

CHAPTER - ONE

INTROUDCTION

Prithivi Narayan Shah described Nepal as a common garden of four Varna and thirty six sub-castes (Jat). Nepalese society has diverse and complex caste and ethnic composition. “Though Nepal has long been Hindu in a very general sense a stratified caste system has only marginally penetrated its society which is confined to particular classes of particular ethnic groups. Caste concepts only entered Nepal for the first time in the beginning of the Lecchavi period in the form of “Vaishnavism” (Bista, 1991:35).

In 14th century that caste was organized on a uniform basis in Kathmandu. It was King Jayasthiti Malla who with the help of five Brahmin from India plan organized the Newari society of the Kathmandu valley into four Verna and 64 castes on the basis of hereditary occupation and genealogies (Nepali, 1965).

Before the conquest of Kathmandu valley by king Prithivinarayan Shah in 1768 the history of Nepal was the small kingdoms and principalities ruled by different kings and chiefs. In the east part of Nepal there were three major kingdoms, Bijayapur, Chaudandi and Makawanpur. In the kingdom like Bijayapur, there were various groups of people such as Rai, Limbu, Sunuwar, Lepcha and others. In the west of Katmandu, there were the Chaubise kingdoms and in the farwest across the Karnali River there were the Baise kingdoms. If the Khas and other groups were living in the far western Hills, Magar, Gurung and other were living in the western Hill reigns. Tharu, Dhimals, Rajbansi and other were living in the Terai. Similarly the Kathmandu valley, which included three small kingdoms, was inhabited mostly by the Newars. Nepal

became a multi-cultural, multi-religious, multi-lingual state only after the unification of Nepal in 1768 (Dahal, 2003:88).

According to census of 2001 there are more than 100 caste and ethnic groups in Nepal with distinct language and culture. These diverse caste/ethnic groups are arranged into five broad cultural groups. These are: 1) Hindu caste groups 2) Newar 3) Janajati 4) Muslim 5) Others. (Others means small numbers of religious and social groups such as Sikh, Punjabi, Bangali, Marwari and Jain)

The caste origin Hindu groups also divided into three distinct groups these are: Hill Hindu caste groups like high caste Brahmin, Thakuri and Chhetri. Middle caste also includes Sanyasi and low caste groups are Kami, Damai, Sarki, Badi and Gaine. The mother tongue of these groups is the Nepali language. Secondly, caste origin Terai Hindu groups are complex, reflecting four Varna groups with distinct hierarchical structure within them high castes are: Maithili Brahmin, Bhumihar. Chhetri Rajput, Vaisya is Yadav, Kayastha, Halawai, Hajam, Sonar and other. Sudra or Untouchables are Dom, Mushahar, Tatma, Chamar etc. These various groups belong to different language groups like Maithili, Bhojpuri and Awadi.

The CBS 2001 recorded 43 caste origin Hindu groups in the Terai. These groups are complex, reflecting four Varna with distinct hierarchical structure within them. Brahmins are Maithili Brahmin and Bhumihar, Chhetri is Rajput, Vaisya are Yadav, Kayastha, Halawai, Hajam, Sonar and other and Dom, Mushahar, Tatma, Chamar are known as Sudras.

Newars are divided into more than 40 distinct cultural groups with different occupational categories, though they share a common language Newari. They are divided into Hindu and Buddhist religious groups. Hindu Newars are composed the four Varna systems.

A Janajati group or Nationalities as defined by the National Committee for Development of Nationalities 1996: “Janajati is that community which has its own mother tongue and traditional culture and yet does not fall under the Hindu hierarchical caste structure.” According to this definition Janajati people do not follow and believe in Hindu Varna system. They present themselves as distinct groups of Nepal. Janajati groups are known as the “Adivasi of Nepal.” Like the Hindu caste, the Janajati has been divided into two distinct regional groups: Hilly Janajati are Rai, Limbu, Magar, Gurung, Sherpa, Bhote and Tharu, Dhimal, Jhangar Satar, Koche, Meche and others are Terai Janajati (Ibid). Likewise Muslim people divided into two groups Musalman and Churoute. Most of the Muslim people live in the Tarai and small Hills Musalman group properly known as Churoute who live in western hill district.

Traditionally the structure of Nepali society was based on the Hindu caste structure. According to Hindu philosophy, Nepali caste system is divided into four layers as Brahmin, Chhetri, Vaisya and Sudra. In this system high caste are placed at the top of the caste hierarchy and low caste on the lower stratum. The first legal code of Nepal, Muluki Ain 1854 was based on the Hindu philosophy. It was made during the regime of Junga Bahadur. In this M.A. the caste hierarchy had been divided into five distinct categories. These are as: 1. Tagadhari 2. Namasinya Matwali (Non-enslavable alcohol drinkers) 3. Masinya Matwali (Enslavable alcohol drinkers) 4. Impure but touchable, (Pani Nachalne Choichito halnunaparne) 5. Untouchable caste, (Pani Nachalne choichito halnu parne (Hoffer & Sharma, 2004:10).

Above figures Tagadhari includes the castes of people wearing sacred thread. All the high caste Hindu consisting of Brahmin, Thakuri

and Chhetri. Matwali includes of the caste of people who drink alcohol. All the ethnic groups are included in this caste. Pani Nachalne choichito halnunaparne includes low service caste whose touch is not defined but from whom water can't be accepted by higher caste and Pani Nachalne choichito halnuparne includes the Untouchable castes.

Caste system in Nepal before 1950 was based upon marriage, eating food and traditional occupation of people. Caste system was fully developed from and people were more conservative. But when the Naya Muluki Ain act was passed and conducted all the conservatism of the caste system declined and caste system is now observed only in marriage or birth. All the people of Nepal are equal in the law and constitution still people have not got free from the same traditional feeling of caste discrimination in rural society and their practices in daily life. People of lower caste are not allowed to enter the house of higher caste. These people do not have to change their customs, establish relationship with the people of higher castes by marriage and other social ceremonies (Joshi, 1995:2).

In the present situation caste system is greatly affected by the industrialization and other cause of modern changes to follow the western civilization, growth of economic conditions, political movement, declaration of federal and secularization country governmental process etc have brought distinct changes in the caste system. In the present context of caste system the restriction we find on this system is diminishing. Untouchables and restrictions on eating, prohibition of inter-caste marriage etc. are those signs which are going to move away from the society. There is no any prohibition to lower caste join in different governmental and non governmental services. A hierarchy of

Brahmanism is going to be finished. So a caste system is changing into class group.

1.2 Nepali Society and Caste of Brahmin

The English word Brahmin is an anglicized form of the Sanskrit word Brahmana. Brahmins are also “Vipra” twice born caste. Brahmins are the second largest caste groups in Nepal, Chhetri being the first. Several subgroups are attested the Newari speaking Rajopadhyaya, the Nepali speaking Purbea, Kumai etc. Brahmins have been inhabitants of the Kathmandu valley since at least the Lichavi dynasty Nepal.

Historically the Brahmin came to the western hills of Nepal from India for the first time during the 14th century when they were dislodged during the Muslim invasions. The Brahmin first met the Khas the predominant caste in the hilly regions of Kumaon, Garhwal and the western district of Nepal (Bista, 1992:2). From that time Brahmins are widely spread through the all part of country.

In the paste time Nepal was known as the Hindu state but now-a-days it has been change. The Nepalese Government declared that the secular and republican country.

Brahmin an caste group of Nepal (mostly Hindu) a high caste of Nepal has settled in almost all regions in every place of Nepal. The total population of these Brahmin is estimated to be 2,896,477 throughout the nation of Nepal. They belong to high and divine caste. There are many other caste/ethnic groups like Chhetri, Newar, Tamang, Rai, Limbu, Giri, Magar, Gurung and Dalit. Brahmin is recognized as the caste of priest and clever (skillful). Now-a-days still found a title “Khas Brahmin” given to them instead of Brahmin in the Hindu society. Brahmin people of Nepal are taken as holy (sacred) caste and mainly ceremonies like

Sodasha samskar (birth to death ritual) marriage, namakarana, Brathabandha are started with the Vedic mantra of their mouth. Social status of Brahmins people are kept at the top of the society than another caste. In the Nepalese context Brahmins people are divided into three categories these are Upaddhaya Brahmin, Kumai and Jaisi Brahmin.

Brahmin is known as the caste of educators, law makers, scholars and preachers of Dharma in Hinduism. It is said to occupy the highest position among the four Varna's of Hinduism. The Englished word Brahmins an anglicized form of the Sanskrit word Brahmin. Brahmina also refers to a mystical concept in Hinduism. Brahmins are also called Vipra "inspired" twice born caste and many holly ceremonies, Birthday, namakarana, chudakarma, *Bratabanda*, married and death rituals etc started with their tradition. It is a misconception that Brahmins are only priests; only a subset of Brahmins was involved in the priestly duties. They also took up various others professions since late Vedic age's time doctors, writers, poets, landowners' minister etc (Basu, 1969). Not only the Brahmins are educated, low makers minister, poets and doctors in the society, but also uneducated, low level of economic and social status and back warded in the society. In present, it is needed to study about them.

1.3 Statement of the Research Problem

Nepali society is being constructed by different caste and ethnic composition. Every caste/ethnic groups have their own language, cultural practices and religious belief. It helps to know about their identity. Most of the people belong to Hindu religion and caste system. In the present condition, Nepalese society and culture is gradually changing. With the changing process human relationship is also going to change. Even So many indigenous and foreign scholars researched about the different caste/ethnic people which are not probably enough. Therefore this study

of the changing caste system and relations also aims to fill the gap in the field of ethnographic study of Nepal. Although it will be able to identify some of the problems and various dimensions.

The field area focused for the study is ward No. 7 Govinda road Dharan Municipality of Sunsari district inhabited by various caste groups. Current situation everything is changing day by day. Family, society, customs, politics belief system and moral of the people their status is changing. Furthermore the Hindu caste system and other groups are changing day by day. There are various motivating factors which are responsible to bring changes in the Hindu caste system and other groups.

In the present situation specially there are different factors to changing in their daily life like, western culture, political movement, leftist movement, educational levels, international service opportunity expansion of Christianity, growth of income, immigration, occupation and housing patterns etc, have affected in their religion, custom, tradition as well as their relation. Therefore, the changing patterns of their relations will be raised mainly concerning those people who want to know about the Hindu high caste Brahmins and their relation between non Brahmins group and it will be helpful to compare with others who live in different areas of the country.

Dharan Municipality of Sunsari district which has heterogeneous settlement of different caste and ethnic groups has been selected as a study area. The research concentrates to study the Hindu Brahmin community and other peoples and what change occurred in it over the long time between the Brahmin society and other groups.

The study is based on the following research questions.

1. What are the common changing patterns of caste based relationship between Brahmins and other people?(like Chhetri, Janajati and Dalit)

2. What are the changing factors of Hindu caste system?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The overall objectives of the study is to comparative analyze the changing the patterns of Hindu caste system in Brahmin community and other people and effects to the social structure and social settlement system by some selected social, economic, political, religious variables. But considering the limitation to time and resources the specific objective are as follows.

-) To analyze the changing caste bases relationship in Brahmins and other non-Brahmins.
-) To analyze and describes to bring the changing factors of caste system within the Brahmin and non-Brahmins (like, Chhetri, Janajati and Dalit).
-) To find out the effects of their relationship in their daily life.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Nepal is small country it is an encompassment of colorful ethnic groups and communities. So there is broad scope to carry out sociological and anthropological studies. In the context of Nepal both the foreign as well as Nepalese sociological and anthropological studies. In conducted their research studies on some of the ethnic groups. In this thesis being the first attempt to study the changing Hindu caste system in Nepal of the study area try to provide systematic analysis of the Brahmin and non-Brahmin of Dharan.

Especially the present study an attempt is made to find out how and to what extent the caste system and changing caste base relationship of Brahmin is under going change. It is believed that the study will provide the information to the further researchers who want to know about the

changing pattern of Hindu caste system between Brahmin and non-Brahmins and their changing caste base relations. It will carry out the sketch along with socio- economics of Brahmin community of Dharan.

CHAPTER - TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Origin of the Caste System

The origin of the word "caste" is a Spanish and Portuguese word *casta*. It means lineage or race. It is derived from the Latin word *castus* which means pure. The Spaniards were the first to use it but it had so applied in the middle of 15th century in India (Ketker, 1909).

The word 'caste' as used in various European sources, is an extremely unhappy translation of two different indigenous concept *Varna* and *Jati*, which are generally believed both by Hindus and by outside observers to correspond in some way. In a sense, the history of the debate about the nature of caste can be viewed as the attempt to discover what exactly the correspondence between *Varna* and *Jati* (Quigley, 1993).

Jati is one of the common words in Indians languages. It derived from Indo- European verbal root meaning genesis, origin or birth. It is applied to any species of living things including gods and humans. Among human *Jati* can designate a distinct sex, a race, a caste or a tribe; a population the occupation or a religion or a nation (Marriott and Inden, 1985:349, Quigley, 1993).

Jati is defined by birth it refers to more or less inclusive group this is going to depend on context. On other context one's *Jati* is ones. Lineage; in another be all the lineage with whom one can intermarry in yet another, it may refer to those whose common ethnic or cultural heritage sets them apart from their neighbors (Srinivas, 1962, Quigley, 1993).

The sense of *Varna* is quite different than *Jati*. The term *Varna* has a long history and dates back to the invasions of North West India beginning in approximately 1500 BC by Aryan from center Asia. These

Aryans are often referred to as Vedic a word which derives from the priestly rituals and literature with which they are primarily and associated. At the first time Varna system connection with the sacrifice hymn of Rig-veda which is generally believed to have been written about 1000 BC in the area around the Indus River. In this hymn four varnas are presented Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. Each Varna emanates from a particular part of the body of Purusa 'the lord of beings who is represented as a primeval god-man sacrificed at the beginning of time (Quigley, 1993:6). According to the classical religious text of Hinduism, the population is divided into four ranked categories called a Varnas. Each Varna has their own rights and duties. We can see this vertical categorization or stratum-ranking at work in the Rig-veda.

When they divided the man into how many parts did they divide him? What was his head? What were his arms? What were his thighs and his feet called? The Brahmin was his head of arms was made the Kshatriya (Chhetri) his thighs become the Vaishya in his feet the Sudra was born (Gould, 1900:14).

According to Manu, the duties of the Brahmin are to study and teach to sacrifice, and to give and receive gift, (Dan Dinu Ra Linu). The Kshatriya must protect the people, sacrifice and study. The Vaishya also has to sacrifice and study but his main occupation is to breed cattle to till the earth and business to land money. The Sudras duty is only to serve the three high castes (Basham, 1971:39).

According to Ghurya (1964), the notion of the caste is fundamentally based on following concepts.

- i. Caste system is a segmental division of society
- ii. Hierarchy
- iii. Restriction on feeding and social inter course.

iv. Civil and religious disabilities and privileges of the different section.

v. Restriction on marriage and lack of unrestricted choice of occupation.

Beteille also define about caste system he says that caste may be defined as a small and named group of persons characterized by endogamy hereditary membership, and a specific style of life which sometimes includes the pursuit by tradition of a particular occupation and is usually associated with a more or less distinct ritual status in hierarchical system (Beteille, 1965: 46).

Risley defines a caste system as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with specific occupation, claiming common decent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same professional callings and are regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community (Ketker, 1909:14).

Fredrick Barth had studied about the Pathan of Swat, North Pakistan and describes the system of social stratification and claims that if the concept of caste is to be useful in sociology analysis its definition must be based on structural criteria and not on particular features of the Hindu philosophical scheme (Barth, 1981:53) He takes caste as a system of social stratification, and concludes that the principle of status summation seems to be the structural features which must clearly characterizes caste as system of social stratification (ibid).

Berreman argues that caste system is applicable any where out side of Hindu India, and it can be usefully applied to societies with system of hierarchical endogamous subdivisions where membership is hereditary

and permanent wherever they occurs (Berreman, 1979:3). He further says the literature on caste in India the race in American. On the Barakumin in Japan, on Specific societies such as Ruwanda reported by maquet and South African reported by Van de Berghe provide a starting place of a comparative study of caste (Subedi, 2008:25).

2.2 Empirical review

A few studies have been undertaken regarding the caste/ ethnic groups and relationship, some of the foreign scholars and Nepali Sociologist and Anthropologist have researched about them. Some of the reviewed difference and its concerned issues of this study have been presented.

L. Caplan (1970) studied a village of eastern Nepal, which he called Indreni settlement in Illam district. He studied the changing relations between members of indigeneous ethnic groups Limbu and high caste Hindu groups Brahmin. Their relationship is understood in term of their differential right and interest in land which is scarce commodity of that region. He also shows unequal relation in Brahmins and Limbu. Brahmins and Limbus are linked as creditors and debtors, landlords and tenants, farmers and agricultural labors. They have also political relation. Brahmins as seem to dominant and powerful groups among the Limbu.

In Priest and Cobblers P. Caplan (1972) state that the relationship between high caste (particularly priest or Brahmins and untouchable caste (cobblers) in Hindu society. This book which is a monograph deals about the socio-economic political, cultural changes in broader spectrum of high and low caste. In this book, Caplan has shown the changing factors, like new methods of communication, such as road airfields, radio, telegraphs, educational facilities have been established a new system of Panchayat based on elected council has replaced the traditional autocracy

a new constitution and a legal code, giving equal rights to all citizens have been promulgated land reform has attempted to redress some of the economic inequalities which have persisted for so long.

She has shown the unequal relationship between Brahmin and untouchable. A few decades ago in the Nepalese society was Jajamani types of relationship system in the caste and ethnic groups. 'The system known as Jajamani which is such a conspicuous feature of village life in India operates in only a limited way in Duari, as in most of the Himalayan Hills (Berreman, 1960). This is partly because only a few caste are represented in western Nepal and numerous tasks which would in India be performed by the specialist are there here carried out by anyone.

The word Jajaman itself is restricted in use in western Nepal to mean the client of a Brahmin priest. But Jajamani type's relationships have traditionally existed among other castes, as well notably between members of high caste and untouchable caste like (Tailors and smith) services caste in this part of Nepal refers to their client as Bista.

The changing nature of caste has effect on village social organization and on agriculture output. The social and economic systems were both relatively stable over many centuries partly because they reinforced each other. Now that both are being modified though still closely connected, changes in one may accelerate changes in the other. Thus are Jajamani system of traditional, personal, exchange relations is being replaced by contractual, impersonal pecuniary relations (Mandelbaum, 1959:391).

The Nepalese caste system like the Indian caste system is highly complex and continues the traditional system of stratification of Nepal. The caste system defines social classes by a number of hierarchical Endogamous groups often termed as Jat. This custom is found in both the

Hindu and Buddhist communities of Nepal. However in Nepal people sometimes erroneously use word caste to mean their race or ethnicity. The ethnic groups are a different race from Khas. Those people who are themselves distinct from Madhesi people.

([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/nepalese_caste_system#present condition](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/nepalese_caste_system#present_condition))

It is the only 14th century that caste was organized on a uniform basis in Nepal. It was king Jayasthiti mall who with the help of five Brahmin from India plan organized the society of the Kathmandu valley in to four Varna and 64 castes on the basis of hereditary occupation and genealogies.

He said that the Newar caste divided the following hierarchical groups these are as follows:

1. Hindu Newars : priestly caste
2. High caste
3. upper lower caste

4. Lower caste and unclean cast such as Buddhist Newars caste hierarchy upper caste and untouchable caste. Each and every group maintained their occupational and religious characters (Nepali, 1965). According to G.S. Nepali his book of 'The Newar' caste is the principle basis of the social hierarchy among the Newars irrespective of whether an individual is the follower of Buddhism or Hinduism he must be born into his caste. Caste cuts across religion and brings both the religions sections of the Newars under one single scheme of hierarchy.

The legal code of Muluki Ain (MA) 1854 is a document of great historical legal and cultural interests for scholar on Nepal by which all people in Nepal high and low were supposed to here been judged (Sharma, 2004). According to sharma MA (legal code) provides for

commensality as the most important features of the Nepalese caste system. The code is full of stipulations against the breach of communal, violation of which can result in their excommunication and caste lowering. Similarly, copulation does not bring about a lowering of caste but violation of commensally rules results in “outcaste” (Sharma, 1977).

The legal code has tried to comprehend the pluralistic Varna system into a uniform scheme of Hindu caste system though the cultural mosaic and the concept of melting pot. As a result, large numbers of non-Hindu social ethnic groups (like mongoloids, Buddhist) have been incorporated into Hindu caste mainstream (Dahal, 2008). In this M.A. the caste hierarchy divided into the five distinct categories. (Hofer, 2004:9). Brahmins was the top of the caste hierarchy. These are as follows.

1. Tagadhari (wearers of the holly cord sacred thread. Like Brahmin, Chhetri, Rajput, Newar Brahmin (Dew Bhaju) etc.
2. Matwali: - In these categories all people who drink the alcohol matter. Matwali groups also divided into the Namasiya and Masinya Matwali. Namasiya Matwali is Magar, Rai, Limbu, Gurung, Tamang, Sunuwar, and some Newar caste. Masinya Matwali is Chepang, Kumal, Tharu, Gharti etc.
3. Impure But touchable castes (Pani Nachalnya choichito halnu naparnya. In this category includes the low service caste that water can't be accepted by higher caste, like Kasai, Kusule, Dhobi, Kulu, Musalman, and Mleccha.
4. Untouchable caste (Pani Nachalnya choichito halnu parnya, Kami, Damai, Sarki Gaine, Badi, pore, Chayme etc.

In the present situation there are three major communities in Nepal's caste oriented society Khas, Newar and Maithili. Beside, there is a separate community consisting of caste and ethic groups. There is similarity in the

social structure of Khas, Newar and Maithili communities that is to say they all have four castes Brahmin, Chhetri Vaishya and Sudra. There also exists a distinction between Nepali origin and Indian origin in them, which may also be referred to as Bhumisutra community, and Yayavar community, respectively their also exist Hindu, Buddhist Muslim and Christian religious communities in Nepal of these communities Khas, Newar and Maithili have been under going increasing complexity of caste discrimination and oppression. The issue in the present Nepalese society lies in the classification of Brahmin Chhetri and Vaishyas into sub castes defiling caste and narrowing, from a mother perspective, Nepalese society is clearly split into touchable and untouchable have no marital relation with them and do not allow them to enter their house. The community of ethnic groups though not within Hindu caste system also practice untouchable with low caste people. In the present day context, the caste system falls under Hindu Varna system i.e. B-C-V-S respectively instead of following MA's codification. In addition, many Tibeto Burma ethnic groups do not follow the caste system because they have their own culture, tradition, religion and values, which do not fall under the caste system.

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/nepalese_caste_system#present situation)

As it has already mentioned there are different books, articles, and other literatures and works on the Hindu high castes and relationship between the different castes especially low but they are not caste and final still they should be interpreted and discussed according to the present context hence. Present study seems to be urgently needed in order to sketch on ethnographical structural caste system with Brahmin and the different groups of people and their relationship of D.M.ward no 7 Govinda road of Sunsari district.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

Caste system is comprised a subject matter of sociology. In Hinduism caste system has remained vertical hierarchy. So, many scholars have been interpreted to caste system in a different way. Especially in sociology there are two types approach to analyze the caste system. According to first approach caste system is as a form of purity and pollution in Hinduism (Dumont, 1970, Bettle, 1965).

It justifies the caste system in terms of purity and pollution giving the impression that all castes high and low (Gupta, 2000:2). In other word caste ideology overvalues “Karma” or that the caste system orders a hierarchy which universally legitimizes the position of each caste; or the caste system differentiates on the principle of purity and pollution (ibid 55). According to the theory of purity the caste system was supported not only by theological doctrines like Karma and the Transmigration of soul, but also by ideas like those regarding purity and pollution which had practical bearing on life. (Ketker, 1909:116).The principle of hierarchy in ‘the caste system’ is the opposition of the pure and impure. According to Dumont opposition between pure and impure is sustained by ritual status and secular power which characterizes Hindu society. His argument is this; within the caste system there are two competing sources of authority the spiritual authority of the Brahmins and the temporal authority of the king (power holder or political dominant caste) he argues, temporal authority is subordinated to encompass by spiritual authority (Quigley, 1993:26).

Such a second approach takes the caste system is an occupational groups and it has been existed in worldwide. It can be analyze cross-culturally comparison (Berreman, 1972). He argues that ‘everything in

the world is ultimately unique. Without denying the uniqueness of every culture, every institution, every object and every event, one can extract aspects, elements, principles of relationship which are common, for purposes of comparison. In this way, to determine what is specific to one culture, society of situation and what is common to types or categories of social organization or is common to recurrent processes and historical circumstances' (ibid). According to his argument every society has a different social institutions, social phenomenon, culture, organization and customs it should be comparatively study to understand the caste system.

Idealist and materialist views are two quite different about the caste system. According to materialist interpretation, caste is 'simply' a rationalization, and obfuscation of more base inequalities: high castes, it is noted are generally wealthier than low castes; therefore the idiom of purity and impurity through which caste differences are expressed must be simply a means of legitimating and obscuring the 'true' nature of social divisions.

In the view of idealist explanation, caste is a cultural construct, the product of religious ideas; castes are higher of lower in the relation to religiously conceived notions of purity and impurity on this view, material considerations are largely irrelevant because caste is essential an ideological framework for explaining universal problems of social order (Quigley, 1993:2, 3).

In regard to this system I have followed the second approach arguing that system is universal phenomenon and we can explain in comparatively. Caste system is a useful in sociological study, I have tried to use it comparatively different caste and ethnic groups.

CHAPTER - THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter describes the tools and techniques of present research work. Generally this section is included the site selection research design, nature and sources of data collection technique. Secondary information is included and data processing as well as analysis.

3.1 Rational of the Site Selection

The field of the study is Dharan Municipality. It lies in the eastern part of the Nepal. There are so many Hindu caste and other ethnic groups scattered in different parts (wards). There are many national and international scholars who have studied on it in Dharan municipality of Sunsari there are heterogeneous caste of people which is very suitable sociological and anthropological study.

In this modern age every society is going to be changed by the impact of urbanization, westernization and modernization but the social and economic condition do not appear to have been much changed in Nepal. All the social behavior is conservative. Are they still traditionally affected by conservative behavior of the society? Are their social and cultural behaviors, relationships changing? The main purpose of this thesis writing will be to find out the caste base relationship of the Br- and other groups and the changing factors of the Hindu caste system in the Nepalese society in the past and present. This dissertation will also give the priority features of the caste and according to these features will be find out the changing relation with each other.

Economic, social and cultural development of the society can be gained by providing equal opportunity to every people of the society. The best achievement in the society can be obtained when we get detail

information about the different caste and ethnic people of the society. First priority is given to study about the Brahmin people at the top of the caste ranking in the Nepalese society. This research will be helpful to find changing caste base relationship between Brahmins and other non-Brahmins which are Chhetri, Janajati and Dalit the Brahmin people are also on important caste of Nepal along with others caste which can't be ignored from the society. They have their own identity in the society.

In the Nepalese context Brahmin, people have got good the opportunity to hold governmental and other services as the people of skillful due to the good education. But the present time other people has been opposing them those who have been back warded by the state. In the 21st century it is the demand of time that all people should be equal opportunity to their development. In this opposing time what is the relationship of Brahmin with them? It has been needed to study such problem. This study will provide an important knowledge about the changing patterns of Hindu caste system and caste base relationship between Br and other people. So I select this area my research field of this dissertation.

3.2 Research Design

This research has been followed primary descriptive ethnographic research approaches. Descriptive in the sense that, dissertant will carefully tried to record all the observed events from the study area and describe the faithfully as possible. This description of the culture and ways of life of people special focus has been given to the factors that led them to changing factors of Hindu Brahmin caste system.

3.3 Sampling Procedure

The study area is heterogeneous non probability sampling has used to collect data and information. Therefore this study was based on purposive sampling process. Out of 356 households of total HH's, this study represents 48 HH's of the Brahmins and non-Brahmins of this area.

3.4 Nature and Sources of Data

Basically in practice two types of data, primary and secondary has been carried out from the field visit and other concerned organization. The primary data has been collected through participant observation informal interview, questionnaire and focus group discussion. In other side the secondary data has been collected from municipality, district Region and central level CBS as well as published and unpublished sources.

3.5 Techniques of Data Collection

Techniques and tools refers to the method the researcher uses in performing research operation the following techniques and tools will be used the purpose of research problem such as participant observation informal interview, life history, group discussion so on. Rapport building is very important sociological /anthropological researcher in this study will also be used the above techniques of data collection.

3.5.1 Field Observation

Participation observation is the main source for obtaining primary data. The researcher was familiar in this area for 12 years. The researcher is temporal resident of the same ward. Therefore the research already know a little thing about Brahmins and non- Brahmins. The field work for the present purpose was conducted 2 month from 2066/12BS to 2067/1BS. In that time was discoursed to informal interviewing

households' heads of the Brahmins and non-Brahmins community and observing their various activities. From this interaction with the Brahmin or non-Brahmin community provided the researcher with abundant knowledge about that total Brahmins and non-Brahmins.

3.5.2 Household Survey

In order to get reliable quantifiable data about caste base background of Brahmins and non-Brahmins household list was prepared and the entire 48 households were surveyed in this area.

3.5.3 Questionnaires

Only a set of questionnaire was used in the research period. This questionnaire is related to both open and close questions. Questionnaires consisted questions of past, present occupation, attitude towards traditional occupation, educational status, family, marriage system and social interactions etc.

3.5.4 Key Informants

Key informants are important sources of acquiring sociological and anthropological data. Key informants are those people who know a great detail about the community under the study area. Four ethnic male people two Brahmin male and one female was selected as on information (the aged 50 years above) were informal interviewed for obtaining key information required for the present study. They provided in great information about socio-cultural practices, economic activities and their relation and changing the community.

3.5.5 Focus Group Discussion

During the time period of field work the researcher stayed about 2 months in different community in the study area. The informal focus group discussions were held in the morning time gathering them in

different caste and ethnic people in their own house. The discussion was made about their History, migration, feeding, drinking, social intercourse, and caste hierarchy, marriage, changing caste system and their relation and the problems they are facing recently. The number of participant was not fixed for this group discussion. So, participants were 5to10 in each caste and ethnic groups. In this discussion the participants were elderly people, student, teacher, female, local politician service holders and social worker of the different caste and ethnic people. In this study from the focus group discussion proved beneficial to obtain the information about changing caste system and their relationship between Brahmins and non-Brahmins.

The cause to changes in their relation of study area thoroughly discussed during the focus group discussion and the conclusion was recorded.

3.5.6 Data Analysis

The received data in the field work or from the secondary sources has been scrutinized, classified and tabulated in different tables with the help of various statistical techniques. Both types quantitative and qualitative data gathered in the field has been presented in the different chapter and passages according to the issues raised in the study.

Different types of table regarding family structure, pop_n structure, educational status, occupational status, marital status, economic condition and religious condition of the Brahmins and non- Brahmins have been prepared. After setting tables comparatively analysis have been done on the basis of finding of Brahmin or non-Brahmin activities and different conditions. A sample statistical tool such as frequency, average, percentage, etc. has been used to analyze and interpret the data.

3.5.7 Limitation of the Study

Every study/ researcher does have its own constraint, and this study is no exception. The limitations of the study are as follows:

- a. This study is based in Dharan municipality of Sunsari district in eastern part of Nepal.
- b. This study is focused on Brahmin community and comparative study with other groups.
- c. This study is conducted for the completion of the partial fulfillment of master degree in sociology and anthropology, so it is not feasible for a detailed research due to the constraint of time and resources.

CHAPTER - FOUR

Changing Features of the Caste System

In this chapter, I have tried to analyze the changing caste base relationship between Brahmins and non-Brahmins based on the feature of caste system. Caste system is a social institution where as restriction to the every person in their caste or individual into the marriage, occupation, feeding, drinking and social intercourse and religious disabilities these are as:

4.1 Hierarchy in Hindu Caste System

Caste is a complex phenomenon, which divides a society broadly into two groups of high and low caste. It is claimed to be an ancient Hindu principle enshrined in classical Hindu text and legitimated through Manusmriti, a social and religions Hindu law. Hindu society ranks every individual within a hierarchy of four major castes, Brahmin, (priest) Chhetri (rulers), Vaisya (merchants) and Sudra (laborers). Initially it is claimed that the system was based on occupation and individuals of the same family could undertake any job and hence there could be different castes in the same family. Later, it started to be based on birth although the regions for this are unknown. According to the Hindu doctrine of *KARMA*, each individual reaps the cumulative fruit of good and evil deeds through a long succession of births and rebirths. If good outbalance evil- he is rewarded with higher rituals status by being born into higher caste after death or else he/she is punished by birth as a low caste (Damle, 1996). Based on ethnographic studies of various researchers traditional features of caste system these are:

1. Endogamy marriage outside the caste tabooed.

2. Impermeable and closed: I.e. an individual is not permitted to move out of it.
3. Self-recruiting: you can only be born it.
4. Hierarchy.
5. Restriction on choice of occupation.
6. Civil and religious disabilities and privileges of certain groups.
7. Untouchables.

It is widely agreed that through education, economic prosperity and political support; individual can change caste status but not caste itself. However due to many legal social and economic changes many traditional features of the caste system are not observable today.

The caste system is a widely prevalent cultural, economic and political sphere of Nepalese life although not all the ethnic groups practice Hinduism they are affected by the caste system to some extent. Such an impact can be traced to the mid-nineteenth century when Junga Bahadur Rana reinforced caste rules in the form of the civil code of 1853, which brought a large number of non-Hindu ethnic groups into the caste fold. He concretized the caste system by dividing the society into two groups, touchable and untouchable (hereafter referred to as Dalits). The legal abolition of discrimination due to caste was enacted in a new civil code of 1963.

However, it was only in 1990 after the country-adopted democracy that the constitution for the first time declared the practice of untouchables illegal and punishable by law. The 1991 citizenship acts of Nepal treat all its citizens as equal. No person shall be discriminated against as an untouchable be denied access to any public place, or be deprived from the use of public utilities (Sharma and Puri, 1991).

1990). D.B. Bista also proposes a caste classification of the current situation base on a division between politically or economically powerful castes and backward caste.

Diagrammatic representation of different views of caste hierarchy:

A. Classical model

Brahmin

Chhetriya

Vaisya

Sudra

B. Three tiered system

Tagadhari

Matawali

Untouchable

Water unacceptable /untouchable

C. Secular Hierarchy

Chokho Jat

Paninachalne Jat

D. Majority View

politically or economically powerful

(Mostly Brahmin, Chhetri, Thakuris, Rajput, Shrestha)

Premeable barrier

Common poor and backward (Matawali, and ethnic community)

Sources, Bista. 1994

Distinction of status is nowadays move frequently based on education, occupation or income although ritual status has not died. Caste largely prevails in one guise of other. Implications of the hierarchical definition of the caste system need to be given due consideration because if Brahmin always come first and Dalit last it asserts that one group is higher than the other is. In the current situation, most of the ethnic groups have been collected into the Janajati groups. They have their own culture, religion, languages and life styles. Such as alternative classification, Vaisyas the term used in orthodox model are named Janajti, which means

indigenous group in Nepal. Similarly, Sudra or untouchables are called Dalits, which means oppressed, in Nepali society. Hence, we may make a model of the modern caste system of Nepal as horizontal arrays of four main groups are as:



4.2 Restriction on Marriage

Marriage and family are the oldest and universal institutions of society. These are the basis institutions of society. Marriage is the institutionalized and legitimate form of man and women's relationship based upon sex. It is related with the procreation of children their upbringing decent and inheritance. Therefore, marriage is socially and legally approved relationship to have children and right to sexual relation.

Nepal being a Hindu state, Hindu scriptures have a vital influence in shaping the social institutions of Nepali societies. Here Brahmin and Chhetri castes are known as high castes Hindus in Nepal. The Newar and other ethnic groups hand follow both Hinduism and Buddhism. Hindu religion has shaped the norm, values, custom and principle of Nepali society including those regarding marriage and family.

According to the traditional Hindu law, marriage is a sacrament and not a civil contact. It is sacred union and indispensable event in all Hindu life; while selecting a partner, the father considered reputation or socio-economic status of the family and the extent of generation. The father has the full rights and obligations to find the males for their children in the Brahmin society. Moreover, children had to accept the

parent's decision. Therefore, there was not much choice for the children or to love. Therefore marriage was considered a union between the Joint families rather than between to young people. Traditionally Hindu marriage pattern was endogamous in nature. Hence, marriages without group members were prohibited. Generally, marriage was a parental decision and was conducted with in the caste, so there was not much inter-caste marriage in Brahmin community. Traditionally love marriage did not accepted in the Brahmin society only followed the arrange marriage system.

) Traditional or Arrange Marriage System

In the traditional marriage system among Brahmin, the initiative is always supposed to take place from the Bridegroom's side. When a boy attains full age for marriage, his father and some relatives look for a suitable bride for him. A mediator called lamia from the boy's side is authorized to request for the hand of the girl for the prospective groom. In the beginning, the lamia goes to the girl's house to dialogue with her parents. At first girls and boys horoscope are shown to the astrologer. According to horoscope if the girl's name nakshatra, and rashi fitted to the boy's then the wedding dialogue is forwarded for marriage. If the girl's parents are in the mood to accept the proposal of daughter's marriage, they call boy's side the next time for the meeting to fix marriage procedures. For the second time the mediator, the boy and some of the boy's close relatives visit girl's home taking some fruits for Tikatalo (Kuro chhinu) at that time. After that, the Purohit takes out an auspicious date for wedding.

On the fixed day of wedding, the groom goes to the house of the bride accompanied by a procession, which is called Janti (member of the wedding party). The main ceremony is performed in a specially

constructed platform called Jagya. The marriage ceremony is witnessed by fire. At that time, the Damai people play the traditional music instrument Panche Baja. On this occasion, the Damai people sing various happy and sweet songs. Balana is also sung by the Janti (Balana means that types of song that is sung of the god of eulogium). Before reaching brides house or Jagya Mandap the participants of the procession are welcomed by the family of bride. It is called Janti Persine. According to Vedic rules the Brahmins perform the wedding procession. After that ritual, the girl's parents present some gifts (utensil of copper and steel) to their daughter, which is called Daijo (dowry) or Gadhuwa. Hence, forth, the Janti returns to bridegroom's home with new bride. On this happy occasion in the bridegroom's home, all their kins and neighbours are invited to a feast of (Jante Bakhro) meat, rice and other items. A khasi (he-goat) is slaughtered for feast. From the above process it appears that marriage is more expensive for them. In this way, the Brahmins perform the marriage ceremony.

) Modern Type of Marriage

According to Hindu caste, system has been said to that every one of group forbids its members to marry persons from outside it. Each of these groups popularly known as sub- castes is thus endogamous. This principle of strict endogamous is such a dominant aspect of caste. Sociologists are led to regard endogamy as "the essence of the caste" (Ghurya, 1991:46).

It has already been mentioned that the marriage is socially and legally approved relationship to have children and right to sexual relation. It was common in pre-1950 days for Brahmin girls to get married at an early age before they had their monthly period. Almost all of marriages were arranged by parents in any arranged marriage in a Brahmin family

care is taken ensure that there is no marriage formalized between persons who belong to the same Gotra.

However, recent change in legislation has fixed the minimum age of marriage to be 21 in the case of boys and 18 in the case of girls. The rituals practiced in traditional marriage ceremony which lasts for at least two days are quite complex. The custom of giving dowry to the girl among hill Brahmins is not as expensive as among Terai Brahmins or those in the plains of customary among certain ethnic groups in Nepal. Marriage ceremony takes place in certain times of the year in the Nepali months of Baisakh, Jestha, Mangsir, Magh and Falgun. In the present situation dowry, system is slowly reducing from the Nepali society. So many Brahmins do not like the arrange marriage they prefer to love and court marriage. I knew that an orthodox Brahmin son's marry with the Chhetri girl, which has accepted from their family member. Nowadays, first priority is given to choose their life partners in the hands of youths. In the traditional Brahmin, society did not accept the inter-caste and love marriage but now it is accepted. There are so many fundamental elements to change the traditional marriage system. They are as western types of education, socio-politico change growth of consciousness and develop the new constitution. When the new concept develops “all people are equal and they must have their own rights”, it is also activated to change the marriage system in Brahmin community.

In the present situation even the caste system and untouchables is going to be reduced from the society. Dalit people cannot marry with the upper caste and even Janajati too. Only they can get married within their community. They seem too have sad feeling under the untouchable system. In the ethnic community traditionally love, Jarry and arranges marriage system was accepted. Nowadays Jarry system is not prevalent in

their community. They also accept inter-caste marriage. So many ethnic girls have been married with Chhetri boys. Chhetri boys have also married with ethnic girls but not Brahmins. In the end, we can see the marital relation is changing between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins.

4.3 Restriction of Feeding, Drinking and Social Intercourse

Every caste and ethnic groups have their own food, drinks and social intercourse. However, the Brahmin caste has a bit different foods, drinks and social intercourse in the society. In the early days, the Brahmins used to have different items of food, some meant for human consumptions and some for offering for gods in sacrifice.

In ancient time, agriculture was the main occupation. Wheat, paddy and barley were the staple food. Honey liquors of various kinds milk etc, were used as drinks. Some kind of juice used to be taken as hieratic drink.

G. S. Ghurya states that there are minute rules as to what sort of food or drink can be accepted by a person and from what castes. But there is very great diversity in this matter. The practices in the matter of food and social intercourse divided India into two broad belts. In Hindustan proper castes can be divided into five groups: first, the twice born castes; second those castes at whose hands the twice- born can take Pakka food; third those castes at whose hands the twice born cannot accept any kind of food but may take water; fourth, castes that are not untouchable, yet are such that water from them cannot be used by the twice- born; last come all those castes whose touch defiles not only the twice- horn but any orthodox Hindu. Like in India the context of Nepalese castes can be divided into four groups they are; first the Tagadhari twice born caste; Brahmin Chhetri, Matawali and Dalit. Second the Chhetri whose hands the Brahmin can take pakka food. Third caste Matawali whose hands can not accept any kind of food but may take milk water and fruits. Fourth

castes untouchable (Dalit) yet are such that water from them cannot be used by the Brahmin. At last all those caste whose touch defiles not only Brahmin but any other high caste like, Chhetri and Matawali.

All food is divided into two classes' kachcha and pakka in Hindu society. The former being any food in the cooking of which water has been used, it is called kachacha food and which food cooked in "ghee" without the addition of water is called pakka food. "As a rule a Tagadhari man will never eat kachcha food unless it is prepared by a fellow caste – man which in actual practice means a member of his own endogamous group, whether it be caste or sub-caste or else by his Brahmin guru or spiritual guide. But in practice most caste seems to take no objection to kachcha food from a Brahmin (ibid).

Therefore advent of democracy in Nepal 1950s there were hill Brahmins in the hilly region of Nepal who were prohibited from eating certain kind of food such as onion, garlic, chicken, pork and beef. They were also strictly forbidden to drink alcoholic drinks although there was not such restriction in smoking of hasis and marijuana.

After performance of Bratabandha ceremony, they were supposed to eat cooked rice when dressed in Dhoti. They were supposed to eat rice cooked by only their group of Brahmins. In other words, a Purbia Brahmin would not eat rice cooked by Kumai Brahmins and vice versa. Both would not eat rice cooked by a jaisi or anyone considered lower caste and Matwali. A few certain sacraments cannot be performed by any other caste than the Brahmin. In ancient time, the sacred literature could not get permission to study by the Sudras (Dalit) people. The impure castes particularly untouchables could not enter even the outer portions of a temple and house of the high caste people. In the Nepali society, the high caste people did not allow the funeral procession to cremate their

dead. Under the Hindu rural, the Brahmins must have secured to themselves many pecuniary privileges, denied to others. On the strength of this orthodox theory of the proper, function of the state and perhaps more because they happened to occupy the post of important. Brahmins were exempted from capital punishment and when confined in forts, they were more liberally treated than the other castes.

In this modern Nepalese society most of the Brahmins are accepted the cooked food from the hands of lower caste people. They do not wear the Dhoti in eating time. According to old Brahmin, he/ his father did not accept any cooked food made by lower caste. They did not take any kinds of intoxicant alcoholic matter. Now-a- days his son enjoying with the alcoholic drink in the party or some specific occasion and take the coked food which has made by the hands of lower caste and ethnic people. Except the Karmakandi (priestly) Brahmin, other people accept the untouchable and cooked food made by lower caste. Outside the house as well there are hotel restaurant and public party where people from different caste and ethnic groups visit and eat together. Such types of occasion there is not seen untouchables. Dalit and ethnic people use the alcoholic mater and meat in their ritual practices. Such as an old Chhetri, man told me that his ancestor did not accept the alcoholic matter and not used the cooked food, which was being made by lower caste people. Now he/his son take the alcoholic drink and accept the cooked food made by lower caste people. Nevertheless, they accept anyone cooked food which has made by the Brahmins. Brahmins also accept the cook food, which has made by the ghee. In nutshell, we can say such types of changing system have been given the positive message in society to reduce the caste system.

4.4 Civil and Religious Disabilities and Privileges

Division of the caste in the Hindu community plays the important role in the individual life. Segregation of individual caste or of groups of castes in a village is the most obvious mark of civil privileges and disabilities and it has prevailed in a more or less definite form all India. Ghurya presents that certain parts of the town or village are inaccessible to certain castes. The impure caste are debarred from drawing water from the village well, which is used by the members of other caste, in Dravidian India the disabilities of the lower castes went so far as to prescribe what sort of houses they should build and what material they might employ in the construction thereof. Certain sacraments cannot be performed by any caste other than the Brahmins. The Sudras cannot be study the most sacred literature. No caste can employ another priest than the Brahmins (Ghurya, 1991:43).

The impure castes and particularly the untouchables cannot enter even the outer portions of a temple but must keep the courtyard. Unlike the Indian society, there is not any special part for the untouchables. In the context of Nepal according to old Dalit, people one decade ago they could not get the permission to enter the upper caste house. If a person entered the upper caste house, he was punished in public place by the society. In the traditional society, there was not permission to enter the public temple to them. They could not get enter the upper caste house in certain area like, out of door. They could not get permission to go to the public feast in the upper caste. In the present situation, traditional norms and values are changing day by day in the Nepalese society. Dalit people can easily enter the public temple without any restriction. According to them except the pooja room, they can get permission to enter the upper

caste houses. They can go to the public tap with the high caste people to bring the water. They have the read Hindu religious book. There is no any objection to Dalit for religious programmed. Unlike the Dalit was a not restriction ethnics person to enter the Brahmins house and public temple. Now a day they can do so continuously.

4.5 Lack of Unrestricted choice of Occupation

Occupation is an important base to livelihood in human life. Every person has his or her own types of fundamental strategies to live. Generally, a caste of a group, of allied castes considered some of the callings as its hereditary occupation to abandon which on pursuit of another. Though it might be more lucrative, was thought not to be right (Ghurya, 1991:44) it is a useful in caste-base stratified society in Nepal. Caste system has been developed in the base on four Varna systems and occupation has been divided into the four categories on Hindu society. Traditionally the profession of Brahmin or priestly class was to act as minister and adviser to the king as spiritual guides, teacher and priest in sacrifices they gave counsel to the king in both spiritual and political matters.

Hunting was a past time with the people and king though it was not mentioned as an occupation, except the agriculture, rearing of beast or a cattle was the main occupation of ethnic people. The Chhetri people were the ruler or superior in the society. Vaisya was the businessperson they obtained the basic needs matters to another caste. Such as Dalit, people serve above the three high castes.

With the changing society, various professions came into existence to provide for the livelihood of various castes, sub-castes and ethnic groups. In the context of Nepal, above 80% of people are dependent on agriculture. Most of the rural people engage in agriculture field.

However, the urban people do not work in the field. They work in the different jobs and different sectors. According to Hindu tradition, Brahmins did not plough the ox. Such as there was social restriction to domesticate the pig and chicken to the Brahmins but not the ethnic or Dalit people. If a Brahmin plough the ox, he could not be acceptable to priestly work in the society. Even Brahmin people do not prefer domesticates the pig and chicken. If a Brahmin does so he would reject from the society and social status of Brahmin would be low. Therefore, he always would be trying to pure in the society. Now except the priestly Brahmin other person has been started to domesticate the chicken not to pig. In the present situation most of the Brahmins work in different sectors, like business, teaching, wage labor, social work and administrative field. Most of the Brahmin youths do not prefer the priestly work because of the low income and they cannot manage their family from this traditional profession. In this situation, Brahmins can do any kinds of profession without restriction.

CHAPTER - FIVE

The People from Area of Study

5.1 Introduction to the Study Area

Dharan Municipality, Sunsari

Dharan municipality is selected for research area because the municipality consists of many Hindu castes and other ethnic groups. Dharan municipality is one of three municipalities of Sunsari district, Koshi zone. It is almost Terai region. The municipality is almost surrounded by Seuti and Sardhu Khola except in the north and south. In the north side, there are two VDCs, Vedetar and Panchakanya. Charkoshe Jhadi has covered the southern side. It lies in the central point of Dharan.

The total population of this area is about 3618 according to the census report of 2001 in which number of male is 1881 and that of female is about 1737. This ward no. is composed of diverse castes and ethnic groups like Brahmin, Chhetri, Newar, Tamang, Rai, Limbu, Kami, Damai, Sarki, Magar, Giri etc. The majority of the population is of Newar, Rai, Tamang and the number of other caste is relatively lower. According to voters' name-list of 2064, population structures of the various caste of ward No-7 in D.M are as follows:

Table No. 1 Population Structure of D.M- 7

S.N.	Caste groups	No. of Population
1	Brahmin	159
2	Chhetri	221
3	Newar	704
4	Rai	349
5	Tamang	230
6	Limbu	205
7	Dalit (Kami, Damai, Sarki)	131
8	Magar	42
9	Gurung	29
10	Giri	25
11	Other	138
	Total	2233

Sources: - Field Survey, in 2010.

The above figures indicate that Brahmin, Chhetri, Newar, Tamang, Rai, Limbu, Gurung are dominant communities of this area. The lower caste community in this area is relatively small in number and dominated by other caste and ethnic groups.

5.2 Ethnographic structures of the people over the study area

Especially I selected Govinda road, which is my study area (D.M. ward No. 7, Sunsari). Total household of the different caste and ethnic group, and related population under the study area are as follows:

Table No. 2 Population Structure of the Study area

S.N	Caste and E. Group	No. of HHs	No. of Popⁿ	Percentage of popⁿ
1.	Brahmin	9	48	16.61
2.	Chhetri	2	13	4.49
3.	Newar	14	73	25.26
4.	Rai	8	53	18.34
5.	Limbu	2	20	6.93
6.	Gurung	2	13	4.49
7.	Tamang	6	38	13.15
8.	Giri	3	9	3.12
9.	Dalit	2	22	7.61
	Total	48	289	100

Sources: - Field Survey, in 2010.

In above mentioned table, we can see Brahmins as belonging to higher caste group and divine caste. There are many other castes and ethnic groups like Brahmin, Chhetri, Newar, Tamang, Rai, Limbu, Giri and Dalit etc. In above given table, the majority groups are seen ethnic groups, which occupy about 66.17% of the total population. Brahmin, Chhetri, Giri and Dalit are minority groups. They occupy about of the total population respectively. Even the Brahmins are minority group in the society. There is a higher social status in the community for them. Social status of other castes such as Chhetri and Giri are middle in the society and status of Dalit is low.

5.3 Socio- Cultural and Economic Setting of the People

) Family

Family is one of the institutions from which the persons fulfill their basic needs. Generally, family is divided into nuclear, joint and extended family. The study of the family types in my field is without extended family. Earlier researcher works clearly indicate that joint family system was common in caste and ethnic community of Nepal (Bista 1980, Pyakurel, 1982). Extended family system was also in practice among them. Nuclear family wasn't in existence. In today's context, joint family is going to be reduced from the society. Nuclear family is majority in this area which includes 27 HH's and joint family are lower in number than nuclear family which includes 21 HH's. According to the field information given by the key informants, the change family types from their tradition due to decreasing land holding increasing population size and part ion of land and property.

) **Marriage**

) Marriage system is one of the major components of socio-cultural practice of the community. Therefore, four types of marriage are taken under this topic. The types of marriage practiced are given in the table below.

Table No. 3 Marital status of the people under the study area

S.N	Types of marriage	No. of couples	Percent
1.	Arrange marriage in their own community	70	76
2.	Love marriage in their own community	9	9.9
3.	Inter ethnic group love marriage	6	6.5
4.	Inter-caste marriage	7	7.6
	Total	92	100

Sources: - Field Survey in 2010.

In this study, out of the total 92 couples; 70 couples (76%) have arranged marriage in their own community, 9 couples (9.9%) have love marriage in their own community, 6 couples (6.5%) have inter ethnic group love marriage and 7 couples (7.6%) have inter-caste marriage in Brahmin and non-Brahmin people.

Generally, Brahmins of study area are previously practicing arranged marriage, love marriage in their community. Such practice of marriage seems at increasing trend. Inter-ethnic group love marriage is started which was very rare in the past. In today's context, inter-caste marriage is also increasing slowly day by day in this community.

) Religion

Religion is one important part of culture and society. It is a way of life a fluid concept. It may change in the context. Every society is surrounded by the religion. It is a powerful agency in the society and it performs the different function in human community. In ancient time, most of the ethnic people were influenced by the Hindu religion and culture. According to census of 1991, more than 83.45% people were Hindu in Sunsari district. Similarly, Buddhist, Kirant and Christian occupy about 2.75%, 3.13% and 0.30 of the total population respectively. But in present situation, the number of Hindu is decreasing. The census of 2001 shows that the number of Hindu is 77.09%. It seems that the number of Hindu is decreasing day by day in Sunsari. Thus, the other religions are increasing in the present situation. The census of 2001 shows the Buddhist, Kirant and Christian are as 4.06%, 6.72% and 0.75%. Religious diversity is in Dharan. Hindu, Buddhist, Kirant, and Christian followers are settling in Govinda road. Most of the ethnic people followed the Hindu religion and culture in the last few decades.

They used to celebrate the Hindu culture like Dashain, Tihar, Satyanarayan Pooja, Rudri Chandi, Graha Jaap etc.

But nowadays, they do not perform such types of rituals. They give up the Hindu rituals. Now they have started to practice their own culture and religion being influenced by their own culture and history. We can see the religious situation of the study area in following table.

Table No. 4 Religious status of the people under the study area

S.N.	Religion	Followers HH's	Percentage
1.	Hindu	29	60.42
2.	Buddhist	10	20.83
3.	Kirant	4	8.33
4.	Christian	1	2.08
5.	Not stated	4	8.33
	Total	48	100

Sources: - Field Survey, 2010.

Above table shows that most of people of the households follow the Hindu religion it occupies the 29 of total HH's. Secondly, Buddhist is 10 HH's members, Kirant 4, Christian 1 and 4 HH's have not mentioned any religion. In the past decades, there was not Christianity and Kirant religion. But at the present situation, Kirant and Christianity are increasing day by day.

) Education and Awareness

To find out the education and awareness situation of the population sampled the data concerning to education level literacy rate are taken in this study purpose.

Education is that type of factor which brings development in an individual's the internal and external behavior. Education plays the vital

role to change the society and community. In the study, the level of education is divided into four groups, i.e. illiterate, literate, grades and degrees. The educational status of the population studied is represented in the following table.

Table No. 5 Educational Status of the People under the Study Area

S.N.	Level of Education	No. of Brahmin Pop ⁿ	No. of non-Brahmin pop ⁿ	Total pop ⁿ	Total percentage
1.	Illiterate	4	16	20	7.1
2.	Informally literate	8	26	34	12.2
3.	Primary level	4	13	17	6
4.	Lower secondary	4	21	25	8.9
5.	Secondary level	10	69	79	28.2
6.	H. Secondary level	7	56	63	22.6
7.	Above Bachelors level	11	31	42	15
	Total	48	232	280	100

Sources: - Field Survey, 2010.

The average rate of literates is 89.9%. Note: - small children (under 5 years of age) have not been mentioned in this table.

Nine children out of 280 people weren't enrolled to school thus, aren't compared to another grades. Out of 280 people 34 (12.2%) people are informally literate and 20 people (7.1%) are illiterate.

Among the total population, 17 (6%) people have completed primary level, 25 (8.9%) lower secondary level, 79 (28.2%) secondary level, 63 (22.6%) H.S. level and 42 (15%) above bachelor's level. The data shows that most of the educated people have completed secondary level which occupies the 28.2%. In current situation degree holders are increasing day by day in this place. 20 years ago there was not any degree holder in this area.

) Occupation

Everyone needs an occupation to live in their livelihood strategy. The official records of occupation are not available in municipality and at ward-wise level. So I have attempted to present the occupational status of the Brahmins and non-Brahmins of Dharan-7, Govinda Road.

Four decades ago, mainly most of the people of Dharan were previously involved in agricultural sector. The involvement of Brahmin was not higher than that of other castes and ethnic groups in agricultural sector. Occupational diversity is related to different sources of income that may reflect the economic status of the Brahmin community. That's why this variable is considered as an indicator of economic activity and status. The detail about major occupation by caste and ethnic groups of D.M.7 is as follow:

Table no. 6 Occupational Status and Depending Respondent of Non-Brahmins

Occupation	No. of HHs	Dept. pop_n	Percentage of popn
Business	16	101	41.9
Foreign service	11	76	31.5
Service in Nepal	8	41	17.1
Wage labor	3	14	5.8
Social worker	1	9	3.7
Total	39	241	100

Sources: - Field Survey, 2010

It was obviously true that more than 80% of Nepali people are dependent in agricultural field. But in my study area I found that the people have not any agricultural field. They have only cartilage land and house. Only a few persons have an agriculture land but they do not work in their land. They have given to rent or half share to another person. I have tried to show separately two tables of Brahmins and non- Brahmins occupational status. Above mentioned table is of non- Brahmins. In this area the total HH's of non-Brahmin is 39 and 241 family members. Most of the people, about 101 (41.9%), are dependent on the business. Secondly from the foreign services 76 (31.5%) people are dependent in their livelihood. Such as government services in Nepal are 8 HH's (17.1%) dependent population. From the wage labor and social worker 14 and 9 population dependent.

Table No. 7 Occupational status and depending respondents of Brahmins

Occupation	No of HHs	Dept. popⁿ.	Percentage of popn
Traditional occupation	2	9	18.8
Business	3	16	33.3
Agriculture	2	14	29.2
Service in teaching	1	5	10.4
Wage labor	1	4	8.3
Total	9	48	100

Sources: - Field Survey, 2010.

Brahmins are known as priestly or divine caste of Nepal. Traditionally main occupation of Brahmin was priesthood. They would teach other caste and ethnic groups. In ancient time they were dependent on agriculture and priestly work. In the present situation, they are not involved in such types of profession. 33.3% of Brahmins are dependent on business, 18.8 % are on agriculture, 29.2% are on service, 10.4% are on teaching, and 8.3% are on wage labor.

Above mentioned occupations aren't sufficient to support the livelihood of the Brahmins and non-Brahmins people. So, as subsidiary work they have rented their houses too.

) Migration

Internal migration in Nepal began in the 1950s with increasing population pressure in Hills and the growing success of malaria eradication programmer in the Terai region, since then Nepal has been experiencing a steadily increasing flow of internal migrants mainly

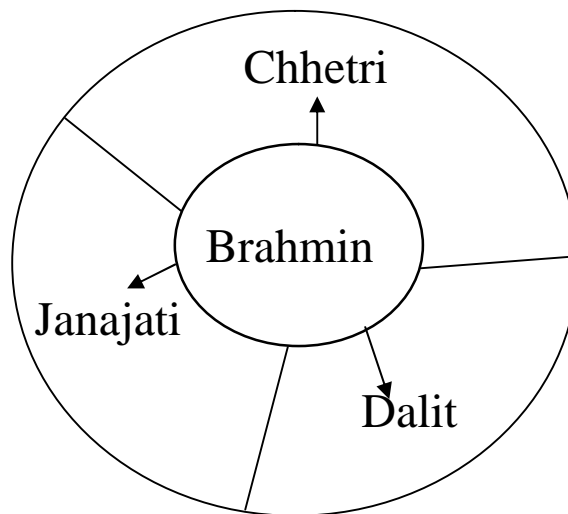
through the Terai into the hills and mountains is negligible. The deteriorating environmental and economic situation in the mountains and Hills coupled with relatively better socio-economic opportunities in the Terai has been the main cause for the increasing flow of internal migrants in the country. Aside from rural to Terai Nepal has also been experiencing rural to urban migration in recent decades. Such as in past decades ago most of the people migrated from hills to Terai due to the Maoist revolution.

The Brahmins are under the focus of the study area inhabitants since their past generations. According to respondent and old member of Brahmin before they migrated to Dharan, their ancestors had been living in hillside of Nepal 40 to 50 years ago. Most of the Brahmin people worked in the agricultural field in that contemporary society. A few persons worked in priestly and government administrative sector. Other ethnic groups like Rai, Limbu, Gurung, and Tamang had been migrated after 2010 B.S. when the British government opened the Gorkha Armed Force to the Nepalese youth. Its office was established in Dharan. In that time most of the ethnic youths came to Dharan to join the British Arm Force. A few persons were selected for the U.K. army. When they retired from UK, they started settling down in Dharan. Like the other people, Dalits were also migrated to Dharan from the hilly area 25 years ago.

CHAPTER – SIX

Changing Caste Based relationship between Brahmin and Non-Brahmins

In this chapter, the discussion of the relation between four caste and ethnic groups has been presented. There are different castes and ethnic groups in Dharan. They are Brahmin, Chhetri, Vaisya, Sudra and ethnic groups. But in my study I have tried to divide the different four groups as Brahmins, Chhetri, Janajati and Dalit. The caste based relation is presented in a circle as presented below. Brahmins are included into the mid-point of the circle and other groups are included around of the circle because the main focus of the study is Brahmin caste and their relationship with other groups.



6.1 Caste based relationship between Brahmins and Chhetri

Brahmin and Chhetri are known as two superior classes. According to Hindu religious text, Brahmin castes occupied the top ranking of the

caste hierarchy and Chhetris lie in the second rank. But in the Nepalese context Brahmin and Chhetri are being included in the same category of caste hierarchy in the Tagadhari groups. However, there is still hierarchy between them in the Nepalese society.

If we want to know about their relationship, they should be studied historically. Since the Vedic period it has been mentioned the relationship between Brahmin and Chhetriya. In that time the supreme position of the Brahmin as the spiritual guide and as the prime minister of the king in the temporal or socio-political matters (Basu, 1969:23). Such a Chhetriya's also supreme position as temporal ruler, protector and fighter is evident. He was the guardian of the law as well. His function was both executive and legislative (ibid 16, 17).

In that time every king used to appoint a Purohita who was naturally a Brahmin. The position of the Purohita was that of a chief minister who gave counseling in matter of both spiritual and temporal.

The king and his Brahmin priest together made up the administrative machinery. Hence, a Brahmin or Purohit was regarded as the half of Chhetriya and the Purihita was on half of the Chhetriya's soul.(ibid) In this way we can say there was a reciprocity relationship between Brahmin and Chhetriya.

Unlike the ancient time there is not orthodox relation between Brahmin and Chhetri in the Nepalese society. Both groups are involved in the Hindu religion and they practice a life circle rituals according to Hindu norms and values. The Brahmin who has a good knowledge of Sanskrit and '*Karmakanda*' performs such type of ritual procession. Both of them economic and social position is equal in the society. Only the religious position of Brahmin is high. In the beginning they worked in the cultivation priest and rearing as a cattle like cow, buffalo and goat.

Although they worked in the agriculture field they did not plough the ox. If he does so he could not be acceptable to priestly procession in the society. A few people worked in business and private job in other sectors. A little person worked in teaching or administrative sector. According to older person he/his father did not take any types of intoxicant matter and cooked food which was made by the Chhetri and lower caste. If he takes it his social position would be low in the society. Only those types of food accept them which are made by the Ghee and oil. Thus, they accept having milky food like, cheese, sweet, Ghee, curd etc. But all the Chhetri people accept any kind of food which made by the Brahmins. Religiously they accept the caste system but not believe in the untouchable. Only the priestly Brahmin accepts the untouchable to be pure in the society. They have a different concept of caste system. In their opinion caste system has been developed by the religiously and socially in the society. According to priest Brahmin, the caste system keeps the purity of blood in the society. Educated people view that it preserves the national identity of the individual. In regard to caste system the view of Chhetri is different. Caste system may be origin of the division of the work. Only the endogamy was accepted in the Brahmin and Chhetri society. Love marriage also restricted. If a Brahmin boy loves or does inter-caste marriage with the lower caste his social status and caste would be low. In the contemporary society economically they were co-operated each other. Debt was given and taken to each other.

Religiously there is not change in the relationship between them. They respect the Brahmins. In ancient time they bowed in the feet of Brahmins but in the present situation such type of activities has been changed. They respected the entire Brahmin by using the word “Guru” (Purohit). In the present time only they call the “Guru” who follows the priestly profession. Priestly Brahmin goes to the Chhetri’s or same caste

houses as a priest to do Jajaman. Chhetri people perform so many rituals like Namakarana, Chuda Karma, Bratabanda, marriage and funeral rituals with the help of Brahmin. Without the priest Brahmin, they can not perform such types of activities. When they want to start new act they take advice of astrologer Brahmin.

In course of time, due to the modernization and urbanization process there is a change in the human behavior and traditional activities. People other than old people like youth accept the untouchable. They go together in hotel and restaurant to enjoy and drink the alcohol in a specific occasion or party. They accept all kind of cooked food which is made by the lower caste. So many youths prefer love and inter-caste marriage. I have also known a marriage between an orthodox Brahmin's son and Chhetri girl which was accepted from their family members. So many Brahmin youths do not prefer priestly work because of the low income and they can not manage their family from this profession. And they have no any idea to do such work because they do not study Sanskrit religious books. So they have gone to foreign country for further job. In this way, we can say there a change in the relationship between them. Until the present time they have a reciprocal relations.

6.2 Caste Based Relationship between Brahmins and Janajati

The society of the Janajati is like that of many other communities living in Nepal. They are scattered and isolated in certain geographical areas. According to first legal code (M.A) of Nepal, most of the ethnic groups were included in the Matwali castes that drink the alcohol. They were divided into two groups like Namasinya Matwali (Non-enslavable) and Masinya Matwali (enslavable). They lie in second ranking of the caste hierarchy in the Nepalese society. In the present context most of the

ethnic people are known as the Janajati groups. So in my research I have tried to study about the relationship between them. Before 1990 Janajati groups were not formally defined. When the national committee for development of nationalities (in 1996) defined them, they are known as Janajati. According to this definition “Janajati is that community which has its own mother tongue and traditional culture and yet do not fall under the conventional four fold varna of Hindu or Hindu hierarchical caste structure.” According to this definition, the following may be their characteristics:

1. A distinct collective identity
2. They have own language, religion, tradition, culture and civilization; own traditional egalitarian social structure.
3. Traditional homeland or geographical area
4. Written or oral history
5. Having “we feeling”
6. Have had no decisive role in politics and government in modern Nepal
7. Who declare themselves as Janajati

Historically, many of these Janajati groups used to occupy a particular habitant or territory and thus many of them claim that they are true “first settlers” (Adivasi) of Nepal.

In the present context they claim that they are distinct groups of Nepal among the other caste groups. There are different Janajati people settle in study area like, Newar, Rai, Limbu, Gurung, and Tamang. They have their own religion and cultural practices. According to them in the beginning the main occupation was cultivation and rearing of beast of cattle lime, pig, chicken, cow, buffalo and duck. Except the cultivations

they worked in the agricultural field as a farm laborer in the society. Most of the Janajati youths went to join the British or Indian arm force to employ. According to Newars business was a main means of subsistence in their life. Still they follow the business. It is a traditional occupation of the Newari people. In that time except the business they worked in the different field like governmental and private sectors. The economic condition of Newars was a good among other Janajati people. When the Janajati youth started to join in BA or I.A after that their economic conditions also improved. Like the tradition they do not work in the farm, they are involve in the different sector like government job, business and private agency. So many youth do not prefer to join the British or Indian Armed Force because they want to do something in Nepal. They do not do cultivation because of the urbanization there is not sufficient land for farming.

With the modernization or urbanization process, the relationship between Brahmin & Janajati is changing day by day. Most of the Janajati people follow the Buddhism and Kirant religion. It is already said that they have their own religion. But two decades ago they also followed the Hindu religion and practiced the Hindu cults like Rudri (worship of Shiva), Satyanarayan Pooja (worship of Bishnu) Graha Jaap (worship of nine planets) and Puranas. To perform such types of rituals they used to call the priestly Brahmin in their house. They respected the Brahmin. Brahmins also went to their house to do priestly work and were called the Jajaman. They went to Brahmin's house to make their child's horoscope. It's still practiced in their society. In that time social and religious status of Brahmin was higher than Janajati people.

In the past decades, there was not mentioned the Kirant and Christian religion. They followed the Hindu and Buddhist religion. With

the democratic process 'the Kirant religion has been included since the 1991 census and the followers of Kirant religion have increased 157 percentage over the period of one decades i.e. between the 1991-2001 census. On the other hand the Buddhist pop_n increasing substantially after 1981. Almost 100 percent increase between the 1981-1991 censuses and close to 70 per, increase between the 1991-2001 censuses. Likewise Christianity is becoming increase in Nepal, particularly after the democratic process in 1990. The number of Christian church and pop is increasing every year (Dahal, 2003: 104, 105).

In above table no.7 the religious condition of the people under the study area has been mentioned. In that contemporary society there were not any Kirant and Christian religious people but in current time followers of Kirant and Christian are increasing. In the past, not only they followed their own religion but also practiced the Hindu religion. So many Janajati females took fasting of Sunday, Tuesday and Saturday praying for success in their further lives. In present context, they do not believe in Hindu cults because they have started their own religious practices for cultural identity. So, they believe in Shamanism. They perform their ritual practices as per Shamanism. Most of the Janajati people use Raksi, Jaand (homemade alcoholic drinks) and meat in their rituals but Brahmin does not follow these rituals. Gurungs also do not use the pork in their traditional rituals. Only Rai and Limbu use it.

According to Newars, they follow two distinct religions (Hindu and Buddhist). There was the caste hierarchy in contemporary Newar society. They were divided into four castes and thirty six sub-castes. There was restriction in feeding, drinking and social intercourse. High caste people did not use any food which was made by the lower caste. They couldn't marry with the lower caste. However, in the present time

there is not caste hierarchy in Kathmandu and many places. They can marry with both lower and higher caste.

In course of time, traditional activities are decreasing day by day. According to Newars, just like in Brahmin society, there is no restriction in feeding, drinking, marriage and social intercourse in their society too. They can take any kind of food which is made by the Brahmin. In the past, all the Brahmin people did not accept the cooked food which was made by the Janajati people. Only dry food like fruits, having milky matter, sweet and oily food was accepted by them. But in the present time, most of the Brahmin youths accept any food which is made by other caste. They go hotels, restaurants and other places together with the Janajati people for enjoyment. They have chicken and alcoholic drink at the party and on specific occasion. They do not believe in untouchability. Since the traditional period love, arrange and Jary marriage was accepted by Janajati. Inter-caste marriage was also accepted. Nowadays, Jary system is not prevalent in their society. I found out that there is increasing the love and intercaste marriage in the Janajati society (See the table no. 3). On the other hand, I found out that religiously there is not good relationship between Brahmin and Janajati people because all the Janajati people use the meat and alcoholic matter in their rituals. Economically Janajati people are higher than other people. Socially they are equal in the society.

6.3 Caste Based Relationship between Brahmins and Dalit

In ancient time, the Sudra's status was the lowest in the social hierarchy. According to Hindu religious text, all people divided into the four caste hierarchy: Brahmin, Chhetri, Vaisya, and Sudra. Although both groups lie in the Hindu caste system, the social and religious status of Sudra is low among the Brahmin, Chhetri, Vaisya, and Sudra. "The hymn

of creation (Purusa-sukta) of the Rig-Veda Samhita states that the Sudra class sprang from the feet of the creator.” (Basu, 1969:12) in other probable assumption stated that the Sudra came from Dasyus (ibid). Since the Vedic time Sudras would be serve as the servant of other three higher castes. Sudras were not allowed to sit in the line of Brahmins.

In the Nepalese context, the position of Sudra is also low in the caste hierarchy. They are included in the untouchable caste. But in present situation, they are known as the Dalit people. In the traditional Nepali society high caste people (Brahmin) did not touch the untouchable (impure) caste. According to first M.A. the members of the pure castes are allowed to cross a river be it over a bridge over stepping stones or in about in the company of untouchables. Both are free to sit together on a bench lodged in the ground and to dine next to each other provided that no bodily contact is involved and that a certain distance is kept between them (Hofer, 2004:33). If a high caste people unknowingly touched the Dalit (impure caste) he used to spring a Sunpani (gold water) into his body to be purest and he changed his (Janai) sacred thread. If impure castes knowingly touch to the high caste (Brahmin) he was punished by the society in the public place.

In my research period I had discussed with the Dalit people. According to them, two decades ago they migrated to Dharan from the hill side. In that contemporary society they worked in the agricultural field as farm laborers at high caste people’s farm. They had not a sufficient land. Most of the Dalit people followed the traditional occupation. They used to make a domestic iron instrument and gold ornaments. Except such types of profession they reared pig, chicken and goat as domestic animals. They used to drink alcohol and eat meat in their rituals. There was Jajamani type of relationship between Dalit and high

caste Brahmin. They went to the higher caste houses to take the iron instrument. By such types of work they used to get a certain annual income. Normally they used to get around eight to twelve Pathis (32-48 pounds) of paddy or maize by the Bista. This amount was given at harvest time. In that time, the economic condition of Dalit was not well. They were dependent on the higher caste.

According to old Dalit persons, caste system has been constructed by the society on the basis of occupation. They accept themselves as lower caste people but don't believe in the untouchables or caste discrimination in the society. They told me that in past decades, they could not get the permission to enter into the upper caste people's houses and into the public temples. If they did so they were punished by the society. They could get inter to the upper caste people's houses in certain area outside the door (Angan) and the bench of the courtyard. There was restriction to go to the public feast. Again they told me that there was also restriction for Dalit to involve in the politics. Even if any Dalit people were wealthy and educated, he could not be leader of the society. Thus, a priestly Brahmin told me that he also does not go to the rituals of the Dalits. Only children's horoscope is made by the Brahmin. He also takes the money. In the past, Brahmin did not take hand to hand money from the Dalit. Dalit would put the money in the ground and the Bramhin would take it.

In the present situation above mentioned activities are being changed day by day. I found out that Dalit people could easily enter into the public temples and feasts. According to them, except the Puja room they can get permission to enter into any places of the upper caste houses. They can go to public tap with the Brahmins to fetch water. Nowadays there's no Balighare system as that of tradition. With the urbanization and

modernization process traditional system has been changed. So many youths have gone to foreign country to earn money. They do not prefer traditional occupation because they can not get sufficient money from this profession. So many youths follow the gold business. So, the traditional occupation has also been changed in their community. So the economic condition of Dalit is good. I found that there is not untouchable in the youth circle. Both of youths go to along the hotel and restaurant to enjoy. There is not restriction to eat and touch bodily out of the house. Even the caste system and untouchable is going to reduce from the society but the Dalit people can not marry with upper caste and even Janajati too. I found out there is not orthodox relationship between Brahmin and Dalit as it used to be in tradition. There is positive relation between them.

CHAPTER – SEVEN

Changing Factors of the Hindu Castes System

In the 21st century, change is a universal phenomenon. Everything is changing day by day in the world. Nepali society also can not be isolated from the change. So the social and cultural norms and values are changing because of the westernization, sanskritization, awareness through education, development of mass of media, communication and new political movement. The caste system has been influenced by above elements. I have tried to analyze the changing factors of the Hindu caste in my dissertation. These are as follows:

7.1 Westernization

Westernization process is one of the principles to change the society and culture. Caste system is also one of the important features of the Nepalese society. Caste system has been influenced by the westernization in the Nepalese society. Westernization process is that types of concept which brings ideas or ways of life that are typical or Western European and American to other countries. M.N. Shrinivas (1971) state that the westernization involves the acceptance of western dress, diet manner, education, gadgets, sports and values etc.

In the context of Nepalese society, being influenced by westernization, Nepalese society is adapting western values, standard, rituals and convention. Thus, westernization is getting an equal place in Nepali society as Nepalese society takes it as its own culture and civilization. In Nepalese society due to the westernization there is rapid change in marriage, caste system, feeding and drinking methods. There is appearing in marriage system like, love, inter-caste and court marriage etc. I found that in my study area among the total 92 couples; 7 couples

have done inter-caste marriage which occupies 7.6% of the total couples. Such as love marriage in their own community 9.9% (9 couples) of the total and inter-ethnic group love marriage 6 couples. Such system gives the lack of rituals method of marriage system to the Nepalese people. Divorce system is taken easily by the western peoples. Nowadays it is increasing in the Nepali society too.

Due to the westernization process and consciousness, caste system is being changed in Nepal. In the traditional society of Nepal, the social position of the individual was dependent upon his caste. But at the present time that system has been changed as his social position in the society is determined by his own personal merit, economy, education and skill. This change in class distinction is more apparent when a migrant from the hill to town is seen attempting to establish himself in the town where he has to accustom himself to urban custom. It decreases the power of caste and untouchability in the society. It destroys the collectivistic spirit and introduces individualism and competition. It has increased individualism within the family. In nutshell we can say that due to the westernization process caste system is going to be reducing in Nepal.

7.2 Education and Consciousness

Education and consciousness is one of the important factors to change the Nepali society and caste system. From the ancient time Brahmins were educated and capable than non-Brahmins people. Education plays the vital role to change the caste system. John Dewey (1976) defines education is the development of all those capacities in the individual which will enable him to control his environment and fulfill his possibility. Such as, M. Jacques (1968) has mentioned the function of education. According to him education must enable the child to think for himself; to respect hard work; to have good fellowship; to have taste and

sense of internal realization. In this sense education is that type of process which is continuous and dynamic. Education may develop the human personality and consciousness. These are as follows:

It forms good citizens.

It can develop the bodily and mental development.

It can develop the harmonious development of individuals.

It develops the self-consciousness.

I found that education is a main factor to change the caste system. I had discussed about the caste system with 48 HH's members between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. The total average literacy rate is 89.9% in the study area. Most of the educated people oppose the caste and untouchables system. According to old or respected persons, during the Rana regime education did not enrich the common people. Only the high and noble families could get the education. Especially the Rana family had access to the education. If the education had been developed in the Rana time, general people would have been deprived of the education. They had no access to the mainstream of education. After the democratic system, most of the educational institutions started sprouting in the Nepalese society. Such as the new education act 2028 BS was developed in Nepal. Private schools and colleges were established. In that time, comparatively Brahmins went to study in school/college more than the non-Brahmins did. In the present situation, all of the caste and ethnic people go to study in school/college. Unlike the traditional society there is not any restriction to study the different caste and ethnic people. Due to the education, most of the people are aware and conscious. They can differentiate what's right and what's wrong. I had asked the people of my study area their opinion on the emerging national organization in Nepal. In their sense it is a politicization process. They oppose the national organization. It brings

the conflict in the society. So they want to see the equality amongst people in the society. They told me that untouchables should be abolished from the society. In this way, we can say the caste system is going to be reduced from the Nepali society.

7.3 Process of Sanskritization

Sanskritization process is also another principle to bring the social and cultural change. It had developed in 16th century in Nepal. At first it's defined the M.N. Shrinivas according to him Sanskritization process is the process by which a low Hindu caste or tribal or other group changes its customs, rituals, and ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently "twice born caste". That tendency of social promotion is being a universal characteristic of all caste-hierarchical societies. P.R. Sharma has taken the paralleled to the Hinduization and Sanskritization process. With the Hinduization process Sanskritization has been developed in Nepal. Although the predominant groups of people living in Nepal are the Hindus, Nepalese society is actually a multi-ethnic society consisting of large and diverse caste and ethnic population living alongside the Hindu. According to my research most of the ethnic people follow the Buddhism and Kirant religion. In this area 20.83% of people are Buddhist and 6.25% are Kirant. Although they follow the Buddhism and Kirant they also follow the Hindu cults. Due to the Sanskritization process they follow the Hindu cults like Rudri (worship of Shiva) Satyanarayan (worship of Bishnu) and Graha Jaap (worship of nine planets). They call the priestly Brahmin to do above mention programmed. So many ethnic women go for fasting of Saturday, Sunday and Tuesday for their good health and success in their further lives. They go to priestly Brahmin's home to prepare the horoscope of their children. Newari people also call the priestly Brahmin to their performance of life

rituals from birth to death. It is the burning example of the Sanskritization process in Nepal. In today's context of Nepal, so many ethnic people do not accept the Hindu rituals and customs. They have started to follow their own culture and rituals. Hindu types of rituals are decreasing day by day in their community.

7.4 Development of Mass Communication

Mass communication is one of the changing factors of caste system. In the present situation, it has played the vital role to change the society and culture. It has also influenced the caste system. Mass communication the techniques and institution through which centralized providers broad cast of distributes information and other forms of symbolic communication to large heterogeneous and geographically dispread audiences. At first it had developed in 15th century. Relatively it specialized in 19th century. When the technologies and organizational forms device to produce and sell goods were applied to the marketing and distribution of information and entertainment. First the production of books and News papers was transformed and then in the 20th century came the invention of the gramophone radios, The Cinema and television and video. To day mass communication is highly important economic, political and social institution in developed as well as developing societies (Collins Dictionary, 2005).

Nepal is still a very traditional society which is changing very slowly. After the revolution in 1950-51 various kinds of media were introduced in Nepal and since then they have grown rapidly in quantity. Radio, T.V. and news paper are the best known media of mass communication in developing countries. None of this fore one reason or the other, is successfully accessible to the rural population, in the case of he news paper for e.g. it could not be used for direct communication with

rural communities. Among the print media there are newspaper, magazines, books, and booklets newsletters etc. which are published by governmental and non-governmental organizations as well as private companies and individuals. Print media has the oldest history in the communication system in Nepal. "Gorkhapatra" the first vernacular news paper of Nepal was published in 1901 and in took half a century to become a daily paper, postal system was started in 1911 and 1934, telecommunication lines were installed, the first public cinema was opened in 1950 and the radio Nepal began it's broad casting in 1950 whereas the television was introduced only 1985 (<http://www.valt.helsinki.fi/comm/student/report96/tamra.htm>).

I found out that in the field study almost all people use T.V., and radios. In the current situation, so many FM broadcast against the caste system and untouchables through tele-serial, films and radio drama etc. I found that most of the youth prefer to see such types of programmed. Most of the people read daily Newspapers. They are conscious and they can differ what's wrong and what's right. They told me that equality should be availed amongst people. Most of the youth oppose the caste system and untouchable. In their sense caste system is an evil of the society. At last, we can say that mass communication is one of the important factors to bring change in caste system of Nepal.

7.5 New Political Movement

Politics is one of the fundamental principles to change the society and culture. It influences the social institutions and human life. Politics means the activities involved in getting and using power in public life and being able to influence decisions that affect country of a society. We may define politics as the management of the state socially, economically and politically. Before democratic process there weren't any political parties

in existence in Nepal. In that time, Ranas were superior rulers. System of the government was tyrannical. Nobody could oppose them. If anyone spoke against the Ranas, they were punished. So there was not freedom in Nepal. In that time, there were so many leaders like B.P. Koirala, Puspallal and Subarna Samsher who not only opposed Ranas but also were politically organized to abolish the Rana regime. They became successful to establish democracy and eradicate the Rana regime. Then so many political parties were established in the Nepali society, such as Nepali Congress, Nepal Communist Party and Praja Parishada etc. They invoked people in their political parties. With the changing political situation, most of the youths became members of the different political parties. Through the manifesto of different political parties, they declared against the caste and untouchables and they started to practice inter-caste marriage. It is the plus point to change the caste system and untouchables in the Nepalese society.

With the advent of democracy in 1950, social discrimination started breaking down not because of any legal provision but because of the high caste people's own initiatives. However, even this change could not abolish untouchables. Though public places were opened to low caste people in some places, the situation remained unchanged to a large extent. There has been made a legal sanction in the civil code against untouchables, however, it has turned out to be meaningless since its violation is not liable to any specific penalty.

In 2017 B.S. King Mahendra captured the democratic governance. Multiparty system had been restricted by the king. Panchayat constitution had also tried to abolish the caste system but did not succeed in eradicating it from the human behaviors. Likewise in 2045 and 2062/63 B.S. great political revolutions were waged against the traditional

mechanism of the state. According to act 11(4) of the constitution of Nepal 1990, however, untouchables have been made punishable. The civil code has also been amended accordingly. Likewise the interim constitution of Nepal in act 3 declared that the state shall not discriminate among citizens on grounds of religions, race, caste, tribe gender, origin language or ideological conviction or any of these". But the 'violate' these constitutional and legal provisions untouchables has been still found on practice.

In 2062/63 BS most of the political parties, Maoist, civil society and Nepalese people organized one circle to erase the monarchy system. The Nepalese people succeeded in eradicating the monarchy system. They made the interim constitution. In this constitution it's mentioned that caste discrimination and untouchables is punishable. The civil code has also been amended accordingly. The government of Madhav Kumar Nepal declared that those people who have done the inter-caste marriage and widow marriage is rewarded by the government. With the changing political situation most of the people have become aware politically and educationally. Most of the political leaders have done inter caste marriage. They started to oppose the caste discrimination and untouchables. At last, we can say political change is one of the changing factors of the caste system.

CHAPTER - EIGHT

Summary, Findings and Conclusion

8.1 Summary

Nepal, though a small county, contains above hundred caste and ethnic groups. These groups belong to Indo-Aryan and Tibetan Burmese group. Among them, Brahmin is one of the priestly and divine caste groups of Nepal and comprise almost of 13% total population of the country. They had come to Nepal from India.

The main purpose of the study was to find out the changing caste base relationship between Brahmins and non-Brahmin of the Sunsari district. It is found from the study that cultural life as well as in the caste features of the Hindu caste system of Nepal.

This study is mostly focused on the Brahmin people whose settlement is eastern part of Nepal. To undertake this study, here I have tried to study the changing case base relationship between Brahmin and other non-Brahmin people (Chhetri, Janajati and Dalit).

In my study included the different Caste and ethnic household from ward no. 7 of Dharan municipality Sunsari district of Nepal. To analyze the collected data, categorization, ordering and ranking was done to obtain the research activities. Due to the time and resource constrains this study covered the 48 households of Brahmins and other groups within these prescribed limits the different castes and ethnic groups. Migration, marriage, occupational status, educational status and religious status of different people have been analyzed.

Further, the changing nature of caste features like, hierarchy of Hindu caste, restriction on marriage, feeding, drinking and social

intercourse, religious disabilities and privileges, choice of occupation have been analyzed to draw the inference.

The importance of the study lies in its application in both theory and practice. This study contributes to improve the scope of both caste and ethnic groups. It will be also of greater importance to cultural perspective for human social research offering new understanding of human society in changing their caste based relation and social conditions through their cultural construction and social mechanism. And the finding may be responsible of the changing relation of the different caste and Janajati people of eastern Nepal.

Various books, articles, reports relevant and related caste have been reviewed before carrying out the field work and relevant theories and ideas have been presented to support this research work.

Descriptive research design has been set to study 48 households which were selected on the basis of caste and ethnic groups after conducting household survey of all the Brahmin and non-Brahmin households of the D.M .-7, Govinda Road.

It has been assumed that the 48 households correspond to all socio-cultural characteristics of whole people of the study area. It is a caste based study. It is mainly based on both quantitative and qualitative data which has been collected through various techniques such as observation, informal interview and questionnaire. They have been analyzed using both descriptive and statistic method of analysis. Govinda road is a middle point of the Dharan municipality. There are various caste and ethnic groups settling in the study area. Most of the Hindu caste group's life circle rituals are similar but the Janajati are different. They have their own language, religion and ritual practices. They are not included caste hierarchy like Hinduism but also they gradually influenced by other

neighbors. Due to the westernization, education, development of mass communication, Sanakritization and new political movement caste system has been changing day by day from the Nepali society. Like the traditional society there is not orthodox relationship between Brahmin and other non-Brahmins because of the changing behaviors of the human nature. Finally, this study tries to analyze the changing patterns of Hindu caste system and relationship between Brahmin and other people rather than various changes bringing among them in their ways of life.

8.2 Major Findings

Every society and culture is gradually changing. Due to the social and cultural change human relationship also changing in the different society. I have attempted comparatively changing relationship between Brahmin and non-Brahmin people. In previous chapter I have already mentioned the Hindu caste features and changing factors of Hindu caste system in Nepal.

-) Like the traditional society people do not follow the orthodox caste hierarchy.
-) There are different Janajati groups in the study area which do not follow the Hindu caste hierarchy like Rai, Limbu, Gurung, and Tamang.
-) Educational status of the people is rapidly growing.
-) Except the older Brahmin person there is not any restriction to feeding and drinking to other people.
-) In the present situation, the concept of purity and pollution is not associated in the Janajati and Dalit groups. Anyone can perform their ritual performance without any restriction.

-) Due to the Sanskritization process most of the Janajati people used to Hindu cult but the present situation they do not so. They follow their own culture.
-) There is not any restriction to the Dalit people to go to the public temple and their feast any caste and Janajati groups.
-) There are found many factors to change the Hindu caste system in Nepali society. Among them major factors are: westernization, Sanskritization, education and consciousness, development of mass communication and new political movement etc.
-) The research found that like the traditional caste features are changing.
-) Most of the Brahmin people do not follow the traditional occupation.
-) I found that there is an equal social relationship between Brahmin and non-Brahmin but the cultural relation is different.
-) Some people prefer to love and inter-caste marriage. Gradually family structure is also changing from the expanded, joint to nuclear.
-) The concept of untouchables is going to be reduced from the society.

8.3 Conclusion

The research shows that the caste system is associated with the notion of purity and impurity discrimination, which creates inequality and leaves a deep impact on their relationship as human beings by misbalancing the harmonious relationship between them. Caste, as a social phenomenon, is characterized by endogamy, hereditary, membership and hierarchy.

In the present situation caste system has become a great problem challenging the sense of brotherhood among the people. Caste system creates unnecessary division only on the basis of one's birth. Caste system based family has to face untold suffering. He/ she is prohibited from public places, not allowed even to touch the so-called upper class people. If he touches even unconsciously he has to face a severe punishment. But in the present condition, untouchable is going to be reduced day by day. Government also punishes those people who discriminate person on the basis of caste.

Thus, it proves the caste system in Nepal which affects every aspect of life such as the feeding, occupation, relations etc. It also affects people's perceptions of the society and their attitudes towards development. Research shows that many young people were aware of the values associated with the caste system and even had alternative visions. They were not implementing the changes they envisaged.

Every society undergoes changes whether we like or not. Nepal has undergone the rapid change since the democratic process. Due to the westernization, education, development of communication, Sanskritization and political movement, caste system has been changed in the Nepali society.

Considerable changes are seen in marriage, feeding, and drinking, choosing occupation and caste hierarchy. Such types of changes are seen in the caste base relationship between them.

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-) Because the government awards
 -) Because of own will
 -) To change traditional norms and values
 -) Others
- 4. In your opinion, how the caste system evolved and developed?
 -) On the basis of occupation
 -) On the basis of religion
 -) On the basis of pure and impure
 -) On the basis of social tradition
 -) Other
- 5. What is the state of caste system at present?
 -) The caste system is over
 -) How?
 -) The caste system isn't over yet
 -) Why?
 -) It's going to be over
 -) How?
 -) It's disappearing slowly
 -) Why?
 -) Other
- 6. What is your attitude towards caste system?
 -) It's a religious process.
 -) It's the basis for division of people and society

-) It keeps people's blood relation pure
 -) It's a tactics to degenerate people as pure and impure
 -) Other
- 7. Is caste discrimination acceptable? If not, why?
 -) It's social injustice.
 -) It's contrary to law and constitution.
 -) It's against human rights.
 -) Others
- 8. Can eat with Dalit together at your home?
 -) Yes,
 -) How?
 -) No,
 -) Why?
- 9. Do you take alcohol?
 -) Yes
 -) Daily
 -) Sometimes
 -) at special occasion
 -) others
 -) No
 -) Because of high caste
 -) Because the society refuses
 -) Because of illness
 -) Because of dislike
 -) Other
- 10. What are the reasons that brought change in caste system at present than in the past?

-) Because of political change
-) Change in human thought
-) Because it's punishable by law
-) Because of education
-) Low income from traditional occupation
-) Because of population growth
-) Because of impact of western culture
-) Other

11. Do you follow your traditional occupation? If you don't, what are the reasons?

-) Because others hate you
-) Because there's low income from it
-) Because you are ashamed of it
-) Because of lack of traditional occupational skill
-) Other

12. What do you do if your son/daughter does inter-caste marriage?

-) I'll accept.
-) I won't accept.
-) I'll break relation.
-) Other

13. If you want to get your son/daughter done inter-caste marriage, why?

-) Because the law allows
-) Because the government rewards

- Because caste system is disappearing
 - Because of own will
 - Other
14. Do you eat food cooked or touched by other caste? If you donot, why?
- Because of high caste
 - Because the society denies you
 - Because of religion
 - Other
15. How is your relationship with your neighbors?
- Good
 - Bad
 - Other
16. Have you ever fought with your neighbor? What is the reason?
- Because of caste
 - Because of religion
 - Personal reason
 - Because of dispute over land
 - Other
17. What is your attitude towards caste system?
18. How do you take the change which has come to caste system?
19. What is your attitude towards inter-caste marriage?

20. What is an untouchable in your view?