

Occupational Shift among Dalits

Bala Ram Acharya*

Abstract

This paper examines how caste relations are affecting conventional caste-based artisan occupations at present changing scenario of Nepali society. Its focus has been to examine how changes in livelihoods have affected the traditional occupational status of Dalits in semi-rural parts of the Kaski district. Relationship between Dalit and non-Dalit families, traditional artisan and occupations have been an integral part of Nepalese society and culture. They have bound Nepali families together based on their livelihoods. Patron-client relationships between Dalits and non-Dalits, on the other hand, were based on an unequal relationship. This relationship is labeled “unequal” because the people belonging to the Dalit community have been discriminated all life in social practices while having a no way out to escape from the clutches of the cashless peasantry and artisan occupations of the 'Balighare and Hali pratha' while lagging behind in land ownership. Sewing, Ploughing, and Blacksmithery, works based on birth were common. This form of patron-client relationship where the upper castes exploitatively extracted more from what the Dalits had to offer is best termed as an “unequal relationship”. For the purpose of this qualitative research, on-site interviews were arranged with the sixty members from the Dalit households, as per the consent and availability of the participating families. All of them had a history of working the traditionally assigned artisan occupations, while some of them still continued doing so. Most respondents have terminated 'bali pratha' which was based on patron-client relationships between Dalits and non-Dalit families. The young generation shows indifference to the forefather's occupation. Different factors, like the market-based production system and migration trends and the influences of urbanization encourage them to change their traditional occupations. Large numbers of Dalits are now employed in non-agricultural areas for a living. Similarly, livelihood diversification is helping weaken the caste-based occupation in the study area.

Keywords: Dalit, occupational shift, patron-client relations, caste and livelihood diversification.

Introduction

This paper examines how contemporary caste relations are affecting the traditional caste-based occupations. Dalit households seem to be deviating from their predetermined artisan, craftsmen

* Department of Sociology, Ratna Rajyalaximi Campus, T.U., Kathmandu, Nepal. balaram72@yahoo.com

and other historically bonded occupations. The proponents of this much awaited positive change are improvement in national literacy, free-market economy, practices of democratization, improved land ownership rights, criminalization of untouchability practices and governmental quota reservation for marginalized groups. Its focus has been on examining how changes in livelihoods have affected the traditional occupational status of Dalits in semi-rural parts of the Kaski district, which is close to Pokhara, a major city in western Nepal. Conventional artisans are an integral element of Nepalese culture. It bound Nepali families based on their livelihoods in a mutual way. However, artisanal knowledge is rapidly disappearing with the modern mode of production. Despite this, only a small number of people rely on their skills for a living because of poor working conditions in terms of market, quality production and cost-effectiveness. The artisans are unable to compete in the free market. The caste system and power dynamics in Nepalese society, in particular, are to blame for the decline of traditional caste-based artisan and blacksmithing occupations (Gellner and Adhikari, 2019).

Dalits are, to varying degrees, bound in patron-client relationships because they lack social and economic authority. Since the early stages, Dalits have been restricted to caste-based jobs that serve the entire Nepalese population, making it impossible for them to improve or expand their access to land, which is not only a valuable resource but also a source of political and social power as well as a sign of prestige and prosperity. The majority of literate Dalit youngsters are aware of caste-based oppression, identify new options of livelihood, and do not want to follow in the footsteps of their ancestor's occupation (Sunam, 2014).

The Varna system is the foundation of the caste system. The Varna system, on which Nepal's social structure is based, allows for interactions and interdependence between various caste groups, individuals, and jobs. Four major social categories serve as the foundation for the caste or Varna system. These are the Kshatriyas (warriors, monarchs, administrators, etc.), the Vaishya (agriculturalists, traders), the Sudra (labourers), and the Brahmins (priests, gurus, etc.) (Joshi, 2017).

As described in the Old Legal Code of 1854 as "those from whose water is not acceptable and whose touch necessitates a sprinkle of holy water," the term "Dalit" is a relatively modern phrase used to describe the so-called low and past untouchable castes (Dahal et.al. 2002). In the Varna system, four castes are used to categorize society. Brahmin was active in the priesthood, learning, and education, among other things. Brahmins who work in the sciences (intellectual and religious fields). Kasetriyas works in the armed forces, the administration, and agriculture. The term "Vaishya" refers to people who labour in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry. In the same way, those who work as artisans, hard labourers, or service providers are referred to as Shudras. According to the traditional allocation of caste-based vocations, Shudras, who are at the bottom of the socio-cultural hierarchy and are today generally known as Dalits, are the artisan producers

and service providers for the upper caste people. There have been numerous instances of patron-client interactions between members of the so-called upper and lower castes. Some of the examples as reported by the village elders in the interview, was during significant festivals and many cultural and religious activities, Damais participate by sewing and mending clothing and playing traditional musical instruments like the “*panche baja*”. Metal utensils, such as kitchenware like knives, pots, and pans, as well as agricultural tools like spades and plough blades, are produced and repaired by Kamis. Shoes and musical instruments, usually involving leatherworks, like the *madal*, *damaha*, etc. are produced and repaired by the Sarkis. Even though they increasingly prefer cash, Dalits who have continued to labour in the traditional sewing industry still receive grains annually for their tailoring job. For their metalworking, most Dalits who work in ironworks (*aran*) are paid with grains (*bali*), but they now desire to be paid in cash. A Dalit home used to purchase at least three *pathis* of paddy, maize, and wheat from the *Bista* household. Additionally, during specific rites and festivals, Dalits used to receive various food items and clothing as well, falling under the *Balighare Pratha* as a classic example of a goods-based patron-client relationship based on the caste system (Nepali, Pyakuryal and Boeker, 2011).

According to Prasrit (2063 B.S.), in the beginning, the division of labour among the four types was apparent among people based on the performance of work. Each person in each Varna group could do any of them interchangeably. After attaining the qualifications according to work, people could earn respect by working in the upper caste, even among the Vaishyas and Shudras. This custom is not only from the Vedic period; it was also born into many castes and untouchability and was maintained in the Smriti and Purana periods as well. As a result, following the Manusmriti period, the process of untouchability, discrimination, and exclusion began in the professional caste system, then expanded and persisted in society for a very long time (Lerche. 2009).

This practice helped to reveal a very large amount of inhumane behaviour in society. Caste discrimination increased in society then, and structural differences were created in the caste system by creating a so-called upper caste and a so-called lower caste. It gave priority to caste-based, unequal professional relationships. Patron-client relationships between Dalits and non-Dalits are also based on caste-based occupations. It can be understood that the artisan occupation is associated with a caste system. Traditional caste-based occupations have changed with the modernization of society, which provides equal livelihood chances for all based on their talent and qualification. Damai, Kami, Sarki, and Gaine (Gandharva) are major Dalit groups that rely on traditional skills for a living and have traditionally lived in the Kaski district. In their daily lives, the majority of these people use traditional skills and technologies. This group of people is excluded from resources, politics, and social and cultural functions. Such Dalit groups have long been associated with the patron-client relationship, which is on the decline. Such communities belong to the Dalits, who have long been artisans. This research has focused on the Damai, Kami, and Sarki communities only. This study looks into the current state and changing factors affecting Dalit artisanal traditional occupations in a community in Armala village, Kaski district, Nepal.

Similarly, it identifies the patron-client relationship between Dalit and non-Dalit communities, which is on a sharply decreasing trend. This article also discusses the new livelihood paths taken by Dalits in the context of their mobility, including the parallel growths of the market, urbanization, and migration.

Methodology

Empirical data has served as the main foundation for this research. To illustrate the various social and economic origins of Dalit households, a variety of homes were chosen. At the household level, participant observation and semi-structured interviews have been undertaken. Similarly, data from key informants was acquired when interviewing respondents. Additional information was acquired from non-Dalit homes that had recently ended long-standing patron-client relationships (*balighare pratha*). Between December 2021 and January 2022, fieldwork was done. Sixty Dalit households were chosen purposively from Damai-Pariyar, Kami-Bishwokarma, and Sarki-Nepali.

Purposive sampling was chosen because only Dalit households were needed to participate in the research as it needed focused, in-depth look on relatively smaller sized samples of the chosen sub-population. This topic of caste discrimination related issues is a well-known topic for me; hence a purposive, qualitative research was necessary. Observation sessions with the help of key informants helped to validate our data collection phase. We aimed to understand the subjective information through open ended questions. The transcript was coded after the process

A total of 60 respondents, with 40 from Pariyar, 15 from Bishwokarma, and 5 from Nepali surnames were chosen. This number aligns with the scale and category of this research, justifying the suitability of the sample size of available respondents in Armala. The nature of their responses had been repeated when a total of sixty respondents were asked. Therefore, this sample size is saturated. The research area's caste dominance is the basis of unequal caste size proportionately. Interviews were also conducted with local teachers, women, youth, and mainly, with household heads. The main inhabitants of the research area are Gurung, Brahmin, Chhetri, Kami, and Damai. Sarki remains small in size. The Kami, Damai, and Sarki were the poorest landless people in the past, or they had small plots of non-paddy dry land known as *pakhobari*. As reported by the elderly respondents (and later verified by the informants as well as the author's independent research), the castes that had the most land in Armala in the past were the Brahmin, Chhetri, and Gurung communities. However, the economic situation was not equal among them. Traditionally, the Gurung community was involved in the British army, the Indian army, and the Singapore police. Aside from them, Gurung's mobility rate abroad is high for their means of subsistence. Brahmins and Chhetri were in comparatively better economic conditions because of their land resources and are involved in business sectors, service sectors, and foreign migration for job

opportunities. However, Dalits lived in deplorable conditions as a result of long periods of social exclusion. Moving abroad has assisted them in improving their economic situation at present. The research area is close to semi-rural parts of the Kaski district, which is close to Pokhara, a major city in western Nepal, which encourages people to relocate to urban suburbs for better job opportunities besides traditionally assigned work.

Literature review

The Dalit population is higher in the hill and mountain regions combined (72.84%) than in the Tarai and inner Tarai combined (27.16%). In the hills and mountains, Dalits, including Kami, Damai, and Sarki, occupy 7.95% of the total population of Nepal (CBS, 2012). Dalits are the most deprived and vulnerable social group in Nepal (Bishwakarma, 2018) and represent about 15–20% of the total population (International Dalit Solidarity Network, 2018). The National Dalit Commission lists 26 castes as Dalits: 19 Terai Dalit castes and 7 Hill Dalit castes (Shahi, 2018). Traditionally, three important occupational castes like the Kami, Damai, and Sarki are historically artisans in Nepal and known as hill Dalits. In the communities, each of these three castes performs a particular task. The villagers' clothing is made by Damais, the local tailors. The leather artisan is Sarkis. The shoes are made and fixed by them. The village's blacksmiths and goldsmiths are the Kamis. According to Regmi (1971), the only occupational castes in Nepal's hills were those that worked as tailors, leatherworkers, blacksmiths, and goldsmiths (Damai, Sarki, Kami, Sunar), among others. Dalits have been made to labour in low-status jobs such as street cleaners, tailors, shoemakers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and tailors based on the caste system. The Dalits are forced to keep working in their traditional occupations due to poverty and a lack of alternative sources of income. Dalit women and children are made to work in their landlords' homes as well. They are not paid a fair wage for their work. If they are not employed by someone else, they work alongside their husbands in Dalit workers' customary occupations. Those engaged in *Khala Prathi* or *Haliya Prathi* (bonded or forced labour), do not even receive payment for their efforts. They might only receive grains. They are unable to trade in the market or find employment in emerging industries due to a lack of current technology, skills, and financial means. The economic condition of Dalits who switched from traditional occupations to paid work has not always improved (Shrestha, 2002). However, Chetry (2010) has found that in recent times, there has been a rapid occupational shift in Dalit communities. The major significant causes of the occupational mobility of the Kami community include socio-cultural practices, modernization, industrialization, and urbanization. The widespread use of the western education system also plays a vital role in his study.

It is a widely recognized fact that economic change can play a decisive role in changing the structure of a society, a community, or a group. *Dalits* are no exception in this connection. The market economy has penetrated every corner of our organisation. This has brought about a different level of social and economic change. In this process, traditional occupations and social

relationships are changing rapidly. This is supported by empirical evidence (Parajuli 1999, 2005). However, Pokhrel and Chhetri (2006) have concluded that Dalits have further lost in the new situation. Their poverty and deprivation have not been reduced due to the new economy which has certainly created opportunities for others. Many of the Dalits who were landless and socially discriminated against have become further marginalized economically after their traditional occupations.

In a case study conducted in central Nepal, Adhikari (1996) observed a decline in the number of members of the occupational caste working in conventional jobs. The difficulty in acquiring charcoal from the forest was only one element in the decline of traditional employment; another was the easier accessibility of equipment made in factories on a large scale. On the other hand, due to traditionally caste-based discrimination, the condition of Dalits is vulnerable to the occupational caste working in conventional jobs.. On the other hand, due to traditionally caste-based discrimination, the condition of Dalits is vulnerable. Research done by the International Labour Organization (ILO) has shown that the caste system prevents Dalits from negotiating fair pricing for their services and goods with their upper-caste customers because it makes them politically and socially powerless. In actuality, Dalits haven't been able to organize into a powerful group to bargain and negotiate. The majority of them negotiate their pay on a case-by-case basis and would not accept lower wages, even if long-term contracts were ensured (ILO, 2005). So, after the breakdown of patron-client relations with non-Dalit, their economic condition has not improved notably because of social discrimination in daily life.

Artisanal occupations of Dalits (in this research, Damai, Kami, and Sarki) are no longer feasible because of the shifting nature of the market-based economy. Society is changing rapidly. The degree of human mobility is rising. A variety of livelihood options have also been made available. Tailoring, hand-making equipment, and other patron-client relations are also going to be changed. Most of the local tailors and blacksmiths have sought other occupations, such as pottering, full-time jobs in hotels and restaurants, wage labour in agriculture and other informal sectors, and so on. Some of them have sought employment opportunities in urban areas and abroad, which may have caused the decline of their artisan occupation presently. Similarly, Dalits' educational and economic circumstances may affect their choices of livelihood options in society. The relationship between agricultural producers and members of the occupational groups of tailors, blacksmiths, and leatherworkers is one of the most significant changes currently occurring within the peasant economy.

Analysis of field data

By offering various artisan services as well as agricultural labour, Damai, Kami, and Sarki have long played key roles in rural agriculture, particularly in the hilly region of Nepal. However,

several Nepali communities are progressively losing the traditional jobs held by these Dalits. Only a small number of Dalits continue to work in ancient trades such as tailoring, and music-making. The traditional artisans of today despise and disapprove of their ancient professions and payment systems as being unsustainable. Over time, contemporary livelihood strategies have replaced conventional income-generation methods. The residents in the study area have historically relied on agriculture and livestock as their main means of income. There is currently less livestock being used for subsistence. Agriculture today maintains a downward trend without patron-client relationships. Youth are moving to urban centres and other countries. In contrast to previous patron-client relationships (balipratha or haliya pratha), Dalits who live in study areas and work in agriculture do so for monetary compensation. According to Blaikie et. al.(1980) The relationship between agricultural producers and members of the occupational groups of tailors, blacksmiths, and leatherworkers or, to give them the caste labels to which the occupations are supposedly related, Damai, Kami, and Sarki is one of the most significant changes currently occurring within the peasant economy.

The majority of household heads hold traditional jobs, but their kids are moving into more market-based jobs. 65 percent (39) of household heads worked in agriculture or with livestock. However, just 1.8 percent (3) of the respondents among them had worked in a profession that is based on patron-client relations. In contrast, 35 percent (21) of households worked in the service sector, had knowledge of foreign workers, and engaged in modern tailoring in their local communities. The traditional artisan work of their parents was distrusted by young people. More than 80% of their offspring are aware of their means of support and favor a more contemplative lifestyle. The number of Dalit youth enrolling in school has increased. It demonstrates that at least 70% of Dalits have enrolled, at the primary level. It supports identifying new ways of living independently. Their kin has already relocated to Pokhara to work as foreign labour migrants and establish new businesses. They believed that caste-based artisan occupations were completely exploitative. Even agricultural work that is economically feasible to support their way of life is something they desire to undertake for pay. Most of the responders plan to work for cash. The traditional occupation-based jagamani system, in the respondents' opinion, was not founded on justice. It has discriminatory relationships. A change in occupation is occurring in the Dalit community and is seen as significant. In a market-based society, there are various ways to live. It has been discovered, though, that very few survey participants had access to higher education. It is difficult to change traditional occupations due to the cause of illiteracy. In the study area, 45 percent (27) of respondents were found to be illiterate. But they appear to be very patient and committed to their kids' education. Twelve respondents sent their kids to boarding school as part of their reflection on change. Each respondent enrolls at least at the primary level at their school. In this scenario, changing livelihoods and occupational shifts are remarkably noticeable.

The present research has found that intergenerational occupational mobility has been increasing. Significantly large size 80 percent (48) of respondents reported that their grandfathers' main

occupations were caste-specific and based on *balighare pratha*, Parton-client relations. Only a few (10%) reported that their grandfathers' main occupation was agriculture, while 5 percent (3 respondents) worked in services in India. The other 2 respondents had no idea about their grandparents' occupations because they were orphans. It demonstrates that the trend of occupational shifting has accelerated across generations. At present, with the consultation of the youth, all of them are not interested in learning and following their parents' and grandparents' occupations. The present generation is flexible and either follows or unfollows their fourth father's occupation. The current market, production system, and people's mobility are all factors that encourage them to change their traditional occupations. Options of livelihood are diverse in the present context. Based on the field data, about one-third of respondents mentioned the economic advantages brought forth by their involvement in foreign employment was the primary cause of them being able to afford the abandonment of the dated, cashless patron-client systems. This points out that the lack of alternative prospects of earning was a notable reason of their acceptance of *Balighare* and *Hali Prathas* in the past.

Discussion

Luintel argues that livelihood diversification is helping weaken the caste structures of Nepal and that a result a rigid 'varna' model of caste has begun breaking down even in rural areas. As urbanization and larger markets rise, so do the *jajmani* systems and 'new values' of dignity, self-respect, and individualism among new generations (Luintel, 2018). Local Dalits were pushed away from traditional methods of subsistence due to the emergence of market-based livelihood strategies. The tourist attraction site and a urbanized city of Nepal, Pokhara, is not far from the research area. It would be a great way for Dalits to survive by making use of urban opportunities. Mishra has pointed out that caste barriers have been weakened by several causes, including vocational diversification, urban migration, the state's engagement in the media, and occupational specialization. A new culture based on knowledge and observation rather than belief and rumor was created because of the growth of communication (Mishra 2007). According to Bhattachan et al. (2000), just 19% of Dalits work in conventional caste-based jobs. Most Damai (tailors) continue to practice their traditional trade. According to Dahal (2002), Damai are those who continue to work in their line of work despite if a lot of people are involved in agriculture. Then, certain Dhobi, Sarki, and Kami engage in their respective caste-based professions regularly. However, only goldsmiths or Sunar have continued to work in their original capacity among the Kami. Because of modern production, fewer people are working in caste-based vocations (Dahal et al. 2002). According to the current study, between 1990 and 2020, 60% of respondents broke down the *balighare pratha*. Similarly, 10% of respondents said they planned to leave the artisan occupation due to market competition. They were compelled to end caste-based work relations

by their offspring. Similar to Dalit respondents, several non-Dalit respondents who served as key informants in this study had previously participated in *haliya and balighare pratha* but were no longer interested in doing so because their children had moved away. They were no longer able to work in agriculture in addition to having children. Numerous families who are not Dalit have relocated to the city. It has been challenging for those who have stayed in the village to secure agricultural work. Because of the younger generation's lack of interest and support for their parents, our observation shows that Bishwokarma's iron instrument-making sport has not been noticed. The old tailoring livelihood model is no longer functional at all. Dalit youth are more rational in terms of grasping new livelihood strategies. They have no sense of inferiority toward the so-called upper caste. It also promotes breaking down artisan occupations. Education is becoming more widely available which also may ensure further livelihood options. The labour migration ratio is a significant component of the occupational shift among Dalits in the study area.

The present research has relevance to the conclusions of Dahal (2002) and Luintel (2018), who found urbanization and the contemporary production system affecting the change in traditional occupation. Nevertheless, according to this study, caste-based occupation changes are more common among educated people and their households than among the uneducated ones. Similarly, foreign labour migration has also played a significant role in breaking down their traditional caste-based occupation. Caste-based relationships in society have been significantly weakened by the market economy and the process of mobility of Dalit people. Important numbers of Dalit people leave the country to work in non-agricultural sectors. Data shows that Dalit households have experienced certain structural changes as a result of remittances. They have built new homes out of hard work that resembles those of other so-called upper castes. Respondents who have relocated for work, whether to India, the city, or abroad, have expressed a wish to break long-standing patron-client ties. Its primary cause was the opportunities offered by the market, which freed people from caste-based employment and provided them with a further sustainable means of life.

Conclusion

Dalit livelihood options are shifting as a result of the market economy. Caste-based occupation mainly based on *balighare partha* based on patron-client relationships is being displaced by foreign labour migration, employment opportunities in the unorganized sector, and free labor, mainly in metropolitan areas. Patron-client relationships were founded on a shared sense of moral and financial obligation and rights. While Dalits had the right to request food, money, or other commodities in exchange for upholding their duty and loyalty, *bista* in a *balighare partha* also had the right to demand Dalits' labour or other services. In the past, this pattern represented the economic interdependence of high-caste and low-caste families. Such a patron-client arrangement or contractual labour system between non-Dalits and Dalits used to be crucial for both groups' economies, which are completely broken down at present in the study area. The caste-based

occupation was the main source of income for the Dalit population until a decade ago, but it has been gradually disappearing over the years for many main reasons. They believe that their occupation has lower social prestige, is demeaning, and should be terminated with the help of new and better options for livelihood. Similarly, many young, educated Dalits do not like to follow in their forefather's footsteps because of low-level sustenance and socially discriminatory practices. The fact that they are having trouble competing with the open globalised market is another cause of the decrease in artisan occupations among the Dalit community. Dalit artisanal occupations are no longer viable due to the shifting nature of the market-based economy. Theoretically, it can be concluded that modernization, industrialization, and urbanization have played a major role in shifting occupational practices of livelihood. By increasing the number of income-generating activities, people can improve their quality of life and the welfare of their families. This process is known as "livelihood diversification." It is how every household maintains and raises its standard of living (Ellis 1998). According to the findings of this study, the diversification of livelihoods contributes to the weakening of Nepal's caste systems, resulting in fewer patron-client relationships between Dalit and non-Dalit families.

References

- Acharya B.R. (2006). *Research methodology and report writing*. National Book Center, Kathmandu
- Adhikari J. (2008). *Changing livelihoods: essays on Nepal's development since 1990*. Martin Chautari. Kathmandu.
- Bhattachan, K. B, Hemchuri, K., Gurung, Y., Biswakarma, C.M. (2003). *Existing practices of caste-Based untouchability in Nepal and strategy for a campaign for its elimination*. Action Aid Nepal.
- Bishwakarma, M. (2018). Political transformations in Nepal: Dalit inequality and justice. The University of Sydney, Australia. Retrieved from https://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/2123/17882/1/bishwakarma_mb_thesis.pdf
- Blaikie, P; Seddon, D and Cameroon, J. (1980). *Nepal in crisis: growth and stagnation at the periphery*. Adroit Publishers, New Delhi.
- CBS. (2012). *National population and housing Census 2011*. Central Bureau of Statistics. Nepal.
- Chetry, D. B. (2010). Changing occupation pattern among the Bishwokarmas: A case study of Hemja VDC. *Himalayan Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 4, 49-60.
- Dahal, D.R., Gurung, Y.B., Acharya, B., Hemchuri, K., Swarnkar, D. (2002). *National Dalit strategy report*. Action Aid Nepal, CARE Nepal, Save the Children, Kathmandu.
- Ellis, F. (1998). Household strategies and rural livelihood diversification. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 35(1), 1–38.

- Gellner, D. N., & Adhikari, K. P. (2019). Introduction: Nepal's Dalits in transition. *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, 46(2).
- ILO. (2005). *Dalits and labour in Nepal: discrimination and forced labour*. International Labour Office. Kathmandu.
- International Dalit Solidarity Network. (2018). Briefing Paper for the ICERD Committee Members. <https://idsn.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/CERD-briefing-paper-NEPAL-review-April-2018-.pdf>. Accessed 8 August, 2019
- Joshi, N. (2017). *Caste system in ancient India*. *World history Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from <https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1152/caste-system-in-ancient-india/>.
- Lerche, J. (2009). From 'rural labor' to 'classes of labor': Class fragmentation, caste and class struggle at the bottom of the Indian labor hierarchy. In *The comparative political economy of development* (pp. 90-111). Routledge.
- Luintel, Youbaraj. (2018). *Caste and society: changing dynamics of inter-caste relations in Nepal*. Academic Book Center. Kathmandu.
- Mishra, C. (2007). *Essays on sociology of Nepal*. Fine Prints.
- Nepali, P., Pyakuryal, K. N., & Boeker, U. M. (2011). Livelihood Options for the Landless in an Agrarian Society: A case study from far western Nepal. *Studies (IJRS)*, 18(1).
- Parajuli B. (1999). Mobility and change in occupational status of Pokhara city. *Departmental Journal of political Science, Department of Political Science*, 2, 1-22.
- Parajuli B. (2005). *Provision of Dalit Reservation for Social Inclusion, a discussion paper presented in a National Workshop*. Dalit NGO Federation, Regional Office, Pokhara.
- Pokharel, S.K. and Chhetri. R. B. (2006). Changing livelihood strategies of Dalits: A case study in the Pokhara valley. *Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Special Issue*, (33), 63-80.
- Prashit, M. (2006). *Manawataako kalanka: jatpaat ra chuwaachut pratha*. In *Rajayako Punarsamrachanaamaa Dalit Sahabhagita*. (K. Bidhya Nath and other Ed.). Kathmandu. (Text in Nepali).
- Regmi, M.C. (1971). *A study in Nepalese economic history*. Manjushri Publishing House. Delhi.
- Shahi, S. (2018). Understanding Vikas: How Dalits make sense of development in rural Nepal. *Nepalese Journal of Development and Rural Studies*, 14(1-2), 98-111. <https://doi.org/10.3126/njdrs.v14i1-2.19653>
- Shrestha, A. (2002). Dalits in Nepal: story of discrimination. Retrieved from *Asian Pacific Human Rights Information Centre*: <https://www.hurights.or.jp/archives/focus/section2/2002/12/dalits-in-nepal-story-of-discrimination.html>.
- Sunam, R. (2014). Marginalized Dalits in international labor migration: reconfiguring economic and social relations in Nepal. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(12), 2030-2048.