

CHAPTER- ONE

Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Kathmandu Valley (Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, and Lalitpur) is recognized as an ancient home and cultural center of the *Newar* civilization. The People of Nepal valley came to be known as the '*Newars*' during the fifteen century in the reign of Pratap Malla of Kathamandu (Bista, 2001:40). They were skilled agriculturists and traders with their own civilization, which typically differed from the *Prabate* (hill) *Khas* people. The history of non *Newars* such as Brahmin' and Damai' and their migration seems quite short as that they settled outside the Valley. They were known as *Prabate* (hill) *Khas* and are also recognized as hill people even today. It is not difficult to say that non *Newars* such as Brahmin, Chhetri, and other artisans' castes like Damai, Kamai, and Sarki have migrated from outside the valley. The valley, being a primarily *Newar* city for quite a long time, reveals itself some important facts to know the pattern of migration in the past which is crucial to understand the widespread hill culture in the valley today if one traces out the settlement history of non-*Newars*. It is interesting to find out the migrating history from their respected forefather's origins. The settlement history of Brahmin and Damai in Balkot helps discover some of the fact about the origins of the hill-Hindu-culture and the other non- *Newar* castes in Kathamandu Valley.

In the caste hierarchy, the people carrying out a traditional occupation were assigned a definite caste name (Bhuretel and Chhetri 2006:16). Caste is taken as one of the prime social indicators in Hindu societies till now. Anthropologists generally accept that castes are very commonly associated with traditional occupation (Béteille 1965; Caplan 1975; Bista 2001; Gellner and Quigley 1995). Caste based occupational practices are relatively more flexible but not insignificant today. It has not only confined into the economic value rather it has cultural value too. Theoretically, there are no caste-based discriminatory practices but praxis seems different. Brahmins are acknowledged by their occupation as priest and Damais are assigned by their occupation as tailor. Occupation is one of the strong factors to determine specific cultural rituals and practices such as birth, initiation,

marriage, death, and other festivals as the given cultural roles should be fulfilled. Occupation (was) is the caste identity of Hindu Society. Who is to be priest and who is to be tailor, who is to be potter, who is to be cobbler or smith is a cultural confinement in Hindu social order/system.

The Balkot Village Development Committee (VDC) seems rapidly urbanized village of Bhaktapur district (one of the three ancient cities of the valley). In this area, the settlement pattern of Brahmin and Damai has been relatively dense. However, this place was a *Newars* communal agricultural land in the past (Dawadi 1996:12). Therefore, Brahmin and Damai are new settlers. They are known by their traditional allocation of occupations such as priest (Brahmin) and tailor (Damai). Most of the people in the new generations have been adopting new occupations other than the traditional caste-based occupations such as priestly-services (*Purohit*), tailoring, etc. However, some new generations of the Brahmins and Damai have been continuing their caste-based occupation till date.

It is generally considered that Hindu caste civilization is supposed to have a history of over three thousand years. Caste-based occupational practice was strictly regulated since the *Manu* regime who is known as the founder of orthodox Hindu religion. The *Prabate* (hill) caste-based Hindu civilization has flourished on the basis of *Manu's* (well-known as *the orientation of Manuan theory*) philosophy with specific occupation, i.e., Brahmin as priest and Damai as tailor and these cultural practices are being weakened in recent times but have not disappeared completely. A number of Brahmins have been adopting the priestly services and as equally true the same numbers of Damais have been continuing their traditional caste-based occupation. The Brahmin priest is essential to perform all the rituals and so the Damai performs their occupational practices. Both are caste-based occupation in Hindu *Prabate* (hill) culture among them priestly services is taken as a spiritual domain whereas tailoring is taken as a secular domain. In the recent days it is found that the new generation seems unwilling to adopt the traditional caste-based occupational practices (ascribed), as they are interested in achieved-based occupations that create new form of social relations. The prevailing social relations and interrelations (both in micro and macro social institutions) are changed and some new are created.

Every individual has own status in the occupational framework of the community. Thus the different castes within a single community participate in non-monetary reciprocal services known as the '*jajmani system*'. '*Jajman*' is a term with origins in the earliest period of Vedic religion (Subedi 2008). Allocation of caste-based occupation seems predominately in the rural areas of Hindu societies in Nepal and India. In Hindu caste society, there tends to be an already fixed set of relation among people on the basis of caste structure. Perhaps, to one, it is very important question to search a changing occupational role and its results on the social relations over time.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Caste is taken as a prominent social indicator in caste-based society. In Nepali *Prabate* (hill) *Khas* society; priest should be Brahmin male who has to be cultured or 'indoctrinated' in Sanskrit religious literature and he should follow prescribed cultural rules and regulations. It is culturally assumed that Priest has a cosmological power and he is related to the purity and impurity, order and disorder in the spiritual world. Priest is necessary to the purification the life rituals such as birth, initiation, marriage, death, and so on. The prime duty of the priest is to make pure from the pollution. Priest role primarily is to remove the inauspiciousness, evil, and sin of their patrons. Priest is spiritual non-secular occupation whereas tailoring is secular or non-spiritual occupation, which is directly associated with the materialistic world and it is equally important in society.

Caste is normally associated with traditional occupation which is designed to specific caste and that may or may not be the prime sources of livelihood rather it is a source of social identity in Hindu society. The prime research problem is related here to what factor makes them to continue their occupation and what factors are constraints to continue to it and what is the relation between their traditional occupational practices and their settlement history in specific time and place. Moreover, question remains unanswered that how do a changing caste-based occupation create, recreate, and construct the new social relations.

Brahmin and Damai are relatively the new settlers in Balkot. They are considered as migrated people and it is interesting to trace-out their settlement history. And they are recognized priests and tailors and they are equally necessary to run the society. But now their traditional occupations are weakened and new generations are adopting new occupations. Therefore, some research problems are raised here as:

-) Being a *Newar* district, how long is the Brahmin and Damai settlement history in Balkot and what are the relations between caste-based traditional occupation practices and migration and settlement history?
-) What makes caste-based occupation to continue or discontinue and adopt a (new) occupation?
-) What are the relations between their occupational practice and social relation?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the research is to study the Brahmin and Damai in Balkot, the migration and settlement history, changing pattern of caste-based occupational practices and its consequences upon their social interactions and relations. The following are specific objectives:

- 1.3.1. To find out the general migration and settlement history of Brahmin and Damai in Balkot;
- 1.3.2. To explain the generational shift in caste-based occupational practices among Brahmin and Damai; and
- 1.3.3. To study the relationships between changing occupational practice and social relations

1.4. Rationale of the Study

The study aims to understand the undergoing changing nature of occupational practices of specific castes that are assumed to be long cultural practices of hill Hindu culture. This

study tries to show the relation between traditional occupations and their roles to their settlement history. Brahmin conventionally associated with the priestly services and Damai conventionally associated with the tailoring. Priestly services is typically connected with pure spiritually world whereas tailoring is linked with the secular world or materialistic services. Both are important cultural domains of the society and it can be a worth task to know how do they think and involve in their conventional caste roles in the changing socio-economic context.

1.5. Organization of the Study

This study has been divided into the eight chapters. The first chapter is the preliminary introduction that deals with background of the study, statement of the problem, objective of the study, and rationale of the study. The second chapter deals with review of literature. Chapter three is deals with the methodology of the research which includes study area and rationale for the selection, research design, universe and sampling, nature and sources of data, data collection techniques (interview schedule, observation key informants interview), operational definition, data processing and analysis and limitation of the study. Chapter four deals with people under the study; Chapter five concerns migration and settlement history of Brahmin and Damai, Chapter-six about Brahmin and Damai: context of caste-based occupation, Chapter seven deals with changing occupation and social relations and Chapter eight about a conclusion

CHAPTER-TWO

Review of the Literature

2.1. Theoretical Review (Caste as an Occupation)

Scholars who have written about caste related practices tend to accept that castes are very commonly associated with traditional occupations (Béteille 1965; Bennett 2002; Caplan 1975; Bista 2001; Gellner and Quigley 1995; F rer-Haimendorf 1966; Regmi 1999; Parish 1997; Chhetri 1999; Hutton cited in Leach 1960; Shankerrao 2005; Subedi: 1995; Toffin1995). One of the characteristics, which is said to define a system of castes, is the organic inter-dependent nature of their relations, inasmuch as each group monopolizes a specific occupation (Caplan 1975). Castes are hierarchically ranked on a purity and pollution scale according to their traditional occupation (Quigel 1993). Caste based occupation practice is one of the unique features of Hindu caste system. The orthodox high caste Nepalese attitude is (generally) that untouchables are regarded just as a service caste. The Kami (blacksmith) exist to make metal work, the Damai (tailors) live to sew clothes, the Sarki's (leather worker) main task is to make shoes, and the only reason for the Badi (traditionally a group of singers and dancers but now their women are taken to prostitution (to earn a living) is to provide sex (Subedi 1995). The caste is a closed group whose members are severely restricted in their choice of occupation and degree of social participation. Historically, the caste system classified people by their occupation and status. A wide range of disciplines has covered the caste system in Nepal and they strongly argued occupation as one of the notable characteristics. Among them anthropology is foremost (Bista 2001; Caplan 1972; Gellner and Quigley 1995; F rer-Haimendorf,1966; Regmi 1999; Parish 1997; Pradhan 1995; Subedi 1995; Toffin1995), and others disciplines -Sociology (Bhatachan 2002; Chhetri 1999; Luitel 2003), Political Science (Chauhan1989), Geographer (Gurung 2004), Social activist and writers (Aahuti 2004, Yakharai 1996) and others prominent social scientists (Macdonald 1975; Shrama 1977; H fer 1979). After a close reading of the available literature, one can reach a

conclusion that theoretically caste practices foster a social system where people are ranked into social stratification with the specific traditional allocation of occupation.

The Hindu civilization has developed the *Varna (caste) - shram (occupation or labor)* philosophy. We can see that each Varna has a conventional occupation that had taken societal duties in the past. According to the classical religious texts '*Rig Veda*' (around 1000 B.C) which is taken as the foundation of Hinduism, the society is divided into four ranked categories called Varnas (board categorization of caste). Each Varna has its own rights (power) and duties or occupation (Subedhi 2008).

The Brahmana (Nepali Brahman or Bahun), born from the highest part of the Purusa (Brahma), his mouth, possessed godly power (Brahmana): he was to teach the Vedas, perform sacrifices to the Kshatriya and Vaisya, and accept gift from them in exchange. The Kshatriya, born from the arms of Purusa, possessed royal power (Kshatry): he was to fight enemies, give gift and food to Brahmana and protect the Vaishya. In exchange, he received a share in the living of sacrifice from the Brahmana and wealth from the Vaishya. The Vaishya, born from the thighs of the Purusa, possessed productive power. He was to produce wealth for Brahmana and Kshatriya through agriculture, commerce, and animal herding, and was to give a share of it as taxes to the Kshatriya in exchange for protection (Marriott and Inden, 1985: 350). The origin of Sudra, from the feet of Purusa, followed a code enjoining him to serve the Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaisya in exchange for maintenance. The first two categories were considered (and still are in many places) 'twice born' because they go through an initiation ceremony and are allowed studying the sacred texts. The Sudras are supposed to be the servants to the twice-born Varnas (Milner 1994: 46 cited in Subedhi 2008).

H fer (2004) writes that the discrepancy between the traditional *Varna(caste) - shram(occupation or labor)* model and the hierarchy of the *Muluki Ain* becomes clearly visible. Apart from the privileged functions of the Brahmins as spiritual teachers and priests, the *Muluki Ain* does not make the pursuit of a handicraft, trade or agriculture dependent on one's caste affiliation. Quoting *Muluki Ain*, H fer (2004: 92), for example, writes, "Occupation 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

brick-kilns, to pursue the potter's trade, to prepare leather for the madal or drums and to pursue all other works as an occupation, to work in commerce, thus earning their living; nobody is deprived of his caste status". This passage is all the more remarkable as here some occupations are enumerated which are pursued by impure castes, such as leather work, tailoring and trade of blacksmith (H fer 1979). There is no restriction on occupational co-operational in agriculture and commerce. At harvest and planting time higher *jat/jatis* work side by side with 'untouchable' labourers, and persons of any *jat* avail themselves of the services of 'untouchable' like Kami, Damai, and Sarki (F rer-Haimendor 1966: 22).

2.2. Caste system in Nepal: The Role of Power

Social scientists have written about caste system in Nepal (Aahuti 2004; Bhatachan 2002; Bista 2001; Caplan 1972; Chhetri 1999; Chauhan 1989; Gurung 2004; Luitel 2003; Parish 1997; Macdonald 1975; Shrama 1977; Yakharai 1996). They tried to understand the Nepali caste system their own conjectural standpoints. However, we reach logical conclusion to read their works that caste system of Nepal is the product of power relation and it legitimized State. In sum, it is Hindu state protected system.

A caste system is a social system where people are ranked into groups based on heredity within rigid systems of social stratification. The caste is a closed group whose members are severely restricted in their choice of occupation and degree of social participation. Nurtured by the Hindu kings over the centuries, caste civilization flourished in the Kathamandu (Parish 1997:25) Caste system in Nepal is not a home ground product. According to the R.S. Chauhan 'it is generally believed that up to the eighth century, there was no regular caste structure in the predominately Buddhist society of the valley (1989:53).' Though Nepal is considered to have long been Hindu, its native Hinduism has not included a belief in caste principals, which remain a foreign importation with little popular support (Bista 2001:29; Aahuti 2004: 484). Caste system was prevalent in India, where it was the product of its peculiar conditions. Howsoever repugnant the system was, it had some sanction in Indian mythology and social practices which has emerged during the long period of history. Wars of conquest that in hierarchical grouping

of people, and religions and philosophical sanctions, had contributed a great deal in the proliferation of caste system in India (Chauhan 1989:52). Caste concepts only entered Nepal for the first time in the beginning of the Licchavi era, in the form of Vanishnavism, and when it did arrive it had to adapt itself not only to Shamanism and Shaivism, but also to Buddhism (Aahuti 2004:48; Bista 2001:35; Gurung 2004: 423).

It is obviously difficult to draw the exact onset of the caste system in Nepal. However, it is generally considered that Licchavis were the first to introduce caste principle in Nepal (Aahuti 2004:483). However, the origin of Caste system in Nepal can be pinpointed more accurately from the supremacy of King Jayasthiti Malla in the context of Kathmandu Valley. After the decline of Buddhism in the valley, consolidation of power by the Hindu rulers and the influx of high caste Hindus in this region in the wake of Muslim invasion in northern India, contributed to the formation of orthodox Bramanical society in Nepal (Chauhan 1989:56). During the latter part of the fourteenth century, king Jayasthiti Malla tried to purify religious practices in the kathamandu valley by introducing caste principles and conduct according to the Manusmriti code of the Hindus (Lamsal 1966:38 cited in Bista 2001:39). It was the King Jayasthisiti Malla, the ruler of the valley who invited, Brahman experts from the India, Kanykubji Kritinath Upadhyaya, Raghunath Jha, Ramnath Jha, Maithli Shrinath Bhatta and Mahainath Bhatta and on their advice recast the Nepalese Hindu society into four varns and (Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaish and Sudra) and sixty-four castes as prescribed by the Hindu scriptures in order to develop the formal structure of a vertical hierarchy of castes and occupation (Chauhan 1989:56, Budathoki 2039 cited in Aahuti 2004:484). This was the beginning of the end of an open society and the melting pot concepts (Bista 2007:8; Gurung 2004:432).

Caste in Nepal was not merely a concern of individual private social groups, but a state protected ideology (H fer 1979, cited in Regmi 1999:38). Historically, the caste system classified people by their occupation and status. Each caste had a specific place in the hierarchy of social status (Shah 2006:19, cited in V.K 2008:1). A frame of caste order based on religious principles of Hinduism was provided for by the state at various in the history of the country. The king Jayesthiti Malla of the kathamandu valley (A. D. 1382-1395), and king Ram Shah of Gorkha (A.D. 1606-1636), are best known for their zeal.

But the most important of all of these and one the one which was most pervasive was the Muluki Ain (State Law) developed and promulgated by the first Rana Prime Minister Jung Bhadur, during the reign King Surendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev in A.D.1854 (Bista 2007:16; Gurung 2004:423). Junga Bhadur Rana became the first of the Ranas and secures Rana control over land. He succeeded in introducing the caste system to a much greater degree than the Malla Kings had done just over four hundreds years before him. In the nineteenth century, the Khas Bahuns, now called hill priest (private Bahun), decided to put all Newari-speaking people into a single caste category at the lower level, known in local parlance as Matwali, meaning *Liquor drinkers*. Even Bahuns who had been serving as Newari priests, the Newari Bahuns, who had been serving as Newari priests, the Newari Bahuns, lost ritual status vis-à-vis the pure Bahuns the private Bahuns, of the Khas language speaking community, which was dominated in the valley by that time. The old Newar upper caste, the Shrestha, was reduced to Matwali status. The code 1854 has placed the all the Newars in the Matwali category the complexity of their society, which even more stratified caste groups (Bista 2001:41; Gellner et.al.1995: 12; Sharma 2007:38; Parish 1997:4-5; Gurung 2004:423). The code has accorded place to the all Nepal's tribal and ethnic groups under the name of Matwalis (Sharma 2007:32; Gurung 2004:423; Chauhan 1989:90) The Law code of 1854 attempted to articulate a single caste order for the whole kingdom. The Law code (Muluki Ain 1854) classified caste and ethnic groups into five board categories. All Nepal caste hierarchy of the 1854 Law code as the following which code was kept strictly because they were encouraged by the State (Gellner1995: 13).

Various literatures show that the position of numbers castes is legitimated by citing the invitation or decision of a king. As Greenwold has written, 'there exists among the Newars, alongside the folk model of caste as a ritual system derived from the opposition of purity and impurity, another model which presents caste not as the result of the purity of the priest but of the power of king (Gellner et al 1995:22). Moreover it is very interesting fact is that about the ranking and re-ranking to the castes did not seem any satisfactory rules and regulation and it was depends on the partly Hindu mythology and partly kings moods. Likes, Several cases are well known to Newars of particular families or entire castes being raised in status by kings. As Greenwold notes, it is among

competing castes or families who have not been raised in status, that the memory of the change is jealously guarded. An example Lalitpur is an extended lineage of Rajbhandaries, now accepted as *Chathariya* Shrestha; no shrestha remember their humble, Maharjan origin of the village of way (Chapagaon), but the local Sakyas and Vajracaryas delight in recalling it at every available opportunity. The entire caste of Rajbahak(Putur,Dui) were raised, as discussed by Greenwold, in return from services to Prithi Narayan Shah during his conquest of the kathamandu valley. The case of the Manandhar (Saymi), another of Greenwold's example, is more contentious. In this case the 'fact' that they were once untouchable, or at least 'water unacceptable' is widely known; but the reasons for their being raised vary. Some say jang Bhadur raised them for pulling him out of a well, others that Bir Samsheer did so because he had a Manandhar mistress, yet others that they were raised for services during the war with the Tibet in 1855(ibid). We find very significant message from these kinds of examples in where one caste could be ranked higher or lower position in the caste system

R.S. Chauhan writes Brahmines, Chhetries, and Thakuries, comprising descendents of early immigrants from northern India and members of local Khas community who had succeeded in elevating their caste and social status and who had associated themselves with the rulers of western Nepal where regarded as *Chokha Jat* (pure caste). The communities who were defeated by the the *Chokha Jat* and who were in the habit of eating flesh of buffaloes, pigs, chickens, cow and elephants, and who were given to drinking wine and observed little restrictions on their sexual relationships, were called *Matwalas*. They comprised the Gurungs, Magers, Newars, Bhotes and Lepchas, etc. *Pauni* caste was allotted to those communities and tribes, which were residing in the interior of mountainous jungles. Tribes like Maji, Chepangs, and Dunwar fell in this category. It was believed that if the members touched the water it would become polluted. *Dom* or untouchables were regarded as persons whose mere touch could pollute anything with which they came into contact, whether water or food.

2. 3. Related Studies

There are numbers of ethnographic and general studies on various ethnic groups by the scholars and professionals. However, There are several studies of Brahmin or upper and lower castes in Nepal and their settlement history in valley and their occupational practices.

Some scholars have considered the Brahmin and Damai are *khas*-hill people and they are to be found in different parts of Nepal. Their place of origin has not yet been confirmed. Their settlements are generally located in hill-villages in Nepal and inner Tarai (Raj Praksh 1996; Dawadi 1996). Anthropologists generally agree that settlement history of Brahmin, Damai, and other occupational castes in Kathamandu valley (here refers to Balkot) is not long (Bista, 1996, 2001; F rer-Haimendorf, 1978; Rosser, 1978). Dor Bhadur Bista writes in 'Peoples of Nepal' that Brahman act as (family) priest. Bista classifies the occupational castes; for example, the Kami (blacksmiths) include Sinchokre, Langmote, Lama, Banth, Gharti, Ghimire, Paret and Gadel. The exact origin of these occupational castes is obscure, as is that of their counterparts among *Newars* (1996:5). A majority of the Bahun priests are the decedents of caste Brahmans who came mainly from the plains, though some smaller groups from the Deccan (in India) during the medieval period (Bista, 2001:38). Dawadi writes the core area of Bhaktapur, one of the three ancient cities of valley, today popularly known as *Thimi* and *Balkot*, was untouched till 1800 A.D by other *parbatia* Hindu caste i.e. Brahmins, Chhetri, and other craft specialization castes like Damai, Sarki and Kami (1996: 12).

F rer-Haimendrof (1978) writes that settlement history of Chhetri is older than Brahmin priests and craft specialization caste; Damai, Kami and Sarki in Nepal valley. The number Brahmans (or Bahuns) who maintain themselves mainly by priestly work is small, and many of the Nepalese Brahmans are cultivators living in the villages and in a style hardly distinguishable from that of other cultivators (F rer-Haimendorf 1978: 19). There is the evidence that small numbers of Chhetris lived in the Nepal valley even before the Gorkha conquest, and that some of them even served in the armies of the

Newars kings. But the great influx of Chhetries into the valley occurred only after the establishment of the Thakuri rule.

In the caste hierarchy, the people carrying out a traditional occupation were assigned a definite caste name (Bhuretel and Chhetri 2006:16; Caplan 2006:31; Nepali 1965:146). Research studies show that there is a changing situation of caste-based occupation in Nepal. Chhetri and his colleagues argued that erosion of traditional skills, craft, or certain aspects of culture and social organization might have also occurred while the country moved on with environmental change and development (Chhetri 2006; Bhurtal 2006; Kattel 2006; Pokhrel 2006; Pandey 2006). These studies support that shifting occupational practice (i.e. livelihoods) is the consequence of the changing environmental situation in the given location and external planned intervention, i.e., development. Chhetri (2006) writes about change in people's attitude and/their values towards occupations. For instance, some occupations like fish farming are open to all now. If fishing was considered an 'impure or polluting' job in the past, fish farming is not regarded as such any more. Today, as the Jalaris in Pokhara have revealed, many others including Bahnun and Chhetri elite are into fish farming. Similarly, other traditional caste-based occupations are not controlled only by certain caste/ethnic groups any more. Chhetri (1999) has studied Dalit occupational caste groups in the hills of Nepal. She found that the technological innovation, the changing tastes and competition of fashions among their clients, the occupational caste groups are lagging behind in the use of their traditional skills. She argues that education has a direct influence on the occupational change. Craftsman who can no longer live by their traditional occupations and who have not much land are obliged to look for jobs as agricultures (cited in Chhetri, 1999). Pokhrel (2006) writes that the traditional occupations of Dalits are gradually disappearing from many Nepali villages. Today very few Dalits depend for their livelihood on their traditional crafts skills such as metalworking, cobbling, tanning, tailoring and musing playing. The traditional artisans today look down their occupations, and view them as unsustainable and 'outdated'. This traditional livelihood strategies have, over the years, been replaced by the 'modern' ones. This process seems to have great consequence for both their current social and economic status and their relationships with other castes and ethnic groups.

At the apex of the caste hierarchy are the Upadhaya Brahmins, who alone may serve as hereditary priests (purohit and purohit) for Chhetri families. Services-caste (Damai) family performs its specialized tasks for one or more high-caste patron families in return for a biannual grain payment (Bennett 2002:11). She more writes that a similar hereditary relationship exists between that Chhetri Jajman and their Brahmin purohit (priest). Such family priests are expected to officiate at certain calendrical festivals and at important family ceremonies such as weddings, naming ceremonies, funerals, and like. In return for his rituals expertise and his ability to read the sacred Sanskrit texts, the purohit is regularly given a payment during the Dasai festival. He also receives a small gift of money, daksina, and uncooked or ritually pure foods whenever he presides at a ceremony. Even though *daksina* and other occasional religious gifts, *dan*, given to Brahmins are meant to acknowledge their higher ritual status. Some Brahmins-especially if they are wealthy or highly educated -feel that it is some how demeaning to accept them (Bennet 2002:15)

In 1970s, Caplan (2006) has researched about the priest and cobblers in western part of the Nepal named in Durai village. She writes about *Jajmani*-type relationships between the occupational caste groups. All the tailors in Durai are engaged in making clothes, and all have permanent *Jajmani* relationships with both high caste and other untouchable households. The Brahmins earn their living partly by caste specific work. All the male adults of this caste work as family priests and their clients are scattered over a very wide area. Most Brahmins have large numbers of client households, which is not surprising, considering the ratio of Brahmins to other clean castes in Belaspur district. Some Brahmins have as many as sixty client households, others as few as ten; the average is around twenty-five. She writes in her book that priest are essential at most life-cycle ceremonies and on numerous other occasions, such as the building of new houses and calendrical rites and festivals. They receive cash and grain and other goods at all the rituals they perform. The average annual cash income from priestly services is around 3,000 rupees, but priests with many clients, or especially rich ones, would earn more. Priests inherit clients from their fathers, and they can also seek them out. In exceptional cases, a client may change his priest. Gopal Singh Nepali writes in his book named *The Newars* (1965) caste is based on occupational grouping in Newar society. Formerly, each

caste was associated with certain types of hereditary function-some related religious events and others to the community.

Sociologist and Anthropologist also argue that a decade-long protected conflict across the nation is main cause of changing caste-based occupation (Dhakal and Pyakuryal 2007). They opine that traditional occupational caste groups commonly referred as *Dalits*, are among of the most deprived social classes in Nepal. During the war in general, and the emergency period in particular, blacksmiths were not allowed to take cast irons into the villages. Likewise, they could not go into the forest to fetch and make charcoal; therefore, occupation of blacksmith naturally declined. Their occupation in their own terms is endangered. There is another anthropological thought about the changing pattern of occupation. The penetration of market economy has erased caste-based occupation. (Blaikie et.al 1980; Uprety 2006). Mark Liechty (2003) an American anthropologist argue that value of modernity, created by market economy, play a crucial role to change their caste-based occupation and adopting new one. Some members of the low castes have been able to successfully adopt their traditional skills to the modern market, enabling them to stake claims in the city new middle class; palanquin bears the truck and taxi drivers, for example, metal workers have turned auto-mechanics and mechanists. Liechty succinctly argue that the caste-based social identity is becoming less and less to assurance a person of social status.

In an analysis of social change in Hill village of Nepal, Macfarlane (1976) writes '... much of the former work of the Blacksmith, Tailors and Cobblers is no longer necessary because of growing markets for chief tools and clothes (Marfarlane 1976:139). This situation clearly shows the decline in jajmani system which is a key feature of Hindu caste system.

Upreti (2004) explains how the caste structure is based on Hindu Varna system which divides people into four categories according to their occupational activities viz., the Brahmin (learned people, priests), the Chhetri (warriors), the Vaishya (trader and agriculturist), and the Sudra (people in menial services). Originally, it had merely meant the type of work, which anyone could do, but gradually it became a hereditary idea. Types of Traditional Caste Based Occupations, Dalits constitute 13 percent of total

population and they are being deprived of many of socio-cultural, political and economic rights because of prevalence of age-old traditional practices. It is a fact that Dalits are the richest source of art, skills and culture of the Nepalese society and their traditional occupations are a part of the national culture and identity. A study conducted by Bhattachan (et al 2002) Proved that Dalits have great skills in specific crafts such as metalwork, leatherwork, and music. Yet, in a number of places this segment of the population could not get social respect because of the ineffective enforcement of the laws making the caste system punishable (NPC 2002). According to Dahal (et al, 2002) the main economic activity of the majority of Dalits is wage labour. In addition to this, the cast based traditional occupations such as black smithy, leather work, tailoring, etc. are also an important source of income. Kami group makes agricultural tools and household utensils such as sickles, knives, axes, hoes, spades, shares (plough tips) and nails, they do repair works when needed. A gold smith or Sunar make golden or silver ornaments. Parkis are bamboo baskets and mats weavers. Chunara group of far western Nepal produce wooden utensils. Damai, both men and women, are tailors; Serki are leather shoe makers; Badi are potters who, apart from producing clay pots, are famous for the skill of making good smoking pipes. Some Badis are singers and dancers. Gaine sing songs to the tune of the traditional instrument- Sarangi. In case of Terai Dalits, Chamar are leather workers- they make and polish shoes and dispose off dead animals' carcasses, Chamar women work as midwives. Tantis are weavers and Dom and Halkhor clean public streets and bathrooms for the government as well as individual households. Dhobis are washer men by profession.

The caste based occupations as livelihood source most of the Dalits living in the rural areas work as per tradition involving in bali ghare pratha (eastern Nepal) or khali pratha (western Nepal) or Khan (Terai). That means that there is an informal patronworker relationship rather than any type of a contract. For their services Dalits are paid mostly in kind (grains) and sometimes in cash depending upon the amount of land holding (for blacksmiths) and number of family members (for tailors). In addition, each craftsman also gets his traditional share (food, vegetables, cloths, etc.) When there is a festival, marriage or some other rituals in the house of the patron. The client-craftsman relationship can be temporary or permanent; normally it is renewed every year. In urban

areas the involvement in the traditional occupations is more systematic and market-based; sometimes the businesses are legally registered, furthermore, all craftsmen are facing the same problem- the availability of mass and cheap products in the market. Bhattachan et. al. (2000) noted that only 19% of Dalits are involved in traditional caste based occupations. Mainly Damai (tailors) continue their traditional profession. Dahal (2002), quoting Sharma et.al. (1980) found that Damai are those who maintain their occupation even if large number of people engages in agriculture. Then, some Kami, Sarki and Dhobie are involved in their caste-based occupations regularly. But, among the Kami only gold smiths or Sunar have maintained their traditional job. The numbers of those involved in caste-based occupations are decreasing mainly due to the mass production. (Dahal et.al. 2002)

Several literatures show that gender participation in each occupation is found to be unequal except tailoring. However, in occupations such as shoe making, iron and gold smithy, women support male counterparts as assistants. Some examples of income generated from traditional occupations are found in Dahal et.al. 2002, borrowed from Koirala. Among the major Dalit castes i.e. Kami, Damai, and Sarki in Bungkot village the main economic activities were as follows: Damai were sewing clothes and playing music as forboya (a custom of playing traditional music during family celebrations). They drew approximately 10 pathi (25kg) unhusked rice and one khangre (15kg) of corn. Kami made and repaired home appliances as well as agricultural equipment. They got similar remuneration as Damai. Sarki did not continue traditional caste based occupation which was leather work and shoe making. Rather, they involved in activities such as, washing pots during ceremonies, carrying doli (bride's litter) and other kinds of physical work. They earned cash and food items- for washing cooking pots - the leftovers and a small amount of cash, around Rs 30, for carrying doli and loads - Rs 30-70 a day depending on the situation and the distance; for ploughing land (employed permanently) - 100 kg of unhusked rice or corn per year depending on the area of the land they had to plough; for doing all the farm work of a high caste household, including ploughing, they were getting food for the family and approximately Rs 1000 cash per year. In addition, all these three Dalit castes had to work in traditional non caste specific jobs for their livelihood requirements -agricultural and domestic work (Rs 25-30 per day) and transitional occupations-masonry, carpentry (Rs. 50-100).

CHAPTER - THREE

Research Methods

To make a study more systematic and to attain the goal of the present study, it is considered very important to follow the certain research methods. This chapter primarily deals with the research methods like, selection of the study area, research design, universe and sampling procedure, sources of data, data analysis, technique of the data collection etc. The research designed is based on both descriptive-cum analytical. This study aims to trace to the settlement history of Brahmin (priest) and Damai (tailor), and analysis the shifting situation of occupational (livelihoods) practices and it's relation to social relations.

3.1. Study Site and Rationale for its Selection

Southwestern part of Bhaktapur, namely Balkot VDC has been selected for study. Manohara River, which separates Kathamandu and Bhaktapur districts, is in west and Thimi and Khusaltar are in east. In the north the Araniko highway separates it and in the south lays Tikathali and Shrirutar VDCs. The study area Balkot seems rapidly urban-oriented village where the Brahmin and Damaies have been settled densely in comparison to other parts of valley. This village is taken as new settlement areas in the sense that it was (is) productive agricultural land of *Thamilie Newars* in the past. The accessibility of the study area and the researcher's own interest on caste-based occupation in Hindu caste system was one factor to choose this area.

3. 2. Research Design

The work used for the purpose is a combination of descriptive and analytical research design. Related data has been explored in the field with the help of various methodological tools and techniques based on qualitative and quantitative nature.

3.3 Universes and Sampling

The study covered 60 households. Old social setting here refers to those households who (are) were settled before the 2050 B.S. and it has been settled till the research period. According to the demographic report of Balkot VDC in 2050 B.S., there have been settled 413 total households. Among them the total numbers of Brahmins and Damais households are 153 (115 Brahmin and 38 Damai individual). In this study the sampling size is 44(73.3) HHs Brahmin and 16 (26.7) HHs Damai have been selected from the purposive sampling. The purposive sampling design have adopted because of the nature of research objectives.

3.4 Nature and Sources of Data

The nature of data is both qualitative and quantitative. Quantitative information was collected through household surveys. The required information has been collected through primary as well as secondary sources. The primarily data and information collected through the HH survey, interview schedule. Structured and unstructured interviews have been conducted. Case study also has been conducted. The secondary information was collected from the related published and unpublished books, journals, reports, articles and others related documents as well as concerned archive literatures have also used for the study. The secondary sources (published and unpublished literatures and others historic documents) are used to search the migrating (settlement) history of Brahmin and Damai in study area. The settlement history of respondents is based on oral history of respondents, which are carefully tallied to the exiting Literatures.

3.5. Data Collection Techniques

Different tools and techniques are applied for the collection and analysis the data. Some of the data collection techniques have been as below.

3.5.1. Interview Schedule

A semi-structured questionnaire used to collect the necessary quantitative and qualitative data for the fulfillments of the objectives of the research. The schedule questionnaires

were filled during the field visit by reaching each Brahmin and Damai respondents both male and female.

3.5.2. Observation

Observation technique is one of the important data collection technique for it helped to familiarize the researcher with the overall physical condition of the respondents and the study area observation. It was used to observe and study their day to day life practices such as occupational interests, food acceptations and restrictions, clothing habits, house and settlements patterns, said and unsaid expressions and rigid and changing lifestyles during the fieldwork that would compliment the overall study. During the course of research, researcher has frequently visited field several times which made possible to get concerned information. Mostly, observation technique has contained more of qualitative data such as overall status of relationships between Brahmin and Damai.

3.5.3. Key Informants Interview

The researcher selects the several persons who have a good knowledge about the Brahmin and Damai and their settlement setting and lifestyle such as VDC members, local schoolteachers, old-aged local people (different caste and ethnic groups), and local leaders through in-depth interview techniques.

3.5.4. Case Study

Under case studies, two biographical studies (one from Brahmin and one from Damai) have taken to understand migrating history, changing occupation and social relations in changing social context.

3.6. Operational Definition

-) **Caste-based Occupation** - caste-based occupation refers here to traditional allocation of Hindu caste-based occupation such as Brahmin's priestly services and Damai's tailoring activities.

-) **Old Social Setting** - old social setting here refers to Brahmin and Damai who have been settled before 2050 B.S in the study area.
-) **Brahmin** - who is (was) engaged in priestly service (*purohit*).
-) **Parbate** - hill-people especially Brahmin, Chhetri, and other artesian castes Damai, Kami, and Sarki, or Non Newars.

3.7. Data Processing and Analysis

After completion of data collection the researcher has tabulated them in different groups and headings. The collected data has been analyzed by using simple statistical tools. Basically, percentage, simple table etc. The interpretation of findings has been made qualitative and qualitative on the basis of analysis.

3.8. Limitation of the Study

The limitations faced in this study can be pointed as follows:

-) This study covers only the Brahmin and Damai in Balkot but the findings of the research may not necessary be similar to other areas of Brahmin and Damai.
-) Only 60 respondents have been selected for the research and the study is generalized largely on the basis of the inputs taken from the respondents.

3.9. Ethical Consideration

This research study conducted after the permission of central department of sociology/ anthropology and the people of Balkot VDC. The researcher got permission of all respondents and their answered to mention this study. The researcher tried to give serious attention to their occupation, profession, prestige and their culture. This study is only an academic intend.

CHAPTER-FOUR

People and Site under Study

This chapter deals with the background of the caste composition of the households in old social setting, caste composition of the Brahmin and Damai in the researched area Balkot, Brahmin and Damai and Other Castes and Ethnic Groups in Balkot, Composition of caste of the respondents, Demographic structure of the respondents, Age and sex structure of the respondent, and Recognition to neighbor of the respondents and Changing Religion life.

4.1. Balkot: Selection of Study Site

Southwestern part of the Bhaktapur, namely Balkot VDC, seems rapidly urban- oriented village where the Brahmin and Damai have been settled densely in comparison to other parts of valley. Balkot VDC is inhabited by Brahmins, Chhetris, Newars, ethnic groups (such as Gurungs Rais, Kumale and others), and craft specialization castes Damai, and Kami. However, the researcher does not depict the settlement history and changing occupational practices of other castes and ethnic groups except the Brahmin and Damai in this study. The word Brahmin (Nepali in Bhaun) is a Sanskrit word which denotes a person who engaged in priestly services and Damai is Nepali word denotes a person who is engaged in tailoring as an occupation. When the researcher began study of Brahmin and Damai in Balkot in November-December 2008, the researcher wanted to study and analyze their migrating/settlement history and occupational practices. The researcher visited several Brahmin and Damai households and tried to understand the economic, social and political dimension of the traditional caste-based occupations pursued by such people. The researcher visited the Brahmin and Damai houses to know their practices and perceptions of their traditional occupation. Within the few days of field study, researcher began to realize that the traditional caste-based occupations have been gradually disappearing.

Balkot seems rapidly urban- oriented village. It is like unique representation; mixed old and new social setting. Old social setting seems like hilly village where the houses have made suitable for only household purpose. Unlike the *Newars*, the *Parbate* (Brahmins and Damais) have no urban tradition and most of their settlements have been loose aggregations of the houses.

In Balkot, houses are built of stone, mud, woods and roofed with thatch, and several are brick buildings with tiled roof which seems simple with several small rooms. These houses are similar to rural hill village's houses. After entering the *Parbate* people in the valley; they have continued to build homes as *Parbate* models which have typically differed from the city-centric old urbanized styled houses. *Newars* and *Parbate* manners of building and of living remain radically different, and the settlement pattern of the *Parbate* of the valley reflects even today the requirements and preferences of a basically their own previous rural community. All remained houses were made after 1990 B.S; except half dozens of houses; because of the terrible earthquake in 1990 B.S. One eighty-three-year old *Newar* talked with this researcher that he had witnessed to a terrible situation in this village resulting from of that earthquake. According to him more than 70% houses were destroyed by the quake. After 2050 B.S. these types of houses have been rapidly replaced by the modern concrete cemented house. However, it is not difficult to find the sketch of old social location.

It is essential to present the description of household's structure, size and location old social setting. The structures of the old social setting were (are) more homogeneous and simple. The houses are simple and small. Near the house there are small cottages which has used for proposes cattle. The toilet is kept far from the house. The structures of the houses are similar in size of Brahmin and Chhetri whereas Damais houses are smaller than upper caste. Their households' patterns have seen as cluster; like Brahmins cluster, Chhetri cluster, Dalit cluster. However, it is interesting that *Newars* has not been settled not as cluster but as elsewhere (map-1). The settlement of map shows how space in the village is divided according to the caste-wise. Mostly Brahmins houses are situated in Balkot, Basidol, and Thimitar that is north side of the village. Chhetris houses are mostly

in Thmitar, Basidol, Balkot, Due and Kalpitar. Damai houses are mostly in Tallgaun that is southern part village.

4.2. Brahmins, Damais, and Others Caste/Ethnic Groups

Balkot village has been known for its socio-cultural plurality-i.e.; various caste and ethnic groups of people with distinct cultures living together and interacting meaningfully with each-others. The environment for any particular ethnic group is not only defined by natural conditions, but also by the presence and activities of other ethnic groups on which it depends. Each group exploits only a section of the total environment, and leaves large parts of it open for other groups to exploits (Barth 1981:3 cited in Chhetri 2006). That is, each caste groups would have its own 'traditional' occupation in the array of the total economic activities needed to keep the society going (Chhetri 2006).

Balkot is inhabited by Brahmins, Chhettris, Newars, Ethnic groups and artesian caste such as Damai. There were 413 households (Table 1). Balkot VDC there are 27.9% are Brahman, 33.9% are Chhetri, 16.9% are *Newars* and 12.1% are others castes according to census of 1990. The proposition of Chhetri seems more than the other castes. Table 1 shows that more than 70% population is *Prabate* origin in Balkot. At the top of the caste hierarchy in this area are the Brahmin, who serve the others castes as priest. There are several Jaisi Brahmin, who are assumed to be inferior to Brahmin, said to descendents of the Brahmin men who married Brahmin windows or second wife. Jaisis cannot serve as priest; they carry on the practices as astrologers.

Table-1
Distribution of Households by Caste and Ethnic Groups in Balkot

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Brahmin</i>	115	27.9
<i>Chhetri</i>	140	33.9
<i>Newar</i>	70	16.9
<i>Damai</i>	38	9.2
<i>Ethnic Groups</i>	50	12.1
<i>Total</i>	413	100

Source: VDC, 2008.

There are 140 Chhetris households. They were agriculturists. Some of them also engaged into the government services such as army, police and government officer.

The Newar are taken ancient settlers of Bhaktapur; whose number relatively few in this area. They are the descendants of *Thimile* Newars. Newar are internally divided into a number of sub-castes, both Hindu and Buddhist. They are mainly engaged in shop keeping, trade and few are government officers. There are also sizeable minorities of untouchable Newar butchers (*Kasai*).

The remainder of the population of Balkot is composed of untouchable (Damai) or ritually unclean castes. They have low status in comparison to Brahmin castes. They are associated with traditional occupation such as tailoring.

In Balkot, ethnic groups like Gurung, Rai and Magar are placed in minority in comparison to the other caste group. They are considered the new comers in this area, retained something of a separate culture, they have become increasing 'Hindunized' and mostly speak Nepali. They have own mother-tongue. They are treated as ritually clean by the high castes (water is accepted from them), but they do not wear the sacred thread. They also differed from the high castes is that they culturally accepted alcohols and pork, buff, and chicken. For this reason, they are referred to as '*Matwali*' or drinking castes.

4.3. Settlement Pattern by Caste/ Ethnicity

Within the few days of field study, the researcher found an interesting physical settlement pattern of Brahmins and Damais and others castes and ethnicities. Except ethnic groups, they are settled in as cluster; like Brahmin cluster, Chhetri cluster, Dalit cluster. However, it is interesting that Newars has not been settled as cluster but as elsewhere. To present the physical geography of settlement pattern of Brahmin and Damai seems more significant to understand the symbolic meaning of social relation between Brahmin and Damai and other castes ethnic groups. Brahmin settlement area has situated upper-north part of the village whereas Damai has been settled near the farmland of Brahmin that is located in west-south part of Balkot ward 7 called *Thullgaun* near the Tikathali VDC of Lalitpure (map-1). There are two Hindu temples (god Ganesh and Shiva) within the Brahmin settlement cluster. There is no any temple in Damai's settlement area.

4.4. People under the Study: Brahmin and Damai in Balkot

The study only covers only the Brahmins priest and Damai tailors. All priests (here refers to *purohit*) are Brahmin but all Brahmin are not priest (*purohit*). Priestly services as an occupation and if one want to be priest he should follow the certain rituals norms and process. He has to understands Sanskrit' religious texts. And he should be born in Brahmins lineage. He should be male and he has to be completed certain ritual process. To be priest one should follow specific ritual process. He must aware in taking foods and drinks like meat and liquor like *Jad*, *raksi*, and *Tomba*. In the case of Damai there are no any rituals norms and process to become a Tailor. He should be skilled and trained in tailoring and these skills can be obtained from parents through apprenticeships or any in/formal intuitions.

Data presented in table 1 shows that the total households number of Brahmin and Damai have 153 among them; there are more than 75% (115) Brahmin's households and 24.8 % (38) Damai's.

Table-2
Composition of Caste of the Respondents

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Brahmin</i>	44(38%)	73.3
<i>Damai</i>	16(42%)	26.7
<i>Total</i>	60	100

Source, Field survey, 2008.

There are sixty respondents taken for this study. Among them Brahmin are 44 and Damai are 16. Table 2 shows that 73.3 %(44) respondents are from Brahmins and 26.7% respondents are from Damais. The numbers of caste respondents are taken the tentative propositional basis of number of households of caste composition of the study area where there are total house of Brahmins 115 and Damais are 38. The percentages of respondents 38% of the respondents are from Brahmins and 42% are from Damais.

Table-3**Demographic Structure of the Brahmin and Damai under Study Area (Household 44+16)**

Brahmin				Damai			
<i>Age group</i>	<i>Male (%)</i>	<i>Female (%)</i>	<i>Total (%)</i>	<i>Age group</i>	<i>Male (%)</i>	<i>Female (%)</i>	<i>Total (%)</i>
0-9	25(8.7)	21(7.3)	46(16.0)	0-9	13(10.8)	16(13.3)	29(24.1)
10-19	23 (8.0)	24(8.5)	47(16.5)	10-19	11(9.2)	13(10.8)	24(20.0)
20-29	16 (5.7)	18(6.3)	34(12.0)	20-29	8(6.7)	8(6.7)	16(13.4)
30-39	15 (5.3)	19(6.6)	33(11.9)	30-39	9(7.5)	10(8.4)	19(15.9)
40-49	20 (7.0)	23 (8.0)	34(15.0)	40-49	7(5.8)	6(5.0)	13(10.8)
50-59	17 (5.9)	20 (7.0)	43(12.9)	50-59	5(4.2)	7(5.8)	12(10.0)
60-69	11(3.9)	12 (4.2)	23(8.1)	60-69	3(2.5)	2(1.7)	5(4.2)
70-79	7 (2.4)	8(2.8)	15(5.2)	70-79		1(0.8)	1(0.8)
80+	4(1.4)	3(1.0)	7(2.4)	80+	1(0.8)		1(0.8)
<i>Total</i>	<i>138(48.3)</i>	<i>148(51.7)</i>	<i>286(100)</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>57(47.5)</i>	<i>63(52.5)</i>	<i>120(100)</i>

Source, Field Survey, 2008.

4.5. Demographic Structure of the Brahmin and Damais' (HHS) under a Study

The data presented in table 3 shows the demographic structures of respondents. The demographic structure of Brahmin and Damai in Balkot presents some notable messages. Succinctly, there are three significant points to analysis about population structure; first, unsymmetrical sex ratio in both Brahmin and Damai; second, the birth ratio is high in Damai than Brahmin; and last, longevity is higher in Brahmin than Damai.

Female population seems high in both castes (Brahmin 50.5% and Damai 51.7%). The child population is higher in Damai (24.1%) than in Brahmin (16.0%). The male child population seems quite higher (more than 1%) than female child under 9- year age group in the Brahmin, whereas in the case of Damai the female child percentage is higher than male child population (3% high).

As presented data, old population (60 years and above) seems high (4%) in Brahmin in comparison to Damai percentage. This suggests that longevity rate may be high in Brahmin. If we observe table 4, more than 50% population is less than 30 years at the time of the field survey. This fact indicates that the percentage of young population is high in both castes. More than 40% populations are under the age of 19- years in Damai whereas Brahmin has 32.5% population in this age. This suggests that birth rate is high in both castes.

There is one significant indication from the table 4; that is longevity rate is high in Brahmin. There is 5.2% population of 70-79 age groups in Brahmin, whereas there is only 0.8% of population same age among Damai. More than 2% population are above 80 years in the Brahmin, whereas less than 1% population at and above the same group found in Damai. In fact, this percentage suggests that it is difficult for Damai to live as Brahmin.

4.6. Age and Sex Composition of the Respondents

Table-4
Age and Sex Compositions of the Respondents

<i>Age</i> <i>Group</i>	<i>Brahmin</i>			<i>Damai</i>			
	<i>Sex</i>			<i>Age</i> <i>Group</i>	<i>Sex</i>		
	<i>Male (%)</i>	<i>Female (%)</i>	<i>Total (%)</i>		<i>Male (%)</i>	<i>Female (%)</i>	<i>Total (%)</i>
15-24	3(6.8)	1 (2.3)	4(9.1)	15-24	2 (12.5)	1 (6.3)	3 (18.8)
25-34	7(15.9)	3(6.8)	10(22.7)	25-34	3 (18.7)	2(12.5)	5 (31.2)
35-44	5(11.4)	1(2.3)	6(13.7)	35-44	2 (12.5)	2(12.5)	4 (25.0)
45-54	6(13.6)	-	6(13.6)	45-54	2(12.5)		2 (12.5)
55-64	9(20.5)	3(6.8)	12(27.3)	55-64		1(6.3)	1(6.3)
65-74	3(6.8)	2(4.5)	5(11.3)	65-74	1(6.2)		1(6.2)
75+	1(2.3)		1(2.3)	75+			
<i>Total</i>	<i>34(77.3)</i>	<i>10(22.7)</i>	<i>44(100)</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>10 (62.4)</i>	<i>6(37.6)</i>	<i>16(100)</i>

Source, Field Survey, 2008.

The total respondents are 60. The respondents are taken between the 15-80 years old in Brahmin. The Damai respondents are taken between 15-74 years old. Among them Brahmin are 44 (73.3%) and Damai 16 (26.7%) and all are up to 15 years age. The respondents were chosen above 15-years as that they are assumed to address the given research problem.

To some extents, the presented data shows sex ratio of respondents is unsymmetrical, which is necessary to meet the research objectives. There are 22.7% (10 among the 44) female respondents and 77.3% are the male from Brahmin (see table-4). The selection of the male respondents of Brahmin caste is necessary because *priest occupation* is gender biased occupation in which female are religiously restricted to do priestly occupation. However, female perspective (interpretation) is considered also essential to understand better undergoing situation of priest as an occupation- the long rooted cultural practices in Hindu social system.

About 27% Brahmin respondents are taken between 55-64 age groups. They are taken as research respondent because they are assumed more appropriate to answer research problem; such as the changing practice of occupation, economy, and social relation, and their own settlement history in Balkot. There is only-one Brahmin respondent above 75-year.

4. 7. Land Holding Size of the Respondents in Study Area

The presented data of table 5 shows the land holding of the respondents in researched area. This table shows that Bramahins are relatively strong in land holding than Damais. Landless respondents are not there in the survey time.

Table-5
Land holding size of the respondents

<i>Size of land</i>	<i>Brahmin (%)</i>	<i>Damai (%)</i>
Landless	-	-
<4 Anna	3(6.8)	1(6.3)
5-8 Anna	9(20.5)	3(18.7)
9-15Anna	14(31.8)	9(56.3)
1-2 Ropani	11(25.0)	3(18.7)
3-5Ropani	5(11.4)	-
>6	2(4.5)	-
Total	44(100)	16(100)

Source, Field survey, 2008.

Above table 5 shows that about more than 6% respondents of Brahamin and Damai respondent's posses less than 4 anna. More than 40% Brahmins have more than 1 ropani where as Damais are 19%. Relatively the Brahmins are richer than the Damaies. There are only 4.5% Brahmin respondents who has possessed more than 6 ropani land whereas none of Damai respondents are not found to have that much of land property. These simple statistics suggests that it is insufficient to livelihood of a family from the agriculture alone.

CHAPTER-FIVE

Migration and Settlement History of Brahmin and Damai

This section deals with the settlement history of Brahmin and Damai in Kathamandu valley generally and in Balkot particularly. This researcher has tallied the respondents' answer about their migrating/settlement history with the existing literature and vice-versa. The modern settlement history of Brahmin and Damai in Balkot is not found very old as it is not more than two hundred years old. The *Parbate* Brahman and Damai have settled down in Balkot for the last two hundred years, and most of the present household heads are at least the third generation migrants from outside Bhaktapur (Bhatagaon), which is known as one of the renowned place for ancient home and cultural center of the *Newar* people (Rosser: 1978).

5.1. Balkot: Newars' Framland

There is no detailed literature about settlement history of Brahmin and Damai in Balkot. However, the existing literatures support that Balkot (Bhaktapur) was the land of Newars. If one takes the denominators of demography, culture, and civilization, the *Newars* are the dominant community in the area. The land of Balkot was (is) very fertile with rich black alluvial soil giving extremely high yields of rice from the irrigated and intensively cultivated paddy fields. Till 1800A.D. the land of Balkot was totally controlled by Thimele *Newars*, and some handful *Newars* of Patan who were well-known agriculturists. Agricultural produces on this land was the important source of the livelihood for the *Newars* of Bhatagaon. More than ten *Rajkoloes* had been built across the cultivated land in order to irrigate their fields. Maize, millet, buckwheat, potato, pulse, beans, paddy, and others kinds of vegetables were grown by the *Newars* for the purpose of household consumption.

Within the few days of field study, the researcher knew that Balkot was fertile land owned by *Thimile* and *Patane* Newars. A sixty-two years Brahmin respondent recalled his childhood's days and said that there were few hill houses and the remaining area was the agricultural land. The Newar used to work in their field from early-morning to late evening. In the time of field study, the researcher also contacted and communicated with old Newar peoples in Balkot to understand migration and settlement history of non-Newars. One Newar told the researcher that Balkot was Newars' farmland till the 2030 B.S. and there were few hill-people.

5.2. Migration and Settlement History

It is not easy to find out the exact point and date of the settlement history of non - *Newars*, especially Brahmins, Chhetris, and craft specialization castes Damai, Sarki and Kami in this area. The first *Aryans Khas* settlers came around the first century of the Christian era to the Kathamandu valley (Sharma 1977). However, some archeological evidences give a clue that some Hindu caste people had been settled before the fifth century in the periphery of the Bhaktapur. There were perhaps Brahmins living in this valley during Lichhavi period in the fifth century when the oldest stone inscription was written in Changu Narayan in Sanskrit language (A Raj 1996). The oldest inscription that categorically mentions Bhaun inhabitants was found in Thankot, consecrated by King Vasant Deva in the fifth century (Vajracharya, 1973:91-93 cited in Bista 2001:35). For almost two hundred years from 1768, when the invading Prithvin Nayanar Shas overthrew the three Malla Kings in Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhaktagaon and succeeded in establishing the Gorkha dynasty in this valley, up to 1950, supreme political authority in the valley resided not with the numerically dominant *Newars* but with the alien Gorkha castes who were exclusively Hindu (Rosser 1978).

The replacement of the *Newar* by the Thakuri - Chhetri regime of the past centuries, for instance, involved not only a shift of political power from an urban ruling class indigenous to the valley a rustic aristocracy stemming from the hill- chiefs of the Gorkha region (F rer-Haimendorf 1978). Initially this new regime appears to have continued the policy of toleration of and avoidance of discrimination against the *Newar* priests. But in

1846, as a result of a palace massacre, the Rana family and clan, a sub division of the *parbatia* Chhetri rose to supreme political power, and that political situation made further easy to enter in valley to *parbatia* Hindues, i.e., Brahmins, Chhetris, and craft specialization castes Damai, Sarki and Kami; which are ranked so-called *untouchable* in Hindu caste system.

The migration and settlement history of Chhetries are older than Brahmin priests and craft specialization caste; Damai, Kami and Sarki in Nepal valley. There is the evidence that small numbers of Chhetries lived in the Nepal valley even before the Gorkha conquest, and that some of them even served in the armies of the *Newars* kings. But the great influx of Chhetris into the valley occurred only after the establishment of the Thakuri rule (Furer-Haimendrof 1978). As army officers and govrenment dignitaries they had to live in Kathamandu, and in the period immdiately after the Gorkha conquest Thakuris and Chhetris occupied houses inside the old *Newar* town and particulary in a locality known as the *Indrachock*. A prominent *Basnet* lineage, for instance, is known as *Indrachhok Basnet*, and there was a local tradition that this family had already resident in *Indrachok* during the period of Malla Kings. The first Rana Prime Minister Jang Bhadur, because of a great political motive, encouraged Chhetris; *Basnet*, *Bista*, *Pandy*, *Budhathoki*, *Thapa*, *Rayamaji*, *Baniya*, *Bhora*, *Khadka*, *Bhandari*, *Bogati* , *Mahat* and *Gharti* to build houses in Kathamandu and Patan (F rer-Haimendorf 1978). The core area of *Bhaktapur*, one of the three ancient cities of valley , today popularly known as *Thimi* and *Balkot*, was untouched till 1800 A.D by other *parbatia* Hindu caste i.e. Brahmins, Chhetris, and other craft specialization castes Damai, Sarki and Kami (Dawadi 1996: 12).

Penetration of the *Parbate* people into the long rooted *Newar* civillized community in *Bhaktapur* seems interesting. Historically *Parbatenization* of hill culture in *Bhaktapur* seems more interesting in both cultural and political aspects. According to an oral history of the respondents, which is also further proved by their historical archive, land documentation, and other old *Tamsuk* (debt voucher) the first non-*Newars* dwellers in *Balkot* were *Basitha* and *Kodelyan* lineage Brahmins. It is assumed that among sages *Basitha* and *Kaudelyan* were respected than other, therefore their descendent lineage were invited *Achayra*, *Neupane*, *Poudel*, and *Dawadi* as priest by Chhetris. Old land

documentations which were not kept under the government administrations were prepared for *land for cash contract* named *paper of Rs 99* (Rupaya 99 ko kagaj).

There was a wide spread tradition that one could buy land from other if the land was priced no more than Rs100 with the witnessed of several key village persons called as *Bhadra Bhaladmi* (respected person). It would be taken an equivalent to legal document registered under the government authority. Latter on, the land was registered under government to them on the basis of *land for cash contract* called as *paper of Rs 99* (Rupaya 99 ko kagaj). Brahmins are found to come to this land following this ownership system of the property. Among the Brahmin, *Achayra* are found to come from Tanahu (Chudi), *Neupane* from Nuwakot, and *Dawdi* from Gorkha. They were all priests by occupation and it is generally assumed that they were invited by the Valley's Chhetri families (Basnet, Bista, Pandy, Budhathoki, Thapa, Rayamaji, Baniya, Bhora, Khadka, Bhandari, Bogati, Rana, etc). The researcher asked questions to the respondents about their forefather's origin and migration. The *Achayra* respondents said that they came from *Chudhi* or *there else* (around) tentatively 220 years ago in *Thankot* and 75 years ago in *Bhatagaon*. Several *Achayra* families were also settled in northern-east periphery of the kathamandu valley. They were respected for *Vedic guru*, priest, and knowledge of *Veda and Vedanta*. Some of them are settled now in Kathmandu (Lagjimpat) they have been continuing *Gurukul (Shwa-Adhayanshala)* system to study Sanskrit literature. Some of them also come from Nuwakot.

Neupane respondents answered that they were migrated from Nuwakot and Dhadhing. They were (is also) family priest of *Basnet, Khadka and Thapa* lineage in Kathamandu valley. One of the *Neupane* respondents proudly stated that the history of their priestly relations (*jajamani*) has been more than three hundred years. They were first migrated *Neupane* people from outside the Kathamandu valley just about 250 years ago and they settled down in Balkot between 85 - 100 years ago. *Dawadi* as they claimed *Raj Purohit* to themselves who entered in Kathamandu valley with Prithvi Nayaran Shah in 1780s. *Dawadi* were kitchen *purohit* of Shah Family (the then royal family) for long. For a long time since entering the valley, they settled in *Naikap*. One 67 years *Dawdi* respondent said one oral story to *Naikap* as first settlement place of *Dawadhi* families in

Kathamandu Valley. They requested to the then king for their residence had to be in front of the royal palace, and the then king accepted the *purohit's* request and gave *Naikap* village from where the *Hanuman Dokha Royal Palace* could be seen clearly. (table-7)

Table-6
Respondents answered of their origins (fore-father settle land)

<i>Caste</i>	<i>For-Father's origin</i>
Aachayra	Chudi (Thannu)
Neupane	Dhadhing and Nuwakot
Dawadi	Gorkha
Poudel	Kavere
Damai	Lother and Kalinjor (Gorkha, and Kavere)

Source, Field survey, 2008.

The question was asked to the respondents why priests and tailoring caste came in Kathamandu generally and in Balkot particularly from outside the valley? There are several contradictory interpretations, which are more valuable to mention here to comprehend their migrating history from their respective origin. At least, there are two pertinent and somehow more interesting causes, one is political and another is cultural.

The first cause, as interpreted by the respondents is relation to power politics. The Chhetris had settled in Nepal valley and was in ruling power. However, they were in minority in socio-cultural and demographic position in comparison to the *Newars*. It was obviously a risk to continue their rule with their minority presence and their established political hegemony. The Chhetris knew well to the potentiality of *Newars* to come to the power. Chhetris wanted to increase their allies (Brahmins and other craft specialization caste) in Nepal valley considering that *Parbatia* Brahmins and others ethnic groups (Tamang Magar and Gurrung) Chhetri couldn't be succeed to continue rule in Nepal Valley. Being dominant population of *Newars*, they (Chhetri) felt unsecured to remain in political power and it was the prime cause to invite Brahmins and other *Parbate* ethnic groups in the valley.

Another cause is interesting that caste-based allocation of occupation is crucial for their migrating history. There was widespread of tradition of Chhetri family in the valley that they used to take priestly services by priest who had to be beyond the hill (*dadhaparika purohit*). Their assumption was that a priest has a cosmological power and they are related to the purity and impurity, order and disorder in the spiritual world. Priest is necessary to purification the life rituals such as birth, initiation, marriage, death, and so on. The prime duty of the priest is to make pure from the pollution, therefore, he is the pollution absorbs. Priest role is primarily to remove the inauspiciousness, evil, and sin of their patrons.

The early migration and settlement history of craft specialization (tailoring) caste seems (Damai Kami and Sarki) more obscure. The respondents gave very inconsistent answers about their previous settlement history outside the valley. The respondents stated that at least their fourth generations have been settled in Balkot. The question was asked to the Damai respondents about their forefather land outside the valley, among them, most of the respondents said that they were come from *Lothar* (now around Gorkha and Thanahu) and *Kalinjore* (Kavre). Shanker Nepali, is a third generation of *Kalinjore* Damai family, in Balkot. he said that balkot was a agricultural land and there were only two dozen of house and among them few were Brahmin and rest were Newar. They were not migrated from any specific area or region. Christoph Von F rer-Haimendorf writes that in the Nepal valley there are large numbers of untouchable's artisans such as shoemakers (Sarki), blacksmiths (Kami), and Tailors (Damai) (1978). However, he has not mention their entering settlement history in ancient civilized *Newar* community. They had come with the Brahmins and Chhetri of their respected areas. The long rooted *jajmani* (patron client) relation had helped to entrance easily the craft specialization caste in valley.

In Balkot, occupational (craft specialization) castes Damai, Kami and Sarki Damai have been settled as long as other *Parbate* castes Brahminnes and Chhetris. According to the traditional allocation of caste-based occupation, Damai stitch and repair cloth, Kami known as the blacksmith, who mainly manufacture and repair the pots and pans and other household implements made out of the iron, copper and brass. They also make and repair farm implements like spades, blades and sickles. Sarki repair and manufacture the leather

items such as traditional musical instrumental and shoes. None of these skills were obtained from formal schooling or training but were learnt from parents through apprenticeships. One 56 year-old Brahmin respondents said that the settlement history of Damai in Balkot is as old as Brahmin. The relationship between the Brahmin and Damai was (is) cultural as Damai were not only tailoring practices for Brahmins but also they were (are) essential to specific rituals, like marriage, of Brahmins in order to music. After entering in the valley they (Brahimns and Chhetris) wanted to continue their own cultural practices such as *Parbate* (hill) dressing pattern, play the *Pancai baja* (traditional musical instrument) during the important festivals and ceremonies including marriages and religious rituals, using pots and pans, sickles, spades in the and shoes etc.. *Prabate* culture was (is) vastly differed from the valley long rooted *Newars* culture. To continue the preceding culture of *Parbate* culture these castes were essential. They also invited these castes with them.

CHAPTER-SIX

Brahmin and Damai: Context of Caste-Based Occupation

Priestly-service is taken as spiritual occupation and it is recognized the Brahmin's traditional occupation whereas tailoring a worldly-occupation and it is accepted the Damai's caste-based occupation. These occupations cover the two opposite poles: the first is purely non-secular world, which covers cosmological domain whereas the latter is purely a secular world that covers materialist domain in society. These two domains are equally important in human society.

Caplan (1972) and Bennett (2002) write that *Upadhaya* Brahmins, who alone may serve as hereditary, priests (*purohit and puret*) for Chhetri families. Services-caste (Damai) family performs its specific tasks for one or more high-caste patron families in return for a biannual grain payment priest are essential at most life-cycle ceremonies and on numerous other occasions, such as the building of new houses and calendrical rites and festivals. They receive cash and grain and other goods at all the rituals they perform. The average annual cash income from priestly services is around 3,000 rupees, but priests with many clients, or especially rich ones, would earn more. Priests inherit clients from their fathers, and they can also seek them out. In exceptional cases, a client may change his priest. In return for his rituals expertise and his ability to read the sacred Sanskrit texts, the *puret* is regularly given a payment during the Dasai festival. He also receives a small gift of money, daksina, and uncooked or ritually pure foods whenever he presides at a ceremony. Caplan and Bennett write about *Jajmani*-type relationships between the occupational caste groups. All the tailors are engaged in making clothes, and all have permanent *Jajmani* relationships with both high caste and other untouchable households.

This section deals with caste; context of recognition, education status of respondents and context of caste-based occupation, the generational shift in caste-based occupational practices in Brahmin and Damai in Balkot and its consequences of changing situation. This section also tries to know the prime causing factors to shifting caste-based

occupational practices, the role of family income source of traditional occupation, continuity and discontinuity of caste-based occupation, and occupation and preferences of coming generations.

6.1 Caste: Context of Recognition

Caste is prime identity in caste system. Caste seems still a pre-dominant feature in Balkot. People rarely recognized in the basis of occupation.

Table-7
Recognition to Neighbor of Respondent

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Caste</i>
Brahmin	12(27.3)	32(72.7)
Damai	2(12.5)	14(87.5)
Total	14(23.4)	46(76.6)

Source, Field survey, 2008.

As data presented in table 7 shows that more than 72 % Brahmin respondents have been recognized by their neighbors on the basis of caste rather than occupation. In the case of Damai respondents 87.5% have said that they recognized their neighbors as caste than occupation

In the case of Damai respondents 87.5% have said that they recognized their neighbors as caste than occupation. Only 27.3 % Brahmin respondents and 23.4 Damai respondents have answered that they recognize their neighbors as occupation. This fact show that caste is one of the predominate characters in Nepali society.

Table-8
Educational Status by Age and Sex of the Respondents

<i>Brahmin</i>									<i>Damai</i>								
Sex									Sex								
Age Group	Male				Female				Age Group	Male				Female			
	<i>Illiterate</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>University</i>	<i>Illiterate</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>University</i>		<i>Illiterate</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>University</i>	<i>Illiterate</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>University</i>
<i>15-24</i>	-	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	-	-	<i>1</i>	-	<i>15-24</i>	-	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	-	-	-	<i>1</i>	-
<i>25-34</i>	-	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	-	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>25-34</i>	-	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	-	-	<i>1</i>	-	-
<i>35-44</i>	-	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	-	-	<i>1</i>	-	-	<i>35-44</i>	<i>2</i>	-	-	-	<i>2</i>	-	-	-
<i>45-54</i>	-	<i>1</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>45-54</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>55-64</i>	-	<i>5</i>	<i>4</i>	-	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	-	-	<i>55-64</i>	<i>1</i>	-	-	-	<i>1</i>	-	-	-
<i>65-74</i>	-	<i>3</i>	-	-	<i>2</i>	-	-	-	<i>65-74</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>75+</i>		<i>1</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>75+</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>3</i>		<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	-
<i>Total (%)</i>		<i>38.7</i>	<i>29.6</i>	<i>9.0</i>	<i>9.0</i>	<i>6.8</i>	<i>4.6</i>	<i>2.3</i>	<i>Total (%)</i>	<i>25.0</i>	<i>25.0</i>	<i>18.8</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>18.8</i>	<i>6.2</i>	<i>6.2</i>	<i>0.0</i>

Source, Field Survey, 2008.

6.2 Educational Status by Age and Sex of the Respondents and Context of Occupation

Education has direct influence on the occupational change (Chhetri 1999:63). If we closely inference table 8 reveals important indications. This table presents that Brahmin are more educated than Damai. The younger generations of both castes are becoming more literate and educated in comparison to their elder generations. It reveals the notable facts that Brahmin respondents are all literate, whereas Damai respondent's illiteracy rate seems 25% at the time of field survey. This fact can help understand other dimension of their (Brahmin and Damai) society, their socio-economic situation, rooted cultural practice, chance to educational attainment, and education policy of the state etc. In both castes male education rate seems high than female.

Within castes this unsymmetrical educational status between male and female implies that there exists gender biasness in society. Data presented in table 8 reveals that collage and university educational attainment for male seem high than their female. More than 29% male attained in collage level educations, and 9% in university of total population where as the female rate only 4.6% and 2.3% in the Brahmins at the time of field survey. But in the Damai there none of the respondents are found to attained (male or female) in university education. However, the younger generations of Damais are becoming more literate and educated in comparison to their elders. For instances, those born within the past 34 years seems to have had access to education. Above the 65 years, all Damai respondents reported to be illiterate but in the case of Brahmin respondents are different. Among of Brahmin respondents only 2 female reported to be illiterate.

In the fieldwork, the researcher was interested to know about their own perspective on education. Significant portions (25%) of Damais are found illiterate and no one is found of Brahmin respondent in this circumstance even resident of the equal common geography (Balkot). There is one school that was established in 1956 AD which is located in front of the Damai's cluster. The distance between the school and Damai cluster is not more than one and half kilometer. That raises some simple questions that for whom school is made and for what purpose? The informal questions were asked (which

were not included such questions in the researcher original list of interview schedule) what are factors for drop out of the Damai children from the school? Which situations made to them? One 52 years old Damai respondent recalls the cause of his drop-out from school. He stated that he was excluded from every activity in the school, he had to sit along in the class and no one dared to make him a friend because if one accepted him; he would be called as *Damai Dumro*. He remembered discriminating and harassing environment, which prevailed at the school system for Dalit in Hindu culture in the past. Some *Gurus* (teachers) also harassed him for being Damai. Therefore he could not continue school beyond the primary level because of the harassing and unpleasant condition. For Brahmin students had a good environment in the school because all friends and including their *Gurus* were Brahmin and some of them were their relatives. Educational attainments enhance their social position and give them more options to choose new occupation. Brahmin are more educated in comparison to the Damai, therefore, Brahmin are freer to choose a new occupation than caste-based occupation like priest.

Table-9
Family Income Source of the Respondents

<i>Brahmin</i>									<i>Damai</i>								
<i>Source of Family income</i>									<i>Source of Family income</i>								
<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Caste-occupation</i>	<i>Gov. Service</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Wage Labor</i>	<i>Rent</i>	<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>I/NGOs</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Caste-occupation</i>	<i>Gov. Service</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Wage Labor</i>	<i>Rent</i>	<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>I/NGOs</i>	<i>Other</i>
<i>15-24</i>	-	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	-	<i>1</i>	-	-	-	<i>15-24</i>	-	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>25-34</i>	-	<i>2</i>	<i>4</i>	-	<i>4</i>	-	-	-	<i>25-34</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	-	-	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	-
<i>35-44</i>	-	<i>3</i>	-	-	<i>1</i>	-	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>35-44</i>	<i>1</i>	-	-	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	-	-	-
<i>45-54</i>	-	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	-	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	-	-	<i>45-54</i>	<i>2</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>55-64</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	-	<i>4</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	-	<i>55-64</i>	<i>1</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>65-74</i>	<i>1</i>	-	-	-	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>	-	-	<i>65-74</i>	<i>1</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>75+</i>	-	-	<i>1</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>75+</i>								
<i>Total</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>
<i>%</i>	<i>4.6</i>	<i>22.8</i>	<i>22.8</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>9.0</i>	<i>4.6</i>	<i>2.2</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>37.5</i>	<i>12.4</i>	<i>6.3</i>	<i>12.4</i>	<i>18.8</i>	<i>6.3</i>	<i>6.3</i>	<i>0.0</i>

Source, Field Survey, 2008.

6.3. Family Income Source: The Question of Caste-Based Occupation

The data presented in table 9 shows that major source of income of the Damai is their traditional occupation whereas Brahmin it is not the case. More than 37% Damais continue their traditional occupation but only for the 4.6% Brahmins do so. This difference in the continuity of their caste-based occupation seems more significant in the sense that why Brahmin occupation priestly-service is going to decline whereas tailoring is not? The presented data in table 9 show that 12.4% Damai respondents are engaged in Government service, 6.3 in Business, 12.4% in wage labor, 18.8% in rent, 6.3% and 6.3% in agriculture and I/NGOs respectively. In the case of Brahmin respondents only 4.6% are engaged in priestly services. 22.8% respondents are engaged government services and equally percentage (22.8) in Business, 34% in rent, 9% in agriculture, 4.6% in NGOs and 2.2% in other occupation. There is no one Brahmin respondent engaged in wage labor as family income source where as more than 12.4 % Damai respondents stated that wage labor is the family income sources. New generations of Brahmin are unwilling to adopt/ follow the caste based occupation. Among the Brahmin respondent under the age of 54, there is no respondent ready to say priestly-services as the prime income source. But Damais respondents' opinion seems different as their new generation also wants adopts a caste based occupation as source of income. The traditional occupations are being given up and households appear to be adopting multiple livelihoods (income) options-i.e. Individuals single from different source (Frick 1986 cited in Chhettri 2006). The new occupation adopted than caste-based seems to more economic than other. Income sources are also the major cause to give up or adopt caste-based occupation such as priestly service or tailoring.

6.4. Continuity and Discontinuity of Caste-based Occupation

A question was asked to respondents of both castes about their inclination to continuity the traditional caste-based occupation or not. In the Brahmins case, the question was asked only to male respondents. Researcher wanted to know their attitude about their occupation. Several older Brahmin respondents stated that doing a priestly work is a cultural process. It should strictly follow the *Baidhic* norms and regulation. He has to be

spiritually clean and an expert in the rituals texts. They claimed that priestly-services should not be taken as the sources of livelihoods and it should be continued as to maintain the cultural order in the society.

Table (see 10) shows 56.3% Damais have continued their caste-based occupation whereas only 35.3% Brahmins have continued priestly service. 64.7% Brahmin respondents have discontinued their caste-based occupation whereas 43.7% Damais have only discontinued their caste- based occupation. This fact indicates that more Damais have continued their caste-based occupation than Brahmin. One forty-five-year old Brahmin respondents said that new generations have discontinued the priestly-services because it has no economic value.

Table-10
Continued and Discontinued Caste-based Occupation Caste by Age Groups of the Respondents

<i>Brahmin</i>			<i>Damai</i>		
<i>Age group</i>	<i>Occupation</i>		<i>Age group</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	
	<i>Continued</i>	<i>Discontinued</i>		<i>Continued</i>	<i>Discontinued</i>
15-24	-	3	15-24	-	3
25-34	1	6	25-34	3	2
35-44	1	4	35-44	3	1
45-54	2	4	45-54	1	1
55-64	5	4	55-64	1	
65-74	2	1	65-74	1	
75+	1		75+		
Total	12	22	Total	9	7
Total (%)	35.3	64.7	Total (%)	56.3	43.7

Source, Field survey, 2008.

As presented data in table 10 reveals that younger generation of both castes are discontinuing the traditional occupational in comparison to their elders. For instance, among those within the past 24 years seems to discontinue the caste based occupation in

both caste. This fact reveals that new generations are going to take new occupation. Above the age of 44 and under the age of 64 discontinuities of caste-based occupation also seen significant. Brahmin respondents Presented data in table 10 indicate that elders' generations are more inclined to the traditional occupation. Above the 55-years of both castes are continued their traditional occupation. Researcher found that Brahmin respondents who are above the 60-year-old are positive about priestly-services.

Table-11
Occupation: Preferences for Coming Generation (Children)

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Brahmin</i>								<i>Damai</i>								
	Preferences for coming generation								Preferences for coming generation								
	<i>Priestly-Service</i>	<i>Gov. Service</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Medical</i>	<i>Teaching</i>	<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>I/NGOs</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Tailoring</i>	<i>Gov. Service</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Medical</i>	<i>Teaching</i>	<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>I/NGOs</i>	<i>Other</i>
<i>15-24</i>	-	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	<i>15-24</i>	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-
<i>25-34</i>	-	2	5	2	1	-	-	-	<i>25-34</i>	-	2	2	-	-	-	1	-
<i>35-44</i>	-	-	3	1	1	-	-	1*	<i>35-44</i>	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-
<i>45-54</i>	1	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	<i>45-54</i>	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>55-64</i>	3	4	1	1	3	-	-	-	<i>55-64</i>	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>65-74</i>	1	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	<i>65-74</i>	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>75+</i>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>75+</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total</i>	5	11	13	7	6	0	1	1	<i>Total</i>	3	5	5	0	1	0	2	0
<i>Total (%)</i>	11.4	25	29.5	16	13.5	0	2.3	2.3	<i>Total (%)</i>	18.7	31.3	31.3	0	6.3	0	12.4	0

Source, Field Survey, 2008.

6.5. Occupation: Preferences for Coming Generation

There are indications of changes of occupation in the choice of occupations made by individual of both castes. The question was asked to the respondents about the preferred occupation for the coming generation. More than 29% respondent's of (priest and tailor) desire to see their new comers (children) to take up business and the new generations are more interested in it than the old one. The respondents less than 44 years are found more attracted in business area (table 11). 25% Brahmin respondents want their new generation to be involved in government services, whereas 31.3% Damais wanted to same. Non of respondent of both castes preferred agriculture as the choice of new comer's occupation. 25% of Brahmin respondents and 31.3 % Damai respondent liked to see their future generation to be in government services. Only about 11.4% Brahmin respondents and 18.7% Damai respondents would like to see their coming generation to continue their caste-based occupations. Older respondents of both castes are found to be(table 11 particularly over 50 years) desired to involve their children to continue their traditional occupation.

About 16% Brahmin respondents reported that medical sector would be favored sector for their future generation but non Damai respondent reported that medicine would be the occupation for their coming generation. Brahmin respondents are less interested to be involved in I/NGOs (2.3%) for their children, whereas Damais respondents reported their preferences in I/NGOs (12.4%). Non-respondents from both castes reported that agriculture as an occupation for their children. There is one respondent who want to send his children aboard as he seems very agitated to the current situation of Nepal.

The analysis thus reveals the current changing social perception about the occupation. It is assumed that teaching is not simply an occupation but it is taken as cultural agenda of orthodox Hindus societies. Teaching is equivalent to preaching in Hindu society, which was taken as much respected profession that was totally controlled by Brahmins in the past. But table 11 shows very different picture; they are less interested to prepare their new generation in teaching field. Both castes respondents want to see their children to be involved in business. Both castes of the respondents under the 44 years of age desired

their children to be the businesspersons. This perception implies that young generations are interested in entrepreneurship than older ones.

Traditionally, Brahmin families are engaged in literate professions-teacher, doctor, lawyer, engineer, government staff or whatever and want their children to continue such areas by new generation. But in the cases of Balkot, it seems different as that they (Brahman) are interested in business than in traditional occupation. What is the prime causes to change occupational tradition in Brahamn and Damai ?. One of the respondents reported very succinctly that business is only one alternative to earn money. Like a recent trend of leaving the nation to search work do not seem not popular in Balkot. There is only one respondent who reported that he want to send to his son in foreign land for job. He knew recent human resources crisis in the Austria, particularly in cooking, nursing, waiters and salesmen. Therefore he desires to train his son to these particular areas. He has taken an example of his friend's son who has already got Permanent Residence (PR) in Austria. He seems sure that his son will get PR (permanent resident) in Austria.

6.6. Changing Religion-Life: Changing occupational Value

The specific religion has a specific occupational value. Priest is taken as a symbol of purity whereas tailoring is taken as a symbol of pollution in conservative Hindu society. Such types of cultural norms also play the changing religious practices in Balkot. The Christianization process has affected the traditional Hindu-based practices such as tailoring, which is assumed to be caste-based practices. The culture of changing practice of religion in Nepal is relatively a new phenomenon. The law was practiced by the State and it was punishable who dared to change his/her religion before the 2046 B.S. After the restoration of democracy in 2046, the state became more liberal about religion practices and after 2063 the state became a secular.

The culture of Christianization is happening intense in Nepali societies in the recent time and that is more encroached to the unprivileged section of society such as Damai, Kami and other ethnic groups like Tamang. Discriminatory Hindu cultural practice has a prime role to be Christianization process in Damai.

Table-12
Changing Religion Life of the Respondents

<i>Age</i>	<i>Brahmin</i>		<i>Age</i>	<i>Damai</i>	
	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Christian</i>		<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Christian</i>
15-24	4	-	15-24		3
25-34	10	-	25-34	1	4
35-44	6	-	35-44	2	2
45-54	6	-	45-54	2	-
55-64	12	-	55-64	1	-
65-74	5	-	65-74	1	-
75+	1	-	75+		
Total	44	-	Total	7	9
%	100			43.7	56.3

Source, Field survey, 2008.

Data presented in table 12 shows some information about changing aspect of religious life in Nepali society. Given facts in the table succinctly informs that the adopting Christian religion seems high in Damai people. The new generation of Damai respondents has adopted Christian religion (more 56%) whereas all Brahmin respondents are Hindus (100%). Over the 45 years old of Damai respondents are all Hindus in conducting the fieldwork. The new generation has not only adopted Christianity but also they have abandoned the Hindu- cultural values, norms, and customs.

Most of the Damai respondents answered that limited upper castes such as Brahmin and Chhetris get more privilege in orthodox Hindu religion whereas lower castes such as Damai, Kami and other ethnic groups are the unprivileged sections.

CHAPTER-SEVEN

Changing Occupation and Social Relations

7.1. Occupation: Today

One major mode of sociological analysis focuses mainly on the frequency and qualities of social relationships (Inkeles 1999). Certain mode of occupation creates a specific mode of social relation in society and when the practices of occupation are changed; it also affects the social relations. Over a few decades, there are many factors such as education (table-8), changing cultural value (tables-9, and 12), and urbanization has played crucial role to change the caste-based occupational relation. Caste-based occupation has been dramatically discontinued and people adopted new one that creates new social relations. Among the Brahmin respondents under the age of 54, there is no respondent ready to say priestly-services as the prime income source. The data in table 9 shows 37% Damais continue their caste-based occupation whereas only 4.6% Brahmin respondents are engaged in priestly service and the rest respondents are found engage in others occupational area such as government service, business and trade, I/NGo, and wage labor respectively. New generations of Brahmin are unwilling to adopt/ follow the caste-based occupation. The traditional occupations are being given up and they appear to be adopting multiple livelihoods (income) options. After changing the caste-based occupation, the long rooted caste-based cultural relations also automatically changed.

7.2. Recent Changes in Balkot and Their Consequences to Caste-Based Occupation and Social Relations

When the researcher began the study of Brahmin and Damai in Balkot in November-December 2008, the researcher intended to study and analysis their caste-based occupational practices, i.e, priestly-service, a spiritual or non-secular occupation and tailoring a secular worldly or occupation. Within the few days of field study, the researcher began to realize that traditional occupational are gradually losing their strength from the local practices. Conversations with some young people revealed that they

viewed their occupations as incompatible and outmoded in the new changing situation. According to the narration with the respondents and other local people, the researcher presents some of the major changes in Balkot and its impact on caste-based occupation.

7.3. Changing Land Price and Size and Its Impact on Traditional Occupation

Armed conflict is not necessarily bad for all and it may generate more advantages to limited person or areas. A decade long revolutionary war waged by Maoist created unsafe scene in outside the valley. The conflict stricken families, who could be afforded entered Kathamandu valley, as it was relatively safe area. This conflict made the land price of Balkot high. Taking this as an opportunity, local Brahmin and Damai sold their land to start their business as retail shops, buss, banking, and schools etc. The shift of agro-based society to city-based, hence made the traditional caste-based occupational practices weak. Certainly there were many causes to escalate land prices in the valley. The researcher here is not going to underscore other factors that helped mount land prices and it is acknowledged well several other factors were also contribute raising the land price in the valley. In the fieldwork, the researcher randomly asked the question (respondents and other who could be in contact) about the prime cause of changing land price. The researcher found similar information that a long political conflict between Maoist and the government was the main factor to escalate the land price. If compared the changing land prices over 15 years in Balkot, it seems quite odds as the escalating rate was amazing.

Between 1990-95 one could buy 1 Anna at ten thousand rupees. After 5 years, it reached to Rs.50 thousands. In 2001 to 2005, the land price per Anna land was around 2 lakh 50 thousands. Since 2005 it has been dramatically raised and reached around 5 lakh plus (See anex-, table-A). This unusual hiking price of land directly influences their everyday social activities (relations) and entire lifestyle. While examining the sell out frequency of the land of the respondents over 15 years, there seems interestingly frequent selling the pieces of their land within this one and half decade of time period. The transaction of land has thus been frequented in Balkot while that was rare before. Almost all respondents have sold their land. 34% Brahmin respondents have sold their existing land more than three times whereas in the cases of Damai there is only 12.5 %. 14%

respondents have sold their land two times and 5 respondents have sold 3 times (see annex-I table B). In the case of Damai respondents have tentatively same.

7.4. Fragmentations of Land: Changing Agro-Based Social Relations

Agriculture was the most important sources of livelihood for the people of Balkot in the past and an agro-based economic relation was established within the various castes basically in rural villages of Nepal and India. Under these systems, the local people exchanged grain, commodities, craft service, and agricultural labor with the village.

The soil and size of land in Balkot was relatively suitable for subsistence's agriculture. The land of Balkot was very fertile with rich black alluvial soil giving extremely high yields of rice from the irrigated and intensively cultivated paddy fields. Agriculture, which was produced on this land, was the important source of the livelihood for the villager of Bhaktapur. One of the respondents revealed that the land of Balkot was totally utilized for subsistence strategy and villagers were recognized as agriculturists in the valley. Several *Rajkoloes* had been built across the cultivated land for the irrigation to their field. Maize, Millet, Buckwheat, Potato, Pulse, beans, Paddy and others kinds of vegetables were grown by the villagers for the purpose for household's consumption. Cattle were kept for milk and meat; Brahmin kept buffaloes, cows, and goats. Damai kept cows, goats, pigs and chicken. Keeping of pigs and chicken were cultural taboos in Brahmin families. Oxen were not kept because of the practice of ploughing were not there like other parts of Nepal.

7.5. Shifting from Agriculture: Shifting Occupational Social Relation

Agriculture was common practices for livelihood in Balkot in the past. In recent years, it has declined rapidly. About 68% Brahmin respondents have experienced about agriculture whereas only 50% Damais respondents have had that experience. Under age of 24 of both castes have not experienced about agriculture. The study reveals that aged Brahmin respondents are more involved in agriculture then aged Damai (see annex-I

table D). It implies that Damai survive on their caste-based occupation tailoring. But in the case of Brahmin seems differed because they would not able to survive by their caste-based occupation priestly services.

Since the early 1990s, the development of the infrastructure in Balkot lured outsider and many people started to search land for the purpose of building private resident because it was relatively less expensive. They could buy one Anna land at the rate of 50,000 Rupees. After the Maoist conflict, the transaction of land in saved areas became higher. Taking this as an opportunity, the local Brahman and Damai (and all castes) started to sell their land to those who wished to start to new area like business, such as retail shop, passenger buses, boarding school etc. As a result, agricultural lands were occupied by outsiders and agro-farming became impossible, because of land fragmentations. Ram Shrestha, VDC secretary of Balkot, who has been working there for last 15 years, reported that the land of Balkot has been fragmented into over two thousand small pieces in order to build houses for family settlement purpose, which was not more than 4-5 hundreds in 1995.

7.5.1 Collapsing Bali and Jajamani Relations

After the fragmentation of land people of Balkot gradually are shifted from agriculture to other occupations adopting new occupation such as business and so on. After collapsing the agriculture system in the village, all agro-based social relation became weak. In the past, the local Damai used to provide tailoring services to all other castes and received *bali* from their clients. When someone in village needed to make and repair his/ her clothes, she/ he went to her/ his household's tailor on contract and obtains the service without paying cash. For such annual services given to the clients, the tailor households received a certain portion of grain annually from every household of her/ his clientele (see Pokharel and Chhetri 2006). In the case of Brahmin priest is same. Priests were (are) essential to most life-cycle ceremonies and on numerous other occasions, such as the building of new houses and caldedrical rites and festivals. Brahmin received cash and grain and other goods at all the rituals they perform. Priests inherit clients from their fathers, and they can also seek them out. In exceptional cases, a client may change his

priest (Caplan 2005). In Durkhiamian term the society is likely to shift from the organic solidarity to mechanical solidarity. As consequences, traditionally rooted Jajamani system (patron client relation) embedded in Nepali agro-based society became rare. Local people including Brahmin and Damai in Balkot revealed that few portions of grain, vegetables and fruits were exchanged each other few years ago.

7.6.2. Collapsing Parma Relations

Parma (mutual exchange of labor) was wide tradition in agro-based society in Nepal and it was also prevalent in Balkot too. Parma as cultural institution practiced as social system which made symmetrical social relation. It was involved the sharing of human laborer in cultivating and harvesting the food crops. If a men or a women went to work in another family's field for a day, she expected a day's labor in return. After changing the agriculture practices in Balkot village such types of institutions disappeared.

7.7. Case Studies

Laxmi Prasad Dawadi

Sixty-six year old Laxmi Prasad Dawadi is known a *Purohit* in Balkot. He was educated in Sanskrit texts in *Gurukul* system and intermediated from *Banaras Bidhyapith*. Being a priest, he is respected in his surroundings. He is satisfied with his occupational role as priest in his long life. His *Banshawali* proved that he is the 7th generation of *pundit* Vagirath Prasad Dawadi who was royal kitchen priest of Gorkha. His father was a first person to settle in *Balkot* from the *Naikap* among the Dawadhi family. He has been continuing the caste-based occupation - the priestly services.

He said that caste is not the only criteria being a *Purohit* or priest but it is important one. He should be enlightened about the secular and spiritual world. Ritual Purity is essential. Brahmin should follow the certain rituals rules and regulation and strictly follow the Brahmin rules. Brahmin is not a caste but a certificate of *Bramhagyan*.

He said very succinctly to the researcher that to be *Purohit* (priest) is not for the purpose of earning or livelihoods rather it is for the preaching the spirituality (cosmology) behind

the physical world and emancipate cultural problem such as birth, marriage, death and so on. General people know the secular world because it is tested or physical. But there is another non-secular world that is taken a mysterious to the people. The Brahmin should teach the both world that helps run society well.

New generations are reluctant to be *Purohit* or priest because society acknowledged the economic value than a cultural one. The new education system has also discouraged the new generation to be priest. To be *Purohit* is necessary to be literate in Sanskrit, which is rarely possible to do now.

Shanker Nepali

Fifty-four year old Shanker Nepali was recognized as a good tailor in the Balkot VDC. Trained in tailoring practice at home from his elder family members, he has been sewing cloth from his early age. He is also recognized as a leader of the Musical Team (Damai are). A decade ago, he use to tailore in *Bali* system which is now totally changed in cash. His family is known as *Kalinjore* Damai (His forefather had migrated from *Kalinjore*, today in Kavre). He is third generation of *Kalinjore Damai Khalak* (lineage) in Balkot. He has four brothers and they have been continuing the tailoring occupation in Balkot and Lalitpur.

Balkot was an agricultural land and there were limited houses, he recalls his early days. I remember that there were only two-dozens of houses and among them 2/3 were Brahmins and rest were *Newarss*. They were very rigid Brahmin and we called them Guru. We used to go to work in *Bahun's* farmland and seldom went to the Newar's framland. They used to pay grain (*Aanna*).

He has three sons. The elder one son (Hari) is engaged in tailoring. Others two aren't in the tailoring occupation. He said that tailoring practice is in crisis because of the ready-made cloth market. I have not got any formal education from school but I can simply read and write.

CHAPTER-EIGHT

Conclusion

There are several causes to perform certain occupations for livelihood strategy in every society. And to some extent, occupation, migration, and social relation are interrelated phenomena. In sociological and anthropological point of view, occupation has not only the economic value but also the cultural values that can be the causes of migrating history of any caste and ethnic group, politics of power, and guiding norms of social relation such as, patron-client relations, marriage practices and so forth.

The objectives of this research are to study the Brahmin and Damai in Balkot, the migration and settlement history, changing pattern of caste-based occupational practices, and its consequences upon their social relations. This study was conducted in Balkot VDC, one of the urban-oriented Villages in Bhaktapur district. To make a study systematic and to meet the objectives of the present study, research methods like, selection of the study area, research design, universe and sampling procedure, sources of data, data analysis, technique of the data collection etc have been implied. There are 153 Brahmins and Damais households in study area. The numbers of caste respondents were taken on the tentative proportional basis of numbers of household composition where total house of Brahmins were 115 and Damais were 38. The total respondents were taken 60. Among them, Brahmin were 44 (73.3) and Damais were 16 (26.7) and all were above 15 years-old assuming that they can address the research problem.

Migration and Settlement History of Brahmin and Damai in Balkot.

Bhaktapur is known as an ancient home and cultural center of the *Newar* civilization. The process of *Parbatenization* in Balkot is not found more 2 hundred years. Penetration of the *Parbate* Brhmin priests and Damai tailors into the long rooted *Newar* civilization in Bhaktapur seems more interesting as it was purely a political and cultural motive.

The *Parbate* Brahmin and Damai have been settled in Balkot from the last two hundred years, and most of the present household heads are at least the third generation migrated from outside Bhaktapur. Historically *Parbatization* of hill culture in Bhaktapur seems notable in both cultural and political aspects. According to the oral history that is proved by their historical archives and land documentations and other old *Tamsuk* (debt voucher), the first non-*Newars* dwellers in Balkot were *Basitha* and *Kodelyan* lineage Brahmins. It is assumed that among sages *Basitha* and *Kaudelyan* were respected than other; therefore their descendents were invited by Chhetris. *Achayra*, *Neupane Poudel*, and *Dawadi* were the priest of Chhetries. The Damai respondents gave very inconsistent answers about their previous settlement history outside the valley. The respondents stated that at least their fourth generations have been settled in Balkot. Most of the respondents said that they were come from *Lother* (now around Gorkha and Thanahu) and *Kalinjore* (Kavre). They were not migrated from any specific area or region. They were invited in valley by the Chhetris to make strong political alliances and for cultural (rituals) fulfillment. Therefore, the first generations of the respondents (respondents are tentatively 3-5 generations) were all Brahmin were priests and Damais were tailors and musicians.

Generational Shift in Occupational Practice

In the caste hierarchy, the people carrying out a traditional occupation were assigned a definite caste name (Bhuretel and Chhetri 2006:16). Occupation is socio-cultural phenomenon and it cannot be isolated from the socio-cultural value to adopt or choose certain kind of occupation. There are many factors such as education, changing cultural value, and religion, political movement, and urbanization that played a crucial role for the generational shift in occupational shift. Caste-based occupation has been rapidly discontinued and people adapted new one that creates new social relations. Among the Brahmin respondents under the age of 54, there is no any respondent who is ready to choose priestly-service as an occupation. But among Damai respondents, 37% (table 9) are found different, as they want to continue their traditional occupation. This discrepancy in caste-based occupation seems more significant and raises the question: Why priestly occupation is going to decline whereas tailoring is not? It is easier to

analyze that this discrepancy between the caste allocated occupation of Brahmin and Damai i.e. priestly service and tailoring is related to the economic value. The tailoring has economic value whereas priestly a service has cultural value.

However, most of the people in both castes desire to see their children in different occupations than their traditional ones. The changing trend of religion has also affected caste-based occupation. Both castes want to see their children out of traditional occupation and adopt a more lucrative area so that they became economically strong.

Changing caste-based Occupational practices and Social relations

Every occupation creates a certain types of social relations. Caste-based-occupational relation is long rooted cultural particles in caste-based society. In the study area, the researcher found changing caste-based occupational practice that is the adoption of achievement based occupation from their traditional caste based occupation that was common in the past.

Specific social relations and cultural practices (any location such as Balkot other) can not be understood in isolation from the overall changing social context such as; urbanization process, conflict, revolution, environmental problem and so forth. Balkot is changed itself within the last one and half-decade. Before the 1990 Balkot was like a rural village in Nepal and social relations were agro-based traditional caste-based. Within the last 15 years of urbanization process was in fact facilitated by a decade long armed conflict across the nation that leave Balkot an urban society at present. The researcher found similar report that a decade-long political conflict between Maoist and the then government was the main factor to escalate the land price. This unusual hiking of price of land directly influenced their everyday social activities (relation) and entire lifestyle of existing social relation such as *Jajamani*, and *Prama*. The land of Balkot has been fragmented into over two thousand small pieces in order to build for private residence, which was not more than 4-5 hundreds in 1995. That fragmentation shifted agro-based social practices to urban-based relations. The increased price of their land brought about their better socio-economic status and thus the everyday social activities, entire lifestyle, and the exiting social relation such as *Jajamani*, and *Prama*.

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Interview Schedule

1. Respondent-Person name.....

Address.....

Age.....Sex.....Caste.....Education.....

Religion..... Language.....

2. Family Size: numbers of the family members

Individual ID Full Name	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Education	Relational Status	Occupation	Language

3. How long have you been living here (in Balkot)?

.....

4. Do you know of your migrating/ Settlement history?

.....

5. *What is your main source of Family income?*

Caste-based Occupation

House-rent

Government Service

I/NGOs Service

Agriculture

Business

Labor wage

Other (specify)

6. *What is your parent's source of Family income?*

Caste-based Occupation

House-rent

Government Service

I/NGOs Service

Agriculture

Business

Labor wage

Other (specify)

7. *What is your parent's occupation?*

Caste-based Occupation

Government Service

I/NGOs Service

Agriculture

Business

Labor wage

Other (specify)

8. *What do you think relation between caste-based occupation and of your migrating/
Settlement history?*

.....
.....
.....

9. *Do you agree that the caste system contains a specific occupation in the society? And why?*

21. What are the relation between changing occupation and Social relation?

Annex- I

Table- A

Changing Land Prices over 15 Years in Balkot

<i>Time</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Rs</i>
1990-1995	Per 1 Aana	10,000
1996-2000	Per 1 Aana	50,000
2001-2005	Per 1 Aana	2.,50,000
2006-	Per 1 Aana	500000+

Source, field survey, 2008

Table-B

Sale-Out Frequency of the Land of the Respondents over 15 Years

	<i>Number of Respondents (%)</i>	<i>sales-out Frequency</i>		<i>Number of Respondent (%)</i>	<i>sales-out Frequency</i>
<i>Brahmin</i>	0 (0)	0	<i>Damai</i>	0 (0)	0
	10(22.7)	1		4 (25.0)	1
	14 (31.8)	2		6 (37.5)	2
	5 (11.4)	3		4 (25.0)	3
	15(34.1)	more than 3		2 (12.5)	more than 3

Source, Field Survey, 2008

Table- C
Experiences of Agricultural practice of respondents in study Area

<i>Age</i>	<i>Brahmin</i>		<i>Age</i>	<i>Damai</i>	
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>		<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
15-24	-	4	15-24	-	3
25-34	5	5	25-34	2	3
35-44	1	5	35-44	2	2
45-54	6	-	45-54	2	-
55-64	12	-	55-64	1	-
65-74	5	-	65-74	1	-
75+	1	-	75+		
Total	30	14	Total	8	8
Percentage	68.2%	31.8%		(50%)	(50%)

Source, Field Survey, 2008