

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Nepal borders India to its east, south and west; and China to its north. It covers an area of 147,181 square kms and varies between an altitude of 60 m and 8,848 m. Its population is growing at an annual rate of 1.94 percent and is 27.5 million (CBS 2011). Administratively, it is divided into 75 districts, 191 municipalities, and 3,276 Village Development Committees (VDCs) (MoFALD, 2014). Nepal's population comprises of over 125 castes, 59 ethnic groups and speak approximately 102 languages including of some local dialects. Some 80.6 percent of the population are Hindu, 10.7 per cent are Buddhist, 4.2 percent are Muslim, 3.6 percent are *Kirant*, and the rest belongs to other religions (CBS, 2011).

Human Development Index (HDI) of Nepal is 0.490 as of 2011 which placed Far-Western Development Region (FWDR) 0.435. The HDI of mountain region belongs to far west Mountain was 0.386, Hill 0.409, and Terai 0.466. Similarly, the HDI based on caste/ ethnicity of Nepal for all *Brahman/Chettri* was 0.538 and the value for all *Dalit* was 0.434. Comparing the value of per capita income of *Dalit* with *Brahimin/ Chhetri*, the per capita for all *Brahman/Chettri* was NPR 49,878 and which for all *Dalits* was NPR 33,786 (NPC/ UNDP, 2014, pp. 90-97).

Nepal is mostly open and accessible along its border with India but has geographically limited access to Tibet (China) in the north. Historically, the country has been perceived as locked, blocked, suppressed or squeezed between its two giant neighbours (NPC, 2011). While many countries in the modern world have been innovative in their approach to development by changing their conventional practices and strategies of development, Nepal is still struggling with its unique geo-political implications. In its modernization process, Nepal has seen landmark political changes, which have resulted in major social and economic transformations. In 1951, it broke the tightly controlled and feudal aristocratic *Rana* rule and opened the country to the outside world. Then the country was

ruled under one-party *Panchayat* system for thirty years (1960-1990) with absolute power to the monarch (The Constitution of Nepal, 1962). In 1990, major political changes took place in favour of a more open and liberal democracy and economy. These events profoundly changed Nepal's socio-political system; firstly, it opened up access for the common people to political power and resources; secondly, it brought the Nepali economy closer to the outside world and resulted in greater integration with global markets. The state began to gradually withdraw from the role of providing all services and production, and subsequently created space for the private sector and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to take larger responsibility for development. Governance reforms, decentralization and economic reforms to eliminate inefficiencies, corruption and exclusion became the prime agenda of the government since 1990 (The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990 and the Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007 and the Constitution of Nepal 2015).

However, it has been observed that the negative side of the development has been overlooked. And a need to critically analysis is felt necessary. What happened to the poor and disadvantaged sections of society due to the development is an unanswered question. Furthermore, the change in power relations in favour of such groups has got less attention in academic research. Poverty was being reduced to some extent; it has not been able to address the issues of inequality. Rural-urban gaps have become prominent (CBS, 2011) due to such inequality in development. After the restoration of democracy in country in 1990, the Maoist war began in 1996, which pushed the country into war instead of development. The war runs for about 10 years (1996-2006). The positive side of the Maoist War was seen in mobilising of local community in development, awareness rising in socio-political, and economic innovation, and in many instants' the breaking of inequality, and social exclusion.

Nepal is a country characterized mainly by socio-cultural diversity, but it has both positive and negative consequences. Social hierarchy in terms of caste and ethnicity, sense of untouchability and social exclusion are some of the negative features of the Nepalese society (Vasil, 2006; Cameron, 1998). Nepalese social life is primarily dominated by the Hindu religion, which divides Hindu society into four *Varnas*:

Brahmin, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. As a result, caste system in Nepal was developed in a rigid hierarchical society with the concept of touchable and untouchable and purity and impurity of castes (Bhattachan, Hemchuri & Biswakarma, 2003)). Based on the hierarchy, *Dalits* have been considered at the bottom of caste hierarchy, also said as *Sudra*. Paradoxically, most of the *Dalits* even today remain poorest of the poor (Shahi, 2014). The Census of 2011 has shown the population of *Dalits* as 3,030,057 with male population 1,500,357 and female 1,529,700 (CBS, 2012).

Administratively, the nation has been divided into five Development Regions (DRs). The FWDR consists of the nine districts, i.e., Bajura, Bajhang, Achham, Doti, Kailali, Darchula, Baitadi, Dadeldhura and Kanchanpur. Considering the land area, FWDR it consists of the area of 19539 sq. kms. of the total land area of the nation (NPC, 2011), whereas it consists of the 2,191,330 of the total population of the country (CBS, 2012). In terms of political economy, FWDR is also backward region of Nepal which has been poorly indexed in development outcomes. Whereas the national poverty rate of Nepal remains at 25 percent, the rate counts in FWDR to be 45 percent (UNDP, 2011). This is an irony of the regional backwardness of the region. Several studies have revealed that the *Dalits*, in particular, are facing acute poverty along with the vulnerable livelihood conditions. If the livelihood assets of the *Dalits* are properly accumulated and strengthened, it can emerge as a potential asset (capital) for the nation. In this context, the study of *Dalits*, in relation to livelihood analysis, and measurement of livelihood assets make it crucial and timely.

1.2 Major Livelihood Issues of Dalits in Nepal

One of the studies reveals that existing power relation is one of the causes of declining human development index of Nepal in general and widening gap between advantaged and disadvantaged regions, social groups, castes, ethnicities, etc. in particular (NPC/UNDP, 2014). Since 2006, Nepal is undergoing transformation in terms of politics, social relations and power dynamics. The importance of individual assets, distribution of resources for community and people's right over them has come as a common discourse (NPC/UNDP, 2014).

The empowerment of *Dalits* and their livelihood truly rings for this debate. Assets are not only the source of livelihood, but they also function as a fundamental basis of social relation in rural societies (Nepali, 2011). It is severely used as a tool and therefore it would be a major issue of contention in the future. In spite of this issue being projected as a means for the socio-economic transformation of the Nepalese society and the emancipation of the Nepalese people at large, not much has been achieved so far.

Many of the *Dalits* carry on with their caste based and service oriented traditional occupation as well as agricultural work, the insignificant return on the services they render and landlessness have pushed them into appalling poverty (Nepali, 2011). Simultaneously, the process of modernization and industrialization has replaced most of their caste-occupations, which lead to make them vulnerable as their occupation was replaced by modern technology. Many studies such as Ahuti (2010), (Bhattachan, Hemchuri & Biswakarma, (2003), Nepali, (2011), reveal that the livelihood of *Dalit* has become complex to make up from losses by adapting to new enterprises or developing entrepreneurship. Although *Dalits* are one of poorest group, they are socio-economically marginalized from the State mainstream and have been treated as ‘untouchables’ (Lamsal, 2012). The presence of *Dalits* in Nepal’s demographic structure is also meaningful to analyse their livelihood.

As mentioned earlier, as per the caste hierarchy, the *Dalits* are considered as untouchable. They are found to be excluded in many ways in the society, bureaucratic system, and many other state facilities. Still in many rural parts, it has found caste based discrimination (Bhattachan, 2002). Nepal’s economy depends largely on natural resources but their distribution and allocation in socio-economic development remains uneven (Nepali, 2011).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Despite more than sixty years of planned development (1956-2014), Nepal is still struggling for desirable outcomes of development. “Did the discourse of development fail?” This question has been raised by many scholars. The country is transitionally facing severe problems of widespread poverty, exclusion, inequality and conflict. The

Dalits, women, *Janjatis* and *Madhesis*, Particularly, in the rural regions, are facing a kind of economic, political and social discrimination in terms of access to and distribution of the resources. In this context, this study has been conducted to make an empirical analysis about *Dalits*’ issues from the view point of their livelihood.

Studies about *Dalits* in Nepal are largely available however; the issues of livelihood have not been addressed adequately. In connection with those studies, the rationale of the present study makes greater sense in this field of livelihood analysis. The present study tries to fulfil research gaps embedded with livelihood analysis which assesses the livelihoods assets. This study further has attempted to bring clarity on conceptualization of livelihood assets, and their measurements. The livelihood assets are perceived in a broader sense- as the combination of physical, human, financial, social and natural assets which have been defined as livelihood asset index (LAI) in this study. Moreover, the conventional studies on *Dalits* have been severely influenced by state-led rural development strategies and their corresponding policies and programmes. This study perceives the analysis of such policies and strategies on the basis of ‘bottom up approach’.

There are several dimensions that lead to make *Dalits* poor and backward in Nepal. No systematic study about finding the causes of becoming *Dalits* poorer and had remained disadvantaged was not well explored. The policy and programme introduced for the welfare of people was found not addressed the issues of *Dalit*. Hence, the present study perceives to analyse the factor affecting the lives and livelihood of the *Dalit* through insightful analysis of livelihood assets using the index methods.

This is a specific study of *Dalits* residing in FWDR. It also has attempted to measure livelihood assets of *Dalits* in relation to public policies and programmes. Therefore, this study is focused on the following research questions:

1. What is the socio-economic status of *Dalits*?
2. What are the major components and sub-components of livelihood assets, and how can these be measured and linked with local livelihood strategies of *Dalits*?

3. What are the gaps between the public policies and programmes and their implementation in order to enhance *Dalits*' livelihood?
4. What are the major barriers of *Dalits* livelihood and how these affect the development of livelihood assets?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to measure and analyse the components and sub-components of livelihood assets and explore the interrelationship between and among the livelihood assets which determine socio-economic status of *Dalits*. The specific objectives are as follows:

1. To find out socio-economic status and local livelihood strategies of *Dalits*,
2. To develop the Livelihood Asset Index (LAI) as well as analyse and compare their components in the concerning areas.
3. To analyse public policies, plans and programmes in relation to livelihood enhancement and explore the gaps.
4. To analyse the barrier factors in order to improve socio-economic status of *Dalits*.

1.5 Justification of the Study

It was realised that there was a huge gap in the determination of livelihood indicators. Though, five types of livelihood assets were used to determine status of livelihoods, but measurement of livelihood using livelihood asset was not possible. The present study brought the idea of index from the study conducted to determine human development index (HDI). The author using the concept of HDI, attempted to calculate the livelihood asset indexes, which aimed to contribute to calculate the livelihood assets as a whole of a society or a group of people of a particular community. The study at the end brought the livelihood asset index, which was missing in the entire livelihood literatures. So, the study can be a milestone for researchers, policy makers, and development agencies. Policy makers can determine which group or community has low livelihood asset index, what makes their livelihood weaker, and what input is needed to enhance the livelihood.

And based on that they can make specific policy to uplift the livelihoods of that particular community, whose livelihoods found at risk. Though the present study was aimed to determine the livelihood assets index of *Dalit*, but it can be applicable to determine the index of other group or community.

By this study, it was revealed that social asset index is the most important factor to determine or strengthen the other livelihoods assets. If any community has the weak social asset, they might lose other assets, which make them vulnerable. So, in case of *Dalit*, enhancement of social asset was the major factor to enhance other assets.

Thus, this study has conceptually adopted sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) by complementing livelihood assets index perspective to understand the development *Dalit*. This research provides micro-level data on livelihood asset index which would be used as the evidence to verify the ground reality embedded with *Dalit* livelihoods and their condition of living. The study process ensures the reliability and validity of livelihood assets statistics to a wider level both conceptual and empirical. These two levels of analysis can contribute to policy reform process of the country considering the ground reality of *Dalit* of very rural region of Nepal.

This study also tries to highlight about empowerment issues which ultimately effects on livelihood development. The research findings generated from this holistic and comprehensive approach would be helpful to examine livelihood scenario of *Dalit* at household's level of FWDR of Nepal.

Besides these, the study also includes the existing skills and capacities of the *Dalits* of FWDR within the scope of study. Likewise, efforts are made to find out the root causes of caste and gender discriminations against the *Dalits*. In the same way, the present studies also contributes some core strategies and measures which could be helpful in enabling the capacities of *Dalits* so that they could strongly participate in the development process.

In view of inadequate data and lack of required empirical evidences needed for making scientific decisions, a need for a more systematic, long-term engagement in assets related

research has been felt for long. This existing gap would be fulfilled and will be contributed by this study.

Based on aforesaid research gaps on different dimensions, this study makes efforts for contributing to conceptual, empirical and policy level knowledge building focusing on measurement of livelihood assets of *Dalits*.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

Though the study attempted to bring the wider perspective of Livelihoods of *Dalit* living in FWDR region, however, there might be many limitation of the study to bring wider and regional perspective with limited sample size, and limited time frame of the study. In spite of its wider scope, Present study does not cover following issues:

- The study about non-*Dalits* and their livelihood.
- Other many dimensions about the *Dalits*' studies such as the relation between *Dalits* and non-*Dalits*, social changes in *Dalits*' society and issue of *Dalits*' movement etc.

1.7 Organization of the Study

This study is divided into seven chapters. The key contents of the chapters are enlisted below:

Chapter -1 First chapter mainly highlighted the need, context, rationale, objectives, and statement of problems, limitations and chapter plan of the study.

Chapter-2 Second chapter provides review of literature, formulation of theoretical background and approaches particularly Sustainable Livelihood Framework, and it zooms about research gaps.

Chapter-3 Third chapter includes research methodology which especially focuses research design, sampling, measurement and scoring, reliability and validity, data analysis and interpretation, methodological limitation and ethical issues.

Chapter-4 Fourth chapter comprehends empirical results about socio-economic status of *Dalits*. Analysis has been done in relation to livelihood assets, activities (strategies) and outcomes. These are presented systematically in accordance with proposed objectives of the study. Moreover, the relationship between assets and household livelihood for different ecological belts are also explored and placed here.

Chapter-5 Fifth chapter presents development of the Livelihood Asset Index (LAI). Multidimensional aspects and values of the index have been analysed. It identifies different variables and indicators in each asset and finally formulates a composite index.

Chapter-6 Sixth chapter deals with analytical discussions about public policies and programmes and incorporates major obstacles of the *Dalits'* livelihood followed by empirical findings and case studies.

Chapter-7 Seventh chapter incorporates summary, findings and conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter highlights about the key issues, debates and approaches of *Dalit* studies and livelihood measurements. This chapter has been arranged into three sections: First section consists of relevant literatures review. The second section deals with sustainable livelihood approach (SLA) and it attributes sustainable livelihood framework / model and the measurement of assets. The third section overviews on the major public policies implemented for the betterment of *Dalits*' livelihood in Nepal and their implications.

2.1 Reviews on Dalits Studies

2.1.1 Genesis and Strands of the Caste System

Caste system began to emerge during the *Licchavi* period (200-879 AD) when the *Licchavis* and the *Khas* migrated to Nepal. Later, Jayasthiti Malla (1360-1395 AD) re-organized the *Newari* society in Kathmandu on the basis of the *Manusmriti* and firmly planted the roots of caste division and untouchability in Nepal. Prithivi Narayan Shah (1721-1774 AD), extended the caste-untouchability system all over his empire. After Jang Bahadur Rana came to power, the first set of codified legal documents pertaining to the nation state of Nepal was issued as "Muluki Ain". This *Muluki Ain* of 1854 AD dealt with issues related to the four *varna* divisions, to inter-caste marriages, to rules governing food, to the decisions of the king that were promulgated at regular intervals, and to deeds, grants, warrants, and injunctions described in the *Manusmriti* (Hoefer, 2004). The *Muluki Ain* of 1854 AD was amended and a New *Muluki Ain* of 1963 AD was issued, which dismissed past provisions for caste discrimination and untouchability without making the practice punishable by law. Some activists consider that the caste system is a form of racial discrimination. However, no formal resolution was passed to that effect (Purkoti, Pariyar, Bhandari, & Sob, 2009).

Dalit is a new term used to refer the so called low and untouchable castes, referred in the national code of 1854 as *Pani Nachalne Chhoi Chhito Halnu Parne Jat* (caste from

whom water is not accepted and whose touch requires sprinkling of holy water (Dahal, Gurung, Acharya, Hemchuri & Swarnkar, 2002).

Although the Nepali society is multi-ethnic, 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 (Hofer, 2004). Although it was legally abolished by an amendment of the former Civil Code in 1963, the caste system, including untouchability, is still practiced in the Nepali society. The 1854 Civil Code explicitly listed two groups of lower caste people. One group, which occupied the lowest rung in the caste hierarchy, was both *achhut* and *paani nachalne* (ILO, 2005).

The concept of *Dalit* in general is used to refer the vulnerable and poor groups who are put in the lowest rank of status hierarchy in caste system. This term is used to address a group of people who are oppressed, suppressed and exploited (Uprety, 2002). The caste structure is based on Hindu *Varna* system, which divides people into four categories according to their occupational activities, viz., the *Brahmins* (learned people, priest), the *Chhetris* (warriors), the *Vaishyas* (trader and agriculturalist), and the *Sudras* (people in menial services). Originally, it had merely meant to indicate the type of vocation they do, but gradually it became hereditary and socially accepted category (Bhattchan, 2002). The word *Dalit* has its origin in *Pali*, a pre-Sanskrit language and it means the deprived. This term is used as an act of confident assertion, rejecting nomenclature of *Harijan*, the ‘children of God’. *Dalit* Panthers, a radical movement of *Dalit* youth in the seventies used this term for the first time for those who were Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, neo-Buddhist, the working-people, the landless and poor peasants, women, and all those who are being exploited politically, socially, economically, and in the name of religion (Bhattchan, 2002).

The term "*Dalit*" does not refer to a caste. It symbolises unity of all those who suffered at the hands of iniquitous *Brahmanism*, which is the basis of *Hindutva*. It is a symbol of change and revolution. *Dalits* believe in humanism (Cameron, 1998).

King Jayasthiti Malla (1360-1395 AD) is believed to have introduced a Hindu based caste system into the kingdom of Nepal (Shahi, 2014). The Hindu caste or *Varna* system was based on the division of society into four hierarchies, with specified respective professions for each stratum. *Brahmins*, who were put in the uppermost stratum, were assigned to engage in learning and acquiring knowledge, while the *Ksetriyas* were specified to do administrative affairs. Similarly, the *Vaishyas* were made to pursue mercantile business and agriculture whereas the *Sudras* were assigned menial work like sewing, tanning hides etc. Respective to their occupations, the *Brahmins* and *Ksetriyas* were regarded as high castes, while the *Vaishyas* were of medium caste. This caste system further expanded during Prithivi Narayan Shah's unification drive (Dahal, Gurung, Acharya, Hemchuri & Swarnkar, 2002).

This traditional transformation of *Varna* was institutionalized into the present complex and rigid caste system in Nepal (Kisan, 2005). The legal division of people into 'touchable' and 'untouchable' through the Civil Code was fully based upon the Hindu *Varna* System, which categorized people into *Brahman*, *Kshetriya*, *Vaishya* and *Sudra*. The Civil Code of 1854, introduced and enforced by the Rana Prime Minister Jung Bahadur Rana, which had discriminative treatment in justice and punishment process based upon the caste hierarchy (Hofer, 2004). According to the code provision, if any discrimination made in relation to caste, the culprit face to go down the caste hierarchy. The Code victimized *Dalits*, *Janajatis*, and women by keeping them away from national socio-political mainstream, and it also institutionalized the domination of high caste Hindu groups in the overall affairs of country (Aahuti, 2010).

Despite the abolishment of untouchability and discrimination on the basis of caste division was formally abolished or outlawed by the 1963 civil code, the constitution of the kingdom of Nepal, 1991, the parliamentary declaration of 2006, and the Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2006, it is not obviously out rooted from the Nepalese society (Nepali, 2008). Like in the Hindu *Varna* System, in the old Civil Code of Nepal which was first introduced in 1854, *Dalits* were kept at the bottom of the caste pyramids. It has multiple implications on socio-economic spheres of *Dalit* population. Consequently, *Dalits* are synonymous to poor, deprived and marginalized sections of the nation.

Landlessness, Marginalization and small land holdings and food deficiency are general features of the economy of *Dalits*. Landlessness is even more acute in *Madhesi Dalits*. Although the caste based discrimination in Nepal was abolished in 1963 through the institutionalization of new civil code, *Dalits* are still facing the ill treatment of caste based untouchability with them and human right violations against them. Their social dignity and prestige are not properly recognized in public places (Bennett, 2005).

Due to the ill practices of caste-based discrimination in Nepal, the tensions and conflict between the higher castes and lower castes, continued in the Nepalese society (Nepali, 2011). Regarding the caste-based discrimination as the serious violation of human rights, *Dalits* of Nepal have felt a need of struggle to fight such discrepancy through social movement. Anti-caste movements in Nepal were instigated by humanists, and other great intellectuals, poets, writer and social reformers (B.K., 2012). Many *Dalits* in Nepal were inspired by the Indian independence movement led by Mahatma Gandhi and Indian *Dalit* liberation movement led by Bhimrao Ambedkar. The organized *Dalit* social movement against caste-based discrimination emerged in Nepal in 1940s (Kisan, 2005).

2.1.2 Discrimination of Dalits and Beginning of Caste System

The discrimination takes place with practice of untouchability imposed by dominant caste of *Hindu* communities such as denial of access to the public tap, upper caste houses, temples and hotel restaurant and so on. Consequently they were facing much other similar discrimination even in employment, education and other services in the society (Nepali, 2011). Caste based discrimination especially untouchability is deeply rooted in Nepali society for centuries. Due to the practice of untouchability, *Dalits* are backward in every steps of life. Nepali society is deeply influenced by the Hindu caste system with the hierarchy of different groups of people and *Dalits* so called “untouchables” are one of the groups possess the lowest rank in the hierarchy. Literacy is highly unequally distributed among the various caste and ethnic groups. The high caste groups and few smaller ethnic groups are located in the upper literacy-ranges while the lowest-caste groups are relegated to the bottom of the literacy hierarchy (Bishwokarma, 2003).

Karl Marx (1818-1883), Max Weber (1864-1920) and Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) understood caste as a form of division of labour connected with the specific Indian form of the Asiatic rural communities , and believed that it would wither away under the impact of industrialization and modern transport and communications (Grabb, 1984). Similarly, one of the most important sociologists who strongly deals with caste systems, Louis Dumont, emerged from the Durkheimian school with its emphasis on the role of *Hindu* religion and values as binding and defining forces in society that have set the status of *Dalits* at the bottom of the hierarchical system (Dumont, 1980). Similarly, Bishwakarma (2005) attributes caste-based discrimination as one of the most widespread social maladies of human civilization throughout history and has attributed that it should not be tolerated in the 21st century. He has also stated that there needs a stronger movement against caste based discrimination in Nepal. Furthermore, he said that this movement against out-dated caste-based discrimination towards *Dalits* that has unjustly denied them a dignified life should not be looked upon only from a national Nepali perspective but from global perspective as well. According to Bhattachan (2002) the majority of the people of *Dalit* Community have been suffering every day simply because they have not been carrying on their traditional occupations. They have been socially boycotted or alienated. They even cannot enter into public places. Along with child marriage and marriage of unequal status (fake marriage), the number of people engaging in inter-caste marriage is on the rise. In this situation, the *Dalits* not only have to suffer, but also face banishment from the villages because of the several reasons (Bhattachan, 2002).

The different forms of discrimination are continuing in the society from time immemorial based on caste like prohibition in entering different places, forced labour exploitation, humiliation, social boycott, exclusion, social alienation and other kinds of caste-based discriminations. It is not only because upper class people and religion are discriminatory, inter-*Dalit* caste-based practices are also equally responsible for social exclusion of *Dalits* (Pandey, 2009).

Since *Dalits* themselves practice discriminatory untouchability in their daily lives, the issue of caste-based discriminations remains as a complex texture. Dahal (2002) opines

that, social discrimination within *Dalits* is distinctly observed in different social behaviour they do in the society such as eating food and drinking and while performing life cycle rituals. In Nepal, *Dalits* were used to work with high caste people under *Khaliya*, and *Haliya* system meaning doing blacksmithing and ploughing agricultural fields; and in return they used to be provided with food grains seasonally, mostly every four months. This system was practiced in a form of forced labour or discriminatory practice of labour.

In addition to these, *Dalit* people also need to work if any domestic animal dies (*Sino*) and *Dalit* need to involve to remove the *Sino* from the residence of upper caste to away is known as “*Sinophalne*” is an act to dispose the dead animals; and *Dalits* had to dispose the dead bodies in the society. If they deny carrying out the above stated job, they could be punished or socially excluded and they were not entitled to get seasonal crops. Koirala (1996) argues that a *Damai* is *Pani Nachalne* (water from who cannot be shared with) to a *Kami* and a *Sarki*, and a *Kami* and *Sarki* who claim equal status don not dine together or marry each other. Similarly, Sharma, Chhetri & Rana (1994) notes that *Damais* don not accept cooked rice and water from *Hudke* (a subgroup within the *Damai*). Ultimately caste system based on Hindu religion is seemed to be major barrier to them.

Shahi (2014) mention's that *Dalits* in the society are discriminated in a various ways such as they are forbidden to share the same water resources, to share the kitchen of high caste groups, to visit the public places and participate in the public gatherings. *Dalits* have become victims of high caste groups and indigenous nationalities on religious, social and economic grounds. They are deprived of enjoying dignity and right, have the high right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in condition of freedom and dignity of economic security and equal opportunity. Kisan (2005, p. 3-4) writes that the legacy of the caste untouchability system endures in modern society, in cities and in people. He further stresses that among those who condemn the caste untouchability system, many are unable to practice non-discrimination in their own behaviour.

In the context of defining *Dalit*, Pandey (2008) has mentioned that there is no official definition of *Dalit*'s, and it is not easy to identify which group belongs to *Dalit* group and which are not. However, he states that the word *Dalit* literally means, "A person absorbed in a swamp. The verbal meaning of *Dalit* is broken, oppressed, crushed and so on. Hence, *Dalit* refers to all those who are oppressed. At present, the word refers to all to the untouchables who by other castes are regarded as the lowest in the Hindu social caste system. He further mentions that despite the fact that "untouchability" was abolished under the *Muluki Ain* of 2020 B.S. and other laws of the land, the practice of "untouchability" the imposition of social disabilities on persons by reason of their birth in certain castes remains very much a part of rural Nepal. According to him, "Untouchables" may not cross the line dividing their part of the village from that occupied by higher castes. *Dalit* children are frequently made to sit in the back of classrooms, and communities as a whole are made to perform degrading rituals in the name of caste. Most *Dalits* continue to live in extreme poverty, without land or opportunities for better employment or education. With the exception of a minority who have benefited from Nepal's Affirmative Action Plan in education and government jobs, *Dalits* are relegated to the most menial of tasks, as manual scavengers, removers of human waste and dead animals, leather workers, street sweepers, and cobblers (Pandey, 2008).

Regarding the discriminations of *Dalits* for jobs and employment, this study follows the definition adopted by the ILO Convention 111, Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958, as following:

1. 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.
2. 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 (ILO, 2005).

2.1.3 Nature of the Caste-Based Untouchability and Discrimination

A study conducted by Action Aid, Nepal (1998) revealed that existing practices of caste-based discrimination in Nepal are related to denial of entry of *Dalits* by higher caste into their houses, temples, hotels and restaurants, teashops, work places, food factories, dairy farms and milk collection centres, etc. Non-*Dalits* deny providing services related to milk, health, credit, training, religion and food and drink. High caste people often deny *Dalits* the access to common resources including drinking water sources, community forests, and crematory. Also, high caste people do not enter into kinship and other relationships including inter-caste marriages. *Dalits* commonly face caste-based discrimination by high caste people on feasts, during festivals, marriage processions and funerals.

There are two areas of caste-based untouchability that make it complicated: one front is practice of untouchability by non-*Dalits* against all *Dalits*, which is indeed binary; and the other front is the practice of untouchability by high caste *Dalits* against low caste *Dalits*. It is complicated as the *Kamis* occupies higher position among the *Dalit* caste hierarchy; hence, they are not treated as untouchables by other *Dalits*. *Doms* are at the bottom of the internal caste hierarchy; hence *Doms* are victimized by higher castes as well as the *Dalits* (Purkoti, Pariyar, Bhandari & Sob, 2009, p. 23).

In this way, the caste system based on Hindu religion seems to be very uncondusive to *Dalits* in Nepal. In this context, Thorat (2010, p.11) rightly argues the following statement:

....exclusion brings consequences not only in economic sphere but equally in social, cultural and political spheres. This has negative consequences not only for an individual but also for the whole group to which he/she belongs. This disassociates work from interest, disconnects intelligence from manual labour, devitalizes persons by denying them the right to cultivate vital interests, prevents mobilization and above all deprives the untouchables of all avenues to develop their personality and aspire for decent life.

The Indian caste system is quite complex. It is based in the Hindu religion. People of all religions are divided into castes in India, along with several other nations. For thousands of years, caste was a crucial determining factor where someone fit into society, and the rigid system did not have room for social climbing or efforts against discrimination (Thorat, 2010)

Roy (1999, P. 4-5) argues that economic growth must be informed by social justice. Narasimhan (1999) presenting an alternative strategy for rural development in India which focuses on schedule caste women's empowerment highlights the fact that unless the preconceived notions of the policy-makers, and bureaucrats does not change their policies will have no impact on the status of the women of the target group. He further states that monetary inputs, by itself, is not a sufficient condition to assist economically and socially backward groups improving their status. Considering this fact he puts forward an alternate view that the reasons why women are disadvantaged in India, despite fifty years of development, is due to their ignorance, powerlessness and vulnerability. This is particularly so far those women who belong to the Scheduled Castes (*Harijans*) and Scheduled Tribes (*Girijans* or "mountain people"). Past state initiatives that have been implemented from time to time to improve the status of women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes did not have any appreciable impact on the economic well-being of the *Harijans* and 'the mountain people'.

The Hindu version of untouchability also has a racial basis as the impure status is based on birth and religion (Kisan, 2013). Describing various sorts of discrimination against *Dalits*, they quote Bhattachan, Sunar & Bhattachan (2009) who has listed a total of 205 existing practices of caste based discrimination which can be grouped into nine categories: i) denial of entry into houses, restaurants, temples; ii) inability to perform important religious service because wearing a sacred thread is not permitted, etc.; iii) access to common resources such as using water from tap or pond used by upper caste is denied; iv) denial of participation in public activities or entry into public places such as religious functions, government functions; v) forced labour or discriminatory practice of labour; vi) dominant behaviour towards *Dalits* such as *Jadau* system (practice of obeisance); vii) atrocities such as more rape cases among *Dalit* women than others; viii)

social boycott if a 'high caste Hindu' member marries with a *Dalit* of either sex, he or she is banned from the society; ix) attitudinal untouchability such as if one sees a *kami* (blacksmith) early in the morning it is considered inauspicious, or if there is a *Dalit* teacher then children of higher caste groups will not attend the school. Furthermore, they argue that the main problem is not the absence of laws but the lacking factor is effective enforcement of laws (Pandey, 2008).

Stating the vulnerable condition of *Dalit*, Bennet (2005), Caplan, (1972), mentions that *Dalits*, in Nepal, are poorer than most other social groups. If non-discrimination between castes is to be achieved, it is only possible by pulling up different caste members together. Class is an ambiguous concept and difficult to generalize across different contexts (Ellis, 2000). Empowering the poor requires the removal of all institutional barriers that limit their choices and prevent them from taking action to improve their well-being (Sen, 2013). Empowering people means promoting human rights, increasing the range of civil society interaction and freedom of association, reinforcing the rule of law and the impartial administration of justice and giving the poor more voice and control over the type, quality, and delivery of services they receive (Bonfiglioli, 2003).

Thieme (2006), comments about seasonal migration to India was also very common for the survival among *Dalits* in far west region. He further expresses that the majority of them used it to cope with food crisis period of the year. It was also interesting to find that people migrated to particular places in India like Delhi, Gujrat, Karnatka, etc. by exploring the social network. Such social network contributes to find job and a place for living. It was due to their illiteracy, shyness and low level of educational attainment that they could not move independently to seek jobs.

2.1.4 Social, Economic and Political Situation of Dalits

Bhattachan (2002) provides a detailed account of the economic, social and political situation of *Dalit*, and traces the roots of the discrimination against and ostracism of the *Dalits* in religion, state and society. The exact numbers of *Dalits* are not specified until now; however, official statistics shows 13 percent of the total population. Like *Janajatis*, there is no clear definition about *Dalit* community, and sometime this difficult to

recognise the *Dalit* from its family name. This also makes difficult to accord them a special legal status. Bhattachan points to the social diversity within the *Dalits*, often perceived by outsiders as a homogenous group. There are at least 22 castes among them, hierarchically classified. Some castes are distributed throughout the country and some fairly localised (out of the main caste and sub-castes and their principal occupations). Some *Dalit* communities, especially those in *Madhesh*, are particularly disadvantaged and of them women suffer more from being *Dalit* than men. Bhattachan traces many types of discrimination and humiliation that *Dalits* face in their daily life: exclusion from houses, temples, hotels, restaurants, food factories, dairy farms, water sources, and discrimination in jobs (including forced labour), feasts, festivals, marriage processions, and funerals. They are frequently subjected to insults and emotional and physical abuse (UNDP, 2008).

2.1.5 Women's Status in Dalit Community

It is generally an accepted fact that women are disproportionately represented among the world's poorest people. Cheston (2002) therefore suggested that poverty can be reduced through empowering women that can have tremendous impact on the empowerment process through linking their individual situation and abilities and the status of women as a group. Unite Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM, 2000) wrote "...gaining the ability to generate choices and exercise bargaining power," "...developing a sense of self-worth, a belief in one's ability to secure desired changes, and the right to control one's life" are important elements of women's empowerment...empowerment is about change, choice, and power; and cash-in-hands can have these empowering impacts. Empowerment is a process of change, by which individuals and groups gain the power and ability to make choices and affects their lives (UNIFEM, 2000 as cited by Cheston & Khun, 2002, p. 175).

Taking an example of women in India, Rajamma (1993) states that, schedule castes (SCs) like *Dalit* women in Nepal are often seen as a way to bring about changes in their lives, but in most cases have only resulted in further marginalizing them. Simply focusing on an increase in income as the main objective of income generation programmes (IGPs)

distracts attention from the overall well-being and empowerment of SCs women. He further elaborates that Women's Liberation and Rehabilitation Society (WLARS), an organisation registered to work for improving the socio-economic and political well-being of women, especially SCs women, believes in the importance of the empowerment approach to women's development through income generation programmes. The women lacked experience in economic affairs, which carries economic costs.

Most *Dalits* are landless and have very limited access to economic resources, in particular the women. Some are even still serving as bonded labourers in exploitative labour management systems, such as the customs of *Balighare*, *Haliya*, *Charuwa*, *Khalo* (FEDO and IDSN, 2012). Nepal has a number of discriminatory labour practices. Some are based on a caste-based division of labour. In other instances, *Dalits* are trapped in debt bondage and work entire lives for lenders who are usually also their landlords. *Dalit* women are often sexually exploited by non-*Dalit* men and become victims of trafficking, typically to brothels in India. Problems in inter-caste marriages include the bride being abandoned after their first sexual relations, rejection by parents and boycott by the communities. Even inter-caste marriages among *Dalits* of different status cause problems. Other discriminations faced by women include payment of dowry, forced covering of faces with shawls and battering following charges of witchcraft (IDSN, 2008).

2.1.6 State, Caste and Human Rights

As mentioned earlier, caste-based untouchability was officially banned in 1963 in Nepal. The democratic constitution of 1990 made untouchability punishable and any discriminate against *Dalits* in public presence and in the use of public facilities is also punishable by laws. The interim constitution of 2007 added a number of specific areas where discrimination is banned. But few *Dalits* can pursue discrimination in court – partly because of poverty and illiteracy. *Dalits* are often dependent on the discriminators, i.e., landlords and other elite in the society. A number of provisions in the interim constitution regarding increased equality for *Dalits* have not been translated to law and practices. *Dalit* representation in political system is negligible, but the establishment of

the National *Dalit* Commission in 2002 has contributed to make their issues visible (IDSN, 2008) to some extent.

2.2 Reviews on Livelihood Approaches, Frameworks and Models

2.2.1 The Concept of Sustainable Livelihoods

A livelihood is a means of making a living better. It encompasses people's capabilities, assets, income and activities required to secure the necessities of life (DFID, 2002). A livelihood is sustainable when it enables people to cope with and recover from shocks and stresses (such as natural disasters and economic or social upheavals) and enhance their well-being and that of future generations without undermining the natural environment or resource base (DFID, 2002).

In a very common language the term 'livelihood' denotes 'means of making a living' and the 'ways of life'. It includes various activities and resources that allow people to live, foster and sustain means of livelihoods. There is no universally valid definition of the term livelihood, though the concept has been popularly introduced in the development discourse (IFPRI, 2014).

Livelihoods perspectives start with how different people in different places live. A variety of definitions are offered in the literature, for example, 'the means of gaining a living' or 'a combination of the resources used and the activities undertaken in order to live'. Following the strong advocacy for sustainable livelihoods approaches in development from the 1990s, many development agencies started to advocate livelihoods approaches which now seemed to be applied to everything: livestock, fisheries, forestry, agriculture, health, urban development and more. A veritable avalanche of papers emerged, all claiming the sustainable livelihoods brand (Chambers and Conway, 1992; Scoones, 1998; Carney, 1998, 2002; Ashley and Carney, 1999). One of the recurrent criticisms of livelihood approaches is that they ignore politics and power but this is not strictly true. Livelihoods approaches encompass a broad church, and there has been some important work that has elaborated what is meant, in different variants of different frameworks, by 'transforming structures and process', 'policies, institutions and

processes’, ‘mediating institutions and organisations’, ‘sustainable livelihoods governance’ or ‘drivers of change’(DFID, 2004). These reflections have addressed the social and political structures and processes that influence livelihood choices. Power, politics and social difference and the governance implications of these have been central to these concerns (Scoones and Wolmer, 2003 as cited by Scoones, 2009).

How livelihoods are structured by relations of class, caste, gender, ethnicity, religion and cultural identity should be strongly addressed (Shapkota, 2014). Understanding of agrarian structures requires, as (Bernstein, Crow & Johnson, 1992, p. 24) point out, asking the basic questions: who owns what, who does what, who gets what and what do they do with it? Social relations inevitably govern the distribution of property (including land), patterns of work and divisions of labour, the distribution of income and the dynamics of consumption and accumulation. As with gender and other dimensions of social difference, the questions of class seems central to any livelihoods analysis. But, as O’Laughlin (2004, p. 387) argues: class, not as an institutional context variable, but as a relational concept, is absent from the discourse of livelihoods. Accordingly, political space is very limited – focusing mainly on ‘empowering’ the poor, without being clear about how this process takes place or who might be ‘disempowered’ for it to occur (Scoones, 2009).

2.2.2 Sustainable Livelihoods Chronology

Even though there are differences of interpretation and different variations of the livelihoods framework, they all build on earlier development theory such as, Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA); Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA); Farming Systems Research; Gender Analysis; New Understandings of Poverty and Well-being; Risk and Vulnerability Assessment; and Agrarian Reform. The details of the chronology has been given in the appendix 15. As mentioned in the appendix about the series of milestone about sustainable livelihood, it can reasonably be questioned as to what is new about SLA? The focus on households is not seemed to be new and neither is an attempt to integrate all aspects of livelihood.

2.2.3 The Framework and Approach for Sustainable Livelihood

The framework defines and classifies the different types of assets and entitlements which households have access to. The framework examines the different factors in the local and wider environment that influence household livelihood security. The framework looks at the connections between the local or micro situation and actors, institutions and processes at work in the wider world (DFID, 2007).

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework is introduced in order to understand the livelihoods of marginalized poor people. The term livelihood is widely used and perceived differently in contemporary writings. The dictionary meaning of livelihood is a 'means to living'. Generally, livelihood implies 'a way of living'; 'way of earning food, clothes and shelter'; and 'sustaining life by gaining and earning cash'. Present study employs the sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) as propagated by Chambers and Conway (1992):

A Livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social services), and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base (p. 6).

The Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) was developed by the Department for International Development (DFID, 2001) in order to increase the effectiveness of development cooperation. The SLF is a way of putting people at the centre of development (Chambers, and Conway, 1992; DFID, 2001) People are operation in a context of vulnerability and in a larger socio-economic environment; they have access to certain assets, which gain their meaning and value through prevailing social, institutional and organization environment. This environment influences their livelihood strategies and outcomes (Figure 2.1).

In brief, SLF is a framework for livelihood analysis. It is comprehensive in a sense that it comprises many elements, i.e., livelihood assets, policies, institutions and processes, livelihood strategies, livelihood outcome and vulnerability, which is considered merit on the one hand and a demerit on the other. It does not measurement of livelihood assets. To complement these gaps, scientific writings of Bebbington (1999), Ellis (2000), Scoones

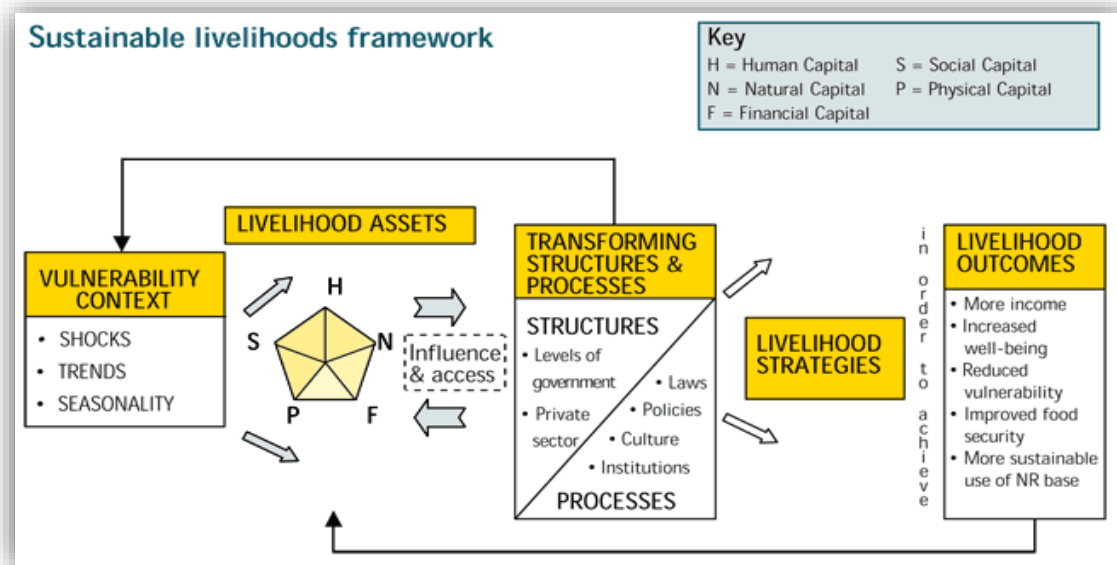
(1998) and Geiser (2005) have been useful to make SLF more meaningful adding measurement dimensions to this framework.

Scones (1998, p. 3) presented aforesaid five components of SLF differently. It is well illustrated by definition on 'Sustainable Livelihood':

Given a particular context (of policy settings, politics, history, agro-ecology and socioeconomic conditions), what combination of livelihood resources (different types of capitals) result in the ability to follow what combination of livelihood strategies (agricultural intensification/extensification, livelihood diversification and migration) with what outcome? Of particular interest in this framework are the institutional processes (embedded in a matrix of formal and informal institutions and organisations) which mediate ability to carry out such strategies and achieve (or not) such outcomes.

Virtually, there is a need to consider wider policy and other contexts and constraints that may operate. Livelihood Approaches (LA) emphasizes understanding of the context within which people live, the assets available for them, livelihood strategies they follow in the face of existing policies and institutions livelihood outcomes they intend to achieve (DFID, 2001). In the livelihoods approach, resources are referred to as 'assets' or 'capitals' (Ellis & Allison, 2004). Livelihood capitals are the resources on which people draw in order to carry out their livelihood strategies (Farrington, Ramsaut & Walker, 2002). Identifying what livelihood resources (or combinations of 'capitals') required for different livelihood strategy combinations is a key step in the process of analysis (Soussan, Blaikie, Springate & Chadwick, 2000). So an accurate and realistic understanding of people's strengths (here called 'assets' or 'capital') is crucial to analyze how they endeavour to convert their assets into positive livelihood outcomes (Bezemer and Lerman, 2002; Eneyew, Adugna and Bekele, Wagayehu, 2013).

Figure 2.1: The Sustainable Livelihood Framework



Source: DFID, 2000 p. 1, section 2

SL approach developed by DFID aims to increase the agency's effectiveness in poverty reduction mainly in two ways: the first is, by mainstreaming a set of core principles which determine that poverty-focused development activity should be people-centred, responsive and participatory, multi-level, conducted in partnership, sustainable, and dynamic. The second is by applying a holistic perspective in the programming of support activities, to ensure that these correspond to issues or areas of direct relevance for improving poor people's livelihoods. A central element of DFID's approach is the SL Framework, an analytical structure to facilitate a broad and systematic understanding of the various factors that constrain or enhance livelihood opportunities, and to show how they relate to each other (Krantz, 2001).

Several organisations such as donors, domestic, government agencies and civil-society organisations use some or all of the principles underlying sustainable livelihoods approaches, whether or not they use the SL language. This would be beneficial to clarify the fundamental principles behind three different livelihoods approaches used by different agencies, i.e., DFID, CARE and SDC. In spite of some differences in emphasis between the agencies, their similarities far outweigh their differences (Carney et al., 2000).

Table 2.1: SLAs Developed by Various Organizations and their Main Features

Origins and use of SL approaches				
Agency	CARE	DFID	Oxfam	UNDP
Origins of SL approach	CARE Long-range Strategic Plan as programme thrust	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> White Paper commitment to supporting policies & actions that promote SL Overall aim of poverty elimination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Need to link environmental change with poverty issues Strategic planning exercise looking for unifying concepts 	Part of overall sustainable human development agenda
Introducing Year	1994	1998	1993	1995
Area of change	Primarily a sectoral focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resource-focused activity (within former natural resource division) Sectoral focus 	Primary environmental care	Partly a reaction against economic- and employment-focused initiatives
Status of SL within the agency	Primary organization wide framework for Programming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support from the top but still associated with rural side One approach for achieving poverty eradication 	One of five strategic change objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One of five corporate mandates An approach for achieving sustainable human development
Current uses	Relief through development Urban and rural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Started rural, now more interest from urban side Various uses through development project cycle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Across development emergency & advocacy Mostly rural Used for strategic planning purposes, seldom at field level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rural and urban Country programme planning Small and micro enterprise activity
Types of activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Livelihood protection Livelihood promotion Livelihood provisioning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Various to meet international development targets (including poverty elimination) Link to rights and sector approach 	Strategic planning activities	Conceptual and programming framework
Strengths emphasis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Comprehensive and flexible Improves sectoral coordination Increases multiplier effects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Builds upon existing experience and lessons Offers a practical way forward in a complex environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participatory analysis Enables links to social and human rights approaches 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Links micro-macro Integrates poverty, environment & governance issues Gets the most out of communities and donors
Core ideas/organizing principles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Household livelihood security People- centred 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> People-centred Multilevel partnership Various types of sustainability Dynamic Poverty-focused 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> People-centred Multilevel Partnership Various types of sustainability Dynamic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adaptive strategies Conditioning factors (shocks and stresses that affect asset use)

Table 2.2: SLAs Developed by Various Organizations and Main Operational Issues

Operational issues				
Agency	CARE	DFID	Oxfam	UNDP
Starting point	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Possession of human capabilities - Access to tangible and intangible assets - Existence of economic activities - Basic needs addressed: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Income/ employment - food security - water supply - basic education - basic health and family planning - community participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Access to assets - Transforming structures and processes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Enhancing people's capabilities - Working towards equity - Working towards sustainability (four aspects) - Ensuring links between policy changes and livelihood improvement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Programming strategy - Analysis of strengths - Analysis of assets and coping/adaptive strategies
Analysis procedures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identify potential geographic area - Identify vulnerable groups and livelihood constraints - Collect baseline data and identify indicators - Select communities (taking into account similarity and absorptive capacity) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social/poverty analysis - Livelihoods analysis (develop an understanding of livelihoods structured using the SL framework, start broad, use a multitude of tools and become narrower) - Partnership analysis (decisions about action are informed by an understanding of strengths of existing partnerships and areas of expertise of partners) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stress on impact monitoring and assessment - Participation of various stakeholders with positive bias towards excluded groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participatory assessment of risks, assets, indigenous knowledge and coping/adaptive strategies - Assessment of micro, macro and sectoral policies - Assessment of potential contribution of modern science - Assessment of existing investment opportunities - Ensuring that the first four steps are integrated in real time
Understanding of sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partnerships, institution/ capacity-building - Environmental - Social/gender equity - Emphasis on secure rather than sustainable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social - Economic - Environmental - Institutional 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social - Economic - Environmental - Institutional 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ability to cope with stresses and shocks - Economic efficiency - Ecological integrity - Social equity
Asset categories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human - Social - Economic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human - Social - Natural - Physical - Financial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human - Social - Natural - Physical - Financial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human - Social - Natural - Physical - Economic - Sometimes political

Distinguishing features of agency's approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Distinguishes between private natural assets & common property assets - Stress on household level - Personal and social empowerment emphasized 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stress on underlying principles and a variety of SL approaches - Analysis of strengths - Micro-macro links 	Relatively loosely applied idea across a decentralized organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Starts with a strengths (rather than needs) assessment - Emphasis on technology - Emphasis on micro-macro links - Adaptive strategies as the entry point
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Source: Carney Diana with Drinkwater Michael and Rusinow Tamara (1999) (CARE), Koos, Neefies (Oxfam) and Samir Wanmali and Naresh Singh (UNDP), Livelihood approaches compared, (FOA, DFID).

Various features of SL approaches developed by four development agencies: UNDP, CARE, DFID and OXFAM are described in the table 2.2 and 2.3. It is found that of SL approaches of these different agencies have been interpreted differently. UNDP, for instant uses SL approach primarily as a programming framework, while CARE supports household livelihood security primarily at community level. UNDP and DFID work at community level, but also emphasize that tackling enabling policy environments, macro-economic reforms, and legislation is equally important for effective poverty reduction. CARE organizational mandate as an international NGO is to focus its programmes on helping the poorest and most vulnerable, either through regular development programmes or through relief work. Since 1994, CARE has used Household Livelihood Security (HLS) as a framework for programme analysis, design, monitoring, and evaluation. Comparing agencies all three agencies use the SL approach as a strategy towards poverty alleviation. They also have used similar definitions of what constitutes sustainable livelihoods. However UNDP and CARE use it to facilitate the planning of concrete projects and programmes, while for DFID the SL approach is more of a basic framework for analysis than a procedure for programming (Krantz, 2001). While OXFAM stressed on Enhancing people's capabilities, working towards equity, working towards, sustainability (four aspects), ensuring links between policy changes and livelihood improvement, however it loosely looks into the idea of decentralised system which contribute to effective participation of *Dalit* like marginalised people.

2.2.4 Strengths and Weaknesses of the SL Approach

Paying due attention to the multiplicity of assets that people make use of them when constructing their livelihoods, the SL Approach produces a more holistic view on what resources, or combination of resources, are important to the poor, including not only physical and natural resources, but also their social and human capital. Despite the various strengths of SLA, it has also some weaknesses:

None of the SL approaches discussed above really deal with the issue of how to identify the poor who needs support. Also, the way resources and other livelihood opportunities are distributed locally are often influenced by informal structures of social dominance and power within the communities themselves. UNDP and CARE have not addressed this issue, but DFID includes power relations as one aspect of

‘transforming processes’ to be examined. Gender is an aspect of social relations and to the extent that relations between men and women are characterized by marked inequality and social domination, they obviously form part of the problem. All three agencies give at least some consideration to gender, but the difficulties of genuinely giving the appropriate time and space to women is not really addressed (Krantz, 2001).

Furthermore, in the broad context of livelihood analysis, the SLF reinvigorates the Sustainable Livelihood Analytical Framework as a micro-macro analytical tool. In particular, to the extent that a household’s access, use and utility of public resources are defined by factors exogenous to these households (and contrary to what will be expected of a household’s own endowment), the distinction in asset holdings and degree in tenure rights bring into better perspective the role of institutions and the macro-sector in the determination of household welfare. Here, the criticism that the SLF is too micro level, too household focused is clearly avoided (Clarke and Darney, 2008). Since both resource types are identified at the same scale and relevance as in the framework, one cannot be emphasized over the other. This treatment also helps in addressing some of the other outstanding criticisms of the SL framework. As noted by Clarke and Darney (2008), notwithstanding the integrative, cross sectorial approach that the SL framework may be argued to advocate, the idea of maintaining people and the priorities of the poor at the centre of policy thinking consistently create a loss of balance. At the end, a sustained, generalized disposition toward building household assets as a response to poverty and economic vulnerabilities dominate (Mensah, 2012).

2.2.5 Vulnerability Factors

Vulnerability means ‘the insecurity or wellbeing of individuals or communities in the face of changing environments (ecological/social/economic/political) in the form of sudden shocks, long term trends or seasonal cycles’(Moser, 1996). The extent of vulnerability relates both to the level of external threats to a household’s, individual’s or community’s welfare and to their resilience resisting and recovering from these external threats. The focus of SL research into vulnerability therefore examines both this exposure of different groups to particular trends/shocks/seasonality; and the sensitivity of their livelihoods to these factors. That means the conditions and sources

of vulnerability faced by these various groups of poor people vary widely, so that even as a broad means of targeting the poor, poverty lines are weak (Barret and Beardmor, 2000). An analysis of vulnerability offers scope for addressing the one-dimensional understanding of poverty resulting from the use of the use of poverty lines. However, the complexity of the factors determining vulnerability is such that it is impossible to measure using simple quantitative tools. It is suggested, however, that vulnerability can be understood through an assessment of tangible and non- tangible assets: labour, human capital, productive assets, household relations and social capital (Moser and Holland, 1997, Farrington, Ramasut & Walker, 2002).

Vulnerability in urban areas substantially differs from that prevailed in rural areas, and is no less significant. Livelihoods analysis offers insights into the nature of vulnerability and the opportunities that exist in urban areas for addressing it, ranging from insurance of various kinds, to the creation of safety net entitlements through political lobbying, to income enhancement from the wider range of employment opportunities available to the poor than in rural areas. An important insight is that whilst vulnerability tends to be covariate in rural areas (i.e. many activities depend on the weather, and if unfavourable to one, it is generally unfavourable to most), such covariance rarely exists in urban areas, so that even if one area of livelihoods is affected by vulnerability, others may remain open (Farrington, Ramasut & Walker, 2002).

2.3 Livelihood Assets (Capitals): Five Categories of Assets

There are five key components in the livelihood framework, namely i) vulnerability context; ii) livelihood assets; iii) policies, institutions and processes; iv) livelihood strategies; and v) livelihood outcome (Figure 2.1).

Livelihood assets are essential components of livelihoods (Ellis, 2000). Beeferman L in his book “The asset index” published in 2007, define assets as “Assets are what people need to make choices about their lives; what they need to succeed in the choices that they make” (Beeferman, L. 2007). According to Sen (1997) these assets are not only means of sustenance, but they are also sources of power and social prestige, and entitlement of assets determines or gives social position and status in the society. Chambers and Conway (1992) have classified these assets into five

categories: natural assets, human assets, physical assets, social assets, and financial assets.

The livelihoods approach is concerned first and foremost with people. So an accurate and realistic understanding of people's strengths 'assets' or 'capital' is crucial to analyse how they endeavour to convert their assets into positive livelihood outcomes (Bebbington, 1999). People require a range of assets to achieve their self-defined goals, whereas no single capital endowment is sufficient to yield the desired outcomes on its own. Since the importance of the single categories varies in association to the local context, the asset pentagon offers a tool to visualise these settings and to demonstrate dynamical changes over time through constantly shifting shapes of the pentagon (Bebbington, 1999). Assets are of special interest for empirical research in order to ascertain, if those, who were able to escape from poverty, started off with a particular combination of capital, and if such a combination would be transferable to other livelihood settings. Furthermore, it would be interesting to evaluate the potential for substitution between different assets (capitals), for instance a replacement of a lack of financial asset – as is often the case in the reality of poor stakeholders through a better endowment with social asset.

a) Human Asset

This is labour resources of households and represents the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health (DFID, 1999), that enable people to achieve positive livelihood outcomes. These have both quantitative and qualitative dimensions (Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones, 2002 and Stephen, 2013).

In the field of development studies, 'human asset (capital)' is a very wide used term with various meanings. However, in the context of the SLF it is defined as: "Human asset represents the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives" (DFID, 2000). At the household level it varies according to household size, skill levels, leadership potential, health status, etc. and appears to be a decisive factor - besides being intrinsically valuable - in order to make use of any other type of assets. Therefore, changes in human asset have to be seen not only as isolated effects, but as a supportive factor for the other assets. Since an exact measurement of the

diverse indicators of human asset causes difficulties at the local level i.e. how to assess indigenous knowledge appropriately? It may be sometimes more suitable to investigate variations and their reasons (DFID, 2004).

b) Social Asset

The term “social asset (capital)” was introduced into social sciences by Loury (1977) but Coleman’s (1990) and Putnam’s (1993) publications have attracted academic and journalistic attention due to their definition. Coleman (1990, p. 304) defines social (asset) capital as: “...social organization constitute social capital, facilitating the achievements of goals that could not be achieved in its absence or could be achieved only at a higher cost”. (ibid, pp. 300-301) writes that “authority relations, relations of trust, and consensual allocations of rights which establish norms” are resources for individuals. A very similar characterization is provided by Putnam (1993) cited in Sophia Davidova and Diana Traikova (2008).

According to Rakodi (2002), social asset (capital) is defined as the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures, and society’s institutional arrangements, which enable its members to achieve their individual and community objectives. Social interaction needs to be strengthened through persistent relations. Sa-Dhan (2003) and DFID (1999) define social asset as social resources (networks and connectedness, social claims, social relations, affiliations, associations) upon which people draw when pursuing different livelihood strategies requiring coordinated actions (Vermaak, 2009, Rakodi, 2002 and Stephen, 2013).

Social asset is usually considered extremely difficult for social scientists to measure because the assets are non-physical and difficult to translate into monetary terms. In the asset index framework, however, they are measured in terms of binary variables such as household participation in various different activities and groups. Social asset is the most contested type of asset (Bebbington, 1999). The development of the concept is based on the theoretical work for instance, Putnam (1993) Portes (1998) and Caroline Moser and Andrew Felton, (2007).

Relations among people are shaped by histories of interactions which regulate further interaction. Reaching agreements on collective forest management and enforcing the

terms require strong social asset. If the State or outside businesses are involved, local people also need good links with external and more powerful interest groups. For many people living in and around forests, the critical deficit related to social asset is the uncertainty surrounding rights over resources.

In this regard, Upreti (2007) says, citing the example from the world bank definition of social asset which states that social asset (capital) as organizations and associations including public, private, and non-profit as well as to norms and relationships (such as laws, traditions, and personal networks of the individuals (ibid p. 90). In this approach, social asset (capital) is compared to the glue that holds societies together and facilitates doing business and increases productivity by promoting trust, coordination, and cooperation at all levels (World Bank, 2000, p. 91).

c) Natural Asset

Natural asset is the term used for the natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services such as land, water, forests, air quality, erosion protection, biodiversity, etc are useful for livelihoods derivation. It is of special importance for those who derive all or part of their livelihoods from natural resource-based activities, as it is often the case for the poor stakeholders, but also in more general terms, since a good air and water quality represents a basis for good health and other aspects of a livelihood. Within the framework a particularly close relationship exists between natural asset and the vulnerability context and many of the devastating shocks for the livelihoods are natural processes that destroy natural asset e.g. fires, floods, earthquakes (Nepali, 2011).

Access to land and resources such as trees or animals allows people to invest in productive processes. Poor people living in or near forests often lack formal rights to access, manage and use these resources. In many instances, they rely on forests for subsistence because they not only lack secure tenure, but also lack the technology and market information that would enable them to add value to products through processing, thereby increasing their chances to move out of poverty (Nepali, 2011).

Silwal (2003, p. 187) expresses that in the face of limited land resource base and increasing population and retention of additional labour force in agriculture will lead to further decline in per-capita cultivated land. Hence, transformation of this labour

force to off-farm employment is felt necessary. Cottage and small scale industries are the possible sectors for off-farm employment which can absorb the growing labour force. Government should encourage the people of rural areas for cottage and small scale industries by providing credit and market facilities.

d) Physical Asset

Physical asset refers to productive and household assets that include tools, equipment, housing and other producer goods (DFID, 1999; Rakodi, 2002; Solebury, 2003; Moser and Dani, 2008). It also involves basic infrastructure such as transport, shelter, water, energy, communication, buildings, roads and dams (Rakodi, 2002). There is an interaction among assets for sustainable livelihoods. Infrastructural development is important for health, social interaction and contributes to human and social asset development (Stephen, 2013).

Physical asset consists of the basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to support livelihoods, such as affordable transport, secure shelter and buildings, adequate water supply and sanitation, clean, affordable energy and access to information (Upreti, 2007). Its influence on the sustainability of a livelihood system is best fit for representation through the notion of opportunity costs or 'trade-offs', as a poor infrastructure can preclude education, access to health services and income generation (Nepali, 2011). Sularri et al. (2009) have categorized Physical assets as physically available and owned by individual and community. In this context, following six indicators have been used in this study:

Physical Asset; buildings, roads and tools provide the security, mobility and capability that allow people to produce, transform, exchange and consume goods. Although people living in remote areas and having forest resources have easy access to wood fuel and medicinal plants as well as timber for construction purposes, they often do not have access to markets because roads and transport facilities are lacking.

Physical asset is generally defined as comprising the stock of plant equipment, infrastructure and other productive resources owned by individuals, businesses and the public sector (World Bank, 2000). In this study, however, physical capital is more limited in scope. It is subdivided into two and includes the range of consumer

durables households acquire, as well as their housing identified such as land and the physical structure that stands on it (Moser and Felton, 2007).

e) Financial Asset

Finance asset refers to financial resources that are available to people which provide them with different livelihood options. These include cash, credit/debt, savings, remittances, pensions and other economic assets (Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Sa-Dhan, 2003; Stephen, 2013).

Financial asset denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives and it comprises the important availability of cash or equivalent that enables people to adopt different livelihood strategies. Two main sources of financial asset can be identified: available stocks comprising cash, bank deposits or liquid assets such as livestock and jewellery, not having liabilities attached and usually independent on third parties. Regular inflows of money comprising labour income, pensions, or other transfers from the state, and remittances, which are mostly dependent on others and need to be reliable. Among the five categories of assets, financial asset is probably the most versatile because it can be converted into other types of asset or it can be used for direct achievement of livelihood outcomes, e.g. purchasing of food to reduce food insecurity. People need money to make long-term investments in forests, tree crops and equipment but access to financing is often problematic for those who live in rural and remote areas where there are clear rights over forests and trees, these resources can serve as collateral for enterprise development (DFID, 2007).

IFPRI (2014) describes two important types of relationships between assets: (1) sequencing, or the degree to which the acquisition of one asset enables the acquisition of another, and (2) substitution, or the degree to which particular assets can be substituted for others.

In particular, studies have shown that improvements in women's land rights can be linked to a number of socially and economically desirable outcomes. Improved women's land rights have been associated with (1) lower reported rates of long-term physical and psychological domestic violence; (2) improved family nutrition; (3) improved children's educational achievements; (4) decreased fertility; and (5)

increases in women's ability to participate in their households' decision-making (IFPRI, 2014). The concept of capacity building has received a great deal of attention over the last few years. Some of the work has focused on definitions; other studies have tried to map different interventions; and some have even explored different approaches and their achievements (Definitions of capacity building) (DFID, 2008).

According to Bebbington (1999), a person's asset such as land is not merely a means, which he or she makes of living; it also gives meaning to that person's wealth. Assets are not simply resources that people use in building livelihoods; assets give people the capability to be and to act. Assets should not be understood only as things that allow survival, adaptations and poverty alleviation; they are also the basis of agent's power to act and to reproduce, challenge or change the rules that govern the control, use and transformation of resources (Bebbington, 1999). Access to means or resource is required to undertake activities that secure livelihood, i.e., it determines a certain level of well-being. Access to resources is socially mediated and shaped by social institutions that enable people to construct a meaningful livelihood.

2.4 Policies, Institutions and Processes (PIP) for Livelihood

Policies, institutions and processes shape people's livelihood. They operate at all levels from macro to micro (local) level and define resource tenure, entitlement and ownership. Policy and institution create direct incentives for the selection of livelihood strategies (DFID, 2001; Kollmair et al., 2006). Institutions, such as caste system can have restricting effect on livelihood strategies of group or individual (Kollmair et al., 2006). Scoones (1998) observes institutions as modification of either restriction or promotion of livelihood opportunities for sustainable livelihoods. Institutions also regulate social processes and support or hinder the security and sustainability of livelihoods.

The concept of sustainable livelihoods is a reference point for a wide range of people involved in different aspects of development policy formulation and planning. As analysts point out, there are two broad approaches to defining livelihoods. One has a narrower economic focus on production, employment and household income. The other: takes a more holistic view which unites concepts of economic development,

reduced vulnerability and environmental sustainability while building on the strengths of the rural poor.

i. Institutions

Institutions are critical to equity and prosperity because they establish the distributional rules of the game; they structure access to the assets, capabilities and opportunities that allow people to meet their needs, manage risks and make progress towards achieving their aspirations. There should be clear distinction between Institutions and Organizations. North's defines institutions as "the formal rules of the game in a society, or the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction in a good starting point". However, this study has given more emphasis on the dimensions of meaning, value and power differentials and thus would extend the game metaphor to address such questions as, why do people play this game? What is the prize for winning? Who sets the rules and who is the referee? (Bennett, 2005).

In particular, the analysis of institutions and organizations, which regulate the access to livelihood resources and the composition of livelihood strategies, is considered crucial to understand the hindering or supporting factors to produce sustainable livelihood outcome. Based mainly on the definition of Giddens (1984, p. 24) that regularized practices or patterns of behaviour are structured by rules and norms of society which are persistent and widespread, highlights the importance of institutions and power relation for livelihoods. Likewise, it focuses on the determining role of institutions on livelihoods. In his definition, "Institutions are the social cement which link stakeholders to access to capital of different kinds to the means of exercising power and so define the gateways through which they pass on the route to positive or negative (livelihood adaptations)". Ellis (2000) also points out that access to resources and opportunities may change individual and household strategies due to shifting norms and events in social and institutional contexts surrounding their livelihoods, and so puts emphasis on social relations, which can modify access to assets. In this context, the key public issues for promoting SLs seems as reflected in the table 2.4:

Table 2.3: Level, Function and Unit of key Governance Issues for Promoting SLs

Level	Function	Unit
Micro level e.g. Ward, Community organisations,	Community level- where people live, interact, communicate, build social relationship	Community,
Lower meso	Lowest level of management of services. Intermediate	Local Government e.g. VDC
Upper meso	level, which provides support to and supervision of the Lower meso	DDC, district level institutions
National	Policy Level, Ministerial level, central level	Ministry , NPC

Source: DFID, 2006

Best practice in work at micro-level (typically by NGOs) must be properly linked into the local organisations (meso-level), and seek to influence policy (national level) if they do not remain islands of excellence in a chronic poverty.

Alinovi, and Romano (2010), Jansen, Damon, Wielemaker, and Schipper (2006) and (IFPRI, 2014) used cluster analysis to create taxonomy of the livelihood strategies observed in the sample. Cluster analysis is a highly flexible and intuitive method for assigning a large number of observations to a smaller number of distinct groups, or clusters. In hierarchical cluster analysis, each of the cases begins as a cluster into itself. Clusters are then successively merged together based on their similarity using Ward's algorithm, which seeks to minimize the merging cost.

ii. Review of Policies and Strategies in SL Approach

The operational framework of the SL approach brings together various factors including local government and municipal authorities and local communities in decision-making, and policy formulation and implementation. The SL concept and methodology seeks to bridge the gap between macro policies and micro realities and vice versa. By employing both participatory and policy (cross-sectorial) tools, the SL approach underlines the inter-linkages between livelihood systems at the micro level and the macro policies which have impact on these livelihoods (Mike, 2002).

The livelihoods framework is a way of looking at the complexity of people's livelihoods, especially the livelihoods of the poor, whether they are rural or urban. It seeks to understand the various dimensions of a person's livelihood; the strategies and objectives pursued, and associated opportunities and constraints.

There are various ways of conceptualizing the components of a livelihood and the influences upon it which may encounter various slightly different diagrammatic representations of these variables and their interconnections (see 2.2.1) adapted from Ellis (2000). Although this is focused on rural livelihoods, most of its essential features also can be applicable to many urban livelihoods strategies formulation.

iii. Review of Policies and Programmes in Relation to Dalits in Nepal

Before 1947 AD there was no organized initiative against caste based discrimination from neither the State nor the civil society. The Ninth Plan (1997-2002) NPC (1997) and Tenth-Plan (2003- 2007) NPC (2002), had clearly focused on *Dalit* targeted plan outlining the objectives, policies, strategies and programmes for *Dalits* and other disadvantaged groups. The Poverty Alleviation Fund (PAF) was established in 2004 in which, *Dalit* community has been chosen as one of the target groups. During the Tenth-Plan period, *Dalit* upliftment activities had received about NRs 500 million from the PAF. As opposed to the traditional modality of implementation the Fund intends to implement activities through community based organizations. Also, line Ministries and the local bodies had been working, though nominally, for uplifting of the *Dalits*. Development agencies; bi-lateral/multilateral, I/NGOs and the human rights organizations were also increasingly engaged for the rights and development of the *Dalit* community. Political parties' fraternal and sister organizations were also contributing to some extent in elimination of caste based discrimination. Lack of sufficient commitment, working capacities, political will power and the resources had prevented most of them to contribute effectively (Purkoti et. al., 2009, p.24).

Though the periodical plans are implemented for the overall development of Nepal, these policies remained silent till the Seventh plan (1985-90) in favour of *Dalits*. The Eighth Plan (1992-97) spelled out the programmes like social emancipation, campaign, rural self-help programme for the socially and economically deprived people. Ninth plan (1997-2002) for the first time incorporated comprehensive policy and stressed to play lead role in reforming the means of livelihood of people living in depressed areas, distressed and oppressed castes and ethnic groups. Likewise, the Tenth Plan (2002-2007) NPC (2002) also emphasized the programmes for the *Dalits* and deprived communities. The government's Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan (PRSP 1992), which was prepared by National Planning Commission, also stressed on

the inclusion of *Dalits* in the mainstream Nepalese politics, but the implementation was always poor (Bishwakarma, 2005). The poor implementation was because of the lack of insufficient, non-sensitive governance system and lack of proper representation of *Dalits* in both policy and implementation level. Similarly so-called high caste groups that control the state, society and the economy had not shown sufficient political will to address the problem of *Dalits*. In the same way, The Three-Year Interim Plan (2007/08-09/10) NPC (2007) and Three-Year Plan (2010/11-2012/13) NPC (2010) have also incorporated policies and programmes focused on social inclusion.

GoN 1 has been very particular in helping backward socio-economic groups like *Dalits*. However, the benefits, particularly of positive discrimination in education, and public employment, have neither been large nor widely spread. Moreover, such a policy has created in the *Dalits* community a feeling of dependence on the government adversely affecting self-effort. The constitutional/legal provisions alone cannot bring any behavioural changes in the society or strong speeches by political leaders.

GoN has established *Dalit Vikash Sammittee* in September 1997 for Enhancement of Ignored, Oppressed and Downtrodden Groups. This committee aims at identifying programmes related to economic, educational and social development of marginalized people and implement them has been undertaken many activities for empowering *Dalits*. Moreover, this committee is also supposed to establish a relation with national and international agencies, consult on *Dalit* issues, conduct *Dalit* development programs and launch awareness programs. Since, it has a very short history of the programmes to access over its achievements. However, its program to provide scholarship to *Dalit* students is noteworthy. A part of that, the *Dalit Vikash Sammittee* and various other programs which are targeted to *Dalit* empowerment, with the lack of grassroots areas to identify the appropriate projects, budgetary constraints, and egalitarian and equality approach are believed to have been inappropriate to the development of *Dalits* (NPC, 2002).

Similarly, the government has established a National *Dalit* Commission in March 2002 with the objective of high-level policy making and formulating programs for *Dalit* enhancement. This generally attempts to protect the rights of *Dalits* and mitigate

the discriminations and social exclusion against *Dalits*. Some of their programs were believed to be effective; however in general, they have not been able to enhance the better quality of *Dalit* lives (NPC, 2002). Table 2.5 illustrate the situation of *Dalit* in comparison with non-*Dalit*.

Table 2.4: The Comparison between the Status of Dalits and Human Development Index (Nepal)

Indicators	<i>Dalit</i> Index 2011	Nepal Index/Value
Life expectancy(years) index	67.19	68.80
Adult literacy ratio(Percent)	52.27	59.57
Mean years of schooling index	3.42	3.90
Per-capita income (NRs)	33,786	Brahman/chettri 49,878
Per-capita income (US \$) Ppp\$ index	755	1160
Life expectancy index	0.703	0.730
Human development index	0.434	0.490

Source: NPC/UNDP Report (2014, pp. 90- 97)

The cyclic effect of socio-economic and political backwardness of *Dalits* characterized by caste based discrimination have been translated into their poor status in Human Development Index (HDI) record as well, which the above mentioned table vividly describe; the wide gap between the status of *Dalit* and average of Nepal (NPC/UNDP, 2014).

International scholar also revealed about the human development process, good governance, human rights and how people become marginalised can be found from the analysis of Kaufmann et al. (1999) from the World Bank Institute who comes to the conclusion that the concept of good governance constitutes a link between political and civil rights on one hand and economic, social and cultural human rights on the other. According to him, on one hand, empirical studies have shown that governance, the fight against corruption and the rule of law can only prosper in an environment in which basic civil and political human rights are respected. On the other hand, governance also constitutes a precondition for certain economic, social and cultural human rights. Therefore, within the good governance agenda, certain civil and political rights have to be considered in order to realise social, economic and cultural rights. The World Bank's good governance agenda in the past had consistently included certain civil and political rights as the freedom of press, freedom of expression, freedom of information and freedom of assembly as well as the right to participate in the decision-making processes, as a part of and also a precondition for good governance. Kaufmann's makes view also sense for looking at the World

Bank's perception of accountability as a means to restrict the abuse of public power (Kaufmann, Kraay & Pahl, 1999).

The above mentioned individual freedoms which are crucial part of the good governance definition constitute tools in order to achieve accountability.

2.5 Livelihood Strategies and Outcome

Livelihood strategies indicate range and combination of activities and choices that the people make and undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals or outcomes. These activities include productive activities, investment strategies and reproductive choices (DFID, 2001, p.27). These strategies have been understood as dynamic processes. People combine activities to satisfy their various needs at different levels and on different geographical or economic levels (Kollmair et al., 2006; Scoones (1998) opines that livelihood options open to rural people belong to three broader categories: the intensification of agriculture, the diversification of income sources, and migration. Whitehead (2002, p. 576) argues that 'a living is made through a portfolio of activities so that households and individuals are flexible and can adapt to wide range of misfortune and external shocks'. Rural livelihoods are very diverse by adopting a wide range of farm and non-farm activities based on availability of assets or resources, i.e. crop production, livestock, farm wage, non-farm wage, non-farm self-employment remittance gathering or migration (Ellis, 2000; Thieme, 2006). The resulting rural livelihood diversification is defined by Ellis (2000) as the process by which rural livelihood constructs an increasingly diverse portfolio of activities and assets in order to survive and to improve their standard of living.

Another categorization of livelihood strategies, as used by CARE (Carney et al., 1999) looks at strategies from the point of view of support activities to livelihoods that can be provided by agencies such as CARE, distinguishing between the livelihoods promotion (activities to improve households' resilience), livelihood protection (activities to help prevent a decline in household livelihood security, e.g. early warning systems, cash or food for work, health education), livelihood provisioning (direct provision of basic needs, usually in emergency situations) (Farrington, Ramasut, and Walker, 2002).

Livelihood strategies are shaped by a combination of the assets available, the urban contextual factors which determine the availability of these assets, and men's and women's objectives. Individuals and households build up various patterns of activities which together constitute their livelihood strategies. Many households' livelihood strategies integrate rural and peri-urban activities (Meikle, Ramasut & Walker, 2001).

Livelihood Outcome

Livelihood outcomes are the achievements of livelihood strategies, such as more income e.g. cash, increased well-being e.g. self-status, health status, access to services, reduced vulnerabilities e.g. better resilience, improved food security e.g. increased financial status to buy food, and more sustainable use of natural resources e.g. appropriate property rights (Ellis, 2000; DFID, 2001; Kolmair, Muller, Ejderyan & Gamper, 2006).

Sen (1981) explained starvation, poverty, and deprivation through the use of entitlement relation and exchange entitlement. Among the four identified types of entitlement relations, i.e., trade-based entitlement, production-based entitlement, own-labour entitlement, and inheritance and transfer entitlement, the production-based entitlement would be most relevant in this study. Similarly, in contemporary debates on food right, the concept of food security is replaced by food sovereignty, which focuses on right to food and food producing resources.

2.6 Situations of Various Measuring Indices

i. Livelihood Resources Index

The livelihood resources index is constructed in two steps: First, a composite or proxy indicator is defined for each of the five resource types in the framework and second, these are combined in an overall resource index (Sharp, 2003).

The Sustainable Livelihoods Index (SLI) as a useful tool in assessing the livelihood elements of the rural poor households. Income data alone may not fully reflect the suitability of the hardcore poor in receiving government assistance in the form of entrepreneurial projects. In this case rendered projects do not take into account the ability and preparedness of the poor in receiving the projects. This study measures

comprehensively all the livelihood elements of the rural poor households through developing a Sustainable Livelihood Index (SLI). This index is based on Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) framework (Kamaruddin and Shamzaeffa, 2014).

Most rural livelihoods are reliant on the natural resource base to some extent, and measuring the sustainability of the resource base is difficult. One measurement of sustainable livelihoods is the creation of working days Sen, (1984) this relates to the ability of a particular combination of livelihood strategies to create gainful employment for a certain portion of the year. The measurement which perhaps captures best the essence of livelihoods thinking and its evolution is that of well-being and capabilities. Sen (1984, p.323) ascertains that capabilities are “directly valuable in a way that the possession of primary goods cannot be, since they evidently are means to some more human ends”. Chambers and Conway (1992) explain that in a context of change, capacities mean being adaptable, quick and well informed in order to exploit changing opportunities.

However, such methods need to be complemented by larger scale data collection and quantitative analysis, in order to reveal the characteristics of the context, the overall dimensions of and trends in poverty, and the extent to which household characteristics revealed in in-depth relatively small scale studies are ‘typical’. Such data also provide a basis for assessing the impact of broader macro, meso and city-wide policies and in helping prioritisation for resource allocation. Increasingly, both at national and local urban level, the limits of single strand analysis and the importance of triangulation are acknowledged (Booth et al., 1998; Moser, 1998; De Haan, Drinkwater, Rakodi & Westley, 2002).

ii. Development of Asset Index

There are some difficulties while constructing of an asset index. The aggregation of the various types of assets into a single number which represents the sum total of the value of assets is common difficulty. This is especially problematic in developing countries having small markets but, not impossible to place a monetary value in many types of assets while developing the assets index (Sahn & Stifel, 2000; Larry W. Beeferman, 2002). A book entitled “Livelihoods, poverty and targeting in the Indo-Gangetic Plains: A spatial mapping approach” which developed the asset index of

different ecological zone of India was taken as one of the important reference for this study (Erenstein, Hellin, and P. Chandna, 2007). Similarly, another book entitled “The construction of an asset index: Measuring asset” that was used to determine the assets index of Ecuador was another reference used for the study (Moser and Felton, 2007).

It may be helpful to create asset measures that can assess inequalities by sub populations so that we can understand these better and have a firm foundation for discussing and addressing differences. Existing measures, such as Gini coefficients based on net worth and financial assets, reflect key dimensions that are important. Another measure could be individual or group net worth compared to median net worth as a measure of position in the overall distribution (a similar measure is common in income-based studies of economic inequality). Alternatively, the presence of key assets across income levels could be useful; these might include durables such as a washer and a dryer, automobile ownership, and home ownership. Another potentially fruitful approach would be to measure assets that create opportunities for development of children, including pre-school, extra-curricular activities, camping, trips, and internship experiences.

In such a process different types and sources of data are used to generate concepts, questions and explanations which inform and challenge analysis based on alternative methodological approaches. To comprehensively measure all the livelihood elements of the rural poor households through developing a SLI based on SLA framework (Kamaruddin and Samsudin, 2014).

This SLI is slightly different with indices developed by previous authors that mostly based on macro level data to evaluate the well-being of the poor and developmental process of the country by regions. This index concentrates on formation of micro-index that base on the livelihood assets possession of every household. Hence, this study contributes to the variation of knowledge particularly in developing of indices that based on Sustainable Livelihood Framework. This concept was first introduced by Brundtland Commission on Environment and Development in 1987 and later expanded at United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 (IISD, 2013).

Combining the indicators; alternative methods of weighting each of the indicators discussed above represent one piece in the complex mosaic of poor people's livelihoods. Each indicator was explored separately during the preliminary quantitative analysis (Sharp et al., 2003) but it was anticipated from the beginning of the project that no single indicator would in fact capture the varied and multi-dimensional phenomenon of destitution, and that it would be necessary to combine the indicators into more complex indices in order to estimate how many people are destitute (Sharp, 2003). Assigning weights based on qualitative or subjective judgment, the option of summing or averaging unweighted indicators is included under this approach, since it is in effect a decision to give all the indicators equal weight.

1. Constructing a set of weights based on a common factor which can be applied to all the indicators for example, market or shadow prices.
2. Allowing the weights to be determined mathematically, using principal components analysis (or PCA), a computerised statistical procedure (discussed below); or
3. Avoiding the need for weights by simply running a multivariate regression analysis with all the indicators as unconstrained variables (Sharp, 2003).

Statistical tools such as factor analysis, and percentage analysis were made used for analysing the data. The independent variables were analysed based on standardized scoring procedures. The data collected were analysed by using factor analysis, used in order to determine the relationships existing among the groups of independent variables. The procedure followed for factoring the correlation matrix in the present study was the Principal Axis method (Swathilekshmi, 2010).

The well-known composite index of social and economic wellbeing is Human Development Index (HDI) developed by UNDP in 1989. HDI is the process of enhancing the human capabilities to expand choices and opportunities such that each person can lead a life of respect and value (Bhardwaj et al., 2012). UNDP has also developed several other indices like Gender-related Development Index (GDI), which indicates the average achievement of each country in life- expectancy, and educational attainments of men and women, Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)

to evaluate the relative empowerment of women and men in political and economic spheres of activity (Rai et al., 2008). Likewise, Diener, (1995) has developed ‘the quality of life index ‘(QOL) in that is based on universal set of values. Similarly index of social progress (ISP) has developed by Estes in 1997 to introduce the significant changes in ‘adequacy if social provision, valorising the basic social and material need of the world’s population. Even Klein and Ozmucur Pare used social indicator to determine economic growth of China in 2002/2003. While analysing qualitative data Haberman, in 1978, used statistical methods. In course of time, several international and cross-national indices have been developed and used in various areas. Among them livelihood security index (LSI) is one of the most used social indicator to find out the quality of life. Livelihood security, according to Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) is ‘adequate and sustainable access to income and resources to meet basic needs (including adequate access to food, potable water, health facilities, educational opportunities, housing, time for community participation and social integration)’. Livelihoods can be derived from a range of on-farm and off-farm activities, which together provide a variety of procurement strategies for food and cash (Rai et al., 2008). At the other end, but quite similar to the present study, a study (Toufique & Yunus, 2013) conducted a study on measuring climate vulnerability using 7 different components which are: Socio-Demographic Profile, Livelihood Strategies, Social Networks, Health, Food, Water, Natural Disasters and Climate Variability.

The several possible sources of entitlement are the position of household livelihood that reflects the household’s endowments and its linkage with legal, political, economical, reality of society. When poor livelihood, reflects, that determines the level of vulnerability in each household as in income, food, health, education, nutritional insecurity etc.

Indices for economic and social status are composite indicators of the economic and social well-being at the community, state, national and international levels. These social indicators are used to monitor the social system and help in the identification of problem areas and assets that need policy planning and require intervention to alter the course of social change. The term ‘social indicator’ was invented by the American Academy of Arts and Science in 1960. This study tries to discover and anticipate the

nature and magnitude of second order consequences of space programme for the US society (Landes, 1999). An attempt was made to develop a system of social indicators. The efforts made under this study were assembled in the form of a publication “Social Indicators”, which was edited by Raymond Baller and was published in 1966. In the survey of social indicators, Landes (1999) has identified three main uses of social indicators: (i) monitoring, (ii) social reporting, and (iii) public enlightenment and social forecasting.

Gruber (2001) creates three measures of assets: gross financial assets, net financial assets, and total net worth. According to him, Gross financial asset are considered to be the total amount of financial resources accumulated as precautionary savings. Net financial assets are calculated by subtracting unsecured debt e.g., credit card debt from gross financial assets. Secured debt, such as a home mortgage, is not taken into account in calculating net financial assets. These two measures gross and net financial assets, measure liquid assets exclusively. Net worth is considered a summary indicator of total available financial resources to the household, combining liquid and non- liquid assets.

In addition, financial assets and physical properties can be passed from one generation to the next. Material assets are viewed as having historical origins and reflect inequality accumulated across generations as well as socioeconomic disparity generated in contemporary contexts. Furthermore, assets provide owners a wide range of opportunities that go beyond the economic value created by income. Assets offer the opportunity to achieve and maintain a 'good life' by providing command over financial resources. That means to say, assets enable owners to make purchases that may help them move up to and maintain middle or upper class status, such as an education, a business property, or a home. Income is often an insufficient source of financial support for these critical life goals because the costs of higher education, initial payment for home purchase (down payment and closing costs), and the financial risks associated with a start-up business are not modest (Nam, Huang & Sherraden, 2008).

Challenging the traditional way of disempowering of *Dalits* and other disadvantaged people, Sustainable Livelihood framework has been developed which impact agency and status of *Dalits* by increasing their access to assets. Assets are not simply

resources that people use in building livelihoods: they are assets that give them the capability to be and to act. The SL literature focuses on the accumulation of five types of assets, often called the asset pentagon: (1) human assets for example, labour hours, education, and health; (2) social assets. For example, trust, family support, and community membership; (3) physical assets. for example, house and access to nearby roads); (4) natural assets for instant, land and forest access); and (5) financial assets for example, cash reserves and credit availability. Other assets, such as political power and psychological assets are sometimes included as well, although there is lack of agreement on whether and how best to incorporate them into the framework (Scoones 2009; De Haan and Zoomers, 2005). Empirical research in both developed and developing countries has demonstrated that households do not always pool their resources and that it matters who in the household has access to and control over these resources (Haddad and Hoddinott, 1997).

A radar diagram was plotted by inserting the index values of the five livelihood assets. The model was effective and sensitive in identifying micro-macro links in terms of impact of physical resource endowments in two systems (Shivakoti, 2005).

Measuring sustainability and sustainable developments Chambers and Conway (1992) developed Rural Livelihood Security Index, which consists of capability, equity, and sustainability (Shrishail, 2006). There are several literatures that work on livelihood assets index of different area ranging from water (FAO 2008;), forest, agriculture and work done carried out in different part of the world are used as the main reference for the study of *Dalit* in Nepal. These literatures are: The Economic and Social Development Index (Osberg and Sharpe 2005), Assessing the progress of states in promoting economic security and opportunity. Anand and Sen, (1994), ‘Human Development Index: methodology and measurement’ (Caroline, Sullivan, Cohen, Faures & Santini, 2008).

Nepal Social Inclusion Index (NSII)

Most of the literatures on exclusion/inclusion (ADB 2010; Bennett and Dahal 2005; Bennett and Parajuli 2011 and; UNDP 2011; World Bank 2006) focus on exclusion rather than inclusion as cited by Lal Das, et al., 2014).

Multiple Forms of Social Exclusion and Inclusion in Nepal

The issue of social exclusion draws wider attention in a more diversified society like Nepal. Social exclusion in Nepal comprises multiple forms of deprivations faced by people. A poor *Dalit* family was surviving with very minimum level of resources. For a long time, the main source of income for the family was producing artisanal works fetching local demand. He was not even allowed to enter into the temple premises because he was a *Dalit* (Lal Das, et.al, 2014). The *Dalit* family, at first, is excluded economically. It has no access to productive resources or to formal labour market. This forced the family to survive with inadequate income (Lal Das, et al., 2014).

Literature dealing with identity groups provides information and analyses to understand the types and depths of exclusion diverse group's face. Exclusion of various ethnic groups such as caste, linguistic, religious, national, regional identity have explicitly or implicitly received attention, often to analyse socio-cultural rights of minority groups, group mobilization, and violent ethnic conflicts (Aasland and Flotten 2001; Horowitz 1985) economic deprivation and poverty, as well as under representation in politics and other influential sectors in society (Allen, 2005; Sen, 2000; Walzer, 1993; Williams and Macedo, 2005). Despite providing rich information and analyses on formation of ethnic groups, discrimination minorities' face, and factors that contribute to their mobilization and consequences of such political actions, the studies did not facilitate easy and quick comparison of groups that policy makers and academics with interest in quantitative analyses seek as cited by (Lawoti, 2014).

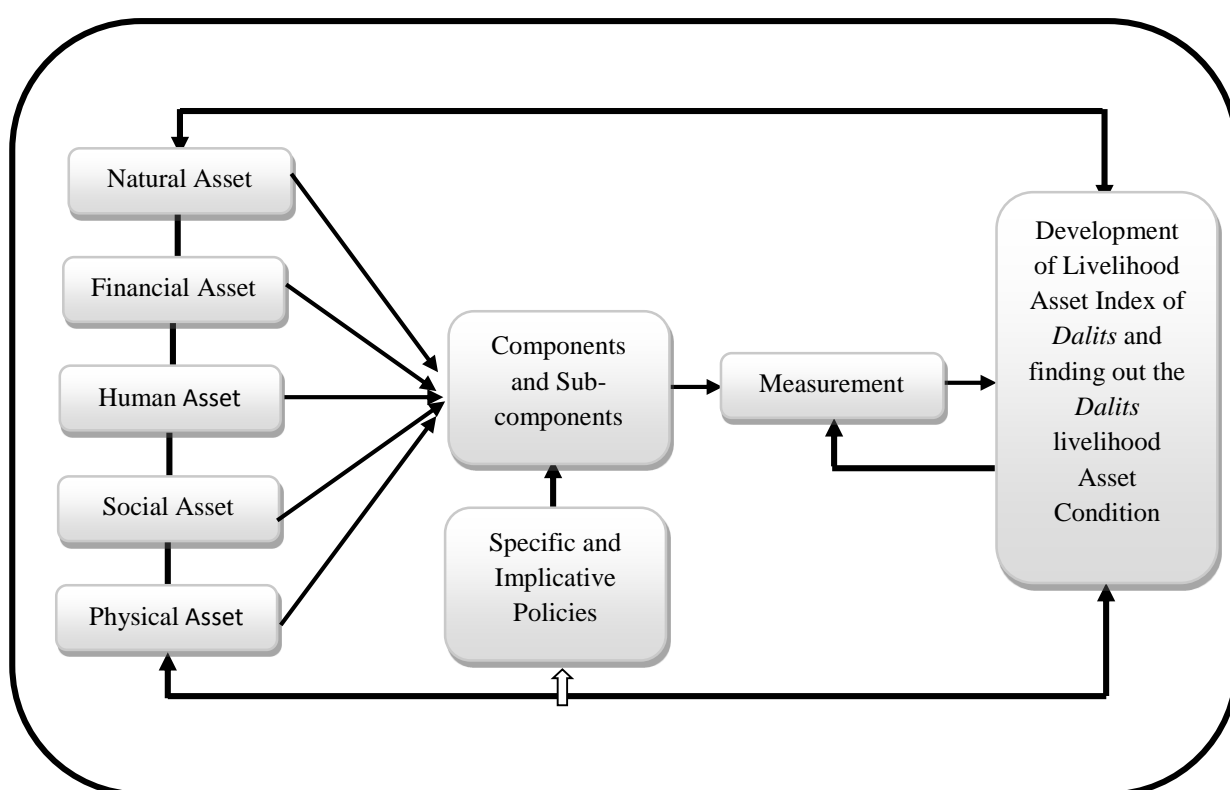
2.7 Research Gap

The SL framework and an understanding of assets/capitals, vulnerabilities, people's preferred outcomes can help us to formulate future plans and strategies more effectively which ultimately can improve *Dalits'* Status. The SL principles and governance issues indicate how to operate and able to intervene to respond to people's livelihood needs, use good development practices, making an impact on poverty. For making peaceful communities and individuals of various caste, classes, professions, the regions must be empowered. They should be active and involved in planning and managing their own development, for their own outcomes, they need responsive

services and policy, and there must be real opportunities to make a living i.e. the appropriate social and economic environment.

Some of the interventions taken by I/NGOs and GoN very much limited in formalities and benefits to few elite *Dalits* layer. So, the actual situation and fact finding of *Dalits* in FWDR, the LAI of *Dalits* has been developed which can support the more effective areas of development and empowerment of *Dalits* from the policy formulation to implementation level from grassroots to centre. For the measurement of livelihood assets among *Dalit* of FWDR, figure 2.2 has been presented:

Figure 2.2: Measurement of Livelihood Assets of Dalits in FWDR



Source: DFID, 2001 and Modified According to Need of the Study

Various theories have been developed, concepts have been discussed and carried out, books have been published and internationally, regionally, nationally and locally various programmes have been implemented so far in the field of social development, social inclusion, social exclusion and socio-economic empowerment and livelihood development for *Dalit*, but almost all the studies and researches made so far have shown that to some extent, in many societies, the socio-economic as well as political status of marginalized and disadvantaged groups have been gradually improved.

Nonetheless, many such studies lack to put light on livelihood assets issues and hindering factors of *Dalits* livelihood in respect of assets and vulnerability context in sustainable livelihood are largely overlooked in the literature related to *Dalit*. *Dalits* in Nepal in general and *Dalits* of FWDR in particular are still socially, economically and politically falling far then behind in comparison of their counterparts, i.e., the so-called upper caste people in reciprocal societies and communities. In this background, in order to bring the *Dalits* of FWDR in the mainstream of development and raise their standard of living as well as ensuring them the conducive atmosphere for their overall empowerment, the *Dalits* themselves, Non-*Dalits* as well as all the stakeholders (government, non-government, civil society, private sector and all the rest of development partners) must make vigorous efforts.

Comprehensive analysis of government policy and programmes for *Dalits* livelihood in sustainability livelihood approach is essential in the context and. *Dalits* livelihood strategies (Activities) of FWDR in relation with their assets is also equally important.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with the overall contents of research design, nature and sources of data, sample size, sampling areas, sampling design and data collection techniques/tools, reliability and validity and data analysis processes. The chapter also presents ontology and epistemology of the study that further contribute to design the theoretical background and conceptual framework. This chapter deals with the articulation of ethical considerations and methodological limitations too.

3.1 Research Design and Sampling Process

This study covers both the exploratory as well as descriptive research designs. Explanatory research approach has been adapted including qualitative (interpretative) measures while, descriptive research design has been used explain the qualitative nature of the data such as livelihood, employment, primary-level (school) enrolment, drop-out rate, types of social power relation, and economic activities associated with access to information, livelihood and resources. Furthermore, the exploratory research design has contributed in exploring dimensions related to social discrimination, livelihood and empowerment related, feature of the research.

3.1.1 Sampling Design, Sampling Size and Process

This study has employed two types of sampling designs: the probability and the non-probability sampling designs. FDWR was purposefully selected to address the need of the study. The chronic poverty and vulnerable condition of *Dalits* in meeting their daily lives and livelihood of were the most significant causes for the selection of site purposefully. This study has followed purposive sampling primarily in order to include *Dalits* from all social-physical and economic status. The *Dalit* communities with higher degree of social discrimination and economic poverty are found to be in Bajhang, Baitadi and Kailali districts. Kailali, Baitadi, and Bajhang, three adjacent districts, were purposively chosen each representing Terai, Hill and the Mountain respectively. On the other hand, Kailali and Bajhang belong to Seti Zone whereas Baitadi lies in Mahakali Zone. From each district, one VDC and one municipality

were selected purposively using the same criteria. Hence, regional representation has been ensured in the study.

Due to a larger size of universe i.e., 3316 total HHs of the study area, a total of 315 *Dalits* households were sampled from the wards by employing purposive sampling technique which implies that sample are taken by the researcher, based upon a variety of criteria which may include specialist knowledge of the research issue, or capacity and willingness to participate in the research. Different steps of sampling employed in this study were as follows:

Table 3.1: Coverage of District and Ecological Belts

District	V.D.C./Municipality	Area/Wards	Zone	Ecological Belt
Bajhang	Chainpur VDC	Central /2 wards	Seti	Mountain
	Shyadi VDC	Rural/ 3 wards		
Baitadi	Dasharth Chand Municipality	Central / 2 wards	Mahakali	Hill
	Kuwakot VDC	Rural / 3 wards		
Kailali	Dahangadi Municipality	Central/ 2 wards	Seti	Terai
	Godawari VDC	Rural / 3 wards		

Source: Field Survey, 2013

The Sampling frame consisted of HHs of two settlements (*gaun*) of each selected VDCs and three settlements from each selected municipalities in all the study districts. As per the secondary sources (e.g. VDC profiles and DDC profiles), the selected settlements for the study was purposively rationale as the areas of *Dalit* dominating population and the higher rates of poverty incidences in the region. At least 20 HHs from each settlement were selected. This sample size (20 from each settlement or at least 60 HHs) from each VDC or municipality was considered to be sufficient for fundamental characteristics of normal distribution. It would further allow to have a valid statistical decision even for each selected VDC or municipality.

Many steps were followed for sampling process. The first stage was the development of methods and tools to carry out the empirical research in FWDR of Nepal to fulfill the research objectives. The whole process of study was consisted of the site selection, sampling and sampling design, questionnaire design, preliminary visits in the study areas and so on. The study used an interview method to collect public opinions by using an interview schedule with a set of questionnaire.

In the present study, the sample size was statistically determined through the approach based on precision and confidence level, using estimated standard deviation of the population. As the *Dalits* population in the study region being finite population, sample size was determined from the statistical formula for finite population (Kothari, 2006, p. 179).

$$n = \frac{z^2 PQN}{e^2(N-1) + z^2 PQ}$$

Where,

n= estimated sample size

N= total house hold in study area

Z^2 = normalized critical value at 95% confidence level (1.96)

P = probability of poor *Dalit* (0.5).

Q = 1- P

e = tolerance level (precision). (See detail appendix: 13)

The sampling frame, sample size and population employed in the study have been presented in the Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Sample size and population

District	V.D.C./ Municipality	Sample No of HHs	Total settlement area <i>Dalits</i> HHs	Total <i>Dalit</i> HHs VDC	<i>Dalit</i> Population VDC	<i>Dalit</i> Population District
Bajhang	Chainpur VDC (Ward 1 and 7)	50	57	240	1204	31598
	Shyadi VDC (Ward No. 1, 5 and 7)	25	26	115	777	
Baitadi	Dasharath Chand Municipality (Ward No.1 and 5)	70	85	625	3788	40,232
	Kuwakot VDC (Ward No.1, 5 and 9)	30	32	166	831	
Kailali	Dahangadi Municipality (Ward No. 3,13)	95	125	1830	21030	84,475
	Godawari VDC (Ward. No. 4,5,9)	45	50	340	2907	
	Total	315	375	3316	30537	156,305

Source: District Profiles, Bajhang, Baitadi and Kailali Districts (2011)

While considering remote and center place, equal proportion of households were drawn for sample (Table 3.2). As mentioned earlier, the remote place included VDCs of sampled districts far from the headquarters. In contrast, the center place involved those VDCs or municipalities in which headquarters of the districts lie. Accordingly, livelihoods were also different in two spatial locations i.e. remote place and centrally located place also termed as close place. The locational classifications of the HHs were as follows:

Table 3.3: Households Classified According to Locations (Remoteness/Closeness)

Remoteness/Closeness	Frequency	Percent
Remote Place	98	30
Centrally Located Place	217	70
Total	315	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

As per the principle of sample size which state that larger the population larger the sample, lesser the population larger the sample size. The population of *Dalit* in both remote and central places, the total size was determined and studies accordingly. To arrive at the final stage of this study, following sampling procedures and data collection strategies were applied as mentioned in Table 3.2 and 3.3.

3.1.2 Stage of Study

This study has been followed five subsequent stages including site selection, pilot testing, rapport building, data collection and analysis. Each stage has been sequenced. The detail of each stage is presented as following:

First stage - Site Selection: Purposive Selection

1. Three districts from each ecological region (Bajhang, Baitadi and Kailali) were selected.
2. One VDC and one municipality in each district.

Second Stage: Pilot Testing

1. Pre-tested the questionnaire in a *Dalit* community in Ramkot V.D.C., Kathmandu.
2. Questionnaires were edited and avoided the ambiguity. Finally, the accepted versions of the questionnaires were printed.

Third Stage: Rapport Building Stage

1. Three research assistants were selected for in Kailali district for assisting the interview process and accordingly three interviewers were selected in Bajhang and Baitadi district too.
2. Visiting the research sites, i.e. the hamlets of the *Dalit* community to trace sampled households.
3. Preliminary meetings and briefing with the key informants.
4. One-day orientation programme was organised each study area.

Fourth Stage: Data Collection Stage

1. Meeting were organised with the leaders of *Dalit* community, DNGO, in the DDC Office, Bajhang, Baitadi and Kailali.
2. Selection of households (315) using purposive random sampling method from *Dalit* dominant wards i.e. proportional to the population of the *Dalits*. Altogether 140 HHs, 100 HHs and 75HHs from Kailali, Baitadi and Bajhang respectively were taken into consideration.
3. Conduction of primary tools of data collection such as HHs surveys, interviews, FGDs, case studies, observations, etc.
4. Questionnaires responses were administered as soon as they were returned by the respondents with feedbacks.

Fifth Stage: Data Processing and Analysis

1. Responses obtained were coded according to priory developed code book and translated them into English language.
2. Data obtained were analysed by using SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences).
3. Writing dissertation on the basis of collected information and literature review.

3.1.3 Rationality for the Selection of Study Areas

Nepal remains at the lower status in development indices, with a number of regional and social disparities (UNDP, 2011). FWDR is the least developed region among five development regions of Nepal in terms of Human Development Index (HDI), Human

Poverty Index (HPI) and Gender Development Index (GDI), (NPC/UNDP, 2014; CBS, 2012). Moreover, there is relatively higher socio-economic disparity among castes, classes and ethnicities in this region. Basic infrastructures, such as transportation, electricity, hospitals are least developed (NPC/UNDP, 2014; CBS, 2012). Furthermore, social discriminations like caste discrimination and disparity gender are widespread in this region and the region pronounces higher prevalence of land-related issues and problems like landlessness, social bondages (e.g. *Kamaiya*, *Haliya*) and untouchability (Nepali, 2011).

The above stated position is clearly shown in the table 3.4 which illustrates development indicators of all development regions and ecological areas of Nepal. Comparing the indices in five development regions, FWDR seems to be the poorest region with significantly lower ranking of HDI. The region comprises of three ecological belts: i.e., terai, Hill and Mountain. Due to the variation in altitude and available natural endowment, accessibility of physical/ social infrastructures and services including the livelihood opportunities were also found to be different (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: Settings Socio-Economic Indicators of Development Regions, Ecological Belts, and Rural-Urban Settings

Development Region	HDI	HPI	GDI
Far Western Development Region	0.435	34.80	0.423
Mid-Western Development Region	0.447	36.63	0.442
Western Development Region	0.499	27.20	0.491
Central Development Region	0.510	31.54	0.503
Eastern Development Region	0.490	29.22	0.481
Ecological Belts			
Far Western Mountain	0.386	41.21	-
Far Western Hill	0.409	42.07	-
Far Western Plain (Terai)	0.466	28.43	-
Rural/Urban Settlements			
Rural (Remote Place)	0.464	33.36	-
Urban (Centrally Located Place)	0.579	18.51	-
Mountain	0.440	38.51	0.430
Hills	0.520	29.20	0.515
Terai	0.468	33.04	0.458
Study Districts			
Bajhang	0.365	45.32	-
Baitadi	0.416	39.58	-
Kailali	0.460	29.49	-
Kathmandu	0.632	27.34	-
Caste			
All <i>Dalit</i>	0.434	-	-
Hill <i>Dalit</i>	0.446	-	-
All <i>Brahman/Chhetri</i>	0.538	-	-
Hill <i>Brahman</i>	0.557	-	-
All <i>Chhetri</i>	0.507	-	-
Terai <i>Brahman and Chhetri</i>	0.536	-	-
<i>Newar</i>	0.565	-	-
All <i>janjati</i> excluding <i>Newar</i>	0.482	-	-
All Hill <i>janjati</i> (enclusing <i>Newar</i>)	0.509	-	-
All Terai <i>Janjati</i>	0.473	-	-
Muslim	0.422	-	-
Nepal	0.490	31.22	0.482

Source: NPC/UNDP, 2014 (Based on NHDR, 2011)

Note: (-) indicates the indicators not available

3.1.4 Brief Introduction of Selected Districts

Kailali: This constitutes almost flat land; somewhere hilly too district of Far-west Nepal. It covers 3235 square kilometres area and lies between 28'22" and 29' 5" N, latitude and 80'30" E and 81' 18" E longitude. This district is located between ranges of 109-1950 m above the sea level. Politically has been divided in 42 VDCs, three municipalities and five electoral constituencies. It is bordered with Bardiya district in the east, Kanchanpur district in the west, Doti in the north and India in the south.

According to the national census 2011, the total population of this district was 8, 11,383 which comprises 409607 male and 401776 female. The largest ethnic group is *Tharu* followed by *Chhetri*, *Brahmin* and *Dalit*. The total *Dalit* population is 1, 05,513 including 50,421 males and 55,092 females (NPC, 2011, District Profile, Kailali, 2011; MoFALD, 2014).

Bajhang: It is one of the mountainous districts of the FWDR. It covers an area of 3422 square kilometers and lies between 29'29" N and 30'9" N latitude and 80'46" E and 81'34" E longitude. This district is located between ranges of 3100-23000 feet above the sea level. There are 47 VDC and 2 electoral constituencies in this district (MoFALD, 2014). Doti lies in the south, China in the north, India in the west and Bajura in the east of this district.

According to the national Census 2011, the population of Bajhang was 2, 02,022 (99,655 male and 1, 02,367 female) and there was a total of 33,786 households (HH) in the district. The *Dalit* population in this district was 31,598 of that 14,661 were male and 16,937 were female (NPC, 2011, District Profile, Bajhang, 2011; MoFALD, 2014).

Baitadi: It is one of the five hilly districts of FWDR. It covers an area of 1519 square kilometres and lies between 29'33" N and 29'51" N latitude and 80'16" E and 80'35" E longitude. This district is located between various ranges of 1500 feet above the sea level. It has 62 VDCs, one municipality and 2 electoral constituencies (MoFALD, 2014). It has Dadeldhura located its south, Darchula in the north, India in the west and Bajhang in the east.

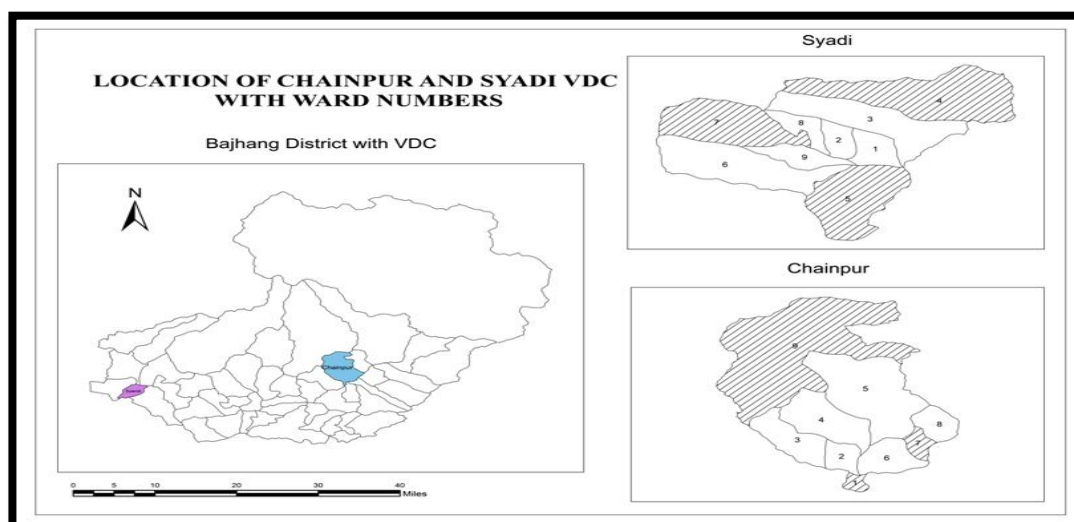
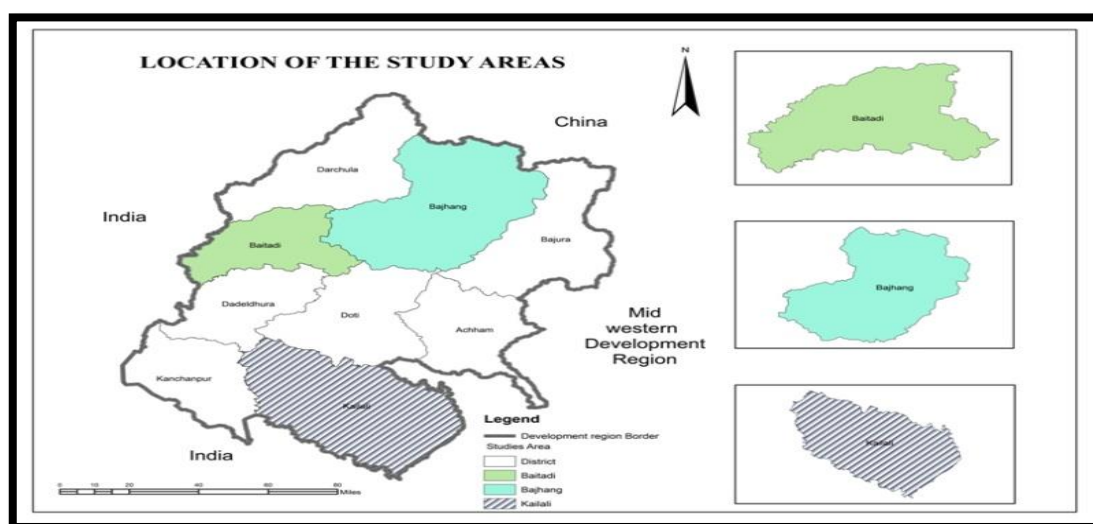
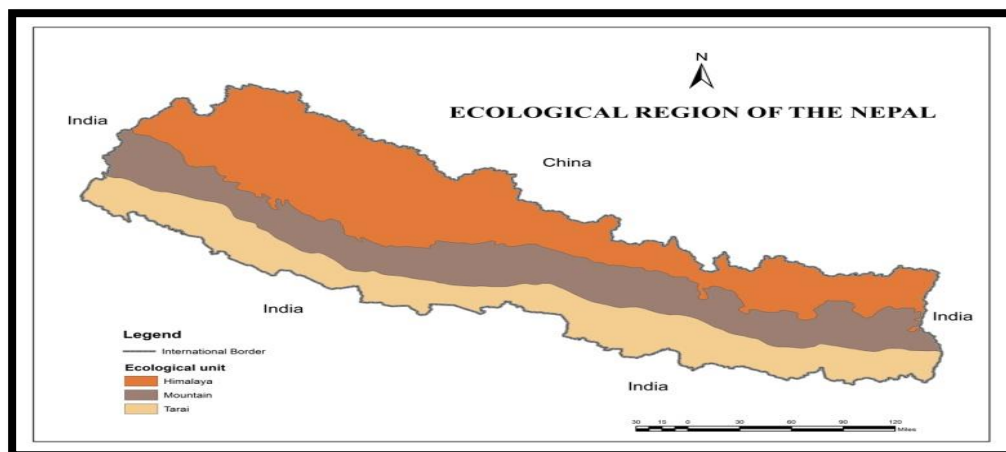
According to the national Census 2011, the total population of this district was 280,322, which comprises 138,458 male and 141,863 female. The *Dalit* population is 43,269, of which 20509 are male and 22,760 are female (NPC, 2011, District Profile, Baitadi, 2011).

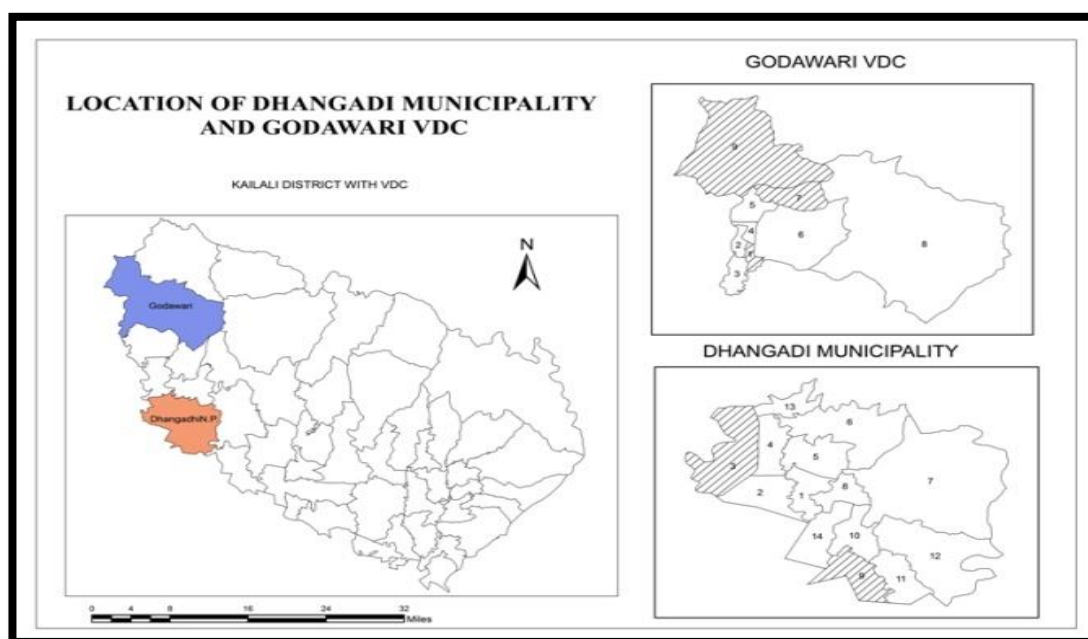
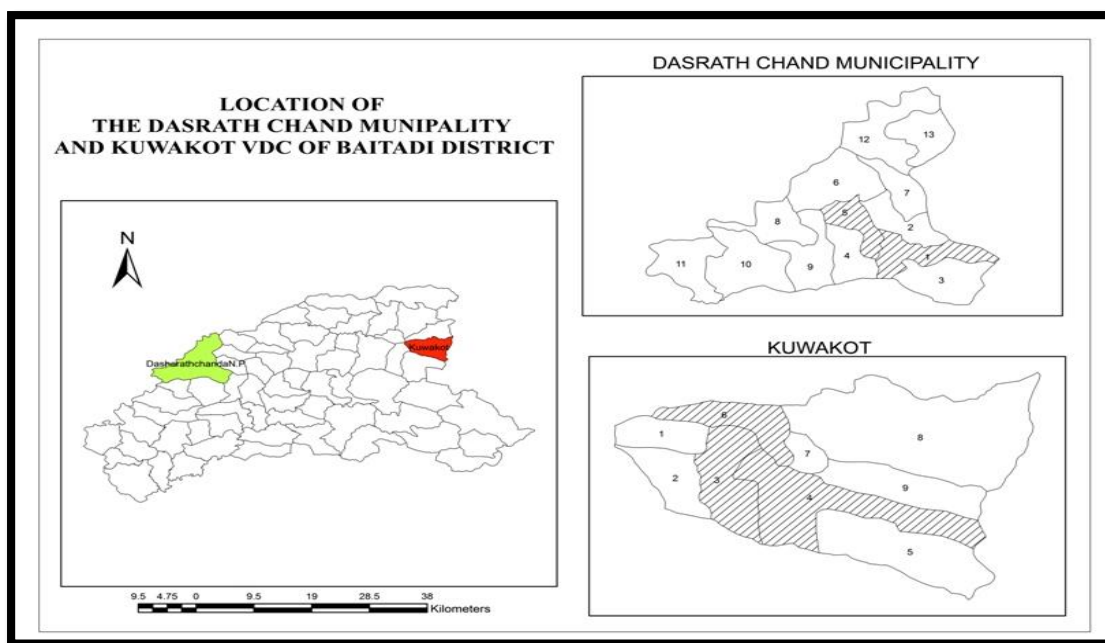
In terms of the HDI and HPI the studied districts were also poor remaining lower than the national average. Table 3.4 shows regional and district-wise differences in the indices. Above of all the differences, HDI and HPI for the *Dalits* were found to be significantly lower than the other castes and ethnic groups.

3.1.5 Location of studied sites

The location of these studied sites has been presented in following figures:

Figure 3.1: Ecological Religious of Nepal and Location of study Sites





Source: Department of Survey, GoN (2066): Modified the internal components as per the research requirement.

3.1.6 Orentation and conceptual framework of the study

The conceptual framework adopted in the study was outlined by describing the theoretical background of the study, including different aspects and tools of the study including the methods /techniques used for the analysis. Thus, a conceptual framework was developed to facilitate the process of data collection and analysis (Fig. 3.2)

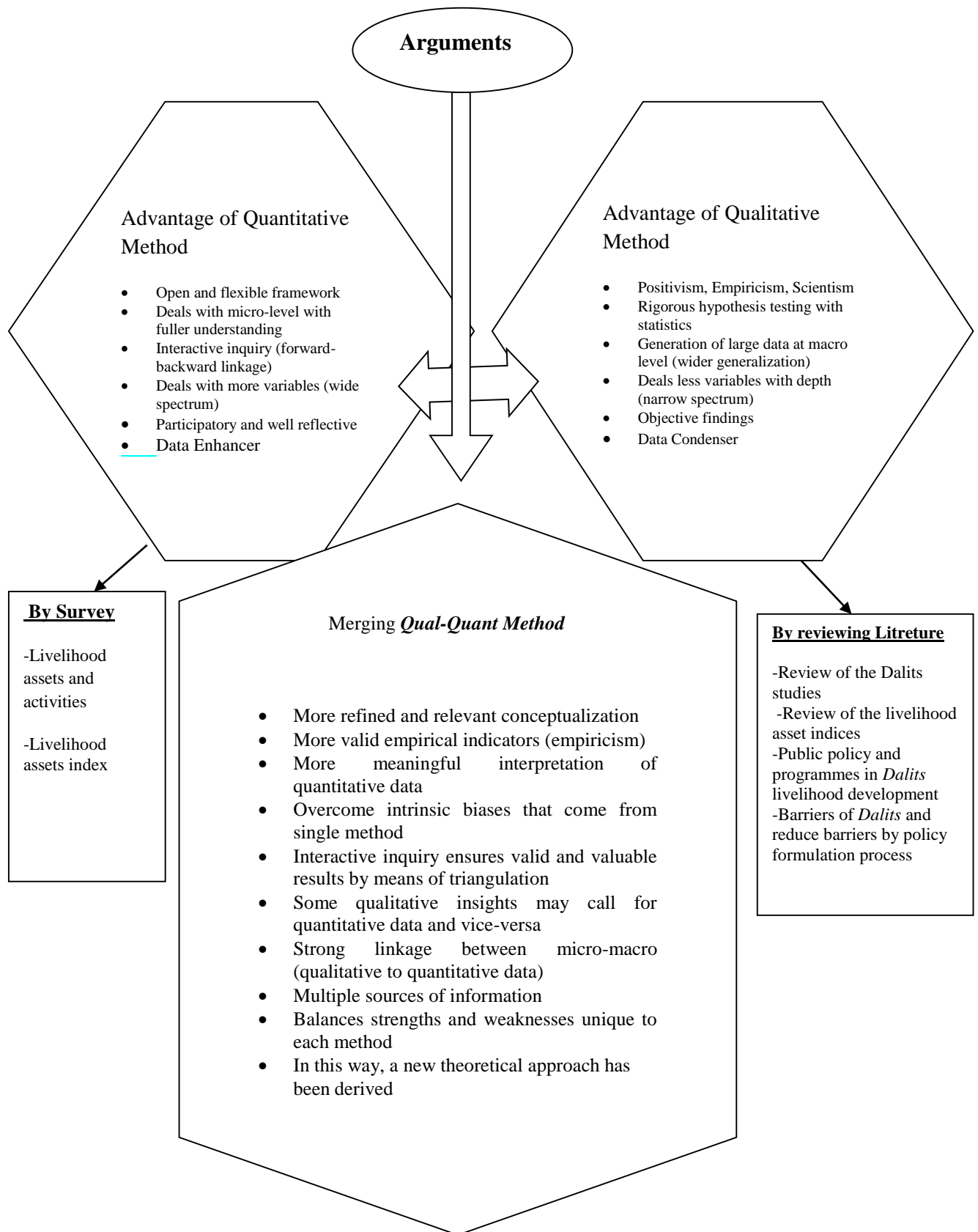

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graph TD; LR[Literature Review] <--> TB[Theoretical Background]; LR --> CG[Conceptual Framework]; TB --> CG; TB <--> RQO[Research Questions and Objectives]; CG <--> RQO; CG --> RM[Research Methodology]; RQO --> RM; RM --> MMA[Mix Method Approach (Quantitative-Qualitative)]; MMA --> RMeth[Research Method]; RMeth --> TPC[Tools of Primary Data Collection]; TPC --> DAI[Data Analysis and Interpretation]; TPC --> HH[House Hold - Survey<br/>-Case Studies<br/>-Focus group Discussion<br/>-Observation]; HH --> DAI; DAI --> ARQO[Answer of Research Questions and Objectives]; ARQO --> RG[Research Gap]; RG --> LR;
```

As reflected in the Figure 3.2, a total of 12 steps were adopted to complete the research cycle. It starts with the literature review to gain deeper understanding and exploring of research gaps of the studied theme. The review of literature leads to contribute to make theoretical background of the study. This also contributed to construct the research objective and research questions. After mixing of the above research process, the comprehensive conceptual framework has been designed. After make the research methodology and mix-method approach basis on Conceptual framework of livelihood and research objectives were prepared. According to research objectives and research questions, field tools for data collection were developed and adopted. Collected data and information were processed accordingly and entered into SPSS computer system.

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way. The data collection process was more facilitated by quantitative methods due to the nature of this study (e.g. to calculate LAI). Further, data on land ownership, employment, literacy, private-level (School) enrolment dropout rate, food sufficiency, household income and expense etc. were generated in the form of numbers and analyzed with statistical measures. Likewise the study has included qualitative dimensions to favour the analytical issues in terms of policies and barriers for the *Dalits'* livelihood. It also employed theory and approaches to understand and analyze livelihood, power relation and social conflict in a socially and economically discrimination prevail. This nexus of both the approaches has been explained in Fig 3.3.

Figure 3.3: Showing Synergies between Quali-Quanti Method



Source: Modified and Developed by Researcher

Based on the above insights, this study followed both the qualitative and quantitative methods for the measurement and analysis of livelihood assets in the study regions. However, both the approaches were not treated as mutually exclusive analytical units. Rather, they were supplementary on each other.

3.2 Measurement Scoring of Livelihood Asset Index

Measurement scoring of livelihood asset depends on the pre-defined components and sub-components which were assigned weight separately to each other. Every component and their sub-components have many parameters, but they are not equal in the weightage. The weightage was allocated on the basis of certain parameters (Appendix 5).

Despite the weightage allocation to the components, the measurement of key components was possible to assess which sectors would be prioritized for livelihood asset index. Methodologically, it was necessary to identify the suitable indicators from the datasets, progress. Later, these indicators took place as combined composite index. This approach of the present study including the weighting system and formula was based on the way of calculating HDI by UNDP in every year (NPC/UNDP, 2014, p. 85).

Further, different sectors and assets were included for the measurement of key components of this study. It facilitated the comparison among the study variables. The comparison was made among three districts and the study localities in Bajhang, Baitadi and Kailali of FWDR. Statistically, the scores for respective districts were calculated as the result of the amount of indicators of the livelihood asset.

3.3 Method of Development Livelihood Assets Index

The method for development of livelihood assets index (LAI) in this study was included a number of issues, including the selection of livelihood asset's dimension and indicators, defining the variables and unit of analysis and applying formula for the calculation. The Household livelihood assets index has been calculated on the basis of household survey. The subsequent steps followed in the process were as follows:

1. Selecting appropriate dimensions of the assets.

2. Selecting variables from collected data to describe the dimensions.
3. Setting the goal posts for each variable: maximum and minimum values.
4. Developing a matrix of weights for the dimensions. Each variable was given an appropriate weight within its cluster using the predetermined weights. The sum of weights was divided by 100 to ensure that the weighting remains between 0 and 1.
5. Calculation of the household variable indices as a number between 0 and 100 by using: $\text{Actual value} - \text{minimum value} / \text{Maximum value} - \text{minimum value}$.
6. The Livelihood Assets Index (LAI) was then computed for the total mark using following technique:

Livelihood assets index (LAI) = average value of household indices.

3.3.1 Calculating Livelihood Asset Index (Mathematical Expression)

For this livelihood assets index study number of component and sub-components were first determined (e.g., 5 asset components and 17 sub-components related to human, natural, social, physical and financial which represent education, skills, health, membership, relationship etc). Based on the sub-components developed, the livelihood asset indicators were developed (e.g. the level of education of the family members, and owner of HH). These indicators were further divided into 117 variables (whether a family member is attending school or not, the types of school environment). After this, each variables was given a weightage ranking between 0-1 (Appendix 5). After giving a weightage to a variable, these weightages were then summed up in order to calculate the total score of an indicator. These scores were then put into the formula of index as given below:

Index (P) = $\frac{\text{Get actual score} - \text{minimum score}}{\text{maximum score} - \text{minimum score}}$

This is the main formula, and different indicators of these assets were summed, which gave the total index score for calculating of the index of different assets, then the sum was divided by number of indicators, which results into the assets index (see formula used below). After calculating of the individual values of each asset, these were given

a value say $X_1, X_2, X_3, \dots, X_n$. Finally, based on these indices, the livelihood assets index was calculated using the formula:

$$\text{Composite Index (P)} = \frac{1}{5} \sum_{i=1}^5 X_i \quad \text{Where, 1 is sum of livelihood assets index.}$$

Methods of calculating of components and sub-components of each five livelihood assets mathematical expressions/versions are given below:

Human Asset Index (Mathematical Expression/Version)

Human asset index has three sub components e.g. education index, health index and skill index. The sum total of these indexes results into the Human asset index.

$$X_i = \frac{E_i + H_{ei} + S_{ki}}{3}$$

Where, X_i is Human Asset (component) Index and E_i, H_{ei}, S_{ki} (sub component) are education index, health index and skill index respectively.

$$E_i = \frac{E_s - \text{Min}(E_s)}{\text{Max}(E_s) - \text{Min}(E_s)}$$

Where, E_i is education index and E_s is education score

$$E_s = \frac{E_{li} + E_{HHi}}{2}$$

Where, E_s is education score, E_{li} is level of education index, E_{HHs} is education of household index

$$E_{li} = \frac{W_{el}}{\text{Max}(W_{el})}$$

Where, W_{el} is weight for education level

$$E_{HHi} = \frac{W_{ehh}}{\text{Max}(W_{ehh})}$$

Where,

$$\begin{cases} 0, & \text{if no child between 5 – 15 goes school} \\ 1, & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

$$H_{ei} = \frac{H_{es} - \text{Min}(H_{es})}{\text{Max}(H_{es}) - \text{Min}(H_{es})}$$

Where, H_{ei} is health Index, H_{es} is health score and min is minimum and max is maximum

$$H_{es} = \frac{H_{ei} + S_{ani} + H_{efi}}{3}$$

Where, H_{es} is Health score, H_{ei} is health index, S_{ani} is sanitation index and H_{efi} is health facility index

$$H_{ei} = \frac{W_{he}}{\text{Max}(W_{he})}$$

Where, W_{he} is weight for health

$$S_{ani} = \frac{W_{san}}{\text{Max}(W_{san})}$$

Where, W_{san} is weight for sanitation

$$Hef\ i = \frac{W_{hef}}{Max(hef)}$$

Where, W_{hef} is weight for health facility

$$Ski = \frac{Sks - Min(Sks)}{Max(Sks) - Min(Sks)}$$

Where, S_{ki} is skill index and S_{ks} is skill score and min is minimum and max is maximum

$$Sks = \frac{Hss + Mss + Lss}{3}$$

Where, S_{ks} is skill score, H_{ss} is high skill index score, M_{ss} is medium skill score index and L_{ss} is low skill score index

$$H_{ss} = \frac{W_{hss}}{Max(hss)}$$

Where, W_{hss} is weight for high skill score and min is minimum and max is maximum

$$M_{ss} = \frac{W_{mss}}{Max(mss)}$$

Where, W_{mss} is weight for medium skill score

$$L_{ss} = \frac{W_{lss}}{Max(lss)}$$

Where W_{lss} is weight for low skill score

Natural Asset Index (Mathematical Expression)

Natural asset index has two sub components e.g. land index and forest index. The sum total of these indexes results into the natural asset index.

$$X_2 = \frac{Li + Foi}{2}$$

Where, X_2 is natural asset (component) index and Li and Foi (sub component) are land index and forest index respectively.

$$Li = \frac{Ls - Min(Ls)}{Max(Ls) - Min(Ls)}$$

Where, L_i is land index, L_s is land score, F_{os} is forest score and min is minimum and max is maximum

$$Ls = \frac{Osls + Sls + Spls}{3}$$

Where, L_s is land score, $Osls$ is ownership of land score, S_{ls} is size of land score S_{pls} is sufficient production of land score

$$Osls = \frac{W_{osl}}{Max(W_{osl})}$$

Where, $\begin{cases} 0, & \text{if no ownership of land} \\ 1, & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$

$$sls = \frac{W_{sl}}{Max(W_{sl})}$$

Where, W_{sl} is weight size of land score and min is minimum and max is maximum

$$spls = \frac{W_{spl}}{Max(W_{spl})}$$

Where, W_{spl} is weight sufficient production of land score

$$Foi = \frac{Foi - \text{Min}(Fos)}{\text{Max}(Fs) - \text{Min}(Fos)}$$

Where, Foi is forest index and Fos is forest score

$$Fos = \frac{Nfs + Bfs + Mfs}{3}$$

Where, Fos is forest score, Nfs is near forest score, Bfs is benefit forest score and Mfs is membership of forest score

$$Nfs = \frac{W_{nf}}{\text{Max}(W_{nf})}$$

Where, W_{nf} is weight for near forest score

$$Bfs = \frac{W_{bf}}{\text{Max}(W_{bf})}$$

Where, W_{bf} is weight for benefit by forest score

$$Mfs = \frac{W_{mf}}{\text{Max}(W_{mf})}$$

Where, W_{mf} is weight for membership of forest score

Social Asset Index (Mathematical Expression)

Social asset index has three sub components e.g. membership index, relationship index and network index. The sum total of these indexes results into the social asset index.

$$X3 = \frac{Mi + Rei + Nei}{3}$$

Where, X_2 is social asset (component) index and Mi , Rei and Nei (sub component) are membership index, relationship index and network index respectively.

$$Mi = \frac{Ms - \text{Min}(Ms)}{\text{Max}(Ms) - \text{Min}(Ms)}$$

Where, Mi is membership index and Ms is membership score

$$Ms = \frac{Mcgs + Mrgs + Mings + Mcfugss + Mpps}{5}$$

Where, Ms is membership score, $Megs$ is membership of consumers group score, $Mrgs$ is membership religious group score, $Mings$ is membership of I/Ngo score, $Mcfugs$ is membership of cfug and school score and $Mpps$ is membership of political party score

$$Mcgs = \frac{W_{mcg}}{\text{Max}(W_{mcg})}$$

Where, W_{mog} is weight for membership of consumers group score

$$Mrgs = \frac{W_{mrg}}{\text{Max}(W_{mrg})}$$

Where, W_{mrg} is weight for membership of religious group

$$Mingos = \frac{W_{mingo}}{\text{Max}(W_{mingo})}$$

Where, W_{mingo} is weight for membership of NGO

$$Mcfugs = \frac{W_{mcfugs}}{\text{Max}(W_{mcfugs})}$$

Where, W_{mcfugs} is weight for membership of cfug and school score

$$Mpps = \frac{W_{mpps}}{\text{Max}(W_{mpps})}$$

Where, W_{mpps} is weight for membership of . Political party

$$Rei = \frac{Res - \text{Min}(Res)}{\text{Max}(Res) - \text{Min}(Res)}$$

Where, Re_i is relationship Index and Res is relationship score

$$Res = \frac{FRis + SRis + IRis}{3}$$

Where, $FRis$ is family relationship index score, $SRis$ is social relationship index score, $IRis$ is government and non- government relationship index score

$$FRis = \frac{W_{fri}}{\text{Max}(W_{fri})}$$

Where, W_{fri} is weight for family relationship

$$SRis = \frac{W_{sri}}{\text{Max}(W_{sri})}$$

Where, W_{sri} is weight for social relationship

$$IRis = \frac{W_{iri}}{\text{Max}(W_{iri})}$$

Where, W_{iri} is weight for inter relationship of government and non-government

$$Nei = \frac{Nes - \text{Min}(Nes)}{\text{Max}(Nes) - \text{Min}(Nes)}$$

Where, Ne_i is network index and Nes is network score

$$Nes = \frac{Neois + Nengois + Negis + Neppis}{4}$$

Where, $Neois$ is network of own organisation status index score, $Nengois$ is network of ngo score, $Negis$ is network of government index score

$$Neois = \frac{W_{neoo}}{\text{Max}(W_{neoo})}$$

Where, W_{neoo} is weight for network of own organisation

$$Nengois = \frac{W_{nengoo}}{\text{Max}(W_{nengoo})}$$

Where, W_{nengoo} is weight for network of non government organisation

$$Negis = \frac{W_{neg}}{Max(W_{neg})}$$

Where, W_{neg} is weight for network of government organisation

$$Neppis = \frac{W_{nepp}}{Max(W_{nepp})}$$

Where, W_{nepp} is weight for network of political parties

Physical Asset Index (Mathematical Expression)

Physical asset index has six sub-components, e.g., road index, commiication index, electricity index, water facility index, equipment and goods index and housing index. The sum total of these indices results into the physical asset index.

$$X_4 = \frac{Roi+CoI+Eli+Wfi+EGi+Hoi}{6}$$

Where, X_3 is physical asset (component) index and Roi , CoI , Eli , Wfi , EGi and Hoi (sub-component) are road index communication index, electricity index, water facility index equipments and goods and housing index respectively.

$$Roi = \frac{Ros - \text{Min}(Ros)}{\text{Max}(Ros) - \text{Min}(Ros)}$$

Where, Roi is road index and Ros is road score

$$Ros = \frac{Tts + Urs}{2}$$

Where, Tts is time taken of road score and Urs is used of road score

$$Tts = \frac{W_{tt}}{\text{Max}(W_{tt})}$$

Where, Tts is weight for time taken of road

$$Urs = \frac{W_{ur}}{\text{Max}(W_{ur})}$$

Where, Urs is weight for used of road

$$CoI = \frac{Cos - \text{Min}(Cos)}{\text{Max}(Cos) - \text{Min}(Cos)}$$

Where, CoI is communication Index and Cos is communication score

$$Cos = \frac{Mis + Llis + Inis}{3}$$

Where, Mis is mobile index score, $Llis$ is land line index score, $Inis$ internet index score

$$Mis = \frac{W_{mi}}{\text{Max}(W_{mi})}$$

Where, W_{mi} is weight for mobile

$$Llis = \frac{W_{ll}}{\text{Max}(W_{ll})}$$

Where, W_{ll} is weight for land line telephone

$$Inis = \frac{W_{in}}{\text{Max}(W_{in})}$$

Where, W_{in} is weight for internet

$$E_{li} = \frac{E_{ls} - \text{Min}(E_{ls})}{\text{Max}(E_{ls}) - \text{Min}(E_{ls})}$$

Where, E_{li} is electronic index and E_{ls} is electronic score

$$E_{ls} = \frac{E_{ls} + B_{gis} + K_{eis} + S_{ois}}{4}$$

Where, E_{ls} is electronic score, B_{gis} is biogas score, K_{eis} is kerosene score and S_{ois} is solar index score

$$E_{ls} = \frac{W_{el}}{\text{Max}(W_{el})}$$

Where, W_{ei} is weight for electronic

$$B_{gis} = \frac{W_{bg}}{\text{Max}(W_{bg})}$$

Where, W_{bg} is weight for biogas

$$K_{eis} = \frac{W_{ke}}{\text{Max}(W_{ke})}$$

Where, W_{ks} is weight for kerosene

$$S_{ois} = \frac{W_{so}}{\text{Max}(W_{so})}$$

Where, W_{ss} is weight for solar

$$W_{fi} = \frac{W_{fis} - \text{Min}(W_{fis})}{\text{Max}(W_{fis}) - \text{Min}(W_{fis})}$$

Where, W_{fi} is water facility index and W_{fis} is water facility score

$$W_{fis} = \frac{P_{wis} + H_{pis} + N_{ewis} + O_{wis}}{4}$$

Where, P_{wis} is piped water index score, H_{pis} is hand pump index score, N_{ewis} is natural water index score, O_{wis} is other water resources index score

$$P_{wis} = \frac{W_{pw}}{\text{Max}(W_{pw})}$$

Where, W_{pw} is weight for piped water

$$H_{pis} = \frac{W_{hp}}{\text{Max}(W_{hp})}$$

Where, W_{hp} is weight for hand pump

$$N_{ewis} = \frac{W_{new}}{\text{Max}(W_{new})}$$

Where, W_{new} is weight for natural water

$$O_{wis} = \frac{W_{ows}}{\text{Max}(W_{ows})}$$

Where, W_{ows} is weight for other water resources

$$E_{gi} = \frac{E_{gis} - \text{Max}(E_{gis})}{\text{Max}(E_{gis}) - \text{Min}(E_{gis})}$$

Where, E_{gi} is equipment goods index score and E_{gis} is equipment goods score

$$E_{gis} = \frac{N_{pegis} + P_{egis}}{2}$$

Where, N_{pegis} is non-productive equipment goods index and P_{egis} is productive equipment goods index score

$$NPegis = \frac{W_{npeg}}{\text{Max}(W_{npeg})}$$

Where, W_{npeg} is weight for non-productive equipment goods

$$Pegis = \frac{W_{peg}}{\text{Max}(W_{peg})}$$

Where, W_{peg} is weight for productive equipment goods

Financial Asset Index (Mathematical Expression)

Financial asset index has three sub components e.g. income cash index, saving index and employment index. The sum total of these indexes results into the financial asset index.

$$X_5 = \frac{Ici + Svi + E_{mi}}{3}$$

Where, X_3 is financial asset (component) index and Ici , Svi and E_{mi} (sub- component) are income cash index saving index and employment index respectively.

$$Ici = \frac{Icis - \text{Min}(Icis)}{\text{Max}(Icis) - \text{Min}(Icis)}$$

Where I_{ciis} is income cash index and I_{sis} is income sufficient index score

$$Icis = \frac{Icis(TIU) + Isis}{2}$$

Where, I_{ciis} is income cash index score, total income unite and I_{sis} is income sufficient index score for per month

$$Icis(TIU) = \frac{W_{ic}}{\text{Max}(W_{icw})}$$

Where, W_{ic} is weight for income cash

$$Isis = \frac{W_{is}}{\text{Max}(W_{is})}$$

Where, W_{is} is weight for income sufficient of month

$$Svi = \frac{Svis - \text{Min}(Svis)}{\text{Max}(svis) - \text{Min}(Svis)}$$

Where, Svi_i is saving index score and $Svis$ is saving index score

$$Svis = \frac{Svis + Snis + Ssis}{3}$$

Where, Svi_i is saving index score, saving nature index and saving sector index score

$$Svis = \frac{W_{sv}}{\text{Max}(W_{sv})}$$

Where, W_{sv} is weight for saving

$$Snis = \frac{W_{sn}}{\text{Max}(W_{sn})}$$

Where, W_{sn} is weight for saving nature

$$Ssis = \frac{W_{ss}}{\text{Max}(W_{ss})}$$

Where, W_{ss} is weight for saving sector

$$Emi = \frac{Emis - \text{Min}(Emis)}{\text{Max}(Emis) - \text{Min}(Emis)}$$

Where, $Emis$ is employment index score, and Emi is employment index score

$$Emis = \frac{Emsis + Semis + Ifsis + Gemis}{4}$$

Where, $Emis$ is employment status index score, $Semis$ is self-employment index score, $Ifsis$ is informal sector employment index score and $Gemis$ is government employment index score

$$Emsis = \frac{W_{ems}}{\text{Max}(W_{ems})}$$

Where, W_{ems} is weight for employment status

$$Semis = \frac{W_{sem}}{\text{Max}(W_{sem})}$$

Where, W_{sem} is weight for self-employment

$$Ifsis = \frac{W_{ifs}}{\text{Max}(W_{ifs})}$$

Where, W_{ifs} is weight for informal sector employment

$$Gemis = \frac{W_{gem}}{\text{Max}(W_{gem})}$$

Where, W_{gem} is weight for government employment

LAI equals the weighted average of the five major components (DFID). LAI values and component measurement would be the most precise method to assess its use, but due to practical difficulties in measurements in terms of time gaps, spatial variations, and wider coverage there must be reliable substitute methods of assessment.

As far the global trend in calculating indices, the Economic and Social Development Index uses the standardization methods. Osberg and Sharpe (2005) basically adopt the standardization method from the HDI formula but the maximum and minimum values differ from the HDI model. The HDI adopts a linear transformation for the elementary indicators with equal weight among dimensions, and in its most recent formulation, it shifts the functional from an arithmetic to a geometric mean (changing the corresponding value for the b parameter from one to zero) (UNDP, 2010). Each value in HDI is represented in a linear form, ranging from 0 to 1. According to UNDP, the LAI formula was developed in the study (see Appendix 6). The formula was used a simple approach of applying equal weights to all major components of the assets. This weighting system could also be adjusted by future users and researchers if needed.

As a global trend, different methods are commonly applied for transforming and normalizing indicators used in constructing a composite index, such as rescaling, the

computation of z scores, min-max transformation (as in the case of the HDI), logarithmic transformation or the use of categorical scores.

However, the weights of each of the major components in this study were determined by the number of sub-components that made up each major component. Weights were included so that all sub-components had contributed equally to the overall LAI. Then the LAI was scaled from 0 (the least asset) to 1 (the maximum asset). One major limitation of this method was the use of equal weights because of large number of variables, components and sub-components. The HDI does not include such a large number of parameters and their weighting system. So, to fulfill this methodological gap the study had employed equal weighing system not only for the sub-components but also for the major components.

Vincent (2007) suggests the use of expert's opinions in determining the weights. The indicators (major and sub-components) oversimplify a complex reality and there is inherently no straight forward way to validate indices comprised of disparate indicators (Toufique & Yunus, 2013). Further, scholars developed valuation focus thinking (VFT) method as a methodological tool to provide the values by the decision makers including the researchers (Keeney, 1992).

With this methodological position the study employed specific livelihood assets indices to calculate composite Livelihood Asset Index (LAI). It has included five assets namely; human asset (X_1), natural asset (X_2), social asset (X_3), physical asset (X_4), and financial asset (X_5) by employing necessary formula (see Appendix 6).

3.3.2 Tools and Strategy for Data Collection

This section includes the research processes from data gathering to data analysis and interpretations. As a single method is insufficient to collect all the information, various but appropriate techniques were employed for gathering information for this study from both primary as well as secondary sources. Various level of measurement was used for collecting the data. For instance, age is ratio/interval data while majority of the questionnaire items were nominal. And level of satisfaction, social relation were measured using ordinal scale. The data gathering techniques are briefly mentioned below.

Household Survey

Household survey was carried out by administering structured and semi-structured questionnaires (Appendix 11). Altogether 315 households were covered by the household survey including all ecological belts and locations (Table 3.3 and 3.4). The questionnaires used for the study were consisting of 17 parts. The major parts of the questionnaire had incorporated socio-economic, livelihood measurements and policies related questions.

Interview

This study has used direct interview method while doing HHs survey. In this study, interviews were conducted mostly with the household heads wherever available, other members, who could response well about the households, were interviewed at home or field wherever possible based on their convenience. Female members were also interviewed to understand gender dynamics wherever possible. Since the information collected was about the households in general, the unit of analysis was taken as household throughout the study.

In some occasional cases, this study had also followed key informants' interviews. Social leaders, teachers, social workers, and experienced people were interviewed about respective local territory and matters and facts related to regardless of caste and professions, livelihoods, development, empowerment and social discriminations and their views about ongoing social changes. Altogether 20 key informants interviews were also carried out for this study. (Appendix 12)

Focus Group Discussions

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted to get general information about particular theme of livelihood, development, culture, policies and social and economic status. It was done by bringing all types of local people (often 15-20 people) representing different classes and social groups together to understand, verify, and crosscheck information gathered from other sources. Altogether, 6 FGDs (see Appendix 11) were conducted during this study with the coverage of 2 each in district.

In order to discuss with *Dalit* people, a local political leader from the *Dalit* community was taken into consideration. The group discussion was organized before the household surveys, which helped to identify the community members, building rapport with them, and hence this made more interactive communication in the interview process. In the group discussion, the issues of development system, the problem of *Dalit* household and community as well as the disputes within and outside the group were taken into considerations.

The non-*Dalit* people were also gathered separately or combined to identify their problems related to caste-culture and resulting disputes. Similarly, the upper- caste users were also invited to a separate place for the discussion. Finally, the whole *Dalit* community was invited in the mass meeting. In discussions, questions regarding livelihood and empowerment of *Dalits*, development policies and disputes they have been facing with discrimination, untouchability inside and outsides in the course of traditional but illegal, were discussed during the meetings. The information obtained from observations and group discussions were carefully noted and used according to the study requirement.

Stakeholder Analysis

The views and perception of different stakeholders ranging from academics, researchers, *Dalits'* right activists, political activists, development professionals and practitioners in the field of social inclusion as well as exclusion were useful in order to understand *Dalits'* issues while making discussions with them at various levels. The stakeholders both from the state and non-state sectors, for example, CDO, SSP, DEO, DFO, PHO from the GoN sectors and various position holders belongs to Non-GoN sector including *Dalit* related institutions, were also interviewed and some of them were included in FGDs too.

Empirically, the stakeholder's views were useful in producing i) validate framework for analysis; ii) policy and implementation situation concerned with *Dalits* and iii) finding out the barriers of *Dalits* empowerment.

Case Study

Altogether 6 case studies were documented and presented. Case studies had particularly focused on poor households whose stories were pertinent and relevant. It provided a deep insight and understanding of livelihood issues (Appendix 10).

Field Observations

During the study period, action and behaviours of the *Dalit* community/ individuals, and their settlement were observed. This also gave an opportunity to learn and get the first hand information about the problems that *Dalit* communities were facing in the villages.

3.4 Questionnaire and Pre-testing

A structured questionnaire was used while collecting the primary data (see Appendix 13). A questionnaire design was based on the Sustainable Livelihood Analysis (SLA) framework as suggested by the Department for International Development (DFID, 1999), and framework developed for this study. This approach was used to identify asset ownership, strategy implemented and outcome achieved, institution influenced and vulnerability context faced by hard-core poor households in sustaining their livelihoods. The questionnaire was divided into seventeen parts, namely general information, socio-demography information, human asset, physical asset, financial asset, social asset, natural asset, food security and health status, development and NGOs information, discrimination, etc. The questionnaire and interview were administered using Nepali and local language. All variables were included in the form of nominal, ordinal or interval data.

The major data collection instruments used for this study were HHS, semi-structured interviews, FGDs, case studies, Pre-testing of schedule with about 30 *Dalit* households were carried out in Ramkot VDC ward no.3 and 5 in Kathmandu prior to the actual field study in June 2012. The feedbacks obtained from pre-testing were incorporated accordingly in the questionnaires. The interview from the respondents consisted of both the close-ended and open-ended questions.

3.5 Technique of Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis was done through descriptive statistics like and inferential statistics. (Graphical distribution, frequency distribution, pie charts, cross-tabulation and multiple response tables) All these were done by using computer software packages, i.e., SPSS. The data were presented graphically wherever they were found relevant and appropriate in the conceptual framework. Regarding the qualitative data, the responses were first transcribed and then coded manually using a simple coding method. These data were finally endorsed into different variables to calculate sub-component indices, component indices, asset indices and finally a livelihood asset index was developed.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

During the entire process of research, confidentiality (not to publicize personal information), sensitivity and neutrality were strictly maintained. Information were gathered is in compliance with the culture of the target community, i.e., the *Dalits* respondents. Anonymity of data had been maintained through hiding name, keeping pseudo name or changing the actual name. The ethics of codes of conduct had also been followed during the study.

3.7 Methodological Limitations

Despite various measures adopted for higher level of precision and accuracy for bringing this study to this stage, still there are several notable limitations which are given below:

1. Regarding the measurement of LAI, only DFID framework has been incorporated.
2. Only HDI was taken as a basis for the development of LAI, not rest others.
3. This study was conducted in only three districts of FWDR expecting that the result could replicate in all the regions/ districts. Likewise, the special focus of this study was limited in rural areas. This was done considering the resource constraints. However attempts were made to apply information and data related to urban area too because the rural development and urban development are inter dependent variables.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND DALITS LIVELIHOOD

This chapter begins with the discussion of socio-economic status and livelihood of the *Dalits* of the FWDR. It briefly describes socio economic activities and livelihood strategies of the *Dalits*, including their physical, natural, human, financial and social assets. *Dalits* livelihood activities including sustainable livelihood approach and framework, i.e. strategies, are analysed in detail.

Dalits livelihood activities basically depend on livelihood assets. Sustainable livelihood framework shows that livelihood strategy is a major component for sustainable livelihood analysis (DFID). Livelihood strategies are directly dependent on assets status and institutions, policies and processes (GLOPP, 2008 cited by DFID, 2008). The various livelihoods assets are mentioned in the Table 4.1. There are the bases of living of *Dalit* in FWDR region. The major components are private properties, common properties (Physical Asset), land, forestry (Natural Asset), education activities, health facility, skill (Human Asset), membership, relationship and network (Social Asset), employment, income/cash, saving and loan (Financial Asset). The livelihood asset components and sub components of *Dalits* in FWDR are as follows:

Table no.4.1: Livelihood Activities of Dalits in FWDR: Livelihood Assets Components and Sub Components

Conditions of Physical Asset and Activities	Conditions of Natural Asset and Activities	Conditions of Human Asset and Activities	Conditions of Social Asset and Activities	Conditions of Financial Asset and Activities
Private properties(Assets) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Housing ownership - Housing materials and structures - Toilet facilities - Goods and Equipments Common properties(Assets) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Access to Road - Access to communication - Access to electricity - Access to water facilities 	Land <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ownership - -Size - Production - Food sufficiency - Agricultural activities Forestry involvement and Forestry membership <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Distances from Forestry resources - Benefit from forestry - Discriminations on water resources 	Education activities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Distance of Schools - Enrolments on Schools - Discriminations in Schools - Dropout from Schools - Getting educational certificates Health Facility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Distances of Health Centre - Facilities of treatments/ medicine - Behaviour of service providers - Health conditions of HH - Community members Skill <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Varity of skills - Quality of skills 	Membership <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community Forestry Users Group - School Management Committee - Drinking water Consumer Group - Social Originations - Political Parties - Consumer Groups - Religious Groups Relationship <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Household Relation - Social Relations - Commercial and occupational Relation Networking <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government offices Network - NGO, Organizational. Network - Social Network 	Employment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government Employment - NGO Employment - Private Company. Employment - Self-Employment - Outside Employment - Daily Wages Income <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nature of Income - Sector of Income - Sufficiency of Income and Expenditure Saving <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nature of Saving - Quality of Saving - Institution of Saving Loan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Necessity of Loan - Interest on Loan - Payment system -Condition loans of Loan

Sources: Field Survey, 2013

As mentioned above in table 4.1, there are several components and sub-components of the livelihoods in the rural context. Categorisation of these component and sub-components lead to contribute to learn the details condition of the livelihoods at the local level. The assets mentioned above are briefly discussed as following.

4.1 Physical Assets

The present study has presumed that insufficient or inappropriate production of physical goods and services can constrain people's productive capacity, choices and supportive institutions. In this study physical assets were housing materials, housing goods, and other gadgets of the houses that are essential for the community to live their daily lives. Physical assets include basic infrastructures and producer goods which are essential to support livelihood such as access to road, access to electricity, access to water supply and access to communication facility of the *Dalits*. Physical assets are further categorized into two parts: Private assets and Common assets. Private assets as mentioned in table 4.1 are Housing ownership, Housing materials and structures, toilet facilities, goods and equipments, these assets and their access in *Dalit* community is described in following sections. Like the private properties or assets, there are several common assets which affect the livelihoods of common people including *Dalit*. These assets are road, water facility, electricity, communication, and other services that are available for common people in the village.

A) Private Physical Assets

4.1.1 Housing and Ownership

Housing is a basic need and one of the significant physical assets. The houses secure the individuals and family member from different kinds of physical risks and vulnerabilities and provide shelter. Due to specific type of geo-climatic structure of Mountain and Hill regions e.g. in Bajhang and Baitadi, moderate types of houses were built. These houses had typically different features and models unlike the houses of Kailali district Terai region. Those houses were designed with cheaply available local raw materials like wood, stone and mud. Most of the people from those houses of *Dalit* were identified as the poor classes, and other were from the middles classes.

Out of total 315 households, 20 percent reported that they had built their houses in next land-owner's land which means they did not have any entitlement of the property and thus could be categorized as homeless. It was more than the national average i.e. 10 percent according to the national census 2011(NPC, 2011). Whether they were manual labourers or farm workers like *Halia*, *Kamaiya* or the traditional occupations like tailoring, shoe maker, local musical dancer (*Chhaliya*, *Hudke*, *Gaine*, *Bhadaha*, and *Jagar*). Almost all of them were the homeless people and they were very vulnerable in their livelihood context.

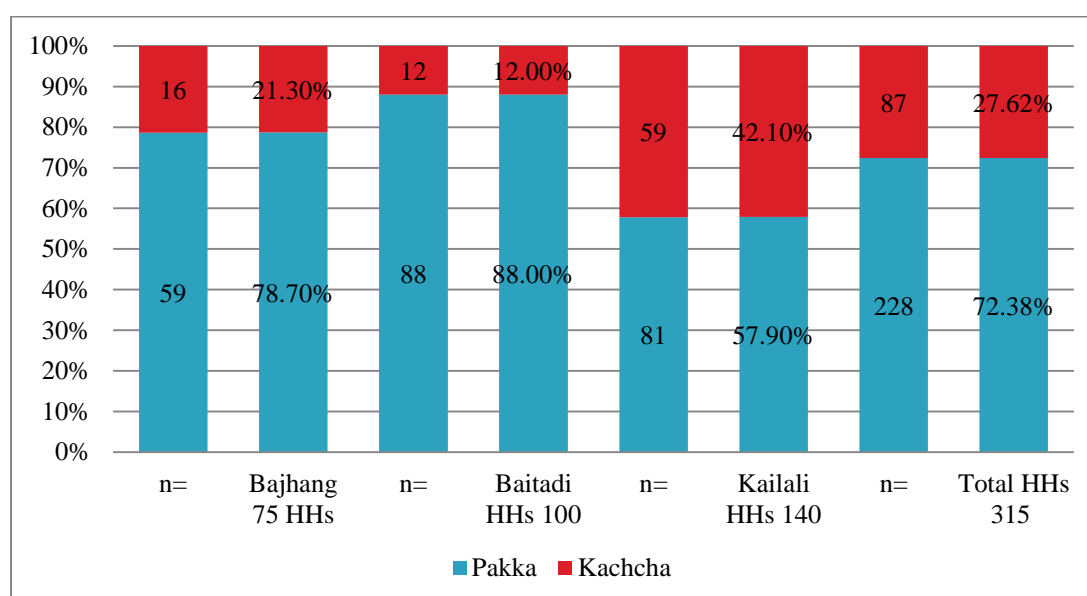
There was more availability of grass and wood in the Kailali district which lies in the terai plain. These materials are cheaper than other house-making materials too. So, many *Dalits* used these kinds of cheap materials to make their houses as shown in Fig. 4.2. Many *Dalits* were migrated Kailali district from other Hill and Mountain districts including the Baitadi, Bajhang and Dadeldhura. They had bought small land and made small temporary houses due to their low income and resources in the destination areas. The migrated *Dalits* wanted at first to own small shelter and after that moved to search for employment opportunities.

The poor housing asset of the *Dalits* in the FWDR had different implications to the livelihood strategies and assets. It largely affected their livelihood, security and social prestige in the society. It was simple to mention that the *Dalits* were poor and were suffering from the endless poverty; perhaps answering of this poverty was more complicated. More *Dalits* had occupational knowledge as that of carpentry, house making and so on. However they did not make their own homes due to poverty and wage-related issues. The homelessness or poor housing had further aggravated on their health conditions especially to the women, children, old men, pregnant women and disabled persons.

Moreover, the *Dalits* were not capable to manage their own houses and they did not have more money to invest in the land. Consequently many of *Dalit* households were found to be landless and some had even sold their small land due to livelihood problems and diseases. Some *Dalits* families were also migrated to other places in search of alternatives regarding housing and land. The local banks and other financial institutions did not provide loan for housings to the *Dalits* due to the lack of loans guarantee collateral.

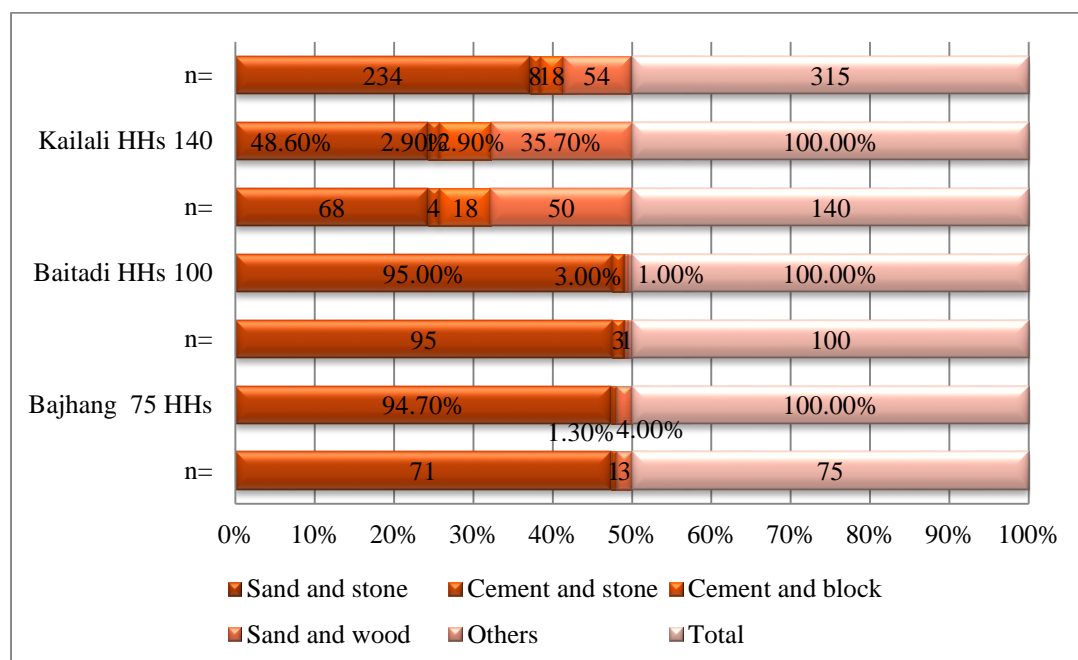
The *Dalits* were also found to be depended on other community member or relatives for shelter in occasional cases. Or they had to work for their landlord's home or land to take the shelter. In that condition they could not manage their own occupational task or profession. Their bargaining capacity was also very low. They were afraid of landlord every time because they did not have any option of shelter. Some *Dalit* families were living in other's houses for a long time, from their grandfather's up to now. So the issue of ownership was also a historical issue for them. They were always struggling for livelihood. Bar diagrams about status, types, ownership and structures of *Dalits* houses were as follows:

Figure: 4.1: Structure of Dalits Houses



Source: Field Survey, 2013

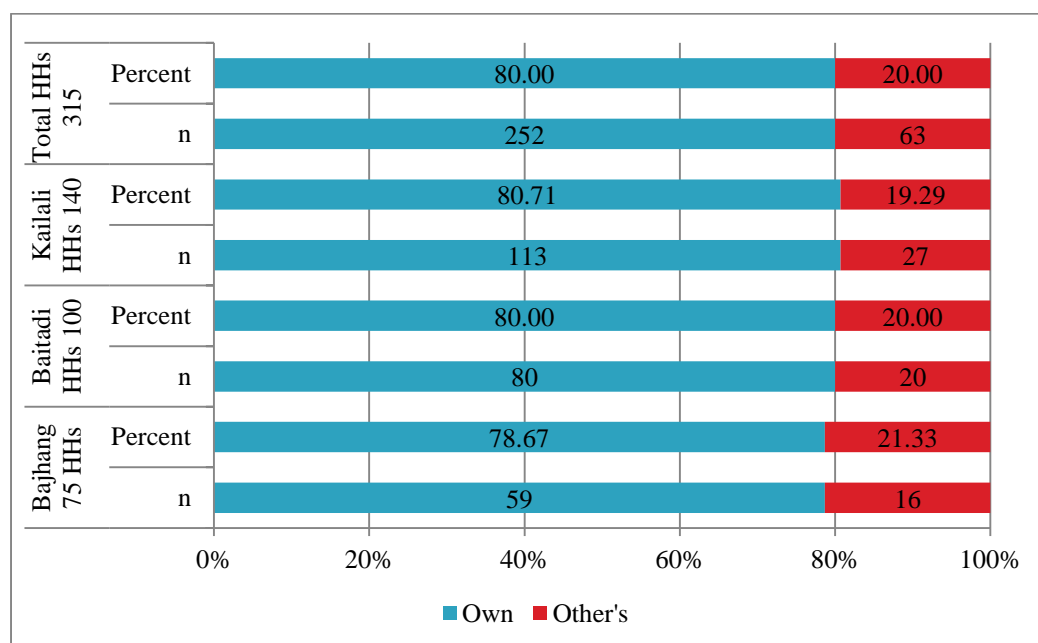
Figure 4.2: Types of Dalits Houses Wall



Source: Field Survey, 2013

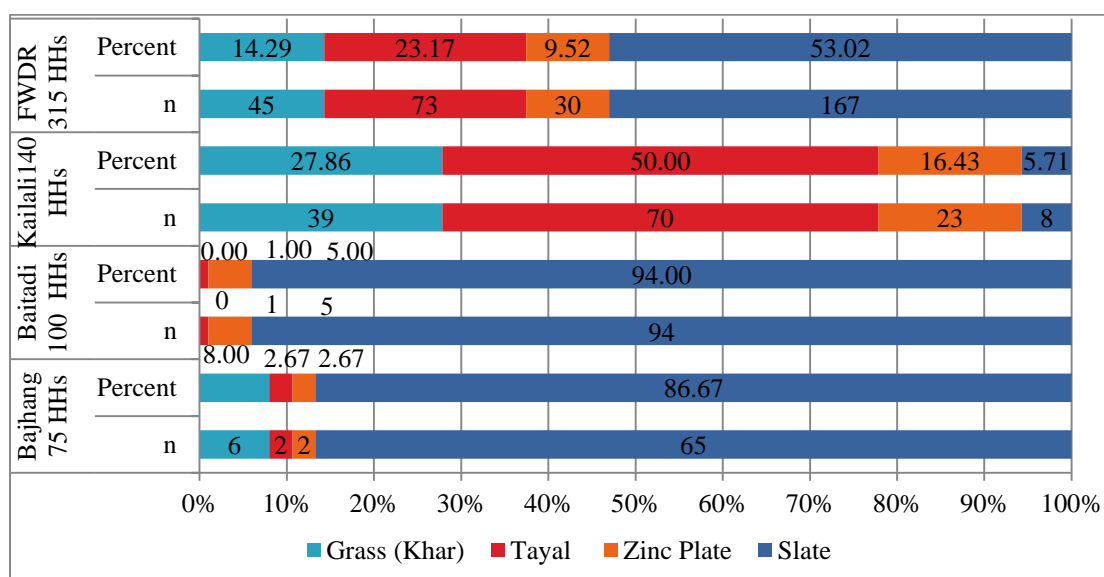
Status of Dalit on house ownership in study area

Figure 4.3: Ownership of Dalits Houses



Source: Field Survey, 2013

Figure: 4.4: Types of Roof



Source: Field Survey, 2013

Figure: 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 shows that 51.1 percent of the total houses were permanent while remaining were temporary in nature. The number of permanent houses were interestingly less in Kailali district (27.9 percent) and higher in Bajhang (58.7 percent) indicating that the mobility of *Dalits* in the uplands was uni-linear, i.e. going to India and the mobility of the *Dalits* towards terai region was multi-linear, i.e. going to India, Mahendranagar, Dhangadi and other local markets. Further, Baitadi and Bajhang are situated in Mountain and Hills respectively which are comparatively colder than Kailali. *Dalits* living in Bajhang own more permanent houses as compared to the Kailali district. Regarding the ownership of the houses, there was a similar kind of distribution among these three districts, i.e., on average, 80 percent of the *Dalits* had their own houses while 20 percent of the *Dalits* did not have.

In case of Bajhang and Baitadi, there were significant number of houses made up of sand and stone (94.7 percent and 95 percent respectively). It might be due to the availability of local raw materials like that of stones and sand in hill area. The use of sand and wooden roof and Tayal (*Jhingati*) was significantly high in Kailali district Fig. 4.1.

4.1.2 Dalit's Physical Goods and Equipments

Table 4.2: District-wise Status of Dalit on Physical Durable Commodities

Materials	Bajhang(75HHs)		Baitadi(100HHs)		Kailali(140HHs)		FWDR315HHs	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Radio/Tape recorder	45	60.0	42	42.0	28	20.4	115	36.5
Television	4	1.3	12	12.0	35	25.0	51	16.1
Computer	-	-	-	-	2	1.3	2	0.6
Cycle	-	-	-	-	48	34.4	48	15.23
Motorcycle	-	-	-	-	1	0.6	1	0.31
Watch/Wall watch	22	33.3	30	30.0	26	18.3	78	24.76
Others equipment	4	5.4	16	16	-	-	20	6.34
Total n	75	100	100	100	140	100	315	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

The Table 4.2 shows that in regard to the use of electronic materials, only 0.6 percent of *Dalit* households had their access to the use of computer. However there were not any computer user in Bajhang and Baitadi. The percentage of radio/tap users were found to be high in Bajhang (60.0 percent) followed by Baitadi (42.0 percent) and Kailali (20.4 percent).

4.1.3 Dalit's Status on Types of Toilet and Sanitation

The sanitation and access to toilet service is the basic condition to live and is one of the major components of physical asset. The values and approaches on sanitation use can influence the effectiveness of the other assets too. Interestingly, there was a kind of changing perception and practice of sanitation even though almost of the *Dalit* did not understand the immediate link between sanitation, hygiene and health (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: District-wise Types of Toilets and Access of Dalits

Type of Toilet	Bajhang (75 HHs)		Baitadi (100 HHs)		Kailali (140 HHs)		Total FWDR	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Attached with Houses	3	4.0	4	4.0	3	2.1	10	3.2
Nearness to Houses	38	50.7	60	60.0	43	30.7	141	44.8
Community Toilets	-	1.3	15	15.0	13	9.3	29	9.2
Open toilets	31	41.3	11	11.0	75	53.6	117	37.1
Open space around Community	3	2.7	10	10.0	6	4.3	18	5.7
Total	75	100.0	100	100.0	140	100.0	315	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2013

The result shown in table 4.3 shows that most of the households (44 percent) of *Dalit* community had built their toilets nearby their house; being apparent in Baitadi (60 percent) and Bajhang (50.7percent) but less in Kailali (30.7 percent). Similarly, 37.1 percent of the total respondents used open toilets. The percentage of open toilet users was higher in Kailali (53.6 percent) than in Bajhang (41.3 percent) and Baitadi (11 percent) respectively.

Similarly, the attached toilet system was found very few cases both in Hill and Terai region. The figure as mentioned in Table 4.3. Only 3.2 percent of the total surveyed households has found attached toilet in their houses. In some places of Baitadi and Kailali (very few in Bajhang), there were community toilet systems too.

B) Dalit's Common Assets and Accessibility

4.1.4 Access to Road

Access to road is a basic physical asset which facilitates the access to better livelihood opportunities in the given territory. It is viewed from two ways: the condition of the road and the capacity of the road as shown in table 4.4. Firstly, condition of roads refers to the existing road which may be sandy, muddy, gravelled, or pitched. Secondly, all-weather motorable roads are the roads through which motor vehicles can easily pass and move. Access to a motorable road is measured by the time taken (often in hour) to walk and distance measured (often in meter or kilometre) from a particular settlement.

Table 4.4: District-wise Access to Road (Grabbled and Pitched)

Distance from the Houses	Districts			Total Percent FWDR (315 HHs)
	Bajhang (75 HHs)	Baitadi (100 HHs)	Kailali (140 HHs)	
i-1 Km	0	0	20 HHs	6.34
1-2 Km	0	10HHs	30 HHs	12.69
2-3 Km	05 HHs	18 HHs	50 HHs	23.17
3-4 Km	25 HHs	17 HHs	40 HHs	26.03
4-5 Km	15HHs	15HHs	0HHs	9.52
6+ Km	25HHs	40HHs	0HHs	20.63
	75HH	100HH	140HH	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Kailali district, as a far-western corridor, is connected with wider road networks of Nepal and India. There are two main roads through the district. One is a direct road between Nepalgunj and the Dhangadi municipality. The next road is a linkage road

through North of India which is also main road through Dudhuwa National Park, India. There are several direct roads from district to Uttaranchal Pradesh of India, which has an open border with Nepal. Within the district there are several local busses which have multiple rides per day. Bus routes are reaching almost all VDCs in the district daily and some other VDCs of the neighbouring district every week. There is also a good public transportation system between Dhangadi district and the surrounding areas, including some hinterlands. The long route of transportation proceeds from Dhangadi, the district municipality to Kailali, Butwal, Kathmandu, Biratnagar, Pokhara and many other important towns and cities. In Dhangadi there is a regional airport with a couple of flights per day to Kathmandu (DDC, Kailali, 2011). But the travelling via air transportation is still a question of critic for most of the *Dalits* community who could not afford it anyway. Baitadi district has less connectivity of roads in comparison to Kailali. The main link is the East-West Highway which connects Baitadi with other districts of FWDR. Similarly, there is a road up to the Indian border which links Baitadi with Uttaranchal province of India. However, there is not a convenient bridge on the Mahakali River. Therefore, the transportation connectivity is lacking.

Likewise, Bajhang district has no more connectivity of roads. The only linkage was the national high-way which is not sufficient for the mobility of *Dalits* and fulfilling their daily needs. Similarly as in Baitadi, *Dalits* in Bajhang district also live in remote villages which are, isolated from the road facilities. Due to this, they are not able to take the advantage of road networks. It ultimately limits their livelihood strategies. But, it has been observed that the *Dalits* do not have frequent use and access to road facilities due to the geographical conditions of their settlements. Another reason was the lack of political-economic access of *Dalits* to accommodate their travel expenses.

4.1.5 Access to Electricity (Sources of lighting)

Table 4.5: District-wise Status of the Dalits on Sources of Lighting

Sources	Bajhang (75 HHs)		Baitadi (100 HHs)		Kailali (140 HHs)		FWDR(315 HHs)	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Electricity	13	17.3	45	45.0	73	52.1	120	38.1
Kerosene lamp	21	28.0	30	30.0	36	26.4	89	28.1
Firewood	31	42.0	24	24.0	29	20.4	91	28.8
Solar power	8	10.3	1	1.0	-	-	12	3.76
Others	2	2.4	-	-	2	1.1	3	1.1
Total n	75	100	100	100	140	100	315	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

The electricity is a basic infrastructure as a source of energy which has both direct and indirect contributions to livelihood. The Table 4.5 shows that the accessibility of electricity among the *Dalits* was highest in Kailali district (52.1.0 percent) followed by Baitadi (45 percent) and Bajhang (17.3 percent). In Kailali relatively 73 households (52.1 percent) were found to have installed electricity facilities. It was because of the presence of Indian and national electricity system in the district. When they were asked the “purpose of using electricity”, almost the households answered that they used for lighting. The remaining households also used it for tailoring and other households and occupational purposes.

In case of sources of lighting, it has seen that 28.1 percent were still using kerosene lamp. It has also amazing that there were slightly a high number of kerosene users in Baitadi district than Bajhang and Kailali- 30 percent, 28 percent and 26.4 percent respectively. The percentage of firewood users was 28.8 percent on average, though it was high (42 percent) in Bajhang followed by Baitadi (24 percent) and Kailali (20.4 percent).

4.1.6 Access to Communication

The communication asset of the *Dalits* was also found poor in comparison to other in national statistics (being 87 percent) people access to communication sources. This study revealed that, 48 percent of the total studied HH having mobile phone access, while the landline holders were only (3.7 percent). The access of mobile among the

Dalits was significantly high in Kailali (67.9 percent) while its rate is found less in Baitadi (39 percent) and Bajhang (37.3 percent) table 4.6.

Table 4.6: District-wise Status of Dalit on the Use of Communication Means

Means of Communication		Bajhang(75Hs)		Baitadi(100 HHs)		Kailali(140 HHs)		Total (315HHs)	
		N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	Mobile	28	37.3	39	39.0	95	67.9	151	48
	Land line Telephone	1	1.4	3	3.0	9	6.7	12	3.7
	Internet	-	-	-	-	2	1.3		.3
Not using means		46	61.3	58	58	34	24.1	151	47.8
Total number of HHs		75	100	100	100	140	100	315	100
Reason of not using means	Cannot afford	71	94.7	79	79.0	115	82.1	265	84.1
	Not necessary	1	1.7	19	19.0	1	0.7	21	7.0
	No knowledge to use	1	2.7	1	1.0	2	1.4	4	1.2
	Due to illiterate	1	1.0	-	-	4	2.9	5	1.5
	Other reasons	-	-	1	1.0	18	12.9	19	6.0
Total		75	100	100	100	140	100	315	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Baitadi and Bajhang districts have limited availability of cable network for land line telephones and telephone tower for mobile communication because of its remoteness, scattered settlement and the region is said to be overlooked by the policy maker. It could also be possible that due to the hilly and mountainous geographic location, it might cause difficulty in providing landline telephone facilities, which was the reason that the users of land-line telephone were (3 percent) contradict to that of mobile users 48 percent. This also indicates the changing consumption pattern of *Dalits*, slightly attracted towards luxurious commodities. On the other hand; internet was available only in the proximate villages and the municipality of Dhangadi in the Kailali district. It was facilitated in some guesthouses, and in internet and phone shops. But only a 2 HHs (0.3percent) *Dalit* had private internet connections.

Similarly, the causes behind not using the means of communication were diverse. The included causes were about the perceptions of people, their poverty or affordability, illiteracy and knowledge gaps. The problem of affordability seemed to be the most visible, among 84.1 percent of the total, and the problem was severe in Bajhang (94.7 percent) followed by Baitadi (79 percent) and Kailali (82.1 percent).

4.1.7 Access to Water Facilities

The accesses to water and water-related issues have been described under the domain of physical assets. Indeed, this facility hinders different kinds of physical assets and other non-physical assets (Chambers, 1995; Scoones, 1998). Table 4.7 has been presented to highlight about the condition of access to and control of the water resources in the region.

Table 4.7: Situations of Water Facilities in FWDR

Status	Bajhang		Baitadi		Kailali		FWDR	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Pipeline water-supply at the house	1	1.30	2	2.00	40	28.60	43	13.65
Pipeline water supply in the community	55	73.30	86	86.0	33	23.60	174	55.23
Natural source of water in the community	19	25.30	12	12.0	31	22.10	62	19.68
Hand pump	-	-	-	-	36	25.70	36	11.47
Total HHs n	75	100.0	100	100.0	140	100.0	315	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2013

The situation of drinking water facility in the region was found to be poor and very limited particularly at the HH level. For the *Dalit* community, the problem was really found significantly at higher both in Terai and Hill region. The pipeline water supply at the house belonging to *Dalit* was found 13.6 percent among all the supply systems at FWDR region, while analysing at the district wise, it was found higher in Kailali (28.6 percent), 2 Percent in Baitadi, and 1.3 Percent in Bhajang. While analysing water facility system at community level, it has revealed that 55.2 Percent pipeline supply provided to community level, which is 86 Percent in Baitadi followed by 73.3 Percent in Bajhang 23.6 in Kailali. The availability of natural water resource which includes stream, stone tape, river, spring, pond in the community was high in Bajhang (25.3 percent) as compared to 22.1 Percent in Kailali and 12 Percent in Baitadi. The hand pump system was widely found in Kailali (25.7 percent), being the Terai district, and not available in Hill districts. It can be observed higher proportion of *Dalits* from Bajhang and Kailali were not satisfied with the current situation of drinking water facility. It was because of less access to quality drinking water in the districts.

Virtually, almost all communities of Kailali district had access to water, and majority of HHs has water pump as an alternative means of water facility to meet their HHs

need, which is in addition to the pipe facility as mentioned earlier. Hand pumps were introduced in the district with the financial and technical support of the Red Cross, NGO's and the District Water Supply Office. There are many natural water resources however these resources are very far hence not in access of users. In fact, water resources has been under holding of non –*Dalit* community and these communities do not like to share water with *Dalit* due to the traditionally established social system. Since, the *Dalits* has been of the victim of the culture of untouchability and discriminations, and water is one of the assets that is one of the key factor lead to discrimination.

4.2 Natural Assets: Cultivation and Food Sufficiency

Table 4.8: Status of Dalit HHs on Ownership of Land, Land Size, and Irrigated Land

Ownership of land, land size, irrigated land size		Bajhang (75 HHs)		Baitadi (100HHs)		Kailali (140HHs)		Total(315HHs)	
		N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Own land status	Not irrigated farm land	57	75.7	87	87.0	68	48.3	212	67.3
	Irrigated farm land	18	24.3	13	13	72	51.7	103	32.69
	Total n	75	100	100	100	140	100	315	100
Use of other's land	Not irrigated farm land	54	71.6	67	67.0	88	62.9	209	66.34
	Irrigated farm land	21	28.4	33	33.0	52	37.1	106	33.65
Land size Hecter (Converted by <i>Ropani</i>)		0.29		0.30		0.28		0.28 Average	

Source: Field Survey, 2013

It is clearly observed that the land size (self-ownership as well as using other's land) were significantly different among three districts. For example, the *Dalit* HHs of Baitadi possessed slightly a larger size of land than the *Dalits* had in the other districts. Moreover, many *Dalits* (37.1 percent) of Kailali had also farming land leasing from others (on lease; *Thekka*). Such practices were found slightly weak in Baitadi (33 percent) and Bajhang (28.4 percent).

Box 4.1: Case Study: Land and Poverty were Muted to Each-other

Gaura B.K was a 30 years old, was looking tired while approaching with her during this study. The shy lady, hardly can speak Nepali, with mixture of Bhajangi dialect. Language and an illiterate. She was living in a joint family with her mother in law. She had three children, attending Government school. Her husband named Mr. Phunky , 35 years, attended only 7 grade, usually goes to India for about six months every year to earn some money .Though unskilled, even could able to learn the traditional occupation, as a seasonal labour he earn some 9-10 thousand / year to survive his family. Phunky is just an example; several such Nepalese youth can be seen on the way to India soon after they harvest the crop. More often, these youth go India in the winter season.

Gaura, the wife of Phunky had one *ropni* (0.5 Hectar) land in her husband's name as a property, which could hardly sustain them for 2-3 months of the year. In addition to the piece of land she has a cow, a goat, a pair of oxen. She has a house made with local raw material with thatched hut with two rooms without doors, and no access of electricity. The means of survive for Gaura while husband stay to India for earning was to depend on local elite to take debt for survive. She then attempt to pay the whole debt to the merchant. But, it depends on how much amount her husband brings from India. If the whole debt cannot be able to pay, the remaining sum add on the next year, and next year which pushes the family with further poverty. As per her, the total debt at the time of this research was reached to 70,000 NPR, which makes her tired, and hopeless.

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Table 4.9: Descriptions of Dalit HHs Cultivating others 'Land

Description	Bajhang (75HHs)		Baitadi (100 HHs)		Kailali (140 HHs)		Total (315HHs)	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Leasing of land with no pay back (Free)	3	4.3	3	3.0	2	1.9	8	2.53
Crop sharing	62	82.6	70	69.7	116	82.7	248	78.73
Leasing a land from landlord	10	13.0	27	27.3	11	7.7	48	15.23
Lease land for business (contract basis)	-	-	-	-	11	7.7	11	3.49
Total n	75	100	100	100	140	100	315	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Regarding the use of other's land (Table 4.9) most of the *Dalit* (78.7 percent) households were using crop sharing, significantly in Kailali (82.7 percent) and Bajhang (82.7 percent) followed by Baitadi (69.7 percent). The crop sharing system was followed by lease which was 15.2 percent on average followed by contract system (2.5 percent). The contract system was not observed in Bajhang and Baitadi district though it was found in Kailali district to some extent (7.7 percent). Another types of lease system is also found in Hill districts in which a person use landlord's land with free of cost, that means the user neither need to pay any cost nor need to share any crops produced from the land. Normally, the landlord who migrated from Hill to Terai or other region of the country would like to secure their parental land. So, the poor and landless in such a case get an opportunity to use such land and which

contribute to their livelihoods. Such system in total of the study sample is found only 3 percent.

Despite the above mentioned land use system (Table 4.9), the question is whether these land use system contribute to meet their livelihood needs. Table 4.10 illustrate the status of food sufficiency, and deficiency of the *Dalit* of studied districts. Food security is one of the good measures of livelihood outcomes and strategies. Food sufficiency of the *Dalits* in three sampled districts has been observed relating to their income, land, wage and educational status (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10: Situations of Dalit HHs on Food Sufficiency for Their Livelihood (Month)

Food insufficiency status	Bajhang		Baitadi		Kailali		Total FWDR	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Food sufficient	2	2.70	3	3.00	6	4.30	11	3.50
Food insufficient	73	97.30	97	97.00	134	95.70	304	96.50
Total	75	100.00	100	100.00	140	100.00	315	100.0
Food insufficient months								
Less than 3 months	63	84.8	89	89.40	81	57.70	233	73.96
More than 3 month	4	5.40	11	10.60	21	15.40	45 36	11.42
More than 6 month	7	8.90	-	-	28	19.80	35	11.00
More than 9 month	1	0.9	-	-	10	7.10	11	3.50
Total n	75	100.00	100	100.00	140	100.00	315	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2013

The Table 4.10 shows the alarming situations of food insufficiency (insecurity) in the regions where 96.5 percent HHs were food unsecured, while just remaining 3.5 percent HHs were food secured. Interestingly; Bajhang, Baitadi and Kailali had no significant differences in the level of food insufficiency which was seemed to be 97.3 percent, 97.0 percent and 95.7 percent respectively.

In such devastating food-deficit situations, *Dalits* in the region apply different types of local strategies to meet their livelihood needs as mentioned in the following table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Status of Dalit HHs on Coping Mechanism in Case of Food Insufficiency

Coping Mechanism	Bajhang (75HHs)		Baitadi (100 HHs)		Kailali (140 HHs)		FWDR (315 HHs)	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Purchasing	43	59.3	63	63.2	102	73.0	208	66
Borrowing	3	3.6	4	4.1	6	4.5	13	4.12
Begging	1	1.3	1	1.4	3	1.8	5	1.58
Wages	5	5.4	1	1.2	3	1.8	9	2.85
Loan	23	30.4	30	30.1	26	18.9	79	25.7
Total n	75	100	100	100	140	100	315	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

It had been perceived that 66 percent of HHs were depended on purchasing foods where as 2.8 percent were depended on the wages. The purchasing of food was seemed higher (73. percent) in Kailali which had indicated a relatively higher income (wage level) of the *Dalits* in *Terai* region in comparison to *two Hill* region. The loan taking strategy for food was also significantly observed as being 25.7 percent in an average. The loan was more commonly taken in Bajhang and Baitadi as compared to the Kailali district (30.4 percent, 30.1 percent and 18.9 percent respectively).

The other strategy of survival is the manual labour in which other household members (including children and old men/women) would also engage in work in order to earn cash income as wages. Sometimes, they worked as domestic servants, and sometimes as manual labours. Some of them engaged in crop sharing as a coping strategy, as it could help them to reduce the food deficit at least by 2/3 months in a year. Still little percentage of dependency was seen on borrowing (4.12 percent) and begging (1.58 percent). On borrowing, the interest rate was generally ranged between 60 to 80 percent (sometimes it was even 100 per cent). Further, a practice of relying on less preferred food e.g *Tarul*, *Githha*, Chiuri fruit, wild mushroom etc which can be collected from the forest resources as a common property resources, and a common practices in the studied districts to meet their food needs. The increase in the number of people and spending less on non-food items (not generally a common food) were also the indicators of worsening situations. Relying on less expensive food, consuming wild food, skipping meals, and reducing size and number of meals were reported to be the coping strategies.

Following case study has identified about the positive relationship between debt and food insecurity:

Box 4.2: Case Study: Debt and Food Insecurity were Muted each-others

Sune pariyar lives Godawari VDC-Olani-1, Kailali districts. He had 0.05 Ha of land for food production, in the name of livestock; he had 2 cows and 3 goats. He had five family members including his wife and three kids. From his agricultural land, the need only meets for a month. For the rest of the year, he usually goes to India to earn money as a seasonal labour. He worked there as a watchman. He generally earned about NRs 2500 per month. He also said that sometimes he would stay unemployed even his stay in India. Monthly expenses for his house were about NRs 3645/month. He had about NRs 32,000 loan which he took during food deficit period of the past years, added year by year, and pushing him into further poverty. He received loan from a neighbour at an interest rate of 65 percent/ year. Mr Chunara is a typical example of the poverty in the region, and what the *Dalit* has been facing since generation to generation.

Source: Field Survey, 2013

4.2.1 Agricultural and Non- agricultural Activities

Livelihood strategies denote wide range of activities that households adopt in order to meet their livelihood needs. The most common livelihood strategy of the *Dalits* in the region was found as a manual labour in on-farms and off-farm activities. The on-farm activities included share cropping, contract farming, agricultural labour, etc., while the off-farm activities were the traditional caste based occupations such as, cobbling, tailoring, black/gold smithy, carpentry, rickshaw pulling apart from the seasonal migration to urban cities or even India for meeting household economic opportunities. Exceptionally, there were some cases where the *Dalits* used to follow both on-farms and off-farm manual labours depending upon the season, family background and demand of the labour (Table 21).

4.2.2 Forest Resources and Accessibility

Table 4.12: Types of Forest and Dalit in Bajhang, Baitadi and Kailali

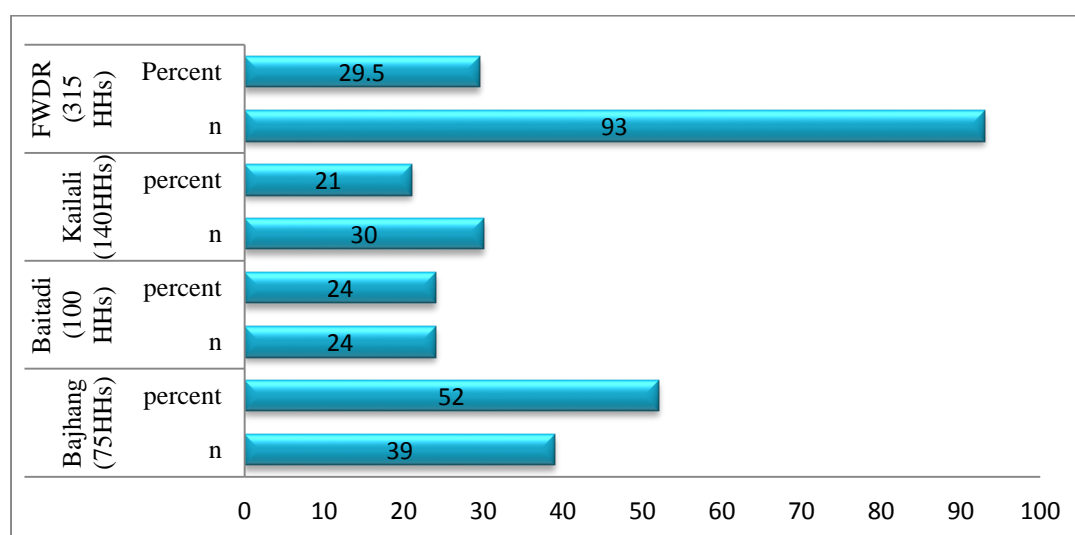
Forest Related Information	Baitadi (75HHs)		Baitadi(100HHs)		Kailai(140HHs)		Total(315 HHs)	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Forest Near to <i>Dalit</i> Community	54	72.0	54	54.0	128	91.9	236	74.92
Type of forest								
Government managed	21	27.8	5	5.1	17	12.4	43	13.65
Community Managed	53	70.4	75	74.6	123	87.6	251	79.68
Private forest	1	1.9	20	20.3	0	.0	21	6.6
Types of plantation								
Government	9	11.8	0	.0	4	2.6	13	4.12
Community	51	68.2	78	77.6	122	87.4	251	79.68
Private	-	-	2	2.4	-	-	3	0.8

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Different types of forest management regimes are also practices in studies districts which are GoN has managed forest, community forestry, and private forest, and they

are significantly nearer to community, and of course near to *Dalit* HH. *Dalit* do also contribute to plantation and other natural asset restoration activities table 4.12. Despite that fact that they have limited access in decision making, and access to forest products figure 4.5 and table 13. The study also revealed that *Dalit* has no any peace of private forest land, however some of the *Dalit* may get access to those to whom they work as manual labour or other types of local practices e.g. *Haliya*, *Khaliya*. Since the private forest is a quite away from the access of *Dalit*, but even in the community forest, their participation was found very limited (Table 4.13). It is obvious that the status of community forestry (79.68 percent) in all the districts as compared to other types of forestry. This can be regarded as the good indicator of success of community forest in the region. In a few cases (particularly in Baitadi) there was private forestry where *Dalits* had indirect access through landlord. Further, the plantation activities at community level was higher (87.4 percent) followed by public and private plantation, and participation of *Dalit* in such was also found significantly, though they have limited access in forest products figure 4.5. The supply of firewood by the forestry had remained as one of the common strategies in the region. Figure 4.5 presents the status of the *Dalit* depending upon the sources of firewood by forestry.

Figure 4.5: District-wise Status of Dalit on Sources of Firewood by Forestry



Source: Field Survey, 2013

The status of *Dalit* on sources of firewood was not evenly distributed. The firewood from forestry constituted only 29.5 percent of the total fuel supply.

Only about one-fourth (29.5 percent) out of 315 households had realized the importance of forest products for livelihood. It was based upon their difference in perception, such as contribution to livestock rearing (fodder), direct sales of fire-wood and using farm yard manure for farming to enrich the fertility of soil. While disaggregating this figure by ecological belts, 21.0 percent from Kailali, 24.0 percent from Bajhang and 52.0 percent from Baitadi reported that forest products had contributed to their livelihood. Similarly, 29.5 per cent centrally located households realized the importance of forest products for their livelihood.

The issue of membership in the community forest's user committee seems one of the important means of livelihood for the *Dalits*. It could increase the access to the resources thereby increasing their inclusion and promoting the empowerment process (Table 4.13).

Table 4.13: Percentage of HHs Membership Status (Forest User Committee)

Types of Membership	Bajhang		Baitadi		Kailali		Total FWDR	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Vice- chairperson	-	-	1	1.0	2	1.42	3	0.95
Treasurer	-	-	-	-	-	1.0	-	0.33
Member	16	21.33	18	18.0	73	52.14	107	33.96
Total Member of total HHs	16	21.33	19	19.0	76	54.56	111	35.23

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Table 4.13 shows that there was negligible participation of *Dalits* in the key or decisive positions of the local organizations, arguably the CFUGs. A Total member (with lead position) 111 of the HHs (35.23 percent) were accessed as members in the CFUGs, particularly in the Baitadi (19HHs, 19.0 percent) and Bajhang (16HHs, 21.3 percent). But *Dalit's* possession in executive membership was also found due to mandatory provision in constitution (*Bidhan*) of the CFUGs. This might be also due to the inclusive provision adopted by the Government of Nepal in recent years. However, neither the vice-chairperson nor the treasurer was there from *Dalit* community in the CFUGs of Bajhang.

4.3 Human Assets

In livelihood discourse, the human assets refer to skills, knowledge, ability to work and good health which simultaneously enable people to pursue different livelihood

strategies, face the situations and to achieve their livelihood objectives. Primarily, it operates from household level. It depends upon the different contexts including the household size, skill levels, leadership potentials, health status, and appears to be a decisive factor besides being intrinsically valuable in order to make use of only other types of assets. Educational attainment, job-related activities, types of wage earning and the *Dalit* related caste-based occupations have been dealt in this section.

4.3.1 Level of Education

Educational attainment is generally considered an important aspect of human assets. While considering educational attainment of household members, the highest educational attainment was found in decreasing order. The survey results (Table 4.14) show a vulnerable condition of the *Dalits* in educational attainment which would have multiple chain-effects. Around 50 percent *Dalits* were illiterate in the region; while the illiteracy being significantly high among women (68.4 percent). The illiteracy was distributed unevenly in the study districts; Bajhang being the home of majority of illiterate *Dalits* (64 percent) followed by Kailali (52.9 percent) and Baitadi (34 percent). Data revealed that only 1.3 percent had completed the higher secondary education in studied districts. This number is too nominal to uplift the community.

Table 4.14: Educational Status of Dalit in Selected Districts

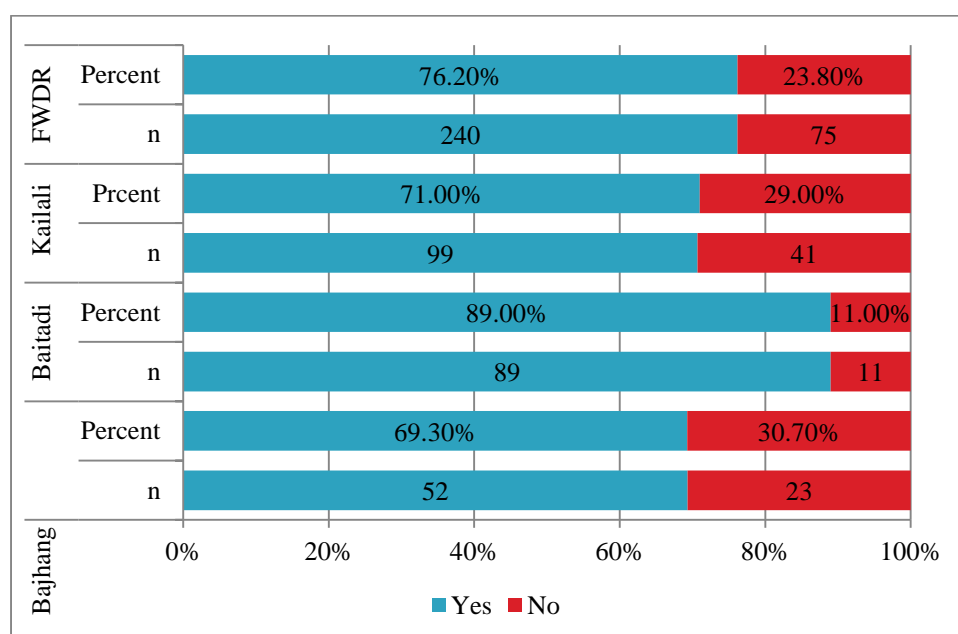
Educational status	Bajhang (n450)		Baitadi (n600)		Kailali (n840)		Total FWDR (n 1860)	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Illiterate	288	64.0	204	34.0	444	52.9	936	49.5
Literate	102	22.7	246	41.0	210	25.0	558	29.5
Primary	30	6.7	78	13.0	96	11.4	204	10.8
Lower Secondary	6	1.3	42	7.0	30	3.6	78	4.1
Secondary	-	-	24	4.0	42	5.0	66	3.5
Higher Secondary	12	2.7	6	1.0	6	0.7	24	1.3
Higher education	12	2.6	-	-	12	1.4	24	1.3
Total	450	100	600	100	840	100	1890	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

An approximately 49.5 percent of the sampled households were illiterate. Only about 29.5 percent of the households could read and write. Accordingly, households with primary (10.8 percent), lower secondary (4.1 percent), secondary (3.5 percent), higher Secondary (1.3 percent) and higher education (1.3 percent) level of educational attainment were identified Table 4.14. This indicates a vertical diminishing in the

educational status while taking the cases from primary level to the higher education level. while asking about why the poor situation of educational attainment in the region, it has revealed that, the workloads, un affordability, caste discrimination, gender discrimination, were the major causes of less educational attainment figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6: Enrolment Status of Dalit's Children in Schools of age group 5-15 years



Source: Field Survey, 2013

Percentage of the *Dalit* show the enrolment status of children at school of the age group 5-15 was found to be higher in Baitadi (89 percent) followed by Kailali (71 percent) and Bajhang (69.3 percent).

However, the enrolment status of children (5-15 age) of *Dalits* in schools was not good (76.2 percent) and it fell below the national average of enrolment (89 percent) (Figure 4.6). In an average, 23.8 percent of *Dalit* children were not enrolled in the schools.

Reasons of not Sending Their Children's in the Schools

Table 4.15: Major Reasons and District- wise Distribution of Total HHs

Major Reasons	Bajhang(75HHs)		Baitadi(100HHs)		Kailali(140HHs)		Total (315 HHs)	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Once enrolled but dropped out later	18	23.8	27	27.0	42	30.0	87	27.61
No interest to go to school	14	19.0	25	25.0	38	27.2	77	24.44
Should help in household activities	32	42.9	35	35.0	45	32.3	112	35.55
School discriminates	11	14.3	13	13.0	15	10.5	39	12.38
Total n	75	100	100	100	140	100	315	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Regarding the question asked about reason of not sending children to school Table 4.15 shows that 35.55 percent of all households replied that they needed help of the children in their household or domestic activities. This was highly observed in Bajhang (42.9 percent) as compared to other districts, e.g. Baitadi (35 percent) and Kailali 32.3 percent. Some of the households (24.44 percent) were not sending their children due to their unwillingness or disinterest, and this was observed more frequently in Kailali. Dropout after enrolment and discrimination of *Dalits* in the schools remained other observable causes behind not sending the children in the school.

Discrimination of Dalit's Children in the School

As mentioned earlier, social discrimination is one of major social problem of far west region, and this is particularly most visible in the rural villages. Caste based discrimination mainly sense of untouchability to the *Dalit* and *Dalit* children by the so called upper caste people even some time the local school teacher belongs to upper caste do also discriminate with *Dalit* children. Such conservative and uncivilized behaviour of upper caste leads to increase socio-psychological impact on *Dalit* children which mainly drive them to left of the school. The table 4.16 shows a symbolic status about the behaviours and perception of Non-*Dalit* students and teachers towards the *Dalit* students and teachers.

Table 4.16: Discriminations of Dalit's Children in the Schools

District	Satisfaction level	Male n. 44		Female n. 31		Total FWDR	
		N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Bajhang (75 HHs)	Extremely good	1	2.3	-	0	1	1.4
	Good	21	46.5	11	35.7	32	42.3
	Satisfactory	14	32.6	10	32.1	24	32.4
	Bad	8	18.6	10	32.1	18	23.9
	Total	44	100	31	100	75	100
Baitadi (100 HHs)	Satisfaction level	Male n. 54		Female n. 46			
		N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	Good	6	11.5	4	8.7	10	10.2
	Satisfactory	34	63.5	29	63.0	63	63.3
	Bad	11	19.2	13	28.3	24	23.5
	Extremely bad	3	5.8	-	-	3	3.0
	Total	54	100	46	100	100	100
Kailali (140 HHs)	Satisfaction level	Male n. 81		Female n. 59			
		N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	Extremely good	1	1.4	1	1.8	2	1.6
	Good	14	17.1	22	36.4	36	25.6
	Satisfactory	48	58.6	30	50.9	78	55.2
	Bad	15	18.6	5	9.1	20	14.4
	Extremely bad	3	4.3	1	1.8	4	3.2
	Total n	81	100	59	100	140	100

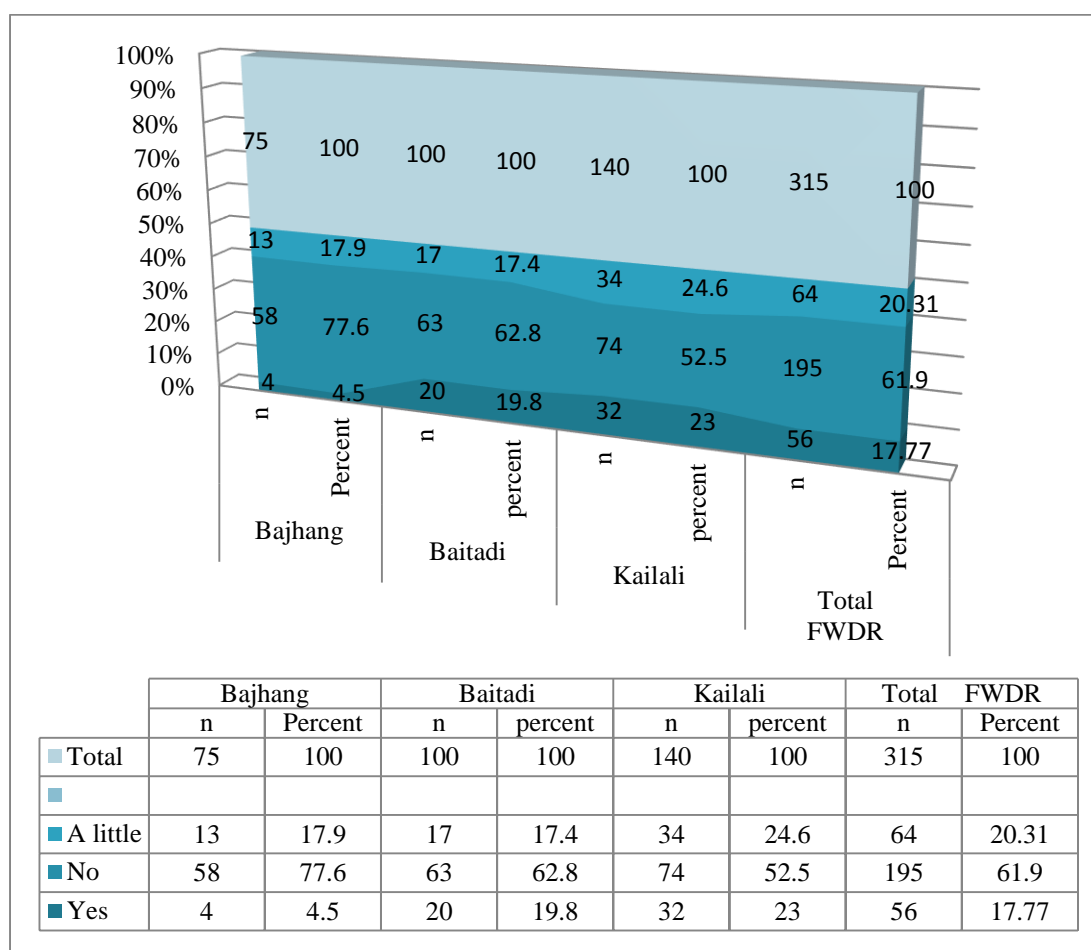
Source: Field Survey, 2013

Regarding the satisfaction level towards the teacher's behaviour, the *Dalit* children had different perceptions and experiences. The behaviour was seemed to be not an extremely good; but in general, the cases were good and satisfactory. For example, in Bajhang district, majority (42.3 percent) of respondents replied 'good'. In Baitadi about 63.3 percent (63 HHs) replied 'satisfactory'. Similarly, in Kailali district the higher percentage (55.2 percent) said that the behaviour was satisfactory. However, 23.9 percent in Bhajang 23.5 percent in Baitadi, and 14.4 percent in Kailali expressed that they faced bad behaviours from the non-*Dalit* students and teachers Table 4.16.

4.3.2 Awareness of Dalit on Rules and Regulations (Law)

Due to the lack of adequate knowledge, the level of education, and other social discriminations as mentioned above, it has been revealed that the level of knowledge on state rules, policies, regulation and practices found very poor in the studied districts table Fig. 4.7

Figure 4.7: Awareness of Dalit HHs on Rule and Regulations (Law)



Source: Field Survey, 2013

The awareness level of *Dalits* was very weak in Bajhang in comparison to that of Baitadi and Kailali. There was also a type of pessimistic condition about the rules and laws. Majority of the respondents strictly printed out the non-existence of rule and laws in their community. Such feeling was extremely high in Bajhang. Only 17.77 percent people were revealing the moderate condition of rule and laws in the regions.

The social structure in FWDR is made up of the unequal social relations in terms of class, caste and gender. In particular, the *Dalits* are struggling for social justice, and they have less capability for complain to police office, society and court. Since livelihoods of people depends on livelihood assets, while livelihood assets depends on government policies and institutions or social norms and laws. So, social justices play a vital role in the measurement of livelihood assets. Table 4.17 illustrates the *Dalit's* status in justice in the study region:

Table 4.17: Distribution of Dalits Complain for Their Justice

Categories of Complains	Bajhang		Baitadi		Kailali		Total FWDR	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Go to the police	19	25.7	39	38.7	41	29.4	99	31.42
Complain in the social forum	44	58.1	48	48.4	91	65.0	183	58.02
Just tolerate	12	16.2	13	12.9	8	5.6	33	10.47
Total	75	100	100	100	140	100	315	100

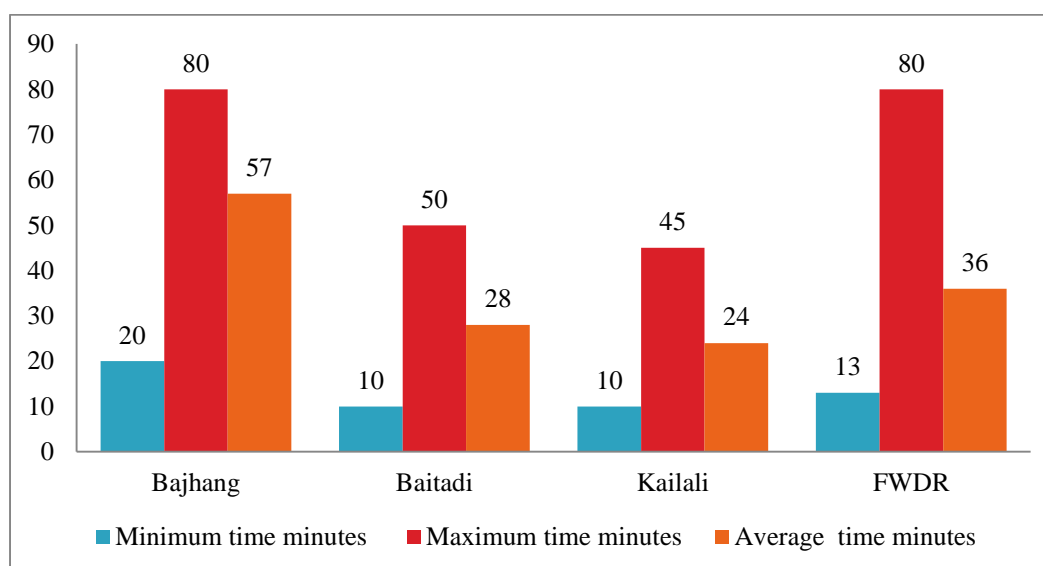
Source: Field Survey, 2013

People were using different kinds of social control systems in the community. Majority (58.02 percent) of people used to go to the respective social forums if they had any kinds of complaints about justice. Percentage was higher in Kailali (65 percent) followed by Bajhang (58.1 percent) and Baitadi (48.4 percent). Complaining to the police was not developed as a culture so far. And interestingly, 10.47 percent of the *Dalit* households did not like (and practice) to complain to authorities, as they believe that they do not get justice from these state authorities. So, average of 10.47 percent *Dalit* HHs just tolerating silently in all three districts. Comparing this with districts, 16.2 percent *Dalit* in Bhajang tolerate the un-justice faced from the so called upper caste, and even from authorities table 4.17 illustrate the details of unjust situations.

4.3.3 Status of Health and Sanitations

Health and sanitation is one of the major factors for livelihood assets, and which ultimately affects the livelihood of the people. Figure 4.8 shows the location of health post, health center, and local hospital. Distance from settlement determines the context of vulnerability, and level of risk that people had been suffering.

Figure 4.8: Average Time Duration for Reaching Health post/hospital (in minutes)



Source: Field Survey, 2013

From the above figure 4.8, it is clear that the health posts/hospitals are too farther from the settlement of *Dalits* in Bajhang than other two districts. Though the distance is not so far, but due to geography, access to road, etc. makes the reach to health centre difficult for people, particularly those who suffer from emergency medical need. It was due to the geographic structure of the region, i.e. the hilly areas of Bajhang could take long time of travel than the plain area of Kailali. In regard to the research question about average time to reach to the hospital/health post from residence, it has found that there was significant difference in the time for all districts at 5 percent level of significance.

4.3.4 Health Facilities and Behaviour of Health Workers

The availability of health facilities and the behaviour of people towards the *Dalits* had direct implications to the livelihood of the *Dalits* in a given community. Following Table 4.18 and case study reveals that the perception of *Dalits* to the health facilities and the behaviour of non-*Dalit* health workers to the *Dalits*:

Table 4.18: Indicators of Health Facilities and the Behaviour of Health Workers

Indicators	Bajhang (75HHs)		Baitadi (100 HHs)		Kailali (140HHs)		FWDR (315 HHs)	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Satisfied with the health facilities	40	53.4	53	53.1	91	65.0	184	58.41
Health post/hospital workers behave good to <i>Dalits</i>	45	60.0	79	78.5	100	71.4	224	71.11
Frequency of health workers visit to <i>Dalit</i> residents								
Most frequently	2	2.7	1	1.0	1	.8	4	1.26
Frequently	1	1.4	17	16.7	4	3.1	22	6.98
Occasionally	30	40.5	51	51.0	37	26.4	118	37.46
Less often	33	44.6	26	26.0	46	32.6	105	33.33
Negligible	8	10.8	5	5.2	52	37.2	65.	20.63
Total	75	100	100	100	140	100	315	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Box 4.3: Co-existences of Dalits Health, Local Culture, and Poverty

A poor *Dalit* women Finny lives in Lima village of Syadi VDC ward no 3, Bajhang, She was 35 years old. She has 3 sons, mentally disabled, and having very low vision. They are not completely blind, but could not able to see the things around clearly. They never checked their eyes, means never visited to Doctor. Her husband who found had drunken all the time, never save money and never found taking responsibilities of the family. Her husband often goes to India for seasonal jobs, but while return never bring any saving sum for the family. If he brings some, he often found spent on alcohol in which he becomes habitual. In addition to the disabled sons, she has a 8 years old daughter, having good health. She is the one who care the family, could not attend the school due to the ill health of her brothers.

The local people blamed the family that the reason behind the deteriorating situation of the family was due to the unhappy soul of their late parents. As per local if the late parent either father or mother or grandfather who died with unsatisfied condition with the family, come again and again the family in the form of ghost, and then start making harm to the family.

Due to such conservative thinking, and local perceptions and faith on soul, she never dare to go to doctor for treatment of their children. Furthermore, her economic situation never permit her to go to doctor for the treatment. The case indicated that the poor has to suffer in multiple ways in surviving of their family. Low saving, no land, and ill health makes the situation more vulnerable of poor family, In such a situation, the member of the family never able to participate for the community work, development work, and of course never can be able to take part in nation building which lead to make them backwarded making the society and community backwarded.

Source: Field Survey, 2013

It is quite evident that majority of the *Dalits* (58.41 percent) were satisfied with the exiting health facilities. Likewise, most of the *Dalits* (71.11 percent) were satisfied about non-*Dalit*'s behaviours to them. The level of satisfaction was similar in Bajhang and Baitadi followed by Kailali district. Contesting this figure, the frequency of health workers visiting to *Dalit* residents was less often, and in some times occasionally.

4.3.5 Traditional Skill and Occupational Status

The *Dalits* in Nepal usually follow their traditional occupations though the impact of modernization and private sector was observed increasingly. The following tables (4.19 and 4.20) highlight about the status of *Dalits* in various occupations and their levels of the skills:

Table 4.19: Occupational Classifications of Dalit HHs

Occupation	Bajhang N41HHs		Baitadi N35HHs		Kailali N23HHs		FWDR N99HHs	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Carpenter	10	24.4	8	22.2	2	10.7	20	20.20
Tailor	16	39.0	10	27.8	3	11.6	29	29.29
Porter	10	24.4	11	33.3	3	9.7	24	24.24
Bamboo potter	0	0.0	3	8.3	5	21.4	8	8.08
Shoes maker	0	0.0	3	8.3	10	46.4	13	13.13
Dance/Music	5	12.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	5.05
Total	41	100	35	100	23	100	99	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Most of the *Dalits* (29.29 percent) followed tailoring as a major occupation, though this occupation was not evenly found in all the studied districts. Pottering was another dominant occupation (by 24.24 percent), followed by carpentry (20.20 percent) and shoe-making (13.13 percent). Interestingly, the dominance of traditional occupations among the *Dalits* was insignificant in Kailali district where people had different alternatives to follow besides their traditional practices.

There were different kinds of rankings of people about their own skill. More than half of the occupational-holder *Dalits* were skilled (56.5 percent). The high-skilled workers were very rarely occupied (6.0 percent). There were some low-skilled workers (27.1 percent) as well as the un-skilled workers (11.1 percent). The table also shows that more proportion of the *Dalits*, i.e. 66.7 percent was skilled, 13.9 percent were low skilled and 8.3 percent were unskilled in Baitadi.

Table 4.20: Skills Classifications of Dalit HHs and Percentage Distribution

Skill level	Bajhang 42HHs		Baitadi 35 HHs		Kailali 23HHs		FWDR 100HHs	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Highly skilled	-	-	4	11.1	2	10.0	6	6.06
Skilled	25	58.5	23	66.7	8	33.3	56	56.56
Low skilled	15	36.6	5	13.9	7	30.0	27	27.27
Unskilled	2	4.9	3	8.3	6	26.7	11	11.11
Total	42	100.0	35	100.0	23	100.0	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2013

The *Dalits* were involving in various occupational fields and their level of skills had significant with those occupations.

Indeed, caste based occupation remained as the important acquired skills and knowledge of the *Dalit* community for centuries which was structured historically. It had greater significance for the livelihood of the *Dalit* as a whole. Many households adopted caste-based occupation. Though there was equal number of households in remote-centrally located places and these places had supported less for flourishing caste- based occupations as compared to the remote rural areas. It was because of available market opportunities and mode of payment in cash in the market centres in one hand, and deep rooted social structure of the rural hinterlands on the other.

4.4 Financial Asset

Financial assets denote financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood. These assets comprise of the availability of cash or equivalent that enables people to adopt different livelihood strategies. Following two sources of financial asset has been included in this study:

- Available stock: cash, bank deposit or liquid asset such as livestock and jewellery, not having liabilities attached and usually independent of third parties and
- Regular inflow of money: manual labour income, pensions or other transfers from the state and remittances which are mostly dependent on others and need to be reliable.

In order to make effective analysis, different means of income or sources of livelihoods were deployed and these different sources have been shown in table 4.21.

The table shows that farming activities were more in Baitadi district, and whatever work available at local level was found higher in Bhajang districts, which was obvious in the context of the hilly part of FWDR.

Table 4.21: Major Source of Livelihood in the Family and Percentage Distribution

Source	Bajhang (75 HHs)		Baitadi (100HHs)		Kailali (140 HHs)		FWDR (315HHs)	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Farming	24	32.0	80	80.0	68	48.6	172	54.6
Agriculture wage (Work in other's farm)	5	6.7	2	2.0	25	17.9	32	10.15
Work in office	4	5.3	2	2.0	1	.7	7	2.2
Work in industry	2	2.7	2	2.0	2	1.4	6	1.9
Work whatever available	40	53.3	14	14.0	44	31.4	98	31.1
Total n	75	100.0	100	100.0	140	100.0	315	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2013

The table shows different kinds of livelihood options and sources that the *Dalits* were followed. The major source of livelihoods of *Dalit* family was farming (54.6 percent) in FWDR. The percentage was the highest in Baitadi (80 percent) followed by Kailali (48.6 percent) and Bajhang (32 percent).

The table 4.21 gives a description on working family member in the farm. It was observed that the number of family members per HHs engaged in farm was much higher in Baitdi (80 percent) as compared to Bajhang (32 percent) and Kailali (48.6 percent).

4.4.1 Households Earnings and Expenses

Table 4.22: Sources of Average per year Income from Various Sources of Each HHs

Source of Income	Bajhang (75HHs)	Baitadi (100HHs)	Kailali (140HHs)	Total FWDR
Agriculture (Rs)	1081.3	1264.0	2951.1	1970.3
Livestock (Rs)	476.0	274.0	510.0	427.0
Service (Rs)	2933.3	2292.0	4278.6	3327.6
Professional Occupation (Rs)	8276.0	6585.0	2325.7	5094.6
Wages (Rs)	33402.7	26806.0	23982.1	27121.6
Loan (Rs)	18860.0	21880.0	1676.4	12181.6
Others (Rs)	8973.3	6850.0	2375.0	5366.7
Total Income	74002.7	65951.0	38098.9	55489.4

Source: Field Survey, 2013

All households lie below the poverty line on the basis of the threshold value of income of NPR 19,261 per person/year in family (CBS, 2010/2011). Table 4.22 and

4.23 shows household earning and expenses of *Dalits* in the study region. The household earnings were perceived as the money received by a household in a month from various sources like agriculture, livestock, service, caste-based occupations, wages etc. Similarly, household expenses were calculated on the basis of monthly expenses on food items, clothing, school, medicines, housing and so on.

Based on the comparison of the above figures, it is clear that the average annual earning and average annual expense for a single household were NRs 55489.4 and NRs 79782 respectively. This shows that the expenditure was higher than earning. It was less than 1.25 US dollar per day which is the poverty line defined by WB. It means that majority of households were living below the poverty line. While comparing among ecological belts, expenditures and income of Bajhang district was seemed to be highest (expense NRs 83215.2 and income NRs 74002.7). It was followed by Baitadi (expense NRs 82090.8 and income NRs 65951), and then Kailali (expense NRs 76294.8 and income NRs 38098.9). In both the cases i.e. earning and expense as per standard deviation, higher variability was found in case of Bajhang district. This indicated that monthly earning was not sufficient to cover household expenses. That's why it is clear and concluded that almost all households seemed to be living in deficit and which they covered from loan taken from different sources table 4.23 details the sources of income, and means of expenditure in the HH.

Table 4.23: Distribution of Average Expenditures from Various Sources

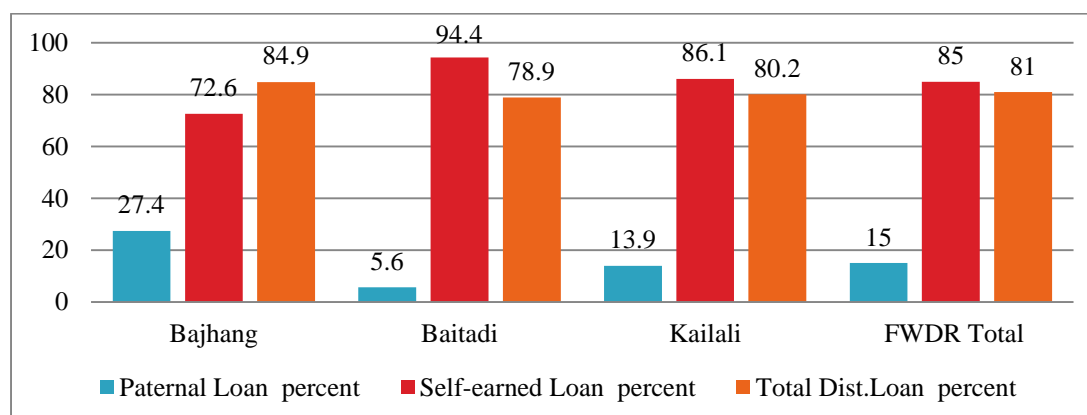
Sources of expenses	Bajhang	Baitadi	Kailali	Total FWDR
Food (Rs)	3648.7	3964.0	3110.0	3509.4
Clothing (Rs)	646.7	857.5	561.1	675.6
Education (Rs)	220.7	213.4	295.5	251.6
Health (Rs)	521.3	764.5	791.1	718.4
Festivals/Recreation (Rs)	431.2	332.5	586.6	468.9
Loan Repayment (Rs)	1298.0	639.0	978.6	946.8
Other (Rs)	168.0	70.0	35.0	77.8
Total Expense (Rs)	6934.6	6840.9	6357.9	6648.5

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Table 4.23 further shows that food, clothing, festivals, recreation, loan expenditure had been the most significant to all districts but health, education and other expenditures were not seemed to be significant. Expenditure in food was seen quite higher, which indicates the higher priority of *Dalits* on food. But the expenditure in loan repayment was at the second position (NRs 946.8 per month) which means an extreme poverty and debt among *Dalits*. Figure 4.9 signifies that about four-fifths (81

percent) of the households took loan during the deficit periods. Relatively, tendency of taking loan was highest in Bajhang district (84.9 percent) followed by Kailali (80.2 percent), and Baitadi (78.9 percent). Figure 4.9 shows different types of loan which push poor into further poverty by adding loan after loan.

Figure 4.9: Percentage Distribution of Types of Loans



Source: Field Survey, 2013

While analysing sources of loan, majority of the households reported that they took loans from both formal and informal sources which were often available locally which are described in table 4.24. Informal sources refer to the neighbours, relatives, friends, and local land owners or money lenders, while the formal sources are cooperatives, and bank. About one-fifth (17 percent) of the households reported that they had taken loans from formal sources which comprised of banks and *Samuha* (saving and credit groups).

Table 4.24: Percentage Distribution of Sources of Loans

Sources	Bajhang		Baitadi		Kailali		FWDR	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Friends and relatives	17	22.6	21	21.0	25	18.1	63	20
Merchant	49	66.1	66	66.0	81	58.3	196	62.22
Cooperative groups	7	8.7	9	8.8	22	15.7	38	12.06
Bank	-	-	4	4.2	8	5.9	12	3.80
Others	2	2.6	-	-	4	2.0	6	1.90
Total n	75	100	100	100	140	100	315	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

The merchants were been the main source of loan for *Dalits* (62.22 percent) table 4.25. The percentage of households related to cooperative groups and banks loan were very low. This might may be due to the tendency of depending on the individual sector than the institution due to lack of awareness.

Different Modes of Dalits Loan Repayments

Different strategies that *Dalits* adopted to pay back the loan they had taken from both formal and informal sources. Since they relied on informal sources for loan rather than formal, as they do not have assets for taking loan from formal sources. In addition to this, it has found that they cannot make all bureaucratic system to take loan from formal sources. Informal sources, the interest was found always high, and they forced to pay high interest to merchant, land lord, and local elite. In most of the cases where *Dalits* could not be able to pay, their property might be seized by the elite or loan giver. Table 4.25 illustrate the condition and modes of loan payback system of *Dalits*.

Table 4.25: Situational Status of Present Loans and Repayments

Situation of Loans	Bajhang		Baitadi		Kailali		FWDR	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
As per contract	17	22.6	13	12.7	26	18.8	57	18.3
Paid along with penalty	4	4.8	10	10.0	14	9.8	26	8.2
Seized the co-lateral	10	14.5	11	11.4	42	29.7	58	18.5
Have paid by taking loan from others	-	0.1	13	12.8	12	8.9	23	7.26
Unable to pay	40	53.2	39	39.1	31	21.8	120	38.0
Going on	4	4.8	14	14	15	11.0	31	9.9
Total n	75	100	100	100	140	100	315	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Around 38 percent of the household were unable to pay their loan back. The percentage was higher in Bajhang district (53.2 percent) as compared to other districts. In the same way, 18.5 percent of *Dalits* lost their collateral being unable to pay the loan as per the contract, and some (8.2 percent) of *Dalits* would pay the loan along with the penalty. Such loan makes *Dalits* much poorer, and creates risk in their livelihoods.

4.4.2 Employment Status and Sector-wise Position

Employment status had different kinds of direct/indirect implications in the livelihoods of the *Dalits*. Table 4.26 briefly identified the employment status of the *Dalits* in the study region.

Table 4.26: Employment Status of Dalits and Percentage Distribution

Employment status	Bajhang (75HHs)		Baitadi (100 HHs)		Kailali (140 HHs)		FWDR Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Fully employed	1	1.3	3	3.0	1	0.7	5	1.58
Partially employed	24	32.0	57	57.0	27	19.3	108	34.24
Unemployed	50	66.7	40	40.0	112	80.0	202	64.12
Total n	75	100	100	100	140	100	315	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

In this study, the full employment means those who were engaged in full time jobs (8 hour/ day) either in Nepal, or in abroad. Those who did not get full time employment all the days of the month were as stated for full time status was called part-time job. It is obvious that majority of *Dalits* were unemployed. Fully unemployed *Dalit* were found in significant in number 64.1 percent, whereas fully employed *Dalits* were only found 1.58 percent. The unemployment *Dalits* was seen higher in Kailali district (80 percent) followed by the Bajhang (66.7 percent) and Baitadi (40 percent). Likewise, fully employed *Dalits* observed higher in Baitadi (3 percent) followed by Bajhang (1.3 percent) and Kailali (0.7 percent).

Regarding the employment status from sector-wise perspective, there was a similar kind of reflection as discussed in table 4.27.

Table 4.27: Sector-wise Classification of Employment (Partially/full)

Sector of employment	Bajhang (75 HHs)		Baitadi (100 HHs)		Kailali (140 HHs)		Total FWDR	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Self- employment	9	12.0	18	18.3	45	32.1	66	20.80
Formal sector	15	20.0	5	5.0	5	3.6	30	9.53
Informal sector	51	68.0	77	76.7	90	64.3	219	69.66
Total n	75	100	100	100	140	100	315	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

The table 4.27 describes the sectors of employment that the self-employed *Dalits* were in nominal level (20.8 percent). The contribution of informal sector was significantly seen to be the major one (69.6 percent) as compared to formal sectors of employment. In all the districts the figure was high indicating that the *Dalits* were still being less accessed to permanent jobs and income opportunities that would sustain their basic needs. Only 9.5 percent of the households were involved with formal jobs like government and semi government job, school teacher, etc. And 20 percent *Dalits* in Bajhang were involved in the formal sectors.

4.4.3 Livestock, Livelihood and Income

Livestock is one of the important components in the Nepalese farming system. They are non-separable from other. Hence, they are an integral part of household economy. Most of the people who live in rural areas own at least a livestock in their household. Table 4.28 illustrate the situation of livestock in studied HH

Table 4.28: Descriptions of Livestock's and District-wise Percentage Distribution

Livestock/poultry	Bajhang (75 HHs)		Baitadi (100HHs)		Kailali (140HHs)		Total N	Total Percent
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent		
Buffalo	15	20.0	13	13.0	1	0.7	29	9.2
Bullock	24	32.0	37	37.5	36	26.0	97	30.79
Cows	48	64.0	64	64.0	73	52.1	185	58.7
Goats	20	26.7	72	72.0	110	78.6	202	64.1
Hens/Ducks	12	16.0	11	11.0	51	36.4	74	23.5
Pigs	1	1.3		0.0	6	4.3	7	2.6
Horse		-	1	1.0	-	-	1	0.6

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Table 4.28 shows that goats rearing were found higher in all studied districts. Goat can be easily converted into cash, so people keep goat as a part of livestock. The goat-farming was found 64.1 percent, while there were 58.7 percent of cow-rearing, 30.7 percent bull rearing, 23.5 percent hens/duck rearing. This indicates that there was a diverse nature of livestock rearing as a part of livelihood in Mountain, Hill and Terai region.

Income from livestock depends on what extent these livestock consume in local market. Goat as mentioned in previous section can easily be converted into cash, as it is consumed as meat in local market. Sometime local market felt scarcity of these, so people keep such livestock. Whenever they need cash, they can sell these e.g. goat. The sale and income from the various livestock is shown in table 4.29.

Table 4.29: Average Annual Income Generated from Livestock's Transactions (in NRs)

Livestock/poultry		Bajhang (Rs)	Baitadi (Rs)	Kailali (Rs)	Total (Rs)
Cows/Oxen	Sale (Rs)	12100.0	11488	33900.0	57488.0
	Product sale (Rs)	2500	1000.0	2100.0	5600.0
Goats	Sale (Rs)	12500	8562.5	23037.5	44100.0
	Product sale (Rs)	3000	5250.0	466.7	8716.7
Hens/Ducks	Sale (Rs)	4100	300.0	5863.4	10263.4
	Product sale (Rs)	-	800.0	800.0	1600.0
Pigs	Sale (Rs)	- 1500	-	5233.3	6733.3
	Product sale (Rs)	-	-	-	-
Income average	Livestock/poultry	476	274	510	427

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Table 4.29 shows that average income was found to be higher by the sales of Cows followed by Goats and Pigs. The income from cows' sale was higher in Kailali and no income was generated from Pigs in Baitadi. The sale of Goats was higher in Kailali. In the same way, the income from the sale of hens/ducks was higher in Kailali than in Baitadi and Bajhang. This indicates that the livestock was a crucial part of income to constitute the financial assets.

4.5 Social Assets and Dalits

The social resources which people use in pursuit of their livelihood are commonly recognized as social capital. Generally, they are known as: networks and connectedness, membership of formal groups, and reciprocity. This term might be defined in various ways, but the essence is referred as associating with social resources, e.g., networks, group, membership, relationship with trust and wider access (Carney, et al., 2000). It can be understood as 'a relationship of reciprocity within communities and among households which is based on trust deriving from social ties' (Moser, 1998, p. 8.). Anderson and Jack also claim that its main functions as a glue and lubricant (2002, p. 193). Moreover, many scholars consider that social capital has a "bounding and bridging type" role and could be divided into two broad categories: The bounding social capital strengthens the ties within the group and the bringing type's acts to facilitate the networks (Parsain, 2007).

It has revealed that different types of social relationship which are found established through local custom, culture, formal and informal relationship, political system, forest user groups, federations make a foundation for social asset in the study districts. The brief of these are mentioned in table 4.30.

Table 4.30: Types of Organizational Involvement and Memberships

Type of Organizations		Sex		Total	
		Male Percent	Female Percent	N	Percent
Religious	Bajhang	2.5	3.4	2	2.9
	Baitadi	5.1	-	2	2.4
	Kailai	4.3	1.9	5	3.3
	FWDR	4.1	1.6	3	2.9
Trade unions	Bajhang	-	1.8	1	0.8
	Baitadi	2.6	-	1	1.2
	Kailai	12.5	6.9	8	10.1
	FWDR	4.0	2.3	11	3.2
Consumer Groups	Bajhang	42.5	41.4	32	42.0
	Baitadi	24.6	50.9	36	36.3
	Kailai	1.05	2.2	2	1.2
	Average	23.0	31.5	86	27.2
Political parties	Bajhang	5.0	0.8	9	2.9
	Baitadi	2.6	2.2	8	2.4
	Kailai	10.5	5.3	12	7.9
	FWDR	6.3	2.76	15	4.5

Source: Field Survey, 2013

It is obvious that membership of *Dalits* in religious organizations were seemed to be negligible. It might be due to the customs that has deep rooted in social systems, as *Dalits* are excluded from the socio-cultural system that the so-called upper-caste practiced. Likewise, the involvement of *Dalits* in trade unions was higher in Bajhang (10.1 percent) than that of in Baitadi and Kailali. The Trade union here implies the freed Haliya (freed bounded labour), and the members of *Dalits* in this was significantly high, which is the main reason of having higher percentages of Trade union involvement of *Dalits*. Similarly, the membership in consumer groups was also found to be larger in Bajhang than in Kailali and Baitadi. By and large, in all the districts their participation was limited to right-based groups, saving and credit groups and community-based organizations. However, the inclusion in major decision making position was found weaker in all major political parties. It was an indication of political exclusion of *Dalits* which bar them to come to major position holder in political system at local level governance.

4.5.1 Social Discriminations and Dalits' Livelihood

Caste based discrimination is historically deep rooted in Nepali society, FWDR is not an exception. Besides, there were different other types of caste-based discriminations, such as not accepting cooked food if a *Dalit* touches it, not allowed *Dalits* to enter into the homes of so-called upper castes, imposing verbal and lingual partiality, not allowing to sell livestock products like milk and meat, and so on. Moreover in some

places if one touches *Dalit(s)* he/she needs to be purified by spreading water drops in his/her body. Likewise in most places and communities, *Dalits* were not allowed to use the same source of water which was meant for the use of the 'so called upper caste's men' (Bhattachan et. al., 2009).

Box 4.4. Case Study; Social Discrimination and Untouchability

Bumari was 45 years old lived in Kuwakot VDC, Baitadi. She was one of the active cadets of the Maoist during the peoples' war. She fought for social discrimination, untouchability, and backwardness of the *Dalit*. Her main aim was to uproot the conservative dogma, in which she was suffering along with her family and community. Due to her campaign of equity, equality, and social justices in the society, making no difference between upper caste and the *Dalit*, many people started avoiding the sense of untouchability, except the old aged people belongs to upper caste, and even those belongs to *Dalit*. The old aged people felt avoid the caste system, due to fear of traditional culture. Even the old aged so called upper caste, due to fear of the then Maoist cadets, never dare to undermine the *Dalit* and avoided the practices of untouchability.

After the Maoist war was over in 2006, the so called upper caste people felt secure, and then again started the feeling untouchability, and other discrimination towards *Dalit*. Though not that much as it was before the start of the Maoist war, but still the culture was prevalent in the community. But, due to the Maoist war, the *Dalit* who was the sufferer in the society increased their sense of awareness, and darkness of living of not dominated by the so called upper caste, Bumari who was found leading this campaign to the date. Her campaigning make the *Dalit* happy and placed them in better position, created enabling environment for *Dalit* in the VDC level politics, and policy.

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Due to such discrimination, and unjust behaviours of upper-caste towards *Dalit*, the perception of *Dalit* in different places towards so called upper-caste people was found different which depends on the degree of discrepancy. Table 4.31 shows the perception of *Dalit* towards upper caste.

Table 4.31: Social Interactions and Behavioural Perceptions of Non-Dalits

District and HHs	Types of Behaviours	Male		Female		Total	FWDR
		N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Bajhang (75 HHs) Male-44 Female-31	Good	8	18.2	3	10.3	11	15.1
	Satisfactory	9	20.5	7	20.7	16	20.5
	Bad	25	56.8	19	62.1	45	58.9
	Extremely bad	2	4.5	2	6.9	4	5.5
	Total n	44	100	31	100	75	100.0
Baitadi (100 HHs) Male-54 Female-46	Good	3	5.8	1	2.2	4	4.1
	Satisfactory	15	26.9	20	43.5	35	34.7
	Bad	27	50.0	20	43.5	47	46.9
	Extremely bad	9	17.3	5	10.9	14	14.3
	Total n	54	100	46	100	100	100
Kailali (140 HHs) Male-81 Female-59	Good	6	6.9	5	8.8	11	7.8
	Satisfactory	32	38.9	28	47.4	60	42.6
	Bad	32	40.3	22	36.8	54	38.8
	Extremely bad	11	13.9	4	7.0	15	10.9
	Total n	81	100	59	100	140	100
Overall FWDR Male-179 Female-136	Good	17	9.5	9	6.8	26	8.3
	Satisfactory	54	30.4	55	40.2	109	34.7
	Bad	85	47.6	61	44.7	146	46.3
	Extremely bad	22	12.5	11	8.3	34	10.7
	Total n	179	100	136	100	315	100

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Dalits had experienced a number of bad behaviours to them by the people of so-called upper class. At the mean time similarity also has been experienced regarding the satisfactory behaviours in all the districts. It is also noticeable that the percentage of households focusing extremely bad behaviour was higher in Baitadi than that of in Kailai and Bajhang. In the same way, the percentage of household facing good behaviours was higher in Bajhang than in Kailali and Baitadi. In an aggregate, this was an indication of positive, social change particularly between *Dalit* and non-*Dalits* relations.

The case study in the box illustrates the development of *Dalit* caste system in far west Nepal, and how sense of untouchability increased, and what is the status of *Dalit* in society, and how *Dalit* suppressed in society are mentioned in the box.

Box 4.5: Historical Position of Dalit's in FWDR

Sundar Mejar 75 year's old living in Chainpur VDC ward no 1 of Bajhang district. He was a social leader and also affiliated with Nepali Congress party in the district. Clarifying the words *Dalit*, Mr. Mejar has said that "Historically, '*Dalit*' word was not familiar in our society". Initially around 2014 B.S, the current *Dalit* were recognized as 'Pariganit'. Remembering the history of the *Dalit* Caste, Mr. Mejar said, Mr Rup Sing Sunar of Doti district had gone to Kathmandu in 2014 B.S. and brought that 'pariganit' origination from Kathmandu to Doti. My forefather had gone to Doti and brought that Pariganit to Bajhang in 2014 B.S. We used to be the domestic workers of the then Bajhangi King at that time. Since, these *Dalit* people used to work with the then king, so the outsider non-*Dalit* people normally do not dare to discriminate to these Kings servant. Historically, the Pariganit caste was untouchable caste. Mr. Mejar elaborated that, their ancestor has no authority to touch and use the things what if touched becomes 'unholy' to other dominant castes. If by chance anything touch by Pariganit, those things were considered as unscread, and should wash before use. In addition to this, if liquid substances were touched by *Dalit*, such things were thrown away. In such a case the culprit get more punishment by non-*Dalits* elite. Sometimes *Dalits* had to pay compensation for such deeds. Mr. Mejar digging the division of caste within *Dalit*, were divided into different sub-classes, such as *Kami*, *Damai*, *Badi*, *Sarki* and other *Dalit* castes. Whatever were the case, they all call as *Dom* or *Tallo Jati* in local dialect.

These sub- caste of *Dalit*, if do any mis-conduct as defined by the de-facto rule of the society, they face defined punishment. The criteria for punishment at that time were gender discriminations and caste discriminates as well. Accordingly, that the *Dalit* students got more punishment than non *Dalits* and females were more punished than male ones. The teacher used to punish *Dalit* students by green sticks, because the green stick was pure and touchable means. Non-*Dalit* teachers and students used to keep water pot outside the office room gate (near head master's room) in order to make them pure from untouchability. The interesting matter was that such green sticks were often cut and brought by the *Dalit* students from nearby jungle.

In 2020 B.S., King Mahendra declared untouchable caste system as illegal by the State law (*Naya Mulki Ain*). This declaration had a big impact on the non-*Dalit* groups. The upper caste people did not become ready to lose their historical power and consequently, the caste discriminations continued in local livelihood. God, rule, king, government, system and many more things have been captured by non-*Dalit* communities. Empirically, the *Dalits* in present day Nepal have been also facing a number of discriminations though their participation in the movements of 1990 and 2006 and in the Maoist's insurgency was quite instrumental.

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Dalits are considered as inferior human beings based on caste based concept of purity and impurity. Accordingly, there was a typical notion of prejudices about *Dalits* people. Further, the *Dalit* were also economically deprived with no possession and entitlements of sufficient productive assets including land right. They have been depending on others land and property for their subsistence livelihood where they provide services in order to get any such livelihood needs. The amount is depends on the mercy of the local non-*Dalit* elites. This was also a major reason which had made them weaker and they were accepting hegemony of other caste and class. Sometimes it took extent of physical attacks and inhuman behaviours too.

4.5.2 Haliya, Khaliya System and Dalits Livelihood

The *Haliya* system was found to be a part of livelihood of the *Dalits*. *Haliya* is a system of semi-bonded labourer characterized by semi-slavery, debt bondage, physical and psychological exploitation and discriminations. It was found in the hill origin people, especially among *Dalit*. With this system *Dalits* had additional caste-based discriminations. It was found that an aggregation of seven percent of the households worked as *Haliya*. The *Haliya Dalits* had economic, psychological and monetary bondages. Manual labour system was also an informal and nominal. Differential wage rates between men and women were also found significantly higher. They were also associated with social institutions like *Khalo*, *Balighare Pratha*, etc. In addition, *Dalit* had been working as manual wage earnings labourers and land ploughers for a long time (Nepali, 2011).

Box 4.6: Case Study, Situation of *Haliya*

Sure Lohar 52 year's old living in Dasharth Chand Municipality-5, pallchaudali, Baitadi. His grandfather was a *Haliya* at the home of land lord in his village since immerorial time. Since then the *Haliya* system has been transferring from generation to generation from his grandfather, father to himself. Mr. Luhar was not satisfied with the *Haliya* system itself, as they have to work hard, but get very little from the land lord, which was not sufficient to meet the family needs. But, there were no options for him to go beyond the *Haliya* system. Wearing of new clothes, buys new things, and eats rice and rice products was like a dream for them. Once upon a time, his father saw a landlords' son wearing new clothes and at night he told him how good his dresses were. His father wanted if he was landlord's son and can buy such clothes for the son. But, his dream remains as dream, and he never got such opportunity. Later after then GoN Nepal declared Freed *Haliya* in 2065 BS, he was also freed. He then started to web new life, and dream of his life. He thought, he can translate his dream into reality after become freed *Haliya*. But after having a couple of years, his situation become worsen then he used to get from land lord as being *Haliya*.

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Some of the *Haliyas* had raised voices against discriminations like that of unfair wages, and socio-economic exploitations. Those *Haliyas* were bound to face unpleasant situations like social boycott by alliance of land owners, especially by so-called Non-*Dalit* (in particular, the *Kathayat Chhetri* castes). This was an empirical indication how *Haliyas* were under the trap of unequal power structure that restricted their livelihood to a greater extent. In this way a kind of domination was maintained in the regions, for what Gramsci has called 'hegemony' in the Italian context (Nepali, 2011).

CHAPTER 5

DEVELOPMENT OF DALITS' LIVELIHOOD ASSET INDEXES

This chapter calculates and analyses the livelihood asset index (LAI) of the *Dalit*. The livelihood assets index has been formulated covering the components and sub-components of livelihood with appropriate weights. The concept, definition and the importance of livelihood index and general process of developing livelihood assets index are already discussed under Chapter 3. The specific process and method of calculating livelihood index has been dealt in this chapter. In this regard, following analytical issues have been specified:

- i. The components and sub-components embedded with *Dalits'* livelihood assets,
- ii. The functions of livelihood components and sub-components and their contributions to the *Dalits'* livelihood,
- iii. The measurement of livelihood assets for the contributions on the value score,
- iv. The situations of *Dalits'* livelihood as contributed by the livelihood assets,
- v. The stronger and weaker assets in the present situation, and
- vi. The impacts of particular assets for development, mainstreaming and well-being of *Dalits*.

5.1 Development of Indexes

Livelihood assets index (LAI) briefly describes about portfolio of assets for *Dalit* based on primary data. It includes different sets of indicators and sub-indicators of five assets as defined in the DFID's sustainable livelihood framework. Present study incorporates the five assets (capitals) of the *Dalit's* livelihood: human asset, social asset, physical asset, economic asset, and natural asset. Among five different assets, 24 sub-indices were calculated i.e. indicators of human asset, social asset, physical

asset, economic asset and natural asset in the respective districts. A total of 117 variables have been considered in this study.

A composite integrated livelihood assets index has been developed which indicates the livelihood status of *Dalit* in different ecological belts i.e. Mountain (Bajhang), Hill (Baitadi) and Terai (Kailali) in the Far-west Nepal. This study has tried to undertake the comparative assessment of livelihood among geographical locations with different natural endowment and respective livelihood options. Accordingly, it also explains why *Dalit* living in respective geographical location have privileged and non-privileged in owning the livelihood assets aggregating the inequities in the distribution and allocation.

The livelihood index is perceived as a ‘multidimensional process’ which measures the socio-economic situation, as well as livelihood assets status with respect to ecological belts i.e. Terai, Hill and Mountain of Far-Western Region of Nepal. In general, livelihood assets index measures the socio-economic situation and it includes scores generated from livelihood assets. As the livelihood index has multidimensional aspects, it includes economic asset, natural asset, social asset, human asset and physical asset. So that it is important to select true and representative parameters of livelihood.

5.1.1 Objectives of Developing Livelihood Assets Index

The main objective of the development of LAI is to determine the social and economic conditions of individual and society in order to know how an individual and a society become functional. The core concept of the development LAI is to measure assets value, index and analysis of conditions of *Dalits*’ livelihood assets. This index is helpful for comparing government policies and programmes implemented for improving *Dalits* livelihood and empowerment, and will also be used for future planning process. On the basis of assets, the hindering factors of *Dalit*’s empowerment have been evaluated and analysed. As discussed above, the analytical structure recognized within the SLF is particularly relevant in rural areas. Within this structure, the need to recognize the importance of access, control, and management of labour, land, and water resources are recognized from *Dalit* perspectives.

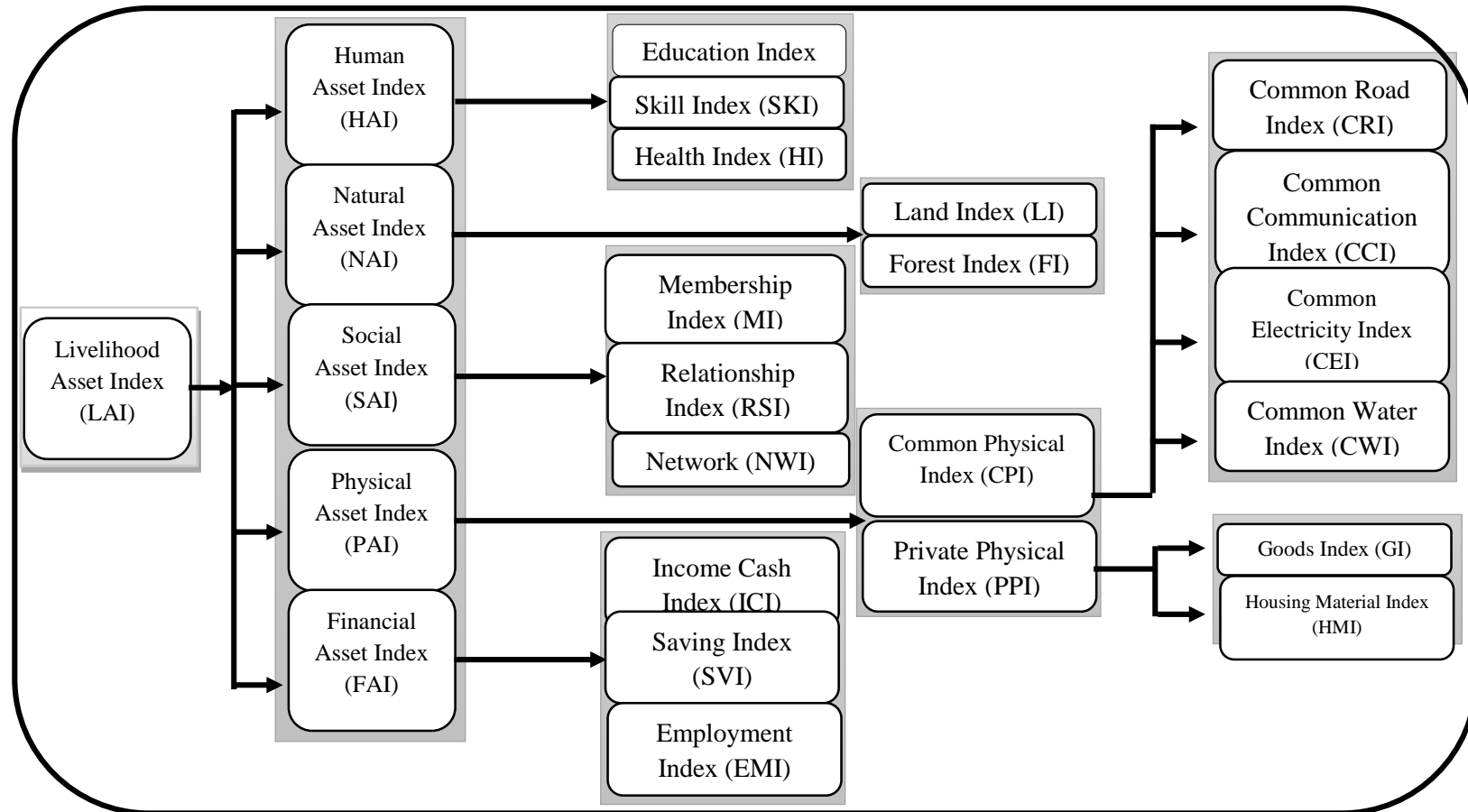
The measurement of LAI of key sectors of livelihood, it is possible to assess which sectors should be prioritized for livelihood enhancement. It is necessary to identify the suitable indicators from the datasets in order to measure progress. Later these indicators combined to make composite index. The basis of the LAI is taken from the principle of the HDI.

5.1.2 Major Components and Sub-components (Indicators) of the Livelihood Assets Indexes (LAI)

Indeed, the construction of composite indices is not an easy job. The strength of the representation of any component within any index is influenced by the total number of components. Therefore, it makes sense to try and minimize these numbers as far as possible, Figure 5.1 illustrate the major component and their sub-components which actually determine the livelihoods of individual, and how these influence the person in society, e.g. Human asset is determined by human assets index, and which further determine by its sub-components in this case education, skill and health.

In this study, five major components considered are: human asset, social asset, natural asset, financial asset and physical asset. Each major component has several sub-components as mentioned earlier, and shown in figure 5.1. The further detail has been attached is in appendix 2. The numbers in parenthesis indicate the number of sub-components that belong to the respective major component. For instance, the major component Human asset (HA, also can say human capital, HC) has five sub-components and each of the sub-components is described in subsequent columns (Appendix3).

Figure 5.1 Livelihood Assets Components, Sub-components and Indicator



Source: Developed by Researcher

5.1.3 Human Asset Indicators

HAI comprise of three indicators such as health, skill, and education. Human assets (capitals) is the most important assets that includes the skills, knowledge, capacity to work and good health, and enable people to achieve their livelihood outcome exploring different livelihood strategies. In other way, it refers to individual investments in education, health and nutrition, which affect people's ability to use their labour and changes the nature of their returns from their labour.

Education, skill and health components are measured giving appropriate numerical weightage. The values used in index formula then put into SPSS for calculation, and then determine the composite value. However from empirical perspective, the calculation of human asset presents a number of challenges from pre-determined categories. It is perhaps due to its usual measurement at the individual level, not at the household level.

Skill

Skill is the key aspect of human asset which includes traditional skills, knowledge acquired from generation and competency used in labour market. These skills are the instrumental for gaining of assets, and earning cash and it can be measured in monetary terms. Every person has a kind of specific skill gained through formal and informal means such as training, awareness types of activities, and the skills transferred from generation to next generation as mentioned earlier. The skills that mentioned here which possess by *Dalit* is the skills transferred from their ancestor. These skills are also the part of cultural aspect which recognise the person, community, and society itself

Different types of skills are used as variables with a defined weightage for the measurement of the level of skill of the *Dalits*. Though the people have had different types of skills, the traditional skills and qualities were the more evident and in practice at the local level. Based on the weightage given to different skills components, and then these components were calculated using the index formula through SPSS technique, the skill index was prepared.

Education

Educational attainment is a common measure of human asset. The educational index was calculated based on the weightage given to the level of attainment which varies from no education=0 to higher education=1. This calculation for education index was determined taking reference of HDI, 2014. Thus, this study has included frequency measures for these factors in the human asset scale. The respondents were asked for their level of education attainment together with the educational attainment of their family members. According to the level of attainment, the weightage was given for its measurement. The responses given were open answers; this is recoded to an interval variable where 0 equals to the lowest educational level (no education or playgroup) whereas 14 equal the highest educational level of bachelor and above degrees of the respondent.

Health and Sanitation

Health of the *Dalits* was recorded in number of completed years. In terms of number the raw score of the years was directly used for analysis and interpretations. Better sanitation and hygiene is one of the prime factors for healthy living. It should be in the core of health services. The effectiveness of other medical services has a bearing upon the sanitation level. This is an indicator of performance of the basic social services.

It refers to basic environment on which good health can be accessed. For illustration, health care facilities like hospitals, health centres, mother and child care centres and other health related assets are taken as a part of physical assets and human health condition. In the survey the respondents were asked some questions about their health. The three questions used in this study were: 'Do you or anyone of your family members and community members have a health problem and what is condition of your community member? How far health post is situated from your house? And, do you have toilet facility at your home? These questions were asked subsequently to the data and measured by using formula of index.

5.1.4 Natural Asset Indicators

Natural asset is the ‘natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived’ (DFID 1999–2001, 2.3.3). DFID further explains it that there is a wide variation in the resources that make up natural asset, from intangible public goods such as the atmosphere and biodiversity to divisible assets used directly for production (trees, land, etc.) (DFID, 1999). In international development settings, the relationship between natural asset and the vulnerability context is particularly strong (Carney, 2002). Many of the shocks that devastate the livelihoods of the poor are themselves natural processes that destroy natural asset e.g. fires that destroy forests, floods and earthquakes that destroy agricultural land and seasonality is largely due to changes in the value or productivity of natural capital over the year (Moran et al., 2007, p.15).

Natural asset is the term used for the natural resource, e.g., land, forests, grasslands, etc. which is regulated through the property regime and access to the users. Natural asset comprises the land and forestry resources that are utilized by people to generate means of survival. Sometimes these are referred to as environmental resources, and are thought of jointly as comprising the environment (Ellis, 2000, p.32).

The NAI incorporates the following two indicators:

- 1) Land holding (cropping area) and agricultural farms, and
- 2) Forest area and use

Natural assets have strong implications through land holdings, cropped area, and forest area in making livelihood of the *Dalit* community in FWDR. Ranking of districts based on these indicators has suggested Kailali in better position than other districts.

In the present study, the land has been regarded as an important asset, as well as a means of subsistence production. Percentage of women and *Dalits* having land ownership was, therefore, considered as a measure of productive resources. Land was taken as the total number of standard acres a *Dalit* owned at the time of data collection including the land leased in.

Land ownership, land size, land productivity and land product sufficiency are variables of land index. Every variable are given appropriate numerical weight for the processing in SPSS and use of index formula.

Forest coverage is an important asset for better environment, providing fuel wood and timber to the population (Sularri, 2009). In three districts people often get fire-wood and timber from their proximate forests. Normally timber and pole are used for construction material, furniture, and other traditional products which can be used for other agricultural tools e.g. plow, and they use fire wood as only a means of energy for cooking and heating their houses in the winter.

The *Dalits* often used mud and timber to build their traditional house in the Kailali district. Although there were more modern buildings in the district made up of bricks, most houses were still built with the locally available natural resources. These forest resources were either available from the community forests, or from the government managed forest where one can get the resources free quite often for certain fee that was introduced by the authorities. The fee for forest products can be different in community forest and in government managed forest. The forest products can be easily available from community forest, but need to pay membership fee, and membership is mandatory in order to get forest products. But, in GoN managed forest, people get certain products free of cost, but they need to walk long distance in order to get them. If the users found violate the GoN rule of forest products harvesting from the government forest, they are punished as per the Nepal's Forest Act 1993 by the district based Forest authority called District Forest Office (DFO).

Availability of forest, distance of forest, benefits of forest and membership of forestry are variables of forest index. Every variable has been given appropriate weightages and used by index formula calculated by using SPSS.

5.1.5 Financial Asset Indicators

Financial asset is defined as the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood outcomes. These are resources in the form of available stocks and regular inflows of money. It includes cash, credit/debt, savings, remittances, pensions and other economic assets (Rakodi and Lloyd, 2002).

Financial resources are crucial for the pursuit of any livelihood strategy for the poor. This asset is generally measured based on the access to financial sources and accumulation of the financial asset in terms of savings and credit.

The FAI is cumulative of household's total expenditure and income. It can be categorised into subsequent financial assets components, e.g. income and cash value, saving value, and employment condition value, etc. These values, however, are difficult to measure in a proxy way. To find out the FAI, income resources, cash conditions, expenditure sector (total expenditure unit), saving and employment variables are measured and used in the index formula in the SPSS. There are mainly three indicators to measure the financial assets, which are briefly described below:

Income and Cash

The main sources of unearned income were remittances, amount disburse through Government channel (e.g. salary of employee, contract, etc), and rent. These three types of income were transferred to society and return back as a capital. Similarly, the income from physical goods such as crop (*Khalo* in local dialect) obtained in lieu of work is also the form of asset, calculated in this study as a wage income unit (WIU). Such type of non-wage income has played an important role in household income.

In comparison to the other livelihood assets calculated, revealed that the FAI was one of the most poor livelihood index of the *Dalit*, which showed that the livelihoods of *Dalit* was really vulnerable. They had a survival problem in their day-to-day life. Most of the *Dalit* HHs who received remittances in each months became equivalent with their monthly expenditure, which indicates that they did not have any kind of saving possible in their HH.

Remittances were generally received from the family members who worked mostly in India and in few cases in Gulf countries. For example, 150 households were receiving remittances from their family members working in India and Gulf countries. There was a difference in the amount of the remittances based on the countries the remittances received in Nepal. Remittances from the Arab were higher than that of the remittances from India.

Most of the households had livestock, particularly the goats, buffaloes, pigs, chickens. The livestock were also a part of financial asset because the *Dalits* could transfer them into cash in times of need. *Dalit* perceived these livestock as saving cash. There were only fifty households who did not have any livestock. Many households that are dependent on agriculture for their livelihoods owned livestock.

Farming, traditional occupation, employment, wages and livestock were the variables used to calculate income and cash index in the study. Every variable were provided a numerical weightage and fed into index formula in SPSS.

Saving

Saving refers in this research is the habit of *Dalit* to some cash amount either in Bank or at home. Saving habit (Yes or no), saving nature (regular or temporary), saving institutions (house, shop, saving institute e.g. bank, saving cooperation, groups) were the basic components used as variables were saving index. All the variables are provided specific weightage for the calculation.

Only a few *Dalit* households were members of a saving and credit group in the society. Most of the examined households had not any kinds of saving; these were 307 of the total 315 households which showed that only 8 households had savings in cooperatives and other institutions including traditional institutions. Some of the households had both the savings as well as the debt. When reviewing the numbers of poor HH, the *Dalit* of Bajhang was found poor and having poor financial asset. People themselves perceived them as 'poor', and most of the respondents were negative about their financial situations. Only a few, out of the 315 households indicated to have no problems with their income. However, the cash income for them was very limited as they were often granted with a fixed amount of paddy, rice, wheat, mustard, and so on. The wage system was gradually shifting from informal sectors to formal one.

Employment

With an allocation of scientific weightages a number of variables are used to calculate the employment index, such as: employment of full time, part time, government service, private service, self-employee, traditional employment, wages, foreign

employment, etc. of the *Dalits*. Such employments refer to wage, traditional occupation like carpentry, pot making, tailoring, etc, jobs in public institutions, GoN institutions, and semi-GoN institution, jobs in Indian companies etc. were counted as employment for this study and specific weight was given accordingly for calculation of index.

5.1.6 Social Asset Indicators

Social asset is defined as the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded (Putnam, 1993) in social relations, social structures, and society's institutional arrangements, which enable its members to achieve their individual and community objectives.

It is also defined as social resources networks and connectedness, social claims, social relations, affiliations, associations upon which people draw when pursuing different livelihood strategies requiring coordinated actions (Vermaak, 2009). In the similar way, Rakodi (2002) has noted that social asset (capital) may be breakdown because of repeated shocks such as drought and economic crisis or physical insecurity such as violence and crime, and social conflict (Bourdieu, 1998).

To measure social asset, this study has used a variable for association membership (1=member), based on the assumption that organizational members likely have larger social networks on which to draw during difficult times. As a reference, the organization membership has been used by other authors as a proxy for social asset.

The social assets of livelihoods are hard to distinguish from other livelihood assets because of its overlapping and interdependent characteristics. These social indicators are used to monitor the social system and help in the identification of problem-areas and assets that need policy planning and require intervention to alter the course of social change. However, in some cases, social asset also includes the political asset as the power and capacity to influence political decision-making through formal and informal participation and/or access to political processes. Social asset components are membership, relationship and network has got weight and used by index formula. The present study has included the following indicators for the calculation of the SAI.

Membership

Membership was regarded as a process of social interaction of the *Dalits*. The property, strength, and components of social asset was based on the social resources by which people get livelihood objectives through the development of interaction being membership of legal and formal groups, with relationship of trust. It was presumed that an interaction increases people's ability to work together, to accept rules and norms, and to increase informal safety nets, and so on.

Membership of the *Dalits* and their access to the membership has been measured by giving pre-defined weightages. There were different variables of membership used in the study. They were: membership of school management committee, community forest users group, political parties, institutions, consumer groups and religious groups. The values of these variables are used in SPSS by using index formula.

Network

SNI assesses 12 types of social relationships which include different types of relationships like spouse, parents, parents-in-law, and children, other close family members, close neighbours, friends, workmates, schoolmates, fellow volunteers, members of groups without religious affiliation, and religious groups (Bickart, et. al., 2011).

The SLF describes three types of social assets that people can access in the pursuit of their livelihood strategies (DFID 1999–2001,). Networks and connectedness, either vertical (patron/client) or horizontal (between individuals with shared interests) that increase people's trust and ability to work together and expand their access to wider institutions, such as political or civic bodies, memberships of more formalised groups, which often entails adherence to mutually agreed or commonly accepted rules, norms or sanctions.

Relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchanges that facilitate cooperation reduce transaction costs and may provide the basis for informal safety nets. These three different types of social assets provide a wider scope for network building.

The measurement of network had followed by five variables, viz. informal networks, local organizations, government authority, local administration of government departments e.g. local school, health centres, CFUG and police networks, network of government service providers.

Relationship

Relationship and its measurement is accompanied by observing the relations of the *Dalits* with their family, friend, society, non-*Dalit* society and people, government and non-government office and its services. All the variables of relationship are measured by using index formula.

By measuring the importance of social assets is more or less impossible with quantitative methods only. What are the motivations behind social activities, and how do people make use of their social assets in order to improve their livelihoods is the central concern of the study.

5.1.7 Physical Asset Indicators

Physical asset is ‘the basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to support livelihoods’ (DFID 1999 – 2001, pp. 2-4). DFID has listed five main components of infrastructures that are considered essential to achieve sustainable livelihoods: affordable transport, secure shelter and buildings, adequate water supply and sanitation, clean affordable energy; and access to information (communications) (Moran et al., 2007, p.41).

Physical asset refers to productive and household assets that include tools, equipment, housing and other producer goods (DFID, 1999; Rakodi, 2002; Solebury, 2003; and Moser, 2007). It also involves basic infrastructures such as transport, shelter, water, energy, communication, buildings, roads and dams (Rakodi, 2002). Access to physical asset helps people to have essentials for sustainable livelihoods. Physical asset comprises the basic infrastructures and physical goods that support livelihoods. Infrastructure consists of changes made to the physical environment that help people to meet their basic needs and to be more productive. Infrastructural development is important for health, social interaction and contributes to human and social asset development. Therefore this study has measured the accumulation of physical assets

like house, household articles, entertainment materials or farm equipment. The respondents were asked to indicate their response for undertaking income generating activities. Physical assets are categorized as those assets which are physically available and owned by individual and community. In this study, six indicators were used for analyses which are road, electricity, communication, water facility, private housing materials, and private equipment and goods.

5.2 Analysis and Discussions

5.2.1 Analysis of Human Assets Index

The LAI has been calculated and the results have been interpreted with respect to available indexes such as HDI, multi-dimensional Social Inclusion Index. The detail of methodology for LAI is described in chapters 3 and formulas used are attached in appendix 4. The district-wise and rural urban analysis for LAI is given below:

a) District-wise Comparison of Human Assets Index

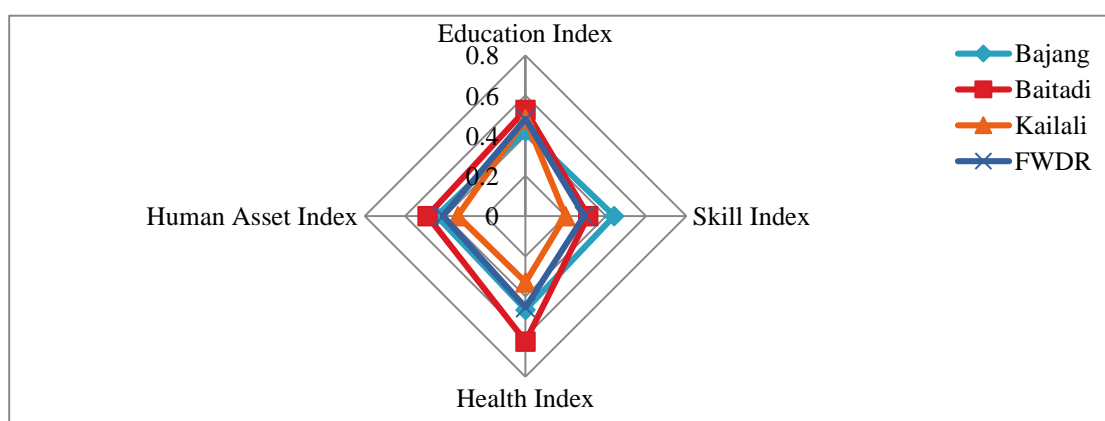
As previously explained, the HAI has been calculated as the composite of three dimensional indices: education Index, Skill Index and Health Index (see Figure 5.2).

Table 5.1: Situation of District-wise Human Asset Index

Districts	Education Index	Skill Index	Health Index	Human Asset Index
Bajang	0.422	0.441	0.466	0.443
Baitadi	0.528	0.312	0.624	0.488
Kailali	0.483	0.199	0.329	0.337
Average	0.483	0.292	0.455	0.410

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Figure 5.2: Human Asset Index Components of FWDR



Source: Field Survey, 2013

The analysis revealed that the Baitadi District got higher score to that of the other two districts studied, Kailali and Bajhang in the level of education (table 5.1) and fig (5.2.) The case was similar in regard to the school age children. Regarding the higher score that Baitadi has received in this study, it can be reason that the district is the boarder of India and people in the region are highly influenced of Indian academic institutions could be the reason for such kind of performance revealed in this study.

For vocational skill, Bajhang district had highest index than that of Baitadi and Kailali. This means people of Bajhang still were using vocational skills in a greater extent than rest of the districts.

About health facilities, *Dalits* of Kailali had nearest distance to reach health post than that of the Bajhang and Baitadi. It supports the general assumption that mountainous and hill districts have less facility of roads and transportation in comparison to Terai region.

b) Urban and Rural Dichotomy of Human Assets Index

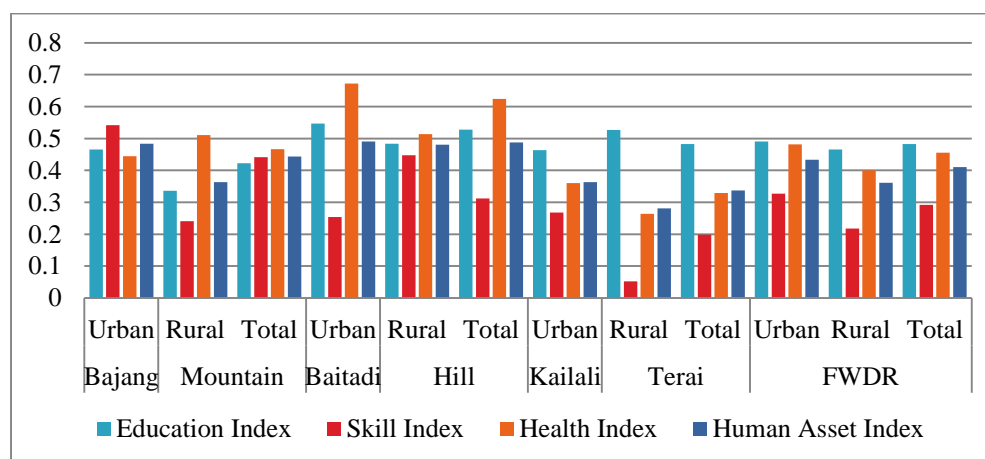
The HAI has been calculated so as to make comparisons between district headquarters (urban) and the remote (rural) areas of selected districts. The Index values had indicated that Baitadi had a good education in both urban and rural areas, while, in Bajhang it had the second ranking in urban; however Kailali it had the second ranking in remote area (Table 5.2). Health index values had given about the scenario of health conditions in the three districts. It is seen that Baitadi again has the better conditions at the headquarters (urban). Bajhang had the higher health index at the remote area. Another dimension of HAI was in the vocational skill. Similarly Bajhang had a higher level of vocational skill in the headquarters (urban).

Table 5.2: Urban and Rural Dichotomy of Human Asset Index

District	Area	Education Index	Skill Index	Health Index	Human Asset Index
Bajhang	Urban	0.466	0.542	0.445	0.484
	Rural	0.336	0.241	0.511	0.363
	Total	0.422	0.441	0.467	0.443
Baitadi	Urban	0.547	0.254	0.672	0.491
	Rural	0.484	0.447	0.513	0.481
	Total	0.528	0.312	0.624	0.488
Kailali	Urban	0.463	0.268	0.360	0.363
	Rural	0.527	0.052	0.264	0.281
	Total	0.483	0.199	0.329	0.337
FWDR	Urban	0.491	0.327	0.481	0.433
	Rural	0.466	0.218	0.401	0.361
	Total	0.483	0.292	0.456	0.410

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Figure 5.3: Urban and Rural Dichotomy of Human Asset Index

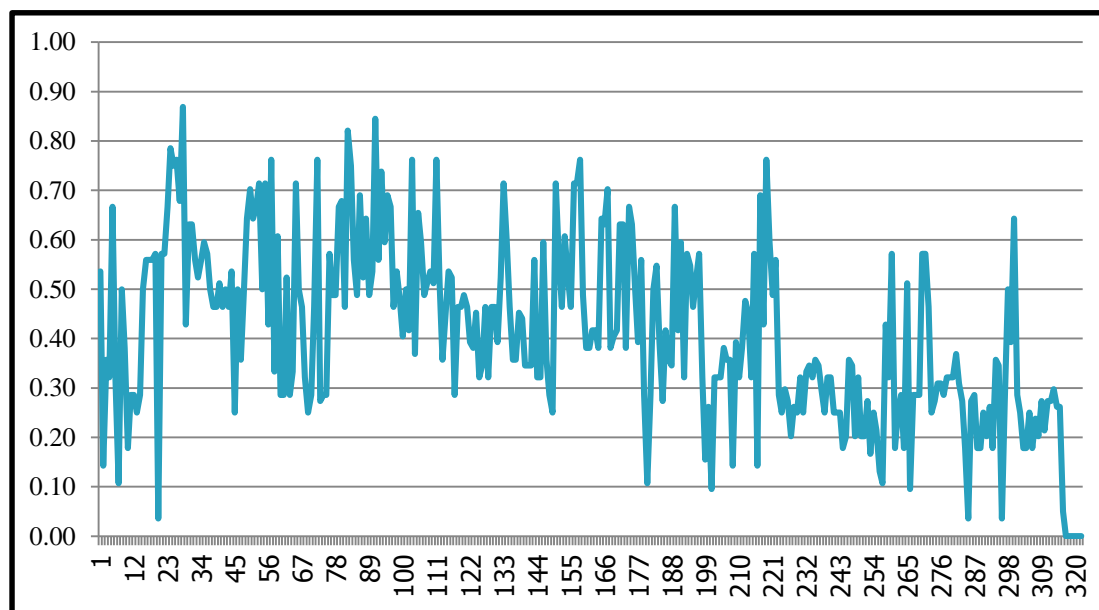


Source: Field Survey, 2013

Summing up HAI values, it was found that Bajhang was slightly stronger than that Baitadi at headquarters (urban), Baitadi was also found to be stronger at the remote (rural) areas. From the table 5.2 and figure 5.3, it was learned that the strongest asset in human asset was education, and the weakest was the skills. The reason behind the strongest education index was the free admission in schooling for *Dalit* children at primary level, and lunch facility provided in the school. In addition to this, the out migrant *Dalit* particularly those who migrate to India for jobs were found that they had taken the opportunity of their living in India to schooling their children in India, and while they back to Nepal after completion of their job, their children counted as educated based on their level of education attainment during their time spent in India.

c) Analysis of Human Asset Index of FWDR

Figure 5.4: Human Asset Index of FWDR



Source: Field Survey, 2013

The figure 5.4 shows a general distribution of HAI of *Dalits* HHs in the three districts of FWDR. In the X- axis there is the number of Households (HHs), while in the Y- axis the values of given indices. Out of total 315 sampled HHs, number 1 to 75 belongs to the HHs of Bajhang, 76 to 175 HHs of Baitadi and 176-315 HHs of Kailali district. The HAI of Bajhang shows the stronger value than the Kailali district, but not exceeding with the values of Baitadi. In terms of human asset distribution among three districts, Kailali seems to be the weakest zone, while the value was found to be highest in the Baitadi district.

5.2.2 Analysis of Natural Asset Index

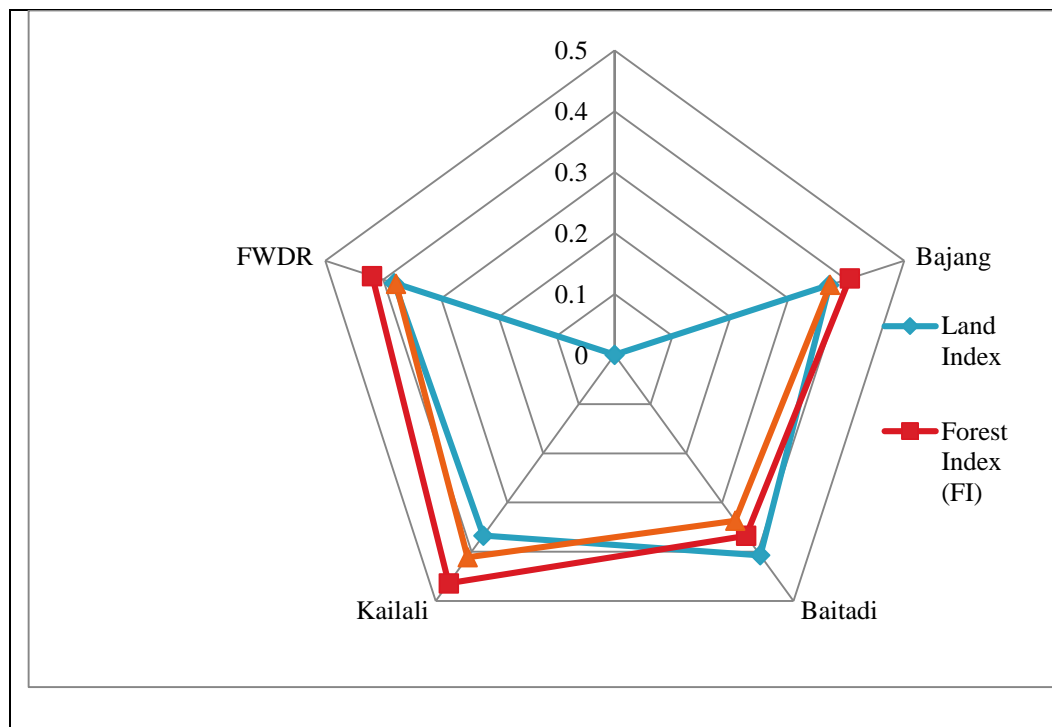
As previously explained, the NAI has been calculated as the composite of two dimensional indices: Land Index, Forestry Index (Table 5.3 and figure 5.5). The composition of land index and forestry index gives the natural assets index. Land index refers to ownership of land, size of land, production sufficiency of land while forestry index refers to availability of timber/ wood, firewood, grass, charcoal, wood for traditional occupation, wood for business, access on non-timber forest products including medicinal and aromatic plant.

Table 5.3: Position of District-wise Natural Asset Index

District	Land Index (LI)	Forest Index (FI)	Natural Asset Index (NAI)
Bajang	0.371	0.406	0.372
Baitadi	0.407	0.3674	0.337
Kailali	0.367	0.464	0.411
FWDR	0.381	0.419	0.378

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Figure 5.5: Natural Asset Index Component of FWDR



Source: Field Survey, 2013

Above Table 5.3 and figure 5.5 has shown that the people in Baitadi have more farming land than in Kailali and Bajhang however the food sufficiency index has observed higher in Kailali district, due to high agricultural productivity of Terai region. This Index values also indicates that had abundance of community forestry in comparison with other two districts. Similarly, the forest area was larger in Baitadi district. In the same way, people of Baitadi and Kaiali had taken equal benefits from the forest but the people of Bajhang were getting slightly less benefits. By summing up the result, Baitadi was rich in the natural asset than Kailali and Bajhang.

With respect to own farming land, no significant difference has been observed between Baitadi and Kailali districts than in Bajhang district. However there was equality in the index values in case of remote areas and the three districts. On

analysing the overall land index, it is found that Kailali is strong among district headquarter (urban) and Baitadi stood strong among areas.

b) Urban and Rural Dichotomy of Natural Assets Index

Table 5.4: Comparison of Urban-wise and Rural-wise Natural Asset Index

District	Ecological belt	Area	Land Index (LI)	Forest Index (FI)	Natural Asset Index (NAI)
Bajhang	Mountain	Urban	0.3392	0.351	0.318
		Rural	0.4368	0.514	0.482
		Total	0.371	0.406	0.372
Baitadi	Hill	Urban	0.401	0.346	0.310
		Rural	0.423	0.416	0.398
		Total	0.407	0.367	0.337
Kailali	Terai	Urban	0.377	0.441	0.397
		Rural	0.347	0.512	0.441
		Total	0.367	0.465	0.411
FWDR		Urban	0.376	0.389	0.350
		Rural	0.3925	0.484	0.438
		Total	0.381	0.419	0.378

Source: Field Survey, 2013

The comparison of districts on the basis of urban (headquarters) has shown that there was difference regarding the possession of community forestry. However, there was no significant difference between two localities in case of rural areas. By examining overall forest index, Kailali seemed to be stronger in the district headquarters and Bajhang was stronger in the remote area among all three districts. The consciousness due to high level of education might be the reason to have this result.

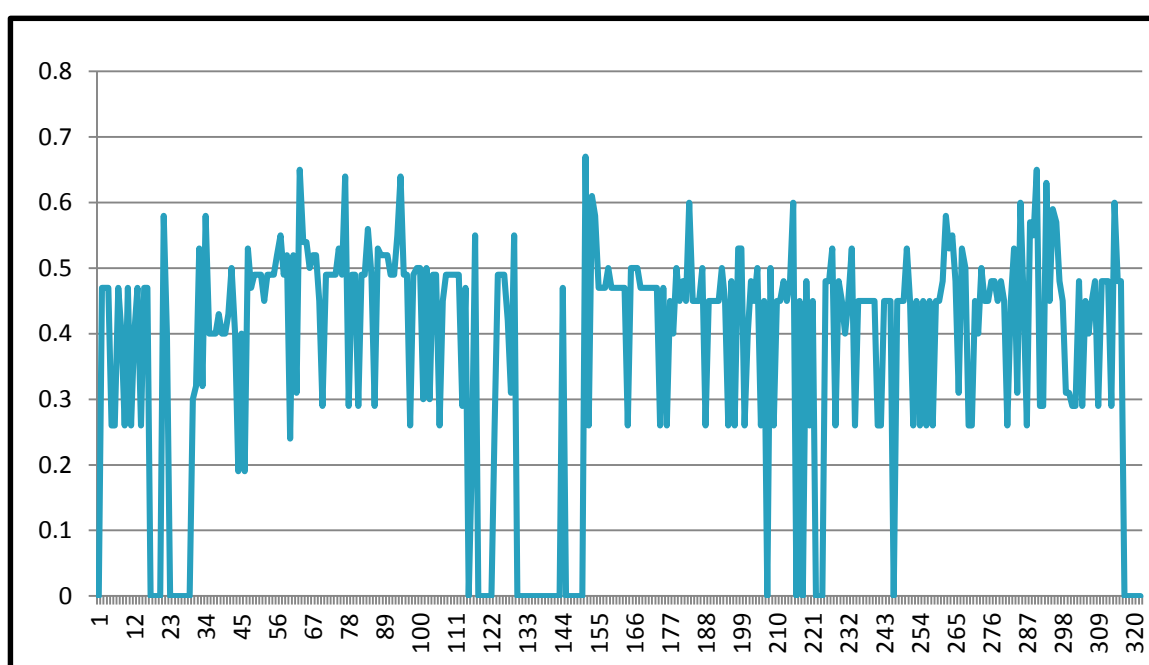
The soil (component of land) of Bajhang and Baitadi is rocky, stone slates are widely available in the district, and using to build houses. In Bajhang and Baitadi there was less land available for cultivation, because of the rocky soil, and steep Hills land scopes. Kailali is the flat plane land having quality soil composition suitable for agriculture. The availability of land in Terai for agriculture either in lease land or free public land or encroached land seemed higher in Terai which is less available in Hill region. Research revealed that land index is higher in Baitadi (0.407), and least in Kailali (0.367) table 5.4.

c) Analysis of Natural Asset Index of FWDR

While analysing these indexes with respect to FWDR, it shows that the Kailali district had much availability of agricultural land. Most of the agricultural land was occupied

by non-*Dalit* elite. Of the total 140 studied HHs in Kailali, 20 percent of HH did not have any land for cultivation, and living to encroach the public land or taking asylum with landowner. Twenty five households had other sources of income from non-agricultural activities like traditional functions and manual labour. The households who were the owner of sufficient land, these HH found also involved in agricultural businesses too in addition to the traditional agriculture.

Figure 5.6: Natural Asset Index of FWDR



Source: Field Survey, 2013

Fig 5.6 clearly shows the distribution of NAI in the study region. The distribution was observed as just opposite to the values of the HAI. Kailali was the strongest and Baitadi was the weakest, while Bajhang was in between of these two districts (Table 5.4 and Figure 5.6). In Bajhang and Baitadi, there was less land available for agriculture because of the rocky soil, and the steep hills. Kailali was flat and the soil was sandy which was ideal for agricultural purposes. The weakest asset for natural asset in far west Nepal was the land. Though there were slogans and rhetoric of the inclusion/participation, the *Dalits* had less accessibility in the land resources. They were poor in all respects of land ownership, size, productivity and sufficiency.

In the all studied districts, people had often collect timber and fire-wood from their proximate forests which fulfil their HH need of timber and firewood. While looking

into the forestry index it has revealed that the forestry index in Kailali is 0.465, and it was 0.367 in Baitadi which is least among all studied.

5.2.3 Analysis of Financial Assets Index

As previously explained, the FAI has been calculated as the composite of three dimensional indices: Income and cash Index, Employment Index and saving index (Table 5.5 and figure 5.7). The composition of Income and cash index, Employment Index and saving index gives the financial assets index. Income and cash index refers to income from various sources e.g. farming, livestock, occupation, employment.

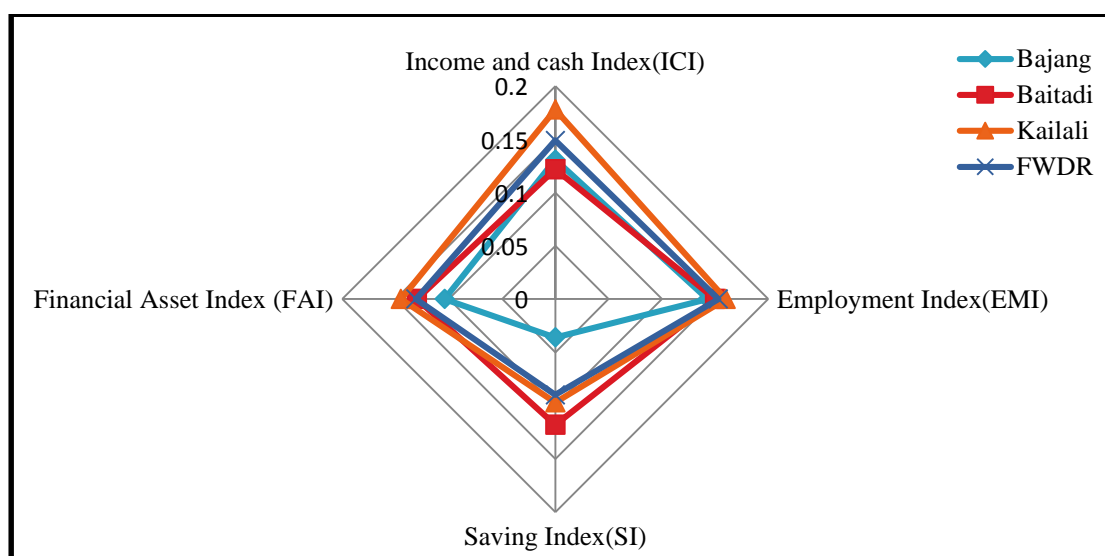
a) District-wise Comparison

Table 5.5: Comparison of District-wise Financial Asset Index

District	Income and cash Index(ICI)	Employment Index(EMI)	Saving Index(SI)	Financial Asset Index (FAI)
Bajhang	0.131	0.143	0.036	0.104
Baitadi	0.122	0.150	0.118	0.130
Kailali	0.178	0.160	0.097	0.145
FWDR	0.149	0.153	0.090	0.131

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Figure 5.7: Comparison of District-wise Financial Asset Index



Source: Field Survey, 2013

As show in table 5.5 and figure 5.7 the FAI values were strongest in Kailali (0.145), while it was weakest (0.104) in Bajhang districts. In terms of saving index, Baitadi had good score of saving index while the Bajhang was the weakest in savings. Thus, there was a correlation between income and savings.

Among this FAI, employment had greater role to play to contribute to income/cash and saving. While at the non- significant level it was also observed that though some people had employment, but it did not seem to contribute in the generation of income and savings. The reason behind that observed as the individual behaviours of the *Dalit* who seemed spent the income in luxurious food as per the local context, overlooks the saving.

b) Urban and Rural Dichotomy of Financial Assets Index

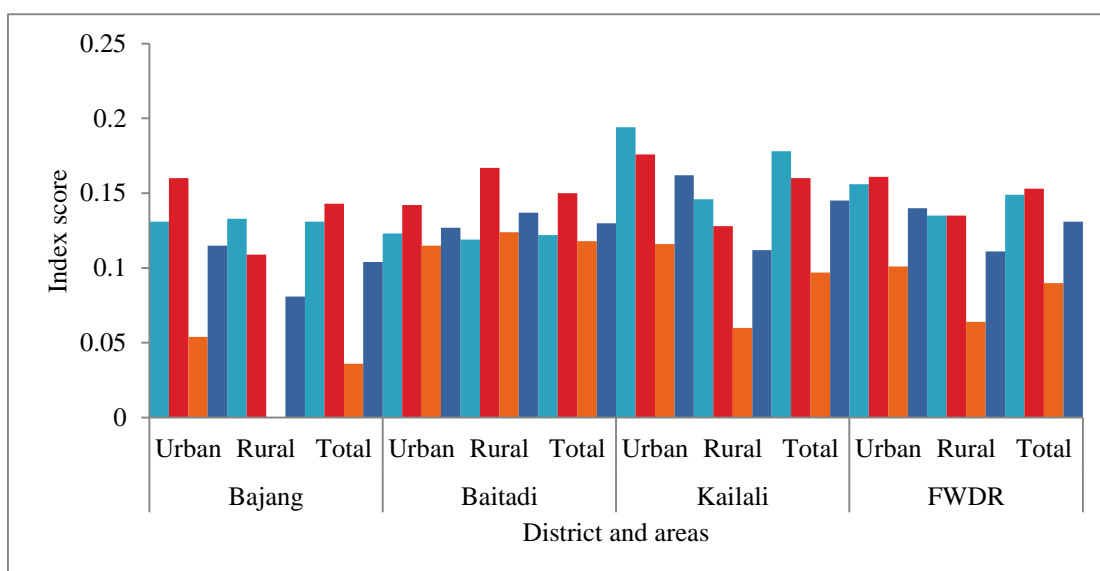
FAI of the people depends on the location where they live, what activities they perform, which employment or income generation activities they involve, what geography they are engaged in income. In this section, how rural and urban contexts affect the income, employment and saving was analysed. The detail of the analysis is given in table 5.6 and figure 5.8.

Table 5.6: Comparison of Urban-wise and Rural-wise Financial Asset Index

Districts	Area	Income and Cash Index (ICI)	Employment Index (EMI)	Saving Index (SI)	Financial Asset Index (FAI)
Bajhang	Urban	0.131	0.160	0.054	0.115
	Rural	0.133	0.109	0.000	0.081
	Total	0.131	0.143	0.036	0.104
Baitadi	Urban	0.123	0.142	0.115	0.127
	Rural	0.119	0.167	0.124	0.137
	Total	0.122	0.150	0.118	0.130
Kailali	Urban	0.194	0.176	0.116	0.162
	Rural	0.146	0.128	0.060	0.112
	Total	0.178	0.160	0.097	0.145
FWDR	Urban	0.156	0.161	0.101	0.140
	Rural	0.135	0.135	0.064	0.111
	Total	0.149	0.153	0.090	0.131

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Figure: 5.8: Comparison of Urban-wise and Rural-wise Financial Asset Index

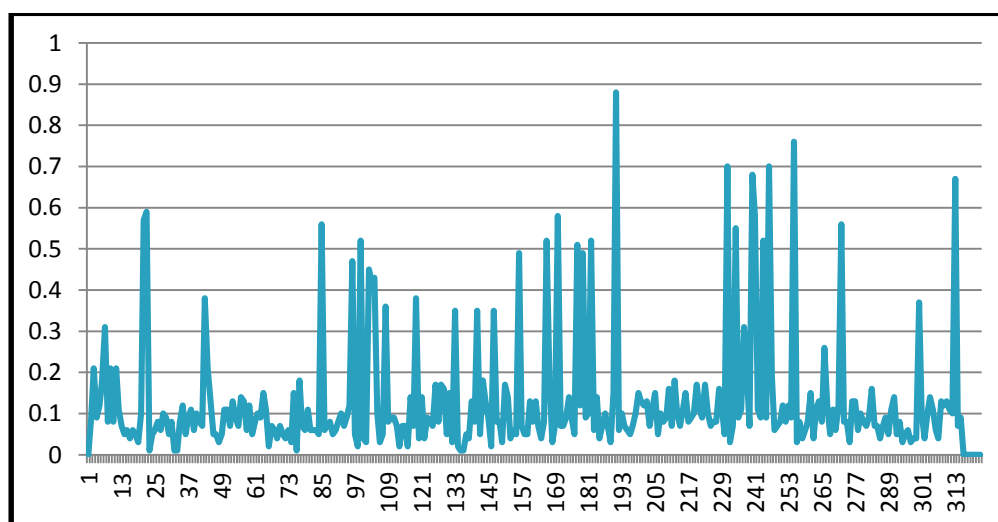


Source: Field Survey, 2013

FAI was calculated so as to make comparison between the urban and rural areas for the selected districts. It was found that the *Dalit* people in Kailali had a good yearly income at the urban areas whereas in Baitadi had a strong income in remote areas. Similarly, Baitadi had strong savings in rural area than that of the remaining districts. It is notable than Bajhang had no savings at all in the rural areas.

c) Analysis of Financial Asset Index of FWDR

Figure 5.9: Financial Asset Index of FWDR



Source: Field Survey, 2013

According to fig 5.9 the distribution of FAI was weakest among the *Dalit* HHs in Bajhang district, which was found strongest in Kailali district. It was found medium position in Baitadi district.

The weak FAI among *Dalits* indicates that, the livelihood of *Dalit* in the studies districts was really vulnerable. They were just struggling to survive in their day-to-day life. The FAI shows in table was highly contributed by the remittance in comparison to other sub-component used for FAI calculation. Thus remittances and expenses were relative income variable.

Remittances were received from the family members who worked in India and a few of them were also abroad particularly in the Gulf countries. Altogether 150 households were receiving remittances from their family members who were working in India. There was a difference in the amount of the remittances among countries. Remittances from Arab and India were generally seemed to be higher there was only one household whose source of income was just remittances all the rest households had other sources of income including remittance.

Most of the households had livestock; particularly the goats, buffaloes, cows, pigs, horses and chickens. The livestock's were also a part of financial asset because *Dalits* convert these sub-components into cash at the time when they need cash. *Dalits* perceived livestock they owned are a saving income. There were altogether 50 households who did not have any livestock, which also shows that their livelihood was at risk.

Only a few *Dalit* households were member of a saving and credit group in the society. Most of the examined households had not any kinds of savings. Out of 315 HHs, 15 of them had not any kinds of savings however 8 HHs were some kinds of savings. Some of the households had both savings as well as the debt. The financial asset of the *Dalits* in Kaialai was found to be very poor. *Dalits* themselves perceived them as 'poor', and most of the respondents were negative about their financial situation. Only a few, i.e., 45 out of the 315 households indicated to have no problems with their income. However, the cash income for them was very limited as they were often granted with a fixed amount of paddy, rice, wheat, mustard, and so on. The wage

system was gradually shifting from informal (barter system) towards formal (monetary) one.

According to UNDP, Bajhang and Baitadi districts had a higher HPI than Kailali (NPC/UNDP, 2014). The Bajhang and Baitadi districts were found to be more remote and poor districts than Kailali. The relative incomes of the households in both districts also differed in a way. Approximately the same amount of *Dalits* of Kailali had negative relative incomes as the *Dalits* in Bajhang and Baitadi had. There were more *Dalit* in Bajhang and Baitadi with extreme high and low relative incomes than that of Kailali. In Kailali more *Dalits* had a relative income which was close to the middle, a balancing in income and expenses to compare with Bajhang and Baitadi. Though the Bajhang and Baitadi were poorer according to the UNDP Human Poverty Indicator, the present study also found to be valid in this context. Indeed, there was a bigger difference between the rich and poor among *Dalits* and their sub-groups. In Kailali more *Dalits* received higher remittances from Middle East countries while the remittances in Bajhang and Baitadi were just from India. The remittance *Dalits* receive from India was approximately the same amount in all the three districts.

5.2.4 Analysis of Social Assets Index

a) Analysis and District-wise Comparison of Social Asset Index

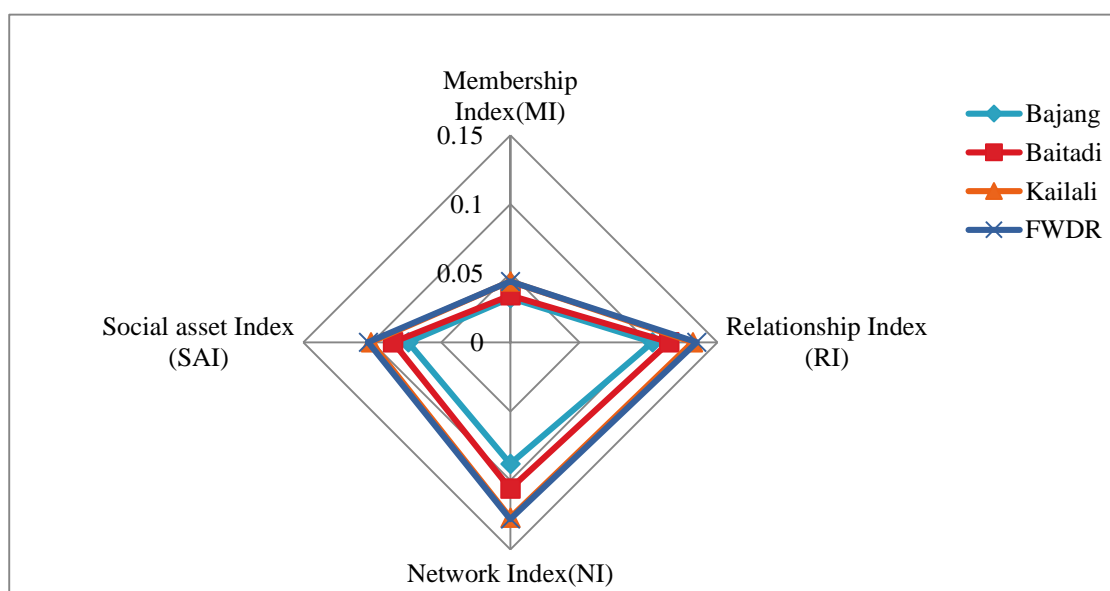
As previously explained, the SAI has been calculated as the composite of three dimensional indices: membership index, relationship index and network index (Table 5.7 and figure 5.10). The composition of membership index, relationship index and network index gives the SAI. Membership index refers to membership from various sources e.g. community forestry user group, school management committee, consumer groups, political parties, I/NGOs, religious groups and relationship index belongs to relationship of family and society. The third dimension, network connects to political parties, government agencies and I/NGOs. In this sub-title, detail of the analysis is given in table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Comparison of District-wise Social Asset Index

District	Membership Index(MI)	Relationship Index (RI)	Network Index(NI)	Social asset Index (SAI)
Bajhang	0.032	0.103	0.088	0.074
Baitadi	0.034	0.115	0.106	0.085
Kailali	0.044	0.132	0.127	0.101
FWDR	0.044	0.135	0.128	0.103

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Figure 5.10: District-wise Comparison of Social Asset Index



Source: Field Survey, 2013

In the overall SAI, Kailali district was observed to be strongest followed by Bajhang and Baitadi. Similarly, regarding the membership index it was found higher in Kailali than that of Baitadi and Bajhang. Similarly, the attachment with professional organizations was found to be involved in Bajhang district only. Index values had indicated that the *Dalit* in Bajhang were involved more in social activities. The *Dalits* in Kailali district had maintained good relationships. The effect of good education level might have created better relationships. The networking index values also had indicated that strong networking was existed in Bajhang district and the weak networking was in Kailali. It supports the general assumption that *Dalit* in hilly districts bear more common mode of life compare with the terai districts residents.

b) Urban and Rural Dichotomy of Social Assets Index

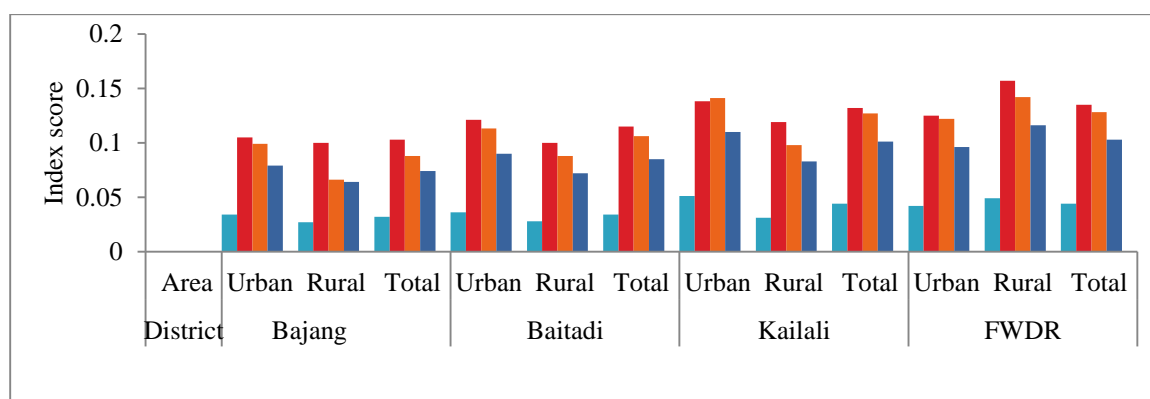
Social relationship, networking and networking capacity of the *Dalit* vary across the districts, which depends on many factor such as institutions and network presents in the districts. This also determines the need of any kind of social relationship as per the local context. Table 5.8 illustrate the context of SAI and its major components as per the district situation.

Table 5.8: Comparison of Urban-wise and Rural-wise Social Asset Index

District	Ecological belt	Membership Index(MI)	Relationship Index (RI)	Network Index(NI)	Social Asset Index (SAI)
Bajhang	Urban	0.034	0.105	0.099	0.079
	Rural	0.027	0.100	0.066	0.064
	Total	0.032	0.103	0.088	0.074
Baitadi	Urban	0.036	0.121	0.113	0.090
	Rural	0.028	0.100	0.088	0.072
	Total	0.034	0.115	0.106	0.085
Kailali	Urban	0.051	0.138	0.141	0.110
	Rural	0.031	0.119	0.098	0.083
	Total	0.044	0.132	0.127	0.101
FWDR	Urban	0.042	0.125	0.122	0.096
	Rural	0.049	0.157	0.142	0.116
	Total	0.044	0.135	0.128	0.103

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Figure 5.11: Comparison of urban and rural-wise Social Asset Index



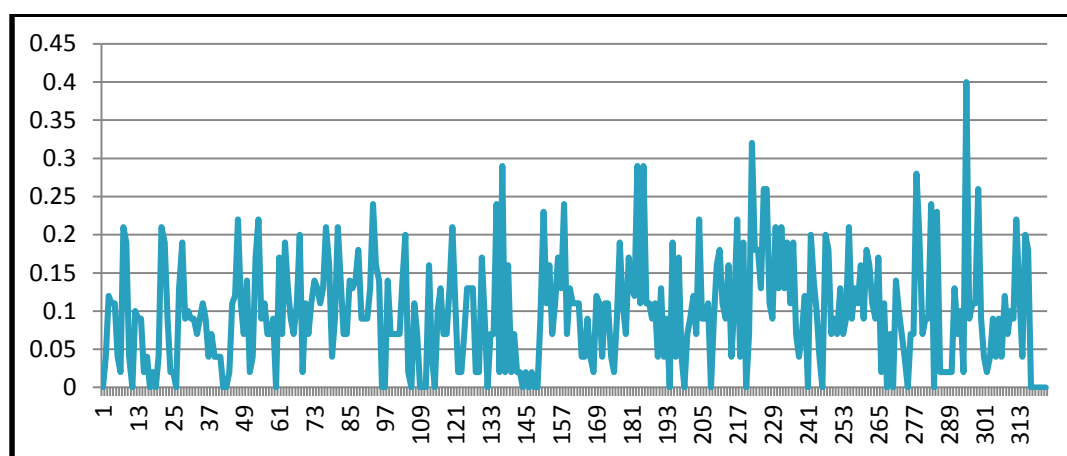
Source: Field Survey, 2013

Comparatively, the overall value of SAI is indicating moderate level of asset status among five livelihood assets, which is already mentioned above sections of dissertation. The highest (0.101) SAI was found in Kailali followed by Baitadi (0.085) and Bajhang (0.074). The reasons behind Kailali scored at the highest social status, because of being a Terai district, and many opportunities available for in- migration. It has found that the, migrant people are more liberal and broad minded in comparison

to the local people. That is the reason why, the feudal practices were less observed in Kailali where people migrated from different parts of Nepal. Among the different indicators used to calculate SAI, membership had greater role to determine SAI as compared to other sub-components like relationship and network. This might be the reason of their membership with various national and local level networks which contribute to determine the SAI value.

c) Analysis of Social Asset Index of FWDR

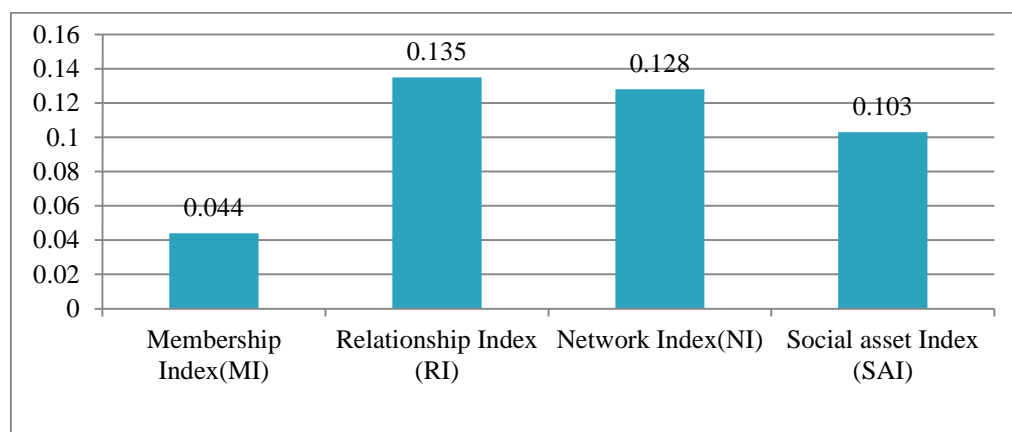
Figure 5.12: Analysis of Social Asset Index of FWDR



Source: Field Survey, 2013

It is confirmed that the Social Asset Index (SAI) was the poorest index among the rest indices. The SAI had also regional variations in terms of distribution. Above the figure 5.12 clearly shows that the SAI among the HHs of Bajhang was weakest as compared to that of the HHs of Baitadi and Kailali. The SAI value seemed high in comparison to that of the Hill districts in the HHs of Kailai district, which shows that they have strong social relationship, networking and membership of various institutions.

Figure 5.13: Analysis of Social Asset Index Components of FWDR



Source: Field Survey, 2013

The index had found to be differentiated between community level social asset and household level social asset. The social asset was an important characteristic of a community and was one of the components of the asset pentagon of the sustainable livelihood framework. The present study has also aimed at assessing the levels and dimensions of social asset and how social asset influences other livelihood assets.

Due to the Maoist People's War during 1996-2006, it had a large stake in the district politics, where many people from the *Dalit* communities were also involved and highly influenced the agenda put forth by the Maoist. According to people at the municipality office of Kailali, this has a consequence that the traditional views of people has had changed dramatically. Due to the influence of the Maoist War, it had contributed to change the hierarchical caste occupation and psychology. According to the leaders of civil society, the caste system was not practiced openly any more against *Dalits* in the district. A part of the households who were studied has mentioned that the caste system rooted in the society has been at the changing stage between the *Dalits* and non-*Dalits*, which make the feeling of untouchability weaker. However, the conflict between the so called upper- caste and *Dalit* has been increasing due to such changes and openness increased in the society.

Bajhang and Baitadi districts were more difficult to travel in comparison to Kailali district, consequently, the *Dalits* had less contact with other village outside of their own village in Bajhang and Baitadi district than in the Kailali district as Kailali has good road linkages, and being a Plane district make the contact easier. These

differences in the contact outside the households to that of the own villages were significantly observed table 5.9.

It is also interesting to note that *Dalits* had weakest social asset index as compared to other livelihood assets index because of lower social status due to caste hierarchy and caste based discriminations. Lower the social status had resulted, less social network which made multi-dimensional impact on livelihood which contributes to push the poor into further poverty.

5.2.5 Analysis of the Physical Assets Index

The life of Bajhang was very difficult and too expensive whereas it had less expensive and better in Baitadi. Kailali district was relatively very cheap than other districts of FWDR as it has productive land, with sufficient production, border link with India while *Dalits* were not able to grow sufficient rice and grain for themselves in hill and Mountain districts: Baitadi and Bajhang which forced them to import the commodities from Terai district. This was also a more difficult task due to lack of transportation facilities. Transport costs were high because all imported goods were imported by porters or animals from Urban to rural area of the hill districts. The hill districts were not easy to access and within the district there was only one seasonal road, which added difficulties in transportation of goods and services in hill region during the rainy season. The bus service was used when *Dalits* had to travel outside the district and in some occasional cases.

The concrete infrastructure and physical goods as a part of physical asset could supportive to livelihoods. The nature of infrastructure were analysed with the assets like that of house, household materials, and the modes of entertainments. These were found to be dependent on the change of physical environment fulfilling the *Dalit* people's desires.

a) Analysis and District-wise Comparison of Physical Asset Index

Wide-range of indexes belongs to PAI were analysed and put in table 5.9. These sub-components assets of PAI are road, water facility, communication, electricity, equipment- tools used at local micro- level occupation, housing material- locally

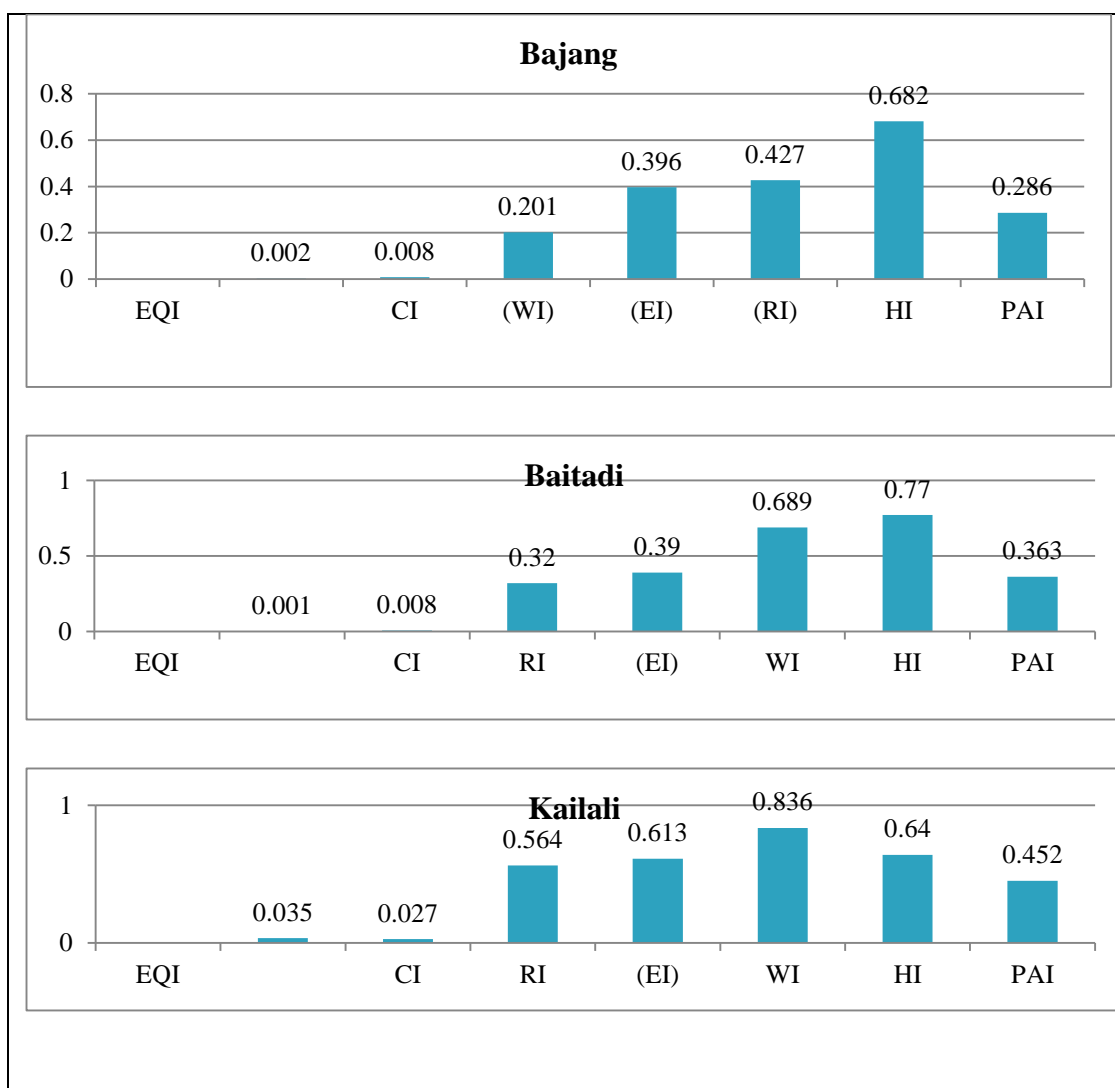
available material like stone, timber, mud, thatch. The situations of the PAI based on the districts are presented in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9: Comparison of District-wise Physical Asset Index

District	Road Index (RI)	Water Index (WI)	Communication Index (CI)	Electricity Index (EI)	Housing Index (HI)	Equipment Index (EQI)	Physical Asset Index (PAI)
Bajang	0.427	0.201	0.008	0.396	0.682	0.002	0.286
Baitadi	0.320	0.689	0.008	0.390	0.770	0.001	0.363
Kailali	0.836	0.564	0.027	0.613	0.640	0.035	0.452
FWDR	0.575	0.511	0.011	0.481	0.676	0.016	0.378

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Figure 5.14: Comparison of District-wise Physical Asset Index



Source: Field Survey, 2013

PAI values clearly show that Kailali district had some advanced houses than that of Baitadi and Bajhang district. But overall index had indicated that there was not much discrepancy regarding the type of houses of *Dalits* in all three districts. The index had also indicated about drinking water facilities in all the three districts. Kailali district was slightly better for the sources of electricity than Bajhang and Baitadi districts due to availability of Indian electricity and use of cow dungs.

In case of the uses of the electronic means like radio, television, computer etc., Kailali district again was found to be in better position followed by Bajhang and Baitadi district. With regard to the access to road facilities, Kailali stood ahead than Baitadi and Bajhang districts.

b) Urban and Rural Dichotomy of Physical Assets Index

The index has been calculated classifying the district into two categories namely district headquarter (urban) and remote (rural) areas.

In case of drinking water facilities Baitadi district had higher index in district headquarters (urban) whereas Bajhang deserved the lowest table 5.10. Similarly, mobile communication was used by most of the *Dalits* living headquarters (urban) of Kailali while the Baitadi had been found stronger in rural (remote) area than other districts.

The index value of modern equipment users have shown that Bajhang was slightly better in the use of those equipment's in the district headquarter (urban) while Baitadi had been found better in case of rural (remote) areas. While talking about the sources of light, the index values had indicated that Bajhang again had maintained the first rank than Kailali and Baitadi. Similarly, Baitadi stood first in case of remote area. In regard to the road access, all the three districts had no significant difference in district headquarters (urban). However, a notification difference was existed between the two areas both rural and urban areas.

Table 5.10: Comparison of Urban-wise and Rural-wise Physical Asset Index

Districts	Area	RI	WI	CI	EI	HI	EQI	PAI
Bajang	Urban	0.400	0.250	0.008	0.370	0.588	0.003	0.322
	Rural	0.480	0.024	0.007	0.330	0.680	0.000	0.253
	Total	0.427	0.201	0.008	0.396	0.682	0.002	0.286
Baitadi	Urban	0.414	0.696	0.007	0.336	0.672	0.001	0.354
	Rural	0.100	0.672	0.011	0.517	0.690	0.000	0.383
	Total	0.320	0.689	0.008	0.390	0.770	0.001	0.363
Kailali	Urban	0.842	0.611	0.034	0.676	0.700	0.051	0.485
	Rural	0.822	0.465	0.003	0.478	0.513	0.001	0.380
	Total	0.836	0.564	0.027	0.613	0.640	0.035	0.452
FWDR	Urban	0.600	0.555	0.013	0.481	0.665	0.023	0.391
	Rural	0.520	0.417	0.007	0.453	0.701	0.001	0.349
	Total	0.575	0.511	0.011	0.481	0.676	0.016	0.378

Source: Field Survey, 2013

The above table shows that *Dalit* community had easy access to public assets like road, communication, electricity, water. Nevertheless they had very less private assets such as toilets, better housing and sanitation which indicate the poor socio-economic conditions of *Dalit*. While comparing among these district, Kailali district was ranked to be the first due to availability of infrastructure facilities in Terai.

The material used for constructing the house is closely related to the economic well-being of the owner. This study had included two indicators such as ‘house by roof’ and ‘house by wall’ reflecting the percentage of household having mud houses, both by roof and wall. The percentage of mud (*kachhi*) house by roof and by walls was fairly high for all districts though a little more in Kailali. This shows that majority of households could not afford the use of reinforced material in roof due to its higher cost. While in Baitadi there was lowest percentage of *kachha* houses by both roofs and walls, indicating better off position of the *Dalit* in terms of housing, and availability of local materials like stone for wall, and pole for roof. The use of the local materials had many consequences, as such houses do not have longer life, there was risk of catching fire and the house would not sustain in natural hazards like earthquake, floods and landslides. It is worth to mention that housing characteristics had strong implications on the livelihoods of the *Dalits*.

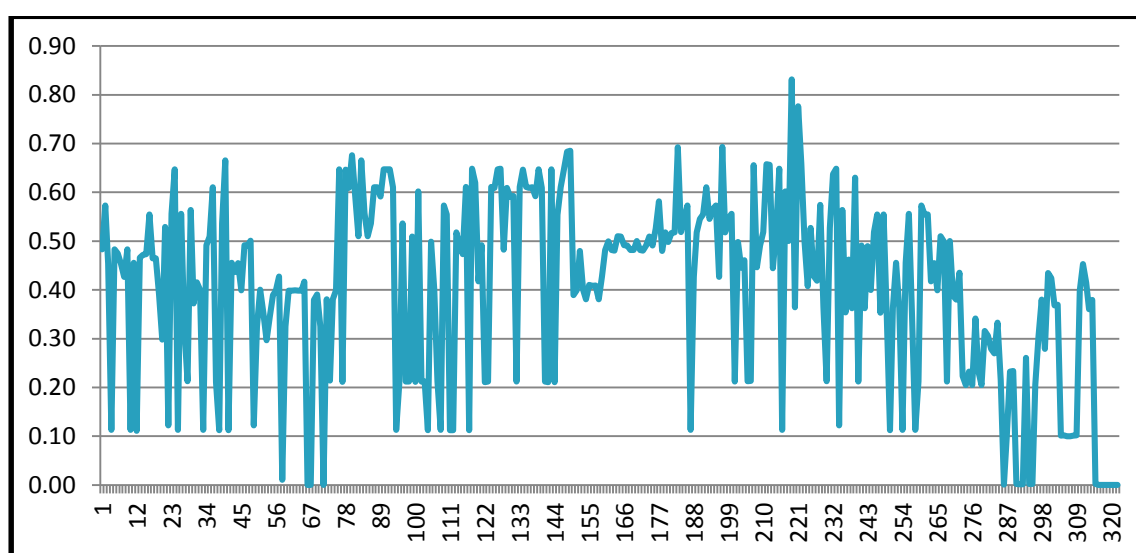
Electricity is considered to be an important indicator for the better socio-economic conditions. Its availability in housing unit definitely brightens the life of the *Dalits*

whether living in district headquarters or in remote areas. The percentage of households with electric facility was not entirely disappointing with two (Bajhang and Baitadi) districts where more than 50 percent of households having electricity. Thus the availability of the electricity in Bajhang and Baitadi was lower than that of Kailali.

Kailali district had the highest PAIs among all other districts, while other districts have lower PAI. Lower PAI could lead to more vulnerability and observing greater risk of households to be vulnerable and susceptibility.

c) Analysis of Physical Asset Index of FWDR

Figure 5.15: Conditions of Dalits Physical Assets Index



Source: Field Survey, 2013

Above presented fig 5.15 illustrates the PAI of 315 HHs of *Dalits* in FWDR presented in the graph where X-axis stands the HHs of *Dalits* and Y-axis stands for physical. Data shows that, the PAI has the weakest value in the *Dalits* of Bajhang whereas, the index was highest in Kailali district, which indicates the infrastructure such as water facility, electricity, communication, road are well equipped in Kailali, and less available in mountain and hill districts.

As already mentioned in the earlier sections, the infrastructures of the three districts are differed in a number of ways, e.g., in Kailali one could reach across the district by use of vehicle and travelling within the district was comfortable while, it was hard to reach Bajhang and Baitadi district. There was one indicator (housing materials) of

infrastructure that was more in favour of Bajhang and Baitadi district in comparison to that of Kailali.

Regarding the water facility, there was significant difference found in case of Terai and Hill regions. Data analysis shows that water facility was excellent in Baitadi (0.689) and least in Bhajang (0.201). The reason behind the above for the hill region was due to number of streams available, and for the terai, ground water facility available elsewhere.

5.3 Analysis of Livelihood Asset Index of Different Districts urban- rural and FWDR

The overall LAI has been aggregated in above Table 5.11. This table consists of cumulative frequencies of the index values for five assets namely financial, human, natural, physical and social asset.

Table 5.11: Area-wise and Overall Livelihood Asset Index with Ranking of Districts and Areas

Districts	Area	FAI	HAI	NAI	PAI	SAI	LAI	Ranking	
								Dis.	Area
Bajhang	Urban	0.115	0.484	0.318	0.274	0.079	0.262	-	6
	Rural	0.081	0.363	0.482	0.253	0.064	0.267	-	4
	Total	0.104	0.443	0.372	0.296	0.074	0.263	3	
Baitadi	Urban	0.127	0.491	0.310	0.354	0.090	0.268	-	3
	Rural	0.137	0.481	0.398	0.383	0.072	0.308	-	1
	Total	0.130	0.488	0.337	0.363	0.085	0.281	2	
Kailali	Urban	0.162	0.363	0.397	0.481	0.110	0.303	-	2
	Rural	0.112	0.281	0.441	0.381	0.083	0.265	-	5
	Total	0.140	0.337	0.411	0.449	0.101	0.290	1	-
FWDR	Urban	0.140	0.433	0.350	0.392	0.096	0.283	-	
	Rural	0.111	0.361	0.438	0.350	0.011	0.275	-	-
	Total	0.130	0.410	0.379	0.378	0.103	0.281	-	-

Source: Field Survey, 2013

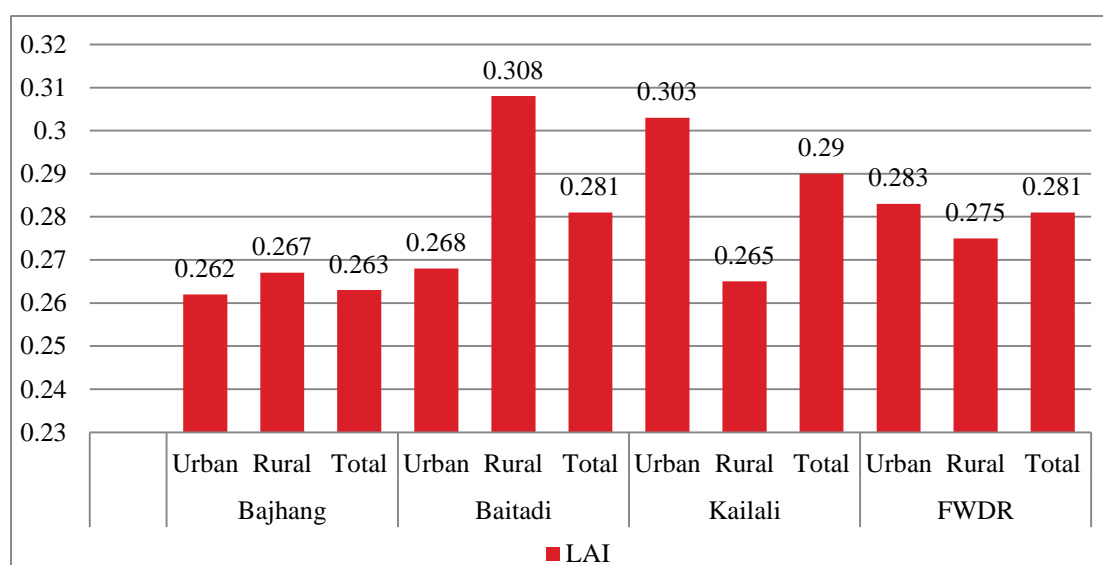
N.B.: (Appendix 5 for detail components)

FAI had indicated that Kailali district was first for financial asset than remaining other two districts while comparing the urban sites of the districts mainly the district headquarters (Urban). On the other hand the Baitadi district scored high rank in rural region having index value 0.137 Table 5.11. Regarding HAI, Baitadi district (rural) has the highest value (0.491) than that of Bajang and Kailai in respective district headquarters (urban). In case of NAI, Kailali (0.411) district had the highest index value than other districts while, Bajhang district rural region had the highest NAI

(0.482). Regarding the physical assets, Kailali district had higher index (0.481) of physical assets than Baitadi and Bajhang urban areas (headquarters). Similarly, while comparing the three districts with respect to the social asset, Kailali district headquarter (urban) and rural areas (0.110) and (0.83) respectively. Baitadi headquarters (urban) had (0.90) and Bajhang district headquarters (urban) and rural area had lowest social asset index (0.079) and (0.64) respectively.

Furthermore, the overall indexes of FWDR show that HAI was the strongest in urban areas while natural asset was the strongest in rural areas. Likewise, SAI was found the weakest among all five assets calculated so far, so that social assets need to be improved for the upliftment of livelihood of the *Dalits*.

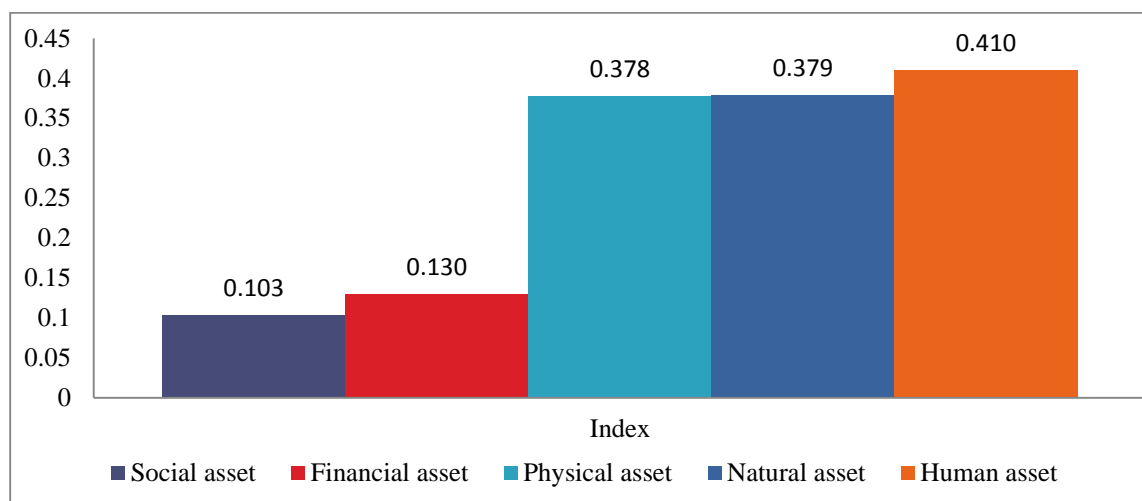
Figure 5.16: Area-wise and Overall Livelihood Asset Index of FWDR



Source: Field Survey, 2013

In the table 5.11 and figure 5.16 shows that the district, urban, rural and FWDR areas scoring of LAI value is mentioned. Statistically, the five livelihood assets index score was calculated, as the result of the LAI. While ranking the index values, Kailali district had found first rank (LAI, 0.290); Baitadi district had second rank of LAI (0.281) and Bajhang districts (0.263) last rank. Similarly, while ranking LAI in urban areas, Kailali district was first (0.303), second in Baitadi (0.268) and lowest rank in Bajhang district urban area. Similarly, while ranking LAI in Rural areas, Baitadi district first position (0.308), second Bajhang (0.267) and Kailali had (0.265). It is clear that the livelihood assets of *Dalits* in Bajhang and Baitadi were poorer than in Kailali, because they had less access on the livelihood assets in those districts.

Figure 5.17: Overall Livelihood Asset Index of FWDR



Source: Field Survey, 2013

The above figure shows the distribution of social asset is the weakest as compared to other indices values. And this situation justifies that Nepalese caste system was not supportive to the activities, choices and priorities for *Dalits* in the community where they live and work. It is irony to say that possesses of social asset means higher human dignity. Indeed, other assets including physical, financial, natural and human, etc. are the ‘means’ to achieve the broader ‘end’ of the social asset. Every country tries to develop its society and communities with maximum social welfare as far as possible. People’s welfare is not possible without welfare of their family, community and society itself. This web of social relationships produces distinct cultures, social systems, civics, ethics, and languages. All these webs of relationships makes the foundation for superstructure of the society, where social asset is the key decisive parameter often stimulating the other assets.

FAI was also weak as compared to other assets of *Dalits* in FWDR. Financial asset was concerned with other assets. This asset was marketable which does have power of purchase and expenditure on basis of demands and needs. It can thus be defined as an indicator of power and authority. It makes functional compatibility or hardness; and things cheaper or more expensive. The people, who had sufficient financial resources, means stronger the financial assets resulted to make stronger the other assets which implies that other livelihood assets are dependent on financial assets except the social asset. Financial asset has ranked as the second weak position of other livelihood assets. It indicates that the *Dalit* community has found to be facing a day-to-day miseries and vulnerabilities of livelihood which resulted into a number of hazards and

hardships. They could not adapt efficient measures of the livelihood due to the insufficiency of financial assets. Indeed they were seemed to be 'live' without 'life'. In a clear word, they were living, but they did not have real life in the absence of productive resources.

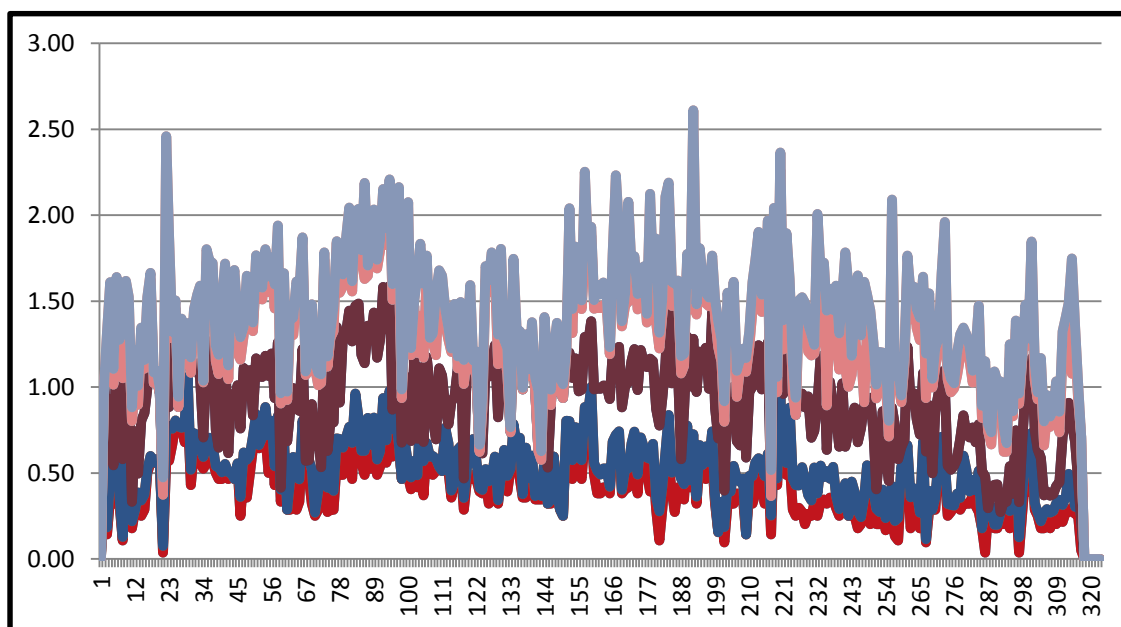
Natural asset is one of the important assets of livelihood because of human dependency on the nature. While summing up the NAI, the analysis shows that it scored only 0.378. Though the 76 % of the *Dalits* had the land ownership, but it was not sufficient for meeting their yearly needs. Nepalese rules do not support to *Dalits'* land ownership, productivity and protection, although the Interim Constitution of Nepal has declared about the equality of 'all people' in front of the laws provided by the State'. But it is not defined how inequality suffer get equal rights so that they get the social justices living in the dignity life.

PAI shows the use pattern of different facilities for survival of *Dalits*. Many facilities available in the districts such as road, water resources, communication and electricity are the common physical resources, and an individual cannot make them for the individual or personal use. A few physical assets were available at individual level while some of them were used at household level. *Dalits* were not able to use more physical assets. Physical asset was the third stronger asset of the *Dalits'* in FWDR. There are many common physical assets, however due to weak financial capacity *Dalits* of the region were not able to use them despite their availability, e.g., there were availability of public transportation, however due to low paying capacity they preferred to walk rather than using vehicle for short distance or within district. In addition to that, the use of mobile phone, landline phone both facilities are available in the districts, but they could not afford the phone set first, and if they have the phone set, they could not afford the recharge the mobile for use. Like the common physical assets, *Dalit* are also weak in private physical assets. For example, the *Dalits'* house structure found very poor as they use weak and cheaper construction materials, these houses in comparison to the other privileged one looks the temporary shelter. Goods for daily use facilities were also very weak in other castes and communities in the regions though not as miserable as seemed to be the situation of the *Dalits*.

HAI was strongest than other assets among the *Dalits* of FWDR. Human asset had its basic component of education, health and skill. The status of education and health was

low for *Dalits* which had also contributed there for lowering HAI. Despite this, the index was comparatively highest than other assets of livelihood primarily due to the various traditional skills the *Dalits* has possessed. The traditional skills, however, had not been used for developing livelihood in the changing context of modernization including the consuming behaviour of people in the society.

Figure 5.18: LAI of FWDR Aggregation Line Graph of five Livelihood Assets

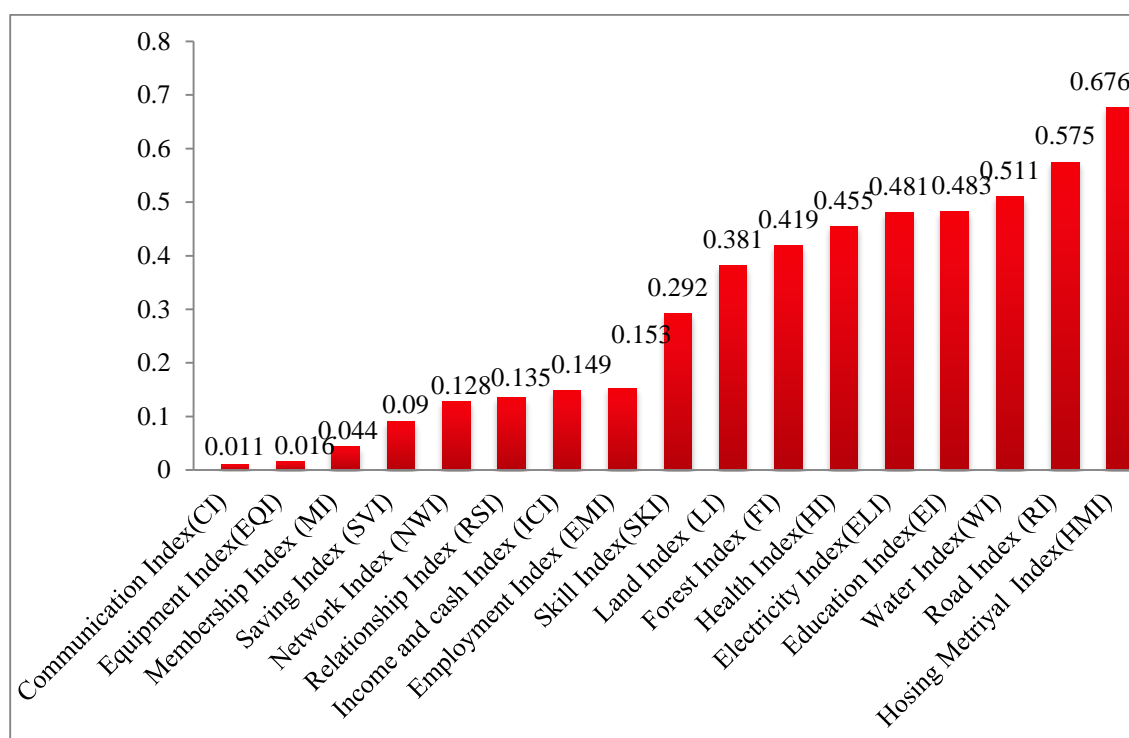


Source: Field Survey, 2013

The Fig. 5.18 shows a composite distribution of five livelihood assets of 315 HHs of the *Dalits* in FWDR. Line of the graph tending towards x-axis shows that LAI value was weak and that tending towards Y-axis implies the livelihood assets were strong. Y axis shows the sampled households in the region. The HHs from 1 to 75 were of Bajhang district i.e. mountain, 76 to 175 HHs of Baitadi district belonged to hilly region and 176 to 315 HHs of Kailali belonged to Terai region.

Finally, SAI was found weakest asset among the indices of other assets of *Dalits* and the HAI was found the strongest among all asset indices. The general ranking of the asset indices was observed as in the descending order starting from the HAI, to SAI figure 5.17 and 5.18. As mentioned earlier, the SAI is not equally weakest in all districts. At the same way, the HAI was not strongest in all districts. All indices for livelihood asset components indices are different as shown figure 5.19 below:

Figure 5.19: Integrated Components of Livelihood Asset Index Graph



Source: Field Survey, 2013

The above figure demonstrates that all indices for livelihood asset components were contrasting one another in the FWDR. All segments depict separately with their own assets, as like HAI's component which are education index, skill index and health index. Above figure just illustrates the weakest part along with the strongest. Side by side this figure tries to explore the reason and their impacts on livelihood of the *Dalits*.

Communication index was scored the lowest value of all other components with 0.011 coefficients. It was followed by equipment index, the second lower, coefficient was 0.016. The third one was the membership index with coefficients value 0.044 and fourth was saving index remaining with coefficient value 0.090. The *Dalits* were excluded from all formal and informal sectors. They were not acceptable in government services primarily due to lower level of education and skills. They did not have such good network and opportunity what the local community demands for. *Dalits'* income was not sufficient and regular so that they could not afford the communication services. Often, they have found taken loan from local elites including other sources to meet their needs, due to such reasons, the saving index was found scored in fourth lowest.

This is very interesting to see that the water index value was 0.511 and road index was 0.575. These were common physical asset index components. Road was the basic infrastructure of development but *Dalits* did not have money to pay for travels or transportation services. Water index was not statistically worse but there was discrimination in its accessibility and consumption. Water perceived as untouchable thing for non-*Dalit* if it comes to any physical contact with *Dalit*, which non-*Dalit* considers as unscarred. Nowadays, different GOs and NGOs have been supporting to provide water supply from pipelines in some public places.

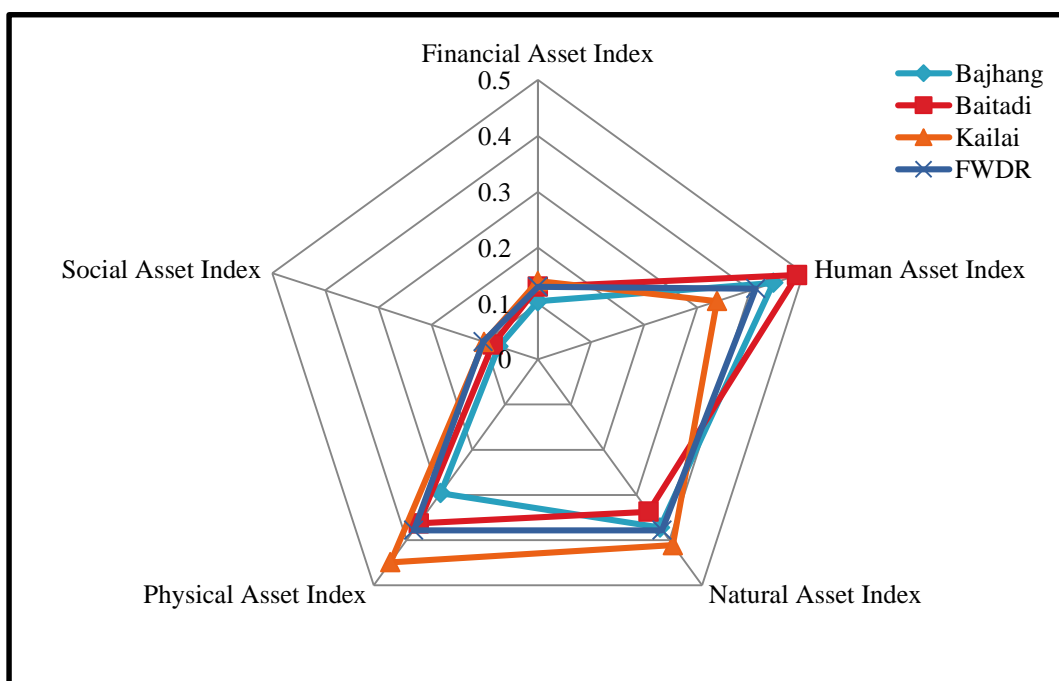
Due to poor housing condition of *Dalit*, they were not able to connect the water system in their house, and mostly they rely on public taps. It was significantly true that the *Dalit's* housing condition was not good however, it was scored the highest index value of 0.678, despite that fact that the *Dalit* houses were poor, simple in structure, and use locally available housing materials.

It has revealed that the housing index got the highest score than other indexes. This means housing condition of the *Dalit* was found better than the other asset they possessed. The reason behind the highest score it received was the methods used for its calculation, and the value given to the material used for house construction considering the local context e.g. types of materials used in housing. Normally in Hill region, people use stone, and mud for wall, and slate for making roof. Such houses received higher score, than those constructed by thatch, mud, and pieces of wood, and plastered by mud. Houses constructed by thatch, mud, and pieces of wood, and plastered by mud received less weightage. Hence, the overall index value becomes less to that of those made from stone, mud and slate. Such less value means weak housing condition as defined in the local context. Most of *Dalits* used these materials in Bajhang and Baitadi, and defined these houses as strong houses as like *pakka* house. In Terai region in urban and peri-urban area, the material used for house construction are block, sand, cement and *tile*, so these houses got higher index value as per the criteria used for this study. On the other hand, in rural area of Terai, material used for house construction were thatch, timber pole, mud, and plastered by mud itself. Those houses received less mark and the index calculated becomes low in comparison to hill, and urban region.

It is fully true that the *Dalit's* housing condition was not good, though scored highest index value of 0.678. If this was so, what was the condition of others weaker components? Housing materials were not good as used by *Dalit*. This was one of the components of private physical asset. It means common physical asset components were not more available to the *Dalit* community as like road, water facility, electricity and communication. Accesses to these components were depend on how the government provide these facilitates targeting to *Dalits* and marginalised people. Available information shows that, the government of Nepal is failed to provide common properties to *Dalits* and other marginalised communities. Despite the fact, they were found struggling in order to get these facilities to changes their lives and livelihoods. The efforts were less evident in the government programs and policies which can benefits to *Dalits* like poor people, hence, the *Dalits* of the studied region becoming more vulnerable, pushing them into further backwardness.

Aggregation of Livelihood Assets Index of Dalits in FWDR (Mountain, Hill, Terai District)

Figure 5.20: Aggregation Value of Livelihood Assets Index of Dalit in FWDR (Mountain, Hill, Terai Districts)



Source: Field Survey, 2013

While comparing livelihood assets among Bajhang, Baitadi and Kailali, those districts were differed immensely in all aspects of livelihood assets which further contributed to differ due to differ values of different components and sub-components.

According to the HDI 2014, the HDI value of Kailali, Baitadi and Bajhang were ranked 0.460, 0.416 and 0.365 respectively (NPC/UNDP HDI Report, 2014, p. 92). It was therefore expected that livelihood assets calculated for this study naturally revealed the lower value as these districts have lower HDI. Study revealed that, Kailali district has been scored top in 4 asset indices. SAI, FAI, NAI and PAI were strong in Kailali, while HAI is weaker in Kailali. The HAI of Baitadi district was better than that of Bajhang and Kailali despite the fact table 5.11, Bajhang was scored the third position for overall index. In case of Bajhang district, no single asset index value was good however some assets indexes are stronger e.g. NAI rural value scored 0.482 was good in comparison to other districts. Overall, Baitadi district is in the second position with respect to LAI.

As mentioned in table 5.11, the FAI value scored the highest in Kailali. Reasons behind the highest value were due to the industrialization and the availability of the employment opportunities at local level to solve daily hand to mouth. Equally, most of the *Dalits* from Kailali moved to India for seeking jobs which was imperative for solving their daily problems. In the same way, the availability of financial support from different cooperatives, banks, NGOs had been good in Kailali to compare with other districts. Those aspects were responsible behind the highest value of FAI in Kailali.

NAI was also higher in Kailali than other remaining districts. Even though the Mountain and Hilly districts had plenty of land but the production was higher in Kailali. Consumption of forest products and easy access to forest resources were the reasons for higher value of NAI value in Kailali.

PAI value of Kailai was also better than in Bajhang and Baitadi districts. Transportation facility Electricity, drinking water and communication facilities were better in Kailali which ultimately increases the PAI value. But in case of Individual Physical assets like housing materials, equipment and goods; Bajhang and Baitadi districts were top than that of Kailali. For example, the composition of houses was weaker in Kailali than Bajhang and Baitadi.

5.4 Results of Measurement of Livelihood Assets of Dalits in FWDR

Figure 5.21: Results of Measurement of Livelihood Assets in FWDR

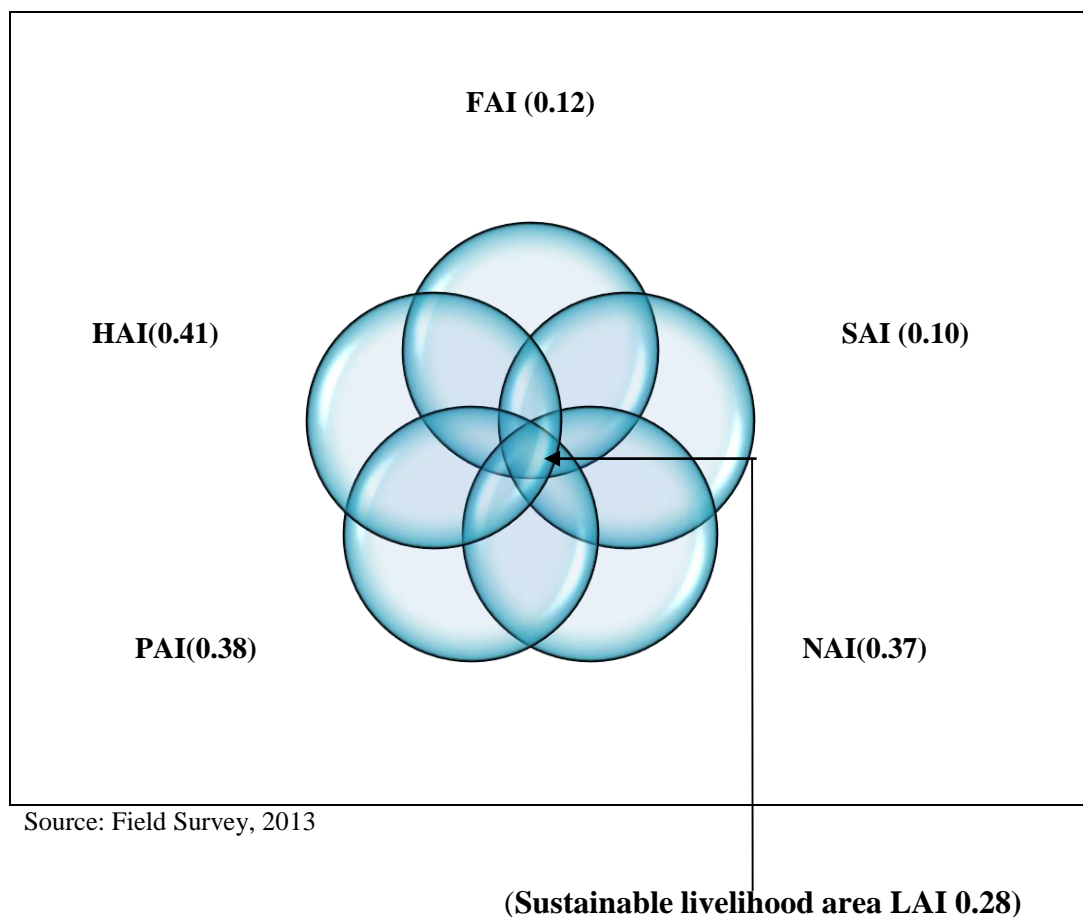


Figure 5.21 has clearly shows that every livelihood assets contribute for sustainable livelihood. As reflected everywhere, FWDR *Dalits* did not have more assets for livelihood and the livelihood assets were poorly distributed, therefore, *Dalits* had often struggles to sustain just for survival. Result revealed that NAI, FAI, SAI, PAI, and HAI all assets were below of 0.410 values. Although, these livelihood assets were not equal and values revealed varies in between 0 to 1. So, the livelihood of *Dalits* was varies not only in rural- urban setting, but also in Hill and Terai districts, as the value of LAI varies. These imply that the situation of *Dalits* is found very vulnerable in the study districts. Increase the livelihoods implies that increase the LAI, but the studies revealed the poor index value (max 0.410 HAI, and the least 0.103 SAI), but to enhance the livelihood as standard level, the livelihood assets values should be near to 1. The sum total of all revealed values was found 0.28, which implies poor condition of livelihood of *Dalit*.

Treating SAI as independent variable and increase SAI with 1 percent lead to increase LAI 31.94 percent. Which is larger in comparison to change in other components. Likewise, 1 percent increase in SAI results into 3.08 percent decrease in HAI, 7.04 percent increase in NAI, 3.5 percent increase in PAI and 2.4 percent increase in FAI. In the same way, effect in other components of SAI, had shown that HAI decreases by 16.1 percent, NAI increases by 45.33 percent, PAI increases by 20.4 percent and FAI increases by 10.05 percent (Appendix, 10).

Finally, GoN had no specific policies for *Dalits* in general and no specific policies for FWDR *Dalits* in particular development to enhance their lives and livelihoods. All existing policies were formulated targeting at the macro level without addressing micro-level issues and problems. So, description and analysis of the policies for *Dalits* in Nepal from the livelihood perspective should be addressed properly.

5.5 Limitations of the Development of Livelihood Asset Index

The dimensions and indicators of livelihood asset were multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary in nature including various issues of politics, society, economy, *Dalits* and non-*Dalits* relations, etc. Therefore, dimensions and indicators chosen here might not have entirely covered all dimensions of livelihood assets in the context of FWDR of Nepal.

On the other hand, it was difficult to pinpoint any of the dimensions to be a cause or consequence of another. They were, however highly correlated and were in interaction either on a one-to-one basis or in combinations. The approach adopted here did not take into consideration such internal and external relations.

CHAPTER 6

PUBLIC POLICIES AND MAJOR BARRIERS FOR DALIT'S LIVELIHOOD

This chapter provides an overview on the major policies and programmes being implemented for improving *Dalits'* livelihood and to empower them. Attempts were made to describe and analyse the livelihood development policies and programmes of GoN, especially formulated for *Dalits'* livelihood and empowerment. This also analyses the upsetting factor for enhancing of *Dalits'* livelihood.

Policies, present legal provisions, cultural structures, social values, institutions and vulnerability contexts are directly associated with assets and influencing to each other. Livelihood strategies obviously depend on assets and policy relations. Some of the issues that the government policies and programmes are concerned with *Dalits'* livelihood and their empowerments were considered as follows:

- Policies and programmes of GoN in relation to *Dalits* and enhancing the livelihoods of *Dalits*.
- Sectors and actors for the socio-economic and human development of *Dalit* particularly with focus to the *Dalits* of FWDR.
- Gap analysis of central and local government policies of FWDR *Dalits* livelihood.
- The policy making process and trends of development for livelihood and empowerment of *Dalits*.

6.1 Current Provisions and Status of Dalit

Some primary signs of improvement in overall status to *Dalits* have been observed since the Ninth Development Plan (2054-2059 B.S.). Similarly, some of the important *Dalit* upliftment activities were also started during the Three Year Interim Plan (2064-2067 B.S.). Gender equality and social inclusion policy was formulated and Inclusion provision through quota system to *Dalits* communities were provided in various sectors such as public service Commission, police and army recruitment (HMG/N,

2049,B.S.), HMG/N, 2012 B.S.) Nepal Armed Police Act, 2058 B.S.; GoN (2063 B.S.), GoN (2011).

Income generating and skill oriented program had been conducted in 75 districts of Nepal through *Dalit* Class Upliftment District Coordination Committee. Similarly, scholarship had been provided for higher education to *Dalits* students in various technical and non-technical subjects (HMG/N (2058 B.S.). Untouchability and caste based discriminations were lessened by the implementation of awareness programmes. All of those programmes had supported to *Dalit* communities' to motivate, empower, and getting employment through their skills and knowledge. Incentives and awards provisions had increased social harmony among *Dalit* and Non-*Dalit* communities. People Shelter (*Janata Awas*) program had been executed targeting to *Madhesi Dalits* (NPC, 2067/68-2069/70) in Siraha-Sapthari.

GoN had provisioned a wide range of services to the public including education and health services, drinking water, electricity and agriculture and housing supports. While the government strives to make public services available to all citizens, more recently government has also provided special supports to particular targeted groups such as girls, *Dalits*, senior citizens (males and single women) and disabled persons (NPC, 2067/68-2069/70).

The current constitutional and legal provisions for the upliftment of *Dalits* were:

- Civil Code (*Muluki Ain*), 1963
- The Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007
- The Constitution of Nepal, 2015

The present constitution of Nepal has provisioned the Fundamental Rights in Section3, which, especially spells as following:

“All citizens shall be equal before the law. No person shall be denied the equal protection of the laws”. Right against untouchability and racial discrimination was also provisioned in the Constitution of Nepal.

The Constitution of Nepal has provisioned the right against untouchability and discriminations which is directly connected with *Dalits* empowerment and social development (Box 6.2).

Box 6.1: Rights against Untouchability and Racial Discrimination

- No person shall, on the ground of caste, decent, community or occupation, be subject to racial discrimination and untouchability in any form. Such a discriminatory act shall be liable to punishment and the victim shall be entitled to compensation as provided by the law.
- No person shall, on the ground of caste or tribe, be deprived of the use of services, conveniences or utilities available to the public, or be denied access to any public place, public religious places, or be prevented from performing any religious act.
- No person belonging to any particular caste or tribe shall, in relation to the production or making available of any goods, services or conveniences, be prevented from purchasing or acquiring such goods, services or conveniences; and no such goods, services or conveniences shall be sold or distributed only to members of a particular caste or tribe.
- No one shall be allowed to purport to demonstrate superiority or inferiority of any person or a group of persons belonging to any caste, tribe or origin, or to justify social discrimination on the basis of caste and tribe, or to disseminate ideas based on caste superiority or hatred; or to encourage Caste discrimination in any form.
- Any act contrary to the provisions of clauses (2), (3) and (4) shall be punishable in accordance with law.

Source: (GoN, 2015). The Constitution of Nepal, 2015

Likewise, under the Right to Social justice part 3 fundamental right, section 21 of the Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007, the major provisions had been spelled out such as ‘Women, *Dalits*, Indigenous Ethnic Groups (*Adivasi Janjati*), *Madhesi* Communities, Oppressed Groups, the Poor Farmers and labourers, who were economically, socially or educationally backward, shall have equal rights to participate on state activities on the basis of proportional inclusion’.

Similarly, under the Right against exploitation Part 3 “Fundamental Right”, Section 29 had clearly mentioned, every person shall have the right against exploitation, no person shall be exploited in the name of custom, tradition and practice, or in any other ways and no person shall be subjected to human trafficking, slavery or bonded labour (UNDP Nepal, 2009).

6.2 Analysis of Public Policies and Programmes (Periodic Plans)

Dalit occupied 13 percent of the total population of the country, such a huge proportion of population are deprived from economic, social and political opportunities in comparison to other caste and ethnicity. Overwhelming behaviour of the people in society has not changed towards *Dalit* community even state introduced policy against untouchability and social discrimination. It is still prevailing practically in all parts of country which makes them the environment of humiliation and discrimination. Untouchability is still prevalent in the society. They are dishonoured in the public places. There is no visible change yet to observe in the attitudes of majority of people.

There are several milestones to get some space for *Dalits* in Nepal's policy process. Periodic plan started in Nepal since 1956, but the word of *Dalits* first appears in the 8th Periodic plan in 1992 just after restoration of Democracy in Nepal in 1990. The plan stated that "state structure, policies and rules to be reformed for eliminating the constraints of *Dalit* upliftment. It further stresses the empowerment of *Dalits* communities through special package programme to improve their social and economic condition, together with the strengthening of institutions working for the welfare of *Dalits*. It stressed the principle of positive discrimination, reservation and special rights through state policies procedures and guidelines".

The periodic plan provisions about *Dalits*, and how *Dalit's* development got space in the plan, policies, programmes, strategies, in order to enhance the livelihood, empowerment, and social justice starting from the First Periodic Plan upto Thirteenth Periodic Plan were briefly summarized (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Targets and Achievements during Various Periodic Plans

Periodic plan	Target	Achievements	Priority Assets
First Plan (1956 - 60)	No target about <i>Dalits</i> Assets	-	-
Second Plan (1962-65)	No target about <i>Dalits</i>	-	-
Third Plan (1965-70)	No target about <i>Dalits</i> Assets	-	-
Fourth Plan (1970-75)	No target about <i>Dalits</i> Assets	-	-
Fifth Plan (1975-80)	No target about <i>Dalits</i> Assets	-	-
Sixth Plan (1980-85)	No target about <i>Dalits</i> Assets	-	-
Seventh Plan (1985-90)	No target about <i>Dalits</i> Assets	-	-
Eighth Plan (1992-97)	Identification of <i>Dalits</i> Issues	Nominal, <i>Dalit</i> word appeared in the plan, stressed on their empowerment	Introduced
Ninth Plan (1997-2002)	<i>Dalit</i> empowerment	Programs mentioned	Human Asset
Tenth Plan (2002-07)	Educational development	Marginal poverty reduction	Human Asset
Three Year Interim Plan (2007-10)	Poverty Alleviation	Almost Nil	Financial Asset
Three Year Plan 2010/11-2012/13	Reduction of Social Discrimination	Almost Nil	Social Asset
Thirteenth Plan (2013/14-2015/16)	Economic Development	Insignificant	Financial Asset

Source: Various Periodic Plans (1956-2015) Note (- indicate no plan for *Dalit*)

First Plan to Seventh Plan (1956-90): No Achievements

It is an unpleasant situation to mention here that there was not any mentionable provision/policy/programme/ directly concerned with *Dalits* empowerment and their livelihood development since First Development Plan up to Seventh Development plan.

Eighth Plan (1992-97)

The Eighth Plan (1992-97) first time in the history of Nepal introduced word *Dalits* and *Dalit* focused programme in its policies. It said that “the state structure, policies and rules to be reformed for eliminating the constraints of *Dalit* upliftment”. The broad objective of the Eighth Plan was to give definite direction to the social and economic upliftment of the citizens of the country by tackling with the challenges of

economic stagnation, increasing poverty, structural anomalies, environmental degradation and rapid population growth (Srivastava, 2008). The concept of reducing Regional Imbalances identified that in comparison with other development regions, far western region and mid-western regions were lag far behind in respect of infrastructural and social service facilities and other development performances less development regions, special emphasis had been given for the reduction of regional imbalances (Srivastava, 2008).

Ninth Plan (1997-2002)

Ninth Plan had clearly mentioned about *Dalits* and their development bringing wide range of plan and policies in favour of *Dalit* ranging from reservation to capacity building of *Dalit*. The plan also had introduced a long term vision for poverty eradication. This plan had tried to raise the awareness level through formal and informal educational programmes. Similarly for the reservation of special seats to *Dalits* candidates for higher education under graduate programme of Tribhuvan University such as in agriculture, forestry, engineering and medicine disciplines. Moreover a favourable social environment was tried to create to appoint at least one teacher in secondary school, and special programmes (population education, family planning and child health) were also launched targeting to downtrodden communities. Likewise, this plan had also incorporated the provision of women health volunteer for *Dalit* Community, capacity enhancement of the *Dalits*, especially for modernizing their traditional occupations, linking their products into market as far as possible.

Likewise, the plan has also envisioned the trained individuals from *Dalit* communities be provided with special loan through Rural Development Banks to carry out their own business. The target of such plan about these provisions was extended to 25 districts. Moreover, the plan had emphasized to increase the accessibility of *Dalits* for higher education, and unemployed *Dalits* people were given vocational trainings.

Ninth plan had provisioned about the programmes for social services such as education, health, and so on for physical asset development, such as drinking water sanitation, etc. These programmes were focused to oppressed communities settlement areas on a priority basis. Moreover this plan had envisioned other programmes too for institutional arrangements along with concrete implementation procedure.

Unfortunately none of the notable achievement was gained by the end of the plan period except, the formulation of Neglected, Suffered and Depressed Class Upliftment Development Board and National *Dalit* Commission. Neglected, Suffered and Depressed Class Upliftment Development Board and National *Dalit* Commission were not found to be working liberally according to their objectives.

Tenth Plan (2002-2007)

The plan also had mainly focused on poverty reduction strategies as the continuation of type 9th plan. The plan itself was a strategic document for poverty reduction. It was necessary to drag those communities into mainstreams who were poor, socially deprived and backward. The plan had clearly mentioned about the role and responsibilities of different agencies such as government, civil society, local body, non- governmental organizations and private sectors.

Dalits, peoples of remote areas and poor and backward groups through programmes like empowerment, human development, security and targeted projects thereby improve the status of overall economic, human and social indicator as envisioned in 9th plan was continued in 10th plan. It was provisioned to continue providing scholarship to increase educational access for *Dalits* and increase access in technical education at higher level for social and economic empowerment. It was also provisioned to strengthen the National *Dalit* Commission in preparing curriculum related to skills promotion in the plan such as technical and vocational education. It was also provisioned about health and sanitation focusing programme for *Dalit* by increasing their access in primary health, reducing *Dalit* child mortality and maternal mortality rate. It was also emphasized to promote *Dalit* women in the selection as health worker.

The policy had also focused for the upliftment of *Dalit* communities' social prestige in the society they live through introduction of educational materials against *Dalit's* untouchability in school level curriculum Programs. Similarly, various programmes were recommended to discourage the religious and social conservatism prevalent in the non-*Dalit* community and to wipe out the century old inferiority complex of *Dalit* community.

Tenth Plan also had proposed specific programmes like that of Ninth Plan in connection with *Dalits*. *Dalits* issues had been properly addressed. However the implementations of programme had remained poor. Despite the plan provision in 9th and 10th for *Dalits* empowerment, it was realized that no significant impact was seen in their social and economic conditions, and there was no septic changed found in the national statistics regarding *Dalit*.

Three Years Interim Plan (2007-10)

During the plan period, country had moved into a new scenario as the armed conflict was over in Nepal. Different political parties were concentrated to develop the socio-economic transformation in the country addressing the issues of *Dalit*, and marginalized communities together with new era of development. Various expectations and enthusiasms had been created by second people's movement in 2006 in Nepal through which historic monarch was abolished from Nepal. Deprived *Dalit* communities of Nepal were also started to raise their voices and concern to live a better lives as like others in the society.

The major strategies undertaken were about the state restructuring, necessary amendment on policies and rules which were said to be the constraints for eliminate of *Dalit* Upliftment. The plan mainly was stressed on the empowerment and develops capacity of organizations those engaged for the development of *Dalit* communities. The plan was further envisioned about the improvement of social condition through addressing the poverty issues, applying the principle of positive discrimination, reservation and through special rights by developing a master plan for the development of *Dalits*. The plan further aimed to develop human asset through the means of Positive discrimination policy at the educational attainment, and skills development.

During this plan period, implementation of specially targeted economic programme targeting to poor *Dalits* was initiated in this plan period. It was also provisioned to encourage *Dalits* in enterprise development by providing special facilities, such as interest and collateral free loan for starting of the enterprise. The identification of ultra-poor among the *Dalits* through the distribution of ID card was also envisioned, and was implemented to some extent. During this planning period, many kinds of

slavery system was abolished such as, *Haliyas* (ploughman) of Far-western and Mid-western and free *kamaya* (free bounded labour in Terai).

Three Year Plan (2010 -13)

The three year plan emphasized the capacity building of *Dalit* by launching different interventions at different level. These programme envisioned were: leadership development, awareness raising and orientation training, income generating, vocational and skill enhance programme. By doing so, it was intended to end the untouchability and caste based discrimination in the society. It was also provisioned to provide free and compulsory education up to secondary level with incentives arrangement together with provision of a *Dalits* school teacher in each school. Like the previous plan, positive discrimination policy was also provisioned in this plan. Furthermore, for health and sanitation services targeting to *Dalits*, was also provisioned, and health facility extension was said to be increased.

As focused in the human asset enhancement, there was not any policy of natural asset development of *Dalits* in FWDR in this periodic plan. For financial asset development especially targeted economic programme for poor *Dalits* to be implemented, progressive measures to be initiated for encouraging *Dalits* in trade and businesses by providing special facilities, necessary initiatives to be taken to make interest and collateral free for *Dalits* going abroad for employment. Emphasis will be given to certify traditional skills of *Dalits* for their commercialization, marketing and capital investment, were the major commitments done by government through this plan. Similarly there is a need of focused policies concerned with social asset development at the institutional level where the participation of *Dalits* should be ensured. Unless, such provisions are ensured, the programme even target to *Dalits* might be failed. Regarding the ensuring of the social, financial assets, the plan was provisioned as “reservation will be made for the benefit of *Dalits* under the policy of positive discriminations. Private sector and civil societies will be encouraged to integrate *Dalits* in their activity processes and the legal provisions will be enforced effectively against the practice of untouchability and caste based discriminations”. Likewise policies concerned with physical asset development were physical infrastructure, electricity and communication to be developed in the areas with high population of *Dalits*.

Three Year Plan (Thirteenth Plan, 2013-16)

In order to uplift the livelihood and empower to *Dalits* communities the plan has strongly focused on: efforts to formulate a parliamentary committee of *Dalit* members for the monitoring and evaluation of all *Dalit*-oriented programs and their targets under implementation; programmes and agencies set up for *Dalit* women friendly; special emphasis on social, economic and political empowerment of *Dalit* women; 33 percent representation to *Dalit* women in all the agencies establishing for *Dalits*, special measures for the social, economic and political empowerment of Terai *Dalits* and strengthening the organizations of Terai *Dalits* through the cooperation of other organizations working at *Madhesi* majority areas.

In the same way, implementation of community programmes through Terai *Dalits*, launching the programme to address *Dalit* community's targeted class and access to *Dalits* for group. special opportunities and returns for identifying their economic, social, cultural, and religious and caste, *Dalit* communities' social and economic resilience through the promotion of good governance creating the environment of participation in democratic system through awareness raising, skill development and empowerment by social mobilization, and strengthening organizations working in the field of *Dalit* communities are major provisions of the plan. Similarly various empowerment programmes mentioned to be conducted for *Dalit* community's economic and social transformation for self-reliance in livelihood are said to be implemented. For example, modifying traditional skills, market oriented modernization, professionalism and marketing, giving extra classes for the competition among them in public service commission and other state services.

There are strong commitments to implement all provisions provided to *Dalit* throughout the country regarding awareness raising, income growth, and enhance access to foreign employment through the related line ministries, departments and their branches. *Dalit* Class Upliftment District Coordination Committee which are formed in district level has given responsibilities for monitoring and evaluation including *Dalits* rights and upliftment related activities. This plan has further stated that *Dalit* Development Committee will be responsible to District Coordination Committee for activities which will be conducted directly in the district.

Expected Outcome of Three year plan for Dalit

With the effective implementation of the above mentioned policies, strategies and programmes, the following outcomes had been expected from Three Year Plan (NPC, 2067):

- *Dalit* communities' participation and representation will have increased both in public and private areas, civil society and other relevant sectors,
- Discrimination on the basis of religion, caste, culture and language will significantly be decreased,
- The economic and social status of the *Dalit* women's will be improved, and.
- *Madhesi* women's empowerment and over all social status will have been improved.

Dalit oriented programmes were not absolutely *Dalit* targeted as they had also focused to non-*Dalits* too. That is why it was clearly not defined what position of the total budget was empirically focused for *Dalits*' Upliftment. Consequently, it is very difficult to measure the achievement of the policies and programmes regarding the *Dalits*' livelihood development and empowerment. For an example, the Government is provided support to *Badi* women by bringing special programme named *Badi* Women empowerment programme which is being implemented in five districts (Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur) for social and economic empowerment of *Badi* women. The *Badi* women who are backwarded, deprived of ages and forced for prostitution are under risk of meeting daily needs. It had targeted to provide direct benefit for 80 *Badi* women from selected five districts through delivering cash with special emphasizing on livelihood (Meikle, Ramasut & Walker, 2001). Despite the fact, the situation of *Badi* women has found not significantly improved.

6.3 Local Stakeholders' Perception and Public Policies

Chambers' statement 'Put in the last first' shows ground reality about *Dalits* of FWDR. In all spheres of social life, most of the *Dalits* are backwarded, oppressed, and facing discriminations (Shahi, 2014; Bhattachan, 2009; Kisan, 2013; Banett,

2005). *Dalits'* livelihood assets values are low as evident in all indices of livelihood, e.g. FAI (0.130), SAI (0.103), PAI (0.378), HAI (0.410), and NAI (0.378). All asset indices are low, i.e. below 0.410 coefficients (Chapter 5, Table 5.11). Though the *Dalits* of FWDR are still poor and deprived, government policies have not been addressed *Dalits'* real situation. Despite the various policy and plan provision as mentioned above, the real benefits that claimed to go in the name of *Dalit* have not found to change the life and livelihoods of *Dalit* communities. Furthermore, the social discrimination still exists in many rural regions, including the study region. During the FGD for this study, most of the attendees raised their concern about the lack of pro- *Dalit* policy and *Dalit* friendly programme which lead to contribute to *Dalit* livelihoods, and social and economic transformation (see appendix 10)

Major Challenges of Dalit Communities

Dalits are far more vulnerable to prevailing economic, social political and educational conditions than other excluded and disadvantaged communities. Poverty index for *Dalits* is 47 compared to the national average of 31 (NPC, 2067). *Dalits* are internally divided into social and caste groups and prevailing discriminatory practices among different groups. Conditions of Terai *Dalits* is even more worse than that of Hill *Dalits*, e.g. literacy rate of Hill *Dalits* is 46 percent while that of Terai *Dalits* is only 25 percent. Within the *Dalits*, minority groups like *Badi*, *Gaine* (rural singer), *Halkhor* (ploughmen), and *Dom* are different from others in terms of social and economic hardship they face NPC (2007).

Opportunities and Positive State Policies

To positively transform the traditional attitudes of non-*Dalits* towards *Dalits* is not an easy task. In the absence of adequate amount of data for monitoring, evaluation and for corrective measures to take in time, social inclusion task is equally difficult.

As all kinds of discriminations against *Dalits* have been, incorporated under fundamental rights against untouchability in the Interim Constitution, 2007. There is a general consensus that there will be no reform in the country in a true sense unless the conditions of *Dalits* would improve and that *Dalits* are recognized as the people who are highly marginalized. These are important opportunities in favour of *Dalits*. Besides, there are other important institutional initiatives taken place like the National

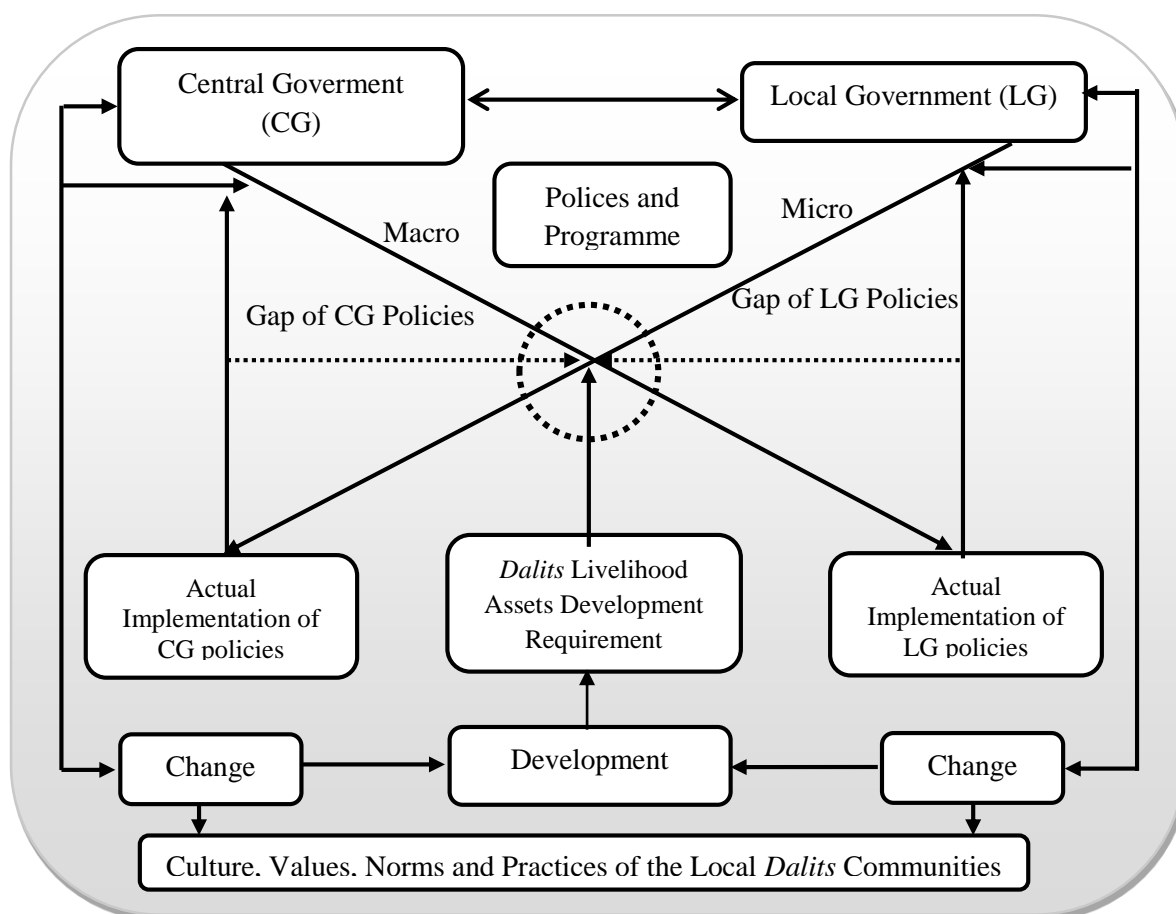
Dalit Commission and *Dalits* Development Committee, even though *Dalit's* issues are alive for the last ten years. *Dalits* lobby network has widened to global scale and the inclusion of *Dalits* is in the agenda of donor communities as an important issue of development (NPC, 2067).

Like each and every state policy, any policy regarding the upliftment of *Dalits'* livelihood as well as their empowerment programme must be formulated by bringing the thought and perspectives of *Dalits* through their meaningful participation. It was realized that a true consensus of *Dalits* can be built through robust information from the ground, meaningful participation, organizational reform, and a true sense of social-economic transformation. Moreover, policy should be followed by a concrete action plan with practicable and effective monitoring mechanism.

6.4 Policy Process and Gap Analysis

Fig. 6.1 shows how the policy formulation takes place in Nepal, and how such policy agendas came into discussions and what makes obstruction for these policies to be effective implementation addressing the need and aspiration of *Dalits* in rural and least developed regions of Nepal. Effective implementation tools and cooperation and partnership arrangements are needed for narrowing down the implementation gaps of the formulated plan and policies. This requires more coordinated, integrated, and results-oriented efforts at both sub-national, national and international levels for arranging adequate finances, ensuring appropriate technology transfers, supporting capacity building, and promoting sustainable consumption and production patterns. Good practices, information and knowledge, and experiences need to be shared for replicating and scaling up successful models, enhancing scientific and technological cooperation with participation of social group for empowering *Dalits* (NPC, 2011).

Figure 6.1: Results on Central government and Local Government's Policies and Programmes



Source: Developed by Researcher

As per the planning process, the demand created at community level, discussed and supplied by local *Dalit* leaders and or the other elected leaders prioritising the *Dalit* issues together with other local needs into national planning process. While going up into the national planning process i.e. starting from existing 14 steps bottoms up planning making process, many agendas are filtered every year due to budgetary constraints. Unfortunately, most of these filtered agendas always found belongs to *Dalit* and disadvantaged people, and only partially or very limited one went into VDC level (see table, 6.2) which shows the limited or no budgetary provision for the development of *Dalit* community. The table is the outcome of analysis of VDC plan of last 5 years of the studies VDCs belongs to three districts.

Table 6.2: Budget Allocation for Dalits

Districts	Year	Major Development activities of the studied VDC for <i>Dalit</i>	Total budget allocated	Budget allocated for <i>Dalit</i>
Bajhang (Chainpur VDC)	2065/66	-Health programme for Badi community - <i>Dalit</i> community development -Helpless support programme for <i>Dalit</i>	34,76513	10,000 40,000 8,200
	2066/67	<i>Dalit</i> agriculture group wa.n. 3 <i>Dalit</i> basti shanehi tol , Toilet	49,66621	3000 10,000
	2067/68	<i>Dalit</i> programm (DDC)	45,74145	50,000
	2068/69	-Milan iron ... - <i>Dalit</i> Basti Wa.n.8 ,irrigation way repairer - <i>Dalit</i> Ansalno iron develop - <i>Dalit</i> basti wa.no.6 iron develop - <i>Dalit</i> basti Toilet, Pithalek -Badi community way Chhainpur	5390170	3,500 15,000 10,000 10,600 20,000 35,000
	2069/70	<i>Dalit</i> Basti ,Development of way <i>Dalit</i> Basti , Development of temple	5094300	30,000 30,000
Bajhang Shyadi VDC	2065/66	Danda dewal pra. Bi. <i>Dalit</i> Drinking water <i>Dalit</i> Equepment <i>Dalit</i> , Wa. N. 1	29,43,564	95,000 23,000 5,000
	2066/67	<i>Dalit</i> toilet wa.n. 3 Drinking water wa. n. 4 <i>Dalit</i> <i>Dalit</i> toilet wa.n. 1 Ghoreto Bato wa.n. 9 Furniture, Maheswar pra. Bi.	31,62,000	66,000 16,000 8,000 35,000 67,476
	2067/68	<i>Dalit</i> Toilet Wa. N. 3 <i>Dalit</i> Basti Drinking water wa.n. 7 <i>Dalit</i> Basti wa. N. 9 ,School field <i>Dalit</i> Toilet Wa. N.1, 4 <i>Dalit</i> Basti	37,0898	59,700 49,000 20,000 25,000
Baitadi Dasharth chand Municipality	2066/67	<i>Dalit</i> community development <i>Dalit</i> mainstream programme	6,08,40,794	1,50,00
	2067/68	<i>Dalit</i> development programme <i>Dalit</i> Haliya	6,77,98,166	2,50,000
	2068/69	<i>Dalit</i> community toilet .(Wa.n.2) Tailoring traning. Gadi. <i>Dalit</i> Basti Poltry .Teer gaun <i>Dalit</i> Basti Goat .Bhulauda <i>Dalit</i> tole Poltry.Malli madala. Dali tole. <i>Dalit</i> tole ,Aala Poltry form Livestock, Goat .Githola, <i>Dalit</i> Basti Drinking water Satpali, <i>Dalit</i> tole	6,44,96,271	2,50,000 30,000 31,749 50,000 40,000 50,000 1,00,000 1,38,000
	2069/70	<i>Dalit</i> community toilet. Dalibagad, <i>Dalit</i> tole	6,67,21,500	25,000
	2070/71	Wa. N.5 Telaring training for <i>Dalit</i> women Badilekh <i>Dalit</i> basti Bato nirman Wa. N. 8, Golideu <i>Dalit</i> Bast , drinking water Wa. N. 9,Dehidola marmat Wa. N. 10,barakot chunara naula nirmn Wa.n.11, Goat Livestock,income generate Dalibagad kulo	5,01,60,505	30,000 30,000 30,000 30,000 30,000 30,000 30,000
Baitadi Kuwakote VDC	2068/69	Gauri gaun ,Iron development. <i>Dalit</i> tole Community Development, <i>Dalit</i> tole	24,52,742	30,000 26,900
	2069/70	<i>Dalit</i> development progamme	24,14,311	20,000
	2070/71	Dumichaud, Parkauda temple , <i>Dalit</i> tole Iron development, Ganja gaun	39,27,500	1,00,000 50,000
Kailali Dhangadi Municipality	2068/69	<i>Dalit</i> and marginal group Expenditure amount	13,80,71,000	6,60,800
	2069/70	<i>Dalits</i> child scholarship programme	129,809,987	1,00,,000
	2070/71	- <i>Dalit</i> footpath gravel	155,698,000	1,00,000

	2071/72	- <i>Dalit</i> and Marginalize groups allocated for shoe making and bike repairing	20060175	2,00,000
Kailali Godawari VDC	2066/67	Daalit programme <i>Dalit</i> mainstream programme	1,0058,487	48,500 40,740
	2067/68	<i>Dalit</i> programme Wa. N. 1-9 <i>Dalit</i> , women, Ethnicity, (Include)	1,0399,862	82,649 1,52,250
	2068/69	<i>Dalit</i> mainstream programme <i>Dalit</i> footpath gravel	1,36,52,382	50,000 55,000
	2069/70	<i>Dalit</i> Basti, Gaundi. Drinking water (well) <i>Dalit</i> development programme (15%) <i>Dalit</i> Bikas sewa Kendra, (Building)	1,05,83,652	3,00,000 2,90,161 5,00,000
	2070/71	<i>Dalit</i> Community development	1,57,62,036	60,000

Source: DDC, Councils (Bajhang, Baitadi and Kailali and Municipality and VDC's Councils (2065-2071)

As mentioned in Fig 6.1, normally, the central government formulate policies and programmes after collecting the demand from the VDCs, DDCs, and Ministries. local government is always prepare a list of demands from its local institutions based on real condition of locality, creating demand, social condition, culture and local needs. There is no doubt that, both the central and local governments are responsible for the development of society, however, these formulated plan and policies get very limited spaces at the implementation level. Policies formulated for the development of *Dalit* and *Dalit* like communities are rated good, but the question always occurred in the implementation of these policies e.g. there is no provision of caste based discrimination in the legal, and constitution, but, it is still prevalent in Nepalese society which is intended to show in Fig 6.1. The popular understanding of caste is also beginning to recognize that talking about power and powerlessness. It is also talking about disparities, discrimination and denial of access to resources and entitlements to some. The rise of autonomous *Dalit* voice also articulated a new vision of citizenship where recognition of community identities became essential for addressing the question of denial (Jodhka, 2010). Policy formulation is not just a matter of identifying problems and suggesting measures to overcome these problems. Policies are formulated according to beliefs and within an ideological as well as a political and economic context (Peet, 2007; Amberntsson, 2011, p.8).

6.5 Major Barriers for the Upliftment of Dalits in FWDR

Living conditions of *Dalits* are found very much below than those of other castes and ethnic groups of Nepal (Nepali, 2011). *Dalits* communities were always been marginalized for economic and social services benefits along with political opportunities too since long time. In FWDR, as in other development regions of

Nepal, untouchability was prevalent as a scourge in the society (Pandey, 2008). Thus, *Dalits* were dishonored everywhere even in the public places. There was not any visible change yet in the attitudes of majority of the people despite the legal and constitutional provision of the country (*Mulki Ain*, 2020 B.S., the Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007 Article 23). The *Dalits* were obviously out of National mainstreaming. Therefore the current Three-Year Plan (2070/71- 2072/73) aims at resolving the issues of mainstreaming of *Dalits* (NPC, 2013).

As mentioned above, vulnerability is insecurity and sensitivity in the well-being of individuals, households and communities in the face of a changing environment and implicitly, their responsiveness and resilience to risks that they face during such negative changes. Environmental changes that affect welfare can be ecological, economic, social and political, and they can take the form of sudden shocks, long-term trends, or seasonal cycles (Moser, 1998, p.3). Under the SL Framework, the factors that make up the vulnerability context are important because they have a direct impact on people's asset status and the options that are open to them in pursuit of beneficial livelihood outcomes (DFID, 1999–2001, 2.2). People in developing countries often live precariously, with little cushion against the adverse effects of trends and shocks which can make their livelihoods unsustainable. Under the SL Framework, reducing their vulnerability to the downside, grounded to ways of strengthening their current asset base, sets the context for developing livelihood strategies. This is in contrast to 'classical' participatory planning exercises which seek to maximise the upside, often with insufficient consideration of people's prevailing vulnerability and assets at their disposal (Moran et.al. 2007).

Since the beginning of the planned development in Nepal, the Ninth Plan (1997-2002) initiated policies and programs targeted to *Dalits*. As a result, some initial changes about overall situation had begun to emerge (NPC, Tenth Plan, 2002). Yet their problems remain unchanged (B.k., 2012). The programmes run by the government and non-government agencies as service providers were relatively insignificant. No visible changes were derived yet, about their living conditions. (NPC, 2064 B.S.). The major lacking for *Dalits* empowerment in FWDR are the ethnocentric feeling, social exclusion, cultural exclusion, so-called-upper-caste-led politics, economic hegemony, developmental gaps, educational exclusion, non-participation practices in

participation and violation of legal stand were seemed to be strong barriers for livelihood development and empowerment for *Dalits*.

In the context of FWDR *Dalits*, livelihood assets were weaker. The specific hindering factors of *Dalits* livelihood assets in FWDR are discussed below:

6.5.1 Barriers for Human Asset: Educational Exclusion

Discriminations generated through socio- psychological attitudes and stereotyped images of *Dalits* were intensively existed in the society. There are economic obstacles for the enrolment in schools. Consequently *Dalits* were facing too educational exclusion. To uplift *Dalits* from their present condition, *Dalits* friendly educational programmes should be implemented. Moreover the elites or upper caste people generally involve in curriculum development, who overlooks the *Dalits* needs. The participation of *Dalits* should be encouraged in the schooling and education sector. Furthermore present education system is imposed without sufficient attention about marginalized *Dalits* groups. (Data related to literacy of *Dalits*, HAI index of studies districts)

Violation of Legal Stand

The present constitution of Nepal (2015) has also provisioned against discriminations among the Nepalese people. The right to social justice with *Dalits*, who are economically, socially or educationally backward, shall have the right to participate in state structures on the basis of principles of proportional inclusion. The chapter 3 of this constitution has mentioned about the rights against exploitation with some clauses as every person shall have the right against exploitation, no person shall be exploited in the name of custom, tradition and practice, or in any other way. Thus legal provisions and land law of land has abolished caste system. However it is deeply rooted in the minds of upper castes.

Several legal provisions of Nepal have forbidden discriminations against *Dalits*. According to the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal- 1990, no person shall, on the basis of caste be discriminated against untouchability, be denied access to any public place, or be deprived of the use of public utilities. According the the constitution of Nepal 1990, any contravention of this provision shall be punishable by law. Though,

it is not internalized by the upper castes so that it is stand still a problem for upper castes not lower.

Despite the legal provisions, caste and caste-based discriminations has rewarded a central feature of life and social interaction in Nepal, and the government regularly fails to prosecute individuals who engage in the caste-based discriminations.

Either all *Dalit*-children were not enrolled in the schools or their drop out ratio was very high (27.6 percent). They were not regular in the schools. Lack of economic resources, households' functions discriminations by non-*Dalits* and discriminations and domination by school teachers were major causes for their lower enrolment in the Schools.

Dalit communities were composed by multi-skilled characteristics. So *Dalits* were also called *Biswakarma*, (Engineer). Unfortunately they were humiliated by saying them *B.K.*, which was synonymous to untouchable. This was most emotionally dominating factor. If this community could be discrimination-free, if they could equipped with modern development facilities and their inherent potentialities and skills could be commercialized, they had sufficient have opportunities for their and sustainable livelihood.

6.5.2 Barriers for Social Asset: Ethno-centric Mentality

Ethno-centric feeling was one of the elements of each group. The ethno-centric feeling was superiority complex that had created discursion among people in the society. Every group of the peoples has its own social world-views and social-web. Essentially, struggling for status to preserve prestige, power-viewpoint and self-respect against the categorization and marginalized was the main issue of *Dalits*. Due to discriminatory mentality and social behaviours; they were pushed to minority. For instance, thinking *Dalits* as lower castes, the so-called upper castes do not want to sit together even in the time of having meals (De venanzi, 2004).

In the school management committee meetings or similar type of gathering in which the representative of *Dalits* is participating, all the participants sit together at the same but at the time of having snacks/ meal so-called upper caste group's participants ask *Dalit* participant(s) to sit far from them until the former finishes snacks, tea etc. Since

the upper caste people do not feel comfortable to eat sitting together with the participants of *Dalits*, Such sorts of behaviours are also manifested in different part of society, as the caste-based discrimination is noted in the everyday life of people and also even observed in the government offices, corporations and NGOs.

The ethno-centric feeling promotes both superiority and inferiority complexities. As, De-Venanzi (2004) observes that individuals come together as a group through kinship, alliances or commercial exchange, which brings them together and differentiates them from other castes. In the case of *Dalits*, the hierarchical caste system and communal sentiments have encouraged to create division in the society leading towards stratification.

Likewise, every group of people has its own standards, conceptions and views of respects in the society (Giddens, 1984). The culture becomes a strong driving force for communities and the individuals to build solidarity. As being a homogenous group, social solidarity is maintained among the *Dalits*, but they are excluded by the poor mentality of upper castes as well as the prevailing caste-based social stratification.

Social Exclusion

Creating fundamentally divergent moral qualities, about *Dalits* as disadvantaged, underprivileged and excluded social group have been discriminated and categorized on social traits, such as caste, class, occupation, culture, ethnicity and place of residence for many centuries (Kisan, 2013). The socially privileged castes or upper castes always try to legitimize social differences by creating demarcation of divided mentality and attitudes. The prevalent social constraint is manifested through rejection of entrance of upper castes' house, religious temples, social institutions, special functions and of having foods together in upper castes' houses. In a real sense, *Dalits* demonstrate their unitary demonstration in special occasions and functions such as in birthday ceremonies, marriages, death funeral, feasts and special gatherings in absence of upper castes.

The hegemonic behaviours and practices of upper castes have played the key roles in the promotion of exclusions (Giddens, 1984). Furthermore, current social practices of the privileged groups have encouraged in the construction of boundary to secure

superiority, sameness and social distance. In terms of social construct of exclusions, De Venanzi (2004) believes that the formations of social divisions have created legitimacy of discrimination in the distribution of resources to the people of lower strata. Similarly, the hegemonic feeling of the upper castes pushes towards social and moral disempowerment.

Similarly, in terms of marginalization and exclusions, Fowler (2000) considers that marginalization means the exclusion of certain populations from the processes of decision-making that affect their well-being and prospects; this certainly applies to women in many countries. In this way, the construction of social exclusion prevails the upper's rejection through the reflection of biasness in terms of folkways, customs, culture and social behaviours. The nature of the social practices of the privileged groups constitutes social and moral dominance so that social exclusion is constructed by the internalized oppression of the privileged groups upon the underprivileged groups. In this perspective, the *Dalits* are oppressed and excluded by the upper castes.

This practice has created harmony to cope with social, cultural and natural environment. In reverse, the main problem is the hegemonic attitudes of the upper castes upon them.

Cultural Exclusion

Generally, culture is manifested through people's values, beliefs, cosmology, life styles and habits (De Venanzi, 2004). Sometimes, it is understood in the local sense. It is a total of common values and norms. In terms of implications of culture, it is prevailed through individual behaviours, systems, institutions, practices at work and organizations. Culture is born in the womb of society through perennial practices of people (De Venanzi, 2004).

It is a way of life that creates environment for living. It provides knowledge, skills, behaviour and way of life to the members of society to create harmony. For the sake of livelihood, *Dalits* are transforming their cultural practices over years to their youngsters and generations, as culture is learned, shared and transmitted from one member to another. As Haralombos and Halborn's, (1995, p. 3) statement that:

Culture is a design for living held by members of a particular society. Similarly, the cultural identity is stored and transmitted through many channels, as the ways people construct their habitation, wear their clothes, eat their food, give each other flower, greet to each other and hold each other's shoulders in a dynamic way.

Obviously, culture breeds local knowledge of people for survival. Knowledge of locals gives way forward in development. Gasper (2005, p. 197) states, "Seeing the culture' is often the label helps us to understand why its contents are so diverse: distinctive local values, local concepts and perceptions of life and the world, local institutions, local knowledge, 'non- economic' values; needs and styles of expression, activity, meaning, identity, dignity and beauty; and more". Negative culture of the *Dalits* challenges ethical values, conventions and practices occurred through a dynamic process of social productions. Furthermore, De Venanzi (2004) argues that culture is taken as values, conventions and practices, which are relaxed by the privileged groups of people. Collective identities of *Dalits* refer to relational capabilities to each other among the members of social groups especially for social performance.

The interpretation and supervision of culture expressed by De Venanzi (2004) is reflected in the situation of *Dalits* as well. In fact, existing culture in the time span modifies its routes interpretive way. Positive aspects of the culture need to be preserved and promoted while negative aspects of it need to be eliminated. The upper castes, as the privileged groups, believe that the cultural codes, norms and values are widely shared to find truth among them which is far from consensual and harmonious practices in the community. Similarly, new cultures are being emerged by destructing, rejecting and revolting against existing cultures.

Dalits were taking initiation to dismantle the cultural bars imposed by the privileged groups. Their practice of wearing dress was normal while traditional wearing was in the process of extinction with the replacement of modern mass production and commodity cultures. Moreover, the practice of using the locally made farming equipments and kitchen vessels made of copper/iron were being gradually outdated. Although the *Dalits* are habituated of having normal foods, sometimes they had used to take the flesh of dead animals and stale food. Furthermore, the male groups of that particular community would like to enjoy shaving a part of their income for local liquors to enjoy their evening and sometimes even in the day time as it was rooted in

the form of negative culture. Due to the long-rooted caste system, *Dalits*’ culture was meant to be inferior in the eyes of the upper people.

Upper Castes-Led Politics

Political movement is created by the political actors to develop collective identities in the society. However, all creeds of communities cannot be involved and made satisfied in terms of resources utilization, removing the existing problems, creating community partners and making social networks because some of them might be left out intentionally and unintentionally in the mainstream of inclusion (Kisan, 2013).

Sometimes, the collective action might be denied by the minority groups of people. In this regard, *Dalits* are left out from the mainstream of politics in that particular society. *Dalits* do not express their interests in politics due to the economic problem they need to address day to day to meet their daily needs, which seldom their representatives at district and national levels of politics. It is noted that the *Dalits* are the people who can easily be manipulated by upper caste people because of their ignorance. Such a situation indicates that *Dalits* do not have any political identity, as they are highly manipulated group. Looking at it, Pokhrel (2004, p. 122) says, “Elections informed voting, and other traditional voice mechanisms, should be strengthened, because these processes and the information they generate can make political commitments more credible, helping to produce better service outcomes”. Consequently, political identity of *Dalits* provides a basis of social exclusiveness because they do not have any representatives in the authorities.

Politically, *Dalits* need to be employed to challenge dominant culture of upper castes to establish equal rights as the privileged groups have. Sen (2000, p. 4) says that the violation and freedom results directly from a denial of political and civil liberties by authoritarian regimes and from imposed restrictions on the freedom to participate in the social, political and economic life of the community.

Furthermore, Bradley’s (2000) three-way categorization of the relationship between identity and social action are termed as passive, active and politicized identities. But in reverse, *Dalits* had passive identities for not putting them into actions. Also, they did not have active identities in terms of defending interventions, imposition and anarchism of the privileged groups but their political responses were inarticulate and

intermittent. They could be shaped through powerful political and affirmative mobilizations in the local context.

Limited Participation in Planning and Decision Making

Participation is a phenomenon that stakeholders must demonstrate physical presence with full opinions in any of the action to be performed. In this context, Fowler's (2000) explains that participation is a process through which stakeholder's influence and share control over decisions and resources that affect their lives.

More People's involvements is not participation, for real participation they should equally be shareable from the very beginning to the end of decision-making process. Dahal (2000, p.187) says, "The key considerations for people's participation are: enabling people to shape policy decisions, enhancing a sense of political efficacy, developing capacities to enforce their claims, getting benefits and developing their stake and interest in governmental affairs". The participatory process anticipates the increased empowerment of people in development and making good decision based on local needs. The sufficiently organized communities, interest groups and pressure groups as stakeholders are able to exert emphasis in public policy issues and blocks unnecessary interventions by enforcing transparency and accountability in the decision-making process in the development process.

Hence it is noted that physical presence of *Dalits* was high but their meaningful participation was always lacking. All the decisions were made by the upper castes as only manual works were given to *Dalits*. Neither the state nor other agencies had paid significant attention on empowering them though they had expected optimum participation for them in each sector.

6.5.3 Barriers' for Financial Asset

Economic Hegemony

Poverty, essentially an economic concept without desirable income as the exclusion of *Dalits* prevail the loss of indigenous means of survival which overlaps of modern mass production and commodity culture. The exclusion of *Dalits* includes limited access to essential services such as education, housing, health care and representation

in the politics. *Dalits* as the excluded groups were deprived of resources by finding themselves as disempowered, oppressed, disrespected and disenfranchised by the upper castes. The upper castes were the craft-men of national/social rules and regulations and practices by keeping *Dalits* unattended. However, they should also accept the rules and regulations.

Dalits in their own economical constructs have been surviving by adopting subsistence type of economic activities as a form of agriculture since generations. They were maintaining their economic world having support to each other in a reciprocal way they are in the forms of either monetary or non-monetary. They were mostly depends on untimely labourer works; they did not find any scheduled works. Moreover, women were mainly engaged in household chores in preparing meals, children cares and cattles cares. As they were low level manual workers men did not have any specific works to perform except agriculture and manual labour.

More broadly, economic exclusion was confined to traditional occupations as the upper castes did not want to recruit them in the works that brings them in interaction with other people. The traditional occupations of *Dalits* had gone outdated because of mass production and commodity culture of the present world, and the availability of modern tools and technique. Due to lack of value addition on the traditional occupation that *Dalits* had been adopting, their traditional knowledge based occupation was at risk of extinction.

Unemployment

Unemployment is one of the hindering factors for *Dalit's* development. Data show that 64 percent of *Dalits* are unemployed in FWDR table (4.22). Analysing the tendency of unemployment district-wise, it has found that 66.7 percent in Bajhang, 40 percent in Baitadi and 80 percent in Kailali are found unemployed.

6.5.4 Barriers for Physical Asset

Uvin Peter (2005) discusses that the rights to development is an alienable human right by virtue of which every human beings and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized” (article 1.1,

p.41). In the name of development, there were hegemonic activities upon the communities, which had been distorting traditional customs. In the case of *Dalits*, a few awareness raising activities on women's rights and gender development and nominal livelihood related activities were conducted by the initiations of government and non- government agencies. Despite the fact, the condition of the *Dalits* did not have significant positive changes. There was a pattern of persistent gaps between promises given in every periodic plan and policy statements and their outcomes. This was not only a lacking of capacity rather clearly a policy failure. It was also a reality that many power positioned individuals did not welcome change and continue to be able to call upon informal networks to thwart the intentions of officially sanctioned policy change. Elite resistance remains a continuous challenge, and the possibility of reversal of progress is a constant threat (WB and DFID, 2006).

In an initial phase, the development agents, workers visit the communities and met the community heads. The real service receivers were left aside, neither real layman was met nor their voices were heard and they were kept far. Chambers (2004) opines that the poorer people of rural areas are hardly seen and their poverty is less understood by development workers in reality. Rarely, they take initiatives to visit fields with high profile that may not be community friendly posture.

In many cases, government and non- government agencies had ready-made development packages, which might not address the real needs of community. In many other instances people thought that development is government-given stuff to poor people. In a reversal way, Maskey (2004) states, "Government alone cannot assist the poor, marginalized and disadvantaged people with any measure of success". In reality the *Dalits* were seen as untouchables and they were left out from the development-led agencies in terms of service delivery. Indeed, instead of pulling up they were pushed down in the form of exclusion.

Common facilities such as access to road, access to electricity, access to drinking water facility, access to communication are the common barer of development.

6.5.5 Barriers for Natural Asset

In the Nepalese context, land issue is very important. Most of the *Dalits* did not have sufficient land registered in their name in which they can practices agricultural

activities to survive to feed their family members. It is a complex involving a number of issues and assets, such as political, economic, social, physical and natural asset. Far Western *Dalits* have low ranked in land sufficiency: less productive, smaller holdings, less irrigated, not sufficient for family and not of commercial type. So, limited land is one of main hindering factors of *Dalits* in FWDR. Like the limited land ownership, *Dalits* have also limited say and participation in forest resources, and its management. Most of the community based forest management regime which enjoying the benefits from forestry, the *Dalits* are always left behind in both participation, and in benefits sharing. Basically, none of the *Dalits* has private forest land, and hence as a mercy of so called upper caste people, they get a portion of forest products from community or religious forests. In many cases they depend on government managed forest in case they are excluded from community forest.

6.6 Reduction Strategies of Barriers by Structural Change in Policy Making Process

As mentioned above, *Dalits* had many barriers to enjoy the fruits of development. Breaking of the barrier is not the easy tasks in a culturally complex society of Nepal. It is not simple, due to social hierarchy, custom, traditional, social and economic complexity which rooted long in the society. Existing government policies and plan are not sufficient to address the various barriers of *Dalits*. So there is a need to develop a new policy, which can be implemented, and which can include *Dalits* within its framework. It is very necessary for change of social structure, economic structure and human behaviour structure. Although, Nepalese society is also poor, but all poor communities' problem are not needed to restructure as it needed for *Dalits*. As non-*Dalits* problem is mainly the economic one, while *Dalits* need other socio-cultural, and economic rehabilitation to establish their live an livelihoods in society. So government should change its own existing policy considering the root causes of barrier embedded with *Dalit* in the society which require a structural changes (Figure: 6.2).

Policy making involves a combination of stages and processes (see fig 6.2). Even though not always clear or easily distinguishable, political scientists have identified these processes for purposes of analysis which comprises of protective stage, Representative stage, Implementation stage, Outcome stage , Structural stage and

modification (Update) Stage. Although these stages to policy making has been criticized for being too simplistic and insufficiently explicating. It does provide a way that the policy is constructed, carried out, evaluated, and made again.

Many factors influence the identification of policy problems. They include the methods of getting issues on the political agenda as well as keeping them off the agenda. Political ideology and special interests, the mass media, and public opinion all play a key role in problem identification (Mayer Igor S., C. Els van Daalen and Pieter W.G., 2000).

The model serves three purposes: understanding of policy analysis as a discipline, contribution to the design of new policy, and guidance for evaluating such methods (Mayer, Daalen & Pieter, 2000). The model identifies and modified six activities and translates these into six underlying policy stage. Each stage implies different values, and demand different criteria when it comes to evaluation

Disadvantaged Dalit, State Policy and Discourse of Development

This understanding of hierarchy of caste from below not only allows us to engage with the realities of caste at an intellectual level and make sense of why and how caste continues to be present today. It also allows us to engage with caste at the level of policy. Apart from continuing and expanding on the colonial initiatives to ameliorate the social and economic status of the ex-untouchable caste communities, the Indian political leadership that succeeded the British after independence from the colonial rule in 1947 also saw caste system as a serious obstruction for economic progress and for institutionalization of democratic system of governance. Ambedkar (2002, p.102) was even more emphatic on this issue:

You cannot build anything on the foundations of caste. You cannot build up a nation; you cannot build up a morality. Anything you will build on the foundations of caste will crack and will never be a whole.

It was the ideological posturing against caste system that shaped the legal and development provisions in favour of *Dalits*. Broadly speaking, three sets of policy measures could be identified that the Indian State evolved to deal with the *Dalits* situation. These were i) protective measures; ii) enabling or empowering measures; and iii) representational measures.

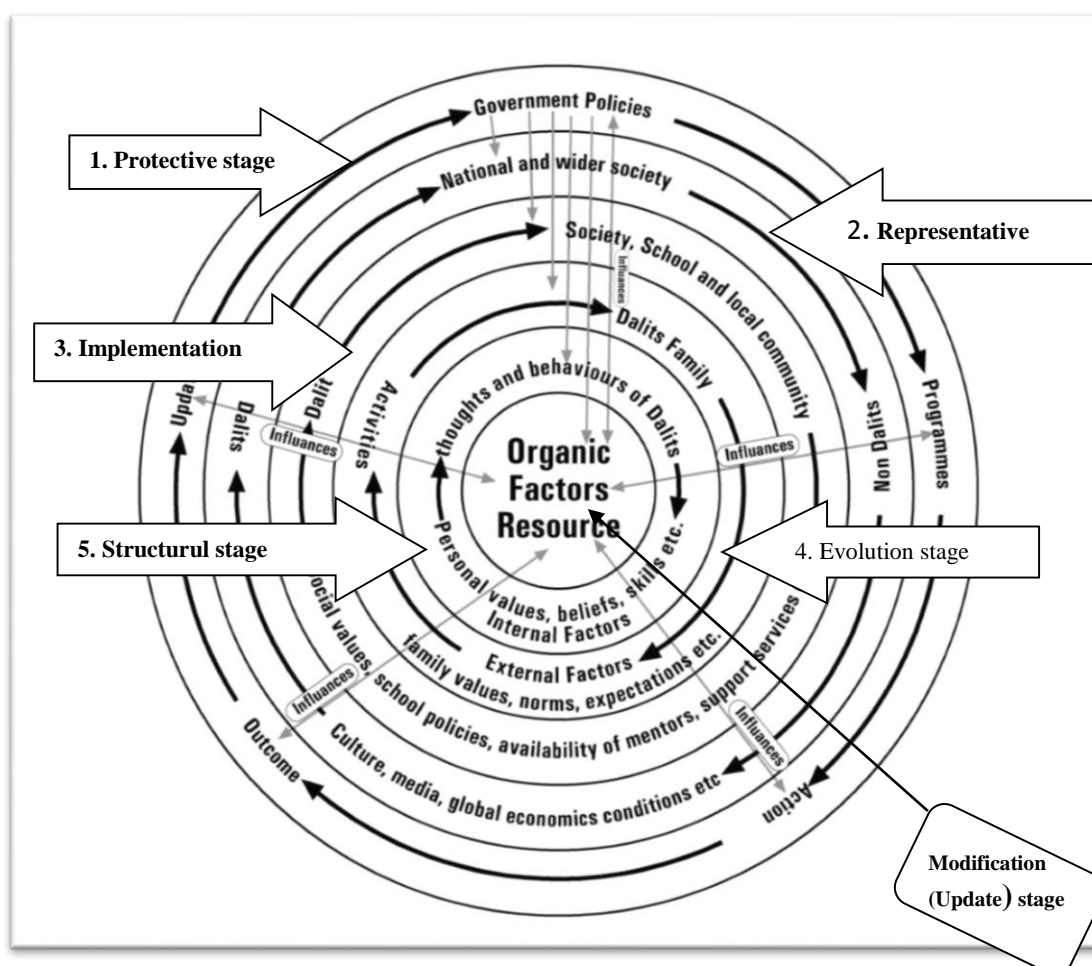
Besides these policies of positive discriminations in government jobs, the Indian Constitution also made provisions for reservations of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in legislative bodies and other representational institutions as per their proportions in the total population (Jodhka, Surinder S., 2010). According to Peters (2009), the Stages Model of Policy Process consists of the various stages: issue emergence, agenda setting, alternative selection, enactment, implementation and evaluation (Jodhka & Surinder, 2010). It has been stated that “agenda setting occurs when the key players focus on an issue problem, which can be brought to attention by a crisis, a change in a leading indicator, or publicizing by the media” and the issue can no longer be neglected at this stage (Polifko, 2009).

During the policy process of implementation, “the chosen alternative is budgeted for, set into motion through hiring responsible staff and developing regulations, and, in general, action is taken to put the new law into effect” (Hoefer, 2011, p.12). Specific policy process stage represents a major point of difference between public policies and policies introduced by private entities. Unlike the outcome evaluation of the majority of public policies which is deemed to complex (Denhardt, 2010). Moreover, additional points of criticism the Stages Model of Policy Process attracts include assumed high degree of rationality, offering prescriptive pretensions instead of being descriptive, and being highly legalistic in approach (Aykin, 2007). Policy process efficiency can be defined as “the degree to which there is savings of the amount of resources for example time, costs, and effort required for attainment of the goal” (Nabukenya et al, 2008, p.229 as Cited by Polifko, K.A., 2009).

Stage of Policy Formulation and Modification

Various stages of policy making as mentioned earlier section and linkages of these stages with various elements of society, and societal hierarchy, e.g. family, caste, community, society and nation is described in fig 6.2, and the stage was also shown together with brief description.

Figure 6.2: Effects of the public Policies and Programmes in Dalit's Livelihood Assets



Source: Developed by Researcher

Note: Organic Factors Resources Means Assets

i. Protective Stage

This is the initial stage for policy formulation. In this stage policy agendas are identified and policies and regulations are formulated to address the identified problem. Based on those possible policies and regulations further achievement are estimated and monitored.

ii. Representative Stage

This is second stage of the policy formulation. The Contents/ factors identified in the initial phase are observed with the national and international perspective. As the strong groups is also watched while make no policies for weak groups, the non- *Dalits* should be locked while making the policies for *Dalits* in local level. In this way the

active participation of the target group is necessary while making policies/programmes to address their problems.

iii. Implementation Stage

This is a crucial phase as policies/programmes which were prepared are being implemented in this stage. Thus, people do have great interest in this phase, because they want to see the process. Effective implementations bring out effective results. Therefore this stage is often close to structure stage. In other words implementation is based on outcome. It is also related to process. This phase concentrates on values and principle of the families belongs to the target group. The external factors e.g. the interest of no-*Dalit* in this context, majority and minority concern of policy making also have the social connection to this stage.

iv. Outcome Stage

This stage is related with the internal factors of the target group. This is the central point of the individual as the relevance of the target group and subjects are watched in this stage. The achievement of the goal is evaluated in this stage. Therefore, it is called the central phase of the policy making process.

v. Structural Stage

The special structure should be developed for the target group to address their voices and concern. Though this is the fifth stage of policy formulation, it is rendered as the core stage. Unless and until this stage is carefully completed, even the sound programmes and policies could not be effectively materialized. Structural stage depends on social norms, culture, ethics, values, beliefs, skills, perception, behaviour of person or society, etc., all themes are produced by assets. Assets implies are material and non-material things, e.g., road, house, cash these are material and skill, knowledge, education, perception and norms are non-material things. Structural change means change from the foundation. Karl Marx (1818-1883) emphasizes the structural change is a necessary condition for changing the situation of poor people. According to Karl Marx, to change the poor's livelihoods, and situation, a structural change is necessary, but as he had argued that the structural change cannot be achieved easily. Elites do not want to give off their power, and facilities they enjoyed.

For the change to ensure, a large scale struggle is necessary to get the desired outcome for poor people.

vi. Modification (Update) Stage

To some or large extents livelihood is related to policy-making process. While implementation is over, this proceeds towards “asset modification stage”. The resources of individuals are increased or decreased because of the policy. The individuals mobilize their resources based on the risk over them. Mobilizations of resources are affected by local, national and international policies. Based on this, individuals do various activities to increase, decrease and protect their resources.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary

The country is transitionally facing severe problems of widespread poverty, exclusion, inequality and conflict. The *Dalits*, women, *Janjatis* and *Madhesis*, Particularly those living in the rural regions are facing social, economic, and political discrimination in terms of access to and distribution of the resources. Despite having a more than sixty years of planned development (1956-2014), Nepal is still struggling for making equitable socio-economic and political development. The poor and backwarded people are suffering the most by this slow and discriminated means of development. *Dalits* community living in different part of the country are one of these sufferers. While making a thorough literature review related to *Dalits*, Nepal's development approach, poverty reduction strategy, periodic plans, and programme, it has realised that, no systematic study about *Dalits* community, and the reason of their weak livelihood asset index, reason of backwardness were found unexplored. It has further realised that there was not any systemic study which measure the livelihood assets, components and sub-component of assets needed to live for a family. Lack of systematic study of the people who are suffering the most, lack the innovative policy which can address the problem embedded with backwardness like *Dalits* community. Therefore, the main objective of the study is to measure and analyse the component and sub-component of livelihood assets and explore the interrelationship between and among the livelihood assets which determine socio-economic status of *Dalits* in a society they are living. Getting the specific answer of the problem of the *Dalits* community, the study therefore was conducted to develop the livelihood assets index, analyse the upsetting factors which makes the livelihood asset weaker, analyse socio-economic situation and their link with livelihood assets.

The study was conducted in between 2011 to 2015 selecting of three districts of FWDR of Nepal. The study has used both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. This study analyses of livelihood assets of *Dalits*, local livelihoods strategies, government policies in relation to *Dalit*, and barriers of *Dalits* through measurement of livelihood assets index and applying a holistic approach. A

total of 315 HHs were chosen for the study, which were characterized by poor *Dalits* of different categories, and composed of male and female. The three different districts representing different ecological zone of Nepal, having different socio-economic conditions of *Dalits* living in the area were chosen for the study.

The calculation of livelihood assets indexes through the systematic study conducted using HDI formula, had revealed the situation of livelihood assets of *Dalits*, their status (weak or strong), and relationship of these assets index with each other's. The relationship of livelihood assets has found largely affect the position of a *Dalits* family in a society. The study largely revealed that the livelihood assets of the *Dalits* were found very weak (the highest assets index value 0.410 to the lowest 0.103). Due to these weakest assets conditions of *Dalits*, their livelihood strategies were also found weaker. The analysis of the LAI, has indicated that the average livelihood assets of *Dalits* was found only 0.28. The highest values 0.410 revealed for human assets. However the lowest value stands only 0.103 for social asset. Which indicate that, the social asset index was found to be the weakest followed by natural, economic, physical and human asset index. It was seemed to be contradictory to the general assumption that *Dalits* were backwarded due to economic condition, but the result show that they were backward due to weak social networking. Thus, the study has indicated that social aspect was the main barrier for livelihood development.

While analysing these findings, and reviewing of the various policies, periodic plans, and programmes, it has revealed that there is a strong correlation between the weaker and stronger assets as described earlier with the policies and regulation of the state. In Nepali society, *Dalits* are suffering from the lack of sufficient livelihood assets due to their high level of dependency on caste based occupations through social institutions like *Khalo partha*, *Haliya partha*, etc. In addition, *Dalits* have been working as wage labourers and land ploughers for a long time with the local elite as a bounded labour, which pushed them into further poverty. As a result, they also gradually started taking loans. The loan amount increased as they could not able to pay back to the elite which resulted into the increased of the amount they had taken.

The first reason was the weaker constitutional provision (e.g. interim constitution Nepal, 2007). Second was the weaker implementation mechanism, local policies, and practices. Similarly, there are deviation between the central policies and programmes

and those of the local bodies. Likewise, the gap exists between the programmes formulated and their implementation. However, most of the programmes, carried out for the upliftment of *Dalits* have been overtaken by the “so-called upper caste’s people”. Moreover, the policies and programmes focused to *Dalits*’ livelihood development were very inadequate. They must simultaneously address their economic, social, cultural and political problems.

Likewise, the development policies and programmes launched by the government were not found to be successful to mainstreaming of *Dalits* in the development process. Policies could not be materialised and only seen in the documents for gaining of cheap popularity. Since they were announced only politically (see 6.3), implication and evaluation were ignored. For the meaningful achievements, the factors mentioned above are the major hinders for *Dalits*’ upliftment which must be addressed in participatory processes with the highest priority so that the country as well as the whole *Dalit* community can be effectively and sustainably developed.

The dissertation which studied about the *Dalits*, and summarised above has been divided into seven chapters which elaborates the study, methodology, data source, data type, analysis methods, findings, and their interpretation, and finally the conclusion. The chapters are designed into seven chapters. In chapter one the introduction to Nepal and its present status, major livelihood issues of *Dalits* in Nepal, statement of the problem (research questions), objective of the study, justification of the study and chapter plan of the dissertation are presented. In chapter two, the literature review on *Dalits* studies, livelihood approaches, framework and models, livelihood assets, policies, institution and process (PIP) for livelihood, livelihoods strategies and outcome, situation of various measuring indexes and research gap. In chapter three, research methodology, research design and sampling process, measurement and scaling of livelihood asset index (LAI), method of development livelihood asset index, questionnaire and pre-testing, technique of data analysis and interpretation, ethical considerations and finally methodological limitations are presented. In chapter four, the findings of the research are presented. The findings of the research includes the socio-economic status of *Dalits* livelihood especially, physical, natural human, financial and social assets condition, status and *Dalits* livelihood strategies. In chapter five, research findings are development and analysis

of *Dalits* LAIs. In chapter six, public policies and major barriers for *Dalits* livelihood analysis and finally the chapter seven, summary, findings and conclusion are included.

7.2 Findings

The livelihoods of people in the Bajhang and Baitadi district have an influence on the social and religious cultural values and approaches of people of those districts. Bajhang and Baitadi are two remote districts, where the more modern values are not completely adopted; such a situation causes social, religious and cultural challenges for the implementation of the government policies and programmes. Evidence is found that in Bajhang and Baitadi which still practices conservative values, perception and approaches towards equal society in terms of caste and ethnicity. There are people who still support the traditional values, where *Dalits* cannot use many facilities where non-*Dalits*’ enjoyed. It will be difficult for the development for *Dalits* livelihood programmes to get support in *Dalits* communities of the districts, where these traditional values and approaches are still existent. In addition to the socio-cultural values practicing locally, people in the region are still not aware of the linkages among livelihood, culture, development, and policies. Indeed, this is a big challenge in the livelihood and development process.

In comparison of Bajhang and Baitadi, Kailali is a district which has fewer challenges regarding the livelihood indicators for the implications of livelihood, development, policies and programmes. This district has well developed infrastructure, an open border with India, inhabitants of the district have much contact outside their own village, and underground water is almost everywhere available.

Findings based on the previous chapters focusing mainly on the following three main dimensions of the study which are presented below:

- i Explored the *Dalits* livelihood strategies.
- ii Development and analysed of component and sub-components of *Dalits* livelihood assets index.
- iii Government policies and barriers for *Dalits* livelihood assets.

7.2.1 Livelihood Strategies of Dalits in FWDR

Livelihood strategies include livelihood assets, government policy, institutions and process, and vulnerability factor which determine the choices that people follow in order to achieve their livelihood goals and outcomes, and often, these strategies include productive activities, and investment strategies. The present study has incorporated these strategies as composed of different activities that would generate means for survival and categories and sub-categories of activities that were potential components of livelihood (Appendix 14). Furthermore, these strategies have been understood as dynamic processes. People combined a number of activities to meet their various needs at different levels or status of their economy and geography of the region. The study is likely to claim that problem of access of the assets among the *Dalits* was primary for their livelihood need. The *Dalits* were highly dependent on caste-based occupations regulated by different kind of informal and/or formal social institutions. In Nepalese society, *Dalits* are forced to practicing the caste based occupations associated with social institutions like *Khalo partha*, *Haliya partha*, *Balighare Pratha*, etc which in many cases lacks the sufficient livelihood needs, making their economy weaker which means a weak access on financial assets. In addition, *Dalit* have been working as wage labourers and land ploughers for a long time. Due to insufficiency in the food production from their own agricultural land, caste based occupation which are not sufficiency for meeting HH needs, *Dalits* in the study region forced to take loan from local elite, financial institutions available at local level with high interest rate which further pushing them into poverty and which should be the reason of backwardness of *Dalits*.

7.2.2 Analysis of the Livelihood Asset Index

While analysing the livelihood asset index, it has been revealed that the value of NAI (0.379), FAI (0.130), SAI (0.103), PAI (0.378) and HAI (0.410) in FWDR. The score value however has revealed different while compeering between rural and urban and in each ecological districts. While summing of all asset score value, it resulted the value of LAI which is 0.281.

While analysing these score values for the studied districts, the score value of NAI (0.372), FAI (0.104), SAI (0.074), PAI (0.296) and HAI (0.443) and LAI (0.263)

revealed for Bajhang while it has revealed NAI (0.337), FAI (0.130), SAI (0.085), PAI (0.363) and HAI (0.488) and LAI (0.281) for Baitadi and NAI (0.411), FAI (0.140), SAI (0.101), PAI (0.449) and HAI (0.337) and LAI (0.290) for Kailali.

The comparison of the livelihood assets were made among the three districts, i.e. Bajhang, Baitadi and Kailali in terms of the indicators of the livelihood assets. Then, LAI is developed, especially to evaluate livelihood assets with components and reflecting rural livelihood situation that helps to empower the *Dalits* in the sense that it helps at policy making process to address the *Dalit's* poverty and rural livelihoods. Only with the measurements of key components it is possible to assess which sectors should be prioritized for the improvement of livelihood assets. It is necessary to identify the suitable indicators which measure livelihood asset. Later, these indicators were measured as combined composite index in the same way as that of HDI.

Statistically, the districts livelihood assets components score was calculated as the result of the amount of indicators of the livelihood asset. It is clear that the livelihoods of *Dalits* in Bajhang and Baitadi were poorer than their livelihoods measured in Kailali. Of the human asset index of the three studied districts, the Baitadi was measured as the highest. The present study observed that the *Dalit* in Bajhang and Baitadi are poorer than the people in Kailali because they had less access to the various livelihood assets as mentioned and described in chapter 5.

The HAI measured (0.410) has indicated that the other livelihood assets were below than the other livelihood assets values of the assets social, financial, natural and physical. Among them, the social asset index (0.103) was found to be the weakest asset index followed by natural, economic, physical and human assets. It seemed to be contradictory to the general assumption that *Dalits* were backwarded due to economic condition; rather they were found backwarded due to their social asset condition. This study has indicated that the weak social asset was the main barrier for livelihood development. Similarly, Equipment Goods Index (EGI) belongs to PAI of Kailali was weaker than remaining other districts. But the overall PAI of Kailai was good in FWDR. In Bajhang and Baitadi the geographical challenges were evident to influence the distribution of livelihood assets indicators, including the implementation of government policies and programmes. These districts are hard to reach; travelling within the districts was also challenging due to its topography and limited

transportation services. People of the district have less contact outside their own village (own society) and other caste group, and the district is inhabited by relatively poor *Dalits*.

NAI, FAI, SAI, PAI were the strongest in Kailali than Bajhang and Baitadi. But Human Asset Index (HAI) found better in Baitadi than Bajhang and Kailali. In fact, the overall livelihood index of Kailali was good. The reason behind the highest value of LAI in Kailali was that people in Kailali had been migrated from the different Hill districts and there was a compulsion among them to share a common mode of life and build social harmony. As a result, it increased their level of thought and ultimately the social index had increased in comparison to other districts. The reason behind the highest value of FAI in Kailali district was due to the industrialization and the availability of the jobs in the local level. Equally, most of the people from Kailali moved to India easily for seeking jobs which was imperative for solving their daily problems. In the same way, the availability of financial support from different cooperatives, banks, NGOs were better in Kailali in comparison to other districts. Those aspects were responsible behind the greatest value of FAI in Kailali.

NAI was also greater in Kailali than the remaining districts. Even though the Mountain and Hill districts had plenty of land but the production was higher in Kailali. Furthermore, consumption of the forest products and easy access to forest facilities were the reasons behind the higher value of NAI in Kailali.

PAI value of Kailali was also better than in mountainous and hill districts. Transportation facility was easily available in terai, followed by electricity, drinking water and communication facilities which ultimately increased the PAI value. But, in case of Individual Physical assets (Housing materials, equipment and goods), Bajhang and Baitadi districts were better than Kailali. Similarly, Equipment and Goods Index of Kailali was weaker than the remaining districts. But the overall Physical asset Index (PAI) of Kailai was better in FWDR.

7.2.3 Public Policies and Barriers of Dalits Livelihood

There was deviation between the spirits of the current Constitution of Nepal, 2015, and policy perspectives incorporated in various Periodic Plans. Similarly, there are deviation between the central policies and programmes to those of the local bodies.

Likewise, the gaps exist between the programmes formulated and their implementation. However, most of the programmes, carried out for the upliftment of *Dalits* have been overtaken by “the so-called upper caste’s people”. Moreover, the policies and programmes focused to *Dalits*’ livelihood development and empowerment are very inadequate. They must simultaneously address their economic, social, cultural and political problems embedded with *Dalits*. Based on these facts, it can be concluded that the state must internalize the development of *Dalits* for nation building and state’s prosperity.

Specially, *Dalits*’ livelihood and development policies and programmes launched by the government were not found to achieve the desired goals successfully as the policies could not be seen translated into action and those implemented were not able to give sensible results that contribute to reduce the vulnerability of *Dalits* and thereby contribute to enhance livelihood. Many popular programme were announced every fiscal planning, but at the end of the year these plan left due for implementation. These plans were found announced only for popularity of the party leading the government (see 6.3), not found at the implementation. Looking at the implementation of the policies, there were many gaps between central and local governments. The local government has no effective role in making polices and finalisation of plan as it was lying vacant since 2002. So, policies and programmes announced by the central government have not been implemented as required for *Dalit* communities. These policies and programmes are often appeared again and again in periodic plans. This is the main problem and hindering factors for *Dalit* development.

Dalits were found struggling for their safe and sustainable livelihoods. Though, the governmental as well as non-governmental organizations were providing services in the name of *Dalits*’ upliftment, they could not improve their socio-economic lives as they claimed so far. In some cases, their condition was even worsening, despite the various programmes, policies and activities are being launched for maintaining social justice, livelihoods and equity of *Dalits*. Therefore concrete policies and programs for *Dalits*’ upliftment must be made in participatory processes engaging *Dalit* too in decision making process. Finally, social harmony and sustainable nation building can only be possible when programme and policies are implemented equally and equitable

way prioritising the socially and economically weaker population. Many *Dalit* those interviewed were expressed their views becoming the sentimental saying that *Dalit* problems can only be addressed through the change of social, economic, and structural system of the society. They had strongly expressed their concerns over the major changes needed in the government policy and services in order to reach the benefits to the poor and disadvantaged *Dalits*.

7.3 Conclusions

The weakest social assets index (0.101) revealed from the analysis of data shows that the major factor of backwardness of *Dalits* in a society is due to the weak social asset they have had. The social asset means networking, membership and relationship with other element of society of an individual, if such asset becomes weaker; it has a multiple implication to enhance the other assets (physical, human, natural and financial) which has strong relationship with lives, and livelihoods.

The study largely revealed that the livelihood assets of the *Dalits* were found very weak (the highest assets index value 0.410 to the lowest 0.101). The highest values 0.41 revealed for Human assets, however the lowest value stand only 0.101 for social asset, which indicate that, the social asset index was found the weakest followed by natural, economic, physical and human asset index. The results revealed here contradict the general assumption that *Dalits* were backwarded due to economic condition, but the *Dalit* community were found backwarded due to weak social assets. Thus, the study has concluded that a social asset is the main determinant for the enhancement of livelihood and thereby socio economic of *Dalit*.

7.4 Policy Implication

The study has multiple implications in formulating of national and local policies and development strategies. The study has revealed that the livelihood assets of *Dalits* are very weak, and of them social assets is found worst of all. The strength and weakness of assets were also found varied in between hill and terai, rural, and urban. Though the civic code of 2020, B.S. Interim constitution of Nepal 2007 and the new constitution of Nepal 2015 had eliminated all kind of discrimination in Nepal and at all level, but the practices of discrimination towards *Dalits* people still exist in the

Nepalese society. In this context, and as concluded under the conclusion section of this dissertation, it can be recommended to consider the following aspects while making a pro-poor policy and strategy including the community like *Dalits* of Nepal.

- While reviewing the literature, and analysis of the conclusion of the present study, it is strongly realised that, there is a strong need and develop an innovative model in order to implement the provisions of existing policies, legal framework, and the constitution itself, so that all kinds of discrimination can be eliminated from the society.
- A context specific policy, plan and geography based implementation modality need to be developed based on the positions of livelihood assets. Livelihood assets and their determinants are needed to be integrated into both local and national policy.
- Both short term policy and long term vision need to be combined based on the determinants of assets, which implies that both the policy and local strategy need to be combined considering the positions of assets i.e. which assets affect the other, how and at what context, need to be defined in order to find their position for an individual which can ultimately contribute to make pro-poor policy including *Dalit*.
- While building a pro-poor livelihoods plan and programme at local level, a thorough assessment of livelihood assets, their positions, and factors affecting their position (strong or weaker) need to be conducted at ward level covering all elements of society irrespective of caste, ethnicity, gender, and well-being of a family. Finally, the result of assessment need to be implemented at local level combining of programme and plans of different line ministries into a single plan, and single window of implementation. Such windows can be VDC/municipality ward and its local units.

7.5 Area of Future Research

On the basis of the entire research and its findings, the following suggestions are envisioned in order to fulfil the limitations of this study, and also fulfil the other research gaps observed during the study.

1. Livelihood asset index developed by this study can be up-scaled in the policy level, by conducting their further test in other livelihood sectors such as agriculture, forestry, energy, and other natural resources sector. Application of indexes into policy use can be the future roadmap for policy makers, researchers, and academicians.
2. For designing of development policies, livelihood assets can be the tools for its design. Unless these tools are used for making policies and other legal instruments, they cannot be sustainable. Sustainable means both forward looking and backward looking approach.
3. Livelihood asset index developed in this study are the generic index (quantitative), However looking into the index about how these index developed (qualitative aspect), what were the basis of the indexes, and quality assurance of the developed index can be the other future area of research. Hence, analysis of insider dimensions of any index can be the potential area of further research.
4. Comparative studies of *Dalits* making FWDR as control zone (Baseline) based on this study; with *Dalit* of other development zone can also be the potential area of research. The livelihoods asset index developed for *Dalits* can also be developed and used for marginalised group, ethnic people and any other disadvantaged people.

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Glossary

Access to asset: It means the right to entitlement of assets with full utilization or enjoyment of its value in providing socioeconomic security. It can be categorized into ownership and possession.

Adhiya: In principle, Adhiya (share cropping) implies equal sharing of cost and benefit of a particular piece of land between share cropper and land owner. It is also known as *Bataiya* particularly practiced in the Western-Terai.

Caste: Caste, as an institutions and system, is hierarchical differentiation of ritual status. Which was traditionally based on ritual organizations, gradually evolved into social groups.

Class: It is social concept which denotes possession and ownership of economic resources which is vital for the achievement of ends. For Marxian sense, the concept of class has been used to imply objective condition or unity of communal economic interests.

Dalit: *Dalit* is a term used to refer to the so-called lower and former untouchable caste referred to in Old Legal Code of 1854 as “*Pani nachalne, chhoi chhito haalnu parne jaat*” (caste from whom water is not accepted and after whose touch sprinkling of holy water is required for sanctification) (Dahal et al. 2002; Hoefer, 2004).

Food Sufficiency: It is availability of food with own production to feed household. The former one indicates availability of food with one's own production for 12 months or more than this. Food insufficiency measures inadequacy of produce to feed households for less than 12 months. Food sufficiency is measured in months in a year (CBS, 2003).

Gaine: Dalit whose traditional occupation is singing song and dance in the non-*Dalits* parties and on demand.

Gender: It is socially, culturally and ideologically constructed concept or value rather than biologically determined. It differs across the caste, class, ethnicity, spatial dimensions etc. According to Moser (2003), gender is a social and

ideological construct and is defined as the economic, social, political and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with the biological sex differences.

Githa: A kind of edible wild food normally explored during the food scarcity.

Haliya: It is a system of hiring people for ploughing landlord's land. It is a bonded labour system found in mid and Far western region of Nepal.

Household Head: A household head is the person in the household available acknowledged as such by the other household members. The head is primary authority and responsibility for household affairs (CBS, 2003).

Household: It is a group of persons who live in the same dwellings and have common arrangements for provision of food and other essentials of daily living (CBS, 2003)

Informal Institution: It is a social institution which exists in society informally and then influenced social affairs. It may or may not be recognised by the state or government e.g. *Haliya, Kamaiya, Khalo, Haruwa, Charuwa* etc.

Institutions: Institution may be informal or formal, often fluid and ambiguous, or dynamic. It can be seen as social norms or rules of game that influence affairs in a society (North, 1995). It is regularised practices (or pattern of behaviour) structured by rules and norms of society which have widespread and persistent use (Giddens, 1994).

Kamaiya: A kind of bounded labour belongs to Tharu was in practices in FWDR Terai region.

Khalo: A kind of labour wages, which is normally given by non-Dalit to Dalit on the basis of their contribution/ labour/ services to the non-Dalit, and paid during the crops production session.

Khas: Chhetri, Chhetry; Chhetria; Kshatriya; Thakuri; the high caste in Hindu society; fighters primarily employed specifically in Nepalese, Indian, and British military.

Livelihood Assets: Livelihood asset is key foundation for earning living. An individual or household requires a wide range of livelihood assets to achieve

livelihood outcome. Livelihood assets are of five types, namely natural, human, social, physical, and financial assets (Kollmair et al. 2006).

Livelihood Outcome: Livelihood outcomes are the achievements of livelihood strategies, such as more income (e.g. cash), increased well-being (e.g. self-status, health status, access to services), reduced vulnerabilities (e.g. better resilience), improved food security (e.g. increased in financial status to buy food), and more sustainable use of natural resources (e.g. appropriate property rights) (Kollmair et al 2006; DFID, 2001; Ellis, 2000).

Livelihood Strategies: It comprises the range and combination of activities and choices that households undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals. e.g. farm, off farm activities etc. These portfolios of activities or livelihood strategies are shaped by available livelihood assets and institutions (DFID, 2001; Kollmair et al 2006).

Ownership: It is a kind of access to land which guarantees legal ownership of land issued by government authority with land. It is right of belonging and should be taken to mean actual having. It is equivalent to private land. Ownership falls under decision making right (to exclude and alienate others) and it is certified by legal certificate.

Pariganit: Old name of *Dalit* caste

Ropani: A unit of land measurement practiced in most of the hill regions.

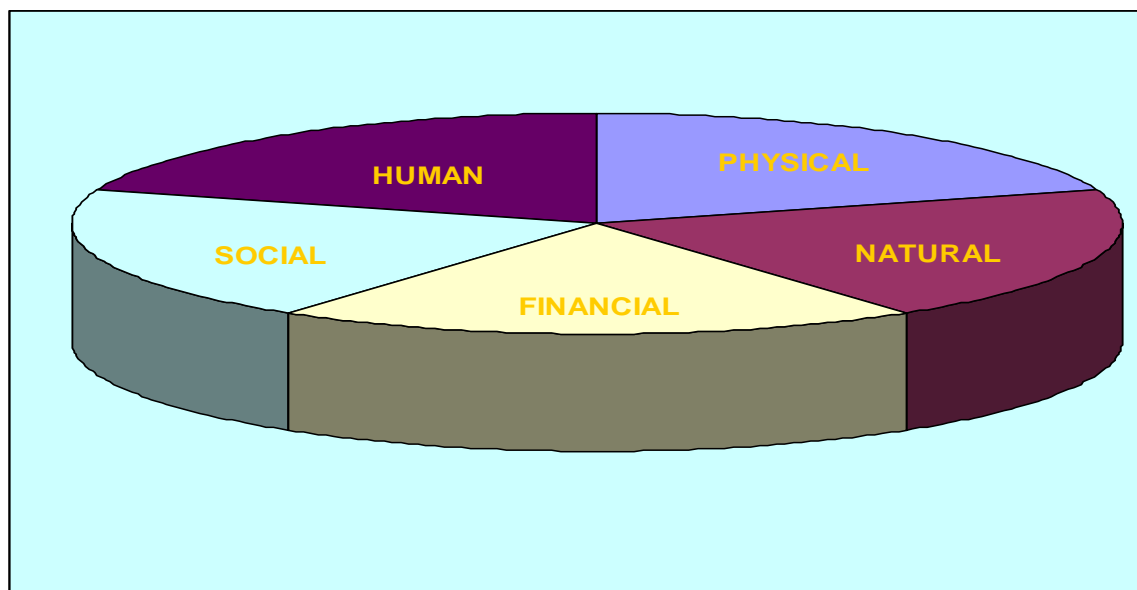
Social exclusion: Social exclusion is the condition/experience of social groups who are systematically the disadvantaged because of discrimination on the basis of their class, caste, and gender.

Social Groups: Social groups are social categories based on caste, gender and ethnicity. For example, *Dalit*, *Non-Dalit*, *Janjati*, men, women etc are considered as social groups in this research.

Tarul: A wild edible plant root used for alternative meal is poor community, which is available in forests.

Livelihood Assets, Component and Sub Component

Figure 1: Five Components of Livelihood Assets



Source: DFID, 2001

Table 1: Components and Sub-components of LAI

Asset	Human asset	Natural asset	Financial asset	Social asset	Physical asset
Component	Skill Education Health	Land Forest	Income and Cash Saving Employment	Membership Relationship Network	Common—Road, communication Electricity Water Private— Goods Services

Source: DFID, 2001 and Modified by Researcher

Table 2: Livelihood Assets (Index) Measurement Indicators (Variables)

S.N.	Indicators	Livelihood assets	Group
1	Distance of house(health centre)	Human	1
2	Health condition	Human	1
3	Toilet condition	Human	1
4	Type of skill(semi skill, skill, full skill)	Human	1
5	Nature of Skill	Human	1
6	Enrolment of school age children	Human	1
7	Level of education(Primary, middle, SLC, PCL, bachelor and more	Human	1
	Composite Human		7
8	Ownership of land	Natural	1
9	Size of land	Natural	1
10	Production for sufficient (less than 3 month	Natural	1
	Production for more than 3 month	Natural	1
	Production for more than 6 month	Natural	1
	Production for more than 9 month)	Natural	1
11	Resource of water	Natural	1
12	Distance from house	Natural	1
13	Quality of water	Natural	1
14	Available of forestry	Natural	1
15	Inclusion of forestry	Natural	1
16	Benefit by forestry	Natural	1
17	Distance Forest from house	Natural	1
	Composite Natural		10
18	Income from farming unite(IFU)	Financial	1
19	Income from livestock unite (ILU)	Financial	1
20	Income from traditional occupation unite (ITOU)	Financial	1
21	Income from service unite (ISU)	Financial	1
22	Income from wages unite (IWU)	Financial	1
23	Saving condition	Financial	1
24	Saving Nature	Financial	1
25	Saving Institution	Financial	1
26	Employment for Government	Financial	1
27	Employment for private	Financial	1
28	Employment for self	Financial	1

	Composite Financial		11
29	Membership of community forestry users group	Social	1
30	Membership of school management comment	Social	1
31	Membership of consumer committee	Social	1
32	Membership of political parties	Social	1
33	Membership of I/G/NGO	Social	1
34	Relationship of political parties	Social	1
35	Relationship of family	Social	1
36	Relationship of society	Social	1
37	Network of Political parties	Social	1
38	Network of government agency	Social	1
39	Network of I/NGO	Social	1
	Composite Social		11
40	Common road in community	Physical	1
41	Common electricity in house	Physical	1
42	Common communication in use properly	Physical	1
43	Common water facility	Physical	1
44	Private : housing use martial (Roof and wall)	Physical	1
45	Private:	Physical	1
46	Occupational (Carpenter) equipment	Physical	1
47	General housing goods	Physical	1
48	(Watch, mobile, Phone, cycle, TV, computer, Motor bike)	Physical	1
	Composite Physical		10

Source: DFID, (2001, 2008), NPC/UNDP Report, 2014

Index Formula

Computational Approach of Human Asset Index

The human asset index envisaged here should be able to assets the status of human assets. Three dimensions are included in the index.

Box 1: Human Assets Index Formula

1. Education Index Formula = (Get education score- minimum score) / (Maximum score-minimum score)
Education Index= (Level of education index + school age education of HHs Index) / 2
2. Health Index formula = (Get health score- minimum score) / (Maximum Health score-minimum Health score)
Health Index = (Health condition index + sanitation index + health facility index) / 3
3. Skill Index Formula = (Get skill score – minimum score) / (Maximum skill score - minimum skill score)
Skill Index = (High skill score + medium skill score+ low skill score) /3

Source: Developed by Researcher on the Basis of HDI

Computational Approach of Natural Asset Index

The human asset index envisaged here should be able to assets the status of natural assets. Two dimensions are included in the index.

Box 2: Natural Assets Index Formula

1. Land Index= (Get land index score- minimum score) / (Maximum score-minimum score)
Land Index= (Ownership of land index + Size of land index score +sufficient of production index score) / 3
2. Forest Index = (Get Forest index score- minimum score) / (Maximum forest score-minimum forest score)
Forest Index = (Near forest index score + benefit forest Index score + membership of forest index + distance of forest index score) / 4

Source: Developed by Researcher on the Basis of HDI

Computational Approach of Finance Asset Index

The Finance asset index envisaged here should be able to assets the status of finance assets. Three dimensions are included in the Index.

Box 3: Finance Assets Index Formula

1. Income and Cash Index= (Get income index score- minimum score) / (Maximum score-minimum score)
Income and Cash Index= (Income and cash (TIU) score + Income sufficient of month index score) / 2
2. Saving Index = (Saving index score- minimum score) / (Maximum saving score- minimum saving score)
Saving Index = (Saving habit index score + saving nature index score + saving sector index) / 3
3. Employment Index= (Get employment index score- minimum score) / (Maximum score-minimum score)
Employment Index= (Employment status score + self-employment index score + informal sector employment index score + formal sector Gov. Employment index score) / 4

Source: Developed by Researcher on the Basis of HDI

Computational Approach of Social Asset Index

The Social asset index envisaged here should be able to assets the status of finance assets. Three dimensions are included in the Index.

Box 4: Social Assets Index Formula

1. Membership Index= (Membership index score- Minimum score) / (Maximum score- minimum score)
Membership Index= (Membership of consumer, occupational group score + Membership of religious group score + Membership of I/NGO score + Membership of CFUG,SMC group score + Membership of political score) / 5
2. Relationship Index = (Relationship index score- Minimum score) / (Maximum saving score-minimum relationship score)
Relationship Index = (Relationship index score + Relationship index score + Relationship index) / 3
3. Network Index= (Network index score- Minimum score) / (Maximum score-minimum score)
Network Index= (Network own origination status score + Network NGO index score + Network government index score + Network political parties index score / 4

Source: Developed by Researcher on the Basis of HDI

Computational Approach of Physical Asset Index

The Social asset index envisaged here should be able to assess the status of finance assets. Three dimensions are included in the Index.

Box 5: Physical Assets Index Formula

1. Common road Index= (Road index score- Minimum score) / (Maximum score-Minimum score)

$$\text{Road Index} = (\text{Time taken score} + \text{Used of road score}) / 2$$
2. Communication Index = (Communication index score- Minimum score) / (Maximum saving score-Minimum relationship score)

$$\text{Communication index} = (\text{Communication index} = (\text{Mobile index score} + \text{Land line index score} + \text{Internet index}) / 3$$
3. Water Facility Index= (Network index score- Minimum score) / (Maximum score-Minimum score)

$$\text{Water Facility Index} = (\text{Piped water index score} + \text{Hand pump water index score} + \text{Natural water index score} + \text{Other water resource index score}) / 4$$
4. Electricity Index= (Electricity index score- Minimum score) / (Maximum saving score- Minimum relationship score)

$$\text{Electricity Index} = (\text{Electricity index score} + \text{Biogas index score} + \text{kerosene index score} + \text{solar index score}) / 4$$
5. Housing material Index = (Housing material index score- minimum score)/ (Maximum score- minimum score)

$$\text{Housing Material Index} = (\text{Wall material index score} + \text{Roof material index score}) / 2$$
6. Equipment and Goods index= (Equipment and goods index score- Minimum score) / (Maximum score-minimum score)

$$\text{Equipment and Goods Index} = (\text{Non-productive equipment -goods index score} + \text{Productive equipment -goods index score}) / 2$$

Source: Developed by Researcher on the Basis of HDI

Using Appropriate Numerical Weight Value

Table 3: Component and Sub Component of Human Asset of *Dalits* and Obedient Score Coefficient

Component	Sub-component	Numerical Value	Actual Obtain	Maximum Score	Minimum Value	Get Score	Value
Education level	Illiteracy	0		14	1	7	$X - \frac{X_{\min}}{X_{\max} - X_{\min}}$ $14 - \frac{7}{14 - 0} = 7/14 = 0.5$
	Literacy	1					
	Primary	6					
	Middle	9					
	SLC	12					
	Intermediate	13					
	Bachelors	14					
Education school	Masters	15					
	(HDI, 2014)						
	School age children (5-15) not goes to school	0					
	Goes to school	1					
Skill	No skill	0		0	1		
	Low skill	1					
	Skill	2					
	High skill	3					
Health condition	Dieses	0		0	1		
	Poor	1					
	Fair	2					
	Good	3					
	Excellent	4					
	(HDI, 2014)						
Distance health post from house	Take time more than 4 hours	0		0	1		
	Take time more than 3 hours	1					
	Take time more than 2 hours	2					
	Take time more than 1 hours	3					
	Take time more than 30 minutes	4					
	Take time less than 30 minutes	5					
	Total Score						

Source: Developed by Researcher on the Basis of HDI

Table 4: Component and Sub Component of Natural Asset of *Dalit's* and Livelihood Assets
Index Value

Component	Sub-component	Numerical Value	Minimum Score 0	Maximum Score 1	Get Score	Value
Land NC_D_2 D_7_Land_size_ NC_D_10_how_s ufficient	Ownership of land Land size Production sufficient for Less than 3 month More than 3 month More than 6 month More than 9 month One year	1 2 3 4 7 10 12				
Distance of Water NC_5_4_Water_ Distance Quality of (Satisfactions) water NC_C_6_Water_ Quality	Available of water Time taken from house more than 3 hours .Time taken from house more than 2 to 3 hours .More than to 2 hours More than 30 minutes to 1 hours Less than 30 minutes Facility in house (HDI ,2014) Not good Little bit Good Very good	1 2 3 4 5 6 0 1 2 3				
Forest	Get fire wood, grass Get wood for small home Get charcoal, wood for traditional occupation Get wood for business Get non timber production (Researcher, VFT.. method)	1 2 3 4 5				
	Total Score					

Source: Developed by Researcher on the Basis of HDI

Table 5: Component and sub component of Finance asset of *Dalit's* and livelihood assets index value

Component	Sub-component	Numerical Value	Minimum to maximum unite	Get Score	Value
Income and cash (Farming, livestock, occupation, services, wager and other works. (TIU=Total income unite) FIU=Farming income unite, LIU=Livestock income unite OIU=occupation income unite SIU=Service income unite WIU=Wager income unite)=Total income unite FIU=production food, <i>Dal</i> , oil, vegetable etc.(100kg+30kg+5litter+30kg)= 1 unite= 1 month 6family member LIU= Buffalo, bulldog,, goat, pig, chicken etc.=1 buffalo+ bulldog + goat+ pig+ chicken=1 unite	Total Income (TIU)	1	Farming income Unite 1		
	sufficient for Less than 3 month	3	Livestock income unite 2		
	TIU sufficient for 3 month	4	Service income unite 3		
	TIU sufficient More than 3 month	7	Wager income unite 4		
	TIU sufficient More than 6 month	10	occupation income unite 5		
	TIU sufficient More than 9 month	12			
Saving	Temporally saving	1			
	Regular saving	2			
	(Researcher)	3			
Employment	Wager	1			
	Self-employment	2			
	Public co. Employment	3			
	Furner employment	4			
	Government employment (Researcher)	5			

Source: Developed by Researcher on the Basis of HDI

Table 6: Component and Sub Component of Social Asset of *Dalit's* and Livelihood Assets
Index Value

Component	Sub-component	Numerical Value	Minimum Score 0	Maximum Score 1	Get Score	Value
Membership	Membership of consumer group, occupational group Membership of religious group Membership of I/NGO Membership in community management committee (School management committee, Community Forestry users group) Member ship of political parties. (Researcher)	1 2 3 4 5				
Relationship	Relationship of family Relationship of own society Relationship of other society Relationship of political parties (Researcher)	1 2 3 4				
Network	Network of own organization Network of I/NGO Network of government agency Network of Political parties (Researcher)	1 2 3 4				
	Total Score					

Source: Developed by Researcher on the Basis of HDI

Table 7: Component and Sub Component of Physical Asset of Dalit's and Index Value

Component	Sub-component	Numerical Value	Minimum	Maximum	Get Score	Value
Common road facility	Time taken from house 3 hours and more Time taken from house more than 2 to 3 hours .More than1 to 2 hours More than 3o minutes to 1 hours Less than 30 minutes Facility in house (HDI, 2014)	1 2 3 4 5 6				
Common electricity	Source of light –other Kerosene Bio-gas Solar Electricity (HDI, 2014)	1 2 3 4 5				
Common-communication	Mobile phone Telephone Email/internet (HDI, 2014)	1 2 3				
Common-water facility NC_C_5_SOU RCEOOF_water	Other source River Spring water Open well Hand pump/tube well Covered well Piped water (HDI, 2014)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7				
Private own house (housing)	Materials' of outside wall Other materials Unbaked bricks Bamboo/leaves Wood Mud-bounded bricks/stone Cement-bounded bricks/stone (HDI,2014)	1 2 3 4 5 6				

Main roofing materials	Other	1				
	Straw/thatch	2				
	Earth/mud	3				
	Wood/ plants	4				
	Galvanized iron	5				
	Tiles/state	6				
	Concrete/cement (HDI, 2014)	7				
Equipment Not productive For productive	Basic goods (clothes, food, pots, furniture....)	1				
	Watch	2				
	Radio	3				
	Cycle	4				
	TV	5				
	Computer	6				
	Motor cycle	7				
	Occupational equipment small size	8				
	Occupational equipment big size	9				
	Occupational machine (Researcher)	10				
	Total Score					
Source: Developed by Researcher on the Basis of HDI						

Methodology of Index

Box 6: Methodology of Index

The basis of the livelihood development index is the formula used for the Human Development Index (HDI), mainly the method done by the UNDP for HDI calculation. The value of index is non-negative and lies between 0 and 1. If the value is close to 1, it indicates the higher level of development and, 0 indicates the lower level of development.

Since the parameters (indicators) included in the analysis were in different units of measurement such as percentage of components, as like education, health, skill, land, forest, income, saving, employment, membership, common infrastructure, housing etc. These were converted livelihood assets at different districts and their regions (e.g. headquarters, remote areas, etc.) by multiplying with suitable weights. For the calculation of Index, the following formula was used, which was developed by UNDP in 1990.

Index (P) = Actual value (X)-Minimum value (X_{min})/Maximum value (X_{max})-Minimum Value (X_{min})

In short, it can be written as

$$P = \frac{X - X_{\min}}{X_{\max} - X_{\min}}$$

Where, X is the original sub-component; X_{min} and X_{max} are the minimum and maximum value, respectively, for each sub-component. These minimum and maximum values were then used to transform P value into a standardized index to integrate it into the major component. For variables the measure frequencies such as the minimum value was set at 0 and the maximum value set at 100.

Sub-components like education, skill, health, land forest, road communication, income etc., are created with an increase in the indicator, i.e. the number of livelihood activities undertaken by a household in this case. After all the sub-components were indexed, the sub-component had been averaged to calculate the value of each major component as shown in equation 2:

Index y1

$$MC = \sum_i^n 1$$

Where, major component (MC) is one of the five asset components.

$$LAI = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n W_m}{\sum_{i=1}^n W_{mi}}$$

Where livelihood assets are showing on statistically; human asset X^1 , Natural asset X^2 , social asset X^3 , financial asset X^4 and Physical asset X^5 .

overall Index,

$$LAI = \frac{X^1 + X^2 + X^3 + X^4 + X^5}{5}$$

The index thus ranges from 0 to 1. After computing five indices X_1 , X_2 , X_3 , X_4 and X_5 for five assets, the composite index is given by

$$\text{Composite Index} = 1/5 \sum_{i=1}^5 k_i$$

Source: Indicators modified but based on UNDP

Comparison of Components of LAI in Dalit of FWDR

Table 9: Comparison of Components of LAI in Dalit of FWDR

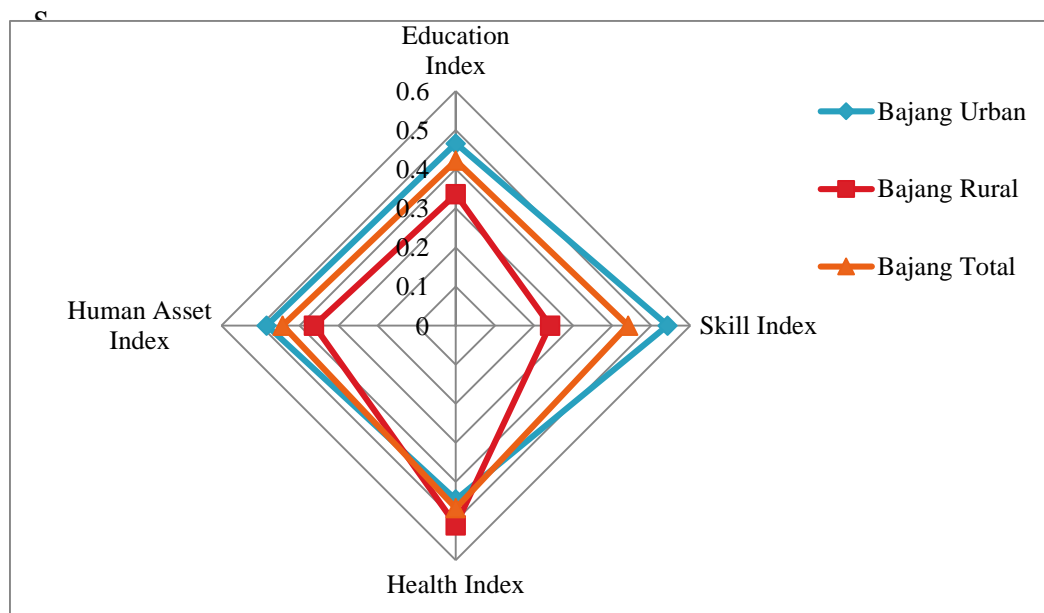
Equipment and goods	6 (6)	
Housing	4 (2+2+4+2)	
Common road	1(2)	
Common communication	3 (2+3+2)	
Common. Water facility	2 (2+3+2+2)	
Common electricity	5 (1+1+1+1+1)	
Relationship	4 (2+2+2+2)	
Network	3 (2+2+2)	
Membership	6 (2+2+2+2)	
Employ	3 (2+3)	
Saving	3 (2+2+3)	
Income	5 (1+1+1+1+1)	
Forest	4 (2+3+4+2)	0.4505
Land	3 (2+1+4)	0.4409
Health	4 (3+2+3+2)	0.4947
Skill	2 (2+3)	0.6512
Education.	2 (5+2)	04898
Component=17/5	Sub Components 59/118	Components Index/valve

Source: Developed by Researcher

Total components are seventeen (17), Total Sub- components are 59 / Total Index questions are =117/Total household survey

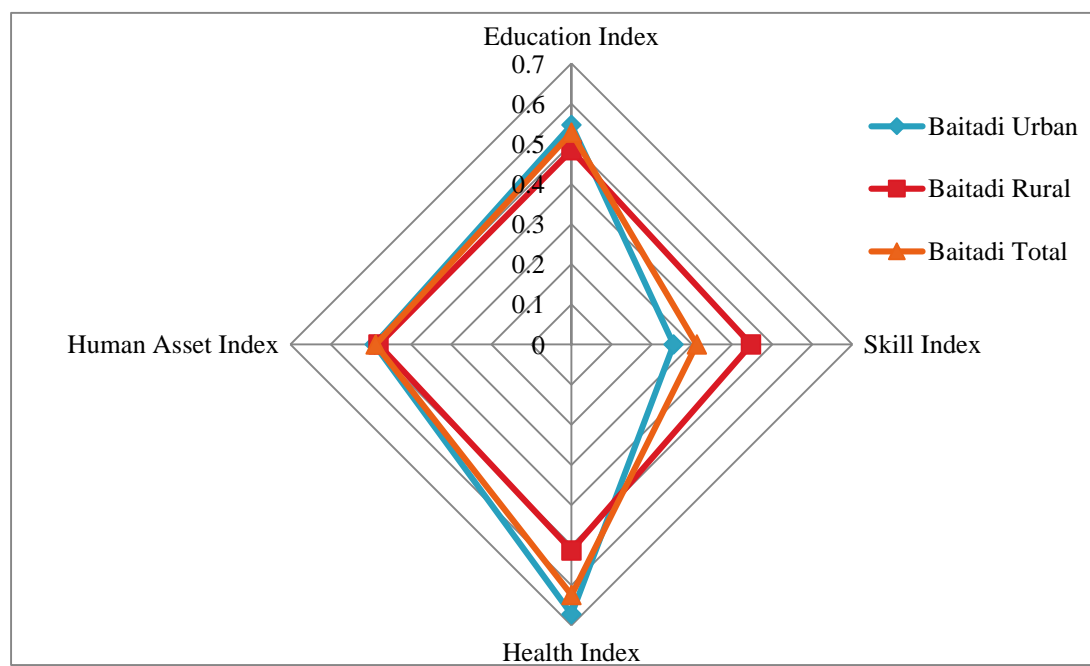
Figures: Livelihood Asset Index

(a) Human Asset Index with Component Index



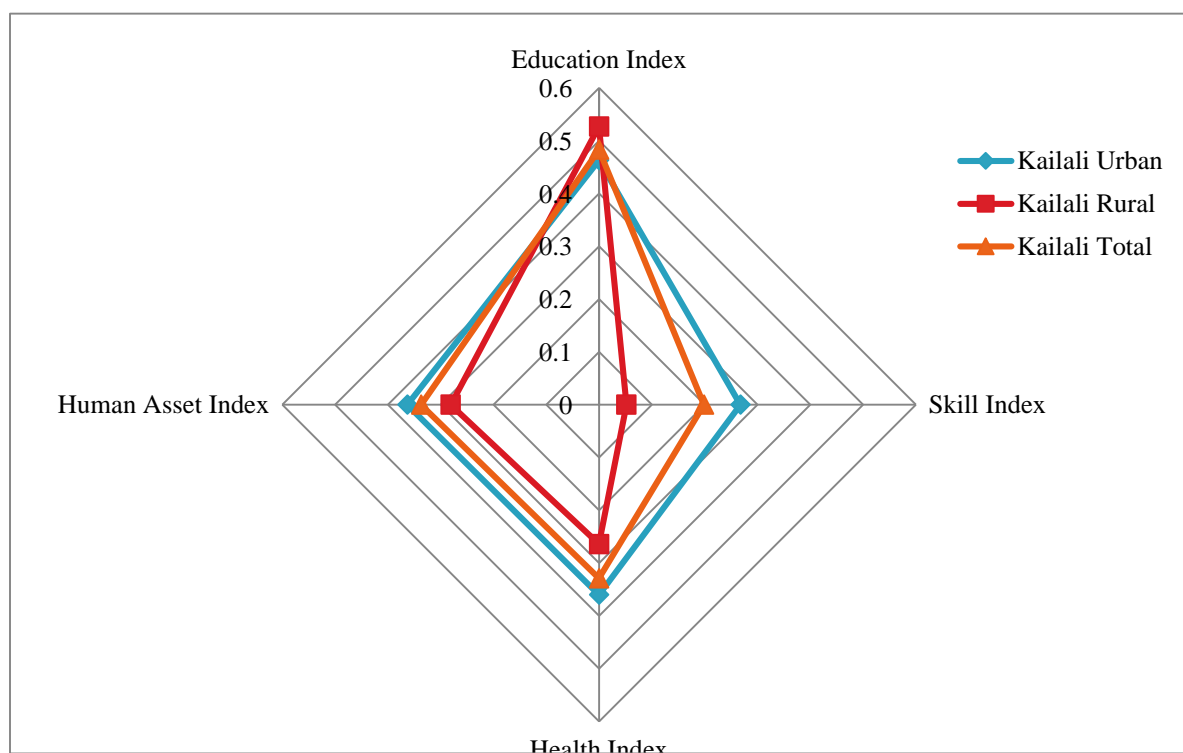
Source: Field Survey, 2013

(b) Baitadi Human Asset Index with Component Index



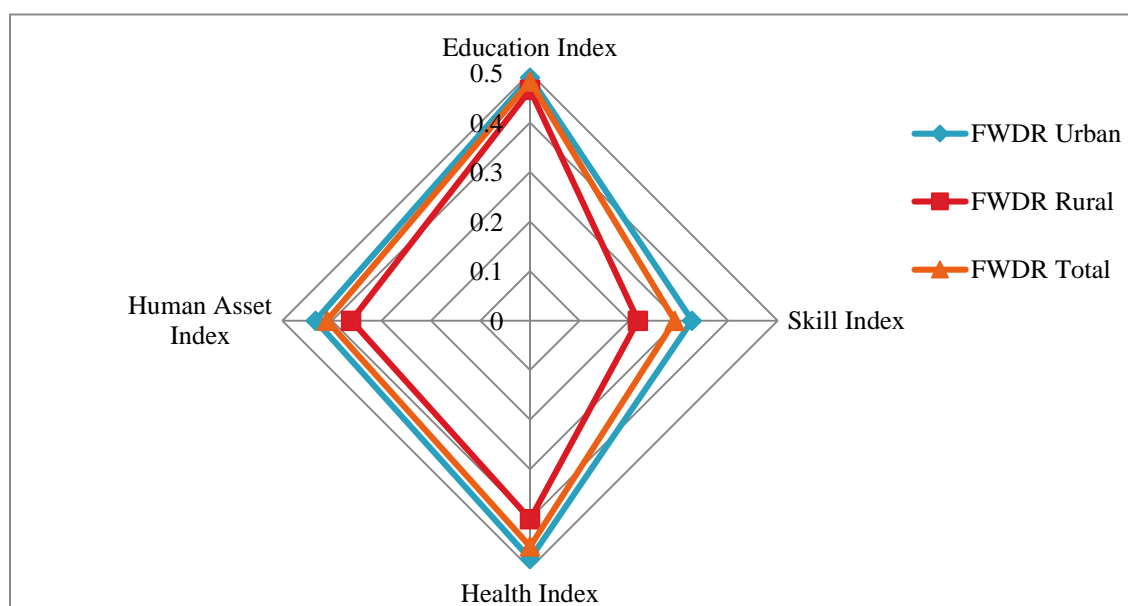
Source: Field Survey, 2013

(c) Kailali Human Asset Index with Component Index



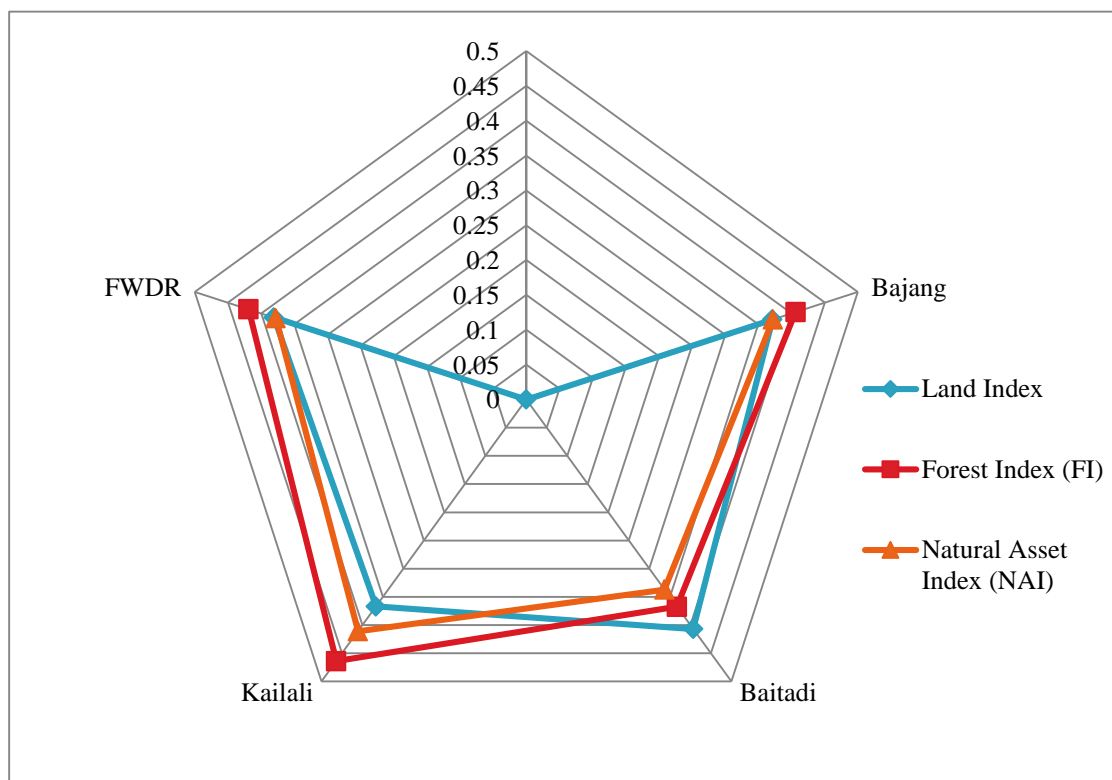
Source: Field Survey, 2013

(d) FWDR Human Asset Index with Component Index



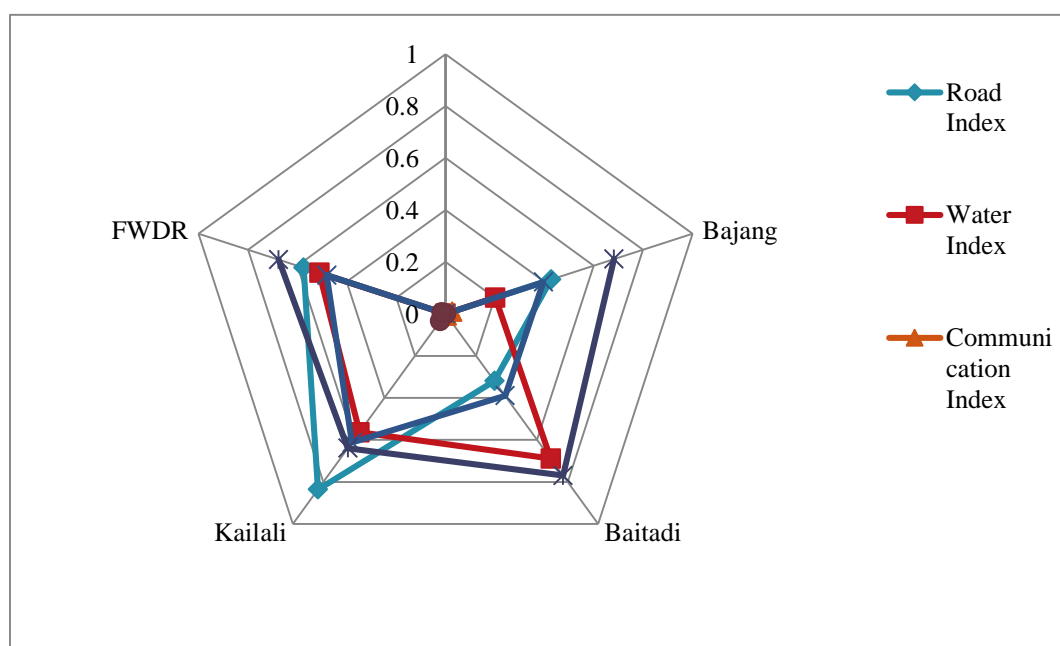
Source: Field Survey, 2013

(e) NAI of FWDR



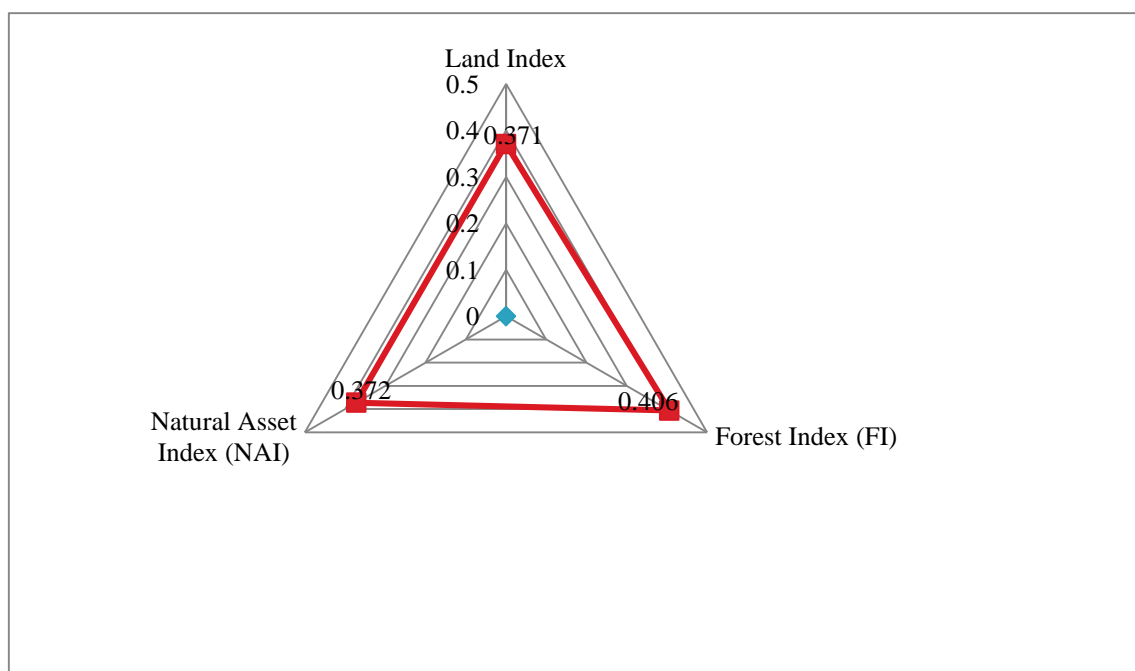
Source: Field Survey, 2013

(f) PAI of FWDR



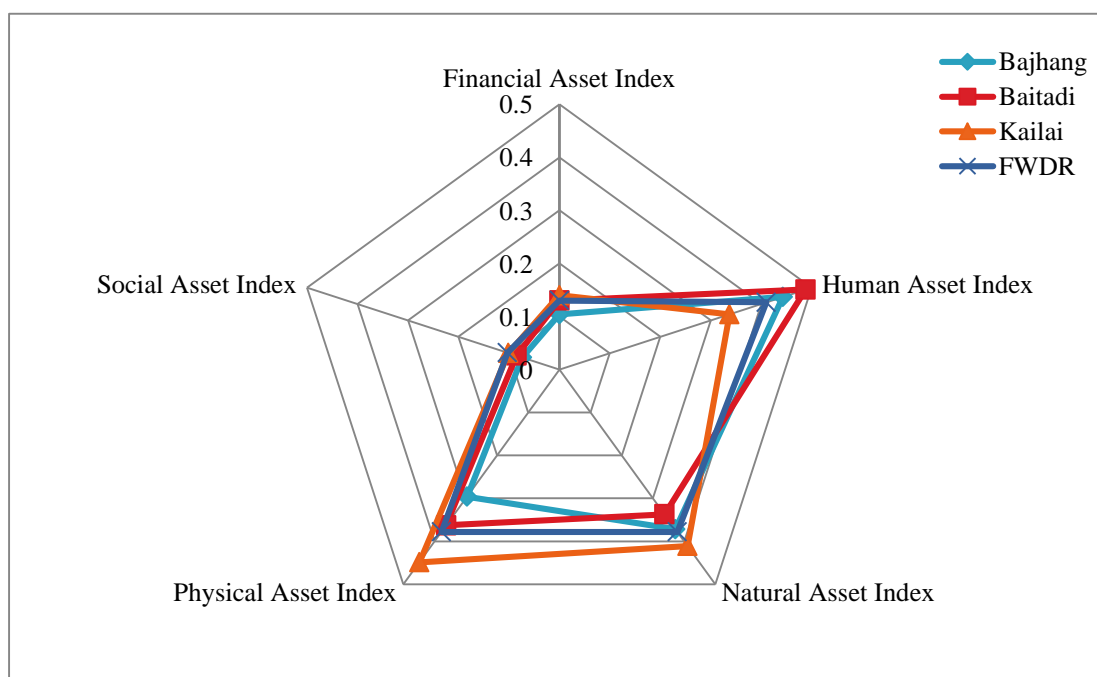
Source: Field Survey, 2013

(g) NAI of Bajhang



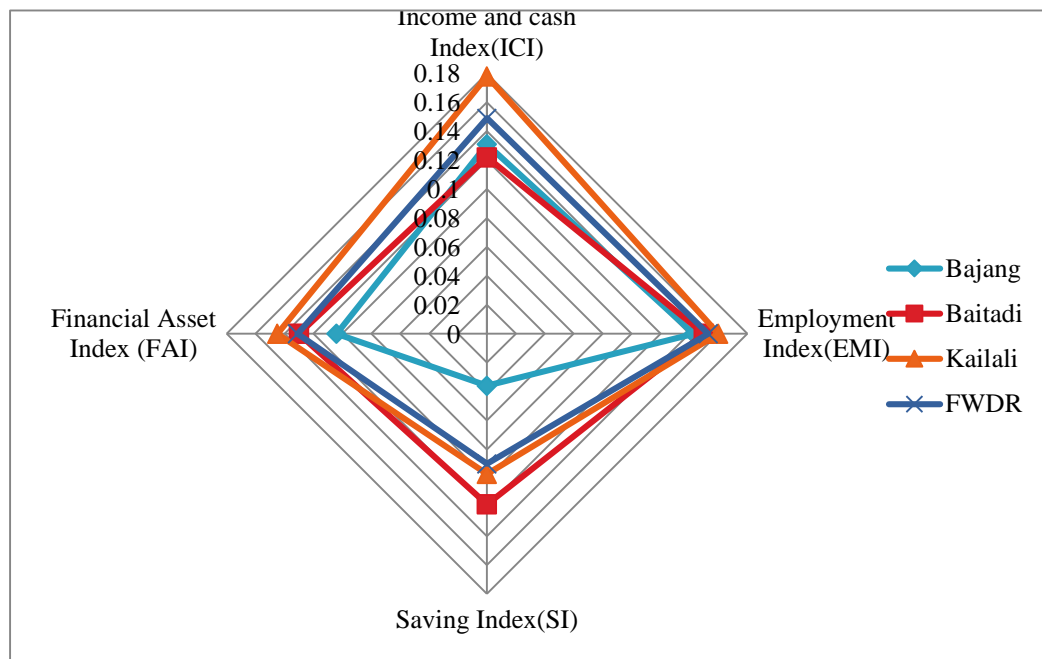
Source: Field Survey, 2013

(h) LAI of FWDR



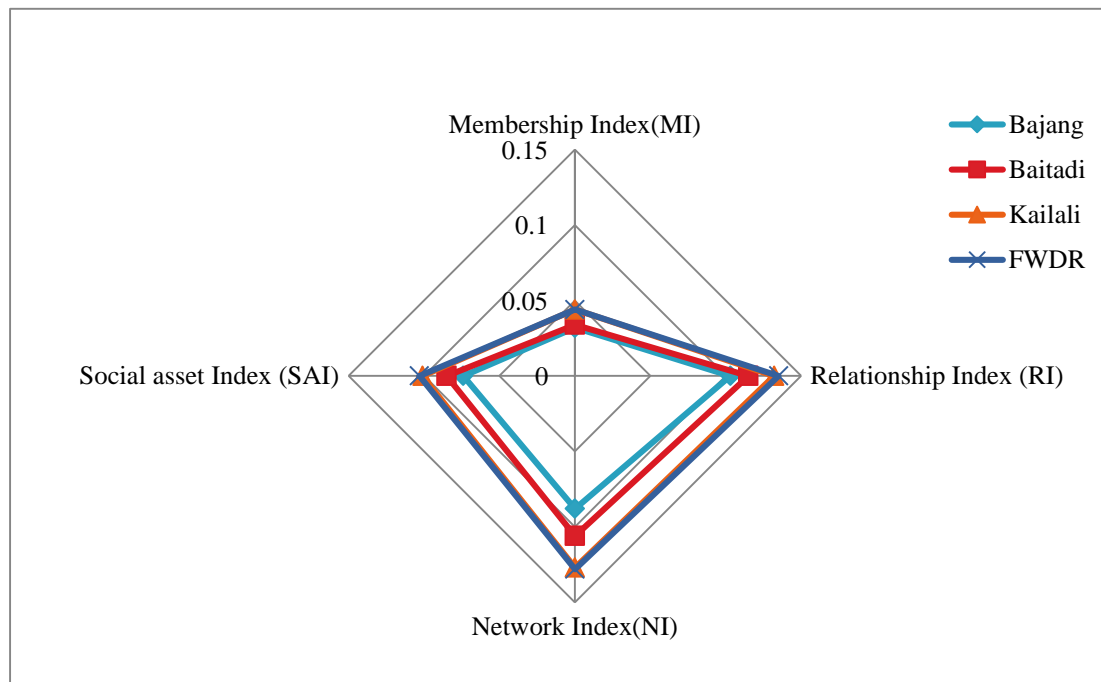
Source: Field Survey, 2013

(i) FAI of FWDR



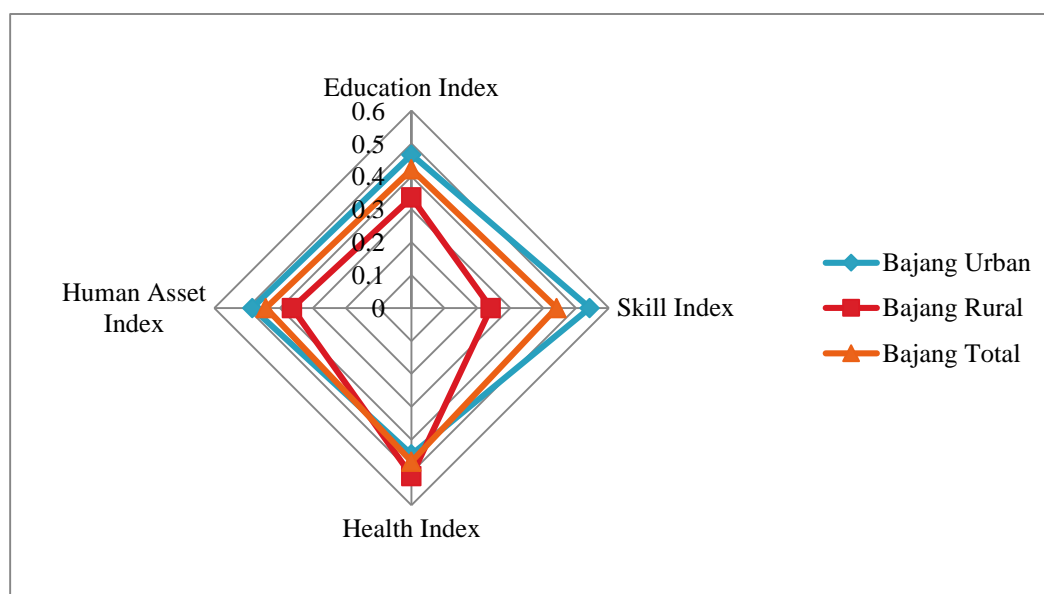
Source: Field Survey, 2013

(j) SAI of FWDR



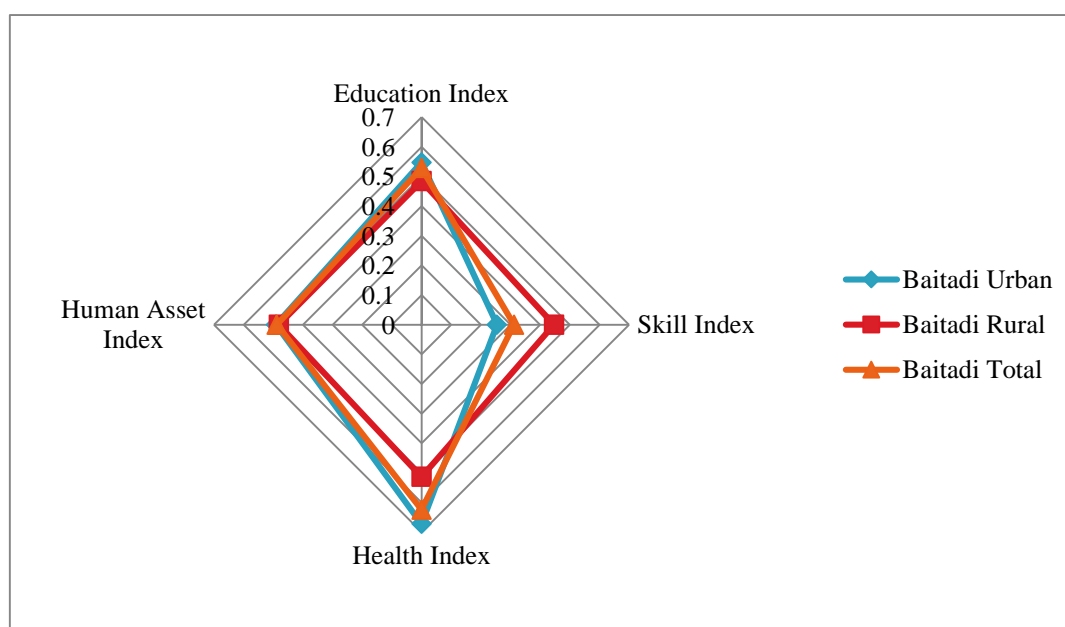
Source: Field Survey, 2013

(k) HAI of Bajhang



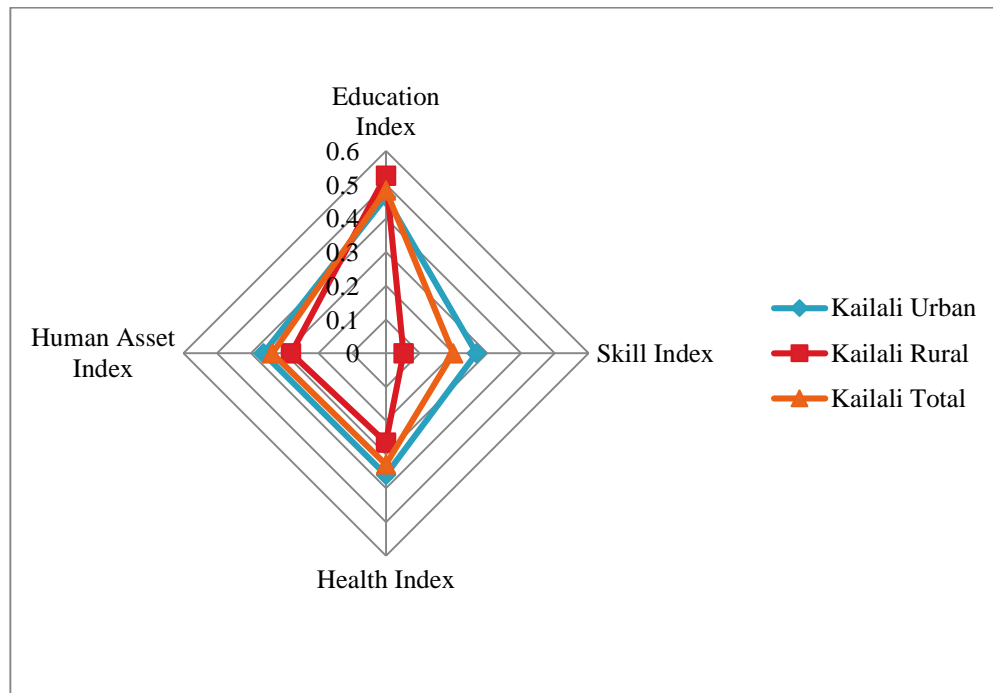
Source: Field Survey, 2013

(l) HAI of Baitad



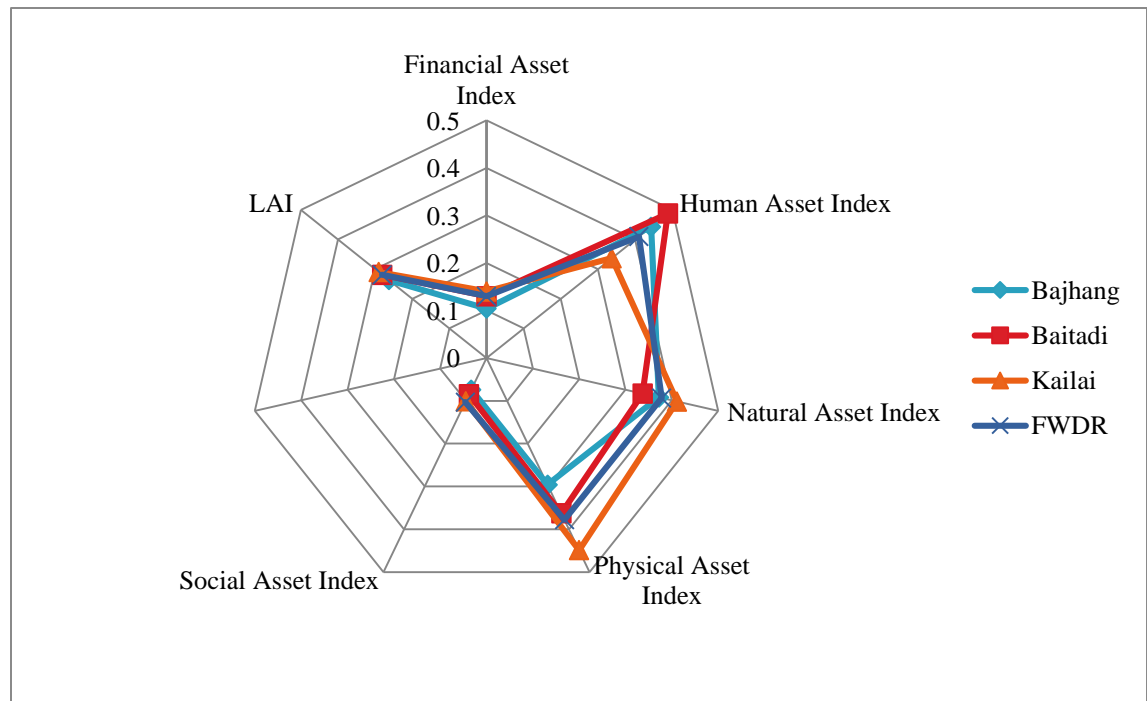
Source: Field Survey, 2013

(m) HAI of Kailali



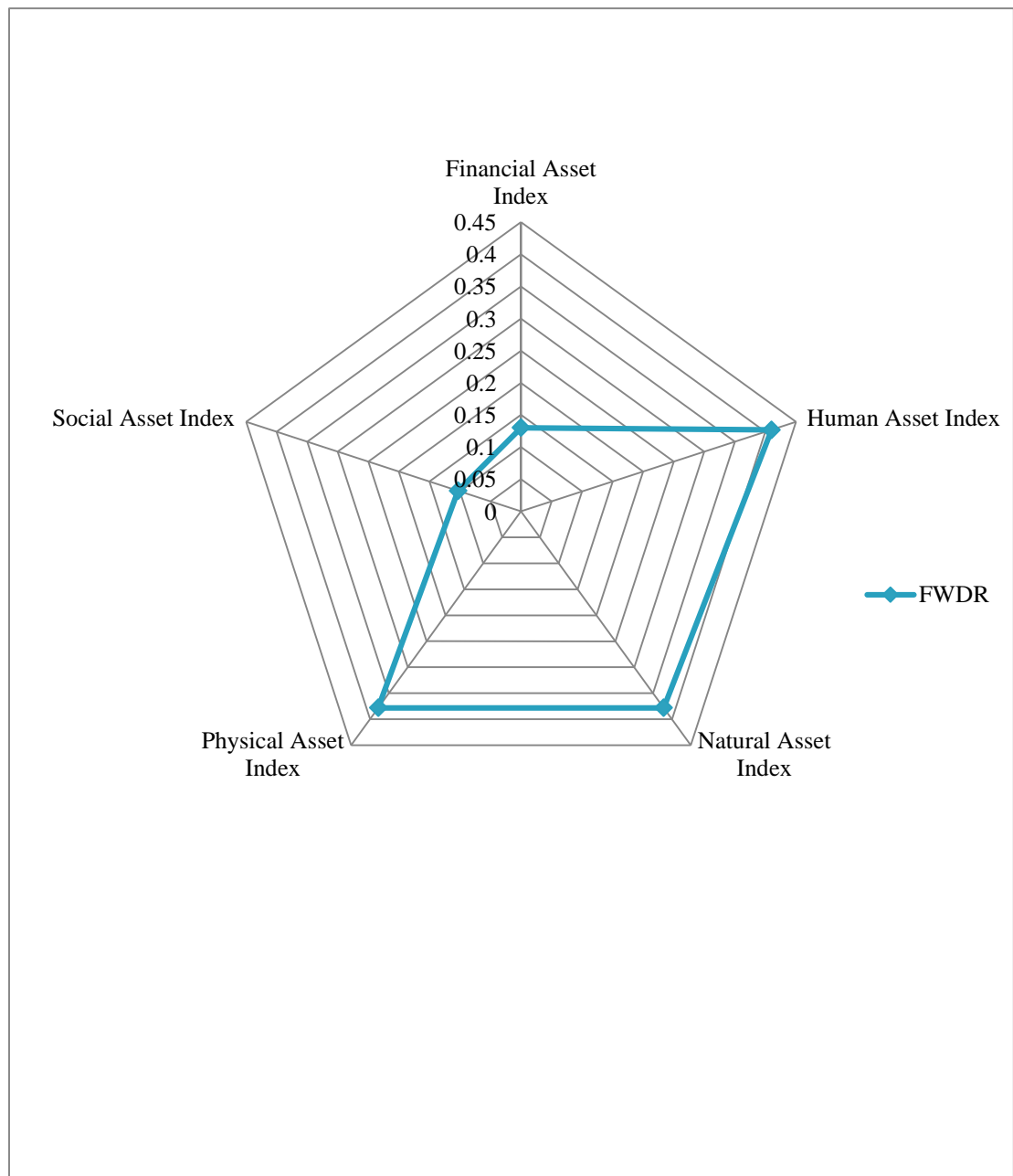
Source: Field Survey, 2013

(n) FAI of FWD



Source: Field Survey, 2013

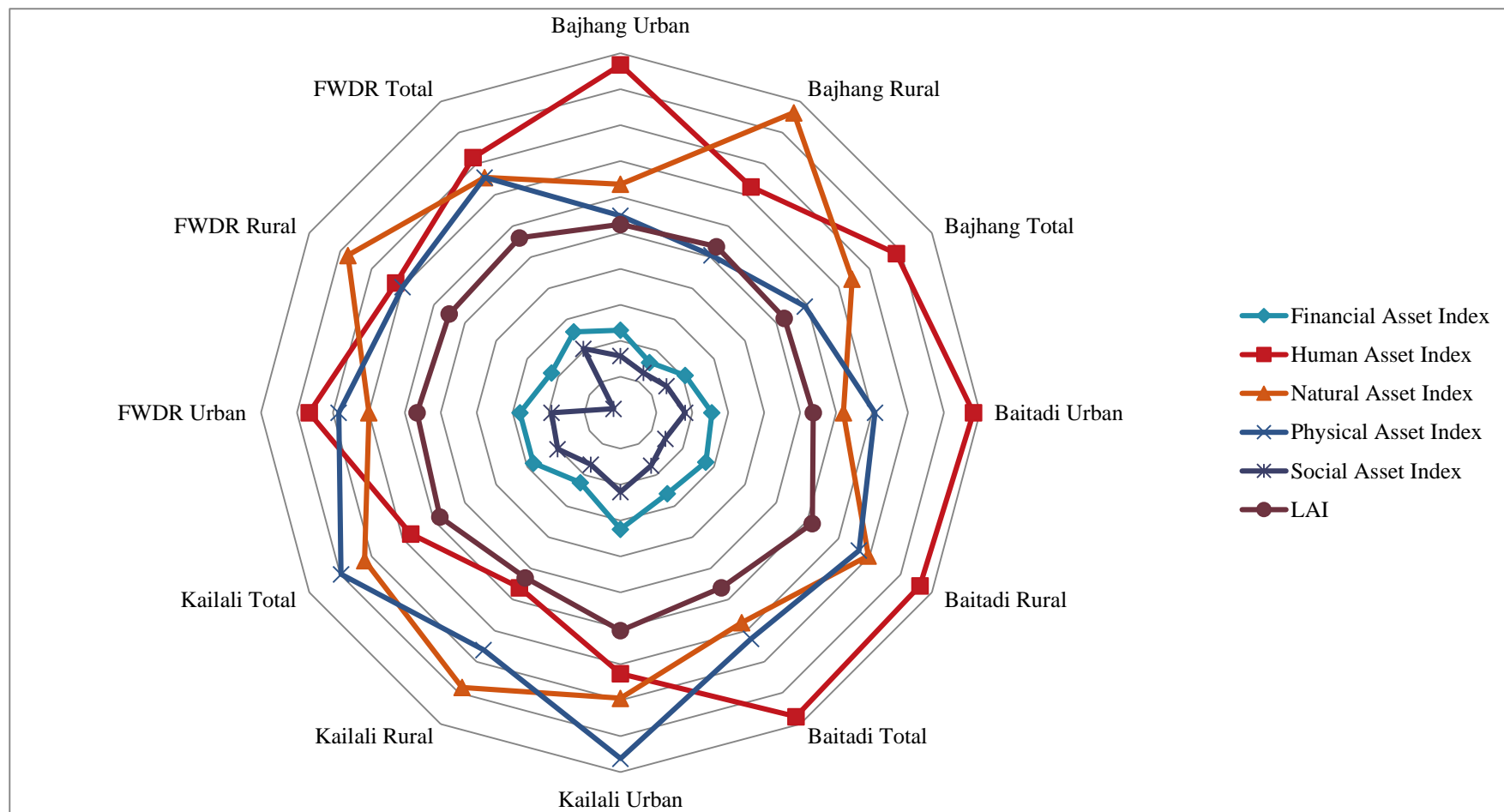
(o) LAI Component of FWDR



u

Source: Field Survey 2013

(p) Livelihood Asset Index (LAI) of Bajhang, Baitadi, Kailali and FWDR with Rural, Urban and Total



Sources of All Figures a to p: Field Survey, 2013

Interdependence of Livelihood Asset (Statistical Analysis)

Table 10: Interdependence of Livelihood Asset

Human	Natural	Physical	Social	Financial	LAI		
0.160	0.178	0.169	0.070	0.143	0.068	Sd	
40.226	47.170	42.743	70.662	110.237	24.437	Cv	
0.009	0.010	0.009	0.003	0.0081	0.003	Se	
0.030	0	0	0	0.010	0.044	Min	
0.880	0.670	0.830	0.400	0.880	0.484	Max	
0.850	0.670	0.830	0.400	0.870	0.440	Range	
2.266	2.657	2.408	3.981	6.211	1.376	%SE with mean	
0.193	0.195	0.222	0.319	0.209	1	Slope	

	HAI	NAI	PAI	SAI	FAI	LAI
corr with social	-0.070	0.178	0.084	1	0.049	0.327
Slope_SAI	-0.030	0.070	0.035	1	0.024	0.334
slope_with SAI	-0.161	0.453	0.203	1	0.100	0.319
Slope_HAI	1	-0.082	0.102	-0.161	-0.016	1.062
slope_with HAI	1	-0.101	0.114	-0.030	-0.012	0.193

	Mean Index	SD	CV	Min	Max
Bajang	0.263	0.057	21.607	0.122	0.44
Baitadi	0.281	0.082	29.166	0.044	0.45
Kailali	0.290	0.062	21.414	0.156	0.484

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Case Studies of FWDR

Table 11: Case Studies

Name	Address	Date
Gaura B.K	Shyadi, Bajhang,	14 Jan. 2013
Sune Pariyar	Olani-1, Godawari, Kailali	24 Dec. 2012
Sundar Mijar	Chainpur, Bajhang	6 Jan. 2013
Sure Lohar	Pallchaudali, Baitadi	20 Jan. 2013
Finny	Lima, Shyadi VDC, Bajhang	10 Jan. 2013
Bhumary	Kuwakot VDC, Baitadi	22 Jan. 2013

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Focus Group Discussions in FWDR

Box 7: FGD 1

In Chainpur village of Bajhang district, a 45-years-old local woman, Kali Damai has said “so called upper caste people still dominate to us in every time, in every work and in every place.” Contrary to this claim, the argument of the LDO of the district was different. He said, “the government has taken the issue of poor people and remote area seriously, especially for the *Dalits*”.

An influential NGO that has good connection with national NGOs of Bajhang virtually supported to the NGOs working in *Dalit* sector and their issues. However, findings from the field did not confirm this observation. Indeed, there was lacking of a common meeting point, where the *Dalits*, non-*Dalits*, local civil society, NGOs, DNGOs and the government could meet and discuss the issues to find a common ground. It is because of a huge gap in the weak efforts to uplift the livelihood of the *Dalits*, often suffering from the poor policy measures.

Box 8: FGD 2

One of the human rights activists of Baitadi, Sher Bahadur Chand (38 years old) said that the government has formulated many policies and programs for the *Dalits*, but they suffered with a poor implementation. Indeed, this is the main problem. Refusing this claim, Sarswati Nepali (30 years old), president of Bhumi Adhikar munch said that the government did not make adequate policies for the *Dalits* as compared to other social castes or groups. It has made only superficial policies, which also did not have any significant outcomes. Raju Ram Bhul (32 years old) who had chaired the *Haliya* Mukti Samaj Nepals gave another interesting argument that society itself makes *haliya* (bonded labour) and *achaut* (untouchable). Historically, the state and society have seen and accepted this reality. But, due to a number of political and social changes in the social life of people, the government has now come into a realization that caste discrimination is not acceptable for the social justice and civilization of 21st

centuries. However in reality, the implementation of the policies against the caste discrimination is not different than the previous attempts of the government. Neither the policy priorities nor the adequate budget allocation has come with the grassroots improvement of livelihoods of ~~the~~ *Dalits* in the FWDR.

Box 9: FGD 3

The local government also shows similar case to ~~the~~ *Dalits*. For example, one of the participants attended in FGD has said that “The police administration is not pro-*Dalits* and hence in time and again they does not even register the FRI against the case related to the caste discrimination. He further added that the local government does not have its ear, and the central government does not bear its eyes to see *Dalits*”.

Box 10: FGD 4

The researcher conducted another FGD in Kailali district at DNGOs’ office in Dhangadi, where there was an interactive discussion among the delegates of NGOs, civil society, teachers and political parties regarding the various issues of *Dalit*. The FGD’s main issues were *Dalits* development and livelihood, behavior of non-*Dalit* towards *Dalit*, working agendas of NGO, DNGOs for *Dalits*, and government policy and strategies for the improvement of *Dalits*’ livelihood. Most of the representatives from the DNGOs and NGOs said that there are many issues of *Dalit* exist in the society such as caste based discrimination, and sense of untouchability. Government prepares policies without consultation with *Dalit*, who are the main sufferer. They argued that in what basis the government prepare policy and programme where they do not involve *Dalit* representative. Prem B.K. a *Dalit* local leader has said that government institution’s do not care the *Dalit* issues, and quite often they do not target *Dalit* as beneficiary. To him, the government policies could not identify problematic issues of ~~the~~ *Dalits*, and thus the officials were not serious to solve the problems in a right way.

Box 11: FGD 5

Responding the issues while shared with LDO of Kailali, Mr. Kedar Bogati, he said he could not accept this argument put forward by *Dalit* leader. He added that, the government did not have adequate resources to provide to *Dalit* only but *Dalits* does have many problems beyond the capacities of the government. So, the government could not be able to fulfill all the problems at once, hence such grievances came in surface time and again.

Box 12: FGD 6

As part of FGD, I visited Godawari VDV of Kailali district, where large population of *Dalits* live in comparison to other VDCs of FWDR. The main agenda of the FGD was to analyse the perception of *Dalit* with Non-Dalit, and vice versa, and to know about, what are the elements that need to be incorporated into planning process to enhance the *Dalit's* prosperity. While discussing in FGD, I realised that non-*Dalit* people yet to accept *Dalits* in social work, social inclusion was the main barrier of the village, despite the larger population, and despite their leadership in village institutions. They are still suppressed from non-*Dalits*. Due to the larger *Dalit* population, interestingly, the main position holders in the local institutions are dominated by *Dalits*, but yet these position holders are still dominated by non-*Dalit*. The non-*Dalits* perceive that *they* are black, poor, uneducated, uncivilized and dirty. But, these were not only the issues of *Dalits* domination in this village, it was realised that the other socio-psychological context drive the motivation of *Dalits* down despite their good position in elected institutions, and the feelings of non-*Dalits* being a so called upper caste by birth. But, the situation was drastically have been changing due to the decade long Maoist War, and increases of socio-political awareness.

Source: Field Study, 2013

List of Key Informants

Table 12: List of Key Informants

N	Name	Address	Date of Interview
1	Samundra Nepali,	Chainpur, Bajhang	5 Jan. 2013
2	Bhim Rashaeli	Chainpur, Bajhang	8 Jan. 2013
3	Aphilal Okheda	Chainpur, Bajhang	10 Jan. 2013
4	Prem Lal Kami	Shyadi, Leem, Bajhang	12 Jan. 2013
5	Dipendra Bohara	Bithhad, Bajhang	13 Jan. 2013
6	Raju Bhul	Badhilek, Baitadi	17 Jan. 2013
7	Sher Bahadur Chand	Gothalapani, Baitadi	18 Jan. 2013
8	Dhan Bahadur Kunwar	Kuwakot, Baitadi	19 Jan. 2013
9	Harish Luhar	Pallachaudali, Baitadi	22 Jan. 2013
10	Harshana Luhar	Kuwakot, Baitadi	23 Jan. 2013
11	Manju Chunara	Babet, Baitadi	25 Jan. 2013
12	Prem B.K.	Bishalnagar, Kailali	20 Dec. 2013
13	Ummid Bagchand	Kailali	21 Dec. 2013
14	Tara Nath Chaudhary	Kailali	17 Feb. 2013
15	Ramesh B.K.	Bishalnagar, Kailali	15 Feb. 2013
16	Sher Bahdur Parki	Salghari Katan, Kailali	22 Dec. 2012
17	Tilasi Damai	Godawari, Kailali	23 Dec. 2012
18	Gorakh B.K.	Godawari, Kailali	26 Feb. 2012
19	Shive B.K.	Godawari, Kailali	27 Dec. 2012
20	Ran Bahadur Kthayat	Godawari, Kailali	29 Dec. 2012

Source: Field Study, 2013

Population and Sample Size

Table 13: Chainpur VDC ward 1 and 7, Bajhang (N=57)

Probability	Formula	Sample size (n)
0.1 /0.9	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.1 \times 0.9 \times 57}{0.05^2 \times 56 + 1.96^2 \times 0.1 \times 0.9}$	41
0.2/ 0.8	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.2 \times 0.8 \times 57}{0.05^2 \times 56 + 1.96^2 \times 0.2 \times 0.8}$	47
0.3/0.7	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.3 \times 0.7 \times 57}{0.05^2 \times 56 + 1.96^2 \times 0.3 \times 0.7}$	49
0.4/0.6	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.4 \times 0.6 \times 57}{0.05^2 \times 56 + 1.96^2 \times 0.4 \times 0.6}$	50
0.5/0.5	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times 0.5 \times 57}{0.05^2 \times 56 + 1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times 0.5}$	50

Table 14: Shyadi VDC ward 1, 5 and 7, Bajang (N=26)

Probability	Formula	Sample size (n)
0.1 /0.9	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.1 \times 0.9 \times 26}{0.05^2 \times 25 + 1.96^2 \times 0.1 \times 0.9}$	23
0.2/ 0.8	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.2 \times 0.8 \times 26}{0.05^2 \times 25 + 1.96^2 \times 0.2 \times 0.8}$	24
0.3/0.7	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.3 \times 0.7 \times 26}{0.05^2 \times 25 + 1.96^2 \times 0.3 \times 0.7}$	25
0.4/0.6	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.4 \times 0.6 \times 26}{0.05^2 \times 25 + 1.96^2 \times 0.4 \times 0.6}$	25
0.5/0.5	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times 0.5 \times 26}{0.05^2 \times 25 + 1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times 0.5}$	25

Table 15: Dasharath Chand Municipality ward 1and 5, Baitadi (N=85)

Probability	Formula	Sample size (n)
0.1 /0.9	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.1 \times 0.9 \times 85}{0.05^2 \times 84 + 1.96^2 \times 0.1 \times 0.9}$	53
0.2/ 0.8	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.2 \times 0.8 \times 85}{0.05^2 \times 84 + 1.96^2 \times 0.2 \times 0.8}$	64
0.3/0.7	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.3 \times 0.7 \times 85}{0.05^2 \times 84 + 1.96^2 \times 0.3 \times 0.7}$	68
0.4/0.6	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.4 \times 0.6 \times 85}{0.05^2 \times 84 + 1.96^2 \times 0.4 \times 0.6}$	70
0.5/0.5	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times 0.5 \times 85}{0.05^2 \times 84 + 1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times 0.5}$	70

Table 16: Kuwakot VDC ward 1, 5 and 9, Baitadi (N=32)

Probability	Formula	Sample size (n)
0.1 /0.9	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.1 \times 0.9 \times 32}{0.05^2 \times 31 + 1.96^2 \times 0.1 \times 0.9}$	27
0.2/ 0.8	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.2 \times 0.8 \times 32}{0.05^2 \times 31 + 1.96^2 \times 0.2 \times 0.8}$	29
0.3/0.7	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.3 \times 0.7 \times 32}{0.05^2 \times 31 + 1.96^2 \times 0.3 \times 0.7}$	30
0.4/0.6	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.4 \times 0.6 \times 32}{0.05^2 \times 31 + 1.96^2 \times 0.4 \times 0.6}$	30
0.5/0.5	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times 0.5 \times 32}{0.05^2 \times 31 + 1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times 0.5}$	30

Table 17: Dhangadi Municipality ward 3 and 13, Kailali (N=125)

Probability	Formula	Sample size (n)
0.1 /0.9	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.1 \times 0.9 \times 125}{0.05^2 \times 124 + 1.96^2 \times 0.1 \times 0.9}$	66
0.2/ 0.8	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.2 \times 0.8 \times 125}{0.05^2 \times 124 + 1.96^2 \times 0.2 \times 0.8}$	84
0.3/0.7	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.3 \times 0.7 \times 125}{0.05^2 \times 124 + 1.96^2 \times 0.3 \times 0.7}$	91
0.4/0.6	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.4 \times 0.6 \times 125}{0.05^2 \times 124 + 1.96^2 \times 0.4 \times 0.6}$	94
0.5/0.5	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times 0.5 \times 125}{0.05^2 \times 124 + 1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times 0.5}$	95

Table 18: Godawari VDC ward 4, 5 and 9, Kailali (N=50)

Probability	Formula	Sample size (n)
0.1 /0.9	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.1 \times 0.9 \times 50}{0.05^2 \times 49 + 1.96^2 \times 0.1 \times 0.9}$	37
0.2/ 0.8	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.2 \times 0.8 \times 50}{0.05^2 \times 49 + 1.96^2 \times 0.2 \times 0.8}$	42
0.3/0.7	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.3 \times 0.7 \times 50}{0.05^2 \times 49 + 1.96^2 \times 0.3 \times 0.7}$	44
0.4/0.6	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.4 \times 0.6 \times 50}{0.05^2 \times 49 + 1.96^2 \times 0.4 \times 0.6}$	45
0.5/0.5	$\frac{1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times 0.5 \times 50}{0.05^2 \times 49 + 1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times 0.5}$	45

Sourece: Developed by Researcher Based Fourmula on (Kothari (2006, p. 179) (Table 13 to 18)

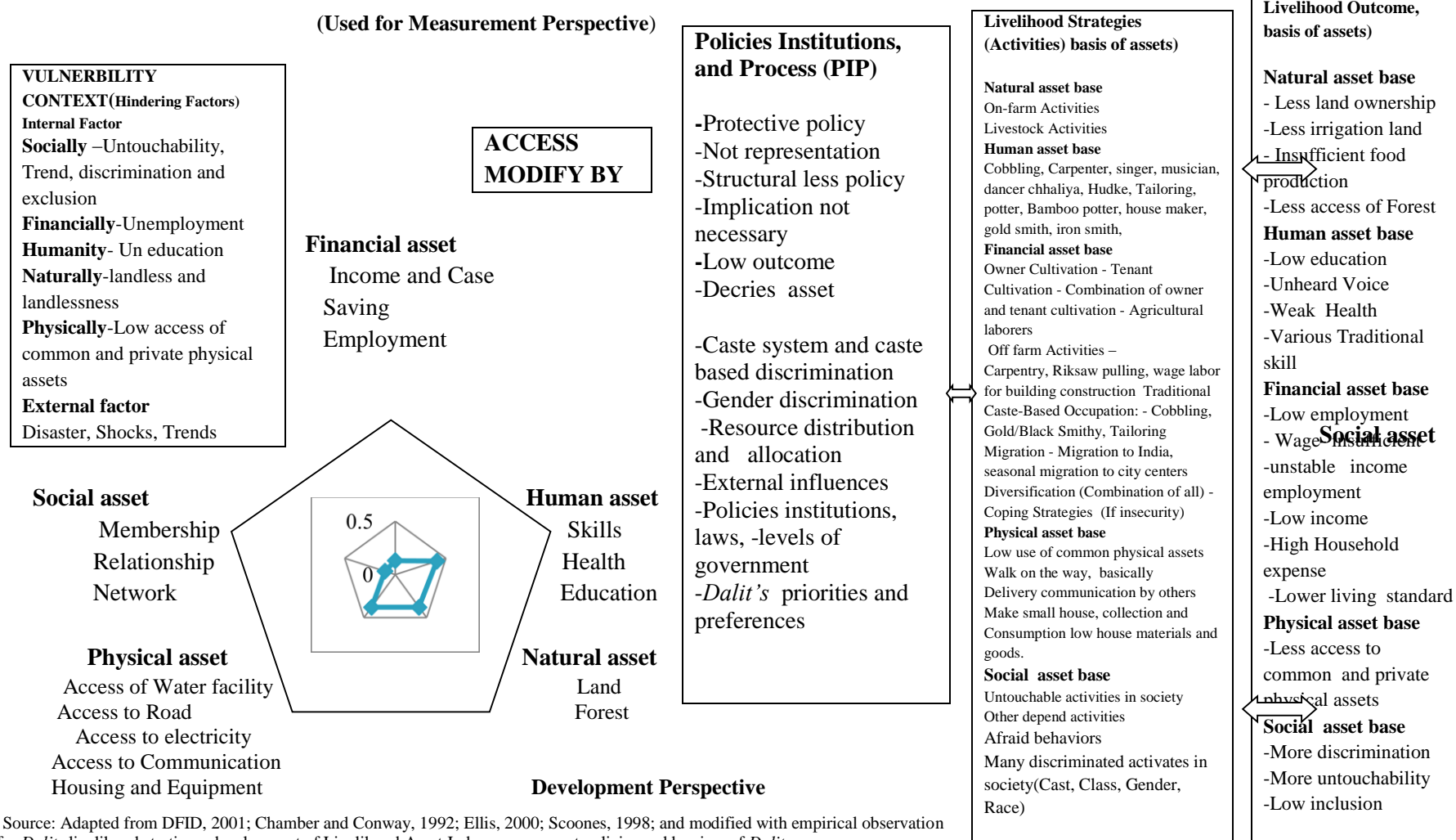
Figure Q: Modification of SLF Modified on Measurement of Livelihood Assets of *Dalits*

Table 19: Sustainable Livelihoods Chronology

Year	Milestone
1985	The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) publishes its report: Our Common Future (often referred to as the “Brundtland Commission Report”).
1987	Publishes papers from its 1987 conference: The Greening of Aid: Sustainable Livelihoods in Practice (Conroy and Litvin off, eds., 1988).
1987	Brundtland Commission prioritises and defines the idea of sustainable development drawing on Robert Chambers' work on Sustainable Livelihoods.
1990	UNDP publishes the first Human Development Report. Highlights on the Human Development Index (HDI); an amalgam of income, life expectancy and education regarded as important components within capability
1991	Publication of Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century by Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway
1992	IISD (Canada) inaugurates its Community Adaptation and Sustainable Livelihoods programme.
1993- 1995	IISD introduces a sustainable livelihoods framework to integrate policy, local adaptive strategies and contemporary knowledge that can lead to sustainable livelihood systems.
1993-95	Oxfam adopts the language and concepts of sustainable livelihoods and publishes a Handbook for Relief and Development (1995) that addresses the sustainability of livelihoods as a core theme.
1995	CARE-USA's Household Livelihood Security Working Group publishes: Household Livelihood Security: A Unifying Conceptual Framework for CARE programming.
1997	The new UK Labour Government presents its White Paper on International Development: Eliminating World Poverty to Parliament. '
1997-1999	DFID (through ESCOR and NRI) finances IDS's Sustainable Livelihoods Research Programme.
1998	DFID's Natural Resources Policy and Advisory Department convenes an Advisory Committee to support its work on Sustainable Livelihoods.
1998	Publication of Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis by Ian Scoones (IDS).
1998	Annual DFID Natural Resources Advisers Conference (NRAC) focuses on Sustainable Livelihoods.
1998	Publication of Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: What Contribution Can We Make? edited by Diana Carney - key issues papers for the 1998 DFID Natural Resources Advisers' Conference on Sustainable Rural Livelihoods
1999	Publication of Approaches to Sustainable Livelihoods for the Rural Poor by Diana Carney
1999	Publication of first DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance sheets
1999	Publication of Sustainable Livelihood in Practice: Early Applications of Concepts in Rural Areas by John Farrington et al

1999	Natural Resources Advisers Conference (NRAC 99) at Sparsholt Agricultural College brings together early field experiences working with SL and attempts to further refine SL thinking.
1999	Rockefeller Foundation seminar 'From Extreme Poverty to Sustainable Livelihoods'
1999	Publication of Sustainable Livelihoods: Lessons from Early Experience by Caroline Ashley & Diana Carney
1999	Publication of Livelihoods Approaches Compared. A Brief Comparison of the Livelihoods Approaches of the UK Department for International Development (DFID), CARE, Oxfam and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) by Diana Carney et al.
1999	Tony Bebbington publishes: Capitals and capabilities: a framework for analyzing peasant viability, rural livelihoods and poverty (later republished in World Development)
2000	Koos Neefjes of Oxfam publishes Environments and Livelihoods: Strategies for Sustainability
2000	Livelihoods Connect online learning platform launched SIDA adopts an action programme to promote sustainable livelihoods for the poor building on DFID's work.
2001	Publication of Bebbington, A.J. & S.P.J. Batterbury (eds.). 2001. Transnational livelihoods and landscapes: political ecologies of globalization. <i>Ecumene</i> 8 (4): 369-464 (5 papers)
2001	DFID workshop brings together current thinking of SL users.
2002	IFAD works with SL thinking and offers SL training to staff
2002	Publication of Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches: Progress and Possibilities for Change by Diana Carney (based in part on the 2001 workshop)
2002	Publication of Livelihoods Approaches Compared: A Multi-Agency Review of Current Practice by Karim Hussein
2003	Publication of Sustainable Livelihoods: A Case Study of the Evolution of DFID Policy by William Solesbury
2005	IDS launch the Livelihoods Network bringing together academics, policy-makers and development practitioners to share learning, collaborate and advocate for livelihoods approaches.
2008	Workshop on Sustainable Livelihoods Framework: Ten Years of Researching the Poor Oxford University, 24 January 2008
2008	ESRC seminar series launched: Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches What have we learnt? IDS, 13th October 2008 Publication of A review of DFID's experience with sustainable livelihoods by Jane Clark and Diana Carney

(Source: Solesbury, 2003, Solesbury, 2005, pp. 3-4 and Scones, 2009, Livelihoods Approach, 1987-2008)

Household Questionnaires (Translated in English)

(A) Respondent's Information

Respondent's no

Name of interviewer:

Date:

Place (Baitadi, Bajhang, Kailali)

S.N.	Questions		Answer	Remark Respondent code
01	Name (optional)			
02	Age			
03	Gender		A) Male .....1 b) Female.....2 c) Other.....3	SR
04	Caste			
05	Language		a) <i>Nepali</i>.....1 b) <i>Baitadeli</i> 2 c) <i>Tharu</i>.....3 d) <i>Doteli</i> .....4 e) <i>Bajhangli</i>.....5 f) Other.....6	SR
06	Home Address			
07	Level of education	a) Illiterate.....1 b) Only literate.....2 c) Primar level education. 3 d).Secondarylevel education..4	e) Secondary level education.....5 f) Higher Secondary level education.....6 g) Higher education .....7	SR HA
08	Occupation		a) Agriculture .....1 b) Industry .....2 c) Traditional trade.....3 d) Employ .....4	MR FA
09	Type of the family		a) Individual.....1 b) Joint .....2 c) Extant .....3	SR
10	Marital status		a) Un Married .....1 b) Married .....2 c) Single .....3	SR

SR = Single Response, MR = Multiple Response, HA= Human Asset

(B). Questions concerned with HHs List those family members who are in the same household as you (live and eat with you and with whom you share the expenses). Mention their age, level of education and income they earn individually. (The first row is for the respondent.

S.N.	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	010
S.N.	Name(s)	Gender	Age	Marital status	Relation to the head of the household	Education	Skill	Occupation/n	Income monthly,nt	Condition of physical and mental health
01										
02										
03										
04										
05										
06										
07										
08										
09										
10										

C. Information for House, Drinking water, Toilet, Communication and properties

S.N.	Questions		Answer	Respondent code
01	Kind of house		a) permanent.....1 b) Temporary.....2	SR PA/FA
02	Nature of House		a) Own.....1 b) Other's.....2 c) On rent.....3	SR
03	Structure of house and skills used in construction	Kind of wall Cement and stone.....1 Cement and block.....2 Sand and stone.....3 Sand and wood.....4 Jhingati and sand. ...5 Plastic .....6 Self-made.....7 Hired technician .....8 Did myself with the guidance of technician.9	Kind of roof a) <i>Tayal</i> .....1 b) Teen.....2 c) Grass(<i>khar</i>).....3 d) Other.....4	SR FA
04	How many rooms are in your house (excluding the kitchen and the bathroom)?		..... rooms	PA
05	What is the situation of drinking water facility for your family?	Pipeline water-supply at the house Pipeline water supply in the community Natural source of water in the community		NA
06	How much are you satisfied with the current situation of drinking water?	a) Extremely satisfied.....1 b) Satisfied.....2 c) Not satisfied.....3 d) Extremely not satisfied.....4		NA

07	What is the source of lightening in your family?	a) Electricity .....1 b) b) Kerosene lamp.....2 c) Firewood .....3 d) Solar power .....4 e) If any other source .....5	MR HA/HEATH
08	What type of latrine does your family use?	a) Attached toilet in the house .....1 b) Toilet in close to the house .....2 c). Community toilet .....3 d) Open toilet .....4 e) Open space in the community .....5 f) Farm area.....6	SR HA/HEATH
09	Which means of communication do you use often?	a) Mobile.....1 b) Telephone....2 c) Internet.....3	d) Post office.....4 e) None.....5 MR PA/COMMU. Please move to no.11
10	If you do not use any one, why?	a) Lacking purchasing capacity.....1 b) Not Necessary.....2 c) Not knowing how to use.....3	d) Because I' am illiterate.....4 e) other.....5 MR
11	What sort of means (materials) are there in your home?	a) Radio, recorder....1 b) TV.....2 c) Computer.....3	d) Cycle.....4 e) Motor cycle.....5 f) Watch, wall.....6 PA/EQUEPMENT MR

SR = Single Response, MR = Multiple Response, HA= Human Asset, PA= Physical Asset, FA= Financial Asset,

D. Questions related socio-economic condition and livelihood SA/EC

S.N.	Questions	Answer and Responses		
01	What is the main source of livelihood in your family?	a) Farming .....1 b) Work in other's farm..... 2 c) Work in office.....3	d) Work in industry. ....4 e) Work whatever available .....5	MR/ SR NA/FA
02	Does your family have own farming land?	a) Yes..... 1 b) No.....2		NA/LAND SR
03	If your family owns farming land, what is the size of land? Please mention in hectors.	.....Hectors		NA/LAND
04	Is the land irrigable?	a) Yes .....1 b) No .....2		SR NA/LAND
05	if yes , how many land is the irrigable	....Hectors		
06	Have you used others land for farming?	a) Yes .....1 b) No .....2	Please move to no.11	SR NA/LAND
07	If yes how much land?	.....hectare		
08	How have you possessed others land?	a) Free.....1 b) Crop sharing....2	c) On Lease.....3 c) On contract ...4	MR NA/LAND
09	Does the farm production sufficient for the livelihood of your family?	a) Yes .....1 b) No .....2	NA/LAND	SR
10	If no, for how many	a) Less than three months.....1		

	months in a year it is sufficient?	b) More than three months .....2 c) More than six months .....3 C) More than nine months.....4	SR / NA/LAND
11	There is shortage of food grains, how do you solve the problem?	a) Purchases food grains.....1 b) Borrowing food grains.....2 c) Begging.....3	d) In the form of remuneration.....4 e) In Credit.....5 MR
12	How many people of your family do involve in own farming?	a) All 100% .....1 b) More than 50 %...2 c) More than 75 %.....3	d) More than 25% .....4 e) Less than 25 %5 SR
13	If all the members of your family do not involve in own farming, in what work they do involve?	a) In others farm.....1 b) In any sort of wage work.....2 c) In politics.....3	d) In official work.....4 e) In an industry .....5 f) In social work .....6 g) Others (Mention).....7 MR

SR = Single Response, MR = Multiple Response, NA= Natural Asset

E. Questions related to domestic livestock's/cattle (FA/OCCUPTION/EMPLYMENT)

Do you have any domesticated animals? If yes, please mention the following:

S. N.	Name	Number	Income from the livestock during last one year	
			By selling livestock	By selling the product from the livestock
01	Buffalo(male)			
02	Buffallo(female)			
03	Bullocks			
04	Cows			
05	Goats			
06	Chicken			
07	Pigs			
08	Horse/Mare			
09	Other			

F. Questions concerned with Traditional profession (FA/OCCUPTION)

S.N.	Questions	Answer	Responses
01	How much do you like traditional work your parents followed?	a) Very much .....1 b) Somewhat .....2 c) Dislik some What.....3 d) Do not like at all .....4	SR
02	Vocational skill:	a) yes.....1 b) No .....2	SR
03	If yes, area/subject	.....
04	M Level of skill	a) Highly skilled.....1 b) Skilled .....2 c) Low skilled .....3 d)Unskilled .....4	SR

SR = Single Responses, MR = Multiple Responses, FA= Financial Asset,

G. Questions about employment FA/EMPLOYMENT

S.N.	Questions	Answer	Responses
01	Employment status	a) Fully employed .....1 b) Partially employed .....2 c) unemployed.....3	SR
02	If employed, which of the following sectors:	a. Self-employment .....1 b. employed in any formal sector 2 c. Employed in any informal sector.....3	SR
03	How many economically active age (16-65 years) members of your family are employed?	..... Member	
04	Among the employed ones, what percent is: Employed all the year round	a) ..%Employed all the year round .....1 b) .% Employed for more than 6 months .....2 c) ...%Employed for more than 3 months.....3 d)....%Employed for less than 3 months.....4	SR
05	Any other family member having currently employed:	a) Father .....1 b) Mother .....2 c) Husband/wife .....3 d) Children .....4	MR
06	What do you do now?	a) Full time self-employed .....1 b) Part time self-employed.....2	SR

		c) Full time employed formal sector/Informal sector.....3 d) Full time employed formal sector/Informal sector.....4 e) Disabled retired.....5	
07	If you are presently full time employee, how secure do you think your job is?	a) Completely secure.....1 b) Fairly secure .....2 c) Not secure .....3	SR
08	If presently you are unemployed, are you looking for a job?	a) Yes.....1 b) No .....2	SR
09	If you are looking for a job, what is the reason behind it?	a) For self-survival .....1 b) For family survival .....2 c) For comfortable livelihood .....3 d) For being better informed .....4 e) For widening social network .....5 f) For being free from the local social discrimination.....6 g) For developing skills/capacity .....7 h) For utilizing skills/education .....8	MR
10	If you are looking for a job, have you registered your details for employment in the information centre or in any formal/informal enterprise/organization?	a) Yes.....1 b) No .....2	SR
11	If you do not like to have a job, what is/are the reason(s) behind it?	i) a) I prefer to stay at home. ....1 j) b) There is none to care my household activities. ....2 k) c) I prefer to work in my own farm .....3 l) d) I prefer to continue our traditional work.....4 m) e) I prefer to be a community leader.....5 n) f) I do not like to keep myself in a humiliated/discriminate situation.....6	MR
12	If you are not willing to have a job since there is none to take care of household activities, but now there is someone to help in the household and around the house, then would like to have a job?	a) Yes.....1 b) No .....2	SR
13	If you work at your own farm and you have an opportunity to take a job, which would you prefer?	a) Farm work .....1 b) Job .....2	SR
14	If you are presently not employed have you ever had a job?	a) Yes.....1 b) No .....2	SR
15	If you had previously a job:	a) When did you start working.....(year) b) When did you stop working..... (Year)?	
16	Why did you stop working?	a) Lost the job .....1 b) Have had to take care of children ....2 c) Did not like the job .....3 d) Family members/guardians did not want me to work further .....4 e) If any other reason (Please mention) .5	SR
17	How old were you when you started to work	..... year	
18	If you had the opportunity to choose (because you had enough money for living expenses), what would you prefer to do?	a) Continue the present job .....1 b) Change job .....2 c) Stay at home .....3	SR

SR = Single Response, MR = Multiple Response, HA= Human Asset, PA= Physical Asset, FA= Financial Asset,

H. Migration SA/FA

S.N.	Questions		Answer	Responses
01	Have you ever lived in another location?		a) Yes .....1 b) No .....2	SR
02	If yes, then	a) In another village of this district.....1 b). In another town of this district.....2 c) In another village of this region .....3	d) I another village of another region.....4 e) In India.....5	SR
03	If you had some time moved somewhere else from your present place, why did you move there?		a) Main reason.....1 b) Additional reason .....2	
04	How long did you stay there		.....month/year	
05	Why did you leave that place		.....

SR = Single Response,

I. Education and legal literacy HA/EDUCATION

S.N.	Questions		Answer	Respondent
01	Do all the children of school-going age (5-15 years) in your family go to school?		Yes .....1 No.....2	Remark
02	If not, how many of them does/do not go to school?		.....person	
03	What is the reason(s) behind not joining the school by them? If You can more than one answer, rank them in priority order as 1, 2,3.....	a) Once enrolled but dropped out later .....1 b) Never interested to go to school .....2 c) They are not sent to school as they help in household activities.....3 d) In school our children are treated discriminately.....4 e) If any other reason, mention.....5		MR
04	What is your opinion regarding higher education of children of your family?	a) We are making our utmost effort for their higher education.....1 b) We are appealing the government to provide scholarship to <i>Dalit</i> children for higher education. 2 c) We think higher education to our children is not necessary as we need to pursue our traditional work..... 3 d)What to do by higher education because the few educated <i>Dalits</i> so far are unemployed..... 4		MR

05	Was any Literacy Functional programme organized in your community in last five years?	a) Yes .....1 b) No .....2	SR
06	If yes, when? a) Six months ago..... 1 b) One year ago .....2 c) Two years ago.....3	d) Three years ago 4 e) Four years ago.....5	SR
07	If any Literacy Functional Programme was not organized in your community in last five years, were the <i>Dalits</i> of your community provided any opportunity to participate in such programme(s) organized in nearby Non- <i>Dalit</i> community?	a) Yes .....1 b)No.....2	SR
08	If yes, did the Non <i>Dalit</i> participants behaved with the <i>Dalit</i> participants well?	a)Yes .....1 b)No..... 2	SR
09	Are you conscious with rules and regulation?	a) yes.....1 b) No.....2 c) A little.....3	SR
10	What do you do when ....hurt you?	a) Go to the police.....1 b) Complain in the social fourm.....2 c) just tolerate.....3	MR

SR = Single Response, MR = Multiple Response

J. Questions related to health. HA/HEALTH

S.N.	Questions	Answer	Respondent
01	How far is the nearest health post/health centre/hospital from your community?	..... Kms.	
02	Are you satisfied with the health facilities provided by the health post/health centre/hospital to you and your family?	a) Yes,.....1 b) No.....2	SR
03	Do the employees of health post/health centre/hospital behave with <i>Dalit</i> patients in better humane manner?	a) Yes .....1 b) No.....2	SR
04	often does/do the community health worker(s) visit your community? a)Very much frequently.....1 b) Frequently .....2 c) Sometime.....3	d) Rarely .....4 e) Negligibly... 5	SR
05	What is the general condition of people's health in your community?	a) Very good .....1 b) Good.....2 c) Satisfactory ... ..3 d) Less satisfactory... ..4 e) Bad .....5	SR

SR = Single Response, MR = Multiple Response, HA= Human Asset,

K. Questions concerned with development work PA/INFRASTRUCTURE

S.N.	Questions	Answer	Respondent
01	How much are you interested in development issues?	a) Very much interested .....1 b) Somewhat interested.....2 c) Not too much interest...3 e) Not interested at all .....4	SR
02	Do you know any development project being carried out in your community for the empowerment of <i>Dalits</i> ?	a) Yes.....1 b) No .....2	SR
03	Do you know any development project recently completed in your community for the empowerment of <i>Dalits</i> ?	a) Yes.....1 b) No .....2	SR

04	if yes, did any of your family member was participated in planning, implementing and monitoring of that project?	a) Yes..... 1 b) No .....2	SR
05	How often the <i>Dalits</i> of your community are called to participate in community development or enabling programmes?	a) Very much frequently .1 b) Frequently .....2 c) Sometime .....3 c) Rarely 4 d) Negligibly 5	SR
06	Do you think the government is appropriately addressing the issues of <i>Dalits</i> in FWDR?	a) Yes .....1 b) No.....2	SR
07	How much are you satisfied with what the government is doing for empowering <i>Dalits</i> of FWDR?	a) Extremely good.....1 b) Good.....2 c) Satisfactory.....3 d) Extremely bad.....4	SR
08	How much are you satisfied with what the local elected bodies and community leaders are doing for empowering <i>Dalits</i> of FWDR?	a) Extremely good....1 b) Good.....2 c) Satisfactory.....3 d) Extremely bad.....4	SR
09	How much are you satisfied with the FWDR economic development?	a) Extremely good.....1 b) Good.....2 c) Satisfactory.....3 d) Extremely bad.....4	SR
10	In general how would you rate <i>Dalit's</i> life?	a). Extremely good.....1 b) Good.....2 c) Satisfactory.....3 d) Extremely bad.....4	SR
11	How is your community proceeding ahead in the context of development ?	a) Extremely good.....1 b) Good.....2 c) Satisfactory.....3 d) Extremely bad.....4	SR
12	In your opinion, what are the major obstacles of <i>Dalits'</i> socio-economic development in your community	a) Social problem.....1 b) Economic problem.....2 c) Political problem.....3	MR
13	Please recommend at measures for the <i>Dalits'</i> socio-economic development in your community	a) Caste-related discrimination and abolition of Untouchability.....1 b) Increase in Employment...2 c) Access in politics.....3 d) other.....4	MR

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L. Daily activities

S.N.	Questions	Answer	
01	How many hours a day do you work in the following activities?	a) Housework.....hours b) Rural household work.....hours c) Farming.....hours d) Social activitieshours e) Skill improvementhours f) Informal educationhours	
02	How much do you like household work?	a) Very much.....1 b) Somewhat .....2 c) Dislike somewhat.....3 e) Do not like at all .....4	SR
03	Who usually collects water in your family ly?	a) Male family members .....1 b) Female family members .....2	MR
04	Do you think that a person's life depends	a) More on chance or fate .....1	MR

	on chance or fate of the person?	b) More on the person's labour ....2	
05	How would you rate how you spend your own free time?	a) Extremely well.....1 b) well.....2 c) Satisfactorily.....3 d) Haven't done.....4	SR
06	Are you satisfied with your family life?	i- Highly satisfied.....1 ii-Satisfied.....2 iii-Moderately satisfied.....3 Iv Notsatisfied.4 v- completely dissatisfied...5	SR
07	How much are you satisfied with the deeds you have done so far and the problems you have faced so far?	i- Highly satisfied.....1 ii-satisfied.....2 iii-Moderately satisfied.....3 iv-notsatisfied.4 v-completely dissatisfied...5	SR

SR = Single Response, MR = Multiple Response

M. Questions concerned with organizations and politicians

SA/NETWORK/MEMBERSHIP/

S.N.	Questions		Answer	
01	Which organization's membership have you taken <	a)Religion institution- yes/ no b)Trade union/professional organization- yes/no c)Consumer's group – yes/no d)Political organization- yes/no e) other- yes/no		MR
02	How often does/do the NGOs/GOs/ CBOs visit your community and discuss with the community representatives/members about their problems?	a)Very much frequently.....1 b)_ Frequently.....2 c)Sometime.....3 d) Rarely.....4 e)Negligib l.....5		SR
03	Does any of the political parties represent and express your views?	a) Yes .....1 b) No .....2		SR
04	Did you vote at the last constitution Assembly Election?	a) Yes .....1 b) No .....2		SR
05	Did you ever vote at the any local body election?	a) Yes .....1 b) No .....2		SR
06	Do you know the name of the person who is currently representing your area in the constitution Assembly?	a) Yes .....1 b) No .....2		SR
07	Compared to the period before 2062/63, do you think that your influence on the decisions of the community has been:	a) Much greater.....1 b) Much smaller than earlie...2 c) Greater.....3		SR

		d) Unchanged.....4	
08	Compared to the situation before the political change in 2062/63, what do you think about the <i>Dalits</i> ' socio-economic situation in FWDR ?	a) It Is better.....1 b) It Is worse.....2 c) It is unchanged.....3	SR
09	Compared to the situation before 2062/63, the freedom to express your own opinion:	a) Has increased significantly .....1 b) Somewhat increased .....2 c) Remained unchanged .....3 d) Decreased.....4 e) Decreased significantly .....5	SR
10	How much are you satisfied with the saying that there is social autonomy?	a) Highly satisfied.....1 b) Satisfied.....2 c) Moderately satisfied.....3 d) Notsatisfied.....4 e) Completely dissatisfied.....5	SR

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N. Questions concerned with social discrimination SA/RELATIONSHIP

S.N.	Questions	Answer remark and respondent	
01	How much are you satisfied with the behaviors of Non- <i>Dalits</i> with the <i>Dalits</i> ?	a) Extremely good.....1 b) Good.....2 c) Satisfactory.....3 d) Extremely bad.....4	SR
02	Do you satisfied with your indicative/ symbolic behavior?	a) Highly satisfied.....1 b) Satisfied.....2 c) Moderately satisfied..3 e) Not satisfied.....4 f) Completely dissatisfied....5	SR
03	How much are you satisfied with the behavior of Non- <i>Dalit</i> students and teachers with the <i>Dalit</i> students and teachers?	a) Extremely good.....1 b) Good.....2 c) Satisfactory.....3 d) Extremely bad.....4	SR
04	Do the non- <i>Dalits</i> share the water source that you use?	a)Yes.....1 b)No.....2	SR
05	If you are not allowed to share the non- <i>Dalits</i> water resource, how far do you go to get water?	Hour..... Minute.....	

SR = Single Response, MR = Multiple Response, SA= Social Asset, PA= Physical Asset, FA= Financial Asset,

O. Questions concerned with income and expenditure FA/ employment, cash, saving

S.N.	Questions	Answer		Response
01	What is the income of your family?	a) From agriculter.....1 b) From livestock.....2 c) From service.....3 d) From occupational profession.....4	e) From wag.....5 f) From Loan.....6 g) From saving food by taking fasting.....7 h) Other.....8	MR
02	What is the monthly expenditure of your family	a) In fooding.....1 b) In accommodation.....2 c) In clothing.....3 d) In education.....4	e)In health.....5 f) In fesiveals /Reseations .....6 g) in paying loan and its interest.....7 h) other.....8	MR
03	What is the saving of your family		a)yes.....1 b)No.....2	SR
04	If, this is saving		a) Paternal.....1 b) Self-earned.....2	SR
05	What is the loan status of your family		a) yes.....1 b) No.....2	SR
06	If, there is loan in the family?		a) Paternal.....1 b) Private.....2	SR
07	What was the objective of borrowing?	a) To buy food grains.....1 b) For treatment.....2 c) For education.....3 d) For buying.....4 e) livestock.....5	e) To go abroad..6 f) To celebrate social festival....7	MR

08	What was the source of loan?	a) Friends and relative.....1 b) Merchants.....2 c) Cooperative groups.....3	d) Bank.....4 e) Other.....5	MR
09	What was the interest rate of your borrowing?			MR
10	What is the status of your borrowing?	a) Have paid as per contract..1 b) Paid including fine.....2 c) Seized the collateral .....3	d) Have paid by taking loan from other source.....4 e) Unable to pay.....5	MR
11	Are you satisfied with your household income?	a) Highly satisfied.....1 b) Satisfied.....2 c) Moderately satisfied.....3 d) Not satisfied.....4 e) Completely dissatisfied...5		SR
12	Is any member of your family working abroad?	a)Yes....1 b) No...2		SR
13	If yes, how many persons?	...persons		
14	Where do you spend the foreign remittance you receive?	a) To buy food .....1 b) To buy cloths 2 c) To treatment.....3 d) To repair house.....4 e) To celebrate social festivals.....5 f) To buy farming land....6		MR

P. Questions ion related to forest NC/FOREST

S.N.	Questions	Answer	Response
01	Does your community own any forest?	a) Yes.....1 b) No.....2	SR
02	What sort of is there close to your community?		SR
03	Have you planted any plants/trees?	a) Yes.....1 b) No.....2	SR
04	If you have planted any plant or tree, In which forest?	a) Public.....1 b) Community.....2 c) Private.....3	MR
05	If yes, mention the number of plants/trees ?	a) fruits.....1 b) Grass.....2 g) Wood.....3	MR
06	Please mention the benefit you got from these plants	.....	MR
07	Are you involved in any forest consumer Committee?	a) Yes.....1 b) No.....2	SR
08	If yes ,What is your designation ?	a) Chairperson.....1 b) Vice-chairperson.....2 c) Secretary.....3 d)Treasurer.....4 e) Member.....5	SR

Q. The following for assessing the level of your satisfaction using the scale of 1 to 5 on the areas mentioned in the table. Please choose the number which best matches your opinion. (Number 1 means the least satisfaction and 5 means the most satisfaction).

S.N.	Questions	Answer N.1	N.2	N.3	N.4	N.5
01	How much are you satisfied with your house					
02	How would you rate the community you live in in respect of development?					
03	How would you rate your family life?					
04	How would you rate your household income?					
05	How much are you satisfied with the amount of your free time?					
06	How much are you satisfied with the way others treat you?					
07	How much are you satisfied with your achievements in life and with the way you react to problems?					
08	How would you rate the health and fitness of your family members?					
09	How much are you satisfied with the work done by the state for the upliftment of <i>Dalits</i> ?					
10	What sort of behavior of non- <i>Dalits</i> towards <i>Dalits</i> have you found?					

Are you interested to share more things? Thank you very much for your kind co-operation.

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