



# Dalits and Labour in Nepal: Discrimination and Forced Labour



Decent Work for all Women and Men in Nepal

# **Dalits and Labour in Nepal: Discrimination and Forced Labour**

Series **5**

International Labour Organization ILO in Nepal

Copyright © International Labour Organization 2005  
First published 2005

Publications of the International Labour Office enjoy copyright under Protocol 2 of the Universal Copyright Convention. Nevertheless, short excerpts from them may be reproduced without authorization, on condition that the source is indicated. For rights of reproduction or translation, application should be made to the Publications Bureau (Rights and Permissions), International Labour Office, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland. The International Labour Office welcomes such applications.

Libraries, institutions and other users registered in the United Kingdom with the Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London W1T 4LP [Fax: (+44) (0)20 7631 5500; email: [cla@cla.co.uk](mailto:cla@cla.co.uk)], in the United States with the Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923 [Fax: (+1) (978) 750 4470; email: [info@copyright.com](mailto:info@copyright.com)] or in other countries with associated Reproduction Rights Organizations, may make photocopies in accordance with the licenses issued to them for this purpose.

## **Dalits and Labour in Nepal: Discrimination and Forced Labour**

Kathmandu, Nepal, International Labour Office, 2005

ISBN 92-2-115351-7

The designations employed in ILO publications, which are in conformity with United Nations practice, and the presentation of material therein do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the International Labour Office concerning the legal status of any country, area or territory or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers.

The responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles, studies and other contributions rests solely with their authors, and publication does not constitute an endorsement by the International Labour Office of the opinions expressed in them.

Reference to names of firms and commercial products and processes does not imply their endorsement by the International Labour Office, and any failure to mention a particular firm, commercial product or process is not a sign of disapproval.

ILO publications can be obtained through major booksellers or ILO local offices in many countries, or direct from ILO Publications, International Labour Office, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland. Catalogues or lists of new publications are available free of charge from the above address, or by email: [pubvente@ilo.org](mailto:pubvente@ilo.org)

Visit our website: [www.ilo.org/publns](http://www.ilo.org/publns)

Printed by Format Printing Press for ILO Office in Nepal

**Printed in Nepal.**

<b>Abbreviations and Acronyms</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Foreword</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>Executive Summary</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>Maps</b>	<b>xix</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Concepts and Definitions	1
1.1.1 Caste and ethnic groups	1
1.1.2 Dalit	1
1.1.3 Prejudice	2
1.1.4 Discrimination	2
1.1.5 Discrimination in labour	3
1.1.6 Work and labour	3
1.1.7 Employment and occupation	4
1.1.8 Labour force, work force and labour force participation rate	4
1.1.9 Participation	4
1.1.10 Child labour	4
1.1.11 The worst forms of child labour	5
1.1.12 Forced labour	5
1.1.13 Slavery and slave	6
1.1.14 Sex, gender and gendering	6
1.1.15 Bista	6
1.2 Nepalese Society and the Caste System	6
1.3 Caste Discrimination	7
<b>Chapter 2: Dalits in Nepal</b>	<b>9</b>
2.1 Demographics	9
2.1.1 Dalit population	8
2.1.2 Distribution of Dalit population	15
2.1.3 Household size, sex composition and age structure	15
2.1.4 Migration, dependency ratio, index of ageing, median age and morbidity	15
2.1.5 Adult literacy and education	16
2.1.6 Labour force	17
2.2 Hierarchy within Dalits	17
2.2.1 Hierarchy within hill Dalits	17
2.2.2 Hierarchy within terai Dalits	18
2.2.3 Hierarchy within Newar Dalits	18
2.2.4 Hierarchy as a lived experience	19

<b>Chapter 3: Socio-cultural, Economic and Political Exclusion, Occupations and Access to Resources</b>	<b>21</b>
3.1 Participation at Local Level	21
3.1.1 Participation in socio-cultural and economic processes	21
3.1.2 Political exclusion	24
3.2 Exclusion at Macro Level	24
3.2.1 Exclusion from socio-cultural and economic processes	24
3.2.2 Exclusion from macro-level politics	27
3.3 Occupations and Access to Resources	29
3.3.1 Traditional occupations	29
3.3.2 Major occupations	30
3.3.2.1 <i>Perception of income levels in various occupations</i>	32
3.3.2.2 <i>Perceptions of social status of various occupations</i>	32
3.3.2.3 <i>Production of goods</i>	32
3.3.2.4 <i>Markets for commodities produced</i>	33
3.3.2.5 <i>Problems in marketing</i>	33
3.3.2.6 <i>Non-traditional activities</i>	33
3.3.2.7 <i>Occupational mobility</i>	34
3.3.2.8 <i>Training</i>	35
3.4.1 Access to resources	35
3.4.2.1 <i>Access to land</i>	36
3.4.2.2 <i>Income and consumption</i>	36
3.4.3.3 Access to credit	36
3.4.3.3.1 <i>Sources of credit and nature of transactions</i>	36
3.4.3.3.2 <i>Purposes of borrowing</i>	37
3.4.3.3.3 <i>Indebtedness</i>	37
<b>Chapter 4: Dalits and Labour</b>	<b>39</b>
4.1 Occupations and Livelihoods	39
4.2 Discrimination in Labour	40
4.2.1 Discrimination in employment	40
4.2.1.1 <i>Wages/Salaries</i>	40
4.2.1.2 <i>Work allocation</i>	40
4.2.1.3 <i>Conditions at the work place</i>	41
4.2.2 Forced labour	41
4.2.2.1 <i>Perceptions and experience of forced labour</i>	41
4.2.2.2 <i>Factors, individuals and groups forcing continuation of traditional occupations</i>	42
4.2.2.3 <i>The patron-client or the Bista system</i>	42
4.2.2.4 <i>Carcass disposal</i>	43
4.2.2.5 <i>Commercial sexwork</i>	
4.2.2.6 <i>Carrying the sick, dead and bridegrooms</i>	44
4.2.2.7 <i>Casual and irregular jobs</i>	44
4.2.2.8 <i>Threats for resisting forced labour</i>	44
4.2.3 Child labour	44
4.2.3.1 <i>The worst forms of child labour</i>	45
4.2.4 Other manifestations of labour discrimination	47

<b>Chapter 5: Escaping Strategies and Coping Mechanisms</b>	<b>49</b>
5.1 Escaping Strategies	49
5.1.1 Migration	49
5.1.2 Change of traditional surname	51
5.1.3 Religious conversion	51
5.2 Coping Mechanisms	51
5.2.1 Education and skill development	51
5.2.2 Sanskritization	51
5.2.3 Political extremism	51
<b>Chapter 6: Legislation, Policies and Programmes for Reducing Labour Discrimination</b>	<b>53</b>
6.1 Domestic Legislation	53
6.1.1 Moral sanctions	53
6.1.2 Legal sanctions	53
6.2 Policies and Programmes	56
6.2.1 Recent government policy measures	61
6.2.2 Initiatives from INGOs, NGOs and multilateral and bilateral donor agencies	61
6.2.2.1 ILO, decent work and poverty reduction	62
<b>Chapter 7: Dalit Civil Society Movement</b>	<b>65</b>
7.1 Background	65
7.1.1 Geographic coverage, programmes, activities and target groups	65
7.1.2 Size and resources of DNGOs	65
7.1.3 DNGOs' affiliations	66
7.2 Findings and Conclusions	66
<b>Chapter 8: Conclusion and Recommendations</b>	<b>69</b>
8.1 Conclusion	69
8.2 Recommendations	71
8.2.1 Legislation and policy	71
8.2.2 Advocacy	71
8.2.3 Interventions	72
8.2.3.1 Awareness raising	72
8.2.3.2 Capacity building	72
8.2.4 Monitoring and evaluation	72
8.2.5 Research	73
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>Annexes</b>	<b>81</b>

## List of Boxes

<b>Box 2.1: Casteism within Dalits</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Box 3.1: Denying Dalits Access to Public Resources</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Box 4.1: Blockading of a Dalit Village</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>Box 4.2: Kalawati: Faced with an uncertain future</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>Box 4.3: Dalit Girls are Touchable!</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>Box 4.4: Mithuwa Musahar: Child domestic labour</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>Box 5.1: Migration: Escaping untouchability</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>Box 5.2: Migrating to Capital City in Search of Job</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>Box 6.1: Discrimination in Citizenship</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>Box 6.2: Some Court Cases Pertaining to Dalits</b>	<b>63</b>

## List of Tables

<b>Table 2.1: Dalit Population in Nepal, 1991 and 2002</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Table 2.2: 'Untouchable' and 'Touchable but Water Unacceptable' Groups as per the Old Civil Code</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Table 2.3: Dalit Population in 2001 as per the list prepared by the Dalit Development Committee</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Table 2.4: Groups defined as Dalit in this Study</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Table 2.5: Status of Adult Literacy of Dalit Population by Caste and Sex</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Table 3.1: Integrated National Caste/Ethnicity Index of Governance 1999</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Table 3.2: Caste/Ethnicity Analysis of Leadership Position Holders in the Royal Nepal Academy and other Cultural Associations 2002</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Table 3.3: Caste/Ethnicity Analysis of Academic and Administrative Leadership Position Holders at Tribhuvan University 2002</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Table 3.4: Caste/Ethnicity Analysis of Leadership Position Holders in Scientific Organizations and Professional Associations 2002</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Table 3.5: Caste/Ethnicity Composition of Police Officers 2002</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Table 3.6: Traditional Occupations associated with Different Caste Groups</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>Table 3.7: Distribution of Income and Expenditure by Major Caste/Ethnic Categories</b>	<b>36</b>

## abbreviations and acronyms

CBO	Community-based Organization
CDO	Chief District Officer
CERD	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CERID	Research Centre for Educational Innovation and Development
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DANIDA	Danish International Development Assistance
DDC	District Development Committee
DFID	Department for International Development
D-LAC	Dalit Legal Aid Centre
DNF	Dalit NGO Federation
DNGO	Dalit Non-governmental Organization
DWO	Dalit Welfare Organization
FEDO	Feminist Dalit Organization
FY	Fiscal Year
HMG/N	His Majesty's Government of Nepal
HUGOU	Human Rights and Good Governance Advisory Unit
ICERD	International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
ICIMOD	International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
INSEC	Informal Sector Service Centre
JUP	Jan Utthan Pratisthan
LSGA	Local Self-Governance Act 1999
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
NESAC	Nepal South Asia Centre
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NPC	National Planning Commission
SDC	Swiss Development Cooperation
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VDC	Village Development Committee





One of the key factors that perpetuate poverty is social and economic exclusion through discrimination. In Nepal, the issue of social and economic exclusion occupies a vital position in many development agendas that aim at reducing widespread poverty in the country. Dalits, one of the most marginalized groups in Nepal, are still facing several forms of discrimination in all sectors, including the workplace. As a result, Dalits today stand at the bottom of most indicators of socio-economic development.

The ILO acknowledges that caste-based discrimination is a socio-economic and cultural problem. Discrimination in employment and work is perceived by Dalits as the most important factor preventing them from improving their current situation. Discrimination needs to be eliminated both from the workplace and from society at large so that Dalits can live and work in conditions of freedom, equity, security and dignity. This goal can be achieved only through increased social awareness of both Dalits and non-Dalits, and through the enhancement of their ability to function and to engage, as well as to influence and hold accountable, the institutions that affect them. The ILO, as the leading international agency responsible for setting labour standards, believes that the State and employers can and should take measures to end caste-based discrimination within the workplace. ILO Convention No. 111 on Discrimination in Employment and Occupation can be instrumental in preventing caste-based discrimination at the workplace. Nepal has ratified both Convention No. 111 and the Equal Remuneration Convention (No. 100), which are among the ILO's fundamental Conventions.

This study was carried out by TEAM Consult and the Dalit Welfare Organization (DWO) and was commissioned by the ILO Office in Nepal. The key objective of this study was to analyse discrimination against occupational castes (Dalits) in the labour sector, as well as forced and child labour when it occurs.

The study clearly reveals that there is no consensus on the definition and identification of Dalits and that Dalits have not agreed to the way they are defined. It also shows that the implementation of relevant UN and ILO conventions, as well as domestic laws pertaining to discrimination in labour, to forced labour and to child labour, including its worst forms, needs to be reviewed. We hope that this study will be fruitful for those individuals and institutions who are working towards making Nepal an all-inclusive society.

We would like to thank TEAM Consult and DWO for undertaking this challenging task for the ILO. We would also like to express our sincere appreciation of Ms Constance Thomas, Mr John Woodall, Ms Sukti Dasgupta, Ms Judith Sanderse, Ms Manuela Tomei, Dr Jyoti Tuladhar, Ms Sarah Webster, Ms Zamila Banglawala, Mr Patrick Daru (Chief Technical Advisor), Mr Eric Beemsterboer (Associate Expert), Mr Uddhav Raj Poudyal (National Project Manager), Mr Saloman Rajbanshi (Programme Officer) and Ms Yuve Guluma for their valuable comments and support in conceptualizing and editing earlier drafts of the study and for their close collaboration with TEAM and DWO. Thanks to Mr Hirendra Lal Karna and Mr Ram Saran Thapa for their administrative and logistics support. Last but not the least, we are thankful to Ms Bronwyn Hudson for editing the initial draft of the report and to Mr Anil Shrestha for the final editing.

**Leyla Tegmo-Reddy**

Director

ILO Office in Nepal

August 2005



## acknowledgements

**W**e would like to express our appreciation of the ILO Office in Nepal for giving us the opportunity to undertake this study. We would also like to express our sincere appreciation and thanks to individuals at the ILO Office in Nepal: Ms Leyla Tegmo-Reddy (Director), Mr Patrick Daru (Chief Technical Advisor), Mr Erik Beemsterboer (Associate Expert), Mr Uddhav Raj Poudyal (National Project Manager), Mr Saloman Rajbanshi (Programme Officer), Mr Ram Saran Thapa (Senior Secretary) and Mr Hirendra Lal Karna (Administrative Assistant) for their constant encouragement and support to materialize the study. Many organizations helped us in the course of this study. Their cooperation is gratefully acknowledged. Last but not the least, the comments of Ms Constane Thomas, Mr John Woodall, Ms Sukti Dasgupta, Ms Judith Sanderse, Ms Manuela Tomei, Dr Jyoti Tuladhar and Ms Sarah Webster were immensely valuable and are duly acknowledged.

TEAM Consult

## Study Team

### Senior Research Team

Dr Jit B Gurung  
Deepak Neupane  
Bharat Devkota  
Sujata Ghimire  
Moti Lal Nepali

Advisor  
Study coordinator  
Member  
Member  
Field Coordinator

### Support Staff

Pushpa Raj Devkota  
Sachin Shrestha  
Heman Gurung

Bibhu Bikram Pant  
Resam Sunar  
Ganesh Nepali

### Field Staff

Khadga B Karki  
Dupchen Lama  
Chakra Man BK  
Om Prakash Lamichhane  
Thakur Prasa Rasaiealy  
Sarada BK  
Sunita Maharjan  
Sarswati Katuwal  
Yosodha BK  
Shiba B Sunar  
Bishwo Raj Rasaiealy  
Pradeep Pariyar  
Ganesh K Yadav  
Anup Kamal BK  
Mamata Kumari Chaudhari

Nirmal Shrestha  
Ganesh Kaliraj  
Gajadhar Sunar  
Dharma Raj Gharti  
Dhan B Lamsal  
Shovita Dhakal  
Rasila Shrestha  
Pabita Pariyar  
Bhoj Man Lamgade  
Rajan Sunar  
Suman BK  
Bhagawat Ram  
Santosh BK  
Yagya K BK  
Kumar Shrestha

## **A. Study Objectives**

1. This study deals with the extent of discrimination prevalent against Dalits in Nepal in the world of work, forced labour and child labour, as well as the gender relations within the Dalit communities, in relation to the existing constitutional and legal provisions as well as the relevant United Nations (UN) and International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions ratified by the government of Nepal.

## **B. Methodology and Coverage**

2. The study employed a multi-method strategy. The household survey incorporated major Dalit groups and covered 1,454 households in 33 clusters of 11 districts: three from the mountain region, four from the hills and four from the terai, and is, therefore, spatially representative of Nepal.

## **C. Sample Population**

3. The total Dalit population taken in this study was 8,433: 4,638 males and 3,795 females. About 41.7 per cent of the sample population was below 15 years of age.

## **D. Nepalese Society and the Caste System**

4. Although the Nepali society is multiethnic, multi-religious, multicultural and multilingual, the Hindu religion and the all-pervasive caste system have a hegemonic hold on it. The caste system, which has its roots in the ancient religious texts, codes and traditions derived from them, was formalized by the 1854 Civil Code. Although it was legally abolished by an amendment of the old Civil Code in 1963, the caste system, including untouchability, is still practised in the Nepali society.

## **E. Demographics**

5. The exact population of Dalits in Nepal is not known largely due to the absence of a generally acceptable definition of Dalits. The total population of the 10 Dalit groups enumerated in the 1991 census is 2,201,781, or 11.91 per cent of the total population.

## **F. Socio-cultural, Economic and Political Exclusion**

6. Socio-cultural exclusion of Dalits can be seen in a variety of socio-cultural settings, particularly in those areas where they have to be in close physical contact with 'upper caste' people or touch water and food items: funeral or birth rites, wedding ceremonies, community feasts or cultural programmes, community meetings and training, non-formal educational classes and income-generating activities.
7. Income-earning white-collar jobs—clerical or professional—are largely unavailable for Dalits mainly because of their relatively low educational status, apart from their 'untouchable' status.
8. As a result of the low participation of Dalits in socio-cultural and economic processes, among all population groups, Dalits possess the least awareness of different interventions of socio-economic uplift and fare the worst in virtually all conceivable indicators of socio-cultural and economic participation. Similarly, they have the lowest annual per capita income, expenditure, savings and investment. The magnitude of exclusion of Dalits is reflected by all indicators, including the Human Development Index (1996), which is the lowest for Dalits among all listed groups.

9. As opposed to Bahuns and Chhetris, who dominate all major political parties, Dalits have the least political participation at various levels. An overwhelming majority of Dalits (86.56%) are not members of any political organizations. In the 1997 election for VDC chairpersons, Bahuns/Chhetris (54.42%) and Janajatis (39.86%) constituted the majority, whereas Dalits constituted a mere 1.63 per cent of the 735 VDC chairpersons.
10. The low socio-cultural and economic participation of Dalits at the local level is also reflected at the national level. Dalits are excluded from leadership positions in civil society organizations and political parties, as well as in trade, industry, science and technology. They have hardly been able to make inroads into the apex of political institutions in terms of holding central-level leadership positions of political parties. They are excluded from all institutions of governance, and from academic and professional leadership in the education sector. There was not even a single Dalit among the chief district officers and secretaries in ministries until 1959 and so is the case in 1999. Similarly, the Dalit presence is nil in the Supreme Court. The representation of Dalits among police officers and in the armed forces is quite negligible.

## **G. Occupations**

11. The Dalit respondents still practised their traditional occupations such as blacksmith work, tailoring, leatherwork, goldsmith work, copper/bronze work, earth-digging, sweeping and cleaning, ploughing, musical instrument playing, human waste disposal and carcass disposal. These occupations were performed on an *ad hoc* basis and did not contribute much to the household's livelihood.
12. Many Dalits groups embraced activities in both agricultural and non-agricultural sectors when traditional occupations did not bring expected returns or when they could not compete with factory-produced goods. Non-traditional occupations were diverse, and included agricultural wage labour, regular job or service, farming, retail store, hotel/restaurant and construction businesses. Occupational mobility towards more gainful jobs was, however, limited.

## **H. Access to Resources**

13. Caste hierarchy in the Nepali society broadly corresponds to the economic position of the particular caste group. 'Lower caste' people tend to be poor also because of their reduced access to both material and non-material resources. Being born into a 'lower caste' household implies much greater likelihood of reduced access to resources and thus falling into the poverty trap as compared to being born in an 'upper caste' family.
14. Dalits possess the least amount of land, which is, apart from being the most important means of production, an important determinant of social status in agricultural countries, like Nepal. Again, they exhibit the lowest household income among major caste and ethnic groups. As a result, their consumption and thereby health and productive power are quite low.
15. Around 44 per cent of all respondents had borrowed loans from various sources, including local moneylenders, commercial banks and relatives. Around 15 per cent of those who had borrowed loans had to render additional services to those from whom they had borrowed loans, indicating a link between credit and labour exploitation, as well as the high transaction cost of borrowing for Dalits.

## **I. Discrimination in Labour**

16. Although legal provisions prohibit discrimination on the ground of caste, institutional exclusion of, and discrimination against, Dalits is widespread. Discrimination in employment is one of the most important areas of discrimination perceived by the Dalits themselves. Only a negligible number of Dalits are employed in the government bureaucracy, including in the armed forces, the police, government corporations and establishments.

17. Discrimination in employment has both direct or intentional and indirect aspects. For example, the low employment rate of Dalits in the government sector can largely be attributed to their low level of education, which again is related to their Dalit status in society. This form of discrimination can, therefore, be seen as indirect discrimination. At the same time, it also has elements of direct discrimination in the sense that the government sector is dominated by 'upper caste' people, who tend to favour candidates belonging to their own castes when the matter concerns hiring or promoting personnel.

## **J. Forced Labour**

18. Apart from direct compulsion to do forced labour, Dalits are also engaged in indirect forced labour. Many poor and landless Dalits continue their traditional caste-based occupations no matter how humiliating they may be, such as *Balighare*, *Haliya* and *Hali*. In addition, they are asked to perform casual and irregular jobs with little or no wages. In many cases, they have to work for 'upper caste' households and/or also send their children to work to repay their loans.
19. They are often told to carry out odd jobs or run errands at the beck and call of 'upper castes'. Quite often they are not paid for such work and even if paid the wages are minimal.
20. Dalits experience the threat of exclusion, such as denial of access to labour, exclusion from social gatherings, *rites de passage*, festivities and other community as well as religious activities, at the hands of 'upper caste' groups for resisting the prevalent forced labour.

## **K. Wages and Salaries**

21. Although around 63 per cent of the respondents were engaged in those occupations that brought quite low returns, they had no alternative other than to continue with them. About 19 per cent of them believed that 'upper caste' people received higher returns from the same job; around 23 per cent felt that their current jobs were linked to their caste status; and around 71 per cent believed that even if they got some jobs in the informal or private sector, they would be paid lower wages and salaries than their 'upper caste' colleagues. These perceptions were validated by the finding that Dalits received on average Rs96 for a day's work: around Rs78 for a female and Rs99 for a male worker. The mean market wage for the same kind of job was around Rs105: around Rs88 for a female and Rs111 for a male worker.

## **L. Work Allocation**

22. Hindu scriptures reserve certain coveted occupations for 'upper caste' people, while 'lower caste' people are relegated to perform occupations that are considered dirty and impure, and require brute physical force to be done. The latter have to engage in these occupations even if they do not like. So, if 'upper caste' people are involved in socially prestigious work, Dalits find themselves in socially the most detested physical work. Thus, today, 'upper caste' people are dominant in all sectors of employment, whereas most Dalits earn meagre living from traditional occupations and wage labour.

## **M. Conditions at the Workplace**

23. Discrimination against Dalits is common at workplaces throughout the country's rural areas. Dalits have to maintain physical distance from their 'upper caste' colleagues. They can neither eat with them nor drink water from the same pitcher. However, today this is not usually the case in an urban setting or at workplaces involving large numbers of workers from different places who are not known to each other, unlike in a typical village setting.
24. Lack of contractual arrangements often empowers employers to demand doing of jobs at odd hours. The caste system, which has rendered Dalits politically and socially weak, denies them



the opportunity to negotiate appropriate prices for their skills and products with their 'upper caste' clients. Dalits themselves have not been able to forge a collective force to bargain and negotiate. Fulfilment of immediate needs rather than receiving delayed benefits through proper contractual arrangements is more important for Dalits.

25. Direct and intentional forms of discrimination in labour, based on Dalits' perceived untouchable status, are still rampant in the informal sector in rural areas. In contrast to the direct forms of discrimination, indirect forms of discrimination, largely due to the historical legacy of the caste system, as manifested in the Dalits' low socio-economic and political status, as well as subsequent low employment in the organized sectors, are seen to be important.

## **N. Child Labour**

26. Although the Children's Act 1991 prohibits the employment of any child in any enterprise, around 18 per cent of the Dalit children were involved in their traditional occupations such as sweeping and human waste disposal; leatherwork and midwifery; earthwork and soil-digging; and laundry washing. Child labour was more prevalent in the terai than in the hill region. Around 8 per cent of all Dalit children are victims of slavery or slavery-like practices. Children also worked to pay back their parents' debts or helped their parents in cultivating the land of 'upper caste' households in return for food or shelter, or both. Dalit children were involved in hazardous and arduous jobs such as picking and collecting rags, metal scraps and glasses; disposing of carcasses; cremating dead bodies; disposing of human waste; portering; working in coalmines, etc.

## **O. Escaping Strategies and Coping Mechanisms**

27. Dalits employ various strategies and mechanisms to escape caste discrimination. Migration, changing of surname and religious conversion can be seen as escaping strategies, whereas efforts to get better education and skills, sanskritization and political extremism can be seen as coping mechanisms.
28. Migration is one of the strategies for escaping from a situation where caste discrimination is still a pervasive phenomenon. A majority of migrants choose 'abroad' (59.7%) as their destination, with 'India' as the most important destination within this category, followed by 'nation's capital-city' (23.6%) and 'urban areas' (13.1%). One of the contemporary escaping strategies is adopting non-traditional surnames, which does work when they migrate to urban centres. Similarly, change of religion is another escaping strategy.
29. Higher education is an effective coping mechanism, though not many Dalits in Nepal can afford higher education. Similarly, skill development helps the Dalit labour force to escape from discrimination in the labour market.
30. Education, religion and adoption of 'upper caste' surnames can be seen as some of the aspects of sanskritization.

## **P. Policies and Programmes for Reducing Labour Discrimination**

31. The right to enjoy human rights without discrimination is one of the fundamental principles underlying the Nepalese legal system. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990 explicitly guarantees equality in the legal system, and calls for moral and legal sanctions to protect the human rights.
32. Among legislative provisions, the Civil Liberty Act 1954 prohibits any restrictions on any citizen on the grounds of religion, race, sex, caste or any of these in any appointment to the civil service. The Act also provides grounds for affirmative actions in favour of socially and economically backward communities. The Citizens' Rights Act 1970 guarantees that no person

shall be employed or forced to perform jobs against his or her wishes. The Legal Aid Act 1998 seeks to apply the principle of equal justice for the socially and economically underprivileged and other disadvantaged groups such as Dalits, women and ethnic groups by providing necessary legal aid for these people. The Local Self-Governance Act (LSGA) 1999 seeks to institutionalize the process of development through wider participation, including that of the Dalit communities. It requires local bodies to undertake activities for the benefit of women, backward communities and differently able persons.

33. The Eighth Plan (1992-1997), for the first time in the history of the country's periodic plans, spelt out some policies and programmes for Dalits, but they were neither designed with the concept of decentralization in mind nor formulated and implemented with the participation of the beneficiaries. The Ninth Plan (1997-2002) contained a separate chapter outlining the objectives, policies, strategies and programmes for Dalits and other disadvantaged groups. The plan provided for separate treatment for Dalits, which indicates evolution of concern for Dalits in the government. The Tenth Plan (2002-2007) deals specifically with the issues pertaining to the uplift of the living standard of Nepal's Dalits, and lays down a long-term vision for the promotion of empowerment and self-esteem of Dalits by mainstreaming them. It explicitly spells out a programme for incorporating Dalit problems, untouchability and the existing caste ethos in textbooks to create awareness of these issues.
34. The implementation and enforcement part of these domestic and international legal provisions, as well as government policies and plans, is, however, very weak. As a result, these have not been able to substantively reduce labour discrimination in Nepal.

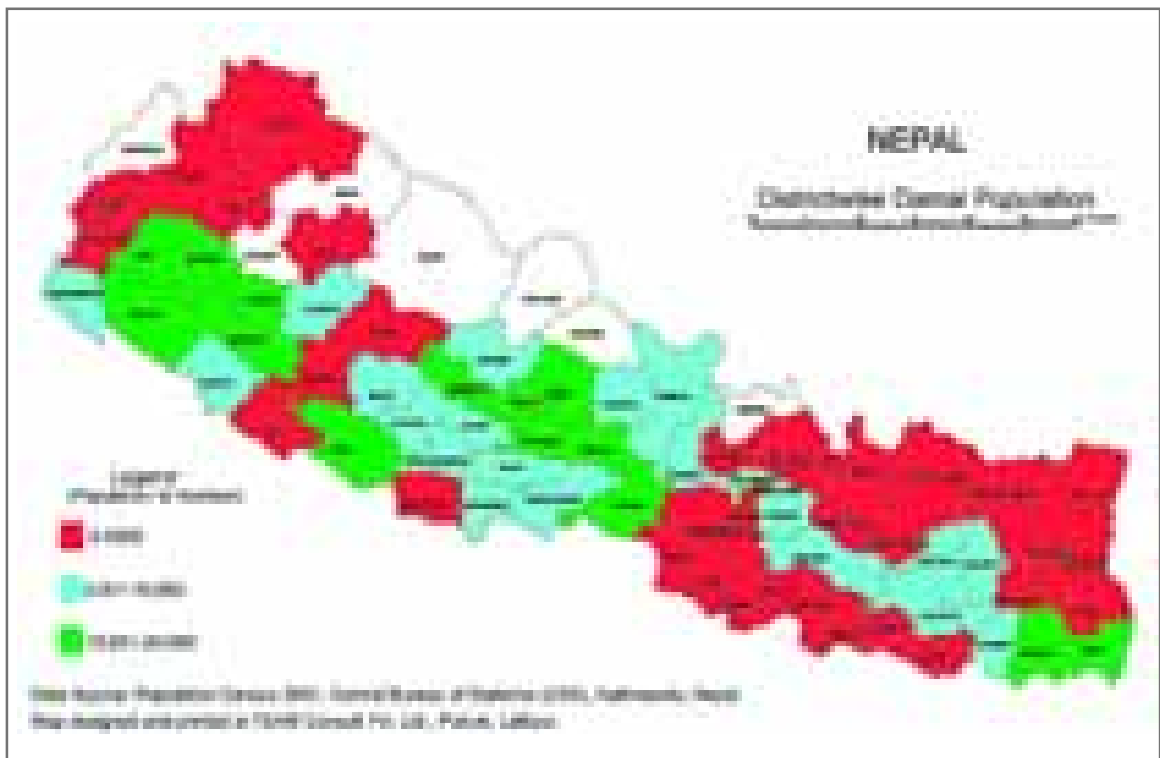
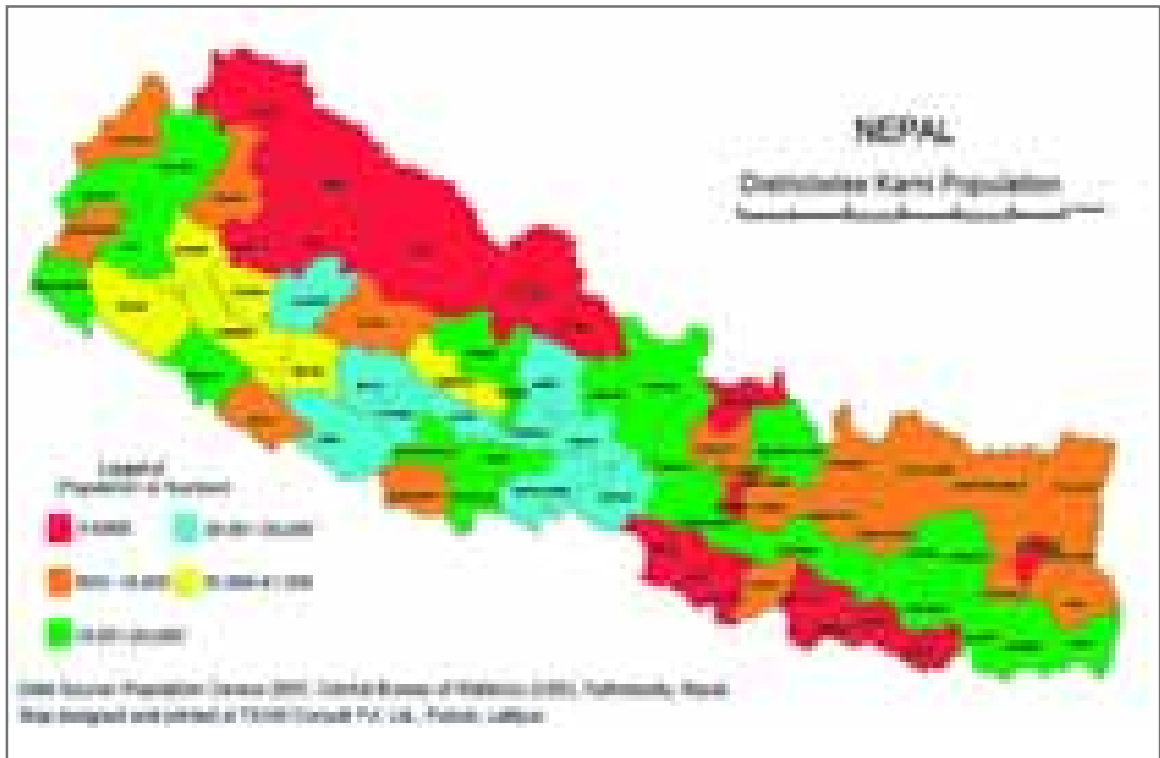
## **Q. Dalit Civil Society Movement**

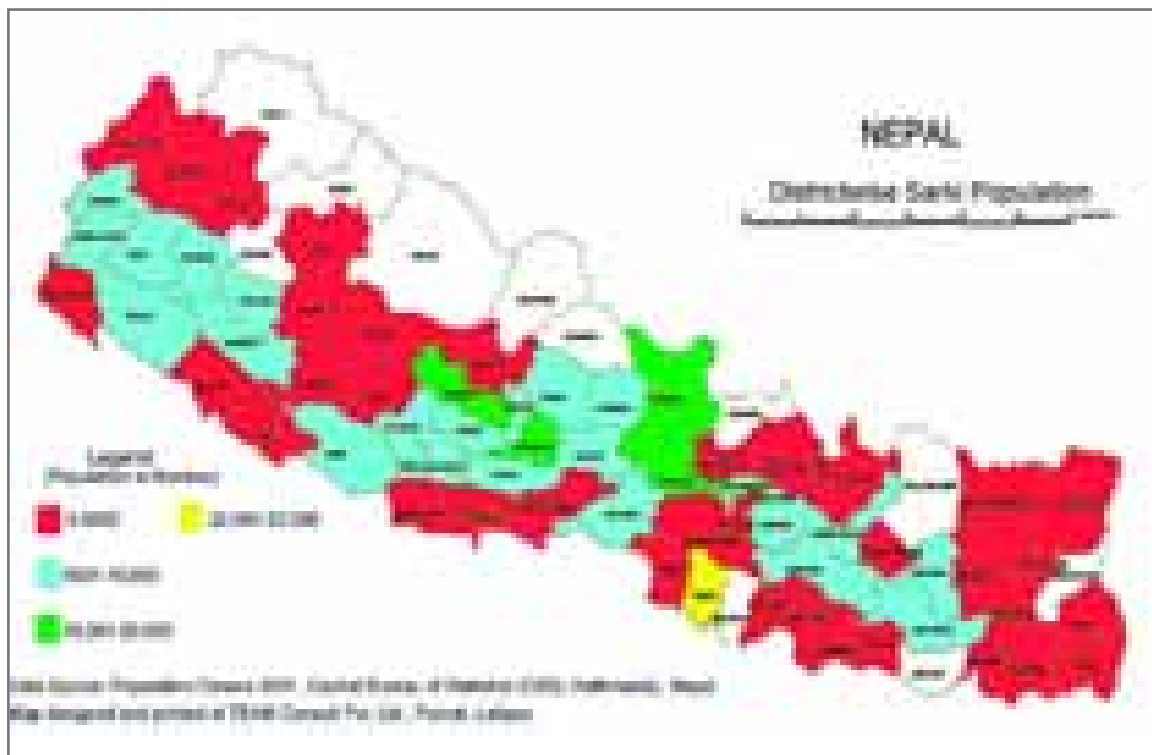
35. The DNF and the ILO conducted a collaborative study, entitled 'The Dalit Mapping Study: A Joint Research Venture', in 2002 to ascertain how and where Dalit NGOs (DNGOs) are working and what steps need to be taken to assist them in the fight against caste discrimination.
36. There were around 600 DNGOs operating in Nepal. Most of the DNGOs were concentrated in accessible areas, especially in Kathmandu valley. They were involved in the development of Dalit children and women and in the affairs of the differently able, Kamaiyas, Badis and the landless. Their activities encompassed advocacy, education and skill-enhancing vocational training. However, their approach was *ad hoc* rather than need-oriented. The vast majority of DNGOs had inadequate resources in terms of qualified personnel and money.
37. The study recommended that the capacity and skills of DNGOs be built to enable them to effectively serve the needs of their target communities. Similarly, how exactly these organizations are operating and which are the specific groups that are the beneficiaries of their activities should be assessed. DNGOs should consider the development issues of the whole Dalit community. Furthermore, development programmes should consider the wider social context in which these problems exist, and explore ways for breaking down the social barriers that have caused Dalits to be oppressed for so long.

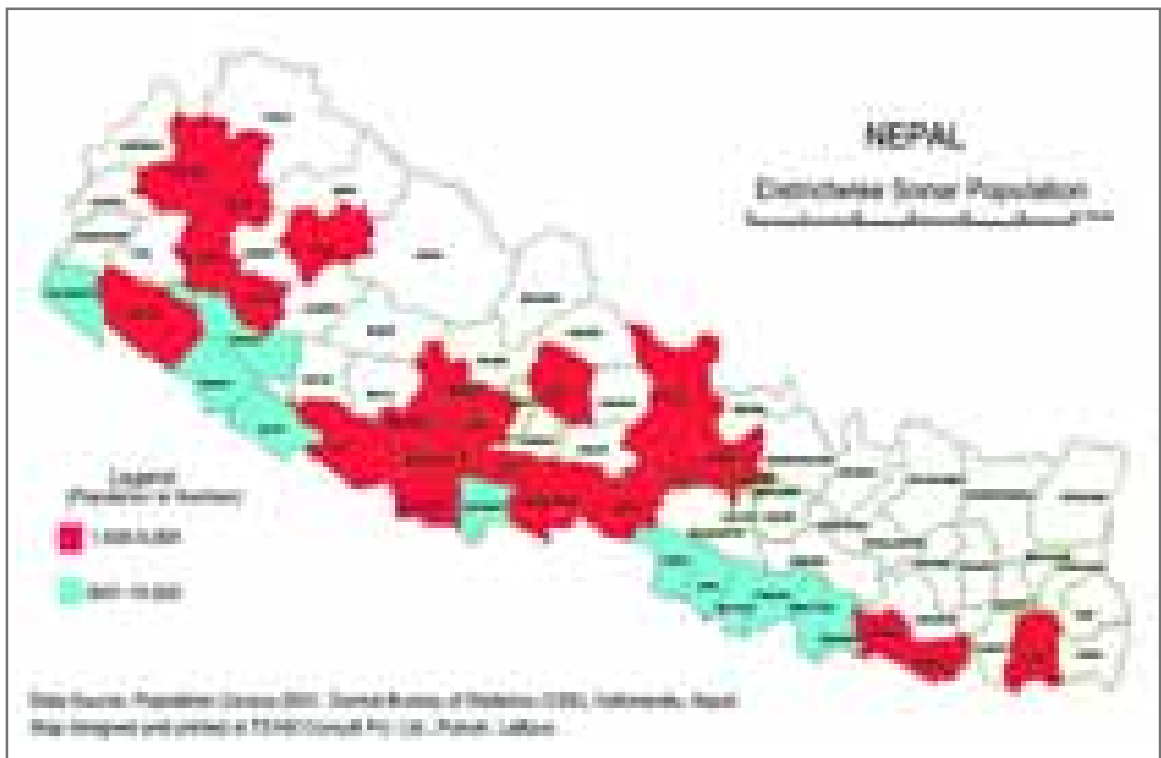
## **R. Recommendations**

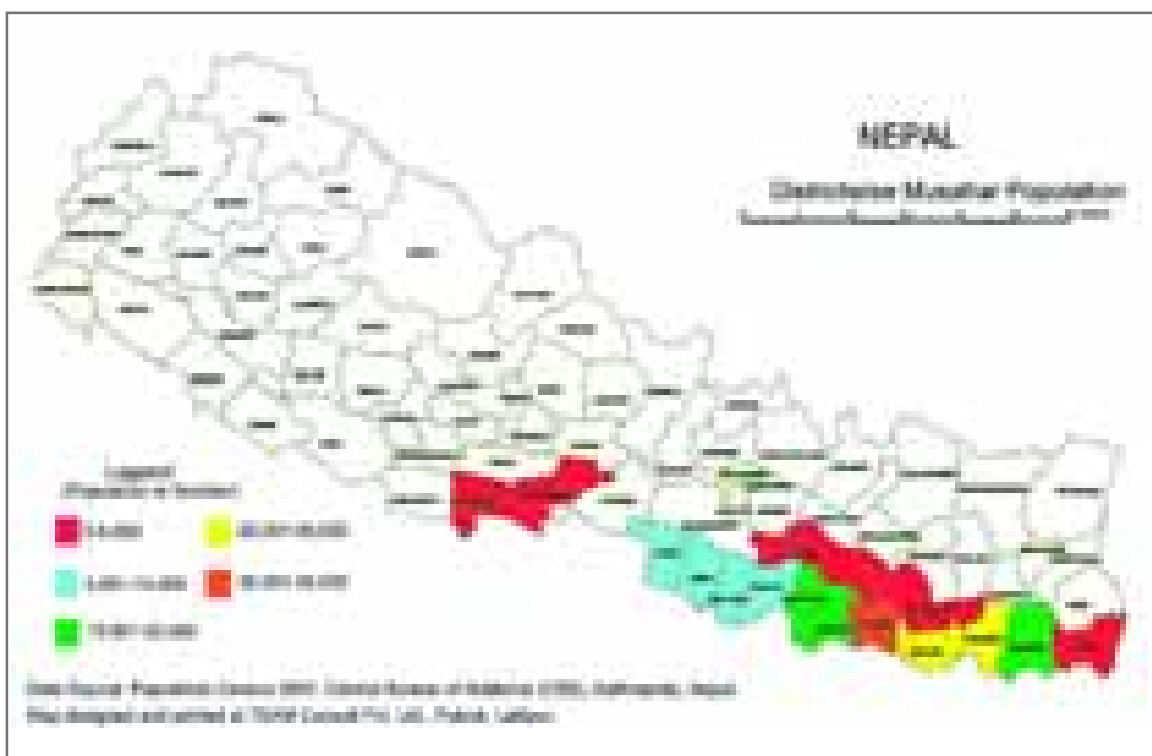
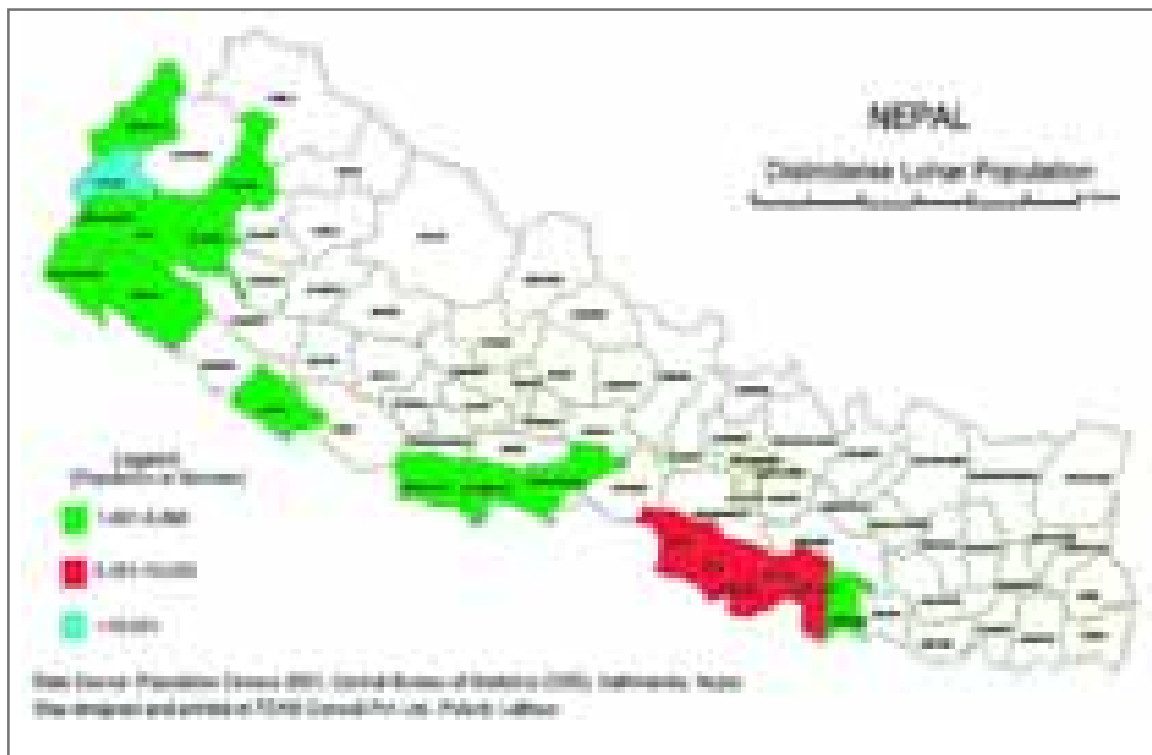
38. A consensual approach to the definition and identification of Dalits is needed to facilitate the formulation and implementation of policies and programmes, as well as future research works on Dalits in Nepal.
39. The government should review the implementation status of relevant UN and ILO conventions as well as the domestic laws pertaining to discrimination in labour, forced labour, child labour and the worst forms of child labour. Also needed is the creation of a monitoring unit to see that enforcement is taking its due course.

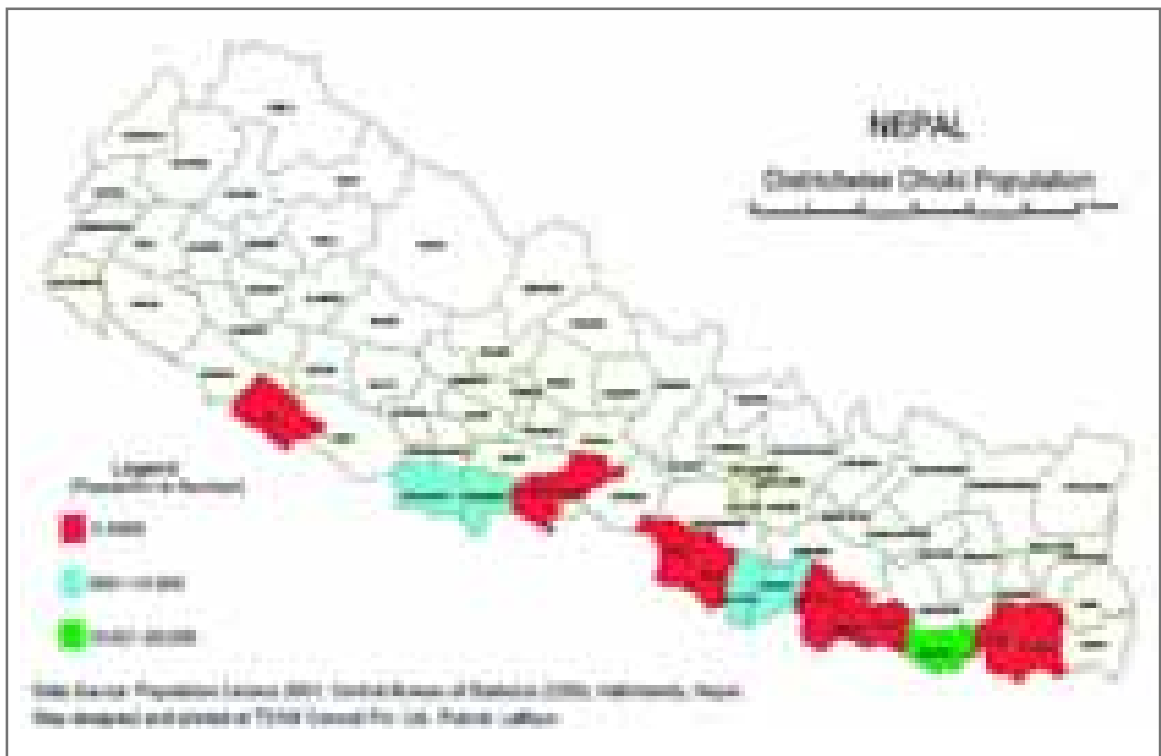
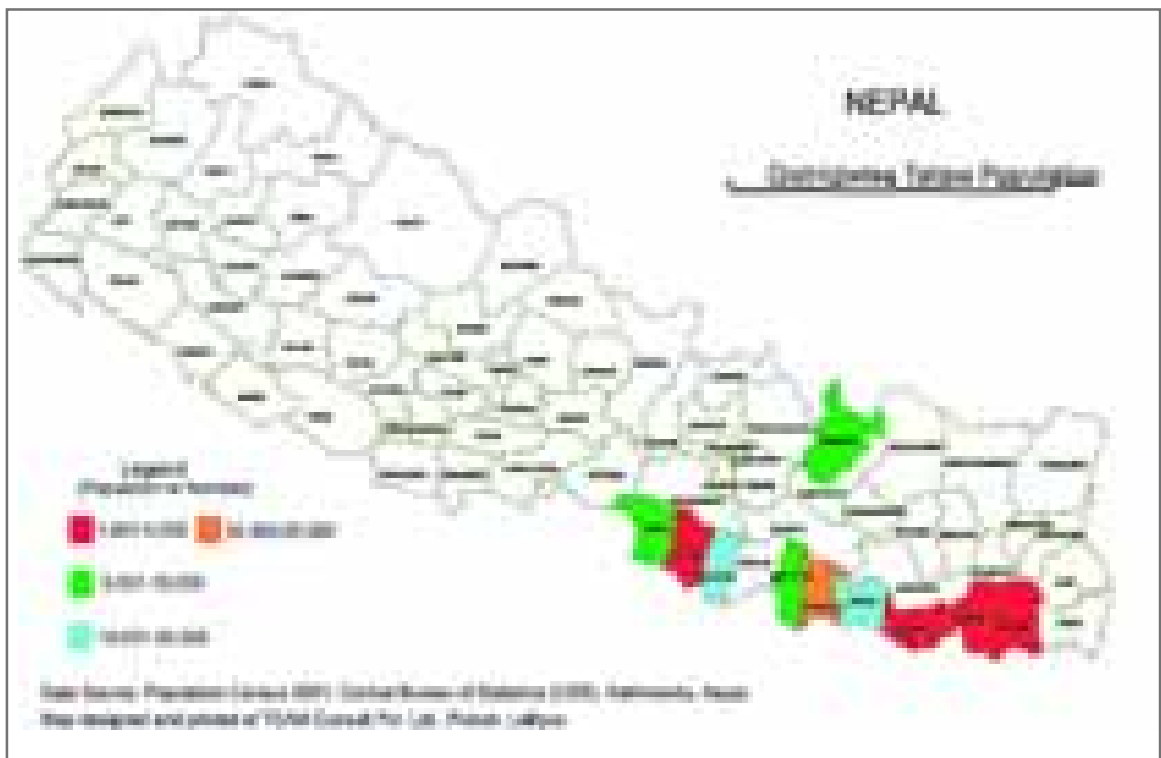
40. More gainful alternative employment opportunities in both informal and formal sectors are required for Dalits as some of their traditional occupations are gradually being replaced by modern manufacturing and services. For this, skills and know-how among Dalits need to be upgraded to enable them to switch to more gainful employment opportunities.
41. The government and UN agencies should take affirmative actions to improve Dalit representation in their workforce.
42. DNGOs, NGOs and government as well as donor agencies should collaborate to improve the status of Dalits in Nepal.



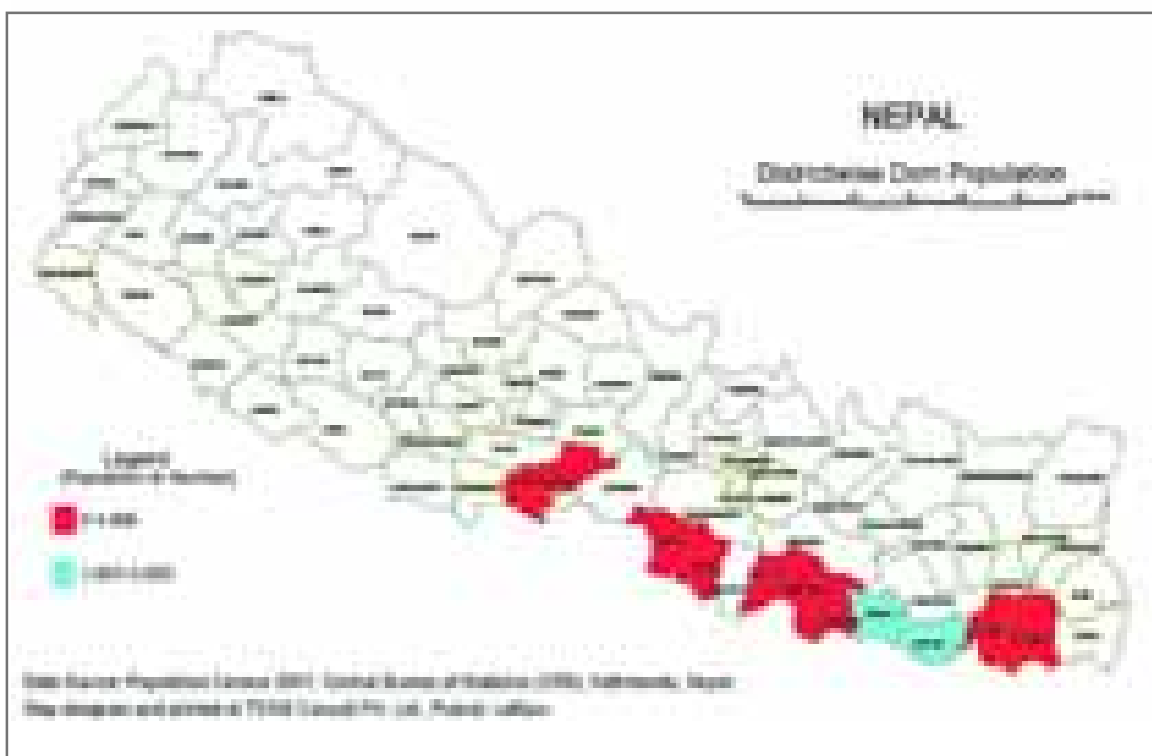
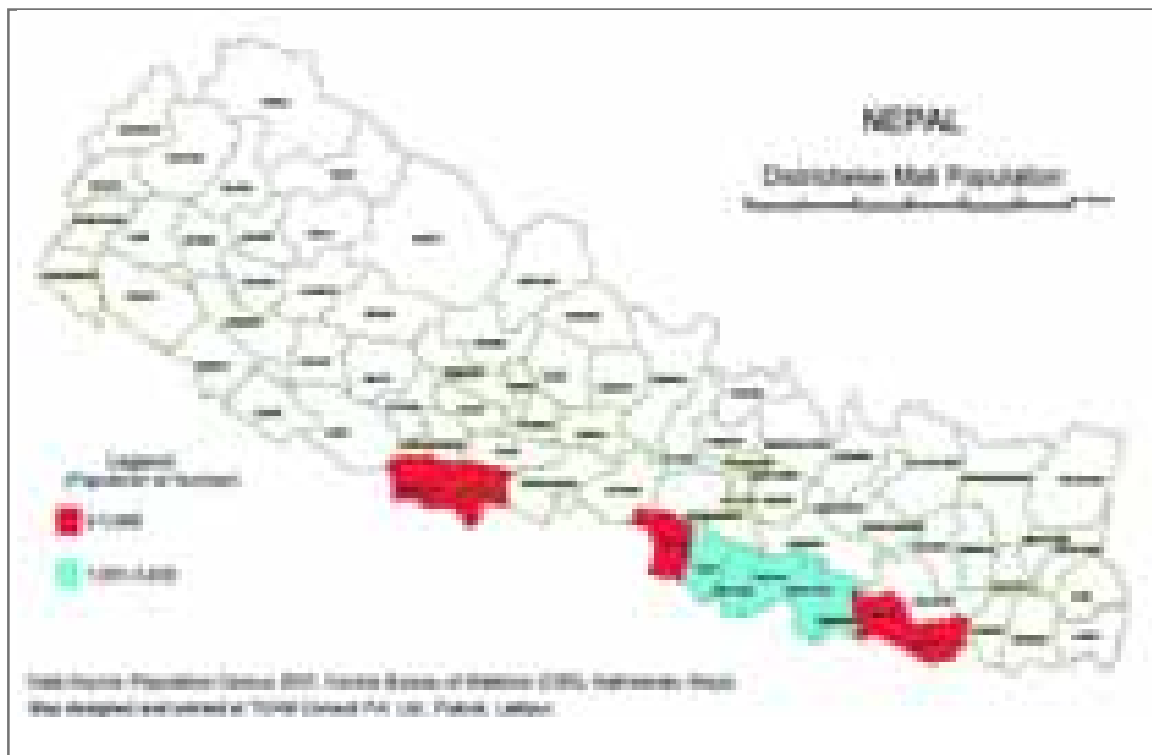


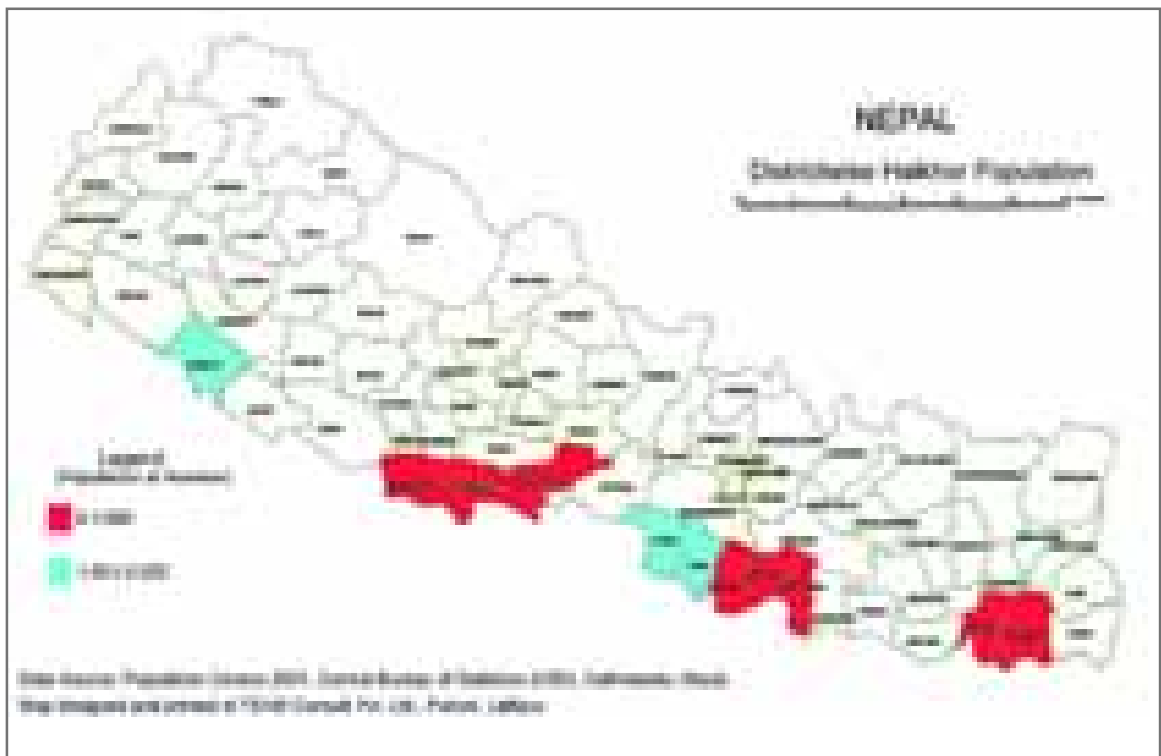


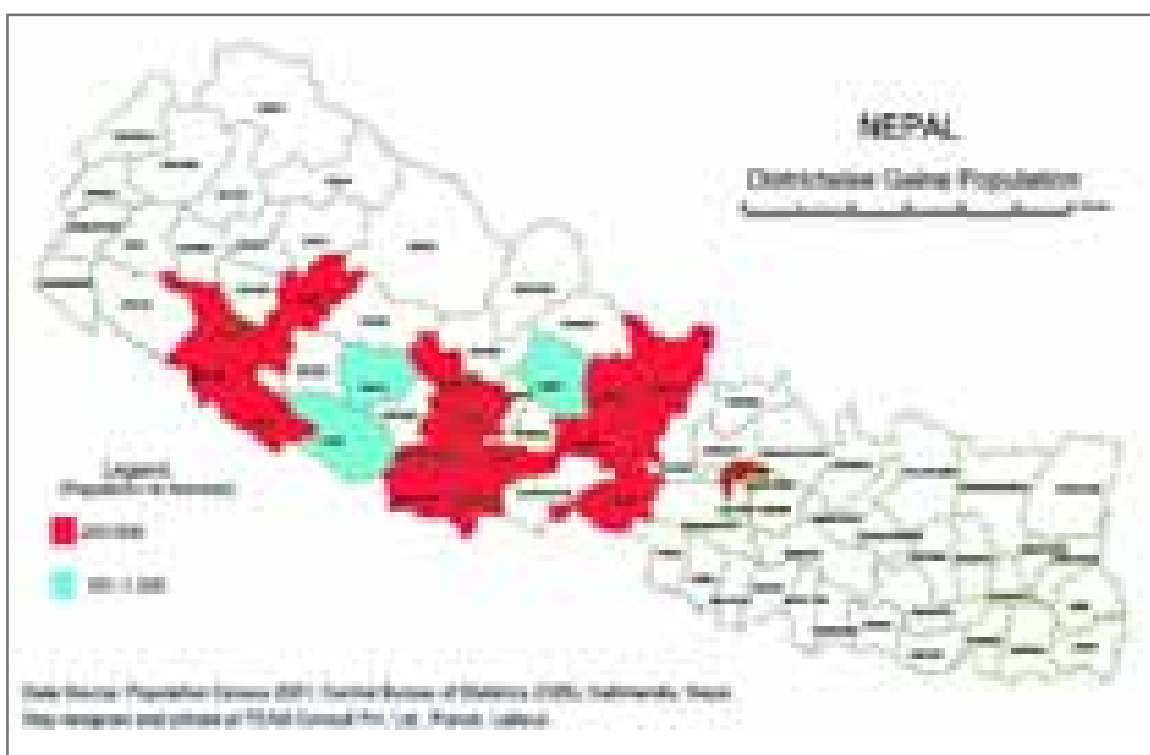
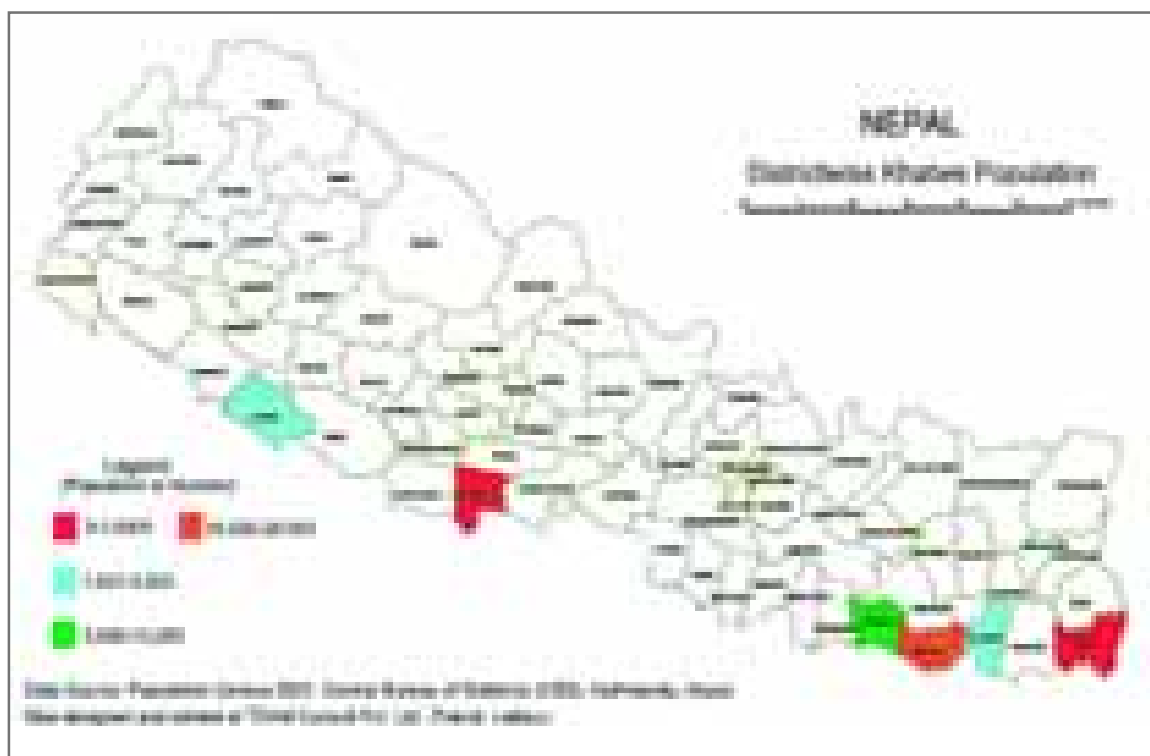
















## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Concepts and Definitions

#### 1.1.1 Caste and ethnic groups

**Caste**, as an institution and system, is hierarchical differentiation of ritual status. Thus, operationally, caste groups are groups belonging to the Indo-European cultural orientation and occupying both uppermost (Brahman, Chhetri and certain Newar groups) and bottommost (Dalit groups) rungs in the caste hierarchy. The caste system, which was traditionally based on ritual organizations, gradually evolved into social groups. The presence of 'we' (in-group feeling or the consciousness of the kind) is pervasive among most caste groups.

This is also true of **ethnic groups** despite the fact that caste groups are vertical formations, as opposed to ethnic groups, which are largely horizontal formations. Even people belonging to traditional non-caste (tribal or ethnic) groups essentially define themselves in terms of caste (Gurung 1996). Thus, even if tribal or ethnic groups are, historically, horizontal social formations, contemporary milieus indicate various degrees of ritual stratification, or hierarchization, among them—a phenomenon largely attributed to the dominant Hindu ideology of the 'pure-impure' dichotomy. However, despite the state's efforts to bring all ethnic or tribal groups within the caste fold, and despite the centuries-old process of sanskritization<sup>1</sup> (Srinivas 1952), caste and non-caste ethnic groups can be clearly differentiated.

#### 1.1.2 Dalit

The term, '**Dalit**', is generally used to identify those on the lowest rung in the caste hierarchy. In most writings, the term is also used to identify the vulnerable and poor groups of people who are oppressed, suppressed and exploited. Today, to Dalit activists in Nepal, India and elsewhere, 'Dalit' implies those groups of people who have been broken, ground down by those above them in a deliberate and active way. Rather than conveying a sense of in-born inferiority, the word is taken as an inherent denial of pollution, *karma* (fate) and justified caste hierarchy. The term has developed into a significant political concept, which not only connotes a state of degradation but also serves as a significant source of identity and pride. Still others (DEVA 2002) associate the term with '*dalnu*' (a Nepali word literally meaning 'to exploit in work').

<sup>1</sup> Plainly stated, 'sanskritization' refers to the claims of people who when they become better off, start claiming that they belonged to a social group up in the social ladder. The phenomenon is seen mostly with regard to caste, when a person of a particular caste becomes richer or better educated, he/she starts claiming that he/she belongs to a caste supposedly higher in the hierarchy.

The nomenclature, 'Dalit', was chosen by Dalit activists in India, rejecting other more widely accepted terms, for example untouchable, scheduled castes, depressed classes or Gandhi's term, '*harijan*' (meaning God's people). These developments in India influenced Nepalese activists. This term, as well as the concept associated with it, has received wide acceptance in Nepal in recent years. Nepalese Dalits, thus, increasingly reject the terms, '*achhut*' (untouchable), '*sano jaat*' (low caste), '*paani nachalne jaat*' (water unacceptable castes), etc, and instead find their true identity in the term, Dalit. Neither the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal nor any legislation uses the term, Dalit; rather, they use the terms, 'backward classes', 'downtrodden' and 'disadvantaged groups'.

The 1854 Civil Code explicitly listed two groups of 'low caste' people. One group, which occupied the lowest rung in the caste hierarchy, was both '*achhut*' and '*paani nachalne*'. As per the very code, this group itself was hierarchical, within which Kami occupied the highest position and Chyame the lowest. This hierarchy is still observed in the rural areas of Nepal. The other group immediately above this group was the '*paani nachalne, chhoye chhito halnu naparne*' (literally meaning, castes from whom water is not acceptable but whose touch doesn't need purification rites). 'Upper caste' people could touch individuals belonging to this group without ritually defiling themselves, but water could not be accepted from them. In brief, this category may be termed as 'water unacceptable touchables'. The other category is simply that of 'untouchables' (which also means that water is not acceptable from them).

Over the years, due to their own efforts (process of sanskritization), and also due to periodic state decrees, some groups are no longer in the position they were originally assigned. Socio-economic analyses of the 'untouchables' and 'water unacceptable touchables' groups always meet with complications because there is no consensus yet on whether or not both these groups should be considered Dalit. Some consider only 'untouchables' as Dalit, whereas others also consider 'water unacceptable touchables' as Dalit. In view of the tendency among Newar Dalit groups to stay outside the Dalit category, and also in view of a similar tendency existing among 'water acceptable touchables', this study considers the following 'untouchables' as Dalits: Kami (including Chunar/Chanara/Chandra, Sunar, etc), Damai (including Hudke<sup>2</sup>), Sarki, Gaine, Badi, Kadara, Pode, Chyame, Halahulu, Chamar, Musahar, Batar, Dom, Paswan (Dusadh), Tatma, Khatwe, Halkhor (Mehetar), (terai) Dhobi, Pattharkatta, Pamgadiya, Mali, Bhahat and Kahar.

### 1.1.3 Prejudice

Prejudice is an attitude. An attitude is a distinct combination of feelings and inclination to act and believe. In other words, prejudice is a way of thinking about those who are different. A prejudiced person might dislike those who are different from 'self' and hence behave in a discriminatory manner towards them, believing them to be ignorant or dangerous or selfish or cunning and so forth. Thus, the social-psychological treatment of prejudice, whether as an attitude, even irrational attitude, has invariably been confined to the negative meaning of the term, eg ethnic or caste and social prejudice. In this study, **prejudice** is operationalized in terms of both attitude and act (discrimination). Prejudiced attitudes are explored by using a series of attitudinal questions and statements. Prejudiced acts are similarly explored by allowing the respondents to recall those acts of the 'upper caste' people that are considered prejudiced.

<sup>2</sup> Although Hudke is listed as a separate caste in the Civil Code of 1854, this study found this group to be a subgroup of the Damai group.

#### 1.1.4 Discrimination

In general, **discrimination** is the use of power by a superordinate group to impose customary or legal restrictions and deprivations upon a subordinate group in order to maintain a situation of privilege and inequality. It may involve enforced residential segregation, differential access to educational or employment opportunities, discrimination at the workplace, and imposition of other customary and legal disabilities. Discrimination is basically a result of a prejudiced state of mind. It may occur in various spheres of human activity. For example, discrimination against women may exist within households, political parties, religious groups, or socially defined racial or caste groups. In terms of discrimination in the world of work, this study uses the definition adopted by the ILO Convention 111, Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention 1958. It states:

- a) Any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin, which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation.
- b) Such other distinction, exclusion or preference which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation as may be determined by the Member concerned after consultation with representatives of employers' and workers' organizations, where such exist, and with other appropriate bodies.

As per the convention, this study considers that any distinction, exclusion or preference in respect of a particular job based on the inherent requirements thereof shall not be deemed to be discrimination. In addition, it considers caste-based discrimination as an important form of hereditary discrimination, which is a constituting element of the definition of racial discrimination, as stipulated in Article 1 (1) of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), which states:

'... the term "racial discrimination" shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.'

#### 1.1.5 Discrimination in labour

Following Article 1(1) of the ILO 1958 Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention 111, **discrimination in labour** is conceptualized as the distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of caste (social origin) and sex.

#### 1.1.6 Work and labour

**Work** is essentially seen as the carrying out of tasks that enable people to make a living within the environment in which they find themselves. Of course, this definition is far too simplistic. A living is not simply extracted from the environment. In many ways, work effectively transforms the environment and in the process creates for many a level of living far in excess of basic subsistence. On the other hand, patterns can also be observed in which groups of people in different parts of the world are unable to find work situations from which they could earn a living.



Conceptually, 'work' is more of a sociological term, as opposed to 'labour', which is used more pervasively in economics. Thus, 'work' is an overarching human activity that subsumes labour. On the other hand, in this study, **labour** is considered a factor of production, which includes not only the number of people available for, or engaged in, the production of goods or services but also their physical and intellectual skills and efforts.

Work is basic to the ways in which human beings deal with the problems arising from the scarcity of resources in the environment. The scarcity of resources influences the patterns of conflict and competition that arise between social groups. It means the social organization of work will reflect the basic power relationship of any particular society. The part played by ideas, values, ideology and culture is important for work situations. A pattern can be seen in the ways in which work is experienced and interpreted, and both social and cultural contexts of work, apart from the work situation, play a part in this.

Work is a basic process of acting upon and taking from the environment whatever humans need for survival. Unlike the modern division of labour in industrial societies, one of the basic features of the Hindu caste system is the distribution of different work or occupations among different caste groups. As the caste system is a hierarchical structure based on the purity principle, which has put various groups along a continuum of various gradations of superior and inferior people, the work or occupations associated with the various caste groups are similarly differentiated in terms of status. Thus, the work or occupations of Dalits have traditionally been considered menial and dirty, and, therefore, are detested by 'upper caste' people. Traditionally, Dalits, because of their perceived impurity and, therefore, inferiority have been discriminated against in the world of work.

### 1.1.7 Employment and occupation

**Employment** refers to gainful activities. 'Full employment' is generally gainful activities for forty hours a week. The 'unemployed' are those that are seeking work but are unable to find one, but the term excludes those who are neither working nor seeking work, eg members of the family caring for children, students, retirees, the disabled and others.

'Underemployment', although variously defined in literature, is used in this study to mean employment for less than forty hours a week.

In the Nepalese context, the term, occupation, as in 'occupational castes', means, among others, those income-generating activities that have traditionally been associated with both 'untouchable' and 'water unacceptable but touchable' categories.

### 1.1.8 Labour force, work force and labour force participation rate

According to the *World Development Report 1995*, **labour force** consists of all those of the working age population (those between 15 and 64 years old) who are employed, unemployed but seeking employment and underemployed. In this study, labour force does not include those who are not seeking work, eg members of the family caring for children, students, retirees and the disabled. Workforce consists of all persons who are actually working whether in formal or in informal sector—that is, the labour force less the unemployed. **Labour force participation rate** is the percentage of the working age population that is in the labour force.

### 1.1.9 Participation

In this work, we take **participation** as the representation of various disadvantaged groups in the institutions and systems that govern them as a basic human right, which is essential for the realignment of political power in favour of these groups for their social and economic development. Participation is operationalized in terms of participation in various activities in the socio-cultural, economic and political domains at the local (community, VDC and district) or micro level, while participation at the macro level pertains to the participation in these processes at the national level.

### 1.1.10 Child labour

According to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) 1989, ‘... a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier.’ In Nepal, the Children’s Act 1991 defines a child as a person who has not attained the age of 14 years and prohibits the employment of such a person as a labourer in any work. In view of these provisions, this study considers **child labour** as labour performed by children under the age of 15 years.

Children have traditionally worked in the family setting. Work has been and continues to be, a means of education and socialization of a child. Child labour is, however, different from the work that a child may do without adversely affecting his or her education. Child labour means work for long hours, often under hazardous conditions and under coercion, which dooms the future of the child, physically and mentally, or even morally (Ghosh 1998: 57).

### 1.1.11 The worst forms of child labour

The 1999 ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention defines the worst forms of child labour as:

- (a) All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- (b) The use, procuring or offering of a child for commercial sex, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- (c) The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- (d) Work, which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

In accordance with the above definition, this study considers child trafficking, debt bondage, forced labour, the use of children in drugs trafficking and armed conflict, and jobs harmful to the health, safety or morals of children the worst forms of child labour.

### 1.1.12 Forced labour

The 1930 ILO Forced Labour Convention (Convention No. 29) considers the labour performed under the following circumstances as non-forced labour:

- (a) Any work or service exacted in virtue of compulsory military service laws for work of a purely military character;

- (b) Any work or service, which forms part of the normal civic obligations of the citizens of a fully self-governing country;
- (c) Any work or service exacted from any person as a consequence of a conviction in a court of law, provided that the said work or service is carried out under the supervision and control of a public authority and that the said person is not hired to or placed at the disposal of private individuals, companies or associations;
- (d) Any work or service exacted in cases of emergency, that is to say, in the event of war or of a calamity or threatened calamity, such as fire, flood, famine, earthquake, violent epidemic or epizootic diseases, invasion by animal, insect or vegetable pests, and in general any circumstance that would endanger the existence or the well-being of the whole or part of the population;
- (e) Minor communal services of a kind which, being performed by the members of the community in the direct interest of the said community, can therefore be considered as normal civic obligations incumbent upon the members of the community, provided that the members of the community or their direct representatives shall have the right to be consulted in regard to the need for such services.

Following the above definition, this study considers **forced** or **compulsory labour** as ‘all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily’, except those allowed under the same convention.

### 1.1.13 Slavery and slave

In accordance with the Slavery Convention of 1926 (League of Nations) and the UN Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery 1956 (Article 7), this study defines **slavery** as ‘the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised’, and a **slave** as ‘a person in such condition or status’. In the Nepalese context, various forms of debt bondage, or *Kamaiya* (bonded labour), and serfdom as well as the use of child labour for household gain or to pay back debts are institutions and practices similar to slavery.

### 1.1.14 Sex, gender and gendering

In this study, **sex** is operationalized as a biological category (male and female) concretized by anatomical differences. **Gender** (masculine and feminine), on the other hand, is a socio-cultural construction. Social pressures or conditions or ideologies usually create attributes that society considers natural for women or men. The internalization of such attributes is known as **gendering**. Gendering leads to sexual division of labour, differential access to resources, decision-making positions, education, employment, development institutions, income-generating programmes, legal protection, etc (Gurung 1999).

### 1.1.15 Bista

**Bista** refers to those ‘upper caste’ persons who have permanent informal contractual arrangements with persons belonging to specific Dalit castes for doing their domestic and farm activities such as with a Damai for domestic tailoring services and with a Kami for making household utensils and farm tools.

## 1.2 Nepalese Society and the Caste System

Nepal is a multiethnic, multi-religious, multicultural and multilingual society. However, despite this diversity, as the only Hindu kingdom in the world, the Hindu religion and the all-pervasive caste system have a hegemonic hold on the Nepali society. The caste system has its roots in the ancient religious texts of the Hindu religion as well as the codes and traditions derived from them. It is social stratification of all Hindus into four main classes, known as *varna* (castes): Brahman<sup>3</sup> (priest), Kshatria<sup>4</sup> (warrior), Vaisya (farmer or merchant) and Shudra (menial worker). The castes are exclusively based on occupations and are hereditary. Thus, a Hindu is born into a caste and, except under special circumstances, cannot escape from it.

The Civil Code of 1854, now also known as the Old Civil Code, formalized the Hindu caste system. That code prevailed in the mode of social interactions and occupational patterns of the Nepali society till 1963 when it was amended to abolish untouchability, apart from the caste- and creed-based occupational discrimination. However, despite being abolished by law, the caste system, including untouchability, is still practised in the Nepali society.

In the Nepali society, the caste hierarchy, as a socio-cultural construction, broadly corresponds to the economic positions, or class locations, of various caste groups (Bista 1992; Gurung 1996; Gurung 1999; Bailey 1957; Dumont 1980). It means people belonging to the so-called lower castes tend to be poor because of their relative low access to opportunities and resources as compared to those belonging to the so-called upper castes. The socio-culturally-constructed caste structure has so much concretized that, today, it can independently lead entire groups of people into situations of lower opportunities and reduced life chances, and subsequently into poverty and deprivation.

## 1.3 Caste Discrimination

One of the central elements of the Hindu ideology is the inherent superiority of some groups and inferiority of others based upon the descent-based 'purity' principle. According to this principle, castes and ethnic groups are broadly divided into 'pure' (*chokho*) and 'impure' groups. Within these two broad categories also, specific gradations are assigned to various groups. For example, within the Brahman caste, Upadhyayas occupy a higher position on the purity scale than that of Jaishis. In the caste hierarchy, the groups of people commonly known today as *Dalits* occupy the lowest rung. Furthermore, not only Dalits as a whole are considered impure by society, they themselves maintain a scale of social distance and conduct social intercourse accordingly. When groups of people are considered impure and therefore untouchable, social interactions are impeded, and this is reflected in their low socio-cultural, economic and political participation, and, consequently, in their poor performance on most of the well-being indicators.

Untouchability is one of the most fundamental discriminatory practices committed against the Dalit people. Many other forms of discrimination, including discrimination in the labour market, have emanated from this practice. In addition, because of their 'impure' and therefore 'low' status, as well as their involvement in the traditional occupations that are detested by 'upper caste' people, Dalits are forced to work for 'upper caste' people.

<sup>3</sup> Also spelt Brahmin, and Bahun in Nepali.

<sup>4</sup> Also spelt Chhetri.

Because of the lack of a definition that is acceptable to all, the population universe of Dalits in Nepal is currently not known. The pervasiveness of caste discrimination is the most important contributory factor for the various dimensions of exclusion of Dalits, such as exclusion from the world of work and education, including vocational education.

## DALITS IN NEPAL

### 2.1 Demographics

#### 2.1.1 Dalit population

The exact population of Dalits in Nepal is not known largely due to the absence of a generally acceptable definition of Dalits. Coupled with this problem is the question of how to formulate such a definition. Social scientists, the government, the Old Civil Code (which is no longer in effect) and Dalit groups themselves all have their own ideas of what constitutes an acceptable definition of Dalit. Related to this issue is whether or not economic parameters are to be used in defining a particular individual or group as Dalit. It is argued that if such parameters were used, on the one hand, poor households from 'upper caste' groups and many *Janajati* (indigenous peoples or nationalities) groups might also fall under the Dalit category and, on the other hand, well-to-do households from 'lower caste' groups might no longer be considered Dalit.

A draft Bill recently prepared by the Dalit Development Committee of the Ministry of Local Development (MoLD) had initially identified 28 Dalit groups, which was later reduced to 23. The shortened list still includes some Janajatis and subcastes of the same caste groups, therefore inflating the number of Dalit groups. In addition, traditional 'touchable but water unacceptable' groups, especially from the Newar community, are also included. As per this list, Dalits constitute 11.83 per cent of the population.

As per the 1991 census, the total population of the 10 enumerated Dalit groups is 2,201,781, or 11.91 per cent of the total population. That census, however, left out many commonly known Dalit groups. For example, it didn't include any Dalit group from the Newar community, who were included in the 'Newar' category, and a number of terai Dalits, who were included in the 'Others' category. The 2001 census, however, includes additional caste, ethnic and Dalit groups. The 1991 census listed only 61 caste or ethnic groups, whereas the 2001 census lists more than 100 such groups. The 1991 census gave the populations of only 10 groups, whereas the 2001 census gives the populations of 17 groups (Table 2.1). Despite this improvement, the total populations of all potential Dalit groups are not available. Between the inter-censal period of 1991-2001, the total Dalit population increased by a mere 0.9 per cent, as compared to the national figure of 2.27 per cent. The populations of some groups, notably Kami, have decreased since the 1991 census.

**TABLE 2.1** DALIT\* POPULATION IN NEPAL, 1991 AND 2002

Caste/Surname	Population 1991(1)			Population 2001(2)		
	Population	Percentage within Dalit	Percentage of Total Population of Nepal	Population	Percentage within Dalit	Percentage of Total Population of Nepal
1. Kami**	963655	43.8	5.2	1 123 679	38.55	4.94
2. Damai	367989	16.7	2.0	390 305	13.39	1.72
3. Sarki	276244	12.5	1.5	318 989	10.94	1.40
4. Gaine	4482	0.2	0.0	5 887	0.20	0.03
5. Badi	7082	0.3	0.0	4 442	0.15	0.02
6. Kadara	Not listed			Not listed in the census and population not available		
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>1 619 434</b>	<b>73.6</b>	<b>8.8</b>	<b>1 843 302</b>	<b>63.24</b>	<b>8.11</b>
<b>Terai Dalits</b>						
7. Chamar	203 919	9.3	1.1	269 661	9.25	1.19
8. Musahar	141 980	6.4	0.8	172 434	5.92	0.76
9. Dusadh	93 242	4.2	0.5	158 525	5.44	0.70
10. Tatma				76 512	2.62	0.34
11. Khatwe	66 612	3.0	0.4	74 972	2.57	0.33
12. Dhobi	76 594	3.5	0.4	73 413	2.52	0.32
13. Batar	Not listed			35 839	1.23	0.16
14. Chidimar				12 296	0.42	0.05
15. Mali				11 390	0.39	0.05
16. Dom				8 931	0.31	0.04
17. Halkhor (Mehetar)				3 621	0.12	0.02
18. Pattharkatta (Kushbadiya)				552	0.02	0.00
19. Pamgadiya				Not listed in the census and population not available		
20. Bhahat				Not listed in the census and population not available		
21. Pode				Not listed in the census and population not available		
22. Chyame				Not listed in the census and population not available		
23. Halahulu				Not listed in the census and population not available		
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>582 347</b>	<b>26.4</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>898 146</b>	<b>30.81</b>	<b>3.95</b>
Unidentified Dalits				173 401	5.95	0.76
<b>Total Dalit</b>	<b>2 201 781</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>11.9</b>	<b>2 914 849</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>12.82</b>
Nepal (enumerated)	18 491 097		100.0	22 736 934		100.0

Sources: (1) Dahal, et al 2002: 11.

(2) Adapted from Census 2001.

\*These are the groups considered Dalit in this study.

\*\*Lohars are found both in the Far Western Hills ('untouchable'), in which case they belong to the Kami group, and in the terai ('touchable'). For lack of clear information, this category is counted under the Kami group. Similarly, Sunars in the hills fall under the Kami group. The terai Sonars are 'touchable'. It is not clear as to whether the Sonar category also includes the hill Sunar. Hence, Sonar, as mentioned in the census, is counted under the Kami group. Thus, the Kami population reaches 4.9 per cent as compared to the census figure of 3.94 per cent. For lack of clear categorization, these figures should be taken as provisional.

The Dalit population of 2,914,849, or 12.82 per cent (excluding 'Newar Dalits') of the total population of 22,736,934, as per the 2001 Census, is that of only 17 of the total 20 groups defined as Dalit in this study. The figures of 20 to 25 per cent that Dalit activists usually cite are perhaps based on their inclusion of 'touchable but water unacceptable' groups in the Dalit category. Notably, activists and writers generally consider 'touchable but water unacceptable' groups, apart from some terai ethnic groups, as Dalit.

If one considers the traditionally 'touchable but water unacceptable' groups as Dalit, then one will also have to consider as Dalits Newar groups such as Kasai (Khadki), Kushle (Kapali), Dhobi (Rajak), Charmakar (as per the Old Civil Code), Kau, Kulu and Pulu (as per Rossner 1966). Teli caste was specifically mentioned in the Old Civil Code as belonging to the 'touchable but water unacceptable' category. Kalwar and Sudi also traditionally occupied a similar status. Today, these groups have socially upgraded their status and consider themselves 'water acceptable'.

Thus, based on the definition applied in this work and the figures available as per this definition, the Dalit population appears to be much lower than what is usually reported in popular literature. The Dalit population comes far below 12.82 per cent if one considers the 'untouchable' (*Chhito halnu pame jaat*) listed in the 1854 Civil Code. Although 10 groups are listed, Chunar and Chunara belong to the Kami group and Hudke to the Damai group.

In the lists of untouchable and touchable but water unacceptable groups in the 1854 Civil Code, the terai 'untouchables' have been completely left out, whereas the populations of Newar 'untouchable' and 'touchable but water unacceptable' groups are not available (Table 2.2). If only the 'untouchable' groups are considered, then the figures available for the groups listed in the 1854 Civil Code add up to a mere 8.07 per cent. If the figure for the 'touchable but water unacceptable' groups as per the same code is added to this figure for 'untouchables', the total comes to 14.15 per cent. Thus, the proportion of the 'touchable but water unacceptable' groups comes down noticeably if the Muslim (including Churaute) and Christian groups are removed from the list because the caste system is essentially a Hindu system.

The contemporary Dalit movement seeks to bring as many groups as possible into the Dalit fold in order to bargain with the state from a position of numeric strength. While doing so, the players in the movement also define the traditionally 'touchable but water unacceptable' groups as Dalit. They do not confine themselves to the Old Civil Code. Anyway, the list is very short compared to the local realities. Furthermore, exclusion from the list doesn't mean automatic acquisition of 'upper caste' status.

Table 2.3 shows the populations of Dalits listed in the Old Civil Code as well as those usually considered Dalit by the contemporary Dalit movement and the Dalit Development Committee.

The Old Civil Code has been taken as the basis for including those groups that are listed in it because this code, even if redundant today, has effectively guided the course of social interactions between different groups.



TABLE 2.2

'UNTOUCHABLE' AND 'TOUCHABLE BUT WATER UNACCEPTABLE' GROUPS AS PER THE OLD CIVIL CODE

	Census 2001	Percentage of Total Population
<b>A. Pani nachalne chhoye chhito halnu napanne jat (Touchable but water unacceptable groups)</b>		
Muslim	971 056	4.27
Dhobi (Hill)	Not available separately; included under the Newar group	
Teli	304 536	1.34
Kasahi	Not available separately; included under the Newar group	
Kushlya	Not available separately; included under the Newar group	
Kulu	Not available separately; included under the Newar group	
Mlechcha (Christians)*	101 976	0.45
Churyada (Churaute or hill Muslims)	4 893	0.02
<b>Total</b>	<b>1 382 461</b>	<b>6.08</b>
<b>B. Chhito halnu parne jat (Untouchable groups)</b>		
Sarki	318 989	1.40
Kami	1 123 679**	4.90
Chunar	Not available separately; probably included under the Kami group	
Chunara	Not available separately; probably included under the Kami group	
Hurkya (Hudke)	Not available separately; probably included under the Damai group	
Damai	390 305	1.72
Gaine	5 887	0.03
Badi Bhad (Badi)	4 442	0.02
Podya (Pode)	Not available separately; included under the Newar group	
Chyamah Khalak (Chyame)	Not available separately; included under the Newar group	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1 843 302</b>	<b>8.07</b>
<b>A + B</b>	<b>3 225 763</b>	<b>14.15</b>

Sources: The 1854 Civil Code: 681; CBS 2002: 70-73.

\*Taken from the populations of different religious groups. It is quite possible that one has converted to Christianity and still retains one's original surname. Thus, due to the absence of data on 'Dalit Christians', this figure is used despite the possibility of overlap.

\*\*Lohars and Sonars are also included. In the terai these groups are not 'untouchable'.

**TABLE 2.3**

DALIT POPULATION IN 2001 AS PER THE LIST PREPARED BY THE DALIT DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

Dalit Groups	Population 2001	Remarks
1. Lohar		The terai Lohars are 'touchable', whereas Lohars from the Far Western hills are Kamis and hence 'untouchable'. The census is not clear about this. As was done earlier, the Lohar population is included under the Kami population.
2. Sunar		The Sonars from the terai are 'touchable'. However, it is not clear whether they are in fact Sunars from the hills, in which case they are Kamis. As was done earlier, the Sonar population, as shown in the census, is also taken as the Sunar population and included under the Kami population.
3. Kami	1 123 679	
4. Damai	390 305	
5. Sarki	318 989	
6. Gaine	5 887	
7. Kuche		Subsumed under the Newar group, which is listed in the Janajati list
8. Chyame		Subsumed under the Newar group
9. Pode		Subsumed under the Newar group
10. Chamar	269 661	
11. Paswan	158 525	
12. Dushad		Also known as Paswan
13. Tatma	76 512	
14. Dom	8 931	
15. Bantar	35 839	
16. Khatwe	74 972	
17. Musahar	2 434	
18. Halkhor	3 621	
19. Badi	4 442	
20. Wadimar		Not available
21. Kashai		Subsumed under the Newar group
22. Kusle		Subsumed under the Newar group
23. Chunara		Subsumed under the Kami group
24. Parki		Subsumed under the Kami group
25. Gothi		Not available
26. Kadara		Not available
27. Dhair		Not available

Dalit Groups	Population 2001	Remarks
28. Jhangar	41 764	Also included in the Janajati list
Unidentified Dalits	173 401	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2 688 962</b>	Populations of Newar Dalits and some listed groups such as Gothi, Kadara and Dhair are not available
<b>Total population of Nepal</b>	<b>22 736 934</b>	
<b>Percentage of Dalit population as per this list and the available populations</b>	<b>11.83</b>	

Sources: Dalit Development Committee, MoLD 2001: xii, Annex V, CBS 2002: 72-73.

Because of these unresolved definitional problems, this work, following Gurung, et al (1999) and Dahal, et al (2002), as well as on the basis of local conventions and the Old Civil Code, considered the 'chhoye chhito halnu parne' (castes from whom water is not acceptable and whose touch requires ritual purification), listed as Dalits in Table 2.4. As per the definition applied in this study and the population figures available so far, Dalits constitute 12.82 per cent of Nepal's population.

**TABLE 2.4** GROUPS DEFINED AS DALIT IN THIS STUDY

Hill	Terai	Newar Ethnic Group
1. Kami (Koli, Lohar, Sunar, Mahar, Pouri, Chunara or Chandara, Tatma, Biswakarma, etc)	1. Tatma	1. Pode (Deula)
2. Kadara	2. Khatwe (Mandal)	2. Chyame
3. Sarki or Bhool	3. Paswan (Dusadh/Pasi)	3. Halahulu
4. Damai (including Hudke)	4. Musahar (Sada)	
5. Gaine	5. Batar	
6. Badi	6. Dhobi (Baitha)	
	7. Chamar (Ram, Mochi, Harijan)	
	8. Dom	
	9. Halkhor (Mehetar)	
	10. Kahar	
	11. Mali	
	12. Pattharkatta	
	13. Pamgadiya	
	14. Bhahat	

Sources: Gurung, et al (1999) and Dahal, et al (2002).

### **2.1.2 Distribution of Dalit population**

Among the four geographical regions of Nepal, viz mountains, hills, inner terai and terai, the Dalit population is the highest in the hills, followed by the terai region. Dalits are found in almost all hill districts, whereas mountain districts have sparser Dalit population. The Dalit population is higher in the hill and mountain regions combined than in the terai and inner terai combined. In terms of the east-west expanse, the Dalit populations are heavily concentrated in the western hills and the eastern terai. Similarly, the central hills have higher concentration of the Dalit populations than the eastern hills.

### **2.1.3 Household size, sex composition and age structure**

The total Dalit population taken in this study is 8,433: 4,638 males and 3,795 females. The average size of a Dalit household was 5.80. This figure was slightly lower than that (5.98%) of an earlier study, ie Gurung, et al (1999). This change could be a reflection of Dalits' improved access to family planning contraceptives and education since the 1999 study. The household size for the whole of Nepal in the census of 2001 is 5.44, which indicates a relatively high tendency among Dalits to have more children due to economic reasons as well as due to their relatively low access to family planning education and contraceptives as compared to the general populace. Again, the household size is generally higher among the terai Dalits than among the hill Dalits.

Similarly, in this study, the sex ratio of the Dalit population is greater than unity (1.05), which is attributed to the inclusion of temporary migrant male members of the family in the enumeration.

About 41.7 per cent of the sample Dalit population was below 15 years (Annex Table A2.1). There were more males than females in the adult population of 15 years and above. As almost 70 per cent of Dalits were under the age of 30, the Dalit population could be said to be relatively young.

The under 6 Dalit population is sizeable (17.6%) as compared to the figure for the general population, as per the 2001 census (15.3%). The female population exceeds the male population in this age category, which is also true for Nepal's population as a whole (sex ratio = 99.8), as per the 2001 census. This study, however, showed more males than females in the age group of 6-14 years. The Dalit population above 49 years, which is 10 per cent, is lower than the proportion of the same age group for the general population, as shown by the 2001 census.

### **2.1.4 Migration, dependency ratio, index of ageing, median age and morbidity**

A sizeable percentage of adult Dalits (9.2%) migrate, mainly abroad (59.5%), to Kathmandu (23%) and a few to nearby urban areas, mostly in search of jobs. Thus, labour mobility is quite high among Dalits, induced by a need to escape caste discrimination in the domestic labour market. Among the various Dalit groups, Doms exhibited the highest (116.3) dependency ratio (Annex Table 2.2). Notably, this group from Nepal's terai region also occupies the lowest status in the hierarchy of terai Dalits. As for the index of ageing, it was the highest (14.71) for Batars and the lowest (2.04) for Doms (Annex Table A2.2), as against the national figure of 10.7 in the 2001 census. The median age of the Dalit population is 18 years (Annex Table A2.3), which is slightly lower than the national average of 19 years. Thus, the Dalit population is relatively young. Around 12 per cent of the Dalit households had at least one episode of sickness during the past year (Annex Table A2.4).

Morbidity, conceptualized in this simple way, was relatively high among Doms, Tatmas (19% each), Batars (15%) and Badis (14%), and relatively low among Gaines, Musahars (13% each), Sarkis, Chamars, Kamis, Damais (12% each), Dusadhs, Dhobis and Khatwes (9% each). More female than male respondents had more episodes of sickness.

### 2.1.5 Adult literacy and education

The Dalit respondents of this study had an adult literacy rate of 42.84 per cent, which was significantly lower than the national average of 48.19 per cent (male: 62.21% and female: 34.57%), as per Census 2001. This rate may not, however, reflect the true literacy status of the Dalit people because most of the respondents were from relatively accessible areas, which means they had better access to education. The hill Dalits had better literacy rate than the terai Dalits. The literacy rate for adult males (58.29%) was more than double that

Caste	Literate						Total Population = > 15 years		
	Male	Male (%)	Female	Female (%)	Total	Total (%)	Male	Female	Total
Damai	268	75.71	161	44.48	429	59.92	354	362	716
Kami	458	69.92	245	38.52	703	54.45	655	636	1,291
Sarki	235	70.36	111	35.92	346	53.81	334	309	643
Gain	22	84.62	15	53.57	37	68.52	26	28	54
Badi	30	56.60	13	27.08	43	42.57	53	48	101
Chamar	115	42.28	26	9.74	141	26.16	272	267	539
Tatma	18	43.90	1	2.78	19	24.68	41	36	77
Musahar	81	31.40	19	7.95	100	20.12	258	239	497
Batar	27	48.21	7	14.89	34	33.01	56	47	103
Dom	5	21.74	0	0.00	5	11.36	23	21	44
Dusadh	105	43.39	19	8.56	124	26.72	242	222	464
Khatwe	35	39.77	10	11.36	45	25.57	88	88	176
Dhobi	12	52.17	3	13.04	15	32.61	23	23	46
Mehetar	51	61.45	14	17.07	65	39.39	83	82	165
<b>Total</b>	<b>1 462</b>	<b>58.29</b>	<b>644</b>	<b>26.74</b>	<b>2 106</b>	<b>42.84</b>	<b>2 508</b>	<b>2 408</b>	<b>4 916</b>

Source: Team Consult Fieldwork 2002.

for adult females. This was true for both hills and terai. Thus, illiteracy was quite rampant among Dalit women.

Inability to afford schooling was the main reason for dropping out of school. Other reasons included the need to perform domestic chores, parents' unwillingness to send their children to school and lack of interest in studying among children themselves.

The educational attainment level of the 6 years and above population was lower (51.2%) than the national average (53.7%). Similarly, most of the Dalit population in the study area showed low levels of primary and secondary level educational attainment. Only 2.2 per cent of the Dalit population had attained secondary education and above.

### 2.1.6 Labour force

The Dalit labour force is 67 per cent of the total Dalit adult population. In Nepal, the labour force comprised about 63.5 per cent in 2001. Among Dalits, the proportion of labour force is 72 per cent for males and 62 per cent for females. At the national level, this figure is 72 per cent for adult males and 55 per cent for adult females.

## 2.2 Hierarchy within Dalits

If, on the one hand, 'upper caste' groups consider Dalits as a whole 'impure', on the other hand, Dalits also maintain a gradation of 'impurity' between themselves. This scheme has been translated into a status stratification system which determines the pattern of social intercourse between various Dalit groups. In Nepal's rural areas, groups from higher status do not normally accept food and water from groups from lower status.

### BOX 2.1 CASTEISM WITHIN DALITS

In 2001, in Godavari VDC in Kailali district, a joint feast was organized to demonstrate social unity among various Dalit groups. There were 150 invitees from the areas of Godavari and Malakheli VDCs. As soon as a Badi participant started serving food, one of the guests, a blacksmith by caste, refused the offer and left the venue in protest, indicating that a Badi was below a blacksmith in social status.

### 2.2.1 Hierarchy within hill Dalits

The hill Dalits in the rural areas of Nepal largely follow the dictates of the Old Civil Code, which has put them in the following (descending) order of status: (1) Sarki, (2) Kami, (3) Chunar, (4) Chunara, (5) Hurkya, (6) Damai, (7) Gaine, (8) Badi, (9) Pode and (10) Chyame/Chyamkhalak.

The code placed Sarkis above Kamis. The explanation given is not clear about which group is higher in status. It was, however, clearly stated that neither of these groups accepted water from the other, and this practice is prevalent even today. The code seemed to indicate that these groups were of somewhat equal status. It was also very explicit about the position of Kadara (the progeny of the union between a Kami and a Sarki), Damai, Gaine, Badi, Pode and Chyame, in that order, in the status hierarchy. Not much is known about the pattern of social intercourse between the various hill Dalits groups and the Pode and Chyame groups belonging to the Newar community. In recent years, these two groups have increasingly tended to remain outside the Dalit fold.

The contemporary social intercourse between the hill Dalit groups indicates the following status hierarchy (in descending order) among them: (1) Kami, including Chunar and Chunara of the Old Civil Code, (2) Sarki, (3) Damai, including Hurkye of the Old Civil Code,

(4) Gaine and (5) Badi. The contemporary status hierarchy within the hill Dalits has reversed the status of Kamis and Sarkis as specified in the Old Civil Code, may be due to the relatively large population of Kamis, who are more assertive and have better literacy rate than Sarkis. No noticeable status differentiation can be observed between Chunars and Chunaras, which is a subgroup of Kamis. Kamis, Chunars and Chunaras demonstrate similar modes and patterns of interaction with other Dalit groups. They are therefore placed in the same status category.

Among hill Dalit groups, Kamis and Sarkis do not practise untouchability between each other, but both practise untouchability with the other three groups below them. Damais maintain similar relationship with Gainses and Badis, and Gainses maintain the same kind of relationship with Badis.

### **2.2.2 Hierarchy within terai Dalits**

Although there is a hierarchy among terai Dalits, their status is not as well defined as that of the hill Dalits partly because the state decrees and legal codes during the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century were not very elaborate about them. Nevertheless, this study has come up with the following status hierarchy, in descending order, among the terai Dalits: (1) Dusadh (Paswan), (2) Tatma, (3) Khatwe, (4) Dhobi, (5) Chamar, (6) Batar, (7) Parmadiya, (8) Musahar, (9) Halkhor and (10) Dom.

The terai hierarchy may not be true for the whole of the southern plains. For example, in the Mahottari area, Khatwes and Batars are considered Dalits of similar status and Musahars are put above Dhobis. Moreover, Halkhors, and not Doms, occupy the bottommost rung in the status hierarchy. For Sarlahi, Ghimire, et al (1999) suggests the following hierarchy, in descending order: (1) Tatma, (2) Khatwe (Mandal), Paswan (Dusadh), Musahar, Batar, (3) Chamar, (4) Dom and (5) Halkhor.

The terai Dalits are also largely endogamous groups and follow a status hierarchy in social interactions, but not as rigidly as the hill Dalits do.

### **2.2.3 Hierarchy within Newar Dalits**

The Old Civil Code listed certain castes within the Newar ethnic group as 'touchable but water unacceptable' and even created a status hierarchy within its caste groups, which is as follows, in descending order: (1) Kasai (Khadki), (2) Kusle (Kapali), (3) Dhobi (Rajak) and (4) Kulu. On the other hand, Rossner (1966) identifies Kau, Charmakar, Halahulu or Harahuru (drum-makers) and Pulu as 'touchable but water unacceptable' castes within the Newar community. Since the 1854 Civil Code does not include these castes in its list of 'untouchables', they must have been considered 'touchable but water unacceptable' castes at that time. In contrast to the uncertain status of these four groups, Poda (Deula) and Chyame are clearly included in the list of 'untouchables', thus clearly prescribing them a status lower than that of the other four groups, viz Kasai, Kusle, Dhobi and Kulu. Rossner's list of eight groups excludes Charmakar but includes two other groups, viz Pulu and Kau. The status of various groups in the list, except for that of the ones defined by the Old Civil Code, is not clear.

In spite of being the first urbanized community in Nepal, the Newar community is also one of the most conservative groups as far as socio-cultural traditions and ethos are concerned. Each of its subgroups has a number of subdivisions, only within which marriage and many other forms of social intercourse are possible. The 'lower status' groups (both

'untouchable' and 'touchable but water unacceptable' groups), because of their cultural association with the larger Newar community, tend to preserve their traditions. However, information is lacking on caste sentiments and practice of social intercourse between different groups, particularly between the 'Newar Dalits' and 'upper caste' Newars and between the 'untouchable' and 'touchable but water unacceptable' groups. The picture becomes further complicated when 'Newar Dalits' are increasingly asserting that they are not Dalit.

Thus, the situation of 'Newar Dalits', unlike that of other hill and terai Dalit groups, is very different with the result that no clear-cut status hierarchy within 'Newar Dalits' can be discerned in contemporary practices.

#### **2.2.4 Hierarchy as a lived experience**

This study found that almost all (98.9%) Dalits would accept drinking water from persons belonging to 'upper caste' groups (Annex Table A2.5). Similarly, most of them would accept drinking water from persons from their own caste groups (Annex Table A2.6). However, as many as 41 per cent would not accept water from persons from castes lower than their own, and such respondents were spread across all Dalit groups (Annex Table A2.7). Even the respondents belonging to the Badi community—the group with the lowest caste status among hill Dalits—would not accept water from persons from castes lower than their own, viz Poda and Chyame from Kathmandu valley, which were prescribed caste status lower than that of the Badis by the Old Civil Code. Proportionately, more Kami respondents were reluctant to accept water from lower caste persons, which is understandable in view of the fact that this group was accorded higher status by the Old Civil Code. Also reluctant were more of the Musahar and Chamar groups from the terai, which indicates their better status than that of other terai groups.

Similarly, a majority of the Dalit respondents across all Dalit groups would allow their sons to marry 'upper caste' girls (63%) (Annex Table A2.8) and their daughters to marry 'upper caste' boys (Annex Table A2.9). Nevertheless, preference for one's own caste was highly pronounced (99%) across all Dalit castes (Annex Table A2.10). On the question of giving permission to their daughters to marry 'lower caste' boys, 43.7 per cent would not give it. Similarly, 44.5 per cent would not let their sons marry 'lower caste' girls (Annex Table A2.11). These responses were distributed across all Dalit groups. Again, preference for one's own caste was highly pronounced (99%) here, too (Annex Table A2.12).

The practice of hierarchy and exclusiveness ('we' and 'they') is also reflected in the way rural agricultural work is organized. Farmers in general organize themselves into labour gangs, variously known as *perma*, *nogor*, *huri*, etc, wherein gang members work collectively on rotation (Gurung 1996). These have been important systems of labour exchange in Nepal's rural areas. As many as 73.1 per cent of the respondents were involved in labour exchange (Annex Table A2.13). However, around 50 per cent of them were not involved in labour exchange with 'upper caste' people (Annex Table A2.14) and around 31 per cent with 'lower caste' people (Annex Table A2.15). This maintenance of hierarchy in the world of work applies to both between Dalit and 'higher caste' groups and between Dalit groups themselves. Therefore, although labour exchange is an important feature in the organization of agricultural work, this feature, because of the prevailing hierarchy, is largely confined within groups with similar status hierarchy. Thus, hierarchy serves as a barrier to free exchange of labour between different status groups.





## SOCIO-CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL EXCLUSION, OCCUPATIONS AND ACCESS TO RESOURCES

In the present democratic political framework, participation is seen as one of the keys to awareness creation and personality development. Through participation people come to know each other, identify their commonalities and differences, enhance their self-respect, and develop ways to adjust themselves to political, economic and social processes and systems. Participation helps them identify what changes or reforms are necessary in the system they are interacting with. It, thus, leads to change and development for the common good. It allows people to make decision about political, economic, social and cultural issues facing them. They adopt mechanisms to implement decisions and participate in the monitoring of actions. Participation is, thus, a reflection of the wishes and choices of people. It is free of influence, coercion and manipulation. It is an integral element of democracy (INSEC 2001: 10). Robust participation is a form of positive social capital conducive to human development. Socio-cultural exclusion is antithetical to participation. Such exclusion can have far-reaching consequences for political and economic participation.

### 3.1 Participation at Local Level

#### 3.1.1 Participation in socio-cultural and economic processes

At the local or community level, a positive participatory culture has been emerging in terms of participation in small farmers' development programmes, in self-help groups and in specialized groups such as community forest users groups, irrigation water users groups, agricultural commodity groups, etc (Dahal 1996; NESAC 1998; DEVA 2003).

Today, the group approach has become an essential element of social mobilization. In every sector, social mobilization is concretely manifested in the formation of groups—some ritualistic and some functional, which is a deliberate attempt at fostering participation at the local level. Such attempts seek to address the economic and socio-cultural domains of participation. If membership of these groups is taken as an indicator of participation, then for several caste or ethnic groups, the participation rate hovers just around 15 per cent (Gurung, et al 1999: 125). The membership of Dalits in such groups is the lowest (10.51%).

Participation in community activities such as labour contribution towards the construction of community infrastructure; maintenance of cleanliness in the community and surroundings; and group efforts to raise awareness of health, sanitation and education form important yardsticks for analysing local-level participation. The participation rate of Dalit groups (20.77%) in such activities is much lower than that of the Bahun/Chhetri (33.14%) and Janajati groups (27.32%) (ibid: 158-159). Thus, Dalits are more prominently excluded from these processes than any other caste and ethnic groups.

Dalits fare the worst in terms of educational participation (NESAC 1998; CERID 1997; Chhetri 1996; Gurung 1998), may be a result of the belief among a large proportion (59%) of Dalits that their children are discriminated against at school (Gurung, et al 1999: xix). Similarly, among other instances of caste-based socio-cultural and economic exclusion, around 38 per cent of Dalits hesitate to enter temples; around 46 per cent have been prohibited from entering temples; and 35 per cent have been forced to wash their own dishes at hotels, restaurants and tea-stalls<sup>5</sup>. Such socio-cultural exclusion of Dalits can be seen in a variety of socio-cultural settings: non-formal educational classes; community meetings; funeral or birth rites; wedding ceremonies; community feasts and picnics; community cultural programmes; local community-based training in health, sanitation, agriculture, cottage industries and other income-generating activities. No other group faces such forms of socio-cultural exclusion to the extent Dalits do.

In the Hindu cultural universe, water is an important material thing to be protected from being polluted. This cultural logic applies in categorizing people in terms of the purity–impurity continuum: water cannot be accepted for drinking and other household purposes from people who are impure. Because of this, ‘upper caste’ people tend to protect the water sources (taps, ponds, etc) from being polluted by ‘lower caste’ people through their touch. The implication is that, in Nepal’s rural areas many Dalits are still barred from access to drinking water.

### BOX 3.1 DENYING DALITS ACCESS TO PUBLIC RESOURCES

Twenty-seven-year old Aishu BK and her family had migrated from Achham to Kuntikhet village, ward no. 9, Baliya VDC, Kailali.

There was a public tap near her house. The ‘upper caste’ people in the village did not let any member of her family touch that tap. If her family needed water, they had to request one of the ‘upper caste’ villagers, who would then give them water. In May-June 1997-98, having returned home from the farm, Aishu asked her six-year-old son to fetch water from the tap. As there was no one at the tap to give him water, the child himself fetched water. Kinthe Saud, a local ‘upper caste’ man, saw this and scolded Aishu’s son for touching the tap. Aishu’s son returned home crying. When he told her the facts, Aishu went to Saud and argued with him that her son had touched the tap because there was no one to give him water and he should not have scolded the child so harshly. But Saud retorted that her son was telling a lie and started beating him there and then. Aishu then ran away with her son to her home. After some time, Saud’s mother-in-law and some ‘upper caste’ women came to her house and scolded and beat her for arguing with an ‘upper caste’ person. Aishu remembers that bitter incident and laments that no one came to save her and her son at that time.

The same day she went to Motipur police station to file a report against Saud. Saud was summoned to the police station and was asked not to stop any Dalit from using the local tap in the future. After returning from the police station, Saud and some ‘upper caste’ people scolded Aishu for complaining against them, and threatened to set her house on fire should she fetch water from that tap again. Since that incident, Aishu does not fetch water from that tap. She goes to a place a little far from her house where there is a tap for Dalits. Aishu tells this story about discrimination with tears in her eyes and regrets that she had no saviour then. She says she would fight for her own and her caste’s rights if anyone volunteered to help her, and hopes the good days for Dalits would come soon.

<sup>5</sup> Most teastalls and eateries in the rural areas of Nepal, especially in the hills, if they serve tea and food to Dalits, do so only on the condition that the latter themselves wash their own dishes from which they had tea or other food because they are considered untouchable; ‘upper caste’ customers of these teastalls and eateries are not required to do so.

Hindu scriptures reserve certain coveted occupations for 'upper caste' people, whereas 'lower caste' people are relegated to perform occupations that bring little income. Thus, most Dalits are forced to earn their meagre living from traditional occupations and wage labour. Occupational mobility to more gainful jobs is limited among Dalits.

Income-earning white-collar jobs—clerical or professional—are largely unavailable for Dalits mainly because of their relatively low educational status. In addition, their 'untouchable' status is a hindrance to their participation in such jobs, particularly in those areas where they have to be in close physical contact with 'upper caste' people or touch water and food items. Dalits can seldom, if ever, involve in religious activities that bring income, eg priesthood. In many rural areas, they are not recruited as teachers even if they are qualified, for non-Dalit parents would hesitate to send their children to such schools. They are not employed as domestic help or in restaurants and shops because of their untouchable status. As 'upper castes' do not accept water and most food items from Dalit establishments, petty businesses involving the sale of these items are out of the question in most cases. In addition, as dealing with a Dalit is perceived as ritually defiling, other businesses entailing Dalit-'upper caste' transactions are also difficult propositions. The activities Dalits are currently engaged in bring relatively low economic returns, but since they do not have any alternatives, they are forced to continue with the job. The earnings are hardly enough to maintain a decent living.

The low participation of Dalits in economic processes is reflected in the fact that, amongst all social groups in Nepal, Dalits have the lowest annual per capita income, expenditure, savings and investment (ibid).

The frequency of interactions between the local people and development workers is the lowest for the Dalit category amongst the major caste and ethnic categories. Because of their better education and other caste-related privileges, development workers tend to be largely from 'upper caste' and ethnic groups. There are ample evidences of development workers tending to interact with people belonging to 'upper castes' and ethnic groups whenever they visit rural areas, eg asking their well-being, holding meetings, staying at their homes, eating with them, etc (Gurung 1996; Gurung, et al 1999). The wide social distance is obviously due to the persistence of the 'purity principle' and the consequent practice of untouchability and the manifested stereotypes associated with these. Therefore, because of the relatively wide social distance (DEVA 2002), and, as a result, less interaction between Dalits and development workers belonging to 'upper caste' or ethnic groups, Dalits are excluded from development programmes brought to rural areas. Consequently, the magnitude of exclusion from development programmes is the highest for Dalits compared to major caste and ethnic groups. Because of these and other milieus, among all population groups, Dalits possess the lowest level of awareness of different interventions of socio-economic uplift (Gurung, et al 1999: 101-102).

NGOs have become an important element of civil society today. Around 8 per cent of the Dalit households participate in some sort of activities carried out by NGOs—a figure higher than that for Janajatis and Bahuns/Chhetris (Gurung, et al 1999: 107). Except for these generally externally-induced instances of exclusion, little data exist on the internally- and intrinsically-induced exclusion of Dalits, which is effected by Dalits' own sense of separateness and inferiority complex, from the local-level activities of civil society.

Social capital and social networks can help any community to play an inclusive and participatory role in the mainstream development. Socio-cultural exclusion is antithetical to participation and can have far-reaching consequences for political and economic participation. Without social capital and social networks, exclusion from development programmes and wider society is much more likely to occur. Employment in Nepal is still strongly linked to various networks of caste or ethnic relations and political affiliations. For example, the government and other sectors are dominated by personnel belonging to 'upper caste' groups and they tend to favour individuals belonging to their own groups when the matter concerns hiring or promoting personnel. Such networks and affiliations are very weak among Dalits because of their low socio-economic, political and educational status. Consequently, the Dalits of Nepal have not been able to make inroads into social, economic, political and other sectors, unlike Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars, who have *afno manchhe* (one's own people) in every position that matters to capitalize on and benefit members of their own social groups. As a result, Dalits fare the worst in virtually all conceivable indicators of socio-cultural and economic participation. Furthermore, the participation of female Dalit population in these spheres is almost non-existent.

### **3.1.2 Political exclusion**

Bahun and Chhetri have dominated all the major political parties (Gurung, et al 1999; NESAC 1998; Neupane 2000), whereas Dalits have the least participation in terms of participation in elections at various levels. For example, in the 1997 election for VDC chairpersons, Bahuns/Chhetris (54.42%) and Janajatis (39.86%) constituted the majority, whereas Dalits constituted a mere 1.63 per cent of the 735 VDC chairpersons (Gurung, et al 1999: 163). The caste and ethnic composition of the VDC vice-chairpersons followed somewhat similar proportions: Bahuns/Chhetris: 52.11%; Janajatis: 37.82% and Dalits: 3.95%. Similarly, among the 116 mayors and deputy mayors elected in 1997, 42 per cent were Bahuns/Chhetris, 17.5 per cent were Newars and 6.9 per cent were major Janajati groups (Tamang, Sherpa, Magar, Gurung, Rai, Limbu, Lama). Notably, 11 Dalits were able to occupy positions, including those of mayor and deputy mayor (NESAC 1998: 144-45). In the District Development Committee (DDC) election in 1997, Bahuns/Chhetris constituted 59 per cent of the total 823 DDC members, whereas the major Janajatis, excluding Newars, constituted only 19.3 per cent. No single Dalit was successful in that election.

As opposed to Bahuns and Chhetris, who have the highest membership (16.63%) of political organizations, an overwhelming majority of Dalits (86.56%) are not members of any political organization (Gurung, et al 1999). Interestingly, non-Bahun/Chhetri and 'upper caste' terai groups have the proportion (15.66%) of membership at par with Bahuns and Chhetris.

## **3.2 Exclusion at Macro Level**

### **3.2.1 Exclusion from socio-cultural and economic processes**

The low socio-cultural participation of Dalits at the local level is also reflected at the macro level. Ever since the emergence of the House of Gorkha, the campaign to make Nepal '*Asli Hindustan*' (the real land of the Hindus) continues. One of the latest and major indicators of this continuing effort to homogenize the Nepalese society is the constitutional proclamation of Nepal as a Hindu state. Even if Dalits claim to be Hindus, they cannot participate in religious ceremonies alongside 'upper caste' people.

**TABLE 3.1** INTEGRATED NATIONAL CASTE/ETHNICITY INDEX OF GOVERNANCE 1999

Organization	Bahun/ Chhetri	Mongol/ Kirant	Madhise	Dalit	Newar	Others	Total
Judiciary							
Constitutional bodies and commissions	181	4	18	0	32	0	235
Council of Ministers	14	2	3	0	6	0	25
Public administration	20	4	5	0	3	0	32
Legislature	159	36	46	4*	20	0	265
Leadership of political parties	97	25	26	0	18	0	165
DDC president, municipality mayor, vice-mayor	106	23	31	0	30	0	191
Leadership in industries and trade sector	7	0	15	0	20	0	42
Academic and professional leadership in the education sector	75	2	7	1	11	1	97
Academic and professional leadership in the cultural sector	85	6	0	0	22	0	113
Science and technology	36	2	6	0	18	0	62
Leadership in the civil society sector	41	1	4	0	18	0	62
<b>Total</b>	<b>1011</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1520</b>
<b>Per cent</b>	<b>66.5</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>11.2</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>15.2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Percentage of Nepal's population</b>	<b>31.6</b>	<b>22.2**</b>	<b>30.9</b>	<b>8.7***</b>	<b>5.6</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Difference (%)</b>	<b>+ 34.9</b>	<b>-15.1</b>	<b>-19.7</b>	<b>-8.4</b>	<b>+ 9.6</b>	<b>-1.0</b>	

\*Nominated members of the Upper House; \*\* Not inclusive of all Janajati or ethnic groups; \*\*\*Includes hill Dalits only.  
Source: Neupane 2000: 82.

Dalits are excluded from all institutions of governance, except in the legislature, where they have four members—all nominated—to the Upper House, and from academic and professional leadership in the education sector, where they have one member (Table 3.1). They are also excluded from leadership positions in civil society organizations and political parties as well as in trade, industry, science and technology.

There is dominance of Brahmans and Chhetris, followed by Newars, in leadership positions in the Royal Nepal Academy and other cultural organizations (Table 3.2). The presence of Dalits is nil in each of these cultural organizations.

**TABLE 3.2** CASTE/ETHNICITY ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP POSITION HOLDERS IN THE ROYAL NEPAL ACADEMY AND OTHER CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS 2002

Organization	Bahun/Chhetri	Mongol/Kirant	Madhise (terai group)	Dalit	Newar	Total
Vice Chancellor and academicians	37	4	0	0	16	57
Cine Artistes Association	15	0	0	0	2	17
Nepal Progressive Writers Association	33	2	0	0	4	39
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>113</b>
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>75.2</b>	<b>5.3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>19.5</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Neupane 2000.

In both academic and administrative positions in the country's premier university, viz Tribhuvan University, similar lopsided participation of the 'upper caste' Brahmans/Chhetris and Newars with the total exclusion of Dalits is visible (Table 3.3).

The presence of Dalits in the leadership positions of teachers' organizations, too, is negligible (Annex Table A3.1).

**TABLE 3.3** CASTE/ETHNICITY ANALYSIS OF ACADEMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP POSITION HOLDERS AT TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY 2002

Organization	Bahun/Chhetri	Mongol/Kirant	Madhise (terai group)	Dalit	Newar	Others	Total
Vice Chancellor	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Academic leadership (Dean)	4	0	1	0	4	0	9
Executive Director (Research centre)	1	0	1	0	1	1	4
Administrative leadership	13	2	0	0	10	0	24
Professor	87	2	23	0	59	0	171
<b>Total</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>210</b>
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>50.5</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>11.9</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>35.2</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Neupane 2000 and TEAM Consult Fieldwork 2002.

Similarly, Dalits have no representation in scientific and technical areas (Table 3.4).

The participation of Dalits and other disadvantaged groups in other civil society entities in terms of holding leadership positions is similarly either non-existent or extremely low (Annex Tables A3.2 and 3.3).

Over the past couple of years, Dalits themselves have been establishing their own civil society organizations. Some INGOs and a major bilateral donor, Danida, have been directly supporting Dalit organizations. Most employees of such organizations are Dalits.

**TABLE 3.4** CASTE/ETHNICITY ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP POSITION HOLDERS IN SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZATIONS AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS 2002

Organization	Bahun/Chhetri	Mongol/Kirant	Madhise	Dalit	Newar	Others	Total
Royal Nepal Academy of Science and Technology	8	0	2	0	10	0	20
Nepal Medical Association	8	1	2	0	3	0	14
Nepal Engineering Association	7	0	4	0	4	0	15
Nepal Nursing Association	10	1	0	0	2	0	13
Society of Nepalese Architects	5	1	1	0	4	0	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>52.1</b>	<b>4.1</b>	<b>12.3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>31.5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Neupane 2000 and TEAM Consult Fieldwork 2002.

There is no presence of Dalits in the leadership positions of any council, except the National Development Council (Annex Table A3.4). Both the Dalit Development Committee and the National Dalit Commission (NDC) tend to hire Dalits as staff.

Similarly, there is only one Dalit professional in an international NGOs (INGOs) amongst the Nepal offices of INGOs and bilateral and multilateral agencies shows (Annex Table A3.5). The share of Dalits among the 855 employees of the United Nations (UN) system in Nepal, including its specialized agencies, which is the largest employer among external agencies in the country, is negligible (0.47%). The numbers of Dalits employed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) office, World Health Organization (WHO) project, International Labour Organization (ILO) project and the Participatory District Development Project (PDDP) in 2002 are given in Annex Table A3.18.

In terms of participation in the agricultural economy, Dalits own the least mean land area for cultivation (Gurung, et al 1999). As a result, seasonal migration—both internal and external, local wage labour and involvement in traditional occupations are other forms of economic participation of Dalits.

The low participation in the above areas also means low participation in the labour force and, therefore, in economic processes. The government—the largest formal employer—is the most important sector of economic participation. There is no participation of Dalits in any organization related to trade, industry, commerce and economic services. In brief, Dalits are excluded from commercial and industrial organizations, ie from formal private sector institutions.

### 3.2.2 Exclusion from macro-level politics

Almost all national political parties have a Dalit sister organization at the national level, for example, the Nepal Dalit Sangh of the Nepali Congress, Udpidit Jatiya Mukti Samaj of the CPN-UML, Nepal Dalit Mukti Morcha of the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist, Nepal Rastriya Prajatantrik Udpidit Janauthan Sangathan of the RPP, Dalit Utthan Manch of the Sadbhavana Party and Jatiya Samata Party of Masal. In addition, Dalits have their own political party, viz Dalit Shrameek Morcha.



Of the 1,442 candidates fielded for the country's 205 parliamentary constituencies in the 1994 elections, the Nepali Congress (NC), the Communist Party of Nepal-United Marxist-Leninist (CPN-UML) and the Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP) together accounted for 604 (42%) of the contestants. There was predominance of Bahuns/Chhetris (80%) among the nominated candidates in each of these major parties. No wonder 61 per cent of the members of the erstwhile House of Representatives belonged to these groups. The Dalit community did not have a single representative in the House of Representatives.

In spite of the activities of these sister organizations, in the general election of 1998, the Nepali Congress did not give ticket to a single Dalit candidate, whereas the CPN-UML and RPP gave tickets to Dalit candidates, but from those constituencies where their party bases were weak. None of these candidates was successful. Out of the altogether 89 Dalit candidates in the fray, 66, or 4 per cent of the total candidates, were from political parties. In that election, the highest number of votes secured by a Dalit candidate (who belonged to the CPN-UML) was 8,986.

Krishna Singh Pariyar of the Nepali Congress, who won in the general election of 1991, is the first Dalit candidate to win an election in Nepal's history. This shows that if Dalits are given tickets from those constituencies where the party has a strong hold, they can certainly win. Unfortunately, in the subsequent elections, neither of the main political parties, CPN-UML and Nepali Congress, fielded a Dalit candidate from a winning constituency.

The central-level political leadership of different political parties is also an indicator of political participation across different caste and ethnic groups. Dalits were hardly able to make inroads into the apex of political institutions in terms of holding central-level leadership positions of political parties during the past 40 years, ie from 1959 to 1999 (Annex Table A3.6).

**TABLE 3.5** CASTE/ETHNICITY COMPOSITION OF POLICE OFFICERS 2002

Caste/Ethnic Groups	Number	Percentage
Brahmans	432	34
Chhetri	384	30
Thakuri	72	6
Rana	25	2
Janajati	157	12
Newar	143	11
<b>Dalit</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0.5</b>
Tharu	17	1
Giri	11	1
Others	32	2.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1279</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: DEVA 2002.

There was not a single Dalit among the chief district officers (CDOs) and secretaries in ministries until 1959, and so is the case even after 40 years, in 1999 (Annex Table A3.7). CDO and secretary are important and powerful civil service positions in their respective spheres.

Similarly, the Dalit presence was nil in the Supreme Court, in the HoR and on the Council of Ministers, in both 1959 and 1999. The representation of Dalits is quite negligible among police officers (Table 3.5). The same is the case in the armed forces, although data are lacking.

The magnitude of exclusion of Dalits is reflected by all indicators, including the Human Development Index (1996), which is the lowest for Dalits among all the groups included (Annex Table A3.9).

### 3.3 Occupations and Access to Resources

The very association of specific occupations with specific caste groups has promoted the use of the term, occupational castes, to represent the so-called lower caste groups. This chapter focuses on the traditional occupations, major occupations, relatively high income-yielding occupations and occupational mobility of Dalit groups. What follows is an analysis of access to resources, including asset ownership and indebtedness.

#### 3.3.1 Traditional occupations

Various traditional occupations are associated with different caste groups (Table 4.1). Some occupations are followed by more than one single caste, for example bamboo-work, leatherwork, metalwork (eg Newar castes involved in gold and other metalwork), music and entertainment.

**TABLE 3.6** TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH DIFFERENT CASTE GROUPS

S.N.	Traditional Occupations	Caste Groups
<b>Hills and Mountains</b>		
1	Blacksmith work	Kami (Lohar, Mahar, Pouri)
2	Goldsmith work	Kami (Sunar)
3	Coppersmith work	Kami (Tamta)
4	Tailoring	Damai, Kusle
5	Cobbler/Leatherwork	Sarki (Bhool), Kulu
6	Sweeping/cleaning/human waste disposal	Pode, Chyame, Halahulu
7	Oil extraction	Koli
8	Butchery and milk-selling	Kasai (Khadgi)
9	Laundry washing	Dhobi (Rajak)
10	Music/dance/entertainment/singing	Kusle, Damai, Gaine, Badi, Hurke (Damai)
11	Bamboo-work	Chitre

S.N.	Traditional Occupations	Caste Groups
<b>Hills and Mountains</b>		
12	Woodenpot-making	Kami (Chudara/Chunara/Chanara)
13	Funeral undertakers	Kusle (Kapali)
14	Drum-making	Halahulu, Charmakar
<b>Terai</b>		
15	Cloth-weaving	Tatma
16	Earthwork/clay-digging	Khatwe, Musahar
17	Leatherwork	Chamar
18	Catching field rats	Musahar
19	Collecting and selling medicinal herbs	Musahar
20	Collecting and selling fermented juice from palm and date trees	Paswan (Dushad)
21	Bamboo-work	Dom, Batar
22	Laundry washing	Dhobi
23	Sweeping/cleaning	Halkhor (Mehetar)

Source: Gurung, et al 1999; Dahal, et al 2002 and Gurung 2002

Dalits are also involved in wage labour in both agricultural and non-agricultural sectors because many groups tend to embrace activities in these sectors when traditional occupations do not bring expected returns and when they cannot compete with factory-produced goods (DNF 2002).

### 3.3.2 Major occupations

The respondents still practised more than 24 of their traditional occupations (Annex Tables A4.1 and A4.2). Around 42 per cent of them were engaged in their traditional occupations. The major traditional occupations still practised included blacksmith work (20.4%), tailoring (19.4%), leatherwork (16.2%), goldsmith work (5.2%), copper/bronze work (4.9%), earth-digging (4.9%), sweeping and cleaning (4.7%), ploughing, musical instrument playing (2.8% each), human waste disposal (2.3%) and carcass disposal (1.3%).

Among all Dalit groups considered in this study, 91 per cent of Kamis, a hill Dalit group, were still engaged in their traditional occupation, viz blacksmith work. This may have been so because the Lohar and Sonar castes, which have traditionally been involved in blacksmith and goldsmith work respectively, are 'touchable' and so were not considered in this study. Among the Kami respondents, 55 per cent were still involved in blacksmith and 15.7 per cent in goldsmith work. Around 15 per cent of this group of respondents combined metalwork, including iron, gold, silver, copper and bronze, with other regular work. Thus, around 86 per cent of the Kami households were still engaged in metalwork of one or the other sort. However, these were not full-time occupations from which total household earnings were derived.

Similarly, among all Dalit groups, hill Damais alone accounted for around 92 per cent of all the respondents who were still engaged in tailoring as their occupation, whereas around 77 per cent of all Dalit households still considered tailoring as their occupation. No terai Dalit group with similar occupation and status as those of hill Damais exists.

In this study, the hill Sarkis accounted for 66.4 per cent and the terai Chamars 20.3 per cent of all the respondent households engaged in leatherwork. Thus, 86.7 per cent of all Sarki/Chamar respondents still practised leatherwork as their occupation. Leatherwork was still practised as a traditional occupation by 72 per cent of the respondent households from the Sarki group and 34.7 per cent from the terai Chamar group. Thus, leatherwork was still a dominant occupation among Sarkis and Chamars, and more of the hill Sarkis than terai Chamars were still engaged in their traditional occupation.

Apart from these occupations, the groups discussed above and some other groups, both from the hill and terai regions, are traditionally associated with other activities. Among the activities falling under the realm of traditional occupations, midwifery is an important work for the Chamar women of the terai. The hill Kamis and the terai Musahars cremated dead bodies as their traditional occupation. Disposal of carcasses—a job also performed by Mehetars—was an important traditional occupation for the terai Chamars. The hill Sarkis also disposed of carcasses and in many instances ate them.

Damais, Chamars and Musahars also worked as messengers. In the hills, they are known as *Katuwal* (messenger). Only Kamis, Sarkis and Paswans worked for upper caste households. Many other groups were also engaged in this occupation.

Damais, Chamars and Khatwes also carried brides and grooms at weddings. Kamis are not engaged in this task because of the traditional belief that the mere presence of a Kami on auspicious occasions such as marriage invites bad omen.<sup>6</sup>

Damais and Gains also played musical instruments. Damais were engaged on occasions such as marriage and religious rites and festivals, whereas Gains played musical instruments (notably the *Sarangi*, a Nepali stringed instrument) to earn a living. They also visited 'upper caste' households during festivals.

Kamis, Sarkis and Chamars also ploughed the fields of 'upper caste' households. A majority of the Kamis (78%) were engaged in ploughing as one of their occupations.

Like the Poda and Chyame castes in the Newar community, Doms and Mehetars in the terai are involved in the sweeping and cleaning activity, including disposal of human waste; doms in the weaving of bamboo mats and baskets; and Damais and Sarkis in the disposal of animals sacrificed at the religious rituals of 'upper caste' people.

Among Dalit groups, Badi women are particularly known for engaging in commercial sexwork. Badis were originally musician entertainers for 'upper caste' households. Later, they took to commercial sexwork for livelihood (Thapaliya and Gautam 1998).

<sup>6</sup> In many pockets in rural Nepal, people still firmly believe that one should not see a Kami early in the morning, for doing so would spoil one's whole day (Gurung 1996).

The dominant activity of the terai Dhobis, like that of their hill counterparts, was washing clothes for others.

Musahar and Khatwe groups from the terai were also involved in earthwork (cutting and digging earth). Proportionately, more of Musahars (57%) than Khatwes (43%) were involved in this activity.

A division existed between men and women in terms of work. Ploughing, playing musical instruments, carrying brides and grooms, disposing of carcasses, metalwork, working as local messengers were the activities done by men, whereas utensil washing, laundry washing, weeding, planting and so on were done by women. Tailoring, harvesting and earthwork were done by both the sexes.

### **3.3.2.1 Perception of income levels in various occupations**

There is an increasing trend among Dalits to embrace agricultural wage labour as a means of livelihood (DNF 2002). Agricultural wage labour (32%) was perceived as the occupation that brought them the highest returns in cash compared to farming (17%), traditional caste-based occupations (17%) and non-agricultural wage labour (12.5%) (Annex Table A4.3). Around 40 per cent of the respondents were involved in agricultural wage labour (Annex Table A4.3).

Farming was the biggest income-earning occupation, most of all for the Kami group (38.5%) (Annex Table A4.4). Sarkis made 24.4 per cent and Damais 14.1 per cent of their earnings from this occupation. Very few Gaijans and Badis had farming as their biggest income-earning occupation, may be because these groups are not particularly known as farmers; they don't possess much land for cultivation because of their engagement in entertainment activities. The percentages of the terai groups were also not that pronounced (Annex Table A4.4).

Traditional occupations were the biggest income sources for Damais (33.8%), Kamis (29.1%) and Sarkis (15.2%). These groups are still associated with their traditional occupations, viz tailoring, blacksmith and leatherwork, as compared to other traditional occupations such as midwifery, cremation, sexwork, waste disposal and cleaning. Very few terai and hill groups such as Gaijan and Badi had their traditional occupations as their biggest income sources (Annex Table A4.4).

Non-agricultural wage labour was the occupation that brought the most income for Musahars (29.6%), followed by Kamis (19.8%) and Dusadhs or Paswans (12.5%).

### **3.3.2.2 Perceptions of social status of various occupations**

Social status of occupation refers to people's perception of the prestige associated with various occupations. Around two-thirds (67%) of the respondents believed that the social status of their occupations was the same as that of the occupations of the 'upper castes', while around one-third believed that it was lower than that of the occupations of the 'upper castes'. Interestingly, a small number (3.4%) believed it was even higher than that of the 'upper caste' people (Annex Table A4.5).

A majority (68.0%) of the Mehetar respondents, closely followed by Badis (63.3%), perceived their occupation of being lower status than that of the 'upper caste' people. Some respondents from the Khatwe (6.8%), Sarki (6.2%), Damai (5.6%), Kami (4.7%), Tatma

(3.7%) and Batar (3.6%) castes harboured the perception that the status of their occupations was higher than that of the occupations of the 'upper castes' (Annex Table A4.3).

Thus, a majority of the groups perceived that the status of their occupations was the same as that of the occupations of the 'upper castes', but, conversely, a small number of respondents perceived their occupations as possessing a status higher than that of the 'upper castes'. This was particularly so with groups involved in commercial sex and cleaning and sweeping waste, including disposal of human waste.

### **3.3.2.3 Production of goods**

Of the total 1,454 respondents, only 213 (14.6%) were able to name the goods they had produced between July 2001 and June 2002. Few Dalits were involved in the production of cloth, leather goods, iron utensils and agricultural tools, gold and silver ornaments, and wooden items, including furniture and musical instruments (Annex Table A4.6). The items produced were largely traditionally associated with the various occupational castes (Annex Table A4.7), except those of the Kamis, who also produced wooden items and furniture. Kami, Sarki and Damai, in that order, mostly produced traditional goods (Annex Table A4.7).

Traditional occupations were performed on an *ad hoc* basis and did not contribute much to the household's livelihood.

### **3.3.2.4 Markets for commodities produced**

'District headquarters' (31.4%) emerged as the biggest market for the commodities produced. Other big markets were the 'village itself' (20.5%), 'VDC area' (16.2%) and 'within the district' (14.8%) (Annex Table A4.8).

### **3.3.2.5 Problems in marketing**

'Lack of market information' (24.6%), followed by the 'inability to participate in the market due to caste' (18.5%), was the biggest problem in marketing. The fact that many food items are not accepted from Dalits hinders them from selling them. In addition, many 'upper caste' people hesitate to visit shops owned by Dalits, and in many cases Dalits have to transact with 'upper castes' by maintaining some physical distance from them. 'Unavailability of good prices', 'low quality of commodities produced' and 'lack of transportation facilities' were the other problems in marketing the goods produced by Dalits (Annex Table A4.9).

Altogether 12.8 per cent of the 422 respondents cited 'unavailability of good prices' for their products, while 13.3 per cent combined this problem with 'lack of market information' and 'low caste status'. Thus, 'unavailability of good prices' accounted for a total of 26.1 per cent. This problem 'always' occurred for 16.9 per cent, 'often' for 40.8 per cent and 'sometimes' for 36.7 per cent of the respondents (Annex Table A4.9).

Among the 24.6 per cent of the 422 respondents who cited 'lack of market information' as a marketing problem, almost 27 per cent were Kamis, 16 per cent were Damais and Musahars each, 12.5 per cent were Khatwes and 11.5 per cent were Sarkis.

Among the 18.5 per cent of the 422 respondents who cited 'lower caste status' as a marketing problem, 37.2 per cent were Musahars, 15 per cent were Batars, 12 per cent were Kamis, 10 per cent were Musahars and 8 per cent were Chamars.

### **3.3.2.6 Non-traditional activities**

Non-traditional occupations can be seen as opportunities to escape from traditional caste-based occupations (Annex Tables A4.10 and A4.11).

Non-traditional occupations were diverse and included agricultural wage labour (39.6%), regular job or service (10.2%), farming (8.4%), retail store, including cereal grain (2.5%), hotel/restaurant (1.1%) and construction (0.5%) (Annex Table A4.12).

Among those engaged in agricultural wage labour, 21.3 per cent were Kamis. The percentages of other groups were: Musahar (19.5%), Dusadh (15.7%), Chamar (12.5%), Sarki (7.9%), Damai (6.6%), Khatwe (5.5%), Tatma (3.4%), Batar (3.2%) and Badi (2.1%). The involvement of Gaine, Dom, Dhobi and Mehetar castes in agricultural labour was negligible, ie below 1 per cent (Annex Table A4.13).

Of those employed in regular jobs (10.2% of all respondents), 27 per cent were Mehetars. Although their jobs were still traditional (eg cleaning, sweeping, etc), because they were under some sort of employment contract, this category was put under the 'non-traditional activities' category. The other groups in regular jobs were: Sarki (14.1%), Kami (10.6%), Damai, Chamar, Dusadh (9.9% each), Musahar (7.7%), Dom (4.2%), Tatma (2.8%), Badi (2.1%), Khatwe, Dhobi and Batar (0.7% each). None of the Gaine respondents had a regular job. A few of the Damai, Kami, Badi, Chamar, Musahar, Dusadh and Dhobi respondents were engaged in hotel/restaurant operation (Annex Table A4.13).

Among those engaged in agriculture (8.4% of all sample respondents) were Kamis (32.8%), Sarkis (19.3%), Dusadhs (15.1%), Chamars (11.8%), Musahars and Khatwes (4.2% each).

### **3.3.2.7 Occupational mobility**

Although the major traditional occupations such as metalwork, tailoring, leatherwork, and sweeping, cleaning and waste disposal are still associated particularly with Dalit caste groups, 42 per cent of the respondents were still engaged in such occupations on part-time basis only. This means that Dalit groups are gradually diversifying into non-traditional avenues, mainly to agricultural wage labour. Such occupational mobility among castes such as Damai, Kami and Sarki/Chamar is largely due to the encroachment of modern factory-produced goods and the traditional non-cash mode of transaction (DNF 2002).

The cash mode is the dominant mode of transaction in today's market economy. However, as many as 65 per cent of those working for Bista households received payment in kind and 13 per cent in both cash and kind. This indicates that the non-cash mode of transaction is still dominant in Nepal's rural areas. Thus, the non-cash mode of transaction can be seen as a 'push' factor for moving from traditional occupations to non-traditional ones because cash is becoming the most convenient form of asset even in rural areas.

On the one hand, agricultural wage labour is generally not a well-paid activity in Nepal and, on the other hand, less menial activities or those that require education are not accessible to a vast majority of Dalits.

Around 37 per cent of the respondents believed that they would not be able to change their occupations (Annex Table A4.14). This figure was somewhat close to the percentage of the respondents that were still engaged in their traditional occupations. Only 13 per cent of the

respondents believed that they could switch over to any occupation, whereas around 50 per cent believed that switching over to 'some occupations' was possible.

Among the 37.3 per cent of the respondents who would not be able to switch over to other occupations, the percentage was the highest for Kamis (23.8%), followed by Musahars (19.6%), Damais, Dusadhs, Sarkis and Chamars. The terai Dhobis, Tatmas and Gaines had very low percentages in this respect (Annex Table A4.14).

Among the 706 respondents (48.6% of all respondents) who could switch over to other occupations, 52 per cent could switch over to 'those where one doesn't have to touch food'; 21.7 per cent to 'those where one doesn't have to touch food and enter the house of an upper caste'; 9.2 per cent to 'those where one doesn't have to enter the house of an upper caste'; and 5.8 per cent to 'those where one doesn't have to touch people'. A further 7.4 per cent could switch over to 'those occupations where one doesn't have to touch people and food and where one doesn't have to enter the house of an upper caste'. Thus, food (non-commensality), which is based on the concept of untouchability, which in turn is derived from the purity principle, was still a major barrier to changing the occupation (Annex Table A4.10).

Apart from commensality, 'lack of capital' (45.3%), 'low caste status' (24.4%) and 'lack of knowledge' (9.4%) were the hindrances to changing the occupation. Altogether 20.3 per cent of the respondents cited different combinations of these three reasons. Thus, individual's education, exposure and caste status (within the Dalit category) may be important factors for determining different perceptions of the ability or inability to switch over to other occupations (Annex Table A4.11). Nevertheless, occupational mobility, especially to more gainful jobs, is limited among Dalits.

### **3.3.2.8 Training**

Training is an important factor for enhancing the efficiency and productivity of workers. Only 6.3 per cent of the 15 years and above population (313 of the total 4,961 respondents) covered by this study had taken some sort of training. These respondents had taken training in 25 subject-matters, which included paper-making (26.8%), tailoring (15.7%), savings and credit (12.8%), blacksmith work (6.7%), goldsmith work (4.5%), driving (3.5%), leatherwork, agriculture (3.2% each), midwifery (2.9%), livestock production (2.6%), music/dance, carpet weaving, plumbing, electricity (1.9% each), hosiery, needlework (1.6%), computer (1.3%), poultry and mushroom production (1% each). The percentages for carpentry, soil conservation, entrepreneurship development, midwifery, biogas technology, plumbing, cooking were below 1 each (Table A4.15).

Around 80 per cent of those who had taken training were male. In many instances, training is conducted outside the village, some even requiring travelling outside the district. The problem of finding female participants intensifies as the distance of training venue increases because women are not permitted to visit faraway places alone. Thus, as in 'upper caste' groups, in the Dalit community, too, skill development activity can largely be seen as an exclusively male affair. In general, human resource development through training has been male-biased. It means, females are left to remain less skilled and thus constrained from obtaining gainful jobs.

Most training is given by government agencies under the Ministry of Industry and MoLD. The government and external donors, including INGOs, have been sponsoring Dalit NGOs (DNGOs) to conduct skill development training.



### 3.4.1 Access to resources

In aggregate terms, caste hierarchy in the Nepali society, as a cultural construction, broadly corresponds to economic positions (class locations) of different caste groups (Bista 1992; Gurung 1996; and Gurung, et al 1999). This means that people from 'lower castes' tend to be poor also because of their reduced access to both material (natural resources, including land and other means of production and sustenance) and non-material (information, education, training, technology, etc) resources. Although cultural and material realms may have been inter-penetrating (low access to resources manifesting in poor socio-cultural existence and *vice versa*) in the course of history, being born in a 'low caste' household also implies much greater likelihood of reduced access to resources, and thus falling into the poverty trap, as compared to being born in an 'upper caste' family. Thus, the socio-culturally (and legally during the middle and modern ages) constructed caste structure has been concretized to the extent that today it can independently lead entire groups of people into situations of limited opportunities and reduced life chances, and thence into poverty and deprivation.

#### 3.4.2.1 Access to land

In agricultural countries such as Nepal, land is not only the most important means of production but also an important determinant of social status in rural areas. Dalits as a category possess the least amount of land as compared to Janajati and Bahun/Chhetri groups (Gurung 1996; Gurung, et al 1999). Gender relations in Dalit households are, nonetheless, very unequalitarian in the sphere of resource ownership, most notably land (Gurung 1996).

#### 3.4.2.2 Income and consumption

Dalits as a category exhibit the lowest household income compared to other major caste and ethnic groups (Gurung, et al 1999). The food sufficiency level is the lowest for the Dalit category among all major caste and ethnic groups. Consumption of major staples is also the lowest for Dalits. Similarly, the total household food consumption accounts for about two-thirds of the total per capita consumption (CBS 2002). Furthermore, the rural per capita consumption gap (per capita consumption of the top 10 per cent over the per capita consumption of the bottom 10 per cent) is almost six times, implying a very wide consumption disparity. Since most Dalits fall at the bottom of this category, their consumption and thereby health and thus productive power are quite low. In fact, almost all Dalit households are poor. The ongoing Maoist insurgency and political parties' strikes have made them poorer because of the severe disruption to economic activities on which they are highly dependent.

**TABLE 3.7** DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE BY MAJOR CASTE/ETHNIC CATEGORIES

Caste/Ethnic Category	Annual per capita income (US\$)	Annual per capita expenditure (US\$)
Dalit	55.75	55.52
Janajati	79.47	70.37
Bahun/Chhetri	88.52	80.83

Source: Gurung, et al 1999.

Note: US\$1 = Rs75.00; the exchange rate used is not of the time the survey was carried out. The figures may slightly change upwards if the actual exchange rate of the time is used.

### **3.4.3.3 Access to credit**

#### *3.4.3.3.1 Sources of credit and nature of transactions*

A total of 644 (around 44%) of the total 1,454 respondents had taken loans from various sources. Among them, 40 per cent had taken loans from local moneylenders, 19.3 per cent from banks such as the Agricultural Development Bank and the Grameen Bank, and 15.1 per cent from relatives. Other important sources included: employers (2.8%), shopkeepers (2.3%), NGOs (2.2%), commercial banks (2%), landlords, local cooperatives (1.7% each), micro finance institutions (1.2%) and savings groups (1.1%). The respondents also took loans from more than one source, and these sources included different combinations of the sources mentioned above (Annex Table A4.16).

In most cases (40%), only 3 per cent of the loans were repaid in labour; in 16 per cent of the cases, 36 per cent of the loans were repaid in labour; and in 10 per cent of the cases, 50 per cent of the loans were repaid in labour. The total repayment of loan in labour was done by only 1 per cent (Annex Table A4.17). Thus, loan repayment in labour was quite small.

Around 15 per cent of those who had taken loans had to provide additional services to those from whom they had taken loans (Annex Table A4.18). This indicates a link between credit and labour exploitation. In fact, the transaction cost of borrowing is a critical issue among Dalit borrowers.

Friends, relatives and local moneylenders were the sources of credit for most Dalit groups. Damai, Kami and Sarki respondents were prolific users of various sources of credit. In contrast, Gaine, Tatma, Dhobi and Dom respondents used few credit sources.

In 23 per cent of the cases, where the local moneylender was from an 'upper caste' and if the Dalit borrower also worked for him or her, he or she was threatened with some penalty if he or she wanted to leave the job before paying back the loan (Annex Table A4.19). Similarly, 33 per cent of those who had taken loans could not leave their jobs without paying back their loans (Annex Table A4.20). Around 30 per cent of the respondents believed that the labour conditions of workers with employers' loans were worse than those without employers' loans (Annex Table A4.21).

Around 22 per cent of the borrowers had not deposited any collateral for the loans taken by them. Further, 10.5 per cent did not have to deposit any collateral to receive loans due to their past credit record. Some received credit on personal guarantee (18.3%) and some on group guarantee without depositing any collateral. Others deposited land (16.3%), buildings and other property (5.4%). The remaining used a combination of various forms of collateral: documents, personal guarantee, etc (Annex Table A4.22).

Out of all respondents, 6.1% not only took but also gave loans to others. Most of them gave loans to borrowers of their own castes (36.4%) and subcastes (35.2%). Around 16 per cent even gave loans to 'upper caste' people (Annex Table A4.23).

#### *3.4.3.3.2 Purposes of borrowing*

The most important purpose of borrowing was 'for coping with natural calamities' (24.8%), followed by 'for fulfilling household consumption needs' (14.5%). Other important purposes included 'for purchasing animals' (9.5%), 'for managing marriages and other family events' (9.4%), 'for purchasing/renovating house' (6.6%), 'for business' (5.5%), 'for renovating building' (4.9%), 'for obtaining foreign employment' (3.2%), 'for purchasing equipment' (3.1%), 'for purchasing land' (2.5%) and 'for purchasing agricultural inputs' (2%) (Annex Table A4.24). This indicates that most of the loans were taken for consumption and unproductive purposes and very little of the loans were invested in education, training, income-generating and profitable enterprises.

#### *3.4.3.3.3 Indebtedness*

A sizeable proportion (44.8%) of all the households surveyed had credits to be repaid in cash or kind. If all the credits in kind were converted into cash, the borrowing households would have a mean debt burden of Rs11,503 – relatively a large sum for Dalits when compared to their annual mean household income of just around Rs23,000.

## DALITS AND LABOUR

### 4.1 Occupations and Livelihoods

Although legal provisions prohibit discrimination on the ground of caste, discrimination against Dalits is widespread. This is attested by the fact that discrimination in employment is ranked seventh among the 23 most important areas of discrimination perceived by the Dalits themselves (Gurung, et al 1999: 302). In Nepal, the government is still the major employer. Only a negligible number of Dalits are, however, employed in the government bureaucracy, including in the armed forces, the police, and in government corporations and establishments. As has already been indicated, the government sector is dominated by personnel belonging to 'upper castes', who tend to favour individuals belonging to their own castes when the matter concerns hiring or promoting personnel. This can be seen as an extreme form of institutional exclusion of, and discrimination against, Dalits.

In recent years, the emergence of a liberal political and economic environment has encouraged the establishment of private enterprises. Dalit participation in such enterprises is not noticeable as, generally owned by non-Dalits, they tend to employ non-Dalits.

Civil society organizations, including DNGOs, have emerged in large numbers in recent years. DNGOs employ mostly Dalits.

As regards discrimination in employment, around 48 per cent of the respondents believed that, even if there were openings, positions would not be available for them just because of their caste. Such a perception was distributed across all Dalit castes. Twenty-one per cent of the respondents had been refused jobs because of their castes.

At the same time, a majority (77.2%) of the respondents 'strongly agreed' that they were equally capable of becoming professionals, if given opportunity. Among them, Kamis (approximately 26%) felt this the most, followed by the Damai, Sarki, Musahar and Dusadh respondents. These responses indicate the confidence level of different Dalit groups.

Discrimination in employment has both direct (intentional) and indirect aspects. For example, the low employment rate of Dalits in the government sector can largely be attributed to their low level of education, which is related to their Dalit status in society. This form of discrimination can thus be seen as indirect discrimination. However, it also has elements of direct discrimination in the sense that the government sector is dominated by 'upper castes', who tend to favour people belonging to their own castes when the matter concerns hiring or promoting personnel. The concept of *afno manchhe* (one's own people) (Bista 1992) applies here, too. In addition, Dalits are usually not hired in positions that require close physical proximity or personal services. For example, Dalits usually

do not get employed as peons and office helpers because many 'upper caste' people do not eat the food touched by them. And, office helpers in Nepal in many cases are also used as domestic help<sup>7</sup>. Although such instances of discrimination can be seen as a direct manifestation of the prejudiced notion of impurity and untouchability, various other forms of indirect discrimination emanate from this notion and, therefore, this very notion of impurity and untouchability can be seen as the root of an extreme form of institutional exclusion of the Dalit people of Nepal.

Unlike some ethnic groups such as Gurung, Magar, Chhetri, Rai, Limbu, etc, Dalits in Nepal are not considered martial races. Thus, they are never given serious consideration for employment either in the foreign (UK, India, Singapore) or in the domestic armed forces. Thus, if employment in the armed forces—both domestic and foreign—is a major income source for some ethnic groups, this is not the case with Dalits. One's status as a Dalit is a very important factor here and therefore constitutes a direct form of discrimination.

With a few exceptions, Dalits can never involve themselves in religious activities that bring income (eg priesthood). In many rural areas, they are not recruited as teachers even if they are qualified, for parents hesitate to send their children to a school where one of the teachers is a Dalit. Similarly, Dalits are not employed as domestic help and as caterers in restaurants and shops because of their 'untouchable' status. These are direct forms of discrimination in employment on the basis of caste.

## **4.2 Discrimination in Labour**

### **4.2.1 Discrimination in employment**

#### **4.2.1.1 Wages/Salaries**

Around 63 per cent of the respondents were engaged in occupations that brought quite low returns, but they had no alternative other than to continue with them (Annex Table A4.25). About 19 per cent of them believed that 'upper caste' people received higher returns from the same occupations. Around 23 per cent felt that their current occupations were linked to their caste status (Annex Table A4.26). Around 71 per cent believed that even if they got some jobs in the informal or private sector, they would be paid lower wages and salaries than their 'upper caste' colleagues. This experience was shared across all Dalit caste groups except the Gaine and Dhobi groups.

These perceptions were validated by the finding that Dalits received on average Rs96 (about US\$1.28) for a day's work. The mean wage for a female worker was Rs78 (about US\$1.04) as compared to Rs99 for a male worker. The mean market wage for the same kind of job was Rs105: Rs88 for a female and Rs111 for a male worker.

#### **4.2.1.2 Work allocation**

Hindu scriptures reserve certain coveted occupations for 'upper caste' people, while 'lower caste' people are relegated to perform occupations that are considered dirty and impure and require brute physical force to be done. Until 1963, the Civil Code reinforced these scriptural dictates and perpetuated occupational segregation.

<sup>7</sup> Many senior personnel in government (and non-government offices) still consider it their inherent right to engage their office helpers such as peons and messengers in their personal and domestic tasks, for example as cooks during festivals, or to pay their electricity, telephone and water bills – a vestige of the feudal past.

In view of the traditional association of certain occupations with specific Dalit castes, the 'upper caste' people in general tend to think that they are better performed by Dalits because they are menial and dirty and therefore not to be performed by the 'clean' castes. For example, in Nepal's southern plains, people belonging to the Chamar caste are asked to dispose of carcasses, some Dalit castes are asked to dispose of human corpses and some to dispose of human waste. They have to engage in these occupations even if they do not like, as was recently demonstrated by the news of atrocities committed against Chamars by 'upper caste' people in some terai districts when the former refused to dispose of carcasses without adequate remuneration.

Thus, if 'upper caste' people are involved in socially prestigious work, Dalits find themselves in socially the most detested physical work. Discriminatory allocation of work is more direct and intentional in nature in that it is aroused directly by the 'high-low' or 'pure-impure' dichotomies.

Thus, today, 'upper caste' people are dominant in all sectors of employment, whereas most Dalits earn their meagre living from traditional occupations and wage labour. On the other hand, Dalits themselves perceived that many of the occupations they were currently engaged in were also performed by 'upper caste' groups (65%) and therefore were not inherently inferior (Annex Table A4.27).

#### **4.2.1.3 Conditions at the workplace**

Discrimination against Dalits is common at workplaces throughout the country's rural areas such as farms, rural construction workplaces, etc. Dalits have to maintain physical distance from their 'upper caste' colleagues. They can neither eat with them nor drink water from the same pitcher. Even the Royal Nepal Army once used to maintain separate eating facilities for Dalits and non-Dalits. However, today this is not usually the case in an urban setting or at workplaces involving large numbers of workers from different places who are not known to each other, unlike in a typical village setting.

### **4.2.2 Forced labour**

'Forced labour', as defined by the ILO Convention No. 29, is 'all work or service which is extracted from any person under the menace of penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily.' Forced labour is certainly imposed on Dalits in Nepal. There are instances where Dalits are directly compelled to do forced labour; forced labour also exists in an indirect way: Dalits are 'forced' to engage in labour because of their caste status as well as their traditional association with certain occupations. A number of manifestations of such labour have been identified (Bhattachan, et al 2001). Many poor and landless Dalits continue their traditional caste occupations no matter how humiliating these may be, such as those of *Balighare*<sup>8</sup>, *Haliya*<sup>9</sup> and *Hali*<sup>10</sup> (all these practices are called the 'Bista' system in this study). In addition, they are also asked to perform casual and irregular jobs with little or no wages. Another form of forced labour, as mentioned earlier, is disposal of carcasses.

<sup>8</sup> The system of Dalit individuals working for 'higher caste' households for fixed amounts of grain per year.

<sup>9</sup> A system in which landlords, often belonging to 'upper castes', give their land to Dalits for cultivation, in lieu of which the latter are given food or shelter, or both.

<sup>10</sup> Dalit males working as ploughmen for 'upper caste' households and being remunerated annually, mostly in kind.

#### **4.2.2.1 Perceptions and experience of forced labour**

Ten per cent (N=396) of the respondents were forced to continue their traditional occupations. In comparison, 23.4 per cent were forced to continue their traditional occupations by their caste status. Among the 10 per cent respondents who were forced to continue their traditional occupations, as many as 78 per cent were male. It could be so because males are the decision-makers, and if one has to apply force, they are the target. This phenomenon was the highest among the Dom (28.9%), followed by the Badi (21.3%), Khatwe (20%), Damai (17.7%), Mehetar (16.4%), Dhobi (14%) and Gaine (10.2%) respondents. The intensity was slight in the cases of the Kami, Sarki, Chamar and Dushad respondents. These findings indicate that a large number of Dalits occupying the lowest status within the Dalit hierarchy experience forced labour (Annex Table A4.29).

#### **BOX 4.1 BLOCKADING OF A DALIT VILLAGE**

In September 2004, the non-Dalit people of ward no. 9 of Bhagwatpur VDC of Saptari district imposed a socio-economic blockade on 35 Chamar families for a week because the latter had declined to dispose of carcasses. The Chamars were not allowed to shop or sell their products, and were also barred access to grain mills. Neither were they allowed to graze their cattle in the common pasture nor drink water from the public pond. The blockade also adversely affected the schooling of Dalit children. The local administration came into action only after 10 days and the police arrested three non-Dalit leaders.

The incident is an example of 'upper castes' forcing Dalits to continue their traditional occupations and indicates the prevalence of exclusion of Dalits in the Nepalese society for defying the 'upper castes'.

In many cases, Dalits also work for 'upper caste' households to repay their loans. They also send their children to work for 'upper caste' households for this purpose. These are forms of bonded labour (Bhattachan 2002).

#### **4.2.2.2 Factors, individuals and groups forcing continuation of traditional occupations**

For 52.3 per cent of the 396 respondents who were forced to continue their traditional occupations, 'lack of alternatives' was the most important factor. As a group, 'upper caste people' (17.9%) constituted the second most important factor, followed by 'society in general' (11.4%), 'family' (14.4%) and 'higher caste Dalits' (4%) (Annex Table A4.30).

'Lack of alternatives', followed by 'family' (for example, commercial sexwork in the Badi community), was the most important factor that forced the continuation of the traditional occupation across all Dalit caste groups. These factors were followed by 'society', though to a somewhat less extent. 'Society' and 'upper caste people' were important factors for the Damai community, while the latter was an important factor for the Chamar community (Annex Table A4.29).

Thus, socio-cultural and economic circumstances largely force Dalits to stick to their traditional occupations.

#### 4.2.2.3 The patron-client or the Bista system

The Bista system (*Balighare, Haliya, etc*) involves a Dalit household serving an 'upper caste' patron for predetermined remuneration in kind. There is thus a household-to-household informal contractual arrangement. The nature and magnitude of service delivery are the principal criteria for determining the remuneration.

*Balighare* is a system in which a 'lower caste' client works for an 'upper caste' patron, who gives him food-grain during the harvest time (Bhattachan 2002). *Haliya* is another form of patron-client relationship in which a landlord patron lets his Dalit client cultivate his land and gives him food or shelter, or both (ibid), there are variations of this system though. In the Mid West hills, a *hali* or ploughman simply ploughs the land of a Bista household and in return is paid in kind on yearly basis.

#### BOX 4.2 KALAWATI: FACING AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE

Kalawati, 12-year-old daughter of Ram Bahadur BK, was born in Nareshwor village of Tanahun district. Kalawati used to go to school, but because her father could not afford it any longer, he stopped sending her to school and instead sent her to serve a Bista family. For this, Ram Bahadur gets money from the Bista family every year.

Kalawati has to get up early and has to fetch water, clean and sweep the house, the yard and the cattleshed and feed the cattle. She has to complete all these tasks by early in the morning. Then, she goes to the Bista house where she cleans and polishes Bista children's shoes. She then escorts them to school, carrying their bags. After returning home, she has her lunch. After all the members of the family have finished eating, she washes the dishes and utensils. Then, she takes the cattle for grazing. She brings the cattle back home at about 4 pm. Thereafter, she goes to school to fetch the Bista children.

Kalawati likes to watch television, but the Bista family does not let her enter the room. She has to work in other's house for ten to twelve hours daily, but she does not even know that her family gets paid for that. She is uncertain about her future.

Altogether 325 (22.4%) of all respondents worked for Bista households. The proportion of women working for Bista families was 9.7 per cent (N=141), whereas that of men was 12.7 per cent (N=184). Around 75 per cent of both the male and female respondent households had only one member working for Bista households. The pattern of only one member working for Bista households was dominant across all Dalit caste groups.

Around 3 per cent of all respondent households had their children working for Bista households. Most (67.6%) of them had one child and about a quarter had two children working for 'upper caste' households. The mean number of children working for 'upper caste' households is one each for the Badi, Damai, Kami, Sarki and Musahar groups (Annex Table A4.31).

The mean number of Bista households was the highest for the Badi group (38). Others following this group were, in descending order: Damai (16), Kami (15), Chamar (15), Sarki (3) and Musahar (1). Other Dalit caste groups did not send their children to work for 'upper caste' households (Annex Table A4.31).



The mean number of days or years spent working for Bista households was the highest for the Musahar group (248 days), followed by, in descending order: Mehetar (247), Kami (148), Damai (141), Sarki (95), Chamar (65), Badi (51), Dusadh (25) and Gaine (20) groups. It seems that more Dalit groups from the hill and mountain regions than from the terai are engaged in the patron-client relationship.

More respondents worked for Bista households during peak agricultural seasons (52.5%) than round the year (44.3%).

#### **4.2.2.4 Carcass disposal**

Traditionally, Chamars in the terai and Sarkis in the hills dispose of carcasses, in many cases voluntarily. In recent years, however, they have shown unwillingness to engage in such activities unless remunerated adequately. The Siraha-Saptari case, discussed elsewhere in this text, is noteworthy in this context. A similar incident has also been reported from Baitadi, where Dalits refused to dispose of carcasses of animals sacrificed at temples by 'upper caste' people during the Dashain festival. Such a refusal created animosity between the peoples of these two castes in the district (Bhattachan 2002).

#### **4.2.2.5 Commercial sexwork**

Both 'upper castes' and Dalits often relate sexwork with the Badi caste. 'Upper caste' police personnel and men would often barge into Badi houses at midnight and rape Badi women even in the presence of the members of their families (ibid). The lack of other options also forces Badi women to engage in this profession.

#### **4.2.2.6 Carrying the sick, dead and bridegrooms**

Dalits often have to carry sick people to hospital. They also have to do so when people marry or die. Various Dalit groups have traditionally been assigned to carry out specific jobs of this nature. Paradoxically, as mentioned elsewhere, some Dalit groups are considered bad omens to be even present on some of these occasions, while some others are considered ritually suitable for carrying out some of these activities<sup>11</sup>.

#### **4.2.2.7 Casual and irregular jobs**

Dalits are often told to carry out odd jobs or run errands at the beck and call of 'upper castes'. Quite often, they are not paid for such work. Even if paid, the wages are often minimal.

#### **4.2.2.8 Threats for resisting forced labour**

Dalits experienced the threat of 'denial of access to labour' the most from 'upper caste' groups for resisting the prevailing forced labour. Altogether 71.2 per cent of the respondents faced this threat. Some other major threats and the corresponding percentages of respondents are: exclusion from social gatherings, *rites de passage*, festivities and other community as well as religious activities (60.2%), denial of participation in religious activities (59%), denial of village labour exchange system (50.2%), denial of access to public water systems (44.1%), exclusion from community decision-making process (39.5%), verbal harassment (34.8%), physical harassment (21.2%), ex-communication (18%), imposition of monetary penalties (17.7%), denial of access to temples (15.7%),

<sup>11</sup> The sighting of a Kami while a 'upper caste' person is just out of his/her dwelling for an important visit somewhere is considered a bad omen, while the sighting of a Damai in the same situation is considered a good sign. This is also true with many ritual events.

expulsion from the village (14.2%), denial of access to public roads and trails (14.5%), and denial of selling products and services (11.6%).

### 4.2.3 Child labour

The Children's Act 1991 defines a child as a person who has not attained the age of 14 years, and prohibits the employment of any child in any enterprise. Around 18 per cent of the Dalit children of 5-14 years were involved in their traditional occupations. This figure was relatively high for children of all social origins and labour, including non-traditional sectors. For instance, according to the 1999 CBS Labour Force Survey, the labour participation rate is 21 per cent for 5-9 years' old children and 61 per cent for 10-14 years' old children, whereas, according to the 2001 census, it is about 29 per cent for 10-14 years' old children. Child labour in rural areas is at least twice that in urban areas for both sexes. Most working children (37%) are in farming and a sizeable proportion (12.3%) in salary and wage earning (2001 Census).

#### BOX 4.4

#### MITHUWA MUSAHAR: DESTINED TO WORK FOR 'UPPER CASTES'

Mithuwa Musahar, an 11-year-old boy of Shambhunath VDC, ward no. 1, Saptari, is the youngest of three children of his parents. His mother placed him to work in the household of an 'upper caste' family where she used to work earlier.

Mithuwa gets up at five o'clock every morning. He has to sweep the three-storey house from the top to the ground floor, followed by wiping the floors with a wet piece of cloth. It takes him more than an hour for finishing this task. Then, he has to wash the utensils left over from the previous night's dinner. After this, he cleans and polishes the shoes of his master's children and then works in the cattle-shed; he puts fodder in the shed and removes cattle waste. He gets his food after the whole family has finished eating. Then, he washes utensils. He completes all these tasks by 10 am.

When asked whether he would like to leave this place and go back home, he says that he prefers this place to home because here, he can at least eat good and delicious food. Furthermore, he and his family have little option but to work for 'upper caste' households.

Children are engaged in traditional occupations such as tailoring (13.4%), leatherwork (12.4%), blacksmith work (11.9%), sweeping (11.7%), soil-digging (6%), goldsmith work (5.2%), human waste disposal (3.5%), midwifery (3%) and laundry washing (2.7%).

The incidence of child labour was the highest among the Kami group (20%), followed by the Damai (16%), Chamar (15%), Mehetar (14%), Musahar (9%), Sarki (8%) and Khatwe (7%) groups. It was relatively low among the Dom (4%), Dhobi (3%), Gaine (1.7%), Badi (1.0%) and Batar (0.2%) groups. No child labour was reported among the Tatma group.

The major activities in which child labour was used included sweeping (39%) and human waste disposal (10%) among Mehetars; leatherwork (39%) and midwifery (20%) among Chamars; earthwork/soil-digging (93%) among Khatwes; laundry washing (100%) among Dhobis and earthwork/digging (50%) among Musahars. A sizeable number of children were also engaged in blacksmith work, bonded labour for 'upper caste' households, carcass disposal among Chamars and Mehetars, and bride/groom carrying among Khatwes. One child from the Chamar and Dusadh groups each was found involved in commercial

sexwork. Child labour was more prevalent in the terai than in the hill region. Thus, in spite of the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN CRC), ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182) and ILO Minimum Age Convention (No. 29), as well as the domestic law, child labour is rampant in Nepal.

#### **4.2.3.1 The worst forms of child labour**

Among more than 6.2 million children aged 5-14 years in Nepal, an estimated 2.5 million are at present working in extremely intolerable conditions (Pradhan 2001).

- **Slavery or practices similar to slavery**

Around 8 per cent of all Dalit children are victims of slavery or slavery-like practices (ibid).

- **Child trafficking**

Child trafficking has been taking place in Nepal from Sindhupalchowk, Saptari, Parsa, Dang and Kailali districts (CWIN 2001). Eighteen per cent of all trafficked children are from various Dalit groups and the remaining are non-Dalits, especially from downtrodden families. However, very few Dalit children are involved in commercial sexwork. One reason may be that Dalit groups—or for that matter any community—other than Badis generally hesitate to provide information on the engagement of their children in commercial sexwork.

- **Debt bondage and serfdom**

Out of the total 2,276 Dalit children aged 5-14 years covered in this study, 403 (18%) were involved in traditional occupations. Of them, 37 (9%) were working for 'upper caste' households. Children also worked to pay back their parents' debts. In addition, some of them helped their parents in cultivating the land of 'upper caste' households in return for food or shelter, or both.

- **Forced labour**

The 9 per cent of the Dalit children who worked for 'upper caste' households in the patron-client relationship were victims of indirect forced labour.

- **Use of Dalit children in armed conflict**

In recent years, the Maoists have recruited children, including Dalit children, for various purposes ranging from their use as errand boys and girls in their camps to their use as informers and lookouts. More recently, the rebels have begun to use villagers of all ages and social origins as human shields whenever they launch large-scale attacks on security forces. Students of grade 6 and above have been forced to join their militia, especially in western Nepal, eg Humla, Rukum, Rolpa, Achham, Dandeldhura, etc.

- **Use of Dalit children in drugs production and trafficking**

This study was not able to determine the extent of involvement of Dalit children in drugs production and trafficking.

- **Use of Dalit children in morally harmful activities**

Dalit children often have a negative self-image as a result of their low social status. For example, in a situation where Dalit and 'upper caste' children

are in the same vicinity and an unpleasant or dirty task comes up, it will be the Dalit children that are told to do it. As a result, Dalit children are often demoralized and stigmatized.

Dalit children from the Badi community in particular are exposed from childhood to commercial sexwork by the members of their families. In many cases, it becomes an important element of their childhood socialization, which subsequently leads to the development of a morality in which sexual intercourse for material gain becomes a matter of market transaction rather than a moral issue during their pre-teen and teen years. In many cases, senior members of the family are responsible for pushing their children into this profession. The result is that prostitution can easily become their work ethic throughout their adult life. It may be recollected that the Badi group occupies the lowest rung in the status hierarchy among hill Dalits (excluding the Newar Dalits of Kathmandu valley). As per the dictates of the Old Civil Code and the ensuing modes of intercaste social intercourse, Badis today are discriminated against not only by the numerous non-Dalit groups but also by the four layers of the Dalit groups above them (Gaine, Dami, Sarki and Kami). They are considered untouchable by all these groups and are therefore excluded from many aspects of socio-cultural, economic and political mainstream. Because of this exclusion, commercial sexwork has remained their only source of livelihood for many generations. One may also note that their status as untouchable has not hindered them from engaging in commercial sexwork.

**BOX 4.3** DALIT GIRLS ARE TOUCHABLE!

Sex work between upper caste men and Dalit women frequently occurs. This prompted one elderly Dalit into saying: 'We are untouchable, but our daughters are touchable!' (Gurung, et al 2002)

- **Involvement of Dalit children in arduous and hazardous work**

Dalit children are involved in hazardous and arduous jobs such as picking and collecting rags, metal scraps and glass pieces; disposing of carcasses; cremating dead bodies; disposing of human waste; portering; working in coalmines, etc. Picking and collecting rags, metal scraps and glass pieces involves working at dumping sites full of hazardous materials, including broken glasses, pointed metals, and toxic materials and gases. Dalit children constitute 21 per cent of all ragpickers in the major urban areas of Nepal (Pokhara: 61%, Butwal: 37%, Dharan: 28%, Bharatpur: 17% and Kathmandu: 7%). Similarly, disposal of carcasses, cremation of dead bodies and disposal of human waste all entail working in environments that have the presence of disease-causing germs and so are hazardous activities. Out of the total 403 Dalit children, 30 (7.4%) are involved in these activities and five (1.24%) are involved in ploughing the field, which is an arduous task for children because it involves controlling two oxen and using a heavy *halo* (plough). Dalit children constitute 21.5 per cent of all child porters. Around 18 per cent of them porter for long distances, whereas 23 per cent porter for short distances. Of all children working in coalmines, as many as 52 per cent are Dalit. Children from the Kami group alone constitute 43 per cent of such children (CWIN 2001).

Among the children who had migrated to the capital-city to engage in various forms of labour (working in carpet and garment factories, as domestic help, shoe-shining or

repairing, etc), 11 per cent were from different Dalit castes. In addition, 18 per cent of the capital-city's street children were from different Dalit castes. Dalit children tend to hide their caste status; so, the percentage could be much higher than this figure.

#### **4.2.4 Other manifestations of labour discrimination**

As 'upper castes' do not accept water and most food items from Dalit establishments, petty businesses involving the sale of these items are out of the question in most cases. In addition, as dealing with a Dalit is often perceived as ritually defiling, businesses involving transactions between Dalits and 'upper castes' are near impossible.

Most Dalits (77.4%) received their wages on daily basis, indicating the temporary and informal nature of wage labour. Only around 19 per cent received wages on monthly basis.

A majority (61.4%) of the Dalit respondents knew in advance the type of work to be performed, even if the arrangements were largely informal, indicating the limited choices they had in the wage labour market. This has largely to do with the level of education and training as well as their Dalit status. In addition, in many cases, Dalits had to work at 'odd hours' (40.4%) such as till late in the evening or at night, as required by their employers. Lack of contractual arrangements often empowers employers to demand doing of jobs at odd hours.

The caste system, which has rendered Dalits politically and socially weak, denies them the opportunity to negotiate appropriate prices for their skills and products with their 'upper caste' clients (Lawoti 2000). Dalits themselves have not been able to forge a collective force to bargain and negotiate. Nevertheless, around 77 per cent of the respondents negotiated their wages individually (Annex Table A4.28). As many as 74 per cent of them would not accept reduced wages even if a long-term contract were guaranteed. Thus, fulfilment of immediate needs rather than receiving delayed benefits through proper contractual arrangements is more important for Dalits.

Among Dalit households, the proportion of labour force is greater for females than for males. In terms of the standard criterion (15-64 years), the proportion of female labour force exceeds that of the male labour force within the Dalit population. In addition, women's involvement in activities such as water and firewood collection and domestic chores is greater than that of men (Gurung, et al 1999).

To conclude, direct discrimination in labour, based on Dalits' perceived untouchable status, is still rampant in the informal sector in rural areas. In contrast to the direct and intentional forms of discrimination, indirect forms of discrimination, largely due to the historical legacy of the caste system, as manifested in the low socio-economic and political status of Dalits and their subsequent low employment in the organized sectors, including the government sector, can be seen to be important. In recent years, discrimination against Dalits has begun to receive increased attention largely due to the rights-based advocacy activities of Dalit and pro-Dalit organizations, in many cases with donor assistance. Changes are taking place, especially in the NGO sector. Still, one should not forget the fact that employment in Nepal is still strongly linked to various networks of caste or ethnic relations and political affiliations. Such networks and affiliations are still very weak among Dalits because of their low socio-economic and political as well as educational status.

## ESCAPING STRATEGIES AND COPING MECHANISMS

Dalits tend to employ various strategies and mechanisms to escape from the various forms of caste discrimination. Migration, changing of surname and conversion into other religions can be seen as escaping strategies, whereas efforts to get better education and skills, sanskritization and political extremism can be seen as coping mechanisms. These are, however, loose distinctions. Thus, the status system prevalent in Nepal is less rigid than is usually thought of, largely due to economic reasons. In addition, various groups, throughout history, have sought to upgrade their status through various means—a process that today is known as sanskritization (Srinivas 1954). The section below briefly discusses the escaping strategies and coping mechanisms employed by Dalits to escape caste discrimination.

### 5.1 Escaping Strategies

#### 5.1.1 Migration

Migration is one of the escaping strategies from a situation where caste discrimination is still a pervasive phenomenon. A majority (59.7%) of the migrants choose 'abroad' as their destination, with India as the most important destination within this category (Gurung, et al 1999: 25). The 'nation's capital-city' (23.6%) and 'urban areas' (13.1%) are other important destinations.

In the study area, the mobile Dalit population was 5.56 per cent of the total population, or 9.17 per cent of the 14 years and above of age population. The proportion of Dalits migrating in search of jobs was about 5 per cent, with males (7.6%) dominating females (1.8%). The main destination was India (54%), followed by overseas (5%), and the rest was within country.

Migration is relatively high among Khatwes, Batars, Sarkis, Gaines, Kamis, Musahars and Damais, in that descending order. Most of the hill Dalits, including Damais, Kamis and Sarkis, and terai Dalits, including Chamars and Musahars, migrate abroad, mostly to India. Most Badis migrate abroad, again to India, whereas Kathmandu seems to be the most popular destination among Khatwes.

Because of the perceived highly gainful employment opportunities, one of the 'pull' factors is the absence of caste discrimination in foreign lands. To some extent, this is even true of the Nepalese migrating to India (and also Indians migrating to Nepal). As people in Nepal (except those living along both sides of the Indo-Nepal border where people tend to know each other's caste status out of years of social intercourse) generally do not care about the status of Indian Dalits, so is the case with the Indians about the status of Nepalese Dalits. Nepalese Dalits receive a relatively fair deal in India than in Nepal as far as caste-related

**BOX 5.1****MIGRATION: ESCAPING UNTOUCHABILITY**

Dilaram Badi lives in Rajapur Village, ward no. 4, Kala Khola, Tulasipur, Dang district. He is very poor and has only 2.4 *Katthas* (land measuring one-twentieth of a *bigha*; a *bigha* is a measure of a flat area consisting of 6,400 square cubics or approximately half an acre) of land. He has seven children: one son and six daughters; of them, three daughters are married. Dilaram is the sole breadwinner in the family and daily wage is his sole means of income.

In Salyan, his family used to earn money by playing *madal* (a double-headed drum hung around the neck and played with hands), fishing and knitting fishing nets. Having found it difficult to make the two ends meet, he and his family migrated to Dang in 1983, with hopes for a better living. But their economic condition has not get any better even in Dang. Nevertheless, at least they do not face any caste discrimination here. In Salyan, they were domineered by society because of their low caste. Now his children go to school. According to him, caste discrimination is slowly vanishing and Badis are also slowly progressing.

behaviour is concerned. If less intensity or absence of caste discrimination in India is one of the pull factors for migrating abroad, then the presence of highly discriminatory behaviour, probably, would correspondingly act as one of the push factors for migrating abroad.

The caste system and its implications, such as the practice of untouchability, have a relatively mild form in the eastern parts of Nepal compared to the western parts. Particularly the Eastern Development Region and the Far Western Development Region, which are far apart in spatial location, stand at the opposite extremes of caste sentiments and related manifestations. The former has relatively reduced caste sentiments, and, as a result, reduced magnitude of discrimination compared to the latter. Other development regions fall somewhere in the middle (DNF 2002). Among the geographic regions, the mountain region is the most conservative in terms of caste behaviour. Although Dalits in general are not satisfied with government officials' behaviour, in comparison to the traditional patterns of social interaction, untouchability has less direct implications at educational institutions, health posts, hospitals, legal institutions and government offices (ibid). Although the practice of untouchability has been diminishing in public sector organizations, very few Dalits work there. This largely reflects that Dalits rarely apply for jobs there on account of their perceived, and actual, lack of skills and qualifications, apart from their low level of formal education.

**BOX 5.2****MIGRATING TO CAPITAL CITY IN SEARCH OF JOB**

Prabhu Dusadh, son of a rickshaw-puller in Rajbiraj, came to Kathmandu in search of a job. In Kathmandu, he had a friend – a taxi-driver, who helped him get driving training. He finally became a taxi-driver. Now, Dusadh is a good driver and knows each and every street and lane of the capital city. He earns Rs800 to 1,200 a day, and even up to Rs35,000 per trip when his taxi is booked for a long distance journey. He gets 11 per cent commission on his daily earnings, apart from a salary of Rs1,500 a month.

He says that life in Kathmandu is fast and exciting. There is no discrimination here, probably because people do not know he is a Dalit!

The implication of all this is that the prejudiced attitude and resultant discriminatory behaviour are associated with one's educational status. It is obvious that the personnel of public organizations are better educated than the general populace.

### **5.1.2 Change of traditional surname**

One of the popular contemporary strategies for escaping caste discrimination is changing the traditionally established surnames such as Kami, Sarki, Chamar, Damai, Darjee, etc. The hill Dalit groups adopt names similar to those of the Bahun/Chhetri groups. Whenever Dalits adopt surnames similar to those of 'upper caste' groups, they are accused of trying to conceal their identity. Nonetheless, more and more Dalits are adopting non-traditional surnames to avoid embarrassments due to their caste, and it does work – at least temporarily – when they migrate to urban centres.

### **5.1.3 Religious conversion**

Change of religion has often been seen as a strategy for escaping caste discrimination in the Indian subcontinent (eg the large-scale conversion of Dalits into Christianity in the erstwhile Bengal and in southern India). Although this study could not determine the magnitude of application of such a strategy, it can fairly safely be said that religious conversion has been embraced as an escaping strategy by Dalits in some parts of Nepal, including in Kathmandu valley, Pokhara, Dharan and other urban areas, for a relatively long period of time.

## **5.2 Coping Mechanisms**

### **5.2.1 Education and skill development**

Education is one of the important ways out of discrimination. Higher education is seen as an effective coping mechanism, though not many Dalits in Nepal can afford higher education. Dalits' access to, as well as practical application of, education is quite limited.

Skill development of the Dalit labour force is crucial to allow them to escape from discrimination in the labour market. But the national skill development scheme, as identified by ILO's 2001 national report, viz *The National VET System Management Evaluation Report 2001*, lacks an effective mechanism as well as a pragmatic training content. In fact, there is 'absence of recognized skills training policies and a mechanism for their implementation' and 'lack of targeted training for self-employment' (NPC and ILO 2002: 13).

### **5.2.2 Sanskritization**

Sanskritization can be observed as an important coping mechanism. When a person progresses educationally and economically, he or she adopts an upper caste surname, develops behavioural and interaction patterns, clothing and food habits of 'upper castes' with a view to upgrading himself or herself to the status of these castes. Education, religion and adoption of 'upper caste' surnames can be seen as some of the aspects of sanskritization.



### **5.2.3 Political extremism**

Discrimination has excluded large masses of people, particularly those belonging to Dalit groups, from the national mainstream. Because of this, the Maoist insurgency has been able to attract these disillusioned and alienated communities. This is, however, socio-economically exacting as it has disturbed socio-economic activities such as schooling, employment and delivery of health services in the country.

## LEGISLATION, POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES FOR REDUCING LABOUR DISCRIMINATION

This chapter discusses the domestic legal provisions, policies and programmes, including relevant activities pertaining to the alleviation of caste discrimination in Nepal of HMG, NGOs and INGOs, including the ILO, bilateral and multilateral donor agencies.

### 6.1 Domestic Legislation

The right to enjoy human rights without discrimination is one of the fundamental principles underlying the Nepalese legal system. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990 explicitly guarantees equality in the legal system. Furthermore, it calls for moral and legal sanctions to protect human rights.

#### 6.1.1 Moral sanctions

Moral sanctions are the guidelines set out by the Constitution for the state to fulfill. The Constitution envisages certain goals and directions to be achieved by the state. Such provisions, viz those mentioned in the Preamble and Part IV of the Constitution, ie the Directive Principles and Policies of the State, though not enforceable at courts of law, impose a moral obligation upon the state to apply certain standards to the process of governance. The Preamble to the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990 guarantees justice for all citizens, classifying justice into three categories: social, political and economic. Social justice implies that all citizens must be treated equally irrespective of their status in society and all social inequalities must be eliminated. Political justice entitles the enjoyment of fruits of democracy through wider participation of the people in the governance of the country by way of decentralization. Economic justice requires the making of arrangements for equitable distribution of economic gains and preventing economic exploitation of any class or individual. The fundamental norm of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, ie '[a]ll human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights', has been accepted by the Nepalese Constitution through 'the guarantee of basic human rights to every citizen' (Preamble to the Constitution). The intensity of the attachment of human rights to the Nepalese legal system is thus quite obvious. The Directive Principles and Policies of the State outlines the fundamental guidelines for the state, which it must strive to accomplish. Article 25(3) of the Constitution sets out the social objective of the state, seeking to establish and develop it on the foundation of justice and morality, a healthy social life by eliminating all types of social and economic inequalities, and harmony amongst various castes, tribes, religions, languages, races and communities so as to promote the general welfare of them all.

## 6.1.2 Legal sanctions

To transform the aforementioned themes of moral sanctions into reality, several provisions have been introduced in the form of legislative instruments for fulfilling the obligations concerning the elimination of caste discrimination. Prohibition of caste discrimination is one of the fundamental principles set in the Nepalese legal system. These legal provisions may be categorized into two groups: constitutional and legislative.

### ***Constitutional Provisions***

- a) Article 11 guarantees every citizen the right to equality before the law in accordance with the international instruments of human rights. Article 11(1) directs the state to treat its citizens equally and to ensure equal protection of law to every person.
- b) Article 11(2) prohibits the state from discriminating against any citizen in the application of the general laws on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, tribe or ideological conviction or any of these.
- c) Article 11(3) provides an explanation to the general rule of equality by guaranteeing that the 'State shall not discriminate amongst citizens on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, tribe or ideological conviction or any of these.' This sub-article, apart from ensuring the rights of citizen against any form of discrimination, prohibits the state from undertaking any such activity or action.

#### **BOX 6.1**

#### **DISCRIMINATION IN CITIZENSHIP**

A Brahmin from Bhanu in Tanahun, employed in the Royal Nepalese Army, fell in love with a girl belonging to the cobbler caste and married her in 1987. When his wife applied for citizenship by marriage, the VDC office refused to write a recommendation. In Nepal, the citizenship certificate is granted on the basis of the applicant's father's name, which makes it difficult to change a citizenship certificate according to the name of the spouse. Consequently, she was refused a citizenship certificate in her husband's caste.

The proviso to Article 11(3) is an exception to the general rule against discrimination embodied in earlier clauses of this article. This clause enables the state to make special provisions by law for the protection and advancement of the interests of women, children, the aged or those who are physically or mentally incapable or those who belong to a class (caste) which is socially, economically or educationally backward. This provision authorizes the state to take concrete or special measures to ensure adequate development as well as protection of weaker sections of society and in line with Article 1(4) of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), which states: 'Special measures taken for the sole purpose of securing adequate advancement of certain racial or ethnic groups or individuals requiring such protection as may be necessary in order to ensure such groups or individuals equal enjoyment or exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms shall not be deemed racial discrimination, provided, however, that such measures do not, as a consequence, lead to the maintenance of separate rights for different racial groups and that they shall not be continued after the objectives for which they were taken have been achieved.'

- a) Article 11(4) addresses the vices of the caste system. The objective of the article is to provide constitutional safeguards against the menace of discrimination, which would

otherwise be practised on a vast scale, especially in the relatively remote and illiterate sections of Nepalese society. It guarantees every person not to be discriminated against on any ground. Any contravention of this provision has been made punishable by the Constitution.

- b) Article 11(5) forbids discrimination in remuneration between men and women for the same type of work.
- c) Article 18(1) acknowledges Nepal's diversity in terms of caste, ethnicity, creed and religious beliefs, and ensures constitutional protection for each community residing within the Kingdom of Nepal.
- d) Article 20(2) prohibits slavery, serfdom or forced labour in any form and makes such practices punishable.

### ***Legislative Provisions***

Section 9 of **The Treaty Act 1990** explicitly guarantees the implementation of the convention or treaty to which Nepal is a party. Section 9(1) of the Act provides that 'in case the provision of a treaty, to which the Kingdom of Nepal or HMGN has become a party following its ratification, accession, acceptance, or approval by the Parliament, conflicts with the provisions of current laws, the latter shall be held invalid to the extent of such conflict for the purpose of that treaty, and the provisions of the treaty shall be applicable in that connection as law of Nepal.' In other words, in case of contradiction in the provisions of the treaty and the national law(s), the arrangements made by the treaty shall prevail. For this reason, the government is bound to fulfil the obligation(s) created by the UN and ILO conventions mentioned earlier.

**The Civil Liberty Act 1954** guarantees the right to equality and equal protection of the law in any appointment to the civil service, prohibiting any restriction on any citizen on ground of religion, race, sex, caste or any of these. The Act also provides grounds for affirmative actions in favour of socially and economically backward communities.

**The Citizens' Rights Act 1970** imposes restrictions on forced employment, which means that no person shall be employed or forced to perform jobs against his or her wishes. It also imposes restriction on the employment of children below 14 years of age in any factory or mine or in any work involving risk.

**The Children's Act 1992** guarantees all children the right against exploitation. According to the Act, no child who has not attained the age of 14 years shall be employed in any work as a labourer.

**The Labour Act 1992** is essentially about labour in the organized sector and is silent about caste discrimination at the workplace. The Labour Act is very explicit about child labour: 'No child who has not attained the age of 14 years shall be employed in any work as a labourer' (Section 17). Children above 14 years of age are to be employed only from 6 am to 6 pm. 'A child shall be engaged as a labourer only for six hours a day and no more than 36 hours a week' (Section 47) and 'no child shall be engaged in a work that is likely to be harmful to the child's health or to be hazardous to the life of the child' (Section 18). 'Any person who

contravenes these provisions shall be punished with a fine of up to three thousand rupees or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three months or both' (Section 53).

**The Legal Aid Act 1998** seeks to apply the principle of equal justice for the socially and economically underprivileged and other disadvantaged groups such as Dalits, women and ethnic groups by providing necessary legal aid for these people. This Act was enacted in compliance with the constitutional obligation created by Article 26(14), ie to pursue a policy of providing free legal aid to indigent persons for their legal representation in keeping with the principle of the rule of law. The Central Legal Aid Committee in the capital and the District Legal Aid Committee at the district level are the two administrative limbs created by the Legal Aid Act to administer legal aid services.

**The Local Self-Governance Act (LSGA) 1999** seeks to institutionalize the process of development through wider participation, including that of the Dalit communities. The LSGA, under Sections 8(2)(c) and 172(2)(e), calls for the nomination of women and people belonging to socially and economically backward groups, including Dalits. The Act requires local bodies to undertake activities for the benefit of women, backward communities and differently able people. For example, VDCs and municipalities, while formulating their plans, are required to give priority to those projects that provide direct benefits for women and backward groups.

## 6.2 Policies and Programmes

Nepal formulates five-year periodic plans and seeks to follow them for the given period. The plan document spells out government policies, strategies and programmes. Although the earlier five-year plan documents accepted the fact that there were groups of people who, due to various socio-cultural and historical factors, consistently lagged far behind other groups, concrete policies and strategies aimed at the uplift of Dalit people did not exist. In cases where these existed they were both insensitive and inadequate. The Eighth Plan (1992-1997) spelt out some policies and programmes for Dalits, but, as the government admits, these were neither designed with the concept of decentralization in mind nor formulated and implemented with the participation of the beneficiaries (NPC 1998: 708).

**The Ninth Plan (1997-2002)**, for the first time in the history of the country's periodic plans, contained a separate chapter outlining the objectives, policies, strategies and programmes for Dalits and other disadvantaged groups. This development may have been partly due to the fact that, following the restoration of democracy in 1990, Dalits received an opportunity to raise, in a more open environment, the issue of marginalization of their communities. In addition, the ideas of fostering cultural pluralism and ensuring equitable participation of all in the national life as preconditions for good governance were perhaps beginning to be recognized during the plan formulation period. The main document of the Ninth Plan not only provided for separate treatment for Dalits, but also extracted the chapter on Dalits into a booklet for wider dissemination. It indicates evolution of concern for Dalits in the government.

The Ninth Plan contained a 20-year-long-term goal in which the state was to play a primary role in uplifting the socio-economic status of Dalits by creating a congenial environment to spur their knowledge, talents and skills so that they could participate in, and join, the mainstream of national

development, like any other groups. 'Programs will be launched for the purpose of eliminating all social discrimination and disparities and eradicating unemployment and poverty from this community within next 20 years' (ibid: 708).

Some of the objectives set forth to uplift the Dalit communities during the Ninth Plan were as follows (ibid: 708):

- To uplift the socio-economic status of downtrodden and oppressed communities by eliminating social disparity and superstitious traditions;
- To enhance the economic and social capabilities of such communities by modernizing their occupational practices;
- To bring the knowledge, skills and ability of the downtrodden and oppressed communities in the mainstream of national development by empowering them, both economically and socially, and to identify as well as encourage their specialty in a way to contribute to the national development;
- To create appropriate social base for the just and balanced distribution of national resources; and
- To enrich the overall national culture by eliminating all kinds of social discrimination and preserving their cultural heritage.

To meet the above objectives, the following policies and strategies were adopted (ibid: 709):

- Current targeted programmes focusing on such communities would be reformed structurally and institutionally to make them more effective; and some new special programmes would be initiated.
- Traditional skills and occupations of such communities would be preserved and modernized, and they would also be provided with vocational training to enable them for alternative occupations.
- Institutional credit would be provided to them for forming community capital through social mobilization and savings.
- It would be made binding to allocate stipulated amount of grant provided by HMG for employment-oriented and income-generating programmes such as education, health, physical infrastructure and sanitation for oppressed and downtrodden community settlement areas on a priority basis.
- The opportunity for technical education and scholarship for higher studies would be provided to the downtrodden and oppressed communities in an effective manner.
- Appropriate institutional arrangements would be made to enable the downtrodden classes to actively formulate, implement, monitor and evaluate programmes and projects focusing on their well-being. The government would provide a grant to be used in a way that enhances the mobilization of local resources.

- Procedures for the programme implementation concerned with these communities would be improved and conducted in an integrated manner.

In terms of the programmes to be launched during the plan period, a powerful Dalit council would be established to coordinate at the policy level and to supervise programmes targeted at Dalits. District-level committees would be formed in all the seventy-five districts.

Furthermore, the plan provides for the following:

- Capacity building is envisioned in terms of training to be provided by the district offices of the Small and Cottage Industry Development Committee to enhance the skills in traditional occupations. These committees were to be provided with resources for managing the market of traditional goods produced by Dalit people.
- Trained individuals from the Dalit community were to be provided with special loans by the Rural Development Banks for carrying out businesses. By the end of the Ninth Plan, such priority loan services were to be extended to twenty-five districts.
- Study and research activities are to be undertaken to ascertain minimum wage rates against services provided by individuals from the Dalit community.
- Special employment programmes targeting this community are to be implemented to minimize the chance of the training participants being unemployed after having acquired training and skills.
- Private industries employing Dalits are to be exempted from certain proportion of tax.
- Savings and loan programmes for mobilizing local resources and incentives to self-employment programmes are to be launched.
- A certain proportion of the grant available to DDCs and VDCs from HMG is to be compulsorily spent on the development of Dalits.

A committee under the MoLD, called the Committee for the Uplift of Oppressed, Depressed and Neglected Communities (popularly known as the Dalit Development Committee), is the overall government agency entrusted with the responsibility of the implementation of the provisions of the Ninth Plan.

The following evidences indicate that Dalit uplift activities are largely confined to the plan document.

- The 'strong and independent' Dalit council to be established during the plan period that the Ninth Plan talks about did not materialize during the plan period.
- The idea of establishing a separate fund to 'collect the money received from the Central Council, donor agencies' to be mobilized through 'people's participation at the local level' has yet to materialize. Thus, the idea of VDCs and Dalit communities receiving funds from the district committees did not take place during the plan period.

- Similarly, the idea of fostering partnerships between district committees and NGOs remains only on paper.
- The policy statement on the allocation of certain proportion of HMG grants to DDCs and VDCs for the uplift of Dalits did not and has not seen concrete government actions.

Nonetheless, some positive indicators can also be ascertained, for example:

- Dalit issues have been more sensitized among individuals, politicians, civil society organizations and the donor community in recent years.
- The government, realizing the weaknesses in the enforcement and implementation of laws and programmes pertaining to Dalits, has recently committed to undertake strong political, social, legal and administrative measures to end the existing practices of untouchability and other forms of caste discrimination in Nepal.
- The Prime Minister, in a special statement of public importance at the Parliament (6 August 2001), declared that special measures would be undertaken by the government to combat these inhumane practices.
- The postal service has brought out a postage stamp, exhorting people against untouchability.
- An independent National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) has been established to monitor human rights violation of citizens, including Dalits.
- A National Dalit Commission (NDC) has been established with the following mandate:
  - i. To work in the direction of creating an environment in which Dalit groups are able to enjoy their rights without any obstacles.
  - ii. To recommend timely amendments of existing legal provisions and HMG's policies and regulations to allow it to perform the above functions.
  - iii. To formulate policies and strategies for the implementation of international covenants and conventions against racial discrimination and other human rights instruments and to recommend to the government.
  - iv. To coordinate and monitor activities of the NGOs involved in Dalit upliftment and development.
  - v. To formulate activities to eliminate untouchability and other forms of social discrimination and traditional customs and ideologies associated with such discriminations and to implement them through NGOs.
  - vi. To entertain complaints about discriminatory and other illegal acts against Dalit groups/ individuals in coordination with the National Human Rights Commission, Human Rights Promotion Center, local administration and authorities and take action/facilitate initiation of action as per the prevailing legal provisions.
  - vii. To make special arrangements for the protection of the rights of disabled Dalit children and women and to mainstream them in development.
  - viii. To document the activities of various agencies for the upliftment and empowerment of Dalit people by considering the Human Rights Action Plan 2004 and coordinate and monitor them.
  - ix. To prepare a draft legislation to create legal arrangements for the National Dalit Commission.



- x. To identify and define various Dalit groups and submit the list to the Ministry of Local development for publication.
- A National Commission on Women has also been established to focus on the situation of Nepalese women, including Dalit women.

The creation of the NHRC, NDC and the National Commission on Women, it is hoped, will help to ensure that the issues of Dalits are raised at appropriate forums and efforts are made for addressing them. For example, the NDC has already prepared draft legislation, among others, to give itself an autonomous status. The NDC has also begun to entertain complaints about incidents of Dalit human rights violation. It coordinates with the National Human Rights Commission on settling such complaints. It has also organized various fact-finding missions on the situation of the Dalit people under the ongoing conflict. The NHRC today is more sensitive to the issues pertaining to Dalit human rights. Similarly the National Commission on Women also tends to be more sensitive to the milieus of Dalit women.

**The Tenth Plan (2002-2007)**, an outcome of a wide, non-traditional and participatory process, can be said to contain 'greater account of the concerns, needs and ideas of ordinary Nepalese' and lays 'emphasis on pro-poor growth'. For the first time in the planned development efforts of Nepal, a periodic plan deals specifically with the issues pertaining to the uplift of the living standard of Nepal's Dalits and lays down a long-term vision and the promotion of empowerment and self-esteem of Dalits by mainstreaming them with social justice. One of the three overall strategies of the plan, which focuses on poverty alleviation, is to implement poverty alleviation programmes specifically for women, Dalits, indigenous nationalities and other deprived groups. It explicitly spells out a programme of incorporating Dalit problems, untouchability and the existing caste ethos in textbooks to create awareness of these issues (NPC 2002). It contains a four-fold development strategy to realize effective participation of Dalits in national development, especially in adult literacy, child education, sanitation, health and family planning, access to credit and gainful work opportunities. It envisages the pursuit of these strategies through both government programmes and NGO initiatives in a decentralized framework. In order to promote Dalit uplift, the plan spells out its areas of concern such as study and research programmes to identify location-specific Dalit population and their socio-economic status and felt needs, institutional arrangements to deliver the required inputs and services in a coordinated manner, and monitoring arrangements to find out the effectiveness of the delivery mechanisms.

The highlights of Dalit development of the Tenth Plan are in the areas of policies and programmes, which are:

- a. Policy: The plan contains the following policy measures:
  - (i) Socio-economic development:
    - Promoting access of Dalits to social services (education, health, sanitation and so on)
    - Ensuring the rights and development of Dalits
    - Involving Dalit participation in local institutions
    - Promoting coordinated collaborative initiatives with donors, NGOs and the private sector
  - (ii) Empowerment:
    - Providing scholarships for Dalit students and trainees to give them opportunities to enhance their knowledge and skills

- Creating a congenial environment for the appreciation of Dalits' inherent skills and specialization
  - Involving Dalits, with emphasis on women, in the development process
  - Institutionally empowering the National Dalit Commission
- (iii) Modernization of traditional skills:
- Upgrading and promoting traditional skills at the workplace in a dignified manner, together with the provision of credit supply to Dalits
  - Facilitating Dalits to work for more remunerative work, within or outside the country
- (iv) Empowerment:
- Discriminations in work, education and community participation to be eliminated through appropriate measures and institutions (national as well as local)
- b. Programmes: The plan lays down the following programmes for the development of Dalits:
- (i) Social:
- Undertaking progressive social behaviours and thus discouraging religious and social conservative attitudes
  - Initiating measures to eliminate harassment as well as exploitation of women
- (ii) Education:
- Introducing the provision of free secondary education for Dalit children
  - Enhancing access of Dalit children to higher education, especially in technical and vocational fields
  - Increasing Dalit participation in the social sector—teaching, health services, etc
  - Promoting specific Dalit skills and awareness-raising activities
- iii) Health:
- Enhancing the quality of life through improved access to and utilization of health and family planning services, inclusive of maternal health
  - Enhancing Dalit women's involvement in health services delivery
- iv) Economic:
- Prioritizing access to land for landless Dalit
  - Increasing work opportunities within the country and abroad
  - Increasing the provision of credit supply to Dalits
  - Prioritizing job opportunities for Dalits in government and non-government sectors
  - Increasing the skills of the Dalit labour force

However, the Tenth Plan is hardly explicit about the provision of gainful employment as it is generally held that the salary scale and wage rates in the public sector do not meet the basic needs of the workforce. Furthermore, the issues of decent work environment and involvement of child labour, especially in arduous and hazardous work, remain challenging in the country. As in the past, the implementation of the plans, policies and programmes might be the major hurdle in coping with these pronouncements. So far, they remain to a large extent what they were in the past.

### **6.2.1 Recent government policy measures**

Public voices, including those of the civil society, together with the Maoist insurgency, by apparently exploiting the deprivation of Dalits and non-Dalits, especially indigenous

nationalities, have led to the prioritization of poverty reduction in the government policies and programmes. The Tenth Plan (2002-2007)/PRSP specifically incorporates the Dalit issues and accordingly specifies strategies, policies and programmes. It puts thrust on the alleviation of deprivation among Dalits. The last three budgets, for FY2002/03, 2003/04 and 2004/05, have categorically laid emphasis on the uplift of Dalits and have allocated about Rs7 million, Rs11.50 million and Rs12.50 million respectively to the NDC. Besides, line ministries such as those concerned with agriculture and cooperatives, industry, labour, forestry, education contain programmes for their uplift. In addition, the Poverty Alleviation Fund also puts emphasis on disadvantaged groups, including Dalits. INGOs are also providing assistance for the general as well as DNGOs for the development of Dalits. However, of the around Rs521.40 million foreign aid received for the Dalit issues during the past nine years or so, only about Rs12.70 million has been spent, implying a very low (2.4%) absorptive capacity. Also, coordinated and effective implementation of activities of DNGOs is quite essential for the development of Dalits.

However, it should be noted that the implementation and enforcement part of these domestic and international legal provisions, as well as government policies and plans, is very weak. As a result, these have not been able to substantively reduce labour discrimination in Nepal.

### **6.2.2 Initiatives from INGOs, NGOs and multilateral and bilateral donor agencies**

**INGOs, NGOs and multilateral and bilateral donor agencies** have also begun to involve themselves in Dalit support activities. ActionAid, Save the Children-USA, Save the Children-UK, Save the Children-Norway, Lutherans World Federation, MS-Nepal and Helvetas are some of the INGOs involved in Dalit support activities. Among multilateral agencies, the UNDP and the ILO have begun their cooperation with Dalit organizations. Among bilateral agencies, Danida, through its Human Rights and Good Governance Advisory Unit (HUGOU), has been a pioneering agency in working directly with three national-level DNGOs with the explicit objective of alleviating caste discrimination. This support activity has been ongoing for the past two years. Danida/HUGOU supports the DNF. The Dalit Welfare Organization (DWO) and the Feminist Dalit Organization (FEDO) are the other organizations that receive financial and technical support from Danida/HUGOU. Because of the activism of these organizations, Dalit issues have received increased national and even international attention. For example, following the testimonies and information provided by the representatives of these three Dalit organizations, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), at its 61<sup>st</sup> session, held in Geneva, seriously noted the situation of the Dalit people in Nepal.

### 6.2.2.1 ILO, decent work and poverty reduction

Lack of gainful employment opportunities in a decent working environment has perpetuated poverty in Nepal. An overwhelming majority (95%) of the labour force of about 11.20 million is engaged in the informal sector, especially in subsistence farming and low productive wage labour, where low wages, bad and unsafe working conditions, and long working hours prevail (NPC and ILO 2002). However, the employment dimension of Nepal's poverty reduction has received less than adequate consideration. ILO works for the promotion of organized economic activities, and has been contributing to decent (gainful and productive) work and thereby poverty reduction through the following works: the 1999 Nepal Labour Force Survey, The Child Labour in Nepal, the 2003 Decent Work for Poverty Reduction: An ILO contribution to the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) in Nepal, and the 2004 Informal Economy and Workers in Nepal. In 2001, the ILO initiated a pertinent work on working children, which provides an overview of child labour-related programmes in Nepal. These activities of ILO are expected to contribute to the improvement of the policy and action environment in the country.

#### BOX 6.2 SOME COURT CASES PERTAINING TO DALITS

In recent years, many court cases pertaining to the violation of Dalits' human rights have been reported. Some of the pertinent examples are:

**MB Biswakarma versus HMG:** a PIL case filed at the Supreme Court of Nepal, the court declared null and void the rider to the provision in the Civil Code 1992 that makes punishable the practices of caste discrimination and untouchability, justifying its verdict on the ground that the perpetuation of the traditional restrictions imposed on untouchable groups on entering religious places such as temples is not discriminatory as they are traditional practices at religious places.

**PIL involving the Preamble to the Civil Code (DNF [Durga Sob] versus HMG:** Filed by the Dalit Legal Aid Centre (D-LAC) of the DNF, contending that the terms, '*Chhota Bada*' (high and low or superior or inferior), in the Preamble to the Civil Code were derogatory and continuation of the ideology of hierarchy and that the continued use of these terms was not only undesirable but also contradictory to the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, the case was dismissed because, according to the presiding judge, the terms were used in the preamble and the preamble is a non-operative part of any legal document.

**Siraha-Saptari Chamar case (Dalit NGO Federation [Durga Sob] and others versus various HMG agencies):** The Supreme Court, giving a verdict in favour of the complainants, issued orders to the defendants, i.e. the central- and district-level government agencies concerned.

**PIL case against certain Dalit discriminatory statutes (DNF [Durga Sob] versus various HMG agencies):** The petition sought remedy to a wide array of the currently prevailing discriminatory practices against the Dalit people, seeking writs of *mandamus*, *certiorari* and other orders from the Supreme Court, as per Article 88 (1) and (2) of the Constitution. The petition was successful and appropriate orders were issued to the government.



## DALIT CIVIL SOCIETY MOVEMENT

### 7.1 Background

To ascertain how and where Dalit NGOs are working and what steps need to be taken to assist them in the fight against caste discrimination, as well as to provide comprehensive profiles of DNGOs, the DNF and the ILO conducted a collaborative study, *The Dalit Mapping Study: A Joint Research Venture*, in 2002. The main objective of this study was to assess the working of DNGOs in the development of Dalits in Nepal, whereas its specific objective was to prepare a list of DNGOs by their locations, activities, target groups, size, resources and capacities, including affiliation at the apex.

Around 600 DNGOs are estimated to be operating in Nepal. The DNF, however, identified only 123 DNGOs spread in 31 districts of the country, and the whereabouts of the rest could not be established. This DNGO Mapping Study selected 102 DNGOs for the study, of which 82 DNGOs (almost 67% of the identified DNGOs) were covered in this study.

#### 7.1.1 Geographic coverage, programmes, activities and target groups

This study covered 31 districts where the 123 DNGOs were located, covering all the four geographical regions of Nepal. The districts are, by geographic region: **mountains:** Bajura; **hills:** Terhathum, Ilam, Makwanpur, Lalitpur, Kathmandu, Tanahun, Lamjung, Kaski, Gulmi, Arghakhanchi, Palpa, Baglung, Surkhet, Doti, Baitadi and Dandeldhura; **the inner terai:** Chitwan and Nawalparasi; and **the terai:** Jhapa, Morang, Sunsari, Siraha, Saptari, Rautahat, Rupandehi, Kapilvastu, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur.

At present, DNGOs are concentrated in accessible areas, especially in Kathmandu valley. Sixteen of these DNGOs were involved in the development of Dalit children, 11 in the development of Dalit women and some in the affairs of the differently able, *Kamaiya*, Badi and the landless. Their activities encompassed advocacy, education and skill-enhancing vocational training. However, their approach was *ad hoc* rather than need-oriented.

#### 7.1.2 Size and resources of DNGOs

Most DNGOs were small in terms of human resources and finance. They were male-dominated as most members of board and key officeholders were male. Only 37 of the DNGOs had employees; thus, most DNGOs were operating with voluntary service. Yet, 70 DNGOs claimed to have some skilled workers. In general, most DNGOs were operating with minimal resources and funding. About half of them were operating with external funding. But the vast majority (around 70%) had inadequate resources in terms of qualified personnel and money. Three big DNGOs, viz Janautthan Pratisthan (JUP), DWO and FEDO, alone had the lion's share of donor funds. The external donors were Danida,

Lutheran World Federation (LWF), PLAN Nepal, ActionAid, Helvetas, CARE-Nepal, Swiss Development Cooperation (SDC) and the International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD). Some received financial support from HMGN.

### 7.1.3 DNGOs' affiliations

Most of the DNGOs (42) were affiliated with the DNF and some (13) with the NGO Federation.

## 7.2 Findings and Conclusions

The following are the findings and conclusions of this study:

- Most of the DNGOs are concentrated in Kathmandu valley. All of the organizations included in the study work specifically with the Dalit community, but some have specific target groups within the Dalit community, including women and children. Other specific focus areas include differently able people, *ex-Kamaiyas*, Badis and the landless. Most DNGOs focus their programmes on specific spheres relating to Dalit uplift. These include research, advocacy, social empowerment, skill and vocational training, legal aid, education, health, bonded labour and small business development. Most organizations work in one or more of these fields.
- The reach of DNGOs is limited and they are serving a limited few, mainly in Kathmandu valley. DNGOs are often formed and operated by the Dalit elite and are not addressing the needs of the wider Dalit community.
- As regards human resources and governance structure of DNGOs, both members of board and key staff are mostly male. DNGOs are largely staffed by volunteers and are limited in the academic qualifications therein.
- Most DNGOs are under-funded and under-resourced. Of the 70 DNGOs that provided funding information, 50 per cent operate with no funding. The total budget pool for the DNGOs covered by the study is Rs35,703,124 in 2002. However, funding is concentrated in a few large DNGOs.

- Forty-two of the DNGOs covered by the survey are affiliated with the DNF, while 13 are affiliated with the NGO Federation. As regards the extent to which DNGOs work in partnership with organizations outside the DNGO sector, 30 per cent of the DNGOs work in collaboration with other NGOs, 40 per cent in partnership with government and 37 per cent in collaboration with INGOs. However, duplication of effort takes place as many DNGOs do not work in collaboration.
- Although some initiatives have been taken by DNGOs to pursue formal dialogue with the government agencies concerned to streamline institutional framework and legal provisions to effectively eliminate discrimination at work, apart from the use of childworkers, especially in arduous and hazardous jobs, much still needs to be done.
- The majority of the programmes seem to be welfare-based, providing access to certain resources, such as health and education, for the Dalit people, and do not address the wider social context in which these problems exist, ie the caste system. Neither do they explore ways for breaking down the very social barriers that have caused Dalits to be oppressed for so long. Initiatives do not consider the long-term impact or explore the ways of dealing with the root of problems, and just address the symptoms through short-term welfare programmes.
- In the absence of a thorough understanding of the needs and rights of the Dalit people, DNGOs do not have a clear mandate for operation. They need to define themselves in a way that addresses not only the immediate needs of the Dalit community but also the wider social context in which these needs have remained unmet. Further, collaboration among DNGOs is lacking so that there is duplication of efforts and outcomes are minimal.
- The extent of DNGOs is limited. Some DNGOs are working effectively and enjoy good working relationship with local CBOs and INGOs. With limited funding and capacity at their disposal, this is one area where improvements could easily be made. Furthermore, it is very essential to build their capacities and devise a mechanism for augmenting their access to finances.





## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 8.1 Conclusion

1. The term, Dalit, lacks a precise definition. Dalits are generally taken as those who are discriminated against and subjected to the practice of untouchability. Largely due to the absence of a generally acceptable definition of Dalits, the exact population of Dalits in Nepal is not known. The population of Dalits, as per 2001 Census, was 2.91 millions, or 12.82 per cent of the total enumerated population of Nepal.
2. Twenty-three traditional occupations are still being practised by the Dalit castes associated with them. In rural areas, 'upper caste' people compel Dalits to continue with their traditional occupations through the use of threats such as exclusion from socio-cultural and religious activities, denial of access to water sources, social boycott, excommunication, physical assault and many other forms of abuse.
3. Dalit children are engaged in traditional occupations such as tailoring, leatherwork, blacksmith work, sweeping, earth work, goldsmith work, human waste disposal, midwifery, laundry washing, carcass disposal, bride- and groom-carrying, ragpicking and portering. Similarly, they work in coalmines and carpet and garment factories in Nepal's urban areas, particularly in Kathmandu valley. A sizeable number of children also work for 'upper caste' households, whereas some help their parents in cultivating the land of 'upper caste' groups in return for food or shelter, or both. Dalit children also work to pay back their parents' debts.
4. Due to various discriminatory practices in the past, Dalits today have relatively low access to professional education. The recruitment of Dalits in government and non-government sectors is influenced by the caste factor. The few that succeed in getting employment usually face stagnant career curves.
5. Due to various historical, cultural and political factors, Dalits possess the least amount of land for cultivation, capital for investment and fixed assets to be used as collateral. Consequently, more Dalits are below the poverty line. Similarly, they possess the least amount of knowledge and have the lowest life expectancy and standard of living among all population groups in Nepal.
6. Dalits face many constraints on freely choosing their occupations. One is their inability to participate in the market due to their castes. 'Upper caste' groups often hesitate to freely interact or transact with Dalits. Dalits do not receive good prices for their products. The option of white-collar jobs is still bleak for them because of their low educational status as well as the prevailing prejudice and discrimination against them. Caste sentiments also prevail in the

recruitment in the armed and police forces, as well as in other organized sectors. Thus, the only remaining viable alternative for them is to either continue with the traditional occupations or engage in wage labour in the unorganized sector.

7. When traditional occupations cease to provide expected returns and when goods produced by them cannot compete with those produced in factories, Dalits tend to embrace wage labour in both agricultural and non-agricultural sectors, despite the fact that agricultural wage labour is not a well-paid or gainful activity in Nepal. But other less menial activities or those that require education are not accessible to a vast majority of Dalits.
8. A negligible number of Dalits are employed in the government bureaucracy, the armed forces, the police, and government-owned establishments and corporations. Although civil society organizations, including NGOs, have emerged in large numbers in recent years, participation of Dalits in private enterprises is not noticeable. Because in Nepal Dalits are not considered 'martial races', like some ethnic groups such as Gurungs, Magars, Chhetris, Rais and Limbus, they are never given serious consideration in either foreign or domestic forces. With a few exceptions, Dalits can never engage in religious activities that bring income, eg priesthood. In many rural areas, they are not recruited as teachers even if they are qualified, for non-Dalit parents hesitate to send their children to such schools. In rural areas, Dalits are not employed as domestic help or in restaurants and shops. As 'upper castes' do not accept water and most other food items from Dalit establishments, petty businesses involving the sale of these items are out of the question in most cases. In addition, as dealing with Dalits is perceived as ritually defiling, other businesses involving Dalit-'upper caste' transactions are also difficult propositions.
9. A good majority of Dalits tend to know in advance the type of work they are to perform, which indicates the limited choices they have in the wage labour market. In addition, due to lack of contractual arrangements Dalits are forced by their employers to work at odd hours.
10. The activities Dalits are currently engaged in bring relatively low economic returns, but since they do not have any alternative, they are forced to continue with the job. The earnings are hardly enough to maintain a decent living. There is thus a cycle of effects of discrimination. Deliberate interventions in terms of education, skill development and job opportunity creation are thus needed. The caste system, by rendering Dalits politically and socially weak, denies them the opportunity of negotiating appropriate prices for their skills and products with their 'upper caste' clients. In fact, Dalits themselves have not been able to forge a collective force to bargain and negotiate. Most of them negotiate their wages individually and would not accept reduced wages even if long-term contracts were guaranteed. Thus, what is more important for Dalits is the fulfilment of their immediate needs rather than receiving delayed benefits through contractual arrangements.
11. Direct discrimination in labour based on Dalits' perceived untouchable status is still rampant in the informal sector in rural areas. However, as compared to direct or intentional forms of discrimination, indirect forms of discrimination, largely due to the historical legacy of the caste system, as manifest in the low socio-economic and political status of Dalits and their subsequent low employment in the organized sectors, including the government, can be seen to be more important. Efforts to receive education, migration, change of traditional surnames, change of religion, sanskritization and political extremism are some of the escaping and coping mechanisms against the prevalent caste discrimination.

12. In recent years, discrimination against Dalits has begun to receive increased attention largely due to the rights-based advocacy activities of Dalit and pro-Dalit organizations. Changes are taking place, especially in the NGO sector.
13. In spite of international conventions and domestic constitutional and legislative measures, the practice of caste discrimination, including discrimination in labour, is pervasive. The major constraint is the lack of will among those in power to enforce these provisions.
14. Although the earlier five-year plan documents accepted that certain groups of people consistently lagged behind other groups due to various socio-cultural and historical factors, they did not come up with concrete policies and strategies for their uplift. The Ninth Plan (1997-2002), for the first time in Nepal's history, contained a separate chapter outlining the objectives, policies, strategies and programmes for Dalits and other disadvantaged groups. Similarly, the Tenth Plan (2002-2007) mentions that one of its three overall strategies is to implement poverty alleviation programmes specifically for women, Dalits, indigenous nationalities and other deprived groups. The plan explicitly spells out a programme of incorporating Dalit problems, untouchability and the existing caste ethos in textbooks to create awareness of these issues.
15. Currently, a committee under the MoLD, called the Committee for the Uplift of Oppressed, Depressed and Neglected Communities (popularly known as the Dalit Development Committee), is the overall government agency entrusted with the responsibility of looking into Dalit affairs. A powerful and permanent body, viz the NHRC, has been established to monitor human rights violations of citizens, including Dalits. Similarly, NDC has been established to focus on Dalit issues. The National Commission on Women focuses on the situation of Nepalese women, including Dalit women.
16. In spite of these domestic constitutional and legislative measures and international standards, casteism is still pervasive in Nepal (Gurung, et al 1999; DNF 2002; NPC 2002). The caste ideology still operates as the basis for social relationship and intercourse for large segments of population. Dalits are vulnerable to caste discrimination mostly in the rural areas of the country due to geographical remoteness, illiteracy and lack of legal awareness among Dalits and traditionally conceived caste ideology.

## **8.2 Recommendations**

### **8.2.1 Legislation and policy**

1. A consensual approach to the definition and identification of Dalits in the Nepalese context is required to facilitate the formulation and implementation of policies and programmes as well as research on Dalits in the future.

### **8.2.2 Advocacy**

2. The Dalit issues should be mainstreamed through advocacy as well as national- and community-level interactions through active involvement of DNGOs.
3. DNGOs should be encouraged to pursue formal dialogue with the government agencies concerned to streamline institutional framework and legal provisions to effectively eliminate discrimination at work, apart from the use of childworkers, especially in arduous and hazardous jobs.

4. An advocacy programme should be undertaken at the grass roots, eg VDC or municipality, to create a harmonious working relationship between workers and employers for which Dalits' empowerment and participation need to be effectively pursued.

### **8.2.3 Interventions**

#### ***8.2.3.1 Awareness raising***

5. Gender-sensitive functional literacy should be promoted to raise the productivity of Dalits.

#### ***8.2.3.2 Capacity building***

6. The capacity and skills of DNGOs should be built up to the point where they can effectively serve the needs of the community they are targeting.
7. As most Dalits are engaged in traditional occupations of low productivity, their skills and technology in traditional occupations should be improved.
8. As some of the Dalits' traditional occupations, eg blacksmith work, tailoring, are gradually being replaced by modern manufacturing and services, skills and know-how of Dalits should be upgraded to enable them to switch to more gainful employment opportunities in both informal and formal sectors.
9. Specific skill training programmes required for overseas employment should be provided for prospective candidates from Dalit communities.
10. Dalits should be encouraged to undertake small enterprises. For this, a scheme targeted at Dalits should be undertaken to make them capable of acquiring and using funds properly, as well as to market their products.

### **8.2.4 Monitoring and evaluation**

11. The government should urgently review the implementation status of relevant UN and ILO conventions as well as domestic laws pertaining to discrimination in labour, forced labour, child labour and the worst forms of child labour. An enforcement plan should be formulated.
12. An effective monitoring mechanism pertaining to Dalit development endeavours should be developed and implemented, with the active support of the ILO and other development agencies. Also needed is the creation of a monitoring unit to see that the enforcement is taking its due course. The ILO should also be involved in these tasks.
13. The government and UN agencies should review the Dalit representation in their workforce and take affirmative actions to improve this and thereby encourage Dalits and upper castes to work in close physical proximity with each other.

### 8.2.5 Research

14. An-depth study of Nepalese Dalits should be carried out to ascertain the particular and specific needs of the Dalit community as well as the resources required for their socio-economic development. This investigation should be participatory and community-based so that it serves the needs of the representative Dalit community and not those of a few elite Dalit.
15. Development programmes need to consider the wider social context in which Dalits' problems exist, ie the caste system, and explore ways for breaking down the very social barriers that have caused Dalits to be oppressed for so long. Initiatives should consider the long-term impact and explore the ways of dealing with the root of problems, rather than just addressing the symptoms through short-term welfare programmes. In this context, it would be pertinent to keep in consideration some recent works of ILO-Nepal, including the Social Protection for People in the Informal Economy of Nepal and Sexual Harassment at the Workplace in Nepal.
16. DNGOs should branch out to remote areas and address the felt needs of Dalits, as well as the development issues of the whole Dalit community, by streamlining their institutional setting, together with their empowerment in terms of resources in order to contribute to the formulation and implementation of the Dalit social development initiatives of the government, donors and NGOs, especially DNGOs, at central, district and local levels.
17. A need analysis of DNGOs should be carried out to determine the exact nature of the skills and resources they need.
18. While undertaking empowerment activities, DNGOs should address the issues of the working children, for which the *Working for Nepalese Children* (ILO 2001) could be used as a guiding framework.
19. Further, collaboration among DNGOs should be a priority to avoid duplication of efforts and to maximize outcomes with minimal resources. INGOs and donor agencies should also aim for collaboration and cooperation to maximize the use of available resources.
20. Last but not the least, DNGOs, NGOs and government as well as donor agencies should collaborate to improve the status of Dalits in Nepal.



## bibliography

- ActionAid-Nepal. 1998. *A Strategy for the Upliftment and Empowerment of Dalits*. Kathmandu: ActionAid-Nepal.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. *Existing Practices of Caste-based Untouchability in Nepal: Strategy for campaign for its elimination*. Kathmandu: ActionAid-Nepal.
- ALHUREDS-Nepal. 2002. *Status of Landless Dalits in Implementation of HMG's Program for the Solution of Landlessness*. Kathmandu: for ActionAid-Nepal).
- Allport, GW. 1958. 'The Nature of Prejudice'. In: *The Dictionary of Sociology* by Duncan Mitchel. Chicago: Aldina Publishing Company.
- Asian Development Bank. 2000. 'The Social Challenge in Asia'. In: *Asian Development Outlook 2000*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- Asian Regional Team on Employment Opportunities (ARTEP). 1974. *Challenge for Nepal: Growth with Employment*. Bangkok: International Labour Organization (ILO).
- Bagchand, Ratna B, et al. 2003. *A Review of the Implementation Status of the Dalit related Provisions in the Ninth Plan*. Kathmandu (for Danida/HUGOU).
- Bettelheim, B and M Jonowitz. 1950. 'Dynamics of Prejudice'. In: *The Dictionary of Sociology* by Duncan Mitchell. Chicago: Aldina Publishing Company.
- Bhattachan, Krishna B, et al. 2001. *Existing Practices of Caste-based Untouchability in Nepal/and Strategy for a Campaign for Its Elimination (Draft Report)*. Kathmandu, Action Aid Nepal.
- Bista, Dor Bahadur. 1992. *Fatalism and Development: Nepal's Struggle for Modernization*. Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Biswakarma, Hira. 2001. 'Dalitko Paribhasa Dalit Utthan Vidheyakko Sambandhama' (Definition of Dalit in the context of Dalit Utthan Vidheyak). *Kantipur*. Kathmandu: Kantipur Publication (April).
- Bouillier, Veronique. 1977. 'Economic Relationships between Occupational Castes and High Castes in Central Nepal.' In: *Contributions to Nepalese Studies.4: 99110*. Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CENAS).
- Cameron, Mary M.1998. *On the Edge of the Auspicious Gender and Caste in Nepal*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Caplan, Patricia, A. 1972 *Priests and Cobblers: A Study of Social Change in a Hindu Village in Nepal*. Delhi: Chandler Publishing House.
- CARE-Nepal. 1996. *CARE-Nepal Disadvantaged Group Strategy Paper*. Kathmandu: CARE-Nepal.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2000a. *Care-Nepal Diversity Audit Gender and Caste equity and its Programs in CARE-Nepal*. Kathmandu: CARE-Nepal.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2000b. *Care-Nepal Workshop Proceedings Developing a Gender and Caste Diversity Strategy. July 4-7,2000*. Kathmandu: CARE-Nepal.



- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. *Care Nepal Diversity Strategy: Towards Gender and Caste Equity*. Kathmandu: CARE-Nepal.
- CBS. 1991. *The Population Census of Nepal, 1991*. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics. Kathmandu.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1995. *Population Monograph of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics. Kathmandu
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1999. *Report on the Nepal Labour Force Survey 1998/99: Statistical Report*. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. *Report on the Household Consumption Survey of Rural Nepal 2000/2001: Statistical Report*. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. *Population Census 2001*. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics, in collaboration with United Nations Population Fund.
- CERID. 1997. *Social Assessment of Educationally Disadvantaged Groups: A study conductor for Basic and Primary Education Project (BPEP)*. Kathmandu: Research Centre for Educational Innovation and Development.
- Chhetri, Gyanu. 1989. 'Gaineke Sarangi Euta Magne Bhando ki Nepali Sanskritiko Anga?: Ek Samajsastriya Dristikon' (Is Gaine's [Bard] Sarangi just a Begging Bowl or a Part of Nepali Culture?: A sociologist's perceptive). *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*. Vol [?]
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1999. 'A Sociological Analysis of Dalit Occupational Caste Groups in the Hills of Nepal'. *Anthropology and Sociology of Nepali: Culture, Societies, Ecology and Development*. Kathmandu: SASON.
- Collier Paul. 1999. 'The Political Economy of Ethnicity.' In: Boris Pleskovic and Joseph E. Stiglitz (eds), *Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economies 1998*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Cox, Thomas. 1992. 'Badi: Prostitution as a Social Norm Among an Untouchable Caste of Nepal'. *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*. 19(1): 51-71.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1994. 'The Current Socioeconomic Status of Untouchables in Nepal'. In: *Occasional Papers in Sociology and Anthropology*. Kathmandu: Central Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Tribhuvan University. Nepal. 4: 90-109.
- CWIN. 2001. *Child Workers in Nepal*. Kathmandu: Nepal Balamajdur Sarokar Kendra (Child Workers in Nepal Concern Centre, CWIN).
- Dahal, Dill R. 1996. 'People's Participation and Development: Lessons from the Forestry Programs in East Nepal'. In: Dahal Madan and Mund Horst (eds.) *Social Economy and National Development. Lesson from Nepalese experience*. Kathmandu: Nepal Foundation for Advanced Studies.
- Dahal, Dilli R, et Al. 2002. *National Dalit Strategy Report 1: Situation analysis of Dalits in Nepal*. Kathmandu: ActionAid-Nepal, CARE-Nepal and Save the Children-US.
- DEVA Associates. 2002. *Study of Police-Public Interaction with Reference to Weaker Sections of Society*, Report submitted to Danida/HUGOU. Kathmandu: DEVA Associates.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. *Participation of Dalits in Danida supported Programmes/Projects*. Draft report submitted to Danida/HUGOU. Kathmandu: DEVA Associates.

- Devkota, Bharat and Bidya Nath Nepal. 2002. *Reaching the Unreached: Social Assessment for Inclusive Education*. Kathmandu: TEAM Consult (for Ministry of Education)
- Dixit, Kunda. 2001, *UNICEF in Nepal*. Kathmandu: UNICEF
- DNF. 2001. *General Profile of the Dalit NGOs*. Kathmandu: Dalit NGO Federation.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. *Caste-based Prejudice and Discrimination in Nepal: A Survey Report* (Submitted to Danida/HUGOU by the Dalit NGO Federation of Nepal). Kathmandu:
- DNF.
- DNF and ILO. 2003. *Dalit Mapping Study: A Joint Research Venture*. Kathmandu.
- Gautam, Simon. 2003. *Untouchable People: A Case Study of Impact of Education, Settlement and Occupation*. Kathmandu (Report under Draft).
- Ghimire, Bimla, KH Paneru and K Pokharel. 1999. *Situation Analysis Report: A baseline survey report of the Sarlahi Community Development Programme*. Kathmandu: ActionAid-Nepal.
- Ghosh, Hirak. 1998. 'International Labour Organization's Role in the Elimination of Child Labour'. In: Thapaliya, Ram (ed.) *Nepal Law Journal Vol. 1* Kathmandu: Nepal Law Journal.
- Gurung, Harka. 1998. *Nepal: Social Demography and Expressions*. Kathmandu: New ERA.
- Gurung, et al. 2002 *Report on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination*. Kathmandu.
- Gurung, Jit Bahadur. 1996. *Institutional Contexts of Sustainable Agriculture in Three Agro ecological Zones in a District in West-central Nepal: A Sociological Analysis*. PhD Dissertation (Sociology), University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, Manila.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. *Promotion of Sociocultural, Economic, and Political Participation of Dalits and Other Disadvantaged Groups*. Kathmandu (Report submitted to the Enabling State Programme, ESP, DfID).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. *Dalit and Janajati (Indigenous Nationalities) Empowerment Strategy*. Kathmandu: ESP, DfID
- Gurung, Jit B, et al. 1999. *The Condition of Dalits (Untouchables) in Nepal: Assessment of the Impact of Various Development Interventions*. Lalitpur: TEAM Consult.
- ILO. 1996. *Child Labour: Targeting the Intolerable*. Geneva: International Labour Organization (ILO).
- ILO-Nepal. 2002. *Terms of Reference for a Study on Discrimination and Forced Labour of Occupational Castes in Nepal*. Kathmandu: ILO-Nepal.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. *The Informal Economy and Workers in Nepal* (Decent Work for all Women and Men in Nepal Series I). Kathmandu: ILO-Nepal.
- Jagaran Media Centre (JMC). 2002. Study on Traditional Dalit Products. Kathmandu: Intermediate Technology Development Group.
- Jha, Haribansha. 1998. *A Case Study of Selected VDCs of Saptari Districts of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Action-Aid, Nepal.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. *Nepalma Dalit Uthanka Rananiti (Strategies for Dalit Upliftment in Nepal)*. Kathmandu: Centre for Economic and Technical Exchange and FES.

- KC, Bal Kumar. 1995. 'Social Composition of Population' in CBS, *Population. Monograph of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics. pp 301-337
- Khanal, Krishna P. 1996. *Caste in the Nepal Terai: A Study of Dalit Communities in Siraha District*. Kathmandu: Save the Children-US.
- Koirala, Bidya Nath. 1996. *Schooling and Dalits of Nepal: A Case Study of Bungkot Dalit Community*. An unpublished PhD Dissertation Submitted to the University of Alberta, Canada.
- Lauren, P Gordon. 1988. *Power and Prejudice: The Politics and Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination*. Boulder and London: Westview Press.
- Loury, Glenn C. 2000. 'Social Exclusion and Ethnic Groups; The Challenge to Economics.' In: Boris Pleskovic and Joseph E. Stiglitz (eds) *Annual Conference on Development Economics 1999*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Mahat, Padam Bahadur. 1999. *Sarki Bal Balikaharuko Prathamik tahako Saichik Awastha (Educational Conditions of Sarki Children in Primary Schools)*. Kathmandu: Action-Aid, Nepal.
- Makariynec, Gregory G. 1995. *The Rulings of the Night: an ethnography of Nepalese Shaman Oral texts*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- MoLD. 2001. *Fifteenth Report of States Party: Nepal* (Report submitted to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination). Kathmandu: DEVA Associates
- MOE. 1999. *BPEP II: Program Implementation Plan (Main Report)*. Kathmandu: Ministry of Education.
- MOE. 1999. *Program Implementation Plan (Main Report)*. Kathmandu: Ministry of Education.
- NPC. 1998. *The Ninth Plan (1997-2002)*. Kathmandu: National Planning Commission.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. *Tenth Plan (2002-2007)*. Kathmandu: National Planning Commission.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. *The Tenth Plan Summary, 2002-2007 (Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, PRSP)*. Kathmandu.
- NPC and ILO. 2002. *Decent Work For Poverty Reduction: An ILO Contribution to the PRSP in Nepal*. Geneva: International Labour Organization.
- NESAC. 1998. *Nepal Human Development Report, 1998*. Kathmandu: Nepal South Asia Centre.
- Neupane, Govinda. 2000. *Nepalko Jatiya Prashna. Samajik Banot Ra Sajhedariko Sambhavana (Caste/ethnic Problems in Nepal: Social Structure and the Possibility of Cooperation)*. Kathmandu: Centre for Development Studies.
- Omar, Sattaur. 1993. *Child Labour in Nepal 1993*. Kathmandu: Anti-Slavery International and Child Labour Concern Centre.
- Onta, Pratush, et al, 2001. *Chhapama Dalit (Dalit in the Print Media)*. Kathmandu: Social Development and Research Centre (Compilation).
- Onta, Pratush, et al (ed). 2001a. *Nepal Mediyama Dalit ra Janajati (Dalits and Janajatis in the Nepali Media)*. Kathmandu: Ekta Books.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001b. *Chhapama Dalit (Dalits in the Print Media)*. Kathmandu: Ekta Books.

- Rossner, Colin. 1966. 'Social Mobility in the Newar Caste System'. In: Haimendorf (ed) *Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
- Pradhan, Gauri, 2001. *Child Workers in Nepal*. Kathmandu: Child Workers in Nepal Concern Centre (CWIN).
- Sharma, Khagendra, Gyanu Chhetri and Sita Rana. 1994. *A Modest Study of the Current Socio-economic Situation of the Lowest Status Caste and Tribal Communities in Nepal*. Kathmandu: Save the Children-US.
- Sharma, PR. 1977. 'Caste, Social Mobility and Sanskritization in a Tribal. Hindu Society: A Study of Nepal's Old Legal Code'. In: S IJam (ed) *Changing Aspects of Modern Nepal*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Sharma, KN, et al, 1993. *A Modest Study of the Current Socio-Economic Situation of the Lowest Status Caste and Tribal Communities in Nepal*. Kathmandu: Save the Children-US.
- Singh, S and Bak A 2001a. *Baseline Survey Report on DWO Project Area in Dang* (Report Submitted to Danida/HUGOU). Kathmandu.
- Singh, S and Dam P 2001b. *Baseline Survey Report on DWO Project Area in Doti* (Report Submitted to Danida/HUGOU). Kathmandu.
- Srinivas, MN. 1952. *Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Subedi, Govind. 1999. 'Child Labour and Education Among Dalits'. In: *Nepal Population Journal*. 8 (8): Kathmandu.
- TEAM Consult. 2000. *Birth Registration in Nepal*. Kathmandu: TEAM Consult (for PLAN Nepal).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. *Third Party Review: Basic and Primary Education Program II (BPEP II)*. Kathmandu: TEAM Consult (for Ministry of Education).
- Thapaliya, Harinder and Simon Gautam. 1998. *Resettlement Strategy Development for the Transit Home Wadi (Badi) Children of Mid-and Far western Nepal*. Kathmandu: REDD BARNA.
- Yakkha Rai, D. 1996. *Brahmanbad Birudda Janajati + Udpidit Barga* (Janajatis Suppressed Groups Against Brahmanism). Kathmandu: Anup Offset.



## **Annex I**

1. Objectives
2. Hypotheses of the Study
3. Scope of the Study
4. Methodology
- 4.1 Methods
- 4.1.1 Secondary sources of information
- 4.1.2 Primary sources of information
5. Sampling Procedure
- 5.1 Selection of Respondents Households within District

Table A1.1: Sampling Scheme

5.2 Population Universe and the Sample Size

## **Annex II**

- Table A2.1: Broad Age Structure of Dalit Population
- Table A2.2: Comparative Dependency Ratio of Different Dalit Groups and Index of Ageing\
- Table A2.3: Median Age of the Dalit Population
- Table A2.4: Morbidity
- Table A2.5: Acceptance of Drinking Water from Anybody from Higher Caste Groups
- Table A2.6: Acceptance of drinking water from anybody from one's own caste group
- Table A2.7: Acceptance of Drinking Water from Anybody from Caste Groups Lower than One's Own Caste
- Table A2.8: Permission for Son to Marry Upper Caste Girl
- Table A2.9: Permission for Daughter to Marry Upper Caste Boy
- Table A2.10: Permission for Daughter to Marry Boy from One's Own Caste Group
- Table A2.11: Permission for Son to Marry Lower Caste Girl
- Table A2.12: Permission for Son to Marry Girl from One's Own Caste Group
- Table A2.13: Involvement in Labour Exchange
- Table A2.14: Involvement in Labour Exchange with Higher Caste Groups
- Table A2.15: Involvement in Labour Exchange with Lower Caste Groups

## **Annex III**

- Table A3.1: Caste/Ethnicity Analysis of Leadership Position Holders in Teachers' Organizations 1999
- Table A3.2: Caste/Ethnicity Analysis of Leadership Position Holders in Civil Society Organizations 1999
- Table A3.3: Caste/Ethnicity Analysis of Leadership Positions in Human Resources in Civil Society

Organizations 1999

Table A3.4: Caste/Ethnicity Analysis of Leadership Position Holders on Various Councils 1999

Table A3.5: Caste/Ethnic Composition of Professional Position Holders in INGOs and Bilateral and Multilateral Agencies 1999

Table A3.6: Caste/Ethnicity Composition of Central Leadership Position Holders of Different Political Parties 1959 and 1999

Table A3.7: Caste/Ethnic Composition of CDOs and Secretaries, 1959 and 1999

Table A3.8: Distribution of Employees by Selected Multilateral Institutions and Projects 2002

Table A3.9: Human Development Indicators by Major Caste/Ethnic Groups

## **Annex IV**

Table A4.1(a): Traditional Occupations practised to Date

Table A4.1(b): Traditional Occupations practised to Date

Table A4.2(a): Occupations/Vocations with the Highest Income

Table A4.2(b): Occupations/Vocations with the Highest Income

Table A4.3: Perceptions of the Status of Respondents' Occupations

Table A4.4(a): Production of Goods the Year Before

Table A4.4(b): Production of Goods the Year Before

Table A4.5: Market for the Commodities Produced

Table A4.6: Problems in Marketing

Table A4.7: Occupations that one can Switch over to

Table A4.8: Reasons for the Inability to Switch over to Other Occupations

Table A4.9(a): Type of business in which the Respondents are Involved

Table A4.9(b): Type of business in which the Respondents are Involved

Table A4.10: Switching over to Other Occupation by Dalit Caste Groups

Table A4.11: Training Received by the Respondents

Table A4.12: Sources of Credit

Table A4.13: Loans to be repaid by Labour (in percentage)

Table A4.14: Additional Payments other than Interest (eg cash payments, labour contributions, or payments in kind)

Table A4.15: Threatened with Penalty in Case of Leaving the Job before paying back the Loan

Table A4.16: Can leave the Job before paying back the Loan

Table A4.17: Worse Labour Condition than of those who have not Contracted a Loan from the Employer

Table A4.18: Collateral used to secure Loans

Table A4.19: Provisions of Loans by Respondents' Households

Table A4.20: Purposes of Borrowing

Table A4.21: Perceptions of Discrimination in Respondents' Occupations

Table A4.22: Perceptions of Occupation

Table A4.23: Perceptions of the Status of Respondents' Occupations

Table A4.24: Negotiation for Wages Individually/Collectively

Table A4.25: Forced to Continue Traditional Occupations by Dalit Caste Groups

Table A4.26: Factors/Individuals/Groups that Forced Continuation of Traditional Occupations

Table A4.27: Distribution of Dalit Households by Number of Bista Households, Number of Female Members Working for Bista Households, Number of Male Members of Households Involved in Bista Households and Number of Days Worked for Bista Households

## ANNEX 1

### 1. Objectives

The specific objectives of the study were:

- 1 to analyse concepts such as 'Dalit', 'discrimination' and 'prejudice', and their consequences for this report, as well as for government policymakers;
- 2 to review the legal background, policy initiatives and Court cases pertaining to Dalits, job discrimination and forced labour;
- 3 to map the occupational castes in Nepal with the hierarchical links between high and low castes, and within Dalit communities based on pollution or purity criterion;
- 4 to evaluate the market demand for the products produced by the Dalits involved in traditional occupations;
- 5 to determine the representation of Dalits in schools, universities, managerial positions, trade unions, parliament, HMGN and international agencies;
- 6 to determine the female Dalit population representing at the local- and national-level politics, participation and involvement in decision-making processes and tasks at the family level;
- 7 to analyse child labour among children of occupational castes as compared to that of other castes and groups in Nepal, based on the existing statistical datasets and local survey;
- 8 to identify the levels of social and economic discriminations taking place in society (in terms of poverty, social and cultural exclusions), between Dalits and higher castes, within Dalit households and communities;
- 9 to identify the levels of discrimination taking place in the world of work (professional, education, recruitment, promotion, access to productive assets such as capital or land, obtaining commercial licences, etc) drawing a distinction between the organized and unorganized sectors;
- 10 to analyse the constraints of freely chosen employment and occupational mobility, and more specifically, the element of compulsion involved in the perpetuation of 'traditional' occupations, to determine the social, economic and religious penalties a Dalit faces if s/he chooses an alternative occupation;
- 11 to analyse the indebtedness of Dalits (source, purpose and terms of loans) and the possible link between credit and labour exploitation;
- 12 to analyse the survival strategies adopted by Dalits and their effects; and
- 13 to offer specific policy recommendations to mainstream occupational castes in a non-discriminatory manner.



## 2. Hypotheses of the Study

Dalits in Nepal are forced by social and religious obligations, often under the threat of sanctions, to provide labour for which they are either not paid at all or paid poorly. They are also discriminated in terms of access to other gainful occupations.

## 3. Scope of the Study

This study systematically explores the discrimination against Dalits or occupational castes in the sphere of work, forced labour, the extent of child labour and gender relations within the Dalit communities in the context of the prevailing constitutional and legal provisions as well as the relevant United Nations (UN) and ILO conventions ratified by HMGN.

## 4. Methodology

The study considers methodology as an interface between concepts and their operational aspects and the methods used because the way concepts are defined and operationalized influences the methods to be selected. For example, the way discrimination is operationalized dictates the method or methods to be used to capture information on it.

### 4.1 Methods

The study employed both primary and secondary sources of information.

#### 4.1.1 Secondary sources of information

This involved collection, review and analysis of relevant reports, documents and books.

#### 4.1.2 Primary sources of information

The primary sources of information collection involved the use of the following tools.

##### (a) Key informant survey (KIS)

This method involved interviews with key individuals from government, bilateral and multilateral organizations, international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) and other civil society organizations. Individuals and organizations were selected based on their involvement in Dalit affairs. In addition, Local Development Officers and District Education Officers from the eleven selected districts were also interviewed as key informants.

##### (b) Household survey

Household survey was considered one of the major tools in the study because the study sought to capture comparable quantitative information on the issues concerned. The questionnaire for the household survey was developed following intensive consultations with personnel concerned of the Dalit Welfare Organization (DWO) and the ILO Office in Nepal. The questionnaire was piloted on 3.5 per cent of the total sample size (1,447) in the area of the Godamchaur Village Development Committee (VDC) in Lalitpur district. The pilot test helped in making qualitative judgements about the reliability and validity of the questionnaire. Significant changes were made to the questionnaire following the pilot test. The revised questionnaire was administered on

the respondents from 1,454 households from sixty Dalit settlement clusters in eleven districts.

(c) *Non-participant observation*

Non-participant observation notes were taken by field supervisors and research assistants, who were given orientations and guidelines to make such observations. The observations were based on the 'actors-actions-situation' schema and were carried out in and around the respondent households and at public places such as tea-stalls, schools, workplaces, temples, shops, etc. The major findings were triangulated with those obtained through other methods.

(d) *Focus group sessions*

Field supervisors and research assistants, who were given intensive training in organizing and facilitating focus group discussions (FGDs), facilitated one focus group session in each cluster (that is three FGDs per district). Focus group sessions were organized separately for Dalit males, Dalit females and non-Dalits. Altogether thirty-three focus group sessions were organized. Their findings were triangulated with those obtained through other methods. Knowledge/attitude/action formats, village mapping and other Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques were used in these sessions, targeting groups of concern such as children, women, elderly people and 'higher castes' living nearby.

(e) *Case studies*

Case studies focused on the obstacles encountered by occupational caste people who could not escape traditional tasks and the means used by the people who are now occupying various positions. Changes over time and current trends were assessed by comparing recollections of the past events and situations with the present ones. The case studies are presented as illustrations of the survey analysis.

The districts for case studies were selected so as to represent the major geophysical regions and Dalit settlements, both latitudinally and longitudinally (see Table A1.1 for the list of selected districts).

(f) *Interviewees and gender*

All the interviewees were male, though the household survey was administered on the heads of household irrespective of their sex. FGDs were separately held for females.

## 5. Sampling Procedure

### 5.1 Selection of Respondents Households within District

A total of three Dalit settlement clusters were selected in each district. The sample clusters were selected based on the information on settlements with high concentration of Dalits, provided by key local officials (local development officers and chief administrators) at each district headquarters. The district headquarters served as one of the clusters, whereas two other clusters were selected from relatively inaccessible areas of the district and from different directions from the district headquarters (see Table A1.1 for the sample size for each selected district).

**TABLE A1.1** SAMPLING SCHEME\*

Districts by Physiographic Zones	Total Number of Localities	Average HH Size	Dalit Population	Estimated No. of Dalit HHs	Estimated Sample Size (2.5% of Dalit HHs)	Actual Sample
<b>Mountain</b>						
1. Taplejung	49	5.6	5 989	1 069	27	26
2. Sindhupalchowk	79	5.1	17 024	3 338	83	84
3. Bajhang	47	5.5	14 173	2 577	64	64
<b>Hill</b>						
4. Bhojpur	63	5.4	5 810	1 076	27	27
5. Kathmandu	76	5.3	14 471	2 730	68	68
6. Tanahun	45	5.4	26 460	4 900	123	123
7. Surkhet	51	5.7	39 758	6 975	174	174
<b>Terai</b>						
8. Saptari	115	5.4	90 610	16 780	419	423
9. Parsa	83	6.1	62 333	10 219	255	258
10. Dang	40	6.3	29 194	4 634	69	69
11. Kailali	44	6.9	38 111	5 523	138	138
	969	5.69	548 789	96 165	1 447	1 454
<b>Nepal</b>	4 048	5.56	2 912 360			

Note: HH(s)=Household(s)

## 5.2 Population Universe and the Sample Size

The total population of Dalits in Nepal is estimated at 2,914,849 (based on Census 2001). The total Dalit population in the eleven selected districts stood at 548,789 (18.05 per cent of the total Dalit population) from 96,165 households. The selection of 15 per cent households from each selected district gives a sample size of 1,447 households, which is 0.26 per cent of the total Dalit households in Nepal (see Table A1.1 for details of the sampling scheme). However, the actual sample households numbered 1,454, which exceeds the sample by seven households and constitutes nearly 0.27 per cent. A census of Dalit households was done to select households randomly up to the quota assigned to each cluster.

## ANNEX II

<b>TABLE A2.1 BROAD AGE STRUCTURE OF DALIT POPULATION</b>			
Age Group (years)	Male	Female	Total
0-4	554	529	1,083
5-9	649	613	1,262
10-14	609	563	1,172
15 and above	2,508	2,408	4,916
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,320</b>	<b>4,113</b>	<b>8,433</b>

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

<b>TABLE A2.3 MEDIAN AGE OF THE DALIT POPULATION</b>	
Total population	8433
Median age	18.00

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

<b>TABLE A2.2 COMPARATIVE DEPENDENCY RATIO OF DIFFERENT DALIT GROUPS AND INDEX OF AGEING</b>		
Caste	Dependency Ratio	Index of Ageing
Damai	62.89	6.04
Kami	75.61	7.89
Sarki	64.08	7.9
Gaine	72.22	2.63
Badi	90.91	2.27
Chamar	90.67	3.93
Tatma	84.51	11.11
Musahar	89.90	3.81
Batar	82.98	14.71
Dom	116.28	2.04
Dusadh	84.43	6.06
Khatwe	77.71	9.32
Dhobi	73.33	6.45
Mehetar	88.96	2.11
<b>Total</b>	<b>77.65</b>	<b>6.16</b>

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

<b>TABLE A2.4 MORBIDITY</b>															
Morbidity	Caste														Total
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaine	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh	Khatwe	Dhobi	Mehetar	
0	5														5
1	2	14	9		1			2	2	1					29
2	15	33	14	1	3	5	4	8	1		3	2	1	2	93
3	27	34	19	3	12	13	2	12	4	3	2	2		1	131
4	15	38	15	3	9	19	9	7	2	1	18	5	2	5	150
5	37	55	18	3	6	18	4	24		2	10			5	184
6	14	27	16	1	6	23	7	9		4	15	4	6	11	143
7	24	34	20	3	4	8	2	8	1	5	9	1	1	8	128
8	11	25	11	1	2	22	5	13	2	1	7	3	2	4	109

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A2.5** ACCEPTANCE OF DRINKING WATER FROM ANYBODY FROM HIGHER CASTE GROUPS

Acceptance of Drinking Water	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Yes	1435	98.7	98.9	98.9
No	16	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	1451	99.8	100.0	
Missing	3	.2		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A2.6** ACCEPTANCE OF DRINKING WATER FROM ANYBODY FROM ONE'S OWN CASTE GROUP

Acceptance of Drinking Water	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Yes	1438	98.9	99.0	99.0
No	14	1.0	1.0	100.0
Total	1452	99.9	100.0	
Missing	2	.1		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A2.7** ACCEPTANCE OF DRINKING WATER FROM ANYBODY FROM CASTE GROUPS LOWER THAN ONE'S OWN CASTE

Acceptance of Drinking Water	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Yes	856	58.9	59.0	59.0
No	596	41.0	41.0	100.0
Total	1452	99.9	100.0	
Missing	2	.1		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A2.8** PERMISSION FOR SON TO MARRY UPPER CASTE GIRL

Permission	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Yes	919	63.2	63.6	63.6
No	527	36.2	36.4	100.0
Total	1446	99.4	100.0	
Missing	8	.6		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

<b>TABLE A2.9 PERMISSION FOR DAUGHTER TO MARRY UPPER CASTE BOY</b>				
<b>Permission</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>Valid Per cent</b>	<b>Cumulative Per cent</b>
Yes	909	62.5	62.9	62.9
No	537	36.9	37.1	100.0
Total	1446	99.4	100.0	
Missing	8	.6		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

<b>TABLE A2.10 PERMISSION FOR DAUGHTER TO MARRY BOY FROM ONE'S OWN CASTE GROUP</b>				
<b>Permission</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>Valid Per cent</b>	<b>Cumulative Per cent</b>
Yes	1439	99.0	99.2	99.2
No	12	0.8	0.8	100.0
Total	1451	99.8	100.0	
Missing	3	0.2		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

<b>TABLE A2.11 PERMISSION FOR SON TO MARRY LOWER CASTE GIRL</b>				
<b>Permission</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>Valid Per cent</b>	<b>Cumulative Per cent</b>
Yes	645	44.4	44.5	44.5
No	803	55.2	55.5	100.0
Total	1448	99.6	100.0	
Missing	6	.4		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

<b>TABLE A2.12 PERMISSION FOR SON TO MARRY GIRL FROM ONE'S OWN CASTE GROUP</b>				
<b>Permission</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>Valid Per cent</b>	<b>Cumulative Per cent</b>
Yes	1432	98.5	99.0	99.0
No	14	1.0	1.0	100.0
Total	1446	99.4	100.0	
Missing	8	.6		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

<b>TABLE A2.13 INVOLVEMENT IN LABOUR EXCHANGE</b>				
<b>Involvement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>Valid Per cent</b>	<b>Cumulative Per cent</b>
Yes	1042	71.7	73.1	73.1
No	383	26.3	26.9	100.0
Total	1425	98.0	100.0	
Missing	29	2.0		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

<b>TABLE A2.14 INVOLVEMENT IN LABOUR EXCHANGE WITH HIGHER CASTE GROUPS</b>				
<b>Involvement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>Valid Per cent</b>	<b>Cumulative Per cent</b>
Yes	647	44.5	51.3	51.3
No	615	42.3	48.7	100.0
Total	1262	86.8	100.0	
Missing	192	13.2		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

<b>TABLE A2.15 INVOLVEMENT IN LABOUR EXCHANGE WITH LOWER CASTE GROUPS</b>				
<b>Involvement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>Valid Per cent</b>	<b>Cumulative Per cent</b>
Yes	862	59.3	68.1	68.1
No	404	27.8	31.9	100.0
Total	1266	87.1	100.0	
Missing	188	12.9		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

## ANNEX III

<b>TABLE A3.1</b> CASTE/ETHNICITY ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP POSITION HOLDERS IN TEACHERS' ORGANIZATIONS 1999							
Organizations	Bahun/Chhetri	Mongol/Kirant	Madhise	Dalit	Newar	Others	Total
Nepal University Teachers' Association	16	0	2	0	3	0	21
Nepal Teachers' Association	24	2	3	1	1	0	31
Nepal National Teachers' Organization	25	0	1	0	3	1	30
Total	65	2	6	1	7	1	82
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>79.3</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>7.3</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>8.5</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Neupane 2000.

<b>TABLE A3.2</b> CASTE/ETHNICITY ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP POSITION HOLDERS IN CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS 1999							
Organizations	Bahun/Chhetri	Mongol/Kirant	Madhise	Dalit	Newar	Others	Total
Nepal Bar Association	15	0	1	0	1	0	17
NGO Federation	9	1	3	0	3	0	16
Nepal Federation of Journalists	17	0	0	0	4	0	21
Total	41	1	4	0	8	0	54
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>75.9</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>14.8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Neupane 2000.

<b>TABLE A3.3</b> CASTE/ETHNICITY ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN HUMAN RESOURCES IN CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS 1999								
Organizations	O/P	B/C	M/K	Madhesi	Dalit	Newar	Others	Total
Nepali NGOs	72	104	13	11	0	85	0	213
Human rights organizations	27	29	2	1	0	7	0	39
Editors: dailies and weeklies	104	77	4	4	1	25	0	111
Total	203	210	19	16	1	117	0	363
<b>Percentage</b>	-	<b>57.8</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>4.4</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>32.2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>100</b>

Note: O/P=Number of organizations/publications; B/C=Bahun/Chhetri; M/K=Mongol/Kirant.

Source: Neupane 2000.



**TABLE A3.4** CASTE/ETHNICITY ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP POSITION HOLDERS ON VARIOUS COUNCILS 1999

Organizations	Bahun/Chhetri	Mongol/Kirant	Madhise	Dalit	Newar	Others	Total
Press Council	14	0	1	0	6	0	21
National Development Council	10	1	2	1	6	0	20
Nepal Sports Council	9	4	1	0	1	0	15
Nepal Health Research Council	4	0	1	0	3	0	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>75.9</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>14.8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Neupane 2000.

**TABLE A3.5** CASTE/ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF PROFESSIONAL POSITION HOLDERS IN INGOs AND BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AGENCIES 1999

Organizations	Org	B/C	Mongol/Kirant	Madhise	Dalit	Newar	Others	Total
INGO	112	23	10	0	1	14	0	54
Bilateral/Multilateral Agencies	21	15	5	0	0	7	0	30
<b>Total</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>45.2</b>	<b>17.8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>100</b>

Note: Org= Number of organizations; B/C= Bahun/Chhetri.

Source: Neupane 2000

**TABLE A3.6** CASTE/ETHNICITY COMPOSITION OF CENTRAL LEADERSHIP POSITION HOLDERS OF DIFFERENT POLITICAL PARTIES 1959 AND 1999

Year/Difference	Bahun/Chhetri	Mongol/Kirant	Madhise	Dalit	Newar	Others	Total
1959	50 (63.2)	11 (13.9)	7 (8.8)	0 (0)	11 (13.9)	0 (0)	79 (100)
1999	97 (58.8)	25 (15.1)	26 (15.8)	0 (0)	18 (10.9)	0 (0)	165 (100)
<b>Difference (%)</b>	<b>-4.4</b>	<b>+ 1.0</b>	<b>+ 7.0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>-3.0</b>	<b>0</b>	

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages.

Source: Neupane 2000.

**TABLE A3.7** CASTE/ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF CDOS AND SECRETARIES, 1959 AND 1999

Year/Difference	Bahun/Chhetri	Mongol/Kirant	Madhise	Dalit	Newar	Others	Total
1959	28 (65.1)	7 (16.2)	3 (6.9)	0 (0)	5 (11.6)	0 (0)	43 (100)
1999	90 (81.8)	1 (0.9)	6 (5.4)	0 (0)	13 (11.8)	0 (0)	110 (100)
<b>Difference (%)</b>	<b>+ 16.7</b>	<b>-15.3</b>	<b>-1.5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>+ 0.2</b>	<b>0</b>	

Note: Figures within parentheses are percentages.

Source: Gurung, et al 2002.

**TABLE A3.8** DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYEES BY SELECTED MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS AND PROJECTS 2002

SN	Organizations	Bahun	Chhetri	Newar	Janajati	Thakuri	Dalit	Madeshi	Muslim	Giri	Total
1	UNDP	13	9	32	14		1	1			70
2	UNV	0			1						1
3	UNFPA	4	3	4							11
4	UNFPA CST	1	4	8	1						14
5	WFP	14	4	15	1	1					35
6	UNCDF	0		1	1						2
7	UNCDF projects	4	1	6	2					1	14
8	UNIC	0		1							1
9	UNHCR	8	4	6	7				1	1	27
10	FAO	1	4	3	3						11
11	FAO Project	3	1	6	1			1			12
12	UNICEF	13	18	38	26	3				2	100
13	UNICEF (ROSA)	7	6	12	8					1	33
14	WHO	2	1	11							14
15	WHO Project	35	11	28	9	4	1	9		2	99
16	ILO	1	2	1	2			1			7
17	ILO Project	10	1	8	1		1	4			25
18	UNAIDS	1		1							2
19	UNESCO	0	1	3	1						5
20	UNIFEM	0	4	1							5
21	IBRD (World Bank)	6	8	20	5			2			41
22	IMF	3		1							4
23	Asian Development Bank, Nepal 7 Residence Office			8	8						23
24	IFC	0		2				1			3

**Government-executed UNDP and other bilateral institution-financed projects**

SN	Organizations	Bahun	Chhetri	Newar	Janajati	Thakuri	Dalit	Madeshi	Muslim	Giri	Total
25	Participatory District Development Programme (PDDP)	53	13	19	3		1	10		1	100
26	Advisory Services Facility	1		1							2
27	Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Supplies for Nepal Accession of the World Trade Organization	2		3							5
28	Mainstreaming Gender Equity Programme	3	3	2	2						10
29	Micro-enterprise Development Programme	12	6	9	4						31
30	Strengthening National Execution and Aid Management Capacities	1		3	1						5
31	GEF Small Grants Programme	1			1						2
32	Local Development Fund Programme	2		3				1		1	7
33	Lumbini Development Review Project	0		1							1
34	Community Owned Primary Education Programme	3	2	3	5			2			15
35	Tourism for Rural Poverty Alleviation Prog.	10	2	1	4						17
36	Nepal Biodiversity Landscape Project	2	2	1							5
37	Sustainable Community Development Programme	4	2	1	1						8
38	Capacity Development of National Human Right Commission	3		2							5
39	Strengthening the Rule of Law and Reform of the Judiciary Programme	3	4	3							10
40	Project for formulation of National Human Rights Action Plan	2		1							3
41	Public-Private Partnership for Urban Environment	0		2				1			3
42	Beyond Trafficking: A Joint Intimation in the Millennium Against Trafficking in Girls and Women)	4	1	2	1						8
43	Support for Peace and Development Initiatives	2		2							4

SN	Organizations	Bahun	Chhetri	Newar	Janajati	Thakuri	Dalit	Madeshi	Muslim	Giri	Total
44	Rural Urban Partnership Programme	5	5	4		2		1			17
45	Rural Energy Development Programme	12	4	11	2			2			31
46	Participatory Conservation Programme	0	2	3							5
47	Programme for Poverty Monitoring in Support of the PRSP	1									1
<b>Total</b>		<b>259</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>293</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>855</b>
Per cent		30.29	14.97	34.27	13.45	1.16	0.47	4.21	0.11	1.1	100

Note: PRSP: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper.  
Source: UNDP Nepal 2002.

**TABLE A3.9** HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS BY MAJOR CASTE/ETHNIC GROUPS

Indicators	Nepal	Bahun	Chhetri	Newar	M/K	Madhise	Dalit
Life expectancy, 1996	55.0	60.8	56.3	62.2	53.0	58.4	50.3
Adult literacy (per cent)	36.72	58.00	42.00	54.80	35.20	27.50	23.80
Mean years of schooling, 1996	2.254	4.647	2.786	4.370	2.021	1.700	1.228
Per capita income (Rs), 1996	7,673	9,921	7,744	11,953	6,607	6,911	4,940
Per capita PPP (US\$), 1996	1,186	1,533	1,197	1,848	1,021	1,068	764
Life expectancy Index	0.500	0.597	0.522	0.620	0.467	0.557	0.422
Educational Attainment Index	0.295	0.490	0.342	0.462	0.280	0.221	0.186
Income Index	0.179	0.237	0.181	0.289	0.152	0.160	0.110
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.325	0.441	0.348	0.457	0.299	0.313	0.239
Ratio to national HDI; Nepal = 100	100.00	135.87	107.31	140.73	92.21	96.28	73.62

Note: M/K = Mongol/Kirant includes Sherpa, Gurung, Magar, Rai and Limbu. The Madhise category includes Rajbanshi, Yadav, Tharu and Ahir.

Source: Adapted from NESAC 1999:266.

## ANNEX IV

**TABLE A4.1(a) TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONSS PRACTISED TO DATE**

Traditional Occupations	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
0	1	.0	.1	.1
Iron work	154	1.8	16.3	16.4
Gold smithy	66	.8	7.0	23.4
Tailoring	206	2.4	21.8	45.3
Disposal of carcass	10	.1	1.1	46.3
Cremation of dead bodies	2	.0	.2	46.6
Leather work	125	1.5	13.3	59.8
Midwifery	15	.2	1.6	61.4
Messenger (Katuwal)	3	.0	.3	61.7
Work in upper caste house	7	.1	.7	62.5
Carrying bride and groom in the marriages of upper caste	5	.1	.5	63.0
Playing music on occasions like marriages, etc	9	.1	1.0	63.9
Handling of hazardous materials	1	.0	.1	64.1
Hali work	18	.2	1.9	66.0
Shepherding	5	.1	.5	66.5
Sweeping	58	.7	6.2	72.6
Disposal of human wastes	23	.3	2.4	75.1
Washing dishes in marriages	1	.0	.1	75.2
Removal of animals sacrificed in religious places	2	.0	.2	75.4
Sex workers	2	.0	.2	75.6
Making copper/bronze items	47	.6	5.0	80.6
Bamboo work	8	.1	.8	81.4
Washing clothes	13	.2	1.4	82.8
Playing madal, sarangi	23	.3	2.4	85.3
Digging mud	63	.7	6.7	91.9
Iron work + goldsmith work	1	.0	.1	92.0
Iron work + tailoring	5	.1	.5	92.6
Iron work + playing music on occasions like marriages, etc	1	.0	.1	92.7
Iron work + hali work	9	.1	1.0	93.6
Iron work + making copper/bronze items	4	.0	.4	94.1
Tailoring + carrying bride and groom in upper caste marriages	10	.1	1.1	95.1

<b>Traditional Occupations</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>Valid Per cent</b>	<b>Cumulative Per cent</b>
Tailoring + playing music on occasions like marriages	17	.2	1.8	96.9
Disposal of carcass + leather work	3	.0	.3	97.2
Disposal of carcass + playing music on occasions like marriage	1	.0	.1	97.3
Cremation of dead bodies + leather work	2	.0	.2	97.6
Leather work + tailoring	2	.0	.2	97.8
Leather work + midwifery	2	.0	.2	98.0
Leather work + playing music on occasions like marriages, etc	3	.0	.3	98.3
Leather work + hali work	2	.0	.2	98.5
Carrying bride and groom + playing music on occasions like marriages	1	.0	.1	98.6
Hali work + shepherding	1	.0	.1	98.7
Making bronze/copper crafts + bamboo work	2	.0	.2	98.9
Iron work + work in upper caste house + washing dishes in marriages	1	.0	.1	99.0
Tailoring + carrying bride and groom + removal of sacrificed animals	1	.0	.1	99.2
Tailoring + playing music on occasions + removal of sacrificed a	3	.0	.3	99.5
Disposal of carcass + leather work + midwifery	1	.0	.1	99.6
Disposal of carcass + handling of hazardous materials + sweeping	1	.0	.1	99.7
Leather work + midwifery + playing music on occasions like marriages	1	.0	.1	99.8
Iron w. + handling hazardous materials + sweeping + disposal of human waste	1	.0	.1	99.9
Disposal of carcass + leather work + working in upper caste households + carrying bride and groom	1	.0	.1	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>943</b>	<b>11.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>7469</b>	<b>88.8</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>8412</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

TABLE A4.1 (b) TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONSS PRACTISED TO DATE

Traditional Occupations	Caste										Total		
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaine	Badi	Chamar	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Dhobi
Iron work	Count	3	140	2	1	3	3	4	1	154			
	Row %	1.9%	90.9%	1.3%	.6%	1.9%	2.6%	2.6%	.6%	100.0%			
	Column %	1.2%	55.1%	1.7%	5.3%	4.0%	30.8%	30.8%	1.4%	16.3%			
	% of Total	.3%	14.8%	.2%	.1%	.3%	.4%	.4%	.1%	.1%	16.3%		
Gold smithy	Count	3	40	10	1	9	9	1	1	64			
	Row %	4.7%	62.5%	15.6%	1.6%	14.1%	14.1%	1.6%	1.6%	100.0%			
	Column %	1.2%	15.7%	8.5%	5.6%	15.0%	15.0%	7.1%	7.1%	6.8%			
	% of Total	.3%	4.2%	1.1%	.1%	1.0%	1.0%	.1%	.1%	.1%	6.8%		
Tailoring	Count	190	10	3	1	2	1	1	207				
	Row %	91.8%	4.8%	1.4%	.5%	1.0%	.5%	.5%	100.0%				
	Column %	76.6%	3.9%	2.5%	5.6%	2.7%	1.7%	1.7%	21.9%				
	% of Total	20.1%	1.1%	.3%	.1%	.2%	.1%	.1%	.2%	21.9%			
Disposal of carcass	Count	1	1	1	1	5	5	2	10				
	Row %	10.0%	10.0%	10.0%	10.0%	50.0%	50.0%	20.0%	100.0%				
	Column %	.4%	.8%	.8%	5.6%	6.7%	6.7%	2.7%	1.1%				
	% of Total	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.5%	.5%	.2%	.2%	1.1%			
Cremation of dead bodies	Count	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2				
	Row %	50.0%	50.0%	50.0%	50.0%	50.0%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%				
	Column %	.4%	.4%	1.7%	1.7%	1.7%	1.7%	1.7%	.2%				
	% of Total	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.2%	.2%			

Traditional Occupations	Caste										Total		
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaina	Badi	Chamar	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Dhobi
Leather work	Count	3	3	85	10	26	1						128
	Row %	2.3%	2.3%	66.4%	7.8%	20.3%	.8%						100.0%
	Column %	1.2%	1.2%	72.0%	55.6%	34.7%	100.0%						13.6%
	% of Total	.3%	.3%	9.0%	1.1%	2.8%	.1%						13.6%
Midwifery	Count					15							15
	Row %					100.0%							100.0%
	Column %					20.0%							1.6%
	% of Total					1.6%							1.6%
Messenger (Katuwal)	Count	1				1	1						3
	Row %	33.3%				33.3%	33.3%						100.0%
	Column %	.4%				1.3%	1.7%						.3%
	% of Total	.1%				.1%	.1%						.3%
Work in upper caste house	Count		4	2					1				7
	Row %		57.1%	28.6%					14.3%				100.0%
	Column %		1.6%	1.7%					7.7%				.7%
	% of Total		.4%	.2%					.1%				.7%
Carrying bride and groom in the marriages of upper caste	Count	2				2				1			5
	Row %	40.0%				40.0%				20.0%			100.0%
	Column %	.8%				2.7%				3.4%			.5%
	% of Total	.2%				.2%				.1%			.5%
Playing music on occasions like marriage, etc	Count	5				3			1				9
	Row %	55.6%				33.3%			11.1%				100.0%
	Column %	2.0%				4.0%			7.7%				1.0%
	% of Total	.5%				.3%			.1%				1.0%





Traditional Occupations	Caste										Total		
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaine	Badi	Chamar	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Dhobi
If removal of animals sacrificed in religious places	Count	1	1	1									2
	Row %	50.0%	50.0%										100.0%
	Column %	.4%	.8%										.2%
	% of Total	.1%	.1%										.2%
Sex work	Count					1							2
	Row %					50.0%							100.0%
	Column %					1.3%							.2%
	% of Total					.1%							.2%
Making copper/bronze items	Count	1	21	3	1	1	1	9	3	6	1	1	47
	Row %	2.1%	44.7%	6.4%	2.1%	2.1%	2.1%	19.1%	6.4%	12.8%	2.1%	2.1%	100.0%
	Column %	.4%	8.3%	2.5%	5.6%	1.3%	1.3%	15.0%	14.3%	46.2%	3.4%	1.4%	5.0%
	% of Total	.1%	2.2%	.3%	.1%	.1%	.1%	1.0%	.3%	.6%	.1%	.1%	5.0%
Bamboo work	Count								8				8
	Row %								100.0%				100.0%
	Column %								38.1%				.8%
	% of Total								.8%				.8%
Washing clothes	Count										13		13
	Row %										100.0%		100.0%
	Column %										92.9%		1.4%
	% of Total										1.4%		1.4%
Playing madal, sarangi	Count				18	4		1					23
	Row %				78.3%	17.4%		4.3%					100.0%
	Column %				94.7%	22.2%		1.7%					2.4%
	% of Total				1.9%	.4%		.1%					2.4%

Traditional Occupations	Caste										Total		
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaine	Badi	Chamar	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Dhobi
IDigging mud	Count						36				27		63
	Row %						57.1%				42.9%		100.0%
	Column %						60.0%				93.1%		6.7%
	% of Total						3.8%				2.9%		6.7%
Iron work + goldsmith work	Count	1											1
	Row %	100.0%											100.0%
	Column %	.4%											.1%
	% of Total	.1%											.1%
Iron work + tailoring	Count		5										5
	Row %		100.0%										100.0%
	Column %		2.0%										.5%
	% of Total		.5%										.5%
Iron work + playing music on occasions like marriages, etc	Count	1											1
	Row %	100.0%											100.0%
	Column %	.4%											.1%
	% of Total	.1%											.1%
Iron work + hali	Count						9						9
	Row %						100.0%						100.0%
	Column %						3.5%						1.0%
	% of Total						1.0%						1.0%
Iron work + making copper/bronze items	Count						4						4
	Row %						100.0%						100.0%
	Column %						1.6%						.4%
	% of Total						.4%						.4%

Traditional Occupations	Caste										Total		
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaine	Badi	Chamar	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Dhobi
Tailoring + carrying bride and groom in upper caste marriages	Count	10											10
	Row %	100.0%											100.0%
	Column %	4.0%											1.1%
	% of Total	1.1%											1.1%
Tailoring + playing music on occasions like marriages	Count	17											17
	Row %	100.0%											100.0%
	Column %	6.9%											1.8%
	% of Total	1.8%											1.8%
Disposal of carcass + leather work	Count					3							3
	Row %					100.0%							100.0%
	Column %					4.0%							.3%
	% of Total					.3%							.3%
Disposal of carcass + playing music on occasions like marriage	Count					1							1
	Row %					100.0%							100.0%
	Column %					1.3%							.1%
	% of Total					.1%							.1%
Cremation of dead bodies + leather work	Count					2							2
	Row %					100.0%							100.0%
	Column %					2.7%							.2%
	% of Total					.2%							.2%
Leather work + tailoring	Count					2							2
	Row %					100.0%							100.0%
	Column %					2.7%							.2%
	% of Total					.2%							.2%



Traditional Occupations	Caste										Total		
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaina	Badi	Chamar	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Dhobi
Iron work + work in upper caste house + washing dishes in marriages	Count		1										1
	Row %		100.0%										100.0%
	Column %		.8%										.1%
	% of Total		.1%										.1%
Tailoring + carrying bride and groom + removal of sacrificed animals	Count	1											1
	Row %	100.0%											100.0%
	Column %	.4%											.1%
	% of Total	.1%											.1%
Tailoring + playing music on occasions + removal of sacrificed a	Count	3											3
	Row %	100.0%											100.0%
	Column %	1.2%											.3%
	% of Total	.3%											.3%
Disposal of carcass + leather work + midwifery	Count									1			1
	Row %									100.0%			100.0%
	Column %									1.3%			.1%
	% of Total									.1%			.1%
Disposal of carcass + handling of hazardous materials + sweeping	Count									1			1
	Row %									100.0%			100.0%
	Column %									1.4%			.1%
	% of Total									.1%			.1%
Leather work + midwifery + playing music on occasions like marriages	Count												1
	Row %												100.0%
	Column %												1.3%
	% of Total												.1%

Traditional Occupations	Caste										Total			
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaine	Badi	Chamar	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Dhobi	Mehatar
Iron work + handling hazardous materials												1	1	
+ sweeping + disposal of human waste												100.0%	100.0%	
Count														
Row %												1.4%	.1%	
Column %												.1%	.1%	
% of Total														
Disposal of carcass + leather w + working			1										1	
in upper caste household + carrying bride			100.0%										100.0%	
and groom			.8%										.1%	
Count														
Row %													.1%	
Column %													.1%	
% of Total														
<b>Total</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>248</b>	<b>254</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>944</b>
	<b>Row %</b>	<b>26.3%</b>	<b>26.9%</b>	<b>12.5%</b>	<b>1.9%</b>	<b>7.9%</b>	<b>6.4%</b>	<b>.1%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>3.1%</b>	<b>1.5%</b>	<b>7.8%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
	<b>Column %</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
	<b>% of Total</b>	<b>26.3%</b>	<b>26.9%</b>	<b>12.5%</b>	<b>1.9%</b>	<b>7.9%</b>	<b>6.4%</b>	<b>.1%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>3.1%</b>	<b>1.5%</b>	<b>7.8%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.2(a) OCCUPATIONS/VOCATIONS WITH THE HIGHEST INCOME**

Occupations/Vocations	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Agriculture	574	6.8	17.3	17.3
Education	12	.1	.4	17.7
Traditional caste-based occupation	553	6.6	16.7	34.4
Employment in the private sector	213	2.5	6.4	40.8
Government job	127	1.5	3.8	44.7
NGO job	82	1.0	2.5	47.2
Agricultural wage labour	1069	12.7	32.3	79.5
Non-agricultural wage labour	415	4.9	12.5	92.0
Trade/business	53	.6	1.6	93.6
Masonry	46	.5	1.4	95.0
Sweeping	1	.0	.0	95.0
Agriculture	9	.1	.3	95.3
Rickshaw driver	43	.5	1.3	96.6
Livestock production	4	.0	.1	96.7
Fishing net	1	.0	.0	96.7
Carpentry	9	.1	.3	97.0
Driving	1	.0	.0	97.0
Music	3	.0	.1	97.1
Painting	3	.0	.1	97.2
Agriculture + education	1	.0	.0	97.3
Agriculture + traditional caste-based occupation	11	.1	.3	97.6
Agriculture + private sector employment	8	.1	.2	97.8
Agriculture + agricultural wage labour	37	.4	1.1	98.9
Agriculture + non-agricultural wage labour	3	.0	.1	99.0
Agriculture + trade business	1	.0	.0	99.1
Education + government sector employment	1	.0	.0	99.1
Agriculture wage labour + non-agricultural wage labour	11	.1	.3	99.4
Traditional caste-based occupation + non-agricultural wage labour	3	.0	.1	99.5
Private sector employment + agricultural wage labour	1	.0	.0	99.5
Government sector employment + nongovernmental sector employment	1	.0	.0	99.6
Nongovernmental sector employment + agricultural wage labour	6	.1	.2	99.8



<b>Occupations/Vocations</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>Valid Per cent</b>	<b>Cumulative Per cent</b>
Nongovernmental sector employment + non-agricultural wage labour	2	.0	.1	99.8
Agriculture wage labour + non-agricultural wage labour	3	.0	.1	99.9
Agriculture + traditional caste-based occupation + private sector employment	2	.0	.1	100.0
Agriculture + traditional caste-based occupation + agricultural wage labour	1	.0	.0	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>3310</b>	<b>39.3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>5119</b>	<b>60.7</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>8429</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.2(b) OCCUPATIONS/VOCATIONS WITH THE HIGHEST INCOME**

Occupations/Vocations		Caste											Total		
		Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaine	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Dhobi
Agriculture	Count	81	221	140	4	1	32	5	7	21	34	22	6	574	
	Row %	14.1%	38.5%	24.4%	.7%	.2%	5.6%	.9%	1.2%	3.7%	5.9%	3.8%	1.0%	100.0%	
	Column %	19.2%	28.8%	33.6%	12.1%	1.5%	7.7%	7.7%	1.8%	28.8%	9.1%	18.0%	15.4%	17.3%	
	% of Total	2.4%	6.7%	4.2%	.1%	.0%	1.0%	.2%	.2%	.6%	1.0%	.7%	.2%	17.3%	
Education	Count	3	5	1			1			2				12	
	Row %	25.0%	41.7%	8.3%			8.3%			16.7%				100.0%	
	Column %	.7%	.7%	.2%			.2%			2.7%				.4%	
	% of Total	.1%	.2%	.0%			.0%			.1%				.4%	
Traditional caste-based occupation	Count	187	161	84	6	10	50		5	3	16	1	11	14	553
	Row %	33.8%	29.1%	15.2%	1.1%	1.8%	9.0%		.9%	.5%	2.9%	.2%	2.0%	2.5%	100.0%
	Column %	44.3%	21.0%	20.1%	18.2%	15.2%	12.1%		1.3%	4.1%	44.4%	1.3%	28.2%	14.6%	16.7%
	% of Total	5.6%	4.9%	2.5%	.2%	.3%	1.5%		.2%	.1%	.5%	.0%	.3%	.4%	16.7%
Employment in the private sector	Count	22	42	26	1	2	37	10	22	2	29	4	6	10	213
	Row %	10.3%	19.7%	12.2%	.5%	.9%	17.4%	4.7%	10.3%	.9%	13.6%	1.9%	2.8%	4.7%	100.0%
	Column %	5.2%	5.5%	6.2%	3.0%	3.0%	9.0%	15.4%	5.7%	2.7%	7.8%	3.3%	15.4%	10.4%	6.4%
	% of Total	.7%	1.3%	.8%	.0%	.1%	1.1%	.3%	.7%	.1%	.9%	.1%	.2%	.3%	6.4%
Government job	Count	15	21	13			5		4	2	6	2	1	55	127
	Row %	11.8%	16.5%	10.2%			3.9%		3.1%	1.6%	4.7%	1.6%	.8%	43.3%	100.0%
	Column %	3.6%	2.7%	3.1%			1.2%		1.0%	2.7%	16.7%	1.6%	2.6%	57.3%	3.8%
	% of Total	.5%	.6%	.4%			.2%		.1%	.1%	.2%	.1%	.0%	1.7%	3.8%

Occupations/Vocations	Caste											Total				
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaini	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Dhobi	Mehatar	
NGO job	Count	8	18	18	2	1	7	17	5	5	5	1	1	82		
	Row %	9.8%	22.0%	22.0%	2.4%	1.2%	8.5%	20.7%	6.1%	6.1%	6.1%	1.2%	1.2%	100.0%		
	Column %	1.9%	2.3%	4.3%	6.1%	1.5%	1.7%	4.4%	1.3%	1.3%	4.1%	1.0%	1.0%	2.5%		
	% of Total	.2%	.5%	.5%	.1%	.0%	.2%	.5%	.2%	.2%	.2%	.0%	.0%	2.5%		
Agricultural wage-labour	Count	47	125	80	5	31	221	47	187	28	11	221	46	11	10	1070
	Row %	4.4%	11.7%	7.5%	.5%	2.9%	20.7%	4.4%	17.5%	2.6%	1.0%	20.7%	4.3%	1.0%	.9%	100.0%
	Column %	11.1%	16.3%	19.2%	15.2%	47.0%	53.5%	72.3%	48.4%	38.4%	30.6%	59.1%	37.7%	28.2%	10.4%	32.3%
	% of Total	1.4%	3.8%	2.4%	.2%	.9%	6.7%	1.4%	5.6%	.8%	.3%	6.7%	1.4%	.3%	.3%	32.3%
Non-agricultural wage labour	Count	33	82	32	10	10	30	1	123	7	1	52	30	4		415
	Row %	8.0%	19.8%	7.7%	2.4%	2.4%	7.2%	.2%	29.6%	1.7%	.2%	12.5%	7.2%	1.0%		100.0%
	Column %	7.8%	10.7%	7.7%	30.3%	15.2%	7.3%	1.5%	31.9%	9.6%	2.8%	13.9%	24.6%	10.3%		12.5%
	% of Total	1.0%	2.5%	1.0%	.3%	.3%	.9%	.0%	3.7%	.2%	.0%	1.6%	.9%	.1%		12.5%
Trade/business	Count	5	17	4	3	1	8	5	1	1	6	1	1	1		52
	Row %	9.6%	32.7%	7.7%	5.8%	1.9%	15.4%	9.6%	1.9%	1.9%	11.5%	1.9%	1.9%	1.9%		100.0%
	Column %	1.2%	2.2%	1.0%	9.1%	1.5%	1.9%	1.3%	1.4%	1.4%	1.6%	.8%	.8%	1.0%		1.6%
	% of Total	.2%	.5%	.1%	.1%	.0%	.2%	.2%	.2%	.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%		1.6%
Masonry	Count	4	17	3			8	3	1	3	6	1	1	1		46
	Row %	8.7%	37.0%	6.5%			17.4%	6.5%	2.2%	6.5%	13.0%	2.2%	2.2%	2.2%		100.0%
	Column %	.9%	2.2%	.7%			1.9%	.8%	2.8%	.8%	4.9%	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%		1.4%
	% of Total	.1%	.5%	.1%			.2%	.1%	.0%	.1%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%		1.4%
Sweeping	Count										1					1
	Row %										100.0%					100.0%
	Column %										2.8%					.0%
	% of Total										.0%					.0%

Occupations/Vocations		Caste										Total		
		Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaine	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom		Dusadh	Khatwe
Agriculture	Count	3					4	2	2	5	16	4		9
	Row %	33.3%					44.4%	22.2%						100.0%
	Column % % of Total	.4% .1%					1.0% .1%	.5% .1%						.3% .3%
Rickshaw driver	Count	1				4	2	6	5	5	16	4		43
	Row %	2.3%				9.3%	4.7%	14.0%	11.6%	11.6%	37.2%	9.3%		100.0%
	Column % % of Total	.2% .0%				1.0% .1%	3.1% .1%	1.6% .2%	6.8% .2%	4.1% .2%	4.3% .5%	4.2% .1%		1.3% 1.3%
Livestock production	Count	3				1								4
	Row %	75.0%				25.0%								100.0%
	Column % % of Total	.4% .1%				.2% .0%								.1% .1%
Fishing net	Count								1					1
	Row %								100.0%					100.0%
	Column % % of Total								1.5% .0%					.0% .0%
Carpentry	Count	3	4	1	1									9
	Row %	33.3%	44.4%	11.1%	11.1%									100.0%
	Column % % of Total	.7% .1%	.5% .1%	.2% .0%	3.0% .0%									.3% .3%
Driving	Count					1								1
	Row %					100.0%								100.0%
	Column % % of Total					.1% .0%								.0% .0%



Occupations/Vocations	Caste										Total				
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaina	Badi Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom Dusadh	Khatwe		Dhobi Mehatar			
Agriculture + non-agricultural wage labour	3	3	100.0%									3	100.0%	.1%	.1%
Agriculture + trade business				1	100.0%							1	100.0%	.0%	.0%
Education + government sector employment	1		100.0%									1	100.0%	.0%	.0%
Agriculture wage labour + non-agricultural wage labour		2	1	7	1							11	100.0%	.3%	.3%
		18.2%	9.1%	63.6%	9.1%										
		.3%	.2%	10.6%	.2%										
		.1%	.0%	.2%	.0%										
Traditional caste-based occupation + non-agricultural wage labour				1	2							3	100.0%	.1%	.1%
				33.3%	66.7%										
				1.5%	.5%										
				.0%	.1%										
Private sector employment + agricultural wage labour	1		100.0%									1	100.0%	.0%	.0%



Occupations/Vocations	Caste											Total			
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaine	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Dhobi	Mehatar
<b>Total</b>	422	768	417	33	66	413	65	386	73	36	374	122	39	96	3310
<b>Count</b>															
<b>Row %</b>	12.7%	23.2%	12.6%	1.0%	2.0%	12.5%	2.0%	11.7%	2.2%	1.1%	11.3%	3.7%	1.2%	2.9%	100.0%
<b>Column %</b>	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
<b>% of Total</b>	12.7%	23.2%	12.6%	1.0%	2.0%	12.5%	2.0%	11.7%	2.2%	1.1%	11.3%	3.7%	1.2%	2.9%	100.0%

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.



**TABLE A4.3** PERCEPTIONS OF THE STATUS OF RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATIONS

Perceptions	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Lower status than the occupations of higher caste people	458	31.5	32.1	32.1
Same status as the occupations of higher caste people	922	63.4	64.6	96.6
Higher status than higher caste occupations	48	3.3	3.4	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1428</b>	<b>98.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>1.8</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.4(a)** PRODUCTION OF GOODS THE YEAR BEFORE

Goods Produced	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Leather goods	42	2.9	19.7	19.7
Agricultural tools	20	1.4	9.4	29.1
Clothing	45	3.1	21.1	50.2
Gold/silver ornaments	14	1.0	6.6	56.8
Iron utensils	40	2.8	18.8	75.6
Earthen potteries	2	.1	.9	76.5
Wooden items including furniture	8	.6	3.8	80.3
Metallic souvenir items and potteries	6	.4	2.8	83.1
Idols	1	.1	.5	83.6
Musical instruments	4	.3	1.9	85.4
Others	25	1.7	11.7	97.2
Gold/silver ornaments + metallic souvenirs	6	.4	2.8	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>14.6</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>1241</b>	<b>85.4</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.4(b) PRODUCTION OF GOODS THE YEAR BEFORE**

Goods Produced	Caste								Total
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaine	Badi	Chamar	Batar	Dom	
Leather goods	Count	2		40					42
	Row %	4.8%		95.2%					100.0%
	Column %	4.2%		85.1%					19.7%
	% of Total	.9%		18.8%					19.7%
Agricultural tools	Count	2	18						20
	Row %	10.0%	90.0%						100.0%
	Column %	4.2%	18.2%						9.4%
	% of Total	.9%	8.5%						9.4%
Clothing	Count	43	1	1					45
	Row %	95.6%	2.2%	2.2%					100.0%
	Column %	89.6%	1.0%	2.1%					21.1%
	% of Total	20.2%	.5%	.5%					21.1%
Gold/silver ornaments	Count		11	3					14
	Row %		78.6%	21.4%					100.0%
	Column %		11.1%	6.4%					6.6%
	% of Total		5.2%	1.4%					6.6%
Iron utensils	Count		39	1					40
	Row %		97.5%	2.5%					100.0%
	Column %		39.4%	2.1%					18.8%
	% of Total		18.3%	.5%					18.8%

Goods Produced	Caste										Total
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaini	Badi	Chamar	Batar	Dom			
Earthen potteries	Count		1		1						2
	Row %		50.0%		50.0%						100.0%
	Column % % of Total		2.1%	.5%		20.0%					.9%
Wooden items including furniture	Count	6	1		1						8
	Row %	75.0%	12.5%		12.5%						100.0%
	Column % % of Total	6.1%	2.1%	.5%		20.0%					3.8%
Metallic souvenir items and potteries	Count		5					1			6
	Row %		83.3%					16.7%			100.0%
	Column % % of Total		5.1%					100.0%	.5%		2.8%
Idols	Count		1								1
	Row %		100.0%								100.0%
	Column % % of Total		1.0%	.5%							.5%
Musical instruments	Count		1		2			1			4
	Row %		25.0%		50.0%			25.0%			100.0%
	Column % % of Total		1.0%	.5%	40.0%	.9%		20.0%	.5%		1.9%
Others	Count	1	13			3	2			6	25
	Row %	4.0%	52.0%			12.0%	8.0%			24.0%	100.0%
	Column % % of Total	2.1%	13.1%	.5%		60.0%	100.0%	.9%		100.0%	11.7%

Goods Produced	Caste							Total
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaini	Badi	Chamar	Batar	
Gold/silver ornaments + Metal souvenir	Count	4		2				6
	Row %	66.7%		33.3%				100.0%
	Column %	4.0%		40.0%				2.8%
	% of Total	1.9%		.9%				2.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>
	<b>Row %</b>	<b>22.5%</b>	<b>46.5%</b>	<b>22.1%</b>	<b>2.3%</b>	<b>.9%</b>	<b>.5%</b>	<b>2.8%</b>
	<b>Column %</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
	<b>% of Total</b>	<b>22.5%</b>	<b>46.5%</b>	<b>22.1%</b>	<b>2.3%</b>	<b>.9%</b>	<b>.5%</b>	<b>2.8%</b>

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.5** MARKET FOR THE COMMODITIES PRODUCED

Market	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Local (village)	43	3.0	20.5	20.5
Within VDC	34	2.3	16.2	36.7
District headquarters	66	4.5	31.4	68.1
Within the district	31	2.1	14.8	82.9
Within Nepal	8	.6	3.8	86.7
Others	1	.1	.5	87.1
Local village + within the VDC	5	.3	2.4	89.5
Local village + district headquarters	9	.6	4.3	93.8
Local village + within the district	1	.1	.5	94.3
Within VDC + district headquarters	5	.3	2.4	96.7
Within VDC + within the district	1	.1	.5	97.1
Local village + within the VDC + district headquarters	4	.3	1.9	99.0
Local village + district headquarters + within Nepal	1	.1	.5	99.5
Within VDC + district headquarters + others	1	.1	.5	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>210</b>	<b>14.4</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>1244</b>	<b>85.6</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.6** PROBLEMS IN MARKETING

Problems	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Lack of market information	104	7.2	24.6	24.6
Due to low caste status	78	5.4	18.5	43.1
Unavailability of good price	54	3.7	12.8	55.9
Low quality goods	14	1.0	3.3	59.2
Lack of transportation facilities	8	.6	1.9	61.1
Others	44	3.0	10.4	71.6
Lack of market information + low caste status	45	3.1	10.7	82.2
Lack of market information + lack of transportation facilities	10	.7	2.4	84.6
Low caste status + unavailability of good price	9	.6	2.1	86.7
Lack of market information + low caste status + unavailability of good price	56	3.9	13.3	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>422</b>	<b>29.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>1032</b>	<b>71.0</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.7** OCCUPATIONS THAT ONE CAN SWITCH OVER TO

Occupations	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Those where one doesn't have to touch food	367	25.2	52.0	52.0
Those where one doesn't have to touch people	41	2.8	5.8	57.8
Those where one doesn't have to enter a house	65	4.5	9.2	67.0
Those where one doesn't have to touch food + people	25	1.7	3.5	70.5
Those where one doesn't have to touch food + enter house	153	10.5	21.7	92.2
Those where one doesn't have to touch people + enter house	3	.2	.4	92.6
Those where one doesn't have to touch food + people + enter house	52	3.6	7.4	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>706</b>	<b>48.6</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>51.4</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.8 REASONS FOR THE INABILITY TO SWITCH OVER TO OTHER OCCUPATIONS**

Reasons	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Caste status	294	20.2	24.4	24.4
Lack of capital	546	37.6	45.3	69.8
Lack of knowledge	113	7.8	9.4	79.2
Others	7	.5	.6	79.7
Caste status + lack of capital	106	7.3	8.8	88.5
Caste status + lack of knowledge	6	.4	.5	89.0
Lack of capital + lack of knowledge	38	2.6	3.2	92.2
Caste status + lack capital + lack of knowledge	94	6.5	7.8	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1204</b>	<b>82.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>17.2</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.9(a) TYPE OF BUSINESS IN WHICH THE RESPONDENTS ARE INVOLVED**

Type of business	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Hotel/restaurant	15	1.0	1.1	1.1
Retail store	23	1.6	1.6	2.7
Trading in grain	6	.4	.4	3.1
Construction	6	.4	.4	3.5
Others	14	1.0	1.0	4.5
None	266	18.3	18.9	23.4
Tailoring	79	5.4	5.6	29.0
Leather work	58	4.0	4.1	33.1
Agriculture (own)	119	8.2	8.4	41.6
Masonry	14	1.0	1.0	42.6
Wage agriculture	559	38.4	39.6	82.2
Iron, bronze, copper work	49	3.4	3.5	85.7
Goldsmith work	14	1.0	1.0	86.7
Service	142	9.8	10.1	96.7
Carpentry	8	.6	.6	97.3
Bamboo work	10	.7	.7	98.0
Washing clothes	4	.3	.3	98.3
Midwifery	1	.1	.1	98.4
Playing music	12	.8	.9	99.2
Livestock production	2	.1	.1	99.4
Trade business	6	.4	.4	99.8
Retail store + trading in grain	1	.1	.1	99.9
Construction + bamboo work	1	.1	.1	99.9
Tailoring + service	1	.1	.1	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1410</b>	<b>97.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>3.0</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.



TABLE A4.9(b) TYPE OF BUSINESS IN WHICH THE RESPONDENTS ARE INVOLVED

Types of Business	Castes											Total		
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaine	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Dhobi
Hotel/restaurant	Count	3	3	4	1	1	1	4	1	1	2	1	1	15
	Row %	20.0%	20.0%	17.4%	4.3%	6.7%	6.7%	26.7%	4.3%	13.3%	6.7%	6.7%	6.7%	100.0%
	Column %	1.6%	.8%	2.3%	6.7%	3.2%	3.2%	2.6%	2.6%	1.4%	1.4%	7.7%	7.7%	1.1%
	% of Total	.2%	.2%	.3%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.3%	.3%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%	1.1%
Retail store	Count	1	8	4	1	4	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	23
	Row %	4.3%	34.8%	17.4%	4.3%	17.4%	4.3%	17.4%	4.3%	4.3%	4.3%	4.3%	8.7%	100.0%
	Column %	.5%	2.3%	2.3%	6.7%	2.5%	3.3%	2.5%	2.5%	.7%	2.3%	2.3%	3.9%	1.6%
	% of Total	.1%	.6%	.3%	.1%	.3%	.1%	.3%	.3%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%
Trading in grain	Count	4	4	1						1				6
	Row %	66.7%	66.7%	16.7%						16.7%				100.0%
	Column %	1.1%	1.1%	.6%						.7%				.4%
	% of Total	.3%	.3%	.1%						.1%				.4%
Construction	Count	2	2	3									1	6
	Row %	33.3%	33.3%	50.0%									16.7%	100.0%
	Column %	.6%	.6%	1.7%									2.0%	.4%
	% of Total	.1%	.1%	.2%									.1%	.4%
Others	Count	1	1	3				5	4					14
	Row %	7.1%	7.1%	21.4%				35.7%	28.6%					100.0%
	Column %	.5%	.3%	1.9%				3.2%	2.7%					1.0%
	% of Total	.1%	.1%	.2%				.4%	.3%					1.0%

Types of Business	Castes											Total				
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaina	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Dhobi	Mehatar	
None	Count	56	90	33	3	3	27	2	15	7	1	16	6	6	266	
	Row %	21.1%	33.8%	12.4%	1.1%	1.1%	10.2%	.8%	5.6%	2.6%	.4%	6.0%	2.3%	.4%	2.3%	100.0%
	Column %	29.3%	25.5%	19.0%	20.0%	9.7%	16.7%	7.4%	9.6%	23.3%	5.9%	11.0%	13.6%	7.7%	11.8%	18.9%
	% of Total	4.0%	6.4%	2.3%	.2%	.2%	1.9%	.1%	1.1%	.5%	.1%	1.1%	.4%	.1%	.4%	18.9%
Tailoring	Count	68	5	3	1	2									79	
	Row %	86.1%	6.3%	3.8%	1.3%	2.5%									100.0%	
	Column %	35.6%	1.4%	1.7%	3.2%	1.2%									5.6%	
	% of Total	4.8%	.4%	.2%	.1%	.1%									5.6%	
Leather work	Count	1				3	18								58	
	Row %	1.7%				5.2%	31.0%								100.0%	
	Column %	.5%				9.7%	11.1%								4.1%	
	% of Total	.1%				.2%	1.3%								4.1%	
Agricuture (own)	Count	6	39	23		14	14	2	5	3	1	18	5	2	1	119
	Row %	5.0%	32.8%	19.3%		11.8%	11.8%	1.7%	4.2%	2.5%	.8%	15.1%	4.2%	1.7%	.8%	100.0%
	Column %	3.1%	11.0%	13.2%		8.6%	7.4%	3.2%	10.0%	10.0%	5.9%	12.3%	11.4%	15.4%	2.0%	8.4%
	% of Total	.4%	2.8%	1.6%		1.0%	.1%	.4%	.2%	.2%	.1%	1.3%	.4%	.1%	.1%	8.4%
Masonry	Count	1	3			5			3			2			14	
	Row %	7.1%	21.4%			35.7%			21.4%			14.3%			100.0%	
	Column %	.5%	.8%			3.1%			1.9%			1.4%			1.0%	
	% of Total	.1%	.2%			.4%			.2%			.1%			1.0%	
Wage agriculture	Count	37	119	44	5	12	70	19	109	18	1	88	31	4	2	559
	Row %	6.6%	21.3%	7.9%	.9%	2.1%	12.5%	3.4%	19.5%	3.2%	.2%	15.7%	5.5%	.7%	.4%	100.0%
	Column %	19.4%	33.7%	25.3%	33.3%	38.7%	43.2%	70.4%	69.9%	60.0%	5.9%	60.3%	70.5%	30.8%	3.9%	39.6%
	% of Total	2.6%	8.4%	3.1%	.4%	.9%	5.0%	1.3%	7.7%	1.3%	.1%	6.2%	2.2%	.3%	.1%	39.6%

Types of Business	Castes											Total		
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaini	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Dhobi
Iron, bronze, copper work	Count	46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	49
	Row %	93.9%	2.0%	2.0%	2.0%	2.0%	2.0%	2.0%	2.0%	2.0%	2.0%	2.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	Column % % of Total	13.0%	.6%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%	3.5%
Goldsmith work	Count	11	3											14
	Row %	78.6%	21.4%											100.0%
	Column % % of Total	3.1%	1.7%											1.0%
Service	Count	14	15	20	3	14	4	11	1	6	14	1	1	38
	Row %	9.9%	10.6%	14.1%	2.1%	9.9%	2.8%	7.7%	.7%	4.2%	9.9%	.7%	.7%	26.8%
	Column % % of Total	7.3%	4.2%	11.5%	9.7%	8.6%	14.8%	7.1%	3.3%	35.3%	9.6%	2.3%	7.7%	74.5%
Carpentry	Count	1	4	2		1								8
	Row %	12.5%	50.0%	25.0%		12.5%								100.0%
	Column % % of Total	.5%	1.1%	1.1%	.2%	.6%	.3%	.8%	.1%	.4%	1.0%	.1%	.1%	.6%
Bamboo work	Count							2	7					10
	Row %							20.0%	70.0%					100.0%
	Column % % of Total							1.3%	41.2%					.7%
Washing clothes	Count											4		4
	Row %											100.0%		100.0%
	Column % % of Total											30.8%		.3%

Types of Business	Castes											Total		
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaina	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Dhobi
Midwifery	Count					1								1
	Row %					100.0%								100.0%
	Column % % of Total					.6%								.1%
Playing music	Count			5	7									12
	Row %			41.7%	58.3%									100.0%
	Column %			33.3%	22.6%									.9%
	% of Total			.4%	.5%									.9%
Livestock production	Count		1										1	2
	Row %		50.0%										50.0%	100.0%
	Column %		.3%										2.0%	.1%
	% of Total		.1%										.1%	.1%
Trade business	Count	1	2	1	1			1						6
	Row %	16.7%	33.3%	16.7%	16.7%			16.7%						100.0%
	Column %	.5%	.6%	6.7%	3.2%			.6%						.4%
	% of Total	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%			.1%						.4%
Retail store + trading in grain	Count					1								1
	Row %					100.0%								100.0%
	Column %					.6%								.1%
	% of Total					.1%								.1%
Construction + bamboo work	Count												1	1
	Row %												100.0%	100.0%
	Column %												5.9%	.1%
	% of Total												.1%	.1%

Types of Business	Castes										Total				
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaina	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom		Dusadh	Khatwe	Dhobi	Mehatar
Tailoring + service	1													1	
Count	1													1	
Row %	100.0%													100.0%	
Column %	.5%													.1%	
% of Total	.1%													.1%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>353</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>1410</b>
Count	191	353	174	15	31	162	27	156	30	17	146	44	13	51	1410
Row %	13.5%	25.0%	12.3%	1.1%	2.2%	11.5%	1.9%	11.1%	2.1%	1.2%	10.4%	3.1%	.9%	3.6%	100.0%
Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
% of Total	13.5%	25.0%	12.3%	1.1%	2.2%	11.5%	1.9%	11.1%	2.1%	1.2%	10.4%	3.1%	.9%	3.6%	100.0%

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.10 SWITCHING OVER TO OTHER OCCUPATION BY DALIT CASTE GROUPS**

Castes		Can switch over to some occupations	Can switch over to any occupation	Cannot switch over to other occupations	Total
Damai	Count	85	31	83	199
	Row %	42.7%	15.6%	41.7%	100.0%
	Column %	11.8%	16.4%	15.3%	13.7%
	% of Total	5.8%	2.1%	5.7%	13.7%
Kami	Count	197	41	129	367
	Row %	53.7%	11.2%	35.1%	100.0%
	Column %	27.3%	21.7%	23.8%	25.3%
	% of Total	13.6%	2.8%	8.9%	25.3%
Sarki	Count	105	24	50	179
	Row %	58.7%	13.4%	27.9%	100.0%
	Column %	14.5%	12.7%	9.2%	12.3%
	% of Total	7.2%	1.7%	3.4%	12.3%
Gaine	Count	9	5	2	16
	Row %	56.3%	31.3%	12.5%	100.0%
	Column %	1.2%	2.6%	.4%	1.1%
	% of Total	.6%	.3%	.1%	1.1%
Badi	Count	20	2	9	31
	Row %	64.5%	6.5%	29.0%	100.0%
	Column %	2.8%	1.1%	1.7%	2.1%
	% of Total	1.4%	.1%	.6%	2.1%
Chamar	Count	105	17	40	162
	Row %	64.8%	10.5%	24.7%	100.0%
	Column %	14.5%	9.0%	7.4%	11.1%
	% of Total	7.2%	1.2%	2.8%	11.1%
Tatma	Count	15	7	5	27
	Row %	55.6%	25.9%	18.5%	100.0%
	Column %	2.1%	3.7%	.9%	1.9%
	% of Total	1.0%	.5%	.3%	1.9%
Musahar	Count	45	17	106	168
	Row %	26.8%	10.1%	63.1%	100.0%
	Column %	6.2%	9.0%	19.6%	11.6%
	% of Total	3.1%	1.2%	7.3%	11.6%
Batar	Count	12	8	10	30
	Row %	40.0%	26.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	Column %	1.7%	4.2%	1.8%	2.1%
	% of Total	.8%	.6%	.7%	2.1%
Dom	Count	5		12	17
	Row %	29.4%		70.6%	100.0%
	Column %	.7%		2.2%	1.2%
	% of Total	.3%		.8%	1.2%
Dusadh	Count	87	15	45	147
	Row %	59.2%	10.2%	30.6%	100.0%
	Column %	12.0%	7.9%	8.3%	10.1%
	% of Total	6.0%	1.0%	3.1%	10.1%

Castes		Can switch over to some occupations	Can switch over to any occupation	Cannot switch over to other occupations	Total
Khatwe	Count	9	10	27	46
	Row %	19.6%	21.7%	58.7%	100.0%
	Column %	1.2%	5.3%	5.0%	3.2%
	% of Total	.6%	.7%	1.9%	3.2%
Dhobi	Count	8	3	2	13
	Row %	61.5%	23.1%	15.4%	100.0%
	Column %	1.1%	1.6%	.4%	.9%
	% of Total	.6%	.2%	.1%	.9%
Mehatar	Count	20	9	22	51
	Row %	39.2%	17.6%	43.1%	100.0%
	Column %	2.8%	4.8%	4.1%	3.5%
	% of Total	1.4%	.6%	1.5%	3.5%
Total	Count	722	189	542	1453
	Row %	49.7%	13.0%	37.3%	100.0%
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	49.7%	13.0%	37.3%	100.0%

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.11 TRAINING RECEIVED BY THE RESPONDENTS**

Training Received	Castes											Total	
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaine	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe
Iron work	Count	17				1						3	21
	% row	81.0%				4.8%						14.3%	100.0%
	% column	18.5%				2.3%						25.0%	6.7%
	% of Total	5.4%				.3%						1.0%	6.7%
Goldsmith work	Count	6	3									5	14
	% row	42.9%	21.4%									35.7%	100.0%
	% column	6.5%	7.7%									41.7%	4.5%
	% of Total	1.9%	1.0%									1.6%	4.5%
Leather work	Count	1	8			1							10
	% row	10.0%	80.0%			10.0%							100.0%
	% column	1.5%	20.5%			2.3%							3.2%
	% of Total	.3%	2.6%			.3%							3.2%
Mechanical work	Count	2											2
	% row	100.0%											100.0%
	% column	2.2%											.6%
	% of Total	.6%											.6%
Carpentry	Count		2				2					1	5
	% row		40.0%				40.0%					20.0%	100.0%
	% column		2.2%				50.0%					4.8%	1.6%
	% of Total		.6%			.6%					.3%	1.6%	



Training Received	Castes											Total	
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaina	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe
Agriculture	Count	2	3	5									10
	% row	20.0%	30.0%	50.0%									100.0%
	% column	3.1%	3.3%	12.8%									3.2%
	% of Total	.6%	1.0%	1.6%									3.2%
Livestock production	Count	1	4	1			1				1		8
	% row	12.5%	50.0%	12.5%			12.5%				12.5%		100.0%
	% column	1.5%	4.3%	2.6%			4.2%				33.3%		2.6%
	% of Total	.3%	1.3%	.3%			.3%				.3%		2.6%
Poultry production	Count		3										3
	% row		100.0%										100.0%
	% column		3.3%										1.0%
	% of Total		1.0%										1.0%
Soil conservation	Count			1		1							2
	% row			50.0%		50.0%							100.0%
	% column			2.6%		50.0%							.6%
	% of Total			.3%		.3%							.6%
Mushroom cultivation	Count	1	1	1									3
	% row	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%									100.0%
	% column	1.5%	1.1%	2.6%									1.0%
	% of Total	.3%	.3%	.3%									1.0%
Tailoring	Count	30	9	5			5						49
	% row	61.2%	18.4%	10.2%			10.2%						100.0%
	% column	46.2%	9.8%	12.8%			11.6%						15.7%
	% of Total	9.6%	2.9%	1.6%			1.6%						15.7%

Training Received		Castes										Total			
		Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaina	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom		Dusadh	Khatwe	Mehatar
Hosiery and needlework	Count	2	3												5
	% row	40.0%	60.0%												100.0%
	% column	2.2%	7.7%												1.6%
	% of Total	.6%	1.0%											1.6%	
Paper-making	Count	2	15	1	1	1	24	1	17	2	17	2		84	
	% row	2.4%	17.9%	1.2%	1.2%	1.2%	28.6%	1.2%	20.2%	2.4%	20.2%	2.4%		100.0%	
	% column	3.1%	16.3%	2.6%	50.0%	50.0%	55.8%	25.0%	70.8%	40.0%	81.0%	16.7%		26.8%	
	% of Total	.6%	4.8%	.3%	.3%	.3%	7.7%	.3%	5.4%	.6%	5.4%	.6%		26.8%	
Saving and credit	Count	18	14	7					1					40	
	% row	45.0%	35.0%	17.5%					2.5%					100.0%	
	% column	27.7%	15.2%	17.9%					4.2%					12.8%	
	% of Total	5.8%	4.5%	2.2%					.3%					12.8%	
Entrepreneurial motivation training	Count	2												2	
	% row	100.0%												100.0%	
	% column	2.2%												.6%	
	% of Total	.6%												.6%	
Driving	Count	4	2						3			2		11	
	% row	36.4%	18.2%						27.3%			18.2%		100.0%	
	% column	4.3%	5.1%						12.5%			66.7%		3.5%	
	% of Total	1.3%	.6%						1.0%			.6%		3.5%	
Music and dance	Count	2			1	3								6	
	% row	33.3%			16.7%	50.0%								100.0%	
	% column	3.1%			50.0%	7.0%								1.9%	
	% of Total	.6%			.3%	1.0%								1.9%	

Training Received	Castes										Total		
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaina	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom		Dusadh	Khatwe
Midwifery	Count	1				3			1		2	2	9
	% row	11.1%				33.3%			11.1%		22.2%	22.2%	100.0%
	% column	2.6%				7.0%			20.0%		9.5%	16.7%	2.9%
	% of Total	.3%				1.0%			.3%		.6%	.6%	2.9%
Masonry	Count				1								1
	% row				100.0%								100.0%
	% column				2.3%								.3%
	% of Total				.3%								.3%
Biogas technician	Count						1						1
	% row						100.0%						100.0%
	% column						4.2%						.3%
	% of Total						.3%						.3%
Plumber	Count		2										2
	% row		100.0%										100.0%
	% column		2.2%										.6%
	% of Total		.6%										.6%
Carpet weaving	Count	1	3	1			1						6
	% row	16.7%	50.0%	16.7%			16.7%						100.0%
	% column	1.5%	3.3%	2.6%			4.2%						1.9%
	% of Total	.3%	1.0%	.3%			.3%						1.9%
Computer	Count		1			2			1				4
	% row		25.0%			50.0%			25.0%				100.0%
	% column		1.1%			4.7%			20.0%				1.3%
	% of Total		.3%			.6%			.3%				1.3%

Training Received	Castes											Total		
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaina	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Mehatar
Electrician	Count	2	2				1				1			6
	% row	33.3%	33.3%				16.7%				16.7%			100.0%
	% column	3.1%	2.2%				25.0%				4.8%			1.9%
	% of Total	.6%	.6%				.3%				.3%			1.9%
Cooking	Count	1				1								2
	% row	50.0%				50.0%								100.0%
	% column	1.5%				2.3%								.6%
	% of Total	.3%				.3%								.6%
Iron work + leather work	Count	1												1
	% row	100.0%												100.0%
	% column	1.5%												.3%
	% of Total	.3%												.3%
Agriculture + tailoring	Count	2												2
	% row	100.0%												100.0%
	% column	3.1%												.6%
	% of Total	.6%												.6%
Paper-making + driving	Count											1		1
	% row											100.0%		100.0%
	% column											20.0%		.3%
	% of Total											.3%		.3%
Paper-making + midwifery	Count					2								2
	% row					100.0%								100.0%
	% column					4.7%								.6%
	% of Total					.6%								.6%

Training Received	Castes											Total		
	Damai	Kami	Sarki	Gaina	Badi	Chamar	Tatma	Musahar	Batar	Dom	Dusadh		Khatwe	Mehatar
Livestock + poultry + papermaking	1													1
Count	1													1
% row	100.0%													100.0%
% column	1.5%													.3%
% of Total	.3%													.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>313</b>
% row	20.8%	29.4%	12.5%	.6%	.6%	13.7%	1.3%	7.7%	1.6%	.3%	6.7%	3.8%	1.0%	100.0%
% column	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
% of Total	20.8%	29.4%	12.5%	.6%	.6%	13.7%	1.3%	7.7%	1.6%	.3%	6.7%	3.8%	1.0%	100.0%

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.12 SOURCES OF CREDIT**

Sources of Credit	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Relatives	97	6.7	15.1	15.1
Friends	68	4.7	10.6	25.6
ADBN/Grameen (Rural) Bank	124	8.5	19.3	44.9
Commercial banks	13	.9	2.0	46.9
Micro-financial institutions	8	.6	1.2	48.1
Local cooperatives	11	.8	1.7	49.8
NGOs	14	1.0	2.2	52.0
Landlords	11	.8	1.7	53.7
Employer	18	1.2	2.8	56.5
Shopkeeper	15	1.0	2.3	58.9
Money lender	212	14.6	32.9	91.8
Savings group	7	.5	1.1	92.9
Dalit women association	5	.3	.8	93.6
Government officer	2	.1	.3	93.9
Relatives + friends	4	.3	.6	94.6
Relatives + ADBN	2	.1	.3	94.9
Relatives + NGOs	1	.1	.2	95.0
Relatives + landlords	1	.1	.2	95.2
Relatives + money lenders	3	.2	.5	95.7
Friends + ADBN	1	.1	.2	95.8
Friends + shopkeeper	1	.1	.2	96.0
ADBN + local cooperatives	1	.1	.2	96.1
ADBN + employer	1	.1	.2	96.3
ADBN + money lender	12	.8	1.9	98.1
Commercial banks + money lenders	2	.1	.3	98.4
Micro-financial institutions + money lenders	2	.1	.3	98.8
Friends + employer	1	.1	.2	98.9
Shopkeeper + money lenders	1	.1	.2	99.1
Relatives + friends + money lender	1	.1	.2	99.2
Relatives + ADBN + money lender	2	.1	.3	99.5
ADBN + commercial banks + landlords	1	.1	.2	99.7
ADBN + shopkeeper + money lender	1	.1	.2	99.8
ADBN + commercial banks + landlords + money lender	1	.1	.2	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>644</b>	<b>44.3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>810</b>	<b>55.7</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.13** LOANS TO BE REPAYED BY LABOUR (IN PERCENTAGE)

Loans	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
1	1	.1	1.0	1.0
2	8	.6	8.0	9.0
3	40	2.8	40.0	49.0
4	2	.1	2.0	51.0
5	6	.4	6.0	57.0
10	2	.1	2.0	59.0
15	4	.3	4.0	63.0
24	1	.1	1.0	64.0
25	1	.1	1.0	65.0
30	2	.1	2.0	67.0
36	16	1.1	16.0	83.0
40	1	.1	1.0	84.0
50	10	.7	10.0	94.0
60	3	.2	3.0	97.0
65	1	.1	1.0	98.0
75	1	.1	1.0	99.0
100	1	.1	1.0	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>6.9</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>1354</b>	<b>93.1</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.14** ADDITIONAL PAYMENTS OTHER THAN INTEREST (EG CASH PAYMENTS, LABOUR CONTRIBUTIONS, OR PAYMENTS IN KIND)

Additional Payments	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Yes	90	6.2	14.2	14.2
No	544	37.4	85.5	99.7
202	2	.1	.3	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>636</b>	<b>43.7</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>818</b>	<b>56.3</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.15** THREATENED WITH PENALTY IN CASE OF LEAVING THE JOB BEFORE PAYING BACK THE LOAN

Threatened with Penalty	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Yes	23	1.6	21.3	21.3
No	85	5.8	78.7	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>1346</b>	<b>92.6</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.16** CAN LEAVE THE JOB BEFORE PAYING BACK THE LOAN

Can leave the Job	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Yes	73	5.0	67.0	67.0
No	36	2.5	33.0	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>7.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>1345</b>	<b>92.5</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.17** WORSE LABOUR CONDITION THAN OF THOSE WHO HAVE NOT CONTRACTED A LOAN FROM THE EMPLOYER

	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Yes	34	2.3	30.1	30.1
No	79	5.4	69.9	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>7.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>1341</b>	<b>92.2</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.



**TABLE A4.18** COLLATERAL USED TO SECURE LOANS

Collateral used	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Agricultural land	26	1.8	4.1	4.1
Building or other properties	34	2.3	5.4	9.5
Gold/silver	26	1.8	4.1	13.7
Property ownership documents	77	5.3	12.2	25.9
Personal guarantee	115	7.9	18.3	44.2
Past borrowing record	66	4.5	10.5	54.7
Group proof	53	3.6	8.4	63.1
Reproduction of citizenship	23	1.6	3.7	66.8
Livestock	1	.1	.2	66.9
Documentation	42	2.9	6.7	73.6
No collateral	135	9.3	21.5	95.1
Valid agricultural land + personal guarantee	2	.1	.3	95.4
Building or other property + property ownership documents	5	.3	.8	96.2
Building or other documents + past borrowing records	1	.1	.2	96.3
Building or other documents + documentation	1	.1	.2	96.5
Gold/silver + property ownership documents	1	.1	.2	96.7
Property ownership documents + personal guarantee	2	.1	.3	97.0
Property ownership documents + past borrowing record	2	.1	.3	97.3
Property ownership documents + group proof	2	.1	.3	97.6
Personal guarantee + group proof	4	.3	.6	98.3
Personal guarantee + livestock	1	.1	.2	98.4
Past borrowing record + group proof	1	.1	.2	98.6
Group proof + reproduction of citizenship	1	.1	.2	98.7
Reproduction of citizenship + documentation	7	.5	1.1	99.8
Valid agricultural land + building or other prop + personal guarantee	1	.1	.2	100.0
Total	629	43.3	100.0	
Missing	825	56.7		
Total	1454	100.0		

**TABLE A4.19** PROVISIONS OF LOAN BY RESPONDENTS' HOUSEHOLDS

Provisions of Loan	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Loans advanced to upper caste people	14	1.0	15.9	15.9
Loans advanced to lower caste people	4	.3	4.5	20.5
Loans advanced to people of equal caste status	32	2.2	36.4	56.8
Loans provided to people of equal caste but lower sub-caste	2	.1	2.3	59.1
Loans provided to people of equal caste and sub-caste status	31	2.1	35.2	94.3
to upper caste + to lower caste	1	.1	1.1	95.5
to lower caste + to equal caste	1	.1	1.1	96.6
to upper caste + to lower caste + to equal caste	2	.1	2.3	98.9
to upper caste + to equal caste + to equal caste but lower sub ca	1	.1	1.1	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>1366</b>	<b>93.9</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.20** PURPOSES OF BORROWING

Purposes	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Purchase of agricultural inputs	13	.9	2.0	2.3
Purchase of equipment	20	1.4	3.1	5.4
Purchase of land	16	1.1	2.5	7.8
Purchase of animals	62	4.3	9.5	17.4
Renovation of building	32	2.2	4.9	22.3
Use in other businesses and for the use of the firm	36	2.5	5.5	27.8
Household consumption	94	6.5	14.5	42.3
Purchase/renovation of dwelling	43	3.0	6.6	48.9
Marriage/family events	61	4.2	9.4	58.3
Purchase of consumer durables	2	.1	.3	58.6
Natural calamities	161	11.1	24.8	83.4
Working in foreign country	21	1.4	3.2	86.6
Construction of water tank	1	.1	.2	86.8

Purposes	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Buy rice mill	1	.1	.2	86.9
Plant bio-gas	2	.1	.3	87.2
Purchase of rickshaw	2	.1	.3	87.5
Fishery	1	.1	.2	87.7
To educate children	1	.1	.2	87.8
Purchase of agricultural inputs + animals	3	.2	.5	88.3
Purchase of agricultural inputs + household consumption	2	.1	.3	88.6
Purchase of agricultural inputs + to work in foreign land	1	.1	.2	88.8
Purchase of equipment + animals	1	.1	.2	88.9
Purchase of equipment + for use in other business and firm	1	.1	.2	89.1
Purchase of equipment + household consumption	1	.1	.2	89.2
Purchase of equipment + purchase/ renovation of dwelling	1	.1	.2	89.4
Purchase of land + purchase of animals	1	.1	.2	89.5
Purchase of animals + renovation of building	1	.1	.2	89.7
Purchase of animals + purchase of consumer durables	1	.1	.2	89.8
Purchase of animals + natural calamities	1	.1	.2	90.0
Building improvement + for use in other business and firm	1	.1	.2	90.2
Building improvement + household consumption	2	.1	.3	90.5
Building improvement + marriage/family events	1	.1	.2	90.6
Building improvement + natural calamities	2	.1	.3	90.9
For use in other business and firm + natural calamities	2	.1	.3	91.2
Household consumption + purchase/ improvement of dwelling	3	.2	.5	91.7
Household consumption + marriage/family events	4	.3	.6	92.3
Household consumption + natural calamities	8	.6	1.2	93.5
Household consumption + work in foreign land	2	.1	.3	93.8

Purposes	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Purchase/renovation of dwelling + marriage/ family events	1	.1	.2	94.0
Purchase/renovation of dwelling + natural calamities	9	.6	1.4	95.4
Purchase/renovation of dwelling + work in foreign land	1	.1	.2	95.5
Marriage/family events + for use in other business and firm	1	.1	.2	95.7
Marriage/family events + natural calamities	7	.5	1.1	96.8
Natural calamities + work in foreign land	1	.1	.2	96.9
Purchase of agricultural inputs + household consumption + natural calamities	1	.1	.2	97.1
Purchase of agricultural inputs + purchase/ improvement of dwelling + natural calamities	1	.1	.2	97.2
Purchase of land + purchase of animals + for use in other business and firm	1	.1	.2	97.4
Building improvement + household consumption + natural calamities	1	.1	.2	97.5
Renovation of building + marriage/family events + natural calamities	1	.1	.2	97.7
For use in other business + marriage + natural calamities	2	.1	.3	98.0
Household consumption + purchase/ renovation of dwelling + natural calamities	1	.1	.2	98.2
Household consumption + marriage + natural calamities	5	.3	.8	98.9
Household consumption + natural calamities + work in foreign land	1	.1	.2	99.1
Purchase/renovation of dwelling + marriage + purchase of consumer durables	1	.1	.2	99.2
Purchase/renovation of dwelling + marriage + natural calamities	3	.2	.5	99.7
Purchase/renovation of dwelling + natural calamities + work in foreign land	1	.1	.2	99.8
Purchase of animals + household consumption + marriage + natural calamities	1	.1	.2	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>44.7</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>804</b>	<b>55.3</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.21** PERCEPTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION IN RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATIONS

Perceptions	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Less returns, still forced to continue	892	61.3	63.0	63.0
Higher caste get higher returns from the same occupation	270	18.6	19.1	82.1
My occupation is detested and seen as inferior	253	17.4	17.9	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1415</b>	<b>97.3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>2.7</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.22** PERCEPTIONS OF OCCUPATION

Perceptions	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
My occupation was forced to me by my caste status	333	22.9	23.4	23.4
My current occupation is a voluntary pursuit	894	61.5	62.9	86.3
My occupation is partly voluntary and partly forced by caste status	111	7.6	7.8	94.2
Don't know	83	5.7	5.8	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1421</b>	<b>97.7</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>2.3</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

**TABLE A4.23** PERCEPTIONS OF THE STATUS OF RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATIONS

Perceptions	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Lower status than the occupations of higher caste people	458	31.5	32.1	32.1
Same status as the occupations of higher caste people	922	63.4	64.6	96.6
Higher status than higher caste occupations	48	3.3	3.4	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1428</b>	<b>98.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>1.8</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

<b>TABLE A4.24 NEGOTIATION FOR WAGES INDIVIDUALLY/COLLECTIVELY</b>				
<b>Negotiation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>Valid Per cent</b>	<b>Cumulative Per cent</b>
Individually	1062	73.0	77.1	77.1
Collectively	316	21.7	22.9	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1378</b>	<b>94.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Missing</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>5.2</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

<b>TABLE A4.25 FORCED TO CONTINUE TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS BY DALIT CASTE GROUPS</b>						
<b>Castes</b>			<b>Forced to Continue Traditional Occupations?</b>		<b>Total</b>	
				<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	
Damai	Sex	Male	Count	80	332	412
			Row %	19.4%	80.6%	100.0%
			Column %	79.2%	70.5%	72.0%
			14.0%	58.0%	72.0%	
		Female	Count	21	139	160
			Row %	13.1%	86.9%	100.0%
	Column %		20.8%	29.5%	28.0%	
			3.7%	24.3%	28.0%	
	Total		Count	101	471	572
			Row %	17.7%	82.3%	100.0%
			Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
				17.7%	82.3%	100.0%
Kami	Sex	Male	Count	79	734	813
			Row %	9.7%	90.3%	100.0%
			Column %	89.8%	78.3%	79.2%
			7.7%	71.5%	79.2%	
		Female	Count	9	204	213
			Row %	4.2%	95.8%	100.0%
	Column %		10.2%	21.7%	20.8%	
			.9%	19.9%	20.8%	
	Total		Count	88	938	1026
			Row %	8.6%	91.4%	100.0%
			Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
				8.6%	91.4%	100.0%
Sarki	Sex	Male	Count	27	331	358
			Row %	7.5%	92.5%	100.0%
			Column %	79.4%	79.2%	79.2%
				6.0%	73.2%	79.2%

Castes			Forced to Continue Traditional Occupations?		Total	
Gaine	Female	Count	7	87	94	
		Row %	7.4%	92.6%	100.0%	
		Column %	20.6%	20.8%	20.8%	
	Total	Count	34	418	452	
		Row %	7.5%	92.5%	100.0%	
		Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	Sex	Male	Count	4	33	37
			Row %	10.8%	89.2%	100.0%
			Column %	80.0%	75.0%	75.5%
		Female	Count	1	11	12
			Row %	8.3%	91.7%	100.0%
			Column %	20.0%	25.0%	24.5%
Total	Count	5	44	49		
	Row %	10.2%	89.8%	100.0%		
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		
Badi	Male	Count	16	42	58	
		Row %	27.6%	72.4%	100.0%	
		Column %	84.2%	60.0%	65.2%	
	Female	Count	3	28	31	
		Row %	9.7%	90.3%	100.0%	
		Column %	15.8%	40.0%	34.8%	
	Total	Count	19	70	89	
		Row %	21.3%	78.7%	100.0%	
		Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	Chamar	Male	Count	20	285	305
			Row %	6.6%	93.4%	100.0%
			Column %	66.7%	77.0%	76.3%
Female		Count	10	85	95	
		Row %	10.5%	89.5%	100.0%	
		Column %	33.3%	23.0%	23.8%	
Total		Count	30	370	400	
		Row %	7.5%	92.5%	100.0%	
		Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Castes			Forced to Continue Traditional Occupations?		Total
Tatma	Sex	Male	Count	61	61
			Row %	100.0%	100.0%
			Column %	82.4%	82.4%
	Female	Count	13	13	100.0%
		Row %	100.0%	17.6%	17.6%
		Column %	17.6%	17.6%	74
	Total	Count	74	100.0%	100.0%
Row %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		
Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		
Mushahar	Sex	Male	Count	18	249
			Row %	6.7%	93.3%
			Column %	52.9%	64.3%
	Female	Count	16	138	154
		Row %	10.4%	89.6%	100.0%
		Column %	47.1%	35.7%	36.6%
	Total	Count	34	387	421
Row %	8.1%	91.9%	100.0%		
Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		
Batar	Sex	Male	Count	2	37
			Row %	5.1%	94.9%
			Column %	66.7%	56.1%
	Female	Count	1	29	30
		Row %	3.3%	96.7%	100.0%
		Column %	33.3%	43.9%	43.5%
	Total	Count	3	66	69
Row %	4.3%	95.7%	100.0%		
Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		
Dom	Sex	Male	Count	7	10
			Row %	41.2%	58.8%
			Column %	63.6%	37.0%
	Female	Count	4	17	21
		Row %	19.0%	81.0%	100.0%
		Column %	36.4%	63.0%	55.3%
	Total	Count	11	27	38
Row %	28.9%	71.1%	100.0%		
Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		
			28.9%	71.1%	



Castes			Forced to Continue Traditional Occupations?		Total	
Dushad	Sex	Male	Count	7	313	320
			Row %	2.2%	97.8%	100.0%
			Column %	77.8%	76.0%	76.0%
				1.7%	74.3%	76.0%
		Female	Count	2	99	101
	Row %		2.0%	98.0%	100.0%	
	Column %		22.2%	24.0%	24.0%	
				.5%	23.5%	24.0%
		Total	Count	9	412	421
	Row %		2.1%	97.9%	100.0%	
Column %	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%		
			2.1%	97.9%	100.0%	
Khatwe	Sex	Male	Count	27	100	127
			Row %	21.3%	78.7%	100.0%
			Column %	81.8%	75.8%	77.0%
				16.4%	60.6%	77.0%
		Female	Count	6	32	38
	Row %		15.8%	84.2%	100.0%	
	Column %		18.2%	24.2%	23.0%	
				3.6%	19.4%	23.0%
		Total	Count	33	132	165
	Row %		20.0%	80.0%	100.0%	
Column %	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%		
			20.0%	80.0%	100.0%	
Dhobi	Sex	Male	Count	6	23	29
			Row %	20.7%	79.3%	100.0%
			Column %	100.0%	62.2%	67.4%
				14.0%	53.5%	67.4%
		Female	Count		14	14
	Row %			100.0%	100.0%	
	Column %			37.8%	32.6%	
					32.6%	32.6%
		Total	Count	6	37	43
	Row %		14.0%	86.0%	100.0%	
Column %	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%		
			14.0%	86.0%	100.0%	
Mehatar	Sex	Male	Count	16	79	95
			Row %	16.8%	83.2%	100.0%
			Column %	69.6%	67.5%	67.9%
				11.4%	56.4%	67.9%
		Female	Count	7	38	45
	Row %		15.6%	84.4%	100.0%	
	Column %		30.4%	32.5%	32.1%	
				5.0%	27.1%	32.1%
		Total	Count	23	117	140
	Row %		16.4%	83.6%	100.0%	
Column %	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%		
			16.4%	83.6%	100.0%	

<b>TABLE A4.26</b>		<b>FACTORS/INDIVIDUALS/GROUPS THAT FORCED CONTINUATION OF TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS</b>			
<b>Factors</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>Valid Per cent</b>	<b>Cumulative Per cent</b>	
Society	45	.5	11.4	11.4	
Upper caste people	71	.8	17.9	29.3	
Higher caste Dalit	16	.2	4.0	33.3	
Family	57	.7	14.4	47.7	
Lack of alternatives	207	2.5	52.3	100.0	
<b>Total</b>	<b>396</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>100.0</b>		
<b>Missing</b>	<b>8037</b>	<b>95.3</b>			
<b>Total</b>	<b>8433</b>	<b>100.0</b>			

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002.

<b>TABLE A4.27</b>		<b>DISTRIBUTION OF DALIT HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF BISTA HOUSEHOLDS, NUMBER OF FEMALE MEMBERS WORKING FOR BISTA HOUSEHOLDS, NUMBER OF MALE MEMBERS OF HOUSEHOLDS INVOLVED IN BISTA HOUSEHOLDS AND NUMBER OF DAYS WORKED FOR BISTA HOUSEHOLDS</b>					
<b>Castes</b>		<b>Number of Bista Households, if Such Households Exist</b>	<b>Number of Female Household Members Working for Bista Households</b>	<b>Number of Children Working for Bista Households</b>	<b>Number of Male Household Members Working for Bista Households</b>	<b>Number of Days Worked for Bista Households from Ashad to Jestha Last Year</b>	
Damai	Mean	16.41	1.27	1.36	1.32	141.73	
	N	135	59	11	69	90	
Kami	Mean	15.38	1.34	1.45	1.33	148.69	
	N	128	59	22	81	90	
Sarki	Mean	3.30	1.60	1.00	1.09	95.67	
	N	54	5	2	11	12	
Gaine	Mean	.83			1.00	20.00	
	N	6			1	1	
Badi	Mean	37.50	2.00	1.00	2.33	51.00	
	N	6	3	1	3	6	
Chamar	Mean	14.78	1.14		1.00	65.70	
	N	41	7		10	10	
Mushahar	Mean	1.17	1.20	1.00	1.25	248.33	
	N	47	5	1	4	6	
Batar	Mean	.00					
	N	1					

<b>Castes</b>		<b>Number of Bista Households, if Such Households Exist</b>	<b>Number of Female Household Members Working for Bista Households</b>	<b>Number of Children Working for Bista Households</b>	<b>Number of Male Household Members Working for Bista Households</b>	<b>Number of Days Worked for Bista Households from Ashad to Jestha Last Year</b>
Dom	Mean	.00				
	N	2				
Dushad	Mean	.30	1.00		1.00	25.00
	N	20	2		3	3
Khatwe	Mean	.00				
	N	2				
Dhobi	Mean	.00				
	N	5				
Mehatar	Mean	.35	1.00		2.00	247.33
	N	23	1		2	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>11.21</b>	<b>1.31</b>	<b>1.38</b>	<b>1.31</b>	<b>138.35</b>
	<b>N</b>	<b>470</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>221</b>

Source: TEAM fieldwork 2002

**For further information, please contact:**

**International Labour Office in Nepal**

**P.O. Box : 8971, Kathmandu, Nepal**

**Tel : (+977) 1 5542129, 5550691, 5555777**

**Fax : (+977) 1 5550714**

**Website : [www.ilo.org](http://www.ilo.org)**