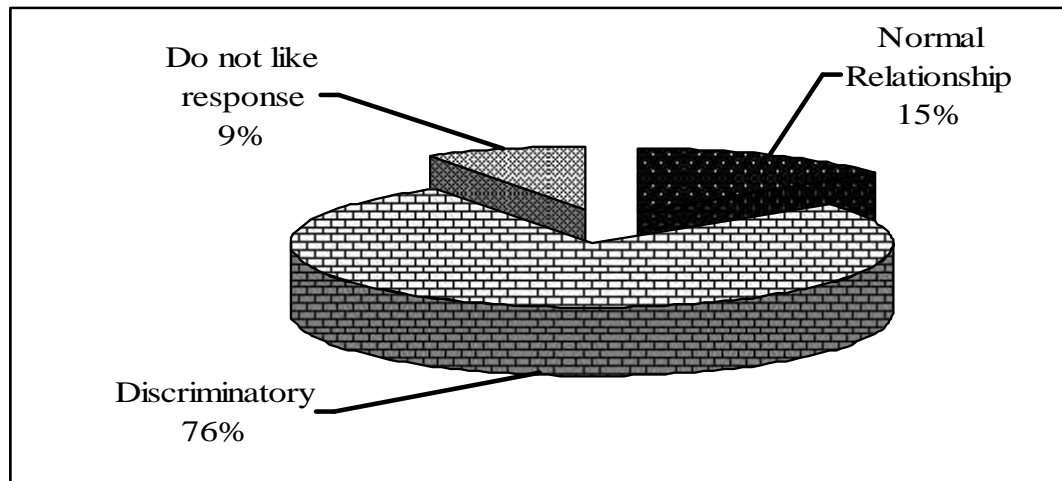
Most of the respondents had told the researcher that they had no ideas behind the disappearance of the traditional occupation. Despite that 18 percent of the respondent had reported that due to the lack of resources the caste base occupations were getting disappeared. The raw material cost had touched the sky. These groups were unable to buy it. Whereas 8.3 percent of them had reported that they cannot deny the influence of the industrialization and mechanization. This is helping to produce goods in cheap price. They believed that it is the main factors behind the disappearance of the traditional occupation. Besides this 6.7 percent each had reported that main causes behind the disappearance was due to low income generation as well as it was a source of social discrimination. They also reported that it is quite difficult to follow. Similarly, the 5 percent of them had reported that now a days other caste people were also been reported to be involved in this occupation, they possess greater means. So, it is getting disappeared from the original caste.

### **6.3 Behaviour of other Caste towards the Respondent's Traditional Occupation**

Nepali laws have declared caste discrimination a crime but those who would implement those laws, police, administrators, and judges practice caste untouchability by themselves. Additionally, a deeply ingrained sense of

inferiority within Dalits has been difficult to eradicate. Manu divided the work for Sudras as to engage in the sanitation, physical labour and art that provided service to those in the other three Varnas. (*Manu Smriti, 1/91*)

Despite the new change in the society, the lower caste people are still suffering from the caste base discrimination. The fact can be gained from the figure.



**Figure 6.1: Attitudes of Other Caste People Towards Traditional Occupation**

Source: Field Survey, 2007

This figure clearly shows that, most of the respondents still experience the caste base discrimination. They also had reported that they were highly discriminated by the women of the high caste. Very often the male, due to the mass contact, experience the less discrimination. Whereas 15 percent had mentioned that they experienced the normal behaviours. They reported that society have always normal attitude towards the occupational caste group.

Despite this fact 9 percent had not liked to response on the given context. Here, it is clearly marked that the Bishowkarmas experienced the caste base discrimination, while adopting traditional occupation. They repair the agricultural tools, through the year. In return they were supposed to be satisfied by the "Bali" provided to them. When researcher asked to them; why they did not raise a voice against it. They simply reported that how could they do so. They help us to sustain our life, we have no other alternatives. This also seems

that the traditional occupation helps the people, only for the subsistence basis with low earning.

Similarly, the researcher had asked to the respondents, who had adopted other occupation leaving their own traditional occupation. Following facts were collected. Those were enlisted in the given table.

**Table 6.3: Other's Behaviour Towards Respondents Present Occupation**

<b>Other's Behaviour</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Respectful	3	5.00
Normal	19	31.70
Discriminatory	36	60.00
Others	1	1.70
Not responded	1	1.70
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Field Survey, 2007

Moreover, it was expected that the one who left their traditional occupation were satisfied with the new occupation. The one that were employed abroad had reported that they do not experience any kind of caste base discriminations. The arrival to the native village again makes them to realize the caste based problem. They feel regard of being here. On the other hand, the one who were working in the native homeland bears the caste discrimination. The table above demonstrates that 60 percent of the respondent bears the caste discrimination. Even today the official feels hesitate to stay together in any feast or festivals. In the same way 31.7 percent had reported that the behavioural attitude of other caste towards the new occupation is just normal to Other, as they reported that, they feel the respectful behaviours from the society.

#### **6.4 Factors for the Less popularity of the Traditional Occupation**

Modernization and western system of education has great significance to every society. Most of the people want to come out from the traditionalism. They

want to acquire all sorts of modern life. Traditional occupation among the Bishowkarmas has become less popular that is due to many reasons. The reasons can be summarized from the given table6.4

**Table 6.4: Reasons for not Adopting Traditional Occupation**

<b>Reasons</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>percent</b>
Low Income	38	44.20
Quite Difficult and Troublesome	18	20.90
Lack of Resource	8	9.30
Lack of Interest	3	3.50
Lack Knowledge and Skill	14	16.30
Low Social Status	3	3.50
Discriminatory Behaviour	2	2.30
<b>Total</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100.00</b>

*\*Frequencies of the respondents are higher than the sampled sized, since the question was of multiple response type.*

**Source:** Field Survey, 2007

With the help of the above table, we can discover that the traditional occupation is getting unpopular among the Bishowkarmas of Hemja VDC; the 44.2 percent of the respondent had reported that, one earns very less income from that. That is some time even unable to meet the basic needs of the family members. Likewise 20.9 percent of them had marked that the traditional occupation is quite difficult and troublesome to them. Whereas 14 percent of them had reported that they do not follow the traditional occupation, due to the lack of knowledge and skills needed for the work. The 3.5 and 2.3 percent of the respondents had reported that it marked to low social status and it is the main basis for the discrimination among the society respectively. The cause for the unpopularity of traditional occupation is because of less income generation as well as need of higher dignity. It is also found that due to lack of resources the traditional occupation is getting unpopular. Similarly, the respondents also had reported that mechanization had brought the low priced goods to the market which is also leading for low popularity of the caste based occupation.

All the above facts clearly show that there are numbers of factors behind the gradual decline of the traditional occupation. Most importantly the caste base discrimination still exists in the society. That helps the youth to be reluctant from their traditional occupation and to move in search of new occupation that will provide them higher social status and respectable position in the society. Besides this fact Bishowkarmas were found of shifting the occupation for the better earning and higher saving. Due to the reason, 95 percent of them are attracted towards foreign employment. Similarly, these groups had reported that they have least chances to get the better jobs in the country. They further reported that lack of resources is a prominent base to shift the occupation. Traditional skills and knowledge were also been getting disappeared, due to the lack of interest by the youth.

Some of the FGD participants strongly recommended that the open border and the import of agricultural tools must be stopped, to promote and preserve the traditional goods. The flow of cheap industrial goods had directly placed out the traditional goods. The traditionally made goods were unable to compete with the low price goods of town and are slowly disappearing from the screen. Some of the other participants had reported that high living standard of the people in the surrounding to them was also responsible for the shift of caste based occupation. They like to live as like the other rich people, that is not possible from their traditional low earning occupation due to its traditionalism. So it is getting less popularity among them.

To sum up this chapter, we conclude that the traditional occupation is getting less popular. It is because traditionalism in the occupation. The earning is also very low which do not fulfill the material need of Bishowkarmas presently. The most important fact is that the traditionally made goods have no any proper market. And the government is also not giving any special attention towards the concern group. Despite the fact concern agencies are highly required to bring some reformative programs and policies to bring up the traditional occupation. In the same way the youth of this group are not getting any support from the society and the state so, they planned to go abroad to do hard job in less salary. All this need acute solution as soon as possible.

## CHAPTER-VII

### EXPECTATIONS OF BISHOWKARMAS

In this chapter, study has been done about the Bishowkarmas expectation from the society and with the state for the betterment of their social life and upliftment of their traditional skills. These were included in the following heads, as expectation from the society and the ways to uplift the Bishowkarmas traditional occupation. Here, views and experiences of the respondents about the socio-cultural, economical and political practices and the patterns of changes and expectation have presented below.

#### **7.1 Expectation from the Society**

*There should not be any confusion in defining Dalits. It is straightforward that Dalits are those who are religiously discarded, socially oppressed, economically exploited, politically suppressed, and educationally deprived. The movement of development should be from bottom for economic upliftment and from top for abolishing untouchability against Dalits.*

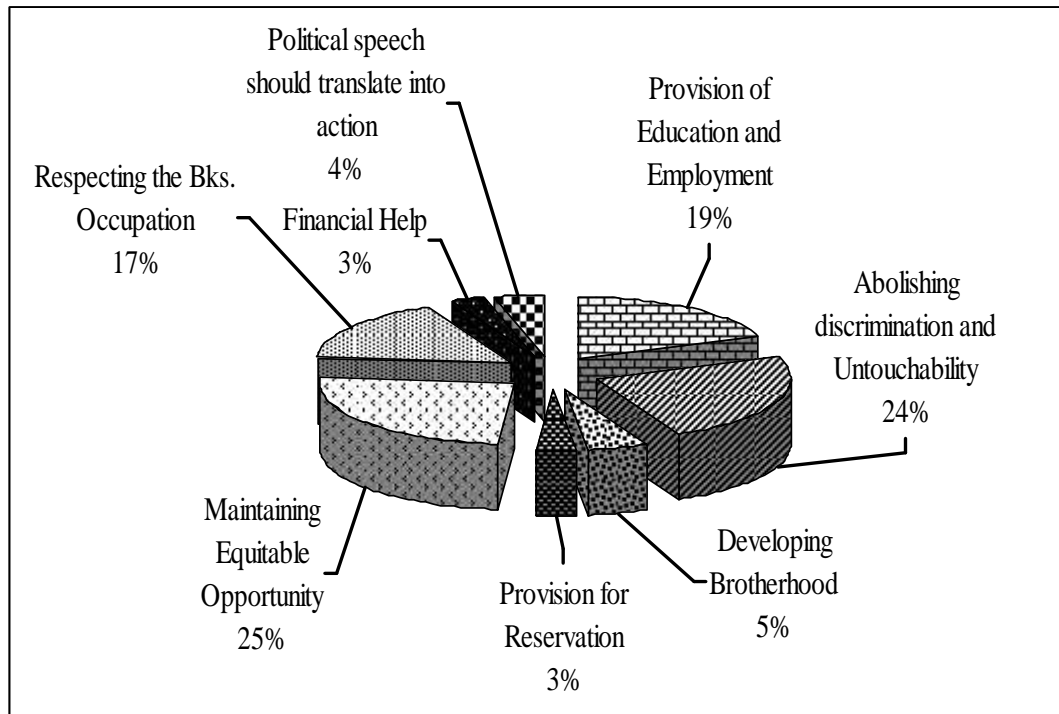
**Padam Singh Bishowkarma**

*(Cited in Situational Analysis of Dalit in Nepal.2002)*

The 1990 constitution has declared that no citizen of the country shall be discriminated against on the basis of caste in their use of public facilities (Kantipur, April 28<sup>th</sup> 2000). The Muluki Ain has also detailed punishment for the people who commit such crime. In reality, however, Dalits still cannot use public facilities with confidence and without fear of the consequences. Subsequently, caste discrimination practices still exist. The police force, administration, Hindu religious leader, political leaders and their workers, local representatives and people with Brahmanistic thinking have been actively keeping alive the tradition of caste discrimination.

Similarly, the respondents firstly used to ask the surname of the researcher. They feel hesitate to place their expectation from the society, which is under the control of the Brahmanism. Researcher convinced them that if the people

express the real happening and the needs, then the concern authorities will talk to the matter and will bring some better program for you. After that they had reported their expectation from the society.



**Figure 7.1: Society's Role for Uplifting the Bishowkarmas**

Source: Field Survey, 2007

The collected facts clearly resemble the real image of the social status of the research area. That still the Bishowkarmas of the area reported the experience of caste discrimination in different forms. The 25 percent of the respondents had reported that due to the low caste they get less job opportunities and other social and public facilities. They wanted the society be free from all kind of caste and racism. Then only all can contribute for the nation's upliftment. They also had reported that as a member of society they should also be provided equal chances as like other caste groups. Brahminists thinking must be eliminated from the society.

Despite the reality, 24.3 percent of them had reported that they still experienced caste base discrimination. So the respondents had suggested that the society must be made free from the feeling of castism. And develop a brotherhood



relationship among each other for the communal progress and Mutual Corporation for the national integrity.

Similarly, 16.7 percent of the respondents expressed that the member of the society must have respectable attitude towards their traditional occupation so that they can work effectively and without fear. That will help to develop better specific skills to fulfill the societal needs. Likewise, 18.8 percent of them had reported that there should have equal provision of education and employment to these groups as like other caste. Some of the respondents had reported that, their children they had not admitted to the school. If they admit their children in the school, they notice that the children were not treated nicely. The similar case is also reported by (*INSEC, 2001*) that in ward no 1 of Hemja VDC, Dalits children are not allowed to touch water or water pots. So, the respondent had strongly recommended for the society free from castism.

## **7.2 Expectation from the State**

*Dalit problem is not a social problem, thus it should not be taken as social and should be taken as political problem.*

**Chakraman Bishowkarma**

*(Cited in Situational Analysis of Dalit in Nepal. 2002l)*

The most important requirement of the time is to conduct a base line survey with nationally representative sampled to identify the Bishowkarmas problems and issues. Also, the national census all national and local level surveys and studies by government and non government levels are to be made mandatory to collect disaggregated information of Bishowkarmas. So that further studies could be carried out in the different aspects of Bishowkarmas.

The respondents had reported had they have great deal of expectation from the state, concerning their status and position in the society as well as to the gradual declining of the traditional occupation. The reported expectation can be summarized through the given table.

**Table 7.1: Role of State for Uplifting the Bishowkarmas**

<b>Roles of the State.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Provision of Education and Employment	35	18.40
Abolishing discrimination and Untouchability	23	12.10
Equal opportunity	22	11.60
Translating Speech into Action	39	20.50
Avoiding unnecessary Politics in the name Dalits	2	1.10
Safeguarding the Right and Duties	24	12.60
Providing Financial Help	9	4.70
Provision for Reservation	36	18.90
<b>Total</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>100.00</b>

*\*Frequencies of the respondents are higher than the sampled sized, since the question was of multiple response type.*

**Source:** Field Survey, 2007

The respondents had reported that serious constraints for the Bishowkarmas empowerment are the prevailing caste base discrimination. That is reported by 12.1 percent. They told the researcher that they were discriminated by the high caste and indigenous nationalities in many areas of their social, economical and political life. They further reported that they don't feel socially equal with these groups of people. 11.6 percent of the respondents had told that up to today they had not courage to protest discriminatory behaviours and they reluctantly accept these as their fate. Therefore, the respondents want that state should be concerned to the issue for the upliftment of this group. They too are the citizen of the state, so it's the duty of the state to make some mandatory law to bring the society into equilibrium.

Moreover, 20 percent blame that the government is responsible for the caste base discrimination. The government political leader expresses lots of popular speeches for the upliftment of the Dalits which do not turned to an action. It only remains in the speeches. Despite the government policies and programs on the Dalits upliftment over the year (Such as the introduction of the new legal code of 1963, the constitution of 1990 specific policies in eight and nine five year plans) and proliferations of many NGOs and INGOs enhancing the quality

of life of Dalit and their traditional occupation, the fact of Dalits has not improved much over the year. Respondents had further reported that up to today, the government policies and programs fall short and NGOs and INGOs are not very effective in improving the qualities of Dalits ways of life in Nepal. Also the sound strong and serious political commitment is very essential even today on the part of government for the Dalits upliftment.

In context to the education 18.4 percent had reported that among the Bishwakarmas, the low level of literacy rate and sharply declining education attainment in higher level. Especially the women had serious constraints in over all Bishwakarmas empowerments. The reformations in the traditional socio-cultural setting are sought more with education and awareness. Moreover, the education among them has two dimensional effects; first change in attitude and behaviours within themselves and secondly, change in the inter community culture. They reported that policy interventions were required to elevate the educational status of Bishwakarmas in Nepal.

When the respondents were been asked about the case of employment and reservation policies of the government. Researcher had discovered two dimensional replies as the educated people had reported that it is one of the policies of government to subordinate this group in the name of backward groups. They expect the equal opportunities basis like other caste. To clear the caste discrimination illiterate respondents had reported that it is the good policies of the government to uplift these groups. Even though 18.9 percent of the respondent states that the government needs to adopt the policy of reservation to uplift the status of Bishwakarmas. For the similar case Mr.Padma lal Bishwakarma, chair person of '*Dalit Utpidit Jatiya Mukti Samaj*' states that;

*The provision of reservation is not clear. It should not only for economic upliftment but, also for social upliftment as well.*

**Padmalal Bishwakarma**

*(Cited in Situational Analysis of Dalits in Nepal. 2002)*

They further expect that government's foremost concern is to make job guarantee to these groups so that the status of Bishwakarmas can be uplifted. They also reported again that the government should not be in any confusion while defining the Dalits. It is straight forward that Dalits are those who are religiously discarded, socially oppressed, economically exploited, politically suppressed and educationally deprived. So the movement of development should be from bottom for economic upliftment and from the top for abolishing untouchability against Dalits. Respondents had stressed that; government should invest to develop the traditional skills of Bishwakarmas. The traditional skills should be modernized. There should be no government taxes for the industries and enterprises related to Bishwakarmas traditional skills. This will help to save from being endangered.

At the end we can conclude the chapter that, there is a need of campaign against untouchability practices and it must be carried out through a partnership between Bishwakarmas and non-Dalits. A collective forum of Bishwakarmas and Non-Dalits against untouchability and discrimination should be formed. Similarly, they must develop their bargaining powers in terms of demanding what they have been promised by the concerned agencies and the government. These events are just a few among the many that have come into public awareness. The government administration and political parties have not sufficiently directed their attention to these issues. That needs acute solution.

## CHAPTER-VIII

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

#### 8.1 Summary and Findings

This study has centrally focused on the changing occupational pattern among the Bishwakarmas of Hemja VDC, in Kaski district. This study has the general objective of studying the patterns of occupational shift among the Bishwakarmas in Hemja VDC, while following are the specific objectives.

- 1 To access the changing patterns in traditional occupation and the occupational preferences.
- 2 To explore the factor that fostered shift in the traditional occupation.
- 3 To study Bishwakarmas expectation from the society and with the state.

Basically, this is an academic study but it has yield important information which can be very fruitful in formulating various policies regarding the changing occupation pattern of Bishwakarmas. The study has mainly focused on the cause and the factors laid behind the shift in occupation. The Bishwakarmas traditional occupation is important economic activity. This study is primarily a case study one. While studying so, the traditional skill, occupation, the involvement and causes for the mobility in occupation as well as the new preferred occupation has also been given due focused. Similarly, the expectation of the Bishwakarmas from the society and the state also been focused. During this study, the literatures on work, occupation and Dalit studies has been reviewed along with Dalit studies in Nepal. Likewise, literature on Bishwakarmas occupation in Nepal and the cause for change also have been reviewed.

Due to the limited resources such as budget, time, manpower etc all Dalits of the study area were unable to include in the study. Besides this, the universe is of small population size. Since this group is reflecting more shift from traditional occupation. Very few are found of involved in their traditional

occupation. So, the household of the Bishowkarmas build in ward no. 1, 6, and 9 of Hemja VDC have been the universe of this study.

This is an exploratory as well as descriptive study and so, it has followed both of these two types of research designs. The households built in the ward no 1, 6, and 9 of this VDC has taken as universe and had made the census study. So, the total population frame was 60 households for the reliability of the data. For the purpose of the study observation, interview schedule, focus group discussion and two of the case studies were adopted as data collecting technique of anthropological research, to collect qualitative and quantitative data. Thus, the data collected for this study is dominantly primary. When needed, some of the important secondary data have also been incorporated. The above data collecting tools were devised very carefully in order to ensure their validity.

For this purpose, the interview schedule prepared was firstly pre tested and the results from this were used to refine the question in the interview schedule. Both structure and unstructured observations were made from time to time while in the field work process. Case studies and focused group discussion which were primary unstructured one also conducted. Observations, FGD, and case study have yielded qualitative data, while interview schedule has yielded both types of data. The FGD participants were the representative of Bishowkarmas and the personal that have long experience of the work has been provided by Bishowkarmas to them and learned man. The collected data have been analyzed by using computer program SPSS while qualitative data have been arranged manually and analyzed descriptively. Results of quantitative data analysis have been shown by using various tables, charts and diagrams.

As Bishowkarmas a major occupational caste bears very important place in the society, they perform work to the upper caste people and manufacturing and repairing of the agricultural tools as well. They work as *Hali* and *Bause* in the field and that had believed to develop consensus among the society. This has

showed somewhere as functional interrelationship between the different groups of the people. But, these days the Bishowkarmas were leaving their traditional occupation and adopting new job. The government policies and societal attitude are found to be the most prominent factor for shift of occupation. Since, the occupational castes in Nepal are unable to survive, due to the mechanization and rapid growth of industries which produces these goods in low price and the behavioural attitude of the society are found to be main factor for the shift from the traditional occupation. Besides the fact the low income generation is also the base for shifting the occupation.

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

- The major source of livelihood among the Bishowkarmas of Hemja VDC is wage labour or the foreign employment, which is reported by 72.7 percent of the respondent.
- Very few just 6.7 percent of the respondents in the study site are found of following traditional occupation.
- The one who were following traditional occupation knew the skills of traditional art, which they had learned either from father or grandfather at the age below 16 years.
- Bishowkarmas are found to be bound with the social customs. So, the young generation of this group likes to go abroad for freedom and for better earning.
- The act of the people in the society is quite amazing, unacceptable and dubious. And at the same time, the apathy and failure to develop appropriate mechanism from the concerned agencies are also found the main factor for the unpopularity of the Bishowkarmas traditional occupation.
- It has been found that society is not only cause of decreasing the importance of traditional occupation of Bishowkarmas, but also the

policies of the government is equal due responsible for the disappearance of traditional art.

- The study area still experiences the caste base discrimination. The data reported that 83.3 percent of the respondents expresses that the discrimination in the society is found in the different ways.
- 95 percent of the respondents were satisfied by the present or the current new adopted occupation. Because they experience less problem of caste base discrimination.
- 90 percent of them want their coming generation to go to abroad for better earning, as well as to raise the social status.
- The parents had paid less attention towards the education of their children. Due to which the education level above I.A is nil in the collected data.
- Mechanization and industrialization has penetrated to every corner of the society. This had made the availability of the required goods in low price. Where as the traditional goods of Bishowkarma have to struggle a lot for its existence and it lack market.
- Even the Bishowkarmas feels traditional occupation as troublesome and they are shifting to new one.
- Average family size of the respondent is 5.5 is comparatively larger, so they experiences greater poverty.
- From the traditional occupation they earn very less and are unable to sustain their family. So, they are compelled to seek new job.
- The education significantly affects inter and intra- generational, gross as well as the upward occupational mobility. Similarly, there is great relationship between the level of education and the level of educational aspiration of the respondent for themselves and for their children. Likewise, there are undeniable significances between the level of occupational prestige and the level of occupational aspiration.



### ***FGD with Bishowkarmas and their crucial problems***

*"Some had stated that caste base discrimination must be legally abolished. That makes the Bishowkarmas to go out from the society."*

*"The import of agricultural from the industrial country, make the Bishowkarma unable to compete with them and are compelled to shift to other occupations."*

*"Traditional Occupations must be modernized for the better and higher earning, other wise the traditional occupations will disappear."*

### **Finding revealed by the Case studies (case I and II)**

The reasons for continuing traditional occupation (Case I) were as follows;

- ) Poverty
- ) Compulsion to feed the family members
- ) No other alternatives since one lacks skill in other works and
- ) Prefer to continue ahead the same job if the government helps to mechanized the traditional works.

The reasons for the preference of new occupation (case II) were as follows;

- ) Lack of market facilities for the traditional goods.
- ) Caste base discrimination as customary practices.
- ) Low income of the parents
- ) Higher and secure future earning abroad.
- ) Hard and rough with traditionalism in the caste base occupation.

## **8.2 Conclusion**

The income presently earned by the respondent performing different occupation besides the traditional one is an undeniable significant component of the village economy. Majority of the household of the respondents in the study site could not satisfy their needs by adopting traditional occupation. So, they are compelled to choose the alternative occupation for the fulfillment of their needs. The respondents have no complete food security in the sense of access to the nutritious food and their living standard is also very low.

Traditional occupation alone cannot meet the modern requirements. Tradition and ancient skills for the work is insufficient to meet the determined minimum level of food and clothing needs. Caste exploitation and discrimination is the main cause for the low earning from the traditional occupation. This had also remained a source of subordination to the Dalits. Besides this it urges the low earning so the respondent cannot only rely on the caste base occupation, when it helps to earn too less. Different social practices, and rough and hard work, low income earning and low social prestige had forced the Bishowkarmas to seek a new means of livelihood. The non- caste base occupation help them to be free from the caste base discrimination and the case of low earning. New adopted occupation has been an important economic option to maintain sustenance which has to raise the standard of living of the respondent as well as it contributes to fulfill immediate needs and family requirement. Adoption of a new occupation has contributed to increase the access to other livelihood assets. In this respect, the respondents of the study site also are socialized to be familiar with the adoption of new occupation leaving the traditional one. Adoption of changing occupational patterns has been a survival strategy among the Bishowkarmas of the present Hemja VDC.

The relationship of changing occupational patterns is also examined with reference to several aspects of opportunity structures like education, occupational prestige and size of family. It is observed that education has a direct bearing on gross and upward occupational mobility. The higher educational status is closely associated with greater gross and upward occupational mobility rate. Similarly, the level of educational attainment has a positive association with educational aspiration of respondents for themselves as well as for their children. Occupational prestige has important bearing on the dissatisfaction with the present occupation. Lower the occupational prestige, the greater is the dissatisfaction to their traditional occupation. Similarly, the occupational prestige is an important explanatory variable in the preference of the occupational prestige of the respondents for themselves and to their

children. Family size has positive association with gross and upward occupational mobility rate.

Increasing wide gap between the people in the name of caste or caste base occupation is up to great extent responsible for the reluctance of traditional occupation. Though the goods have higher demand but in low price from the consumer. That is only possible when it is produced in massive rate like industries. So another factor behind the disappearance of traditional occupation is because of wide use of the modern industrial goods. The mechanization has replaced the traditional arts and skills. So it is clearly seen that some important policies for the modernization of Bishowkarmas skills and traditional occupation is very essential. Increasing mass poverty can only be eliminated only when the society is free from '*Brahminism*'. And provide equal access of opportunity to all. Besides these there must be the proper availability of raw materials and easy access of market for the produced goods.

### **8.3 Recommendations**

After this study, the researcher has made following recommendations:

- ) The serious constrain for the Bishowkarmas in the prevailing caste base discrimination, is ranking them to a low grade in the society. Where they work more for the society but the work are not counted as productive and are devalued by the society. So the program, seminar or training must be given to emphasize for the traditional work of the Bishowkarmas.
- ) Due to the traditionalism the occupation is getting less popular within Bishowkarmas. So the concerned agencies must focus their especial interest towards the burning issues. As Bishowkarmas have little land and they are the least educated people, modernization of their traditional skill is the single alternatives for strengthening their economy in coming days.

- ) Though different amendments of the constitution have guaranteed the equal right and opportunities to the people but, still the Dalits are lagged behind in using the facilities provided by the state. They are still not allowed or not given opportunities to use the public facilities. So, it is strongly recommended to formulate and implement special and effective programs for uplifting them in the society.
- ) There must be more media attentions to Bishowkarmas suffering and oppression, as well as information about the positive activities carried out by them.
- ) Education is the transformation of development which gives sustainability of every aspect. So, illiteracy within Bishowkarmas must be ended through active education system by the trained teacher.
- ) The reservation policies should not be only for the economic upliftment, but it must be for social upliftment too.
- ) Special programs must be lunched for the control of population growth, so that the mass poverty can be reduced or eliminated.
- ) Despite the fact that the government policies fall sort over the year to uplift the Bishowkarmas occupation, some hard effective programs must be formulated to preserve and promote the traditional occupation of Bishowkarmas.
- ) Government must arrange all necessary requirements for the traditional occupation such as raw material and proper market for the upliftment of the traditional occupation.
- ) All the upliftment plans, policies and programs should be from the bottom for the socio-economic upliftment and from the top for the abolishing of untouchability against Bishowkarmas. There should be strong provision of penalty and punishment for those who are guilty of discrimination and untouchability against them.

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**APPENDIX-1**  
**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

**CHANGING OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS AMONG THE BISHOWKARMAS**  
A case o Hemja VDC

**Questionnaire Schedule**

**A. General Socio-Economic Introduction of the Family.**

1. Name of the household head:-..... Sex.....Occupation.....  
Religion.....  
Name of the respondent:-.....  
Detailed of the family:-

S.no.	Relation with head	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Education	Occupation

Q.no	Questions	Answers	Skipping				
2.	Types of family	a. Nuclear    b. Joint    c. other.....					
3.	Ownership of house	a. Own house    b. Rented room    c. living under others d. Other.....					
4.	Type of house	a. Cemented    b. Mud masonry    c. Hut d. Other.....					
5.	Brief description of the house						
6.	Do you have any private owned land?	a. Yes    b. No	10.				
7.	If yes, than how much do you have?	a. khet.....ropani    b. pakho.....ropani    c. pastureland.....ropani d. Other.....					
8.	Who has the ownership to the land?	a. Males    b. Females    c. Both.					
9.	How long does the production of the land help you all to sustain?	.....months					
10.	Do you keep livestock?	a. Yes    b. No	14				
11.	If yes, than how many livestock do you have?						
	Livestock	Cow/Ox	Buffalo	Goat	He n	others	
	Number						
12.	Do you rear the livestock for selling?	a. Yes    b. No	14				
13.	How much do you earn from selling the livestock?	a. Nrs...../-    b. Do not like to respond					
14.	Are you the real inhabitant of this place or migrated from other place?	a. Inhabitant b. Migrated from other place.	18				
15.	From where have you been migrated?	From VDC..... Tole.....district.....					
16.	When have you been migrated?	Year ..... Date.....					
17.	What fostered you to migrate from there?						

18.	What are the main sources of income of your family?	<b>a.</b> Agriculture <b>b.</b> Wage labour <b>c.</b> Govt. Job. <b>d.</b> Business <b>e.</b> Traditional Occupation <b>f.</b> Others.....
19.	How much is the monthly income of your family?	<b>a.</b> NRs...../- (approx.) <b>b.</b> Do not like to respond

### B. Occupational skills and technological description.

Q.no	Questions	Answers	Skipping
1.	What is your traditional occupation?	a) Agriculture b) Animal husbandry c) Ironsmith d) Business e) Other.....	
2.	How many members of your family follow the traditional occupation?		
3.	Do you follow your traditional occupation?	a) Yes b) No	<b>7</b>
4.	What are the traditional skills do you know?	a)----- b)----- c)----- d)-----	
5.	From where had you known about the skilled mentioned above?	a) Grandfather b) Grandmother c) Father d) Other.....	
6.	At what age have you learned these skills?		
7.	Why have you not followed your traditional occupation?	a) Low income b) Rough and hard work c) Lack of resources d) Other.....	
8.	Do your parents know about the traditional occupation?	a) Yes b) No	<b>11</b>
9.	What were the traditional occupational skills followed by the grandparents?	a)..... b)..... c) ..... d).....	
10.	What were the behavioral attitudes of those people to whom they render their services?	a) Brotherly relation b)Normal c) Discrimination d) Other.....	
11.	What was/is the occupation of your parents?	a) Grandfather..... b) Grandmother..... c) Father..... d) Mother.....	
12.	What may be the reason that the parent had left the traditional occupations?		
13.	In your opinion, should the traditional occupation be followed?	a) Yes b) No	<b>18.</b>
14.	Why should it be followed?		
15.	What is the attitude of other towards your traditional occupation?		
16.	Which traditional skills are gradually getting disappeared form the society?		

17.	What are the causes behind the disappearances?		
18.	What is your present occupation?		
19.	Are you satisfied with the present occupation?	a) Yes          b) No	<b>25</b>
20.	Which occupation do you want to prefer to your children?	a) Ironwork      b) Metal work c) Business      d) foreign employment e) Other.....	
21.	Which occupation is mostly preferred by the young generation of your caste?		
22.	What is the reason for choosing this occupation?	a) Higher income   b) good social status c) Easy to work    c) Other.....	
23.	Why don't you prefer your own traditional occupation?		
24.	How is the behavioral attitude of the people to whom you render your service?	a) Brotherly relation   b) Normal c) Discrimination      d) Other.....	
25.	In general what should the society need to do to uplift the traditional skills of the Bishwokarmas?		
26.	What should be the role of state for that?		
27.	What can the civil society do for the betterment of the situation of the Bishwokarmas social status?		
28.	Do you want to say anything or any suggestion for us?		

**Thank you**

## **APPENDIX-2**

### **CHECK LIST OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION.**

- a. What is the situation of Dalits in Nepal?
- b. What is the situation of Dalits' traditional occupation?
- c. Condition of Bishowkarma in the access towards local natural resources

- d. Behavioural attitude of the other caste people towards the Bishowkarmas' traditional Occupation.
- e. Is the traditional occupation getting change in the way it has preformed by the ancestors?
- f. What are the skills that are changed?
- g. Have the Bishowkarmas people shifted to other Occupation?
- h. What are the causes for the change of the traditional occupation?
- i. What should be the role of society and the state towards the Bishowkarmas?

## APPENDIX-3

### Name list of the Focus Group Discussion

#### 1<sup>st</sup> Session

1. Padam Bk
2. Govind Bk
3. Ramchandra Sunar
4. Sukmaya Bk
5. Maya Bk
6. Gamvir Bk.
7. Shiva Bdr Regmi.
8. Rudra Bdr.KC
9. Ramchandra Tripathi

#### 2<sup>nd</sup> Session

- |                        |                                         |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1. Anil Dahal          | proprietor DBS Hemja                    |
| 2. Dambar Singh Besnet | Campus chief Gaurishankar Campus Hemja. |
| 3. Sunil Thapa         | Principal DBS, Hemja                    |
| 4. Prem Bdr.Sunar.     | Dalit representative.                   |
| 5. Roshan Sunar        | -----"                                  |
| 6. Apsara Sunar        | -----"                                  |
| 7. Dayaram Bk          | -----"                                  |
| 8. Prem Nepali         | -----"                                  |
| 9. Shanti Nepali       | -----"                                  |
| 10. Balaram Bk.        | -----"                                  |

**APPENDIX-4**

**PHOTO GALLERY**



