

Caste-based Transformation in Dalit Community: A Narrative Inquiry

Thamindra Khatiwada*

Abstract

This article attempts to explore the way of caste-based transformation in Mudkhu of Tarkeshwor Municipality in Kathmandu. The method was developed with interpretive research paradigm as narratives had immeasurable potentialities to construct meaning of socio-cultural situatedness of Dalits' lives and caste-based transformation. I, as narrative inquirer, studied the Dalit based caste transformation on occupation, educational system and cultural practices. Caste-based discrimination was severely practiced in society in the past. However, it is decreasing day by day at present. Due to various reasons and efforts flexibility is being taken places against caste-based discrimination in the society. It is, perhaps, because of transformative educational system, in the recent decades, the structure and the functioning of the caste system and its economic and social aspects are greatly changing. The rigidities of the caste system are changing. Education is one of the best means to address Dalit issue with the advocacy of equality and equity. All these restrictive measures have been changed. Education, awareness and modernization are the best means to address Dalit issue with the equality and equity.

Key words : Dalits, Discrimination, Change, socio-cultural, occupational change

1. Introduction

The term caste is derived from the Spanish and Portuguese word 'casta' which means 'race' or 'breed' or 'lineage'. It is an endogamous and hereditary social group limited to persons of the same rank, occupation, economic position, etc., and having mores distinguishing it from other such groups. It is considered a closed system of stratification, which means that a person's social status is obligated to which caste they were born into. There are limits on interaction and behavior with people from another social status (Adhikari, 1993).

Nepalese caste system was the traditional system of social stratification of Nepal. The caste system in Nepal is historically one of the main dimensions where people are socially differentiated through class, religion, region, tribe, gender and language. The Nepalese caste system is considered a closed system of stratification, which means that a person's social status is obligated to which caste they were born into. Caste-based discrimination was severely practiced in society in the past. Dalits were discriminated and hatred in the society. They were treated not as human beings and their outcry went unheard.

*Mr. Khatiwada is a Faculty at Department of Anthropology, Patan M. Campus, TU, Nepal.

The caste-based discrimination was officially abolished in 1963 by the Mulki Ain[#] in Nepalese society. In the recent decades, the structure and the functioning of the caste system and its economic and social aspects are greatly changing. The changes in the rigidities of the caste system are due to the growth of city life (Ghurye, 1961). After dealing rich literature on the topic of caste, a question appears in my mind ‘What exactly is happening to caste? And how is the caste system being transformed in contemporary Nepali society?’

In the present context, the political transformations have been made. Nepal is going through a transformative process in which many existing social norms and patterns have been changed and many are being reformed. With changing condition of social structure and cultural practices, the Nepali caste system is also being changed. To study such change, I was interested to study on the caste-based transformation in Dalit community in Urban Nepal.

In this context, this research would explore how was the changing relation of caste in Nepal? Was there rigidity of the caste system changed? Were there structure and the functioning of the caste system and its economic and social aspects changed? I would study the ways of interaction of high caste people and low caste people and their cultural and occupational practices. For this study, the researcher would try to address the following research questions.

1. Are there the functioning of the caste system and rigidity of the caste system changed?
2. How do the high caste and low caste people interact with each other?
3. How are the changing pattern of occupation and cultural practices and educational System of Dalit people in urban area of Nepal?

2. Objectives of the Study

The objective of the study is to analysis the transformation of caste-based relation in Dalit community in urban area of Nepal. This study aims to analyze the caste relations and caste transformation in Nepal and to explore the relation between high caste people and low caste people based on their education, occupational and cultural practices.

3. Methods of Study and Analyses

The information was collected through a phased and iterative data collection process. The first phase of visit was to test field methodologies and ensure the data to be collected in Mudkhu Bhanjyang. The second phase was mainly focused on household selection and survey and collection of qualitative data from different sources and methods. 56 households were selected from Dalit Community and 16 households were selected from Non-dalit Community. Respondents were selected through randomly from Dalits and non-Dalit community and data were collected through semi-structured interviews and focus

[#] The first unified law enacted on 1st Bhadra, 2020 (1963) which officially abolished discrimination based on class, caste or region.

group discussions at the village level. Field work was conducted in January-March 2022. Head of the households, youths and school teachers were interviewed either individually or in small focus groups. Interviews and interactions were conducted outside the house, in school, in ward office, or in the field. Conversations were started from very general questions such as ‘What exactly is happening to caste system? And how is the caste system being transformed in contemporary Nepali society?’ With this leading question I began the field study and collected information were analyzed in systematic way.

4. Study Area and People

The study area Mudkhu Bhanjyang is the Ward No 5 of Tarakeshwar municipality in Kathmandu District in Bagmati Province of Nepal. It is located approximately seven kilometers away from Balajuchok. The settlements selected for the study were Dalits and non-Dalit Community. There are dalit community such as Damai and Kami. But the majority of caste belongs in surveyed settlement were Damai. The total households of Damai in the study area were forty. Among them 30 respondents were selected and other 26 respondents were selected Kami households. Other’s castes and ethnic groups live in Mudkhu Bhanjyang were Rai, and Tamang, Magar, Brahmin, Chhetri etc. 16 respondents were selected from these castes group (Non-Dalits castes). Respondents from non-Dalit caste were studied to know their view on caste-based transformation in urban area of Nepal. The caste/ethnic structure of sample respondents is presented in the following table.

Table No. 1

Caste/Ethnic Structure of the Respondents		
Caste	No of respondent	Percentage
Kami	26	36.1
Damai	30	41.7
Non-dalit Castes/Ethnic group	16	22.2
Total	72	100

Source: Field Survey, 2022

The table 1 shows the caste and ethnic group of the respondents. 72 respondents (Dalits Caste 56 and Non-Dalit Caste 16) were selected for the study purpose. Out of 72 respondents, 30 (41.7 %) respondents were Damai, 26 (36.1%) Kami and 16 (22.2 %) respondents were non-Dalit caste/ethnic group. With the selected respondents, required information was collected in changing pattern of occupation and cultural practices and educational system of Dalit people.

5. Results and Discussion

Dalit and Non- dalit Relations

Mudkhu Bhanjyang is heterogeneous in terms of caste and ethnicity. Rai, and Tamang, Magar, Brahmin, Chhetri, Damai, Kami, are the major groups of the study area. Although different caste and ethnic group live there, the researcher found that there was no caste discrimination in Mudkhu Bhanjyang during the field study. Economic independence,

citizen rights and self-respect, numerical strength or political mobilization are often preconditions for caste change (Beteille, 1965). At Present, Dalits and non-Dalits people live and eat together in Mudkhu of Kathmandu. Shanti Sapkota, aged 40 of Mudkhu has rented her house to Jina Bhusal (Dalit Women) for Hotel Business. Shanti Sapkota goes to the house of Jina, sits together and eats at their house. Until a few years ago, Dalits and non-Dalits were treated differently, but in recent years, there has been no such caste discrimination in the area, Shanti Sapkota said.

There are about 40 Dalit households in Mudkhu Bhanjyang and surrounding areas. Other caste/ethnic group is Brahmins and Chhetris including Tamangs and Newars. One of the respondents of the study area, Krupa Tamang, aged 19 said "There is no caste discrimination between Dalits and non-Dalits in Mudkhu. It is considered new for other areas of the capital city." Another respondent, Lali Vishwakarma aged 24 of Nayagaun says:

"In some villages around Kathmandu, non-Dalits still do not allow Dalits to enter their homes, they do not use the water they touch. But in our village we don't have such practice. They come and eat without hesitation in our house. We don't have to go far to sell home-grown vegetables. Non-Dalits people buy them from our house."

Hareram Sapkota aged 34, Social Teacher of Secondary Level of Nagarjun Thulagaun Secondary School, says "there is still a difference between Dalits and non-Dalits in other area of Nepal. But here it is very different. I was surprised at the beginning." He was from Bhojpur and has been teaching in this school since eight years. People from other regions like Sapkota are surprised to see them living together as one family.

Krishna Kumar Vishwakarma says, "Untouchability discrimination of small caste and big caste and any other kind of abuse is not found in our society." During the field study, it is found that Dalit youths have married daughters of non-Dalit caste and settled them at home. Due to which, there is no difference of opinion even in terms of caste. The respondent Vishwakarma said:

"With the development of education and consciousness, discrimination is being reduced, it is a matter of social shame for people to discriminate against people in our village. The Gods made of Dalit/non-Dalit as the same. Why should we be different?"

In Mudkhu Bhanjyang, almost all castes give equal importance to the culture and customs of all. The festivals celebrated by the Hindus and the festivals observed by the Buddhists are almost all celebrated together. In the context of Nepal, caste discrimination, which has been deeply rooted in the society for centuries, was given legal recognition by the Civil Act issued by Jung Bahadur Rana in 1910 BS. Due to which the boundaries of higher and lower castes were drawn for all the people, socio-cultural groups. To be of higher caste means to have a higher kind of opportunity, to occupy a higher position, to enjoy higher privileges, to have the natural right to despise and degrade the lower caste. In the same

way, being of lower caste means working at a lower level, getting less respect, and being happier than the upper caste, being engrossed in their service.

The Civil Act issued by King Mahendra in 1963 replaced discrimination and untouchability. The Civil Act issued by King Mahendra legally ended caste discrimination and untouchability, but its practical implementation and social impact remained nil. In the recent decades, the structure and the functioning of the caste system and its economic and social aspects are greatly changing.

Subedi mentions that economic and political developments have pressed the caste system to break its stagnancy and status quo (Subedi, 2014). In modern Hindu Nepalese Society, with the establishment of republicanism (28th May 2008), rapidly changing economic orders and educational systems, the idea of caste has lost its appeal and value. The caste system is still intact today but the rules are not as rigid as they were in the past. Development activities have changed traditional social and cultural institution of the society that has also changed the perception of people on Dalits.

Perception on Dalits' Entry into the Religious Place

Dalits were discriminated in the religious and cultural spheres. They were not allowed to practice Hindu rituals, norms and values in the same manner as other castes. Even more critical than water has been the restriction on the Dalit communities on entering Hindu places of worship. Brahmanical Hinduism imposed strict restrictions on Dalit's participation in the Hindu religious life. Dalits were also denied access to education that could enable them to read the Hindu scriptures.

The prohibition on entering temples had prevented the Dalits from participating in the religious activities inside the temples. They had to be content with worshipping outside the temple building. Dalit women who entered the temple were humiliated by the temple priests as well as by higher-caste people in many cases in the past. Mudkhu Bhanjyang obviously does not fit into this framework.

Though there are very few Hindu temples in the villages of Mudkhu. Dalit People go to the temple and worship there. In Mudkhu Bhanjyang, Dalit people have built a Shiva Temple by collecting the amount from the Dalit Villagers. One of the respondents reported that "We do not feel discrimination in entering in the Temple because we have built our own Temple."

When I asked a Dalit woman in a village Mudkhu, have you ever visited the Pashupatinath Temple and Dakshinkali Temple of Kathmandu? She answered yes. She spoke: "in the recent years, there is no restriction even in entering in the Pashupatinath Temple and Dakshinkali Temple. But at the past, 'they did not even like our going anywhere near the compound wall of this temple.'"

Another Dalit respondent told me how a few Dalit children who had casually entered the temple compound were abused and chased out in the past. But at present time, perception on Dalits' entry into the religious place has been changed. The following table shows the perception the respondents on Dalits' entry into the religious place.

Table No. 2**Perception of Dalits' Entry into the Religious Place**

Categories	No practice of Untouchability	Some Practiced	Regular Practiced	Not Openly	Total
Kami	12	8	0	6	26
Damai	14	8	1	7	30
Non-dalit Castes	8	2	3	3	16
Total	34 (47.22%)	18 (25%)	4 (5%)	16 (22.22%)	72 (100 %)

Source: Field Study, 2022

Table 2 reveals that current practices of Dalit's entry into Hindu temples. During fieldwork, out of 72 respondents, 34 (47.22%) reported no experience practice of untouchability on Dalits' entry in the religious places, 18 (25%) respondents reported some practices, 4 (5%) respondents reported regular practice and 16 (22.22%) experience denial of entry into the temples for performing worship and to receive *prasads* (offering). The data reveal one of the key demands of the Dalit movement in the last five decades has been the right to entry into the temples. This demand has been success to the Dalits of Mudkhu.

In Nepal, in the 1800s, the Civil Court passed discriminatory laws against untouchables, forbidding them from receiving education, using public spaces, entering temples or marrying people from other castes. In 1963, King Mahendra abolished these laws, declaring that Nepal as a nation was against the caste system. However, Mahendra's provisions were only legal and nominal, and no practical programs were implemented to empower Dalits or reform cultural attitudes.

In 1991, Nepal ratified the new constitution, which was based on the ideals of democracy and equality. The constitution rejected caste system, linked Dalit problems with human rights, and guaranteed equal rights to Dalits. The Constitution of Nepal (2072) addressed Dalit problems as a priority development issue. As Dalits became more educated, they started to be social activists on their own behalf.

Perception on access of Dalits on Common Sources of Drinking Water

Denial to the 'common' sources of drinking water to the untouchable communities had been widely practised in the country in the past. In most places, there were strict divisions of the sources of drinking water across caste communities. While all non-Dalit castes could access 'common' water sources, the untouchables could do so only from their own wells and ponds.

Much has changed in Mudkhu with regard to access to drinking water as well. The old-style wells were no longer the primary source of drinking water anywhere. In many villages taps were constructed under government-funded programs. This change seemed to have completely transformed the attitude of the population towards drinking water as a potential arena of caste prejudice. The following table shows the people perception on access of Dalits on common sources of drinking water in Mudkhu.

Table No. 3

Perception on access of Dalits on Common Sources of Drinking Water					
Categories	No practice of Untouchability	Some Practiced	Regular Practiced	Not Openly	Total
Kami	16	4	0	6	26
Damai	18	6	1	5	30
Non-Dalit Castes	8	2	3	3	16
Total	42 (58.34 %)	12 (16.66 %)	4 (5.50%)	4 (19.5%)	72 (100 %)

Table 3 reveals those current practices of Dalits' access on common sources of drinking water. During fieldwork, out of 72 respondents, 40 (50.33 %) reported no practice of untouchability on Dalits' access on common sources of drinking water, 12 (16.66%) respondents reported some practices, 4 (5.5%) respondents reported regular practiced and 14 (19.50%) experience denial to access on common sources of drinking water.

Perception on Dalits' Entry into the House of Upper Castes

Dalits were denied entry into the houses of higher castes, temples, hotels/restaurants, teashops, food factories, dairy farms and milk collection centers, among others. In Mudkhu, there is no restriction on Dalits' entry into the house of upper cast people. During the field study, one of the Informants reported that:

“In the past, Dalits were restricted entry into the houses, cowsheds and to touch the animals of higher castes. Higher castes people had a belief that if a Dalit entered the cowsheds and touch the rope of cows or buffaloes and the water pot, the animals would die or would give less quantity of milk. A Dalit who drink tea in a teashop had to wash the cup used by them. But in these days, there is no such practices in our village. We can go and sit in the house of upper caste people. There is no practices of untouchability.”

One of respondents from upper caste said that “Dalits are not restricted entering into my house”. She had rented her to the Dalit Woman for Hotel Business. The following table shows the perception on Dalits' entry into the house of upper castes in Mudkhu.

Table No. 4

Perception on Dalits' Entry into the House of Upper Castes.				
Categories	No practices of Untouchability	Practices	Not overtly	Total
Kami	0	5	21	26
Damai	1	2	27	30
Non-Dalits Castes	6	8	2	16
Total	7 (9.72 %)	15 (20.83 %)	50 (69.45 %)	72 (100%)

Source: Field Study, 2022

Table 4 reveals those current practices of on Dalits' entry into the house of upper castes in Mudkhu. During fieldwork, out of 72 respondent, 50 (69.45 %) reported no easy access to

Dalits' entry into the house of upper castes, 15 (20.83 %) respondents reported some practised, 7 (9.72 %) respondents reported no practised of untouchability on Dalits' entry into the house of upper castes in Mudkhu. These data shows that entry of Dalits into the house of upper castes is being declining in Mudkhu. Similarly, practice of untouchability in hotels and restaurants are also declining but it has yet to be eliminated completely.

Perception on Dalits' Participation during the Village Festivals

Dalits could participate on equal terms in celebrations of local festivals. The following table shows the perception on Dalits' participation during the village festivals in Mudkhu.

Table No. 5

Perception on Dalits' Participation during the Village Festivals					
Categories	No practices of Untouchability	Some Practices	Regular Practices	Not Openly	Total
Kami	4	15	5	2	26
Damai	6	16	2	6	30
Non-Dalit Castes	12	4	1	0	16
Total	22(30.55 %)	35(48.62%)	7(9.72%)	8(11.11 %)	72 (100%)

Source: Field Study, 2022

Table 5 reveals those current practices of Dalits' participation during the village festivals in Mudkhu. During fieldwork, out of 72 respondent, 22 (30.55 %) respondents reported no practices of untouchability on Dalits' participation during the village festivals, 35 (48.62 %) respondents reported some practised, 7 (9.72 %) respondents reported regular practiced, and 8 (11.11) not openly practiced of untouchability on Dalits' participation during the village festivals in Mudkhu.

Occupational Involvement in the Past and Present

Traditionally, caste-based discrimination and untouchability has had strong ties because of occupational division of caste groups. For instance, prestigious economic activities were monopolized by high caste peoples and degrading menial works were given to the Dalits. One of the respondents, aged 56, reported that "Dalits have been relegated to do caste-based work as black/goldsmith, tailors, shoemakers and street cleaners. All are considered of low social status. Poverty and lack of other means of livelihood forced the Dalits to continue their traditional occupations."

Presently, Dalits has changed the traditional occupations. Due to the modern technology, skills and financial resources prevent them from getting employed in new industries or trade in the market. The following table shows the transformation of occupation in the past and at present.

Table No. 6**Change in Occupation in the Past and at Present**

Occupation	Involvement in Past	Percentage	Involvement at Present	Percentage
Tailoring and Playing Baja	21	29	11	15.28
Iron Metal Blacksmith	19	26	9	12.5
Goldsmith	4	5.5	2	2.8
Business Person	2	3.7	6	8.33
Teaching	0	0	3	4.16
Agriculture	22	30.4	15	20.83
Labor	2	2.7	8	11.11
Foreign Employment	0	0	9	12.5
Transport related Job	0	0	5	6.94
Defense Force	2	2.7	4	5.55
Total	72	100	72	100

Source: Field Survey, 2022

Table 6 presents the status of occupational involvement in the past and at present. Past occupation refers to that occupation which was adopted by the parent of the respondent and current occupation refers to that occupation which is presently adopted by the respondent. The study identifies that there was an involvement in 10 types of occupations. The data indicates that there was the largest number of involvements in agriculture occupation accounting to 22 (30.40 %) in the past followed by tailoring and playing *Panche Baja* 21 (29 %), iron metal work and blacksmith 4 (5.5 %), and defense force 2 (2.7 %). Presently, the occupational involvement and the volume reveal different results. The data indicates that the majority of respondents' involvement is in Agriculture. A very portion of the survey household had their own traditional caste-based occupation (Damai Tailoring and Kami: Iron work). Out of 72 respondents 15 (20.83%) had agriculture as their occupation only 11 (15.28 %) respondents had their own traditional occupation as tailoring and playing Baja 9 (12.50 %) Iron Metal Work. The data indicates that very few respondents were involved in business, teaching, foreign employment, transport related job and defense force etc. The size of involvement in other new occupation was significant. This shows that Dalits in Mudkhu Bhajnyang were involved in new occupation rather than their traditional occupation.

There were different causes for different nature of occupational change in the people of the Dalit communities. Due to the lack of other skills and knowledge, dissatisfaction with the previous occupation, lack of capital, possibility of modernization, fear of financial risk and fear of social contempt Dalit's people involved in other new occupations.

Perceptions on Upper-Caste Students and Dalit Students Sitting and Eating Together in Schools

Historically, education was controlled by Brahmin which would be based on religion and its premises. Reading Vedas, chanting mantras and performing ritual would be the way of

receiving knowledge, skills and forming morality in daily life. However, due to untouchability Dalit could not perform any of these as equal to Brahman or non-Dalit one. There would be severing restriction in relation to gaining education for centuries. Teachers do not take care of their Dalit students. In remote areas of Nepal, Dalit students could not sit beside the so-called high-caste students. There were many cases at Government schools of isolating Dalit students when eating school-supplied food, and treating them badly. One of the respondents, aged 57, reported that:

During my childhood and onwards, I more often heard the phrase from non-Dalit 'don't touch' which strongly bordered my social life. Similarly, my mother used to say, "If you touch them, you may be caught with sin." On the next hand, I countlessly saw that if Dalit touched non-Dalit, later used Chhoichhito³³ or Sunpani³⁴ to be holy themselves. Moreover, non-Dalits used to disseminate that touching textbook and receiving education is equal to committing sin for Dalits, on the next, Dalit parents used to think that people from Sano-Jat like them no need of schooling their children. Such caste-based perspectives from non/Dalits separated the social and schooling life-world for centuries"

Nambissan (2009) stated that Dalit children have to face caste-based prejudice in terms of using drinking water at school themselves (p. 25). Similarly, it would deny worshipping at Saraswati temple together with non-Dalit children, as mentioned by Bishwakarma (2013) I had to wait for a long time to worship at Saraswati temple in school (p. 72). Dalit children were not allowed to involve in tuition held into room of the house of non-Dalit. These sorts of caste-based discrimination were strongly practiced at school in the past.

In this regard, Aahuti (2010), the education system ultimately serves the interests of the suppressors. The so-called untouchability can be accounted as a product of religious belief and customary practices. One of my respondents opined his story like: while I admitted at school my father was criticized by non-Dalits as "You committed sin by sending your son at school that touched books. My father replied "I don't care it, I let my son study". Such a concept would intervene in the Dalit education in the past. In such a way, forms of discrimination are determined according to the community, culture and context.

The past discriminative schooling approach induced social exclusion, as a result, Dalit are lagging behind in power, politics and then out of socio-cultural mainstreaming and national development yet. Though restriction of schooling Dalit people would transfer their occupation-based knowledge and skills to their children at the place of *Pindhi*³⁵ and house yard in the past. It would assist them for their livelihood. In this regard, Koirala (1996) stated that way of transmitting knowledge and skills would be at *Pindhi* and *Baranda*³⁶ for Dalit children by parents (p. 199). It seems as an insightful example what talent that Dalit have and how it would transfer without being attend at state schools.

³³ Sprinkling of water drop to make the touched things holy

³⁴ Water touched by gold

³⁵ Lower part of the house

³⁶ outer part of the house

In a recent year, Mudkhu Bhanjyang does not fit into this framework. Much has changed in Mudkhu with regard to the education of Dalit Children. All Dalit students of Mudkhu go to the Nagarjun Thulagau Secondary School and learn from there. They could sit with so-called high-caste students. There were no cases of isolating Dalit students when eating school-supplied food, and treating them badly. They eat and drink together in school. The following table shows the perceptions on upper-caste and Dalit students sitting and eating together, drinking water in schools.

Table No. 7

Perceptions on Upper-Caste Students and Dalit Students Sitting and Eating Together in Schools

Categories	No practices of Untouchability	Some Practices	Total
Kami	22	4	26
Damai	24	6	30
Non-Dalit Castes	16	0	16
Total	62 (86.11%)	10 (13.89)	72 (100%)

Table 7 shows the perceptions on upper-caste students and Dalit students sitting and eating together, drinking water in schools. The data reveals those current practices of on Dalits' entry into the house of upper castes in Mudkhu. During fieldwork, out of 72 respondent, 62 (86.11 %) reported no practiced of untouchability, 10 (13.89 %) respondents reported some practiced untouchability on upper-caste students and Dalit students sitting and eating together, drinking water in schools. There were no cases of regular practiced and not openly in Mudkhu.

Education is one of the best means to address Dalit issue with the advocacy of equality and equity. Dalit discrimination is decreasing day by day which is green signal of transforming society into democratic one. It may lead to assist the sustainable development initiatives of the society onwards better future of all caste groups.

Out of many reasons of caste-based discrimination it can be said that religious belief, caste-based hierarchical social structure, social values, caste-based traditional occupations and caste-based hierarchical value of human beings are found as major causes of Dalits exclusion in education for the centuries. However, the structured form of caste-based discrimination at schools has significantly been controlled but found at social level yet. For a few decades, caste-based discrimination is being prevented due to inclusivity in education. It is because education caste system is being transformed for a few decades. In this regard, Dahal (2011) stated that inclusivity in education is a concept of mainstreaming differences with philosophy of positive valuation.

Conclusion

To sum up, caste-based discrimination is decreasing day by day at present. Changes have been observed in the involvement in a particular occupation, cultural practices and educational system in the past and at present. There is an increasing tendency of leaving

traditional & caste-based occupations and shifting to new & modern types of occupation and cultural Practices in the new generation of Dalit communities in Mudkhu Bhanjyang. Caste-based discrimination was severely practiced in society in the past. However, in recent years, restriction caste got flexibility. Discrimination at schools, segregated sitting arrangement, not allowed to eat anything sitting with non-Dalits, not allowed to touching drinking water, more or less, is flexible according to the community, culture, and context. Dalits were historically accounted as matter of controlled, dominated and subjugated human beings. All these restrictive measures have been changed. Education, awareness and modernization are the best means to address Dalit issue with the equality and equity.

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