

CHAPTER- ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Caste is a complex phenomenon. Berreman (1967: 70) has defined “The Caste system as a system of birth ascribed stratifications of socio-cultural pluralism and of hierarchical interaction.” It is defined as small and named group of person characteristic by endogamy, hereditary membership and a specific style of life which sometimes includes the pursuit by life which sometimes includes the pursuit by tradition of a particular occupation and usually associated with a more or less distinct ritual status in a hierarchical System (Beteille, 1965).

The Varna and 'Jati', it is only in the 14th century that caste was organized on a uniform basis in Nepal. It was King Jayastithi Malla who, with the help of five Brahmins from the Indian plains, organized the society of the valley into four Varnas and 64 castes on the basis of hereditary occupations and genealogies (Nepali, 1988:146). In the words of Sinha (1967:94) “Caste is a hierarchical of endogamous groups organized in a characteristics hereditary division of labor “(Quotes by Subedi-2008).

The Constitutions of the Kingdom of Nepal 1951, 1959, 1962, and 1990, and the Interim Constitutions 2007, after the democratic revolutions in Nepal in 1950 and in each constitutions, it is clearly mentioned that “ All citizens are equal before law; no discriminations on people will be made on the basis of religion, race, sex and caste etc” (Hacchethu-2003). Legally, caste based discriminations were eradicated by different laws. In practice, discriminatory behaviors have been continued over the centuries.

Dalits (untouchable caste) are marginal caste groups of Nepalese society. The caste structure, a system of interrelate services. Originating in specialized groups as traditionalized in a religious matrix. It is stratified based on the Hindu caste system. Since the period of King Jayasthiti Malla in the context of Kathmandu Valley and with the introduction of the Muluki Ain (Old Legal Code) of 1854 in the context of Nepal as a whole (Sharma 1977).

The term “Dalit” is understood under the rubric of general terms such as disadvantaged downtrodden, marginalized and oppressed groups (Dahal quoted in

Gurung -2003, Bishwokarma-2002, Sharma et al-1994 Rijal-2001, Koirala-1996). In this abroad meaning many non Dalit groups are also accommodated (INSEC-1993) Because of this kind of confusion, the number s of Dalit groups and their populations' size differ from one source to another, including the government sources. For example, The Dalit Vikas Samiti formed by government in 1997 identified 23 cultural groups of Dalits. Again the Dalit Aayog (Dalit Commission) formed by government in 2002 listed 28 cultural groups of Dalits (Dahal-2010).

Dalits people were categorized under Sudra (untouchable) in caste based social structure. The origin of Sudra from the feet of Purusa (Subedi-2008). In Nepal these so-called Dalits are addressed by different terms such as '*ACHOOT*' (Untouchable) '*TALLO JAT*' (low caste) '*PANI NACHAINE CHOI CHITTO HALNU PARNE JAT*' (Caste from whom water is not accepted and whose touch requires sprinkling of holy water for purification), and in recent years, by the soft term, such as Dalit (oppressed group) (Dahal-2010).

Dalits themselves is also not a homogeneous group. The Dalit population of Nepal is equally divided like the Janajaties and Hindu Groups and their heterogeneity extends to language, Religion and culture. Their heterogeneity and hierarchy can be better explained into three broad regional groups:

- a) Hill Dalits (Kami, Sarki, Damai, Gaine and Badi),
- b) Terai Dalits (Tatma, Mushahar, Khatwe, Bantar, Dushad (paswan) Dhobi, Chamar, Chidimar, Patharkatta, Dom and Halkhor) and
- c) Newar Dalits (Kusle, Kasai, Pode, Chyme and Halahulu) (Dahal et. al. 1991)

This study focused on the Hill's Dalits whom are under Sudras or occupational groups or untouchable. They are regarded just as service caste. The Kami (blacksmith) exists to make metal work, The Damai (tailors) live to sew clothes, The Sarki (leather worker) sole purposes on the earth is to make shoes, and the only reason for the Badi (traditionally singers and dancers but now prostitution as a profession) is to provide sex(Subedi-1995). Quoting Muluki Ain Hofer (2004:92) for example writes "Occupations is not governed by caste membership. All four varna and 36 jat are allowed to sharpen tools to sew shoes and clothes to work in mines to wash gold to fire bricks-kilns, to pursue the potter's trade to prepare leather for the Madal drums and the pursue all others works as an occupation to work in commerce thus earnings their living; nobody is deprived of his case status".

This study was focused on the Kami and Sarki among Dalits. Traditionally they used Patron- client relationship where they received Jajmani and Bali from the so-called high caste and non-high caste groups. But now the Bali system is losing its ground in the society. Kami and Sarki people had totally left their Bali systems (Subedi 2005). Actually, there Kamis are treated highest social rank and where as the group of Sarki is the lowest with Kami in Dalit Community. Kamis are major and Sarkis are minor Dalit group which have traditionally adopted the occupations as iron work gold work, Copper work, wooden work, animal husbandry, leather work like Madal and Muda respectively.

Dalits were always been exploited high born societies. The general characteristics of caste systems can be compared with others systems of stratifications such as those based on class or race. Social organization found in traditional regional societies of India and among adjacent Hindu and related populations in the territories of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka (Dumont, 1980).

The Hindu society, caste rank is hereditary and linked to occupations. Nepalese law states that all occupations are equal in the eyes of law. No discrimination will be made on the basis of occupation. However, it is still not found in practice. Tradition, Culture, and Customs help to exist the discrimination among the people which had indirectly lead to ranked the societies in to two blocks as, the one which enjoys all the political and economical power 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.

The main job of the Kami and Sarki, in Nepal is making and repairing Iron and leather work. Industrialization and modernization of economics reveals a pattern of change in the occupational pattern composition of workers employs urban services rise and the proportion in agricultural decline because factory workers are recruited from rural areas. From above mentioned factors we can say that Dalit people are change in their occupations pattern.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problems

Nepal is a complex caste based and multi-ethnic, multi-linguistics as well as multi-cultural country. Each and every caste group and ethnic groups has its own languages culture economic status and they have their own occupations. Every caste

groups and its culture and occupations has its own important role in the national development process. But Dalits people were suffering from the caste based discriminations. They meet the live hood sufficiency. Dalits people are marginalized from various social and economical opportunities (Balikie et. al. 1980). The traditionally occupations of the Dalits people are the threatened and could not continue further because of industrial production and open market (Sharma-2001).

Traditionally, Hill Dalits worked as artist, carpenters, painters, builders, labor, tailors, tillers, iron work, shoe maker, producing different types of goods from metal woods, leather and so on. But now owing to the growth of economic commercial and industrial activities development and urbanizations a sizeable number of till Dalits are shifting their occupations.

Everything is changing day to day family, society, and customs, political along with changing society and if many aspects tradition at occupations of Dalits people are getting change significantly. The following questions will be included in my research:

- a) Whether caste based occupations pattern has created conflict or social order in society?
- b) What traditionally skills do still exist of these Dalits people of Barbote VDC?
- c) How much do they earn from the traditionally occupations?
- d) What do Dalits people view the real causes for such shift?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The overall objectives of the study is to comparative analyze the occupational pattern change of Dalits people and their relationship other people and effects to the social structure. But considering the limitation to time and resources the specific objectives are as follows:

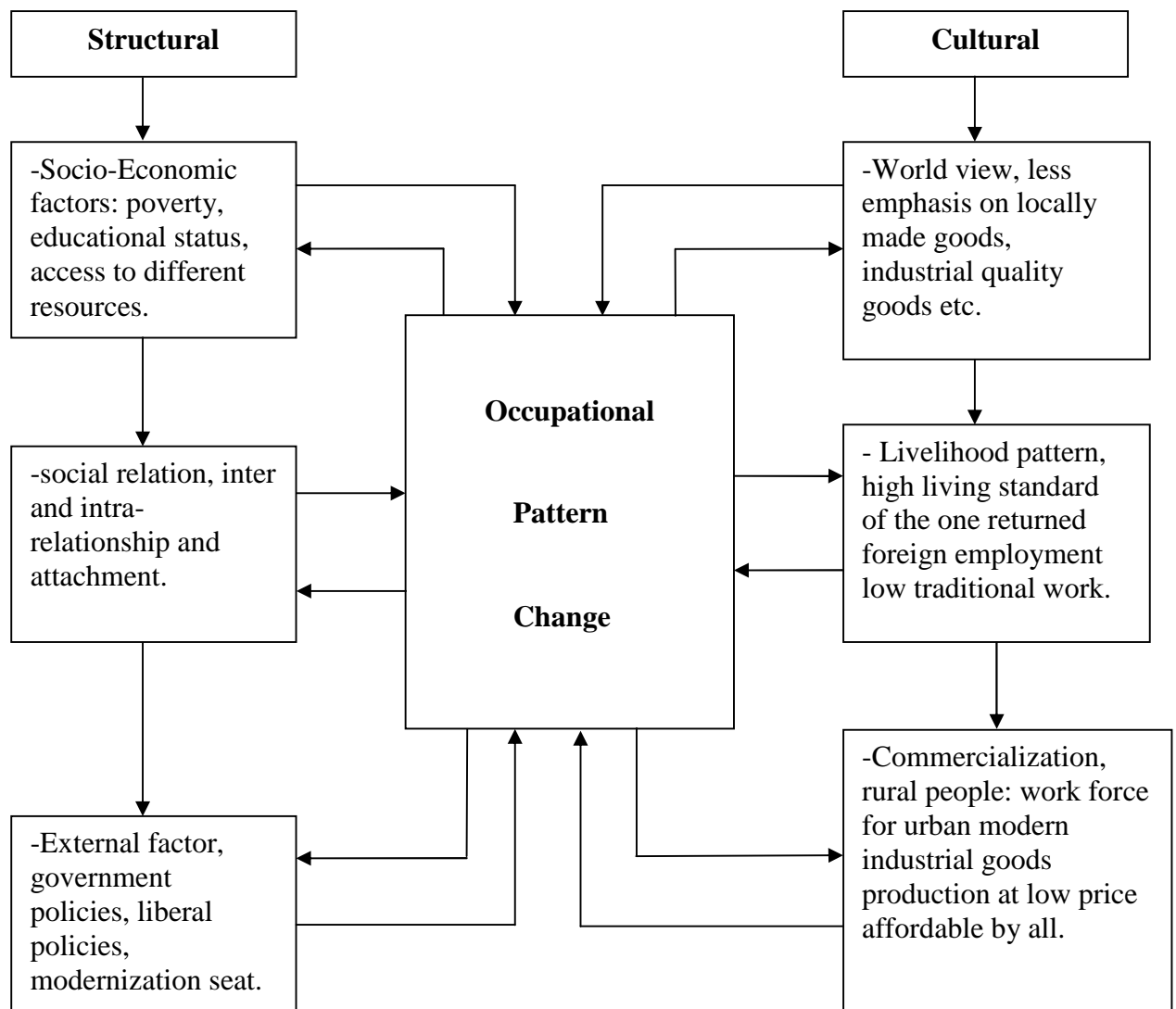
-) To describe the features for occupational change in Dalits people of Barbote VDC of Ilam District
-) To explore the preferred occupations and their causes

1.4 Conceptual Framework

The structural, cultural and occupational pattern of Nepal can't be isolated, in the worldwide changing phenomena. The conceptual framework of this research we can see the occupational pattern that has been changed with the occupational pattern. The society related factors caused in occupational change. Especially, socio-

economic, social relations that can be intra and inter relationship between governmental policies, liberal policies, modernization seat reservation, etc.

Not only the structural (societal) factors effects in change in occupational pattern but cultural factors also play the vital role. Cultural such as world view giving less emphasis on locally made goods and focusing more on goods produced by industry to be high living standard of those who have followed the traditional work, and effected on commercialization in rural people are some of the cultural aspects to help in occupational pattern change.



CHAPTER- TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2. Background

This chapter provides some theoretical as well as empirical perspectives and findings regarding occupational pattern change and transformation in Dalit community of Nepal. A number of native as well as foreign Sociologists and Anthropologists carried out large scale and systematic study of Nepalese society and culture. This section will review some pertinent literatures related to change and transformation in many parts or aspects.

2.1 Theoretical Review on Sociology of Occupation

There are different perspectives in sociology to observe the society and culture. Here, some pertinent theories are reviewed.

Functional Theory

It is a theory of how societies work. Since it conceives of societies working in certain ways, it prescribes a method for their study. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, Anthropological theory was developed by “arm chair Anthropologists” (Nanda, 1994) who had not done field work. Only after the World War I, academically trained ethnographers began doing intensive field work in distance places and people (Nanda, 1994).

According to Ghurye (1969) complete acceptance of the system in its broad outlines by the groups making up that system and their social and economic interdependence in the village not only prevented the exclusivist organization of the groups from splitting up the system into independent units, but created a harmony in civic life of course, this harmony was not the harmony of parts that are equally valued, but of units which are rigorously subordinated to one another. He also states that the nature of many of the occupations is such that through from a broad point of view each may be regarded as distinct, yet on closer scrutiny it presents differences which are sufficient to distinguish one aspect of it from another. Thus, through leather-working may be regarded as one occupation by the society, the followers of that occupation may distinguish different branches of leather-working as shoe-

making, sandal-making, or oilcan-making. Such detailed distinctions within an occupation have been thought to be adequate to designate the group of members following the particular branch of the occupation by the name of that branch. Sub-caste within many of the occupational castes bear names derived from the special branches of the occupations.

According to Durkheim (1915), men collectively invent the basic categories of religion in order to explain the unseen but feel force of the collective consciousness. B. Malinowski whose field work was carried out in the Trobriand Islands saw the goal of ethnographer as “grasp”(ing) the native’s point of the view his relation to life to realize his vision of his world (Malinowski, 1961).

Malinowski (1944) maintained that every living culture is a functioning and integrated whole. No part of a culture may be understood except in relation to whole. According to functional theory of sociology, society is made up different units of parts. These parts are always played positive function. The part do not exists without other parts of the society. They are closely interrelated to each others. The society exists due to the positive function of these social and culture parts. In other hand, it sustains result of integration and harmony among these different social and cultural units.

As the one of functional they here, we can adjust the occupation as the important tools a part of the society. It helps to exit the society. The more people having occupation is the more harmonious and consciousness of the society. Occupation related the people in one chain in the society. The people become conscious as well as help to be others where as no occupation the individuals of the society will be incomplete to get the step developing the society and create the entity in society among others (Durkheim, 1964). Functionalism sees the society and culture from stability and equilibrium perspective. For functional theory change is undesirable phenomena. Here, we can trace that an occupation is a part of the society to provide idea, consciousness and integration for the individuals which is mostly help to maintain the society into harmony. It is also the tool to bring entity between individuals and social change with the function in the society unfairly anger in other will be changed into harmony.

According to Nepali (1965), the ethnic solidarity of the Newar is maintained and reinforced by a variety of inter-relationships which exists among theme, mainly pertaining to ceremonies and religious occasions. The best way to understand such

inter-relationships is to describe one cast in the context of the rest. Such relationships have to be viewed to from two different stand points. Firstly, among the Newar Castes themselves; and secondly, the relationship of Newar castes. The relationship of the untouchable castes with the other Newar castes is of special importance, and special ritual relationship with the high caste Newars.

Marxist, Neo-Marxist and Post Modernist Perspectives

With the ending of Second World War, colonization also ended and Cold War began due to the process of keeping their past authority, need market expanding and faith in science and technology that is what especially US and USSR, very powerful countries started to donated their pre-colonized countries in order to keep them in their favour (Escobar, 1995). In this way, due to bipolarity containment and aid giving donor competition the process of development was inaugurated which increase the new colonization three people started to assume that aid donor countries are developed countries, where as aid receivers are underdeveloped one (Preston, 1997) in the year 1949 Herry Truman used the word development officially for the first time. The term development gives different meaning to different people generally. It means stages of growth and advancement. It also termed as process of modernization, westernization, imperialism, and recently it is a Globalization. After all the Global phenomena the so called under developed societies are facing outward intervention more failure to develop in their own place, thus these sorts of global phenomena have been criticized by some of the well known theorist.

Wallerstein has developed world system theory to explain the interrelation of first, second, and third worlds and their origins in the development spread of modern capitalization and industrialization. Wallerstein (1974) argues that capitalism and world economy are two sides of the same coin and that one does cause other. His centre and periphery hypothesis contextualized the economic problems faced by underdeveloped area inner most essentially exploitative nature of the world capitalization.

The neo-Marxist theory analyzes the world economic and normal process of the gap between developing and developed countries namely satellite and metropolis. As the metropolis are developed at the sort of satellite. While the satellite reduced to a state of dependency. The race them of dependency analysis is that underdevelopment

of any country is not an original condition but is historically generated in the process of the expression of capitalism and subsequent incorporation of and into the inherently exploitative system of global capitalists local hunger on and by mercantile and land lord interest (Berwere, 1980). According him the case of dependency is under consumptions economic surplus backwardness and monopoly capitalism. He explains backwardness on the basis of economic surplus i.e. actual surplus potential economic surplus and pinned economic surplus.

Barth (1956) analyzed the relations between ethnic groups in North Pakistan, he tried to show that the economic and political organization of neighbouring ethnic groups could be understood in terms of niche occupied that three neighbouring groups (Patagans, Gujars and Kohitanis) reflected adjust to the habitat occupied by each as well as changing over time between three groups, while two groups with greater military strength could drive the other one to a different area and force it is to adjust to different set of resources. He provided on excellent analysis of the cyclical shift between pastoralist and agriculture populations trump to farming on the basic of the success or failure of pastorals activities and the three appears to be a new exodus from pastorals societies in the direction of farming communities.

Frank (1997) argues that under development is not original or traditional and that neither the past nor the present of underdeveloped countries resembles in any important respect the past of the new developed countries the new developed countries were never underdeveloped but many have been underdeveloped, Frank identifies there contradictions with characterized capitalist development. They are the expropriation of economic from the many and its appropriation by the few. So, Frank's fundamental argument is development and under development are the two opposite side of the same coin.

Sanskritization

The concept of Sanskritization was defined by Srinivas in the context of social change in India. According to him, it is a process by which a low caste Hindu and other groups change their in customs, ritual and ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently "*twice born caste*". Sanskritization is a dynamic process directly related with change in which how low caste people use to adopt the

thinking and life style of high caste. In this sense also it is known the changing relation day by day (Srinivas, 1952).

The important factor in economic change throughout Nepal and India has been reformed designed to help oppressed people such as designed to help people such as untouchables. The implementation of these laws has coincided with new ways of making up cash Grain defects by means of other than beeswing and drying up of credits consequent up on the new laws hasn't 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 , more over where they used to work land for high caste they have been depriving of their tenancies and so find their position. Much whose then before, the relation of Dalits caste groups to other caste group is more or less hostile.

2.2 Empirical Studies

Castes 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 "Un clean" meat eaters, the leather workers. Occupations that involve slaughtering animals or touching polluted thing are themselves polluting (Schultz, 1998).

Caplan (1972) analyzes the political economic factors underlying social change in Durai village, selecting for study group which are opposes in the Hindu hierarchy. She further illustrates how the low caste groups such as cobblers had been utilized by Panchayat politician in spite of their under most status in the Hindu caste hierarchy.

Blaikie, et al. (2001) analyzes the transformation of Nepalese society from Marxist perspective. They show different facts of underdevelopment in Nepal. According to them, much artisan class of people displaced from their occupation due to the factory made goods along with the expansion of India. They focus a different dimension of change of development undoubtedly for understanding change and development in Nepal. However, they give little attention border process of social

transformation of Dalit people in Nepal. From the dependency line of argument (Blaikie, et al., 1980) has shown that Nepal in crisis is the mainly three constraints:

1. *Failure of the productive organization associate with its economic & political underdevelopment which is result of historically co-existing constraint of Nepal's political economy.*
2. *The essentially no progressive quality of Nepal's political and administrative structure, and*
3. *Transnational and international dependency relationship between centre and periphery.*

They have regarded the above reasons responsible because of ecological collapse, elimination of some natural resources decline food production, resources heavy reliance on foreigners donors & imported commodities, population growth relation to employment opportunities, and government's failure to cope with these problems Seddon etc also explained the village artisan have been troubled due to the process of development or modernization. They have further described how mass manufacturing casts adverse influence on the traditional occupation of the assistants.

Historically, Dalits have been practicing their traditional caste occupation and selling it to their clients to make a living. For example, Kamis not only make new agricultural tools and households utensils such as sickles, knives, axes, hoes, spades, plough tips, and nails but also repair them when needed. The Sarkis are leatherworkers who make shoes and other products from the skin of dead animals such as cattle and water buffalos. The various services of Dalits are supplied in the context of an ongoing relationship between a client and craftsman or a system also known as patron-client relationship. The service of craftsman to clients (clients are mostly the so-called high caste Hinu groups) are known by different names in different parts of Nepal such as *BALI GHARE PRATHA* (Eastern Nepal) or *KHALO-PRATHA* (Western Nepal) and *KHAN SYSTEM* (in the Terai) (National Dalit Strategy Report, 2002: 41-42).

Bhattachan (2002) found that only 19 percent of the Dalits reported that they are involved in traditional caste based occupation. Mainly, the Damais are involved in their traditional activity. But, decreasing involvement in caste based occupation is mainly due to the fact that, for example, blacksmiths are hard bit by the availability of factory-produced farm implements, Damais by the availability of readymade clothes,

and Sarkis by the availability of cheap footwear (Sharma et al. 1994:52). They conclude that all the people changing their occupations and their work/job. All people are allowed to choose their occupation and use their skills.

The Maoist Movement (started in 2052 B.S.) is related to marginal people who supported their *Aandolan*. After *Jana Aandolan* of 2062/63 B.S. government of Nepal gives reservation seats for Dalits and others. It is also supported in occupational pattern change. Many Dalits started to go to the foreign country for employment so fertile lands are turned in to barren land. Many people were left their traditional work/job and agriculture. Who used to follow their ancestral profession has left. For example, many Dalit people were left their traditional work/job or occupation (National Dalit Strategy Report, 2008).

Dalits themselves practice untouchables in their day-to-day life, and there is clear ranking of status among them. The social discrimination within them is distinctly observed in eating food and drink, while performing life cycle rituals. Marriage is strictly endogamous in nature, i.e., Kami will marry only with the Kami not with groups such as Damai or Sarki. “A *Damai* is *Pani Nachalaune* to a *Kami* and a *Sarki*, and a *Kami* and *Sarki* who claim equal status do not dine together or marry each other” (Koirala; 1996:60).

Kharel (2008) also conducted a research on Kami people of Kathmandu valley. In her study, she found that the consciousness level of many Dalits has gradually growing up into middle class constructions. As they are became aware about their stigmatized status in accordance with their traditional job occupation. They are gradually changing their traditional job like metal itching, jewelry carvers etc. She is also closely interested about the change in their economic status that was in relation with change in occupation. Most Dalits of Kathmandu valley is still exploited though they have changed their traditional occupation adopt new types of job ascription. But we can see that the changing occupational structure doesn't always improve in life style and economic status of Kami people.

Most of the Dalits were depend in wage labor and agriculture and very few have adopted other job for their livelihood. The Dalit society as a whole has the pathetic situation in the Nepal, the position/status of Dalit women is lower to that of Dalit males in general (Hachhethu, 2001).

Sharma (2004) studies the socio-economic condition of and effect of the migration on the income level of cobbler migrant of Kathmandu town pinch at they are losing their trade due to the easily and low priced availability of readymade shoes.

Pokhrel (2010) stated that open economic and political system provides opportunities to the Kami people to come out from their traditional occupation. According to him, development process combined with declining traditional occupation, population growth in the village and opportunities for work elsewhere the main causes of social transformation among the Kami people. His study shows that many Kami people of Melamchi Valley were involved urban skilled labor in Kathmandu.

Mishra (1987) analyzed the development and social change process of Nepal that may be characterized by:

- a) Increasing in corporation within the capitalist world & regional system in term of labor commodities & capital and finance,
- b) Increasing loss of capital to reproduce indigenous of substance production combined with administration very low capacity to carry out expended reproduction,
- c) Emergence & growth of comprador bourgeoisies & the state class which contains nationalist component but cannot lend a national transformation & considerable to a serious problem of family's community based regional and national integration arising out peripheralization and marginalization. Thus increment of penetration of the world capitalist intensified on the underdevelopment countries like Nepal who do not protect their indigenous production system.

Reviewed literatures show different dimension of social change in Nepal and elsewhere. Past literatures on Dalit in general, they are basically focused on caste based discrimination and untauchability. However, many of them are little concerned on how Dalits' social relations with non-Dalit have been changed over the years.

Then gradually a number of native as well as foreign anthropologists carried out large scale and systematic study of Nepalese society and culture based continuing till now as well. Some of the foreign and native anthropologists and sociologists have also carried out the study focusing the low caste people and their unheard exploitation from the high caste people.

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 meet. 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. Points out her book "Priest and Cobblers" as high caste control over resources is significantly larger to that of 'untouchable' which ultimately has load on the latter group either to migrate or to divest the property. Once they lose their land the need for food and cash grows further which makes them dependent upon the high caste who are land owner and money lender of the village. They have to provide the labour service to get money in the absence of other opportunities in the area (Caplan, 1972).

The Priest and Cobblers P. Caplan state that the changing relations between high caste (particularly priest or Brahmins and untouchable caste Cobblers) in Hindu society. This book which is a monograph deals about socio-economic, political, cultural changes in broader spectrum. In this book Caplan has been shown the changing factors, like new methods of communication, such as road air fields, radio, telegraphs, educational facilities have been established a new system of Panchayats based on elected council has replaced the traditional autocracy a new constitution and a legal code.

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 advent 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 terrific policy was also against the Indian interests. Indian market became flooded with cheaper British goods. Indian hand-made good and 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 agriculturist or to sell their skills as labourers in new industries, railway or mines started by British capital. Indian had been reduced to a colonial agrarian appendage of British. Not only in India in other countries also had wherever industrialism spread had traditional skills declined.

CHAPTER- THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Rational of the Site Selection

This study has covered an area of the ward number 2 and 6 of Barbote VDC, which is situated on the North West part of Ilam Municipality at Ilam district. The research site would be selected purposively. It is widely recognized fact that economic change can play vital role to change the structure of a society and group of Dalit people (Kami and Sarki).

Kami and Sarki people are major Dalit groups has no exception. Market economy has painted each and every corner of the society, at that time different level of social and economic change. In this process the traditional occupations and the social relationship are changing rapidly. Therefore, Dalit community of Barbote village in Ilam District is selected as the study area.

3.2 Research Design

This research was follow descriptive research. I would carefully try to record all the observed events from the study area and describe as faithfully as possible. Special focus would be given to analyze and explore the causal factor for the occupational pattern change among Dalit people of Barbote VDC.

3.3 Universe and Sampling Procedure

The universe of the study was Dalit people are residing in 29 households, where 20 households are Kami people in ward number 2 and 9 households are Sarki people in ward number 6 of Barbote VDC of Ilam district. The study area is heterogeneous. Therefore, this study was based on census method.

3.4 Nature and Sources of Data

This study relies on both qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitative data was acquired through various data collection techniques such as interview, observation, focus group discussion, and case study & quantitative data was collected through household surveys. As far as the sources of data are concerned, this study mostly depends on both primary and secondary sources of information. The primary data was collected through observation, interview, case study, questionnaire, and focus of group discussion. In other side the secondary data was collected from VDC, District, region, and Central level as well as Library, published and unpublished articles, documents, books, CD-ROM, Internet.

3.5 Techniques of Data Collection

Techniques and tools refers to the method the research uses in performing research operation the following techniques and tools were adopted to the collected primary data to use interview, observation, focus group discussion, and case study.

3.5.1 Interview

This study generated information by conducting interviews with different categories of people such as young, old, and those involved in different occupations.

3.5.2 Observation

The field visit of the study area has been based on non-participatory observation, which helps to collect qualitative data. From this method, observe the daily life of Dalit people through watching and listening to their conversations, their behaviour, talking with them, and interviewing people. This was done to know the actual condition of the respondents.

3.5.3 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussions were held with people of different age, sex, and occupational backgrounds. The three focus group discussions were carried out during the field visit. There were 5-8 participants in each session of FGD. FGD covered issues such as occupational pattern change into modern, people's perception towards change, and practicing new occupations, etc.

3.5.4 Case Study

Another technique that was used in the study to obtain the required information regarding the perception and practice of Dalit people was case study. The representative cases (Three Cases) encountered during fieldwork have been presented in different boxes in this study.

3.6 Data Analysis and Interpretation

The collected information and data, from both primary and secondary sources, has been tabulated manually for the preparation of a master table. Different thematic tables and figures have been created from the master table for fulfilling the purpose of the study. Qualitative and quantitative techniques have been used side by side for analyzing the data.

3.7 Limitation of the Study

This study is basically concerned with occupational pattern change of Dalit people of Barbote VDC. There are some limitations of the study, which are more specific and more useful to fulfill the objectives. The study has the following limitations:

- a) This study only includes the 29 households of Barbote VDC ward no. 2 and 6 of Ilam district.
- b) This study may not be generalizable as it was only conducted in the small area of Barbote VDC, Ilam district.

- c) This study was focused on occupational pattern change in Dalits community of Barbote VDC.

CHAPTER- FOUR

Socio-Economic and Demographic Characteristics of the Study Area

This section includes the general description of the location, naming of the site, cultural setting, population composition, caste/ ethnic composition, climate, natural resources, social organization, educational status, economic structure, occupational structure, food sufficiency, and land ownership of the study area.

4.1 Ilam District and Barbote VDC

Ilam is hilly district in the Eastern part of Nepal. It covers 1703 Square kilometer of land with a height beginning from 140 meters 3636 meters from the sea level. The variance of altitude makes Ilam rich in biodiversity. It is buffer Zone between the Terai and Himal. A home of many ethnicities, Ilam is a radiant of mixed culture. There are 48 VDCs and a Municipality in Ilam.

Barbote is one of the VDC of Ilam district. It covers 18.67 square kilometer of land. Among the comparisons of all VDCs of Ilam, Barbote VDC is developed and it is a *NAMUNA* (sample) VDC of Ilam. The Machi Highway crosses the Barbote VDC. It is surrounded by Ilam Municipality, *MAIKHOLA*, *PUWAKHOLA* and Maipokhari VDCs. The land is fertile so Ilam municipality also depended on Barbote for vegetable.

4.2 Naming of the Study Area

The local old aged and knowledgeable people responded that Barbote was renamed only some years ago. Previously it was called *DHARAPANI*. There is a big rubber tree in the middle of the village, the villagers were called that tree is *BAR KO BOT*. From that word BAR KO BOT the name of Barbote is established.

In the other hand, the researchers were really found that, the maximum of rubber trees were found in there, the comparison of all other VDCs of Ilam District, so the name of Barbote is established.

4.3 Climate

The study site has a sub-tropical to temperate type climate. The maximum and minimum temperature in Barbote is increasing trend which is an evidence of *Global Warming*. Generally, it gets rain from May to August. But now days the annual rain

fall trend has been decreased in the recent years. It is comparatively cooler at night than the days.

4.4 Natural Resources

Forest, Land (Soil), Water, Stones (Sand) are main natural resources available here. The soil is black and dark brown color and fertile also. Sand and stone are other important natural resources of this VDC which are sold to Ilam municipality for the constructional work and mainly located in the bank of *MAI KHOLA* and *PUWA KHOLA*.

Forest is another important resource; people use and sell with timber and non timber products. Likewise land resource is great significance for sustaining the economy of the village and the villagers. The people are use the land in seasonal and off seasonal agricultural products, specially cash crops like *ADUWA*(ginger), Tealeaf(green gold), potato, vegetables, fruits etc. Similarly, water is another important resource which is flow through the streams (*KULO*), some of the lowland areas are irrigated by water. *PUWA* and *MAI KHOLA* are the main sources of water. That has important role in agricultural product and productivity.

4.5 Social Organization

In Barbote VDC consists of 13 educational institutions. Among them there are ten government schools they are one higher secondary school, two secondary schools, six primary schools and one pre primary school and there are three boarding schools, they are one primary and two secondary schools (VDC profile of Barbote). There is a VDC office, a Health post, a Red Cross office, a post office, a Community library, six co-operative organizations, different youth clubs and some technical and non technical institutions are also establishing in Barbote VDC.

4.6 Demography of the Study Area

The total population of the entire district is 2, 82,806 out of which 6,188 people having 3,003 women and 3,185 men in 1,242 household reside in this VDC (Barbote Village Profile 2010). In study area Dalit people are residing in 29 households, where 20 households are Kami people in ward number 2 and nine households are Sarki people in ward number 6. Most of the houses are tin roofs and few houses are traditional. The study area has not well access to the motorable road anywhere difficult to transportation.

4.7 Population composition of Barbote VDC

The ward wise distribution of the population by sex in Barbote VDC is given below in Table:

Table No. 1: Ward Wise Population Distribution by Sex

Ward No.	Households	Male	Female	Total Population
1	178	455	456	911
2	166	434	377	811
3	171	400	394	794
4	126	354	297	651
5	129	374	344	718
6	116	290	267	557
7	89	241	239	480
8	128	281	266	547
9	139	356	263	719
Total	1242	3185	3003	6188

Source: - VDC Profile of Barbote, 2010

The table no. 1 shows that ward No. 1, 2, 3 and 9 are highly populated and ward No. 8 is less population than other wards. In ward No. 1, the number of female is higher than male.

4.8 Population of the Study Area by Age Group

The ward no. 2 (Kami Community) there is 20 households with 96 populations and ward no. 6 (Sarki Community) there are 9 households with 42 populations. In the study area, the distributions of the population by age group are given below:

Table No. 2: Population of the Study Area by Age group

Age Groups	Ward No. 2 (Kami Community)			Ward No.6 (Sarki Community)			Total	Percentage
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total		
0-5	4	7	11	2	3	5	16	11.59
6-14	11	15	26	6	8	14	40	28.99
15-59	21	29	50	8	9	17	67	48.55

60 Above	4	5	9	2	4	6	15	10.87
Total	40	56	96	18	24	42	138	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

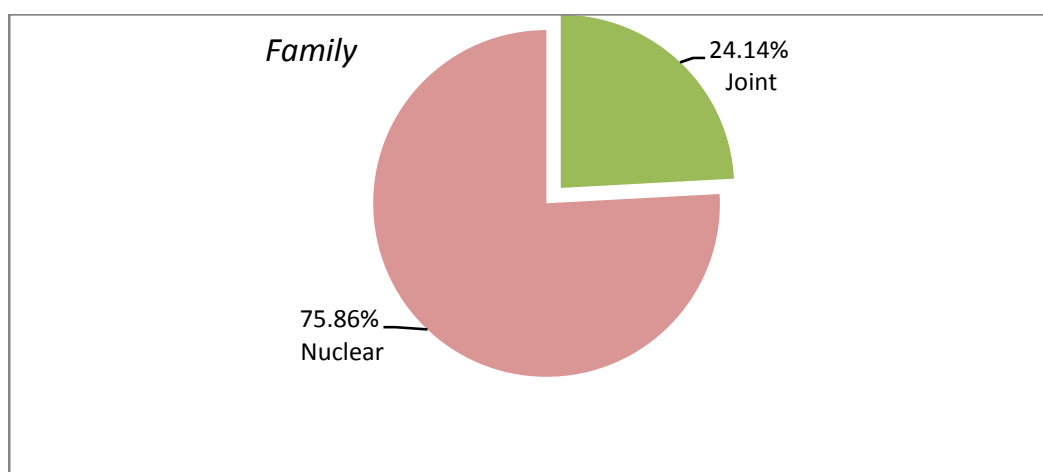
The Table no. 2 indicates the age composition of the Dalit Community of the study area. According to table out of 138 total population of Dalit 58 are male & 80 are female. As a whole, the populations belong to 0-5 year is 11.59 percent, 6- 14 years is 28.99 percent, 15- 59 years 48.55 percent, and 60 above are 10.87 percent shows in the table.

4.9 Demographic Structure of the Respondents

The family size is important variable which effects the directions 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 occupational mobility of the Dalits people? Has it any bearing on gross as well as at the up-ward occupational mobility rate?*

The interesting pattern of the population size by sex shows that the study sites are more females than males. The household size of the respondents ranged from a minimum of 2 to a maximum of 7 members of the average being 4.5 members. It is generally, believed that larger the family size, lower would be gross as well as the up-ward occupational mobility and vice- versa. This aspect has dealt with only one time phase dimension namely, the intra-generation occupational mobility. Hence, it is expected that lower the family size greater would be the intra-generation gross and also the upward occupational mobility. Through the family size is comparatively large, even then the types are found a bit different that can be seen from the given figure.

Figure No. 1: Types of family of the Respondents



Source: Field Survey, 2010

The figure no. 1 clearly states that 75.86 percent of the respondents have lived in nuclear pattern whereas, 24.14 percent of the respondents lived in the joint family. In its fact, it can be stated that due to the nuclear family the respondents bears a little idea concerning towards the traditional occupation. If they live in the joint system of family their children might have learn the traditional skills from their ancestors.

4.10 Educational Status of the Respondents

Education helps to break the darkness of ignorance and brings the people into the light if right path (Koirala, 1996: 51). 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 the *Vedic* and *Post-Vedic* periods as well. There was deliberate denial of schooling to *shoodra*, especially “*Pani Chalne*” and “*Pani Nachalne*” groups in the *Varnashram* system of education because of their prescribed duty “service to people of other castes”.

The traditional perception due to society most of low caste people and girls have been deprived of educational opportunity. In this table show the educational status of the respondents in the study site. Due to the social discrimination and poverty, the respondents were deprived from the access of the higher level of education.

As a whole, the total literacy rate of Ilam district is (above 6 years) 66.53 percent, where 74.36 percent of male and 58.56 percent of female (CBS 2058).

In this study site, Barbote VDC, ward no. 2 (*Kami community*) there are 20 households with 96 population and ward no. 6 (*Sarki community*) there are 9 households with 42 population. As a whole educational status of all Dalit people are given below.

Table No. 3: Educational Status of the Respondents:

Education	Ward no.2 (<i>Kami community</i>)			Ward no. 6 (<i>Sarki community</i>)			Total	Total percent
	Male	female	Total	Male	Female	Total		
Illiterate	14	18	32	6	9	15	47	34.05
Simple literate	11	14	25	4	4	8	33	23.91
Level of S L C	16	15	31	6	11	17	48	34.79
10+2 and above	5	3	8	2	0	2	10	7.25
Total	46	50	96	18	24	42	138	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

As a whole, in the table no. 3, education above S.L.C. is very low. Only 7.25 percent of Dalits were found in education level above of S.L.C. Illiterate Dalits were 34.05 percent, simple literate (who able to read and write) were 23.91 percent and all school level (class 1 to 10) were 34.79 percent.

4.11 Land-ownership of the Respondents

As Nepal is a country of an overwhelmingly agricultural based economy, the primary source of economy of people is land. Therefore, it is necessary to look at ownership of land to understand the extent of basic economy of Dalit population, In the Hills; the landless people are mostly the untouchable groups such as the Kami, Sarki, Damai, Gaine, and Badi (Caplan, 1972).

Respondents in the study area have possessed very small landholding. Most of them have a small plot of land which is only 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 respondents also had reported that they have small land or no land for cultivation that only for *GHADERI*. The land-ownership pattern of the respondents is shown in the table.

Table No. 4: Land-Ownership Pattern of the Respondents

Land Size (In ROPANI)	Frequency(Households)	Percent
No Land at All	2	6.90
Only have <i>GHADERI</i> (No Cultivated Land)	8	27.58
Less than 2 <i>ROPANI</i>	4	13.79
2-3 <i>ROPANI</i>	12	41.38
Above 3 <i>ROPANI</i>	3	10.35
Total	29	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

In the table no. 4, 12 households (41.38%) have 2-3 *ROPANI* of land, which is some cultivated and some *PAKHO* (dry up land). No cultivated lands (who have only *GHADERI* or occupied by the house itself) are 8 (27.58%) households and no land at all (who settled in landlords) are 2 (6.90%) households. Who have owned less than 2 *ROPANI* of land are 4 (13.79%) households and above 3 *ROPANI* of land are 3

(10.35%) households. 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 basic needs. Now-a-days, the young generations are fully detracting from the agricultural works.

4.12 Source of Income

The main economic sources of the respondents are tea factory worker, helper in constructional work, driver, and sub-driver & wage labours. Some are involved in government employments. Here is lack of industrial development, but the respondents went in other places and involved in the economic activities.

4.13 Food Sufficiency

Among Dalits, Sarki and Kami have relatively better position in terms of food sufficiency; whereas Dom, Hudke, and Mushahar have no food of their own as they only work on other's land (Sharma, 1994).

The main crops grown in the study area are paddy, maize, millet, wheat, potato, tea leaf, ginger etc in accordance with the land holding pattern case they 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 an irrigation facility sufficient and the major crops in a year can be grown. The food sufficiency, we can observe in the table.

Table No. 5: Food Sufficiency at Household by Months

Sufficiency Months	Households	Percentage
No Land	10	34.48
Up to 3 Months	9	31.03
3-6 months	7	24.14
6-9 Months	2	6.90
9 Months and Plus	1	3.45
Total	29	100.00

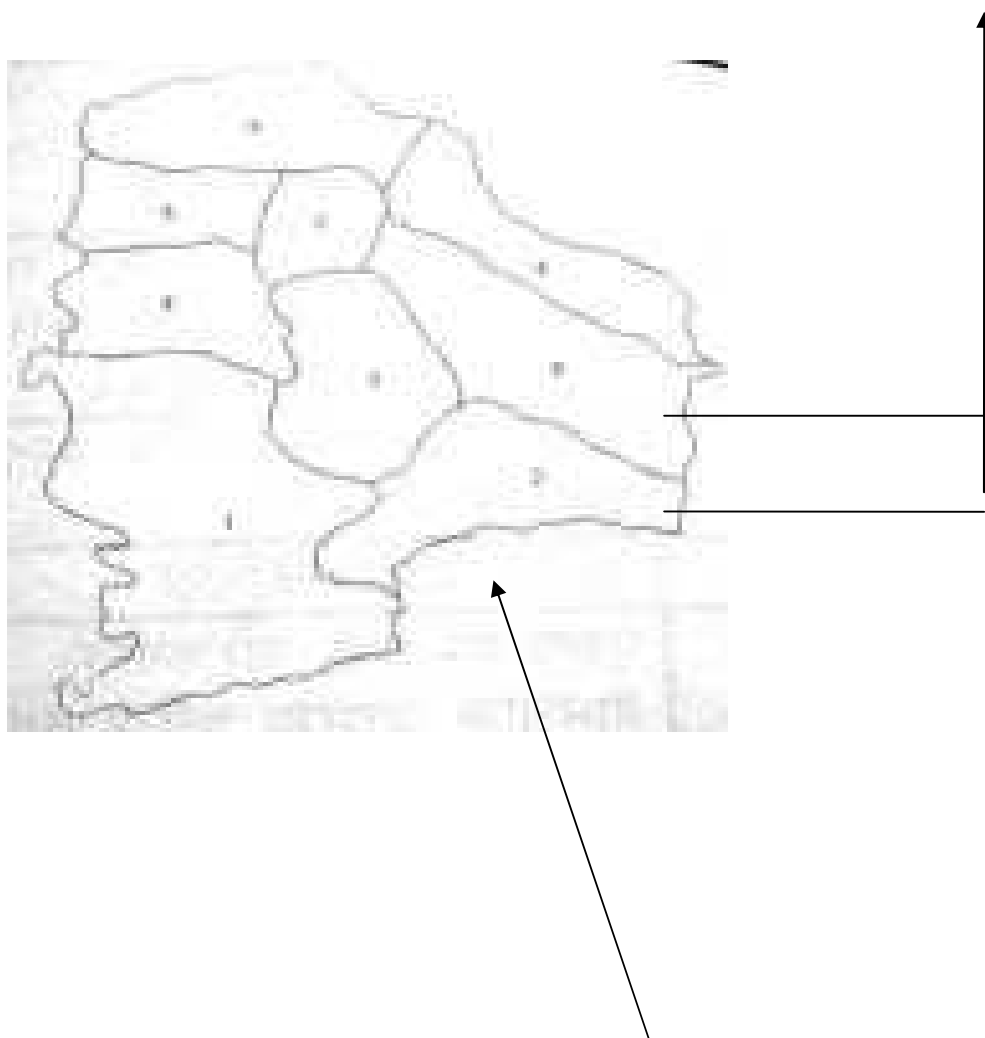
Source: Field Survey, 2010

In the table no. 5, states clearly that only one (3.45%) household can meet their food requirement for more than 9 months from their own production. 2(6.90%) households can meet 6-9 months, followed by 7(24.14%) can for 3-6 months and 9(31.03%) can for just meet up to 3 months. Thus, we can conclude that there is food deficit among Dalits.

In brief, landlessness, marginal and small landholding, and food sufficiency for more than six months of the year are the typical feature of economy of Dalits or untouchables in Nepal.

Figure No. 2: Map of Ilam District and Barbote VDC
Area)

(Study





Source: V. D. C. Profile, 2010

CHAPTER- FIVE

Data Analysis and Presentation

5. Background

This chapter deals with the changing patterns of traditional occupation of the Dalits and subsequently the occupational preference of these people. For the analysis, it includes the changing pattern, occupational pattern change, occupational distribution of the Dalits, past and present, social relation and attachment, Dalits and Bali system, lack of raw material, involvement in traditional occupation and reasons, behavior of other caste towards the respondent past and present, preferred occupation and the causes, factor for adopting new occupations and expectations of Dalits.

5.1 Changing Patterns

The human groups involves in production to be survived to produced things to survive their different needs they involve in copying natural resources through employing different tools and techniques. Agriculture, animal husbandry, establishment of small tea industries, construction, wage labour, and other economic activities by which they extracted things to the survive these kinds of activities are termed as survival strategies occupied by the Dalit people of the study area.

The traditional occupation of the Dalit people on the basis of caste based division of labour is their conventional survival strategy can be interred pretend as a small scale household base mode of production. This type of production is based on utilizing local raw material and production goods and services are basically for the local people. Through their traditional occupation of manufacturing and repairing shoes, Madals, Mudas, sickle, knife, axe, plough spade are prescribed by the caste system.

Beside this indigenous economic system (Bali System) agriculture, animal husbandry, wage labours were the primary income activities. In the past, all these above sources of income were sufficient for their living because there was no any kinds of threat in their caste based occupation, such as Bali system. Through the Bali system so called high caste landlords and low caste artisan were depended each other. In the present, numerous economic changes have broken down the mutual dependence between artisan and non artisan, construction of roads and establishment of industries resulted significant changes in the village, economy of the study area. Therefore the appearance of Bali system wakened the social and economic situation between artisan and non artisan, changes in social, economic and environmental factors abandoned their traditional occupation and shifted in new kinds of income earning activities such as government and private services and laboring outside the countries.

In the process the economic development recently adverse the survival of the Dalit people in this area that kinds of process has been disrupted the indigenous production system, development of market and industries entrance of Indian iron tools, cheap Chinese goods, and whole development activities limited their own traditional occupation so those whole process are serving just only so called high caste people as a mechanism of domination and exploitation.

5.2 Occupational Pattern Change

Occupational pattern change can be defined as, the adoption of new or other occupation/job, means own occupations are modifying. It deals with the changes in food habits, dressing patterns, marriage, celebrating festivals, norms, values etc. Occupation change is directly related with financial, educational, communicational interaction, and so on sectors.

The caste based occupation was the major means of livelihood for the Dalit population up to few years ago. It has been gradually disappearing over the year primarily due to the three reasons:

I) *they themselves think that their occupation has lower social prestige and demeaning socially,*

II) *Many young educated Dalit boys and girls do not like to follow their fathers' foot-steps, and*

III) *They are finding difficulty in competing with the open market which is supplying various types of similar goods depending upon the needs of the customers.*

5.3 Occupational Distribution of Dalits People in Barbote (10 years ago)

Traditionally, the Dalits of Barbote were employed mostly in Iron and Leather related works, which includes the manufacturing and repairing of the agricultural tools, leather works like Madal, Muda, and Shoes. In returns 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, wood works, wage labour and so on. The following table is enlisted to get the clear picture of the traditional occupation of the respondents of the Barbote VDC, in the past.

Table No. 6: Occupational Distribution of Dalits in the Past

Occupations	Frequency	Percentage
Iron Works	12	41.38
Leather Works	9	31.03
Daily wage Labours	5	17.24
Wood Works	2	6.90
Foreign Works(India)	1	3.45
Total	29	100.00

Source: VDC Profile, 2000

In the table no. 6, clearly shows that 41.38 percent of the respondents reported iron related work as their traditional occupation. In these occupations the involved population used to manufacture and repair agricultural tools. Similarly, 31.03 percent of them reported leather related works. In this occupation involved population used to manufacturing shoes, Madals, and Mudas. Likewise 17.24 percent of them reported daily wage labour works; they involved working in the agricultural field as Hali, Bause, and Rophar. They were produced paddy, maize; vegetables etc. 3.45 percent

stated foreign employment, 6.90 percent wood work respectively as their traditional occupation.

On the basis of the given data, we can conclude that the traditional occupation of the Dalits of Barbote is Iron related work or ‘Blacksmith’ and leather related works are majority of them had reported so.

5.4 Current Occupations of the Respondents

It is found that the trend of occupation mobility is very high the researcher had interviewed with the respondents about the current occupation type. Then the following facts were found. The collected information is listed below:

Table No.7: Current Occupations of the Respondents

Occupation Types	Frequency	Percentage
Tea factory workers	10	34.47
Helper in constructional work	6	20.69
Sub Driver	3	10.34
Truck Diver	2	6.90
Store keeper abroad	2	6.90
Caste Based Occupation	2	6.90
Agriculture	2	6.90
Sepoy (Army)	1	3.45
Government Employed	1	3.45
Total	29	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

The respondents had reported they basically go to abroad as manpower for store keeper, truck Diver, Sepoy and some of them had reported that they love to work as an industrial labor. The respondents had also reported that the work in some of the constructional work in daily paid basis where as some of the respondents like to be involved in government employment. Therefore the collected data demonstrates that most of the Dalits liked to work in foreign land 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 Social Relation and Attachment

5.5.1 Interrelationship of Dalit Community and High Caste People

There are interrelations between Dalit and other caste of Barbote VDC. The so called upper classes like Brahmin, Chhetri, Vaishya needed to be greeted by lower classes like Sarki, kami, or Dalit community, words such as *NAMASTE*, *KAJI*, *HAJUR*, *SARKAR* etc are to be used. In the past Dalit used to greet to high caste people while they encountered in public places and elsewhere. The old aged Dalit people still follow this practice. However young people do not follow these norms. Besides Dalits were treated in humanly, in public places like temple, school etc with Dalit community also while others have to respects him other eat if Dalit touches but not vice-versa.

The interrelation of Dalit with Brahmin, Chhetri is quite sorrowful. Dalit community is treated unfairly in an every occasion, like they are not allowed to sit together with high caste people. Still, water touched by them is not acceptable to so-called high caste people. However, untouchability has decreased in public places such as bus, hotel, etc.

Dalit, moreover, should remain a step back from the door of high caste people. So that we can say, is people like do not have social status in comparison with upper class. This matter has been made more serious by Dalit groups themselves.

Dalit and non-Dalit people had an interrelationship with each other; both of them used satisfy the interest of each other. Most of need materials like shoes, Madal, Muda, axe, sickle, hammer, knife etc were made by Dalit people for Brahmin, Chhetri, Rai, Limbu etc while in return they used to get barley, millet, wheat, corn etc, as a form of Bal (salary). So we can say that, both were associated with each other or they were interdependent. Traditionally, they used patron-client relationship.

5.5.2 Intrarelationship within Dalit's Community

The intrarelationship of Dalit community, we see that they are also divided into different social stratification, having different Gotra and Thar, such as Ghatani, Ghimire, Gajmer, Bishwakarma, Upperkutti, Basel, Ramtel etc, and having occupation like shoe maker, blacksmith, goldsmith etc. It is also found that they maintain relationship according to class order rather than caste order.

Among the Hill Dalits mainly Kami, Damai, Sarki, Gaine, and Badi were may also claim to be higher than one another. Each Dalit group within this broad cultural category is endogamous by nature; they marry within their own group and employ their

own priest to perform rituals. The Hill Dalits Kami (blacksmith) is treated highest in social rank and they hardly accept cooked food and water from other Dalit groups who are lower in hierarchy than them.

Actually, there are Kami were treated highest social rank and where as the group of Sarki is the lowest with Kami in Dalit community. Among the Hill Dalit groups as a whole, the social position of the Kami is the highest where as the groups of Sarki, Gaine, and Badi is the lowest in this hierarchical structure.

5.6 Dalit People and Bali System

The way of exchanging goods, products, items or services to each other which fulfill the necessities of both parties are called Bali system. Its meaning is mutual relation between Dalit and non-Dalit.

The Dalit people were working in the house of non-Dalit (Brahmin, Chhetri, Rai, Limbu and so on). Like, sewing cloths, doing the works of iron, singing and dancing for entertaining them, working as cobblers etc, than they to get goods and other necessary items as their daily wages in return from non-Dalit.

In the passage of time, establishment of democracy, development of education, allocation of working hour from 10 to 4 o'clock, abolishment of untouchability, getting work as per skill of an individual, free in choosing occupation etc are the factors changed in existing system of Bali. Now, the Bali system is losing its ground in the society.

However the Bali system and their traditional caste based occupations were quite functionable, sustainable in the past but they are dismissing day by day the development of market, entrance of factory made goods, import and Chinese & Indian cheap goods are affected their materials is related to traditional occupation in crisis.

5.7 Lack of Raw Materials for Traditional Occupations

Sarki people have been used leather to prepare the shoes, Madals (drums), Muda etc. They used to collect the skin from the dead animals specially buffalos, goats, deerskin etc. In the past, they were freed to collect these things but now-a-days people were careful and beware of diseases. When the animals were dead they do not inform them, they buried the dead animals. So, Sarki were faced many problems and difficulties to traditional occupation.

On the other hand, Kami has been used charcoal to prepare agricultural tools. They used to collect firewood from the jungle (forest). Some years ago, they were free to make charcoal from the jungle. When the concept of the Community Forestry was came into practice then they cannot make charcoal easily, they also faced many problems and difficulties to make charcoal.

5.8 Involvement in Traditional Occupation

The traditional occupations of the respondents are Iron and leather related works. Even though due to the gradual change in the socio-Political scenario, different kinds of movement 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 other new occupations. While in the field work, researcher had observed that, the two were following traditional occupation, researcher noticed that the one is larger family size and who had got reasonable price for his produces are basically found or continuing the traditional arts. And the other is no alternatives of choosing the job because he does not possess skill on other jobs so he had involved in traditional occupation.

Table No. 8: Reasons for Continuing Traditional Occupation

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
Do not have an Idea	25	86.20
Do not like to Response	2	6.90
Good Income	1	3.45
Lack of Alternatives	1	3.45
Total	29	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

In the table no. 8, 86.20 percent of the respondents had reported that they have no any idea for the traditional occupation. Likewise, 6.90 percent of them had do not like to response the questions. Despite the facts 3.45 percent of the respondents had reported that due to the lack of other means for the survival. Similarly, 3.45 percent had reported for good income respectively.

Likewise, the respondents were asked about the knowledge towards their traditional skills. They had reported that the following fact shown on the given table:

Table No. 9: Knowledge of Traditional Occupation

Knowledge about Traditional Skills	Respondents	Percentage
Do not have an Idea	24	82.86
Do not like to Response	3	10.34
Have an Idea	2	6.90
Total	29	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

The table no 9 shows that 82.86 percent of the respondents had reported that they do not know the traditional skills where as 6.90 percent had reported that they knew the skills of their own cast based occupation. Similarly, 10.34 percent of the respondents had not liked response the questions.

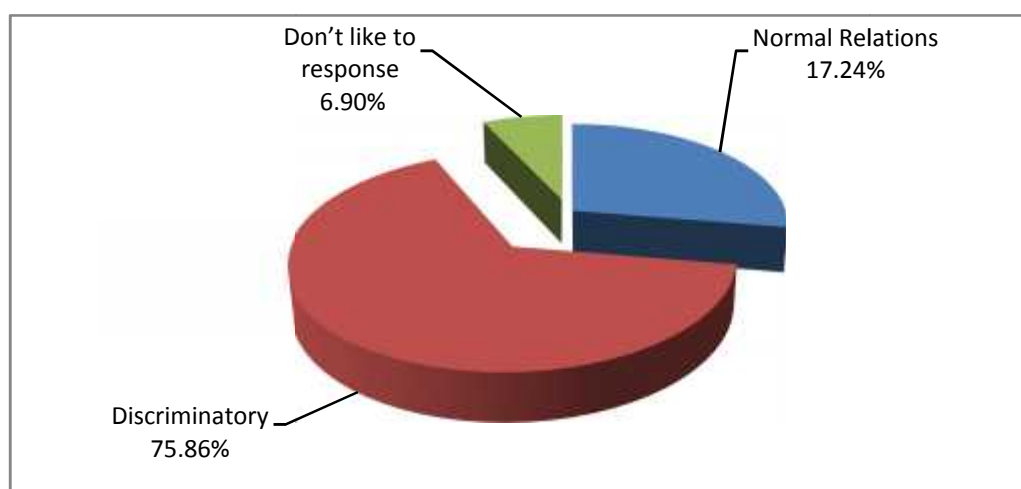
From the above fact too we can assumed that the majority of the people from these communities liked to shift or already had left their traditional occupation they also had reported that in the modern period one should adjust him/herself with modern skill for survival.

5.9 Behavior of Other Caste towards the Respondents

In the Interim Constitution clearly mentioned that, all citizens are equal before law; no discriminations on people will be made on the basis of religion, race, sex, and caste etc. The Nepali laws have declared that caste discrimination is a crime but those who would implement those laws, caste untouchability by themselves. Additionally, deeply ingrained senses of inferiority within Dalits have been difficult to eradicate.

Despite the new change in the society, the so-called lower caste people such as Dalits are still suffering from the caste based discrimination. The fact can be found from the figure.

Figure No.3: Behavior of Other caste Towards the Respondents in the Past



Source: Field Survey, 2010

The figure no. 3 clearly shows that, most of the respondents still experience the caste based discrimination. They also had reported that they were highly discriminated by the women of so-called high caste. Very often the male, due to the mass contact, experience the less discrimination. Whereas, 17.24 percent had mentioned that they experienced the normal behavior. They also reported that society have always normal attitude towards the caste based occupations. The 6.90 percent had not like to response on the given context.

Here, it is clearly marked that, the Dalit's experienced the caste base discrimination, while adopting traditional occupations. When the researcher asked to them; why they did not raise the voice against it? They simply reported that how could they do so, they helped us to sustain our life; we have no other alternatives, so.

In the present context, which had leaving their caste based occupations, the following facts were collected. Those were enlisted in the given table.

Table No. 10: Other's Behavior towards Respondents in Present Occupations

Other's Behavior	Frequency	Percentage
Discriminatory	16	55.17
Normal	10	34.48
Respectful	2	6.90

Not Responded	1	3.45
Total	29	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

Moreover, it was expected that the one who left the caste based occupation, were satisfied with the new occupation. The one, that were employed abroad and the one who were engaged in government services had reported that they do not experience any kind of caste based discrimination. The table no 10 demonstrates that 55.17 percent of the respondents bear the caste discrimination. In the same way, 34.48 percent had reported that the behavioral attitude of other caste towards the new occupation in just normal. Likewise, 6.90 percent of the respondents were reported that they feel the respectful behaviors from the society and 3.45 percent had not liked to response the questions.

Case Ist: Involved in Traditional Occupation

Ram Bahadur Gajmer(Kami) is one among those who had adopted the traditional occupation as the main livelihood. He is 59 years old, and a permanent resident of Barbote-2 Bhorleni. He has 5 sons out of which 2 of those sons were employed in the Tea factory workers and rests were waged labors. He had reported that he is satisfied with the works adopted by him because he can meet the family requirement of two; his wife and a son rest were living in their own home. Now-a-days Bali system is totally collapsed and we got wages or reasonable price for our products.

He had also 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 tools repairer, Tallo Jati, Achhut, Kami and other insulated words. He also said that he has no alternatives of choosing of the job because he does not possess skills 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 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. So that the collected facts clearly show that will the special incentives and reservations from the state they would like to give to the traditional occupation.

Case 2nd:- Involved in Traditional Occupation

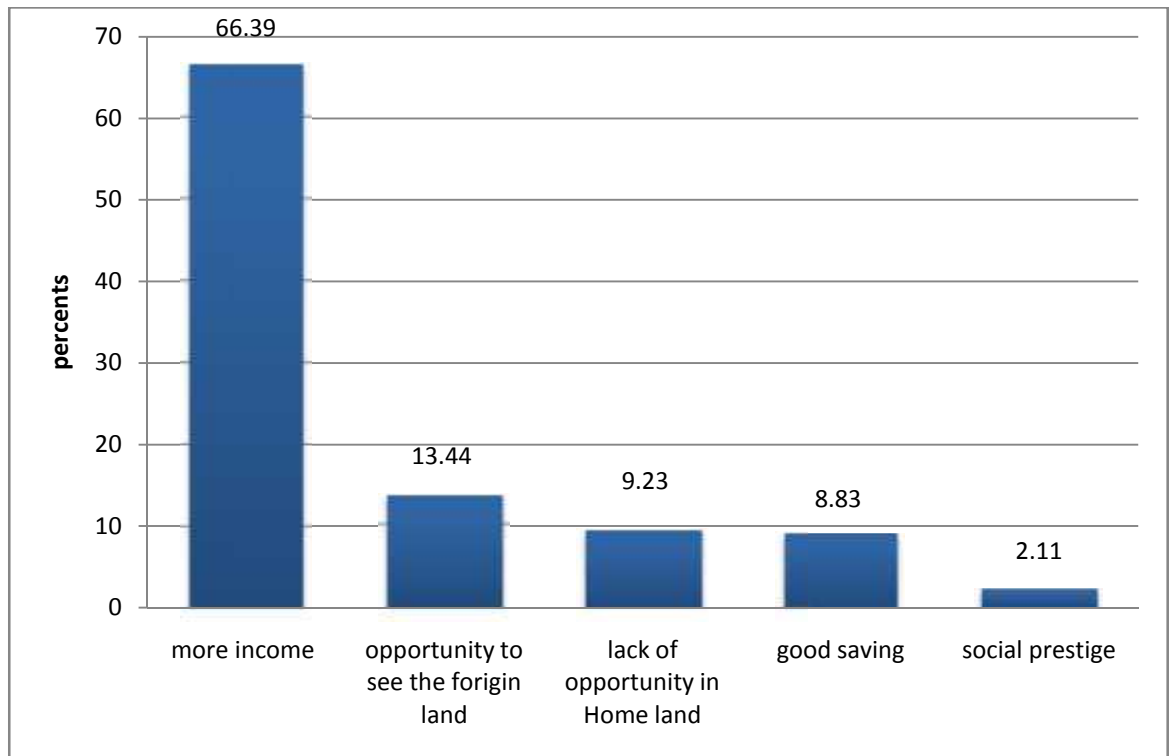
Devi Bahadur Ramtel (Sarki) is 47 years old, who had adopted the traditional occupation as the main livelihood. He is a permanent resident of Barbote-6, Katunje of Ilam district. He has three children; two are daughter and a son. He had reported that he is not satisfied with the caste base occupation because he cannot fulfillment of the basic needs of the family. But he has no alternatives of choosing the job because he does not possess skill on other job. Seasonally he made Madals (drums) and earn little amount of money and some Bali. He had also reported that he made Mudas and Shoes and sell in the local market. But he does not get good price so he had in measurable condition.

According to him, he had begged little loan from Shahu/Mahajan. So his loan is increasing and that's interest is high percent. Due to him have poor and poor day by day. He also said that the raw materials were shortage to day by day and his life has been painful. Globalization, modernization, commercialization and industrial goods replace the traditional goods so the traditional occupation was rapidly disappearing. He further says that in the name of Dalits his social prestige has lower than others, he wants to be equal for all. The government has given facility and priority to our occupation and arts also.

5.10 Preferred Occupation and the Causes

In this study had shown that few respondents were involved in traditional occupation. The young generations do not like to follows or to learn the traditional skills. The caste is more found to the literate people who do not like to glue in the old traditional mode of production. That is why; they were more often likely to be mobile form their traditional occupations. When the researcher had interviewed to the respondents, the following facts were found for the preference of new occupation. That has been shown in the figure:

Figure No. 4: Causes for the Preference of New Occupation



Source: Field Survey, 2010

The figure no. 4 clearly shows that 66.39 percent of the respondents prefer new occupation. They stated that for the higher earnings of the income. For which they are forced to go abroad and to work there. When the researcher asked to them, why had you people chosen the foreign employment? 9.23 percent of the respondents had marked that they had no job opportunities in the native homeland. Similarly, 13.44 percent of the respondents had reported that they can get an opportunity to see the foreign land. The few numbers of respondents had reported that they have social prestige. Most of the respondents had said that there is no social prestige.

The traditional caste based occupation is widely recognized facts that are in the declining trend. The younger generations slowly or rapidly shift to new occupations.

5.11 Factors for Adopting New Occupation

The reported fact shows that the main traditional occupation of the Dalits of Barbote VDC subsidiary occupation is iron, leather, and wage related work. Despite these facts, 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 other employments or the job helps them to earn more. Beside 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 find out by the researcher which was clearly shown through the different sub titles:

5.11.1 Changing View of Young Dalit People

The young people are copying the global patterns of living and the occupations which is also responsible for the disappearance of traditional occupation, this age group belonging to active population of Dalit community are found to be doing new and reputed works such joining army, police, administration, foreign works, etc so that they live better life, send their children to the school and compete with non-Dalit. They want to working in daily wages and there are not be a treating to upper caste people and they are conscious of the Human Right.

The majority of youth Dalit people stated that the present situation of the way of working is satisfactory comparing to the past. After evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of occupation of the past and present even old Dalit people supported the current status. Mostly, they were satisfied with give and take process. Not only this much, they were proud to join other works and occupations like army, police, administration with government reservation quota etc, that ultimately helped to uplift their economic and social status. Occupation pattern change of Dalit people has helped them to make some certain equality with other racial groups.

5.11.2 Socio- Economic Factors

As Dalits group were socially devalued people; their works not counted as productive by the society. The most important base is that they cannot meet their family requirement by simple adopting the traditional mode of production as base for their living 66.39 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 higher. So they shifted for better earning.

5.11.3 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 groups like Kami, Damai, Sarki 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.

They 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.

5.11.4 World View as a Cause

The respondents of the study site has 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 of goods were unable to compete with the modern industrial products goods. That is why; this group of people becomes compelled to shift to new occupation. They even says that is not their wish rather it is their compulsion or the need of time 9.23 percent of the respondents reported that they lack opportunities in the native land or were unable to complete with the mechanized world.

5.11.5 Livelihood Factor as a Cause

It became the general trend that one which returned from abroad and involved in driving (non caste base occupation) have higher standard of living and way of life. That has even tempted the people to move to abroad for foreign employment. Among them 8.83 percent of the total respondents had reported that they can make the better saving from the foreign employment or non cast based occupation. The respondents had stated that the foreign employed or non cast based people used to state much about the comfort and the luxury life in the foreign country or land. So, it is one of the main factors for the shift in the occupation.

5.11.6 Commercialization

Due to the traditionalism the cast based occupation is getting low popularity among the Dalits. The few 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 other non caste based occupation. 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 it the caste base occupation. The price of everything 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 believed 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 of knowledge and skills towards their traditional occupation. This may be because the lack of interest towards it.

The miserable fact find out the 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 3rd: Involved in Non-caste Base Occupation

Dak Bahadur Ghatani is 31 years old. His permanent address is Barbote-2 Bhorleni, Ilam District. He has passed intermediate (I.A.) from the Mahendra Ratna Multiple Campus Ilam. He has working in District post office of Ilam as KHARIDAAR. He was appointed in the office in the year of 2007. He states that he had got an opportunity to earn handsome salary, due to which his social status has become higher 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 (engaged) 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 than those of young life span in the village. Due to the nature of his work he frequently in being posted to different location. He feels normal and happy because he won't experience any kind of discrimination in the name of 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. Ghatani, 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 outgoing Dalits people must be stopped with special government incentives. Only then the development of the nation will possible.

Finding revealed by the case studies (Case I, II, and III)

The reasons for continuing traditional occupation (*Case I and II*) were as follows:

- ❖ Compulsion to feed the family member,
- ❖ Prefer to continue ahead the same job if the government helps to mechanized the traditional works,
- ❖ Poverty, and
- ❖ No alternatives of choosing of the other jobs because the lack of skills.

The reasons for the preference of new occupation (*Case III*) were as follows:

- ❖ Higher social status and secure future & handsome salary,
- ❖ Low income of the parents,
- ❖ Lack of market facilities for the traditional goods,
- ❖ Caste base discrimination as customary practices, and
- ❖ Hard and rough with traditionalism in the caste base occupation.

FGD with Dalits and Their Crucial Problems

“Some had stated that caste base discrimination must be legally abolished. That makes the Dalits to go out from the society.”

“The import of goods from the industrial country, make the Dalits unable to compete with them and are compelled to shift to the other occupations.”

“Traditional occupations must be modernized for the better and higher earning, otherwise the traditional occupations will disappear.”

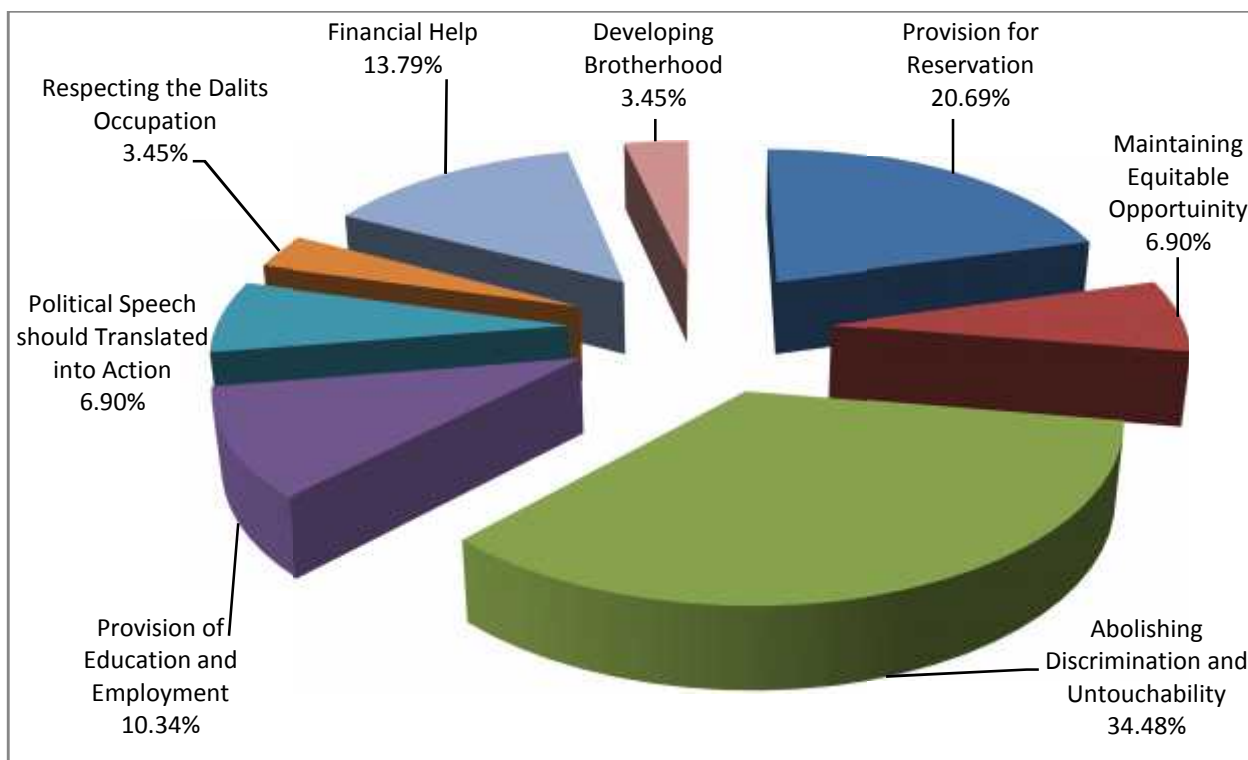
5.12 Expectations of Dalits

5.12.1 *Expectation of Dalits from the Society*

The Interim Constitution has declared that no citizen of the country shall be discriminated against on the basis of caste. 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/army force, administration, Hindu religious leaders, political leaders and their workers, local representatives and people with Brahmanistic thinking have been actively keeping alive the tradition of caste discrimination. Mr. Padam Singh Bishwakarma, Dalit leader states that *“There should not be any confusion in defining Dalits. It is straightforward that Dalits are those who are religiously discarded, politically suppressed, socially oppressed, economically exploited, and educationally deprived. The movement of development should be from bottom for economic upliftment and from top for abolishing untouchability against Dalits.”*

The respondents had reported that, they have great deal with expectations from the society, which is summarized through the given figure:

Figure No. 5: Society’s Role for Uplifting the Dalits



Source: Field Survey, 2010

The collected facts clearly resemble the real image of the social status of the study area. The 34.48 percent of the respondents 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. Likewise, 20.69 percent of the respondents had reported that the provision for reservation of any jobs. Similarly, 13.79 percent had expressed that the financial support had uplift their social status. Such as, 10.34 percent of them had reported that there should have equal provision of education and employment to those groups as like other caste. Same way, some of the respondents had reported that maintaining equitable opportunity, political speech should translated into action, respected the caste base occupation and developing brotherhood relationship among each other for the communal progress and mutual co-operation for the national integrity.

5.12.2 Expectation of Dalits from the State

Mr. Chakraman Bishwakarma, senior Dalit leader states that “*Dalits problem is not a social problem, thus it should not be taken as social and should be taken as political problem.*”

The respondents had reported that they have great deals of expectation from the state, concerning their status and position in the society as well as to the gradual

declining of the traditional occupations. The reported expectation can be summarized through the given table.

Table No. 11: Role of the State for Uplifting the Dalits

Roles of the State	Frequency	Percentage
Abolishing Discrimination and Untouchability	10	34.48
Provision for Reservation	6	20.69
Providing the Financial Help	4	13.79
Provision of Education and Employment	3	10.34
Translating Speech into Action	2	6.90
Equal Opportunity	2	6.90
Safeguarding the Right and Duties	1	3.45
Avoiding Unnecessary Politics in the Name of Dalits	1	3.45
Total	29	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

The respondents had reported that serious constrains for the Dalits empowerment are the prevailing caste base discrimination. That is reported by 34.48 percent. They told the researcher that they were discriminated by the so-called 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.

In the context to the education, 10.34 percent had reported that among the Dalits, the low level of literacy rate and sharply declining education attainment in higher level. Such as, 20.69 percent of the respondent's states that the government needs to adopt the policy of reservation to uplift the status of Dalits. For the similar case Mr. Padam Lal Bishwakarma, the former 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."

Moreover, 13.79 percent wanted that the government to help with financial supports. The 6.90 percent blamed 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 into an action. It only remains in the speeches. Also, the sound strong and serious political commitment is very essential even today on the part of government for the upliftment of Dalits.

At last, there is a need of campaign against untouchability practices and it must carry out through a partnership between Dalits and non-Dalits. A collective forum of Dalits and non-Dalits against untouchability and discrimination should be formed. They must develop their bargaining powers in terms of demanding what they have been promised by the concerned agencies and the government.

CHAPTER-SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Summary of Findings

This study has centrally focused on the changing occupational pattern change among the Dalits of Barbote VDC, in Ilam district. This study has the following specific objectives.

-) To describe the features for occupational change in Dalits people of Barbote VDC of Ilam District,
-) To explore the preferred occupations and their causes

Basically, this is an academic study but it has yield important information which can be very fruitful in formulating various policies regarding the occupational pattern change of Dalits. The study has mainly focused on the cause and factors laid behind the shift in occupation. The Dalits traditional occupations are important economic activity. This study is primarily the two case studies. 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 be given due focused. Similarly, the expectation of the Dalits from the society and the state also been focused. During this study, the literatures on work, occupation, and Dalits studies has been reviewed along with Dalit studies in Nepal. Likewise, literature on Dalits occupations in Nepal and the causes for change also have been reviewed. Since this group is reflecting more shift from traditional occupations. Very few are found of involved in their traditional occupation. So, the households of the Dalits build in ward number 2 and 6 of Barbote 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 design. The household built in the ward number 2 and 6 of this VDC has taken as universe and had made the census study. So, the total population frame was 29 households. For the purpose of the study observation, interview schedules, focus group discussion and the three case studies were adopted, to collect qualitative and quantitative data. Thus, the data collected for the 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. Case studies and focus group discussion which were primary unstructured one also conducted. Observations, FGD, and case study have yielded qualitative data, while interview schedule has both yield types of data. The FGD participants were the representative of Dalits to them and the personal that have long experience of the work has been provided by Dalits to them and learned man. The collected data have been analyzed by using computer program, while qualitative data have been arranged manually and analyzed descriptively. Results of quantitative data analysis have been shown by using various tables, and figures.

As Dalit people are major occupations caste bears very important place in the society, they perform work to the upper caste people and manufacturing and repairing of the agricultural tools, cobblers etc and well. They work as Hali, Rophar, 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 Dalits were leaving their traditional occupation and adopting new jobs. 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. The major findings are listed below:

- ❖ The major source of livelihood among the Kami, and Sarki people in Barbote VDC is wage labour followed by Tea factory worker, and driver.
- ❖ Very few (6.90 percent) of the respondents in the study site are found of following traditional occupation.
- ❖ The young generation of this group likes to go abroad or foreign land for freedom and for better earning.

- ❖ 66.39 percent of the respondents wanted their coming generation to go to foreign land for better earning as well as to raise the social status.
- ❖ It has been found that society is not only cause of decreasing the importance of traditional occupation of Dalits, but also the policies of the government is equal due responsible for the disappearance of traditional arts and skills.
- ❖ 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 Dalits in traditional occupation.
- ❖ The study areas still experience the caste base discrimination. The data reported that 55.17 percent of the respondents that the discriminate in the society is found in the different ways.
- ❖ Most of the respondents were satisfied by the present on the current new adopted occupation. Because they experience less problem of caste base discrimination.
- ❖ 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 study area.
- ❖ 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 Dalit's have to struggle a lot for its existence and it lack of market.
- ❖ From the traditional occupation they earn very less and unable to sustain their family. So, they are compelled to seek new jobs.
- ❖ Even the Dalits feels traditional occupation as troublesome and they are shifting to new occupation.

6.2 Conclusions

The causal factors that made Dalits were leave their traditional occupation needed to watch into various structural, cultural factors as well as national & global factors. 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 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 to complete food security in the sense of access to the nutritious food and their living standard is also very low. The 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 & hard work, low income and how social prestige had forced the Dalits to seek a new means of livelihood. The non-caste base occupation helps them to be free from the caste base discrimination and the case of low earning. New adopted occupation has been an important economic option of maintain sustenance which has to raise the standard of living of the respondent as well as it contributes to fulfill immediate needs and family requirements. Adoption of a new occupation has contributed to increase the access to other livelihood assets. In this respect, the respondent 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 Dalits of the present in the Barbote VDC of Ilam district.

The relationship of the occupational pattern change is also examined with reference to several aspects of opportunity structure 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 clear that some important policies for the modernization of Dalits people's skill and traditional occupations are very essential. Increasing mass poverty can only be eliminated only when the society is free from '*Brahaminism*'. 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.

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ANNEX I

Questionnaire Schedule

Occupational Pattern Change of Dalit People: A Study on Barbote VDC of Ilam District

Study Area: Barbote VDC, Ward no. 2, Bhorleni & 6, Katunje.

(A) Family Details:

S.N.	Name	The relation with head of the family	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation

1. How much land do you have in your name?

a) 1 Ropani (b) 2 ropani (c) 3 Ropani (d) more than 3 Ropani (e) no Land

2. When you been living in this village?

a) Since 10 year b) since 30 year c) before 30 years ago

3. If you have migrated in which place have you from?

.....

.....

4. Whether your family members have migrated or not?

.....

.....

B) Questions based on Land and Property

1. How many.....

	Khet (in Ropani)	Bari (in Ropani)	Pakho (in Ropani)	Total (in Ropani)

2. You have owned others land or not?

If so give details.....

.....

3. You can tell me the land that you have owned?

(a) Own (b) Thekka (c) Andhia (d) Rent

4. The details of your domestic animals that you have?

Domestic Animals	Number of local	Hybrid	Total
Swans			
Hens			
Buffalos			

Pigs			
Goats			
Cows			

C. Details about traditional occupations

1. Do you work on furnace (Aaran)?
 - a) Yes (b) No

2. How many Bistas were there before 10 years ago?
 - a) 10-20 houses (b) 15-30 houses (c) 30 above

3. Where do Bistas live?
 - a) In the local area (b) outside the local area

4. Which caste do Bistas follows?
 - a) Brahaman (b) Chhetri (c) Newar (d) Rai/ Limbu

5. If the number of Bistas has been decreased now than before why?
 - a) Decreasing of farming Bistas (b) less intention towards this occupation
 - (c) Other.....

D. The details of the occupation change

1. Who determined your Bali in the past?
 - (a) Own (b) Mukhiya (C) Panchayat (d) Bistas (e) compromise

2. What is the determined factor of the announcing Bali?

.....

3. When do you get Bali?
 - a) 1 years (b) 6 months (c) 3 months

4. Does the given Bali fulfill your hand to mouth problem of the whole year?
 - a) Yes (b) No

5. If the given Bali does not fulfill your problems which other sources do you search?
 - a) Business (b) Farming (c) Labour (d) Other.....

6. What occupations do you follow at Present?
 - a) Government jobs (b) driver (c) foreign employment (d) other.....

7. Why did you leave the former occupation?
 - a) Lack of raw materials (b) no good incomes (c) no availability of works

8. Besides Bali, what do you get from the Bistas?
 - a) Vegetables (b) clothes (c) suffering from occasions

9. What is the cause behind leaving the Bali Ghare Pratha?
 - a) Less Bali (b) less no. of Bistas (c) not fulfilling our demands

10. In which profession is you satisfied the former or the current?
 - (a) Reason of satisfaction.....
 - (b) Reasons of dissatisfaction.....

11. If your traditional occupation is made advanced, you can continue this?

.....

12. Do you want your new generation to continue this occupation?

a) Yes, I want (b) No, I don't want (c) cannot be said (d) others.....