

CHAPTER - ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

People were found to be migrated¹ from two different places in the Terai and Inner-Terai. It has been seen back to the history of Terai, gradually ebbs and flow of people found. It is said that migration process began from the time of the first Aryan²-tribal in 900 B.C. Aryan established Videh kingdom including *Uttar Pradesh* and *Bihar* of India along with recent Janakpur of Nepal where the king was Janak. Likewise, Kapilbastu of mid-Terai was ruled by Shakya kings. In the 563 B.C., the Lord Buddha was born in Tilaurakot of Lumbini. Tharus claim Buddha belongs to their ethnic groups. When it has been seen at the back, Terai was melting pot of Aryan and Pre-Aryan tribal in the ancient time and many kingdoms rose and collapsed.

This study has the information about the situation of migration in Terai, especially from the books of two writers', *Francis Hamilton* and *William Kirkpatrick*, during modern Nepal. Likewise records of Nepal government have explained about it. According to Fedrick H. Gaige –people migrated into Terai from the adjoining states of India and mountain and hill of Nepal.

According to Hamilton, most of the people living in eastern Terai such as Tharus, Rajbanshi, Meche and Gangain were indigenous of Terai. They used to cultivate the land and settle. However they were migrating to another place in the same regions (flat land) as productivity of that land was decreased in every 3 to 4 years. During the dry season, Ahir (Yadav) of Uttar Pradesh from India had brought the cattle for grazing in previously cultivated land by the indigenous people where plenty of grass could be grown. It is concluded that *Ahir (Yadav)* were that *Ahirs (Yadav)* first migrant people into Terai while Tharus migrated to other places of Terai. Gradually Kurmi, Kayastha etc. settled there and started business.

¹ Fedric H. Gaige 1975, explained that people were migrated into Terai from India and Hill in his book "Regionalism and National Unity in Nepal"

² The concept of an "Aryan" race is one example of a "factoid". The term "Arya" found in the Rg. Veda and meaning "good or noble, someone who speaks Sanskrit, someone who practices the proper Vedic rituals, Renou in Kenoyer J. Mark, 2006, Cultures and Societies of the Indus Tradition.

Mid-Western Terai or some parts of the Terai in recent Lumbini zone were conquered by the *Sen* Kings of Palpa and Makwanpur, during 15th and 16th century. At that time epidemics of Malaria were spread and there was a dense jungle too. Sen Kings did not come for any human settlement in that part. So, they could save that part to be colonized by British East India Company. That part was used for selling of elephants, cow, and cattle as well as for collecting taxes. Only in 1770, during Shaha time people were encouraged to be migrated there. Then people from *Pahads* (Hill) increasingly migrated there. Nepal government made policy of migration to Terai from India and *Pahads* (Hill) to strengthen economic development. Numbers of migrating people from *Pahad* were less likely to support that government policy than the number of migrating people from India because of Malaria and too hot climate. Therefore, facts of migrant people to Terai from Hill are lower in comparison to Bihar and Uttar Pradesh of India. Due to the aforementioned facts, this study primarily focuses on migration from India and Hill of Nepal into Inner-Terai (the home land of Tharus) has been impacting socio- culture dimensions of Tharus. It is supposed to say that socio-cultural invasion problems arose in the Terai and inner-Terai due to high volume of migration. When Tharu and other indigenous people are living together, it is obvious that similar kind of socio-cultural interrelations are found but along with that we may find some differences between Tharu and other communities during establishing multi-cultural society. Therefore this study is relevant to analyze the socio-cultural interrelationship between social groups and social change of those socio-cultural relations.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Migration is a social and cultural process not merely an economic one that transforms space and place³. It is part of traveling culture which is always across the countries in the worlds, negotiating shifting frames of reference, facing new possibilities and constraints, and grappling with new subject positions (Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan, 2003). The migrants have more opportunities than non-migrants and widening time and space of host society and culture. The migrant culture is

³ *Space in any historical context, can be circumscribed by material social process that involve the traffic goods or ideas or ideas between sets of people. By contrast place refers to the form of consciousness with which individuals and groups apprehend and transform particular material spaces, taking for granted that these forms of consciousness are dialectically related to social power relations. This distinction builds on Heidegger (1977), Basso(1996) and Creed and Ching(1997) offer a related definition of place as “a grounded metaphor.*

dominant in the place of destination and the non-migrants are adopted with their continued culture. It is a process of cultural assimilation and formation of national identity on the basis of language, culture and religion by migration into Terai (Gaige, 1975). Similarly, Paff (1997) stated that state elites especially high caste Hindu have negatively impact of ethnic culture in their homeland.

Most of the scholars have been emphasizing migration as an economic opportunity. The reason behind migration is to acquire better economic opportunities than place of origin. Especially, Geographers, Demographers, and Economists focused on migration as a result of globalization, modernization, economic process. In the case of Nepal, Geographers and Demographers stated migration as a process of environmental change, better economic opportunities and land ownership of migrants (Shrestha, 1988). Their studies emphasized on rural to urban and hill to Terai migration. Such kind of migration studies are conducted on socio-economic aspects of migrants. There is lacking of socio-cultural interrelation between indigenous (non-migrants) and migrants group of population. The demographic anthropological study on migration is found very less in Nepalese migration study.

Theoretically, migrants carry language, culture, custom, norms and values along with them from origin to destination. The absence of cultural accommodation of non-migrants in the state policy creates internal or external conflict between host society's culture and migrant's culture. In other hand, migration is a process of building multicultural society and the other, it is also process of socio-cultural conflict between groups if voices of non-migrants are not accommodated. This study focuses on conflict of multicultural society on languages, race, and culture which exist in inner-Terai. Tharu Indigenous people also have been raising their cultural invasion issues since 1990s since they realized that their culture is affected by the Madheshi group and hill migrant people in their homeland. According to Tharus, their culture is being spread by some Indian originated and hill migrants who are in power⁴ which is also the reason for Tharu social movement. Before 90s the Terai has faced *Pahadization* (also Hinduization) and after the changed political system of 2006, the process of Madheshization (domination of Madheshi Culture and power) begins which is also

⁴ Gopal Dahit, raised issues of cultural invasion of Tharus in his study: *A study of Indigenous Tharu Knowledge, SIRF/SNV-Nepal, an un published report, 2008*

the biggest socio-cultural problem of Indigenous Tharu people. Thus, Tharu people are facing double social and cultural invasion problem in Terai region. This research study tries to investigate how migrant Pahadi and Madheshi culture impact on Tharu society and culture in Inner-Terai.

Nepalese social science scholarship argued that the relation between demography and economy of a social order is often determined by the geographical condition. In the Nepalese context, the Terai region refers to plains which share a common border with the southern foothills of the country. This region as compared with the other two geographical zones, enjoys rich soils and most favorable for agricultural activities and development of infrastructures. Demographic structures and history of zone suggest that the earlier migrants group of population were culturally very close to the communities living in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh of India. But now, it became an area of settlement for all regional and cultural groups due to the increasing internal and external migration. Migrate population from India and hill into Terai is an ancient and modern migratory movement from one caste/ethnic/regional group to another region. This migratory movement phenomenon has many socio-cultural and political implications. Why and how such types of implications happened in the Inner-Terai society from beginning to now. The main research question is “How has the migration changed Tharu society?” The research questions are as follows:

- a) What is the Ethnography (place of origin, physical structure, birth death rituals, social and political organizations etc.) of Tharu Indigenous people?
- b.) What are the socio-cultural relations between Tharus and Non-Tharus?
- c.) How do social and cultural relations between Tharus and migrants have changed Tharu society and culture?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this research is to analyze the hill and cross broader Madheshi migration into inner -Terai and its impact on Tharu indigenous people with respect to social and cultural dimension. The specific objectives are as follows:

-) To record the social, cultural and demographic characteristics of Tharus,

-) To analyze the socio-cultural relations between Tharus and non-Tharus, and
-) To explore the impact of in migrants' culture on Tharu society and culture

1.4 Rationale of the Study

This study expects to contribute to the knowledge regarding sociology of demography of migration process. It is an investigation of migration and social change process of indigenous people. In the name of building multi-cultural society, migration has positive and negative impact. The study identifies the migration process as not only positive but also problematic for multicultural accommodation. It is also important for acquiring knowledge on socio-culture relations between Tharu indigenous and other migrant people. The study has the significant contribution to the interrelationship between social groups which are playing vital role for socio-cultural change. Findings of the study could contribute to policy debate about migration, society and culture. Furthermore it is also helpful as baseline of non-migrants study from the migration perspective for research on demography and culture in Nepalese context.

Foreign scholars did extensive work in the region on migration, society and culture. Most of the research findings have focused on Hill to Terai migration and its impact on economic and political aspects of migrants and non-migrants. But this study is trying to outline the hill to Terai and cross boarder migration into Terai from Northern India and Its impact on indigenous society and culture. This area is new one for the migration study and its impact on traditional society and culture. The thrust of study is based on modern migration and agro-pastoral migration into Tharus home land which gives new insights for new migration studies.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

This study is based on qualitative and quantitative inquiry of migrants and non-migrant population in inner-Terai of Nawalparasi district. This study only assesses the socio-cultural relations between Ethnic/Indigenous Tharus and other caste groups in Swathi VDC which is multi-cultural society. The aspect of migration and socio-cultural change is analyzed. This study can't analyse the other impact of social change such as modernity and globalization. In addition, economic and political issues are analyzed for inter-group relations. The study can't be generalized in Terai

region. Minimum ethnographic inquiry techniques were applied for the assessment of social change due to the short period of time.

1.6 Chapter Plan

The research study is based on a synthesis of three aspects Qualitative, Quantitative and Theoretical triangulation that provides a better understanding migration and socio-cultural relationship and social change. All total eight chapters are planned.

The study is divided into eight Chapters. The first chapter is introduction with background, statement of problem, objectives of the research, rationale and chapter plan of the study. The second chapter focuses on scientific understanding of study and reviewed relevant literature on migration, Tharus and social change. It has covered the theoretical understanding of migration into inner-Terai and Tharus, model of migration, Srinivas' concept of social change, social structure, concept of agency, resistance and compliance, theory and institutions, and theoretical framework. Chapter three describes research methodology. It includes field research methods, approach to data management and analysis and preparation of thesis. Fourth chapter attempts to assess background characteristics of the study population. Chapter Five explains the social and cultural description of Tharus. Chapter six analyzes the inter-relationship between Tharus and non-Tharus. This chapter is further divided into social, economic, political and cultural relations between Tharus and non-Tharus. Chapter Seven is related to the migration and impact on Tharu community. Chapter eight summarizes the major findings and conclusions.

CHAPTER- TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter of the research reviews major literatures of the proposed study. Theoretical as well as empirical literatures are reviewed. The theoretical framework of the study is based on the theoretical and empirical facts from the different books, journal and research reports, which is previously done. The frame of literature review and outlined issues are as follows.

2.1 Terai and Tharu Indigenous People

The narrow plain strip of land of the Terai belt starts from the foothills of Siwalik range of the Himalayas and widens up to the Gangetic plains of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in India. For this geographical region the word 'Terai' is used interchangeably with 'Madhesh' which is derived from the Sanskrit word 'Madhyadesh', meaning the mid-country between the foothills of the *Himalaya* Mountains in the north and *Vindhya* mountains in the south. People living in this region are therefore described as Madhesis (Gaige, 1975). In this study, the word 'Terai', however, only refers to the plain strip of land lying within the southern boundary of Nepal, i. e., the Terai region that exclusively belongs to Nepal. The Terai area of Nepal has its own share of multiple ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural groups of people. Among them Tharus are numerically the largest and historically the oldest indigenous people of the area. The Gorkha rulers' policy on encouraging new settlements in Terai ever since its unification (in 1768), and later on followed by the Ranas during their rule till 1950, had greatly influenced the demography of Nepal. The beginning of settlement of people of 'Indian origin' is thus inseparably linked with the history of settlements in Terai. A sizeable increase in the population of Indian origin occurred when the British government returned the territories of far-western Terai to Nepal (which were taken away by them during the Anglo-Nepali War of 1814-16), as a goodwill gesture to the Ranas, who had provided military assistance to the British to suppress the Indian Mutiny in 1857-58. The restoration of Terai districts like Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur by the British to Nepal increased the number of Muslims in the western Terai, as these districts already had a sizeable Muslim population before integration into Nepal. Also during this period, the bordering areas of mid-western district of

Kapilbastu saw the settlement of big Muslim land-lords from Awadh region, as they were invited by the Ranas for their Jamindari skills. They were given vast areas of forested lands at nominal rates for maximizing agricultural production and revenues from the lands.

According to CBS, 2003, Tharus constitutes a large tribal group of over 1533879 who live in scattered settlements throughout Nepal's southern Terai (plains) region. Tharus have lived in Nepal's Terai for over 600 years and were probably the first inhabitants of the region. They speak an Indo-European language related to Hindi, Bhojpuri and Maithili (Bista, 1987). Tharus have an Animistic religion which revolves around the worship of deities believed to inhabit the earth, forest and people's houses. Tharus also pay homage to ancestral and clan deities. The primary Tharu religious figures are priests known as Guruwa. The Tharu economy consists of subsistence agriculture supplemented by fishing and some gathering of wild fruits and vegetables. Until the 1960s Tharus were the only in-habitants of the Dang Valley which lies just north of the Silwak hills in the Rapti zone of West Nepal. Their isolation was facilitated by a particularly virulent form of malaria to which the Tharus were immuned (as a result of sickle cell resistance), but which seriously affected everyone else in the early 1960s a highly successful malaria eradication Programme enabled Hindu Nepali (mostly Brahmans and Chhetris) to settle in the Dang Valley in large numbers.

Some of these Hindu settlers laid claim to previously owned uncultivated land which they cleared themselves. Many Brahmans and Chhetri show ever, used threats and/or actual acts of violence to force Tharus to sign over their land. In other cases they would just take over cultivated land (for which Tharus did not have ownership papers), and register it in their own name. In still other cases, Brahman and Chhetri settlers would, as they did with the Limbu tribe, take advantage of Tharu illiteracy to manipulate the figures on loan forms (for which Tharu land had been used as collateral) so that the Tharu debtor would be forced to give the Brahman or Chhetri money lender the property to pay off the debt.

2.2 Theoretical and Empirical Review of Migration, Society and Culture

This research is based on socio-cultural dimension of the migrants and non-migrants population. Generally, non-migrant population is indigenous/ethnic nationalities. This is also contested knowledge in the context of Nepal. However Tharus are indigenous people which are accepted by other caste and ethnic group. On the basis of Nepal government definition, Tharus are one of the indigenous groups of population in Terai region.

The discourse of migration is found in the Nanada Ram Shrestha study on "A structural perspective on labor migration in underdeveloped countries". Shrestha, 1988, suggests that five types of models have shaped migration studies since Ravenstein's influential 1885 article, "The Laws of Migration," which formally inaugurated the migration studies. They include: economic/behavioral models premised on utility maximization by migrants seeking better economic opportunities elsewhere; eco-demographic "push" models that identify population pressure and losing ground returns to labor as the primary causes of migration; spatial attraction or gravity models that emphasize urban "pull" factors, compensating for the rising transaction costs imposed on migration decisions by distance; anthrop sociological models that highlight the importance of group networks and modernizing influences on migration; and neo- Marxist dependency models that view uneven development and the articulation of pre-capitalist with capitalist modes of production as the root cause of migration. In fact, Shrestha's five-fold typology can be reduced, without serious loss of accuracy, into two dominant approaches as identified. One is "dual economy" models from the marginality and rational choice tradition in economies (Ravenstein 1885, Todaro 1976 in Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan, 2003) and secondly the Marxist tradition that explains migration as a response to or consequence of uneven capitalist development and class struggle (Bremner, 1985 in Shrestha, 1988). Anthrop sociological approaches that underline the importance of social networks are typically reversionary branch of these dominant frameworks (Shrestha, 1998).

Recent studies of migration by geographers and anthropologists have sought to expose the ideological tie up of the social groups that organize developmentalist understandings of time and space within modernization theory. Contrary to the behavioralism of marginalist theories of migration and the structuralism of Marxist theories, new migration scholars have sought to restore agency to migrants by showing, through bio-graphical and ethnographic research, how migrants apprehend, negotiate, and transform the social structures that impinge on their lives (Mills, 1999). In short, although structuration theories, Marxist dialectics, have been around for at least two decades (Bourdieu, 1977 and Giddens, 1984 in Shrestha, 1988) and have offered sophisticated insights on the spatiotemporal recursivity of structure and agency, their empirical deployment within population geography and migration study is relatively recent.

The Tharus are relatively speaking a large population there are more Tharus in Nepal than there are members of any one of the higher ranked, non-enslaveable, alcohol-drinking groups. The key difference that relegated them to a lower social status in the eyes of the ruling elite in Nepal was probably their relative political marginality to the state. Through both neglect and policy, the Rana dictatorship that ruled Nepal since the mid-nineteenth century had kept the country's social and economic infrastructure largely undeveloped; covered roads were virtually nonexistent, there were no schools, much less a system of formal schooling, and health services or any of the other features of a "modern" society and polity were not present even in emergent form. The Terai, even though it remained malarial, had become the backbone of the Nepali economy, but through the labor of Indian immigrants; it remained a region the hill people preferred to avoid. Nevertheless, there was land to be had in the Terai that would serve to alleviate the growing land hunger in the hills and expand agricultural production at the same time. The post-Rana state sought to remedy decades of Rana misrule by actively integrating Nepal into the world economy and seeking to "modernize" the country; the Terai, with its vast agricultural potential and reserves of land, became an inevitable target of these efforts. From the point of view of the state, developing the Terai and opening it to the settlement would simultaneously serve two purposes that were central to the concerns of the elite in Kathmandu: it would bring about economic growth on the one hand (and thus serve to legitimize an autocratic regime), and it would "culturally stabilize" the border region on the other. There is no

significantly different between Terai and Inner-Terai. Inner-Terai is valley and slightly half of the land of Inner-Terai situated in hill. However the inner-Terai is strategic locations for the hill and Indian migrants to connect capital city of Nepal. This reason provides access to migrants groups with power relations. The domination of original inhabitants found weak and migrants are always in center point in the socio-cultural dimension.

According to Chaudhary, 2064 B.S., Hill originated propel migration into Terai has impact on indigenous Tharus on internally displaced of Tharus from their land. Beside this, he stated about population pressure, deforestation, marginalization and destruction of wildlife's, problem of landlessness, pollution, out migration, problem of supply and development, problems of rights and resources. However, he did not provide any evidences about social and cultural impact of Tharus.

Boeker, 2001, identified some issues of Chitwan Tharus. Whenever one talks to the Tharus about their situation, the comment is inevitably made: "Satjugi" – formerly everything used to be better! Since these Pahariyas have been in Terai, we have been doing badly! Such or similar statements not only point to an apparently conflict-laded multi-ethnic constellation in Terai, they also prove the power of ethnicity-a strong identification with one's own ethnic group. If one considers the pattern of relationships between Tharus and Pahariyas, the following points become obvious: Although the problems of the landless workers and small-scale farmers are similar and although the landlords of both groups are regarded as equally privileged, this socio-economically related classification of Terai population is hardly recognized. The ethnic classification, the dichotomy between autochthonous and immigrant population groups, is what the Tharus especially attach importance to. This strong ethnicity of the Tharus is, however being eroded. Link may ethnic groups that have been integrated into a Hindu society and are being Hinduized the Tharus have also accepted the Hindu ideal. The various institutional relations resulted social and cultural change of Tharus. Theoretically, how institutional relations change the society and culture?

Caste/Ethnic Composition of Terai

The caste⁵/ethnic⁶ composition of the Terai population is categorized on the basis of caste based hierarchy and Indigenous group of population. More caste and ethnic group of population is found in Terai rather than mountain and Hill due to the steady internal and external migration.

Table 2.1: Distribution of Population Residing in Terai by Caste/ Ethnic Group and Religion, 2001

Caste/Ethnic Group	Total Population	% Sharing in Terai Population	Religious group
Total Upper Caste Group	2,29,021	2.00	Hindu
Middle Caste Group	32,53,948	31.00	Hindu
Lowest Caste-Group(Dalit)	8,87,756	7.9	Hindu
Indigenous nationalities/ethnic	17,69,196	15.8*	Hindu (Claiming Buddhist)
Muslims(Minority Religious Group)	9,71,056	8.7**	Islam
Others(Marwari, Bengali, Sikh etc)	56,885	0.5	Jains, and others
Total Madhesh originated group	71,67,862	63.9	
Unidentified Madheshi Dalit	2,07,900	1.9	
Unidentified Madheshi group	1,38,600	1.2	
Migrated from Mountain, Hill and other places	37,00,110	33.00	Hindu, Buddhist, Christian and others
Total Population of Terai-Madhesh	1,12,12,453	100.00	All religions

*Minority religious group in Nepal ** Indigenous Nationalities of Terai

Source: CBS, (2002). Population Census, National Reports

The Terai constitute almost 50 percent of the total population of Nepal. Among the Terai-Madhesh population, there are many caste and ethnic groups living in the Terai. Middle caste group including Yadav (10%) comprises of 31 percent, the absolute majority of the population of the Terai. The percentages of other caste groups consists of 15.8 percent of Indigenous nationalities, 8.7 percent of Muslims, 7.9 percent of Madheshi Dalit, 2 percent of upper caste (Maithali Brahmin, Kaystha, Rajput), 0.5 percent of Marwari, Sikh, Bengali etc. and 33 percent of Hill originated.

⁵ Both Varna and jat are normally translated as caste. The former refers to the four fold division of society found in Vedas: Brahmin, Chettri, Baisya and Sudra. The caste system is endogamous, hierarchical, ritual purity and hinders harmonious(Fernando, 2000)

⁶ According to Oxford Dictionary, ethnic means belonging to a nation, race or people that share a cultural tradition.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

Over the last half century, demographers have been devoted to refining techniques of measurement, so that variables of interest might be reliably personated for presented for explanation. On the one hand efforts that have assumed a decontextualized universal rationality and maximization of some degree of and valued goods have dominated much of demographic thinking but have encountered increasing opposition, on the other hand, effort to study of demographic behavior in its social and cultural context, and even institutional approaches in the hands of the sociological branch of the demographic fraternity have not reached the universalism assumed by their economic aspect.

In the rejection of univertilic economic-demographics theories and search for explanation of demographic variables, the concept of culture has been increasingly adopted. Culture it is claimed and explained why communities or persons living under identical economic conditions but differing in language or tradition. Culture may explain why population of geographic region or linguistic and cultural area continuous to behave demographically in the much of the same way over time, even though economic condition change. Culture may explain why demographic differentials between populations persist even as the level of some demographic measure for all of them exhibits similar change over time. Thus an explanation grounded in a culture may offer no generally, behavioral explanations grounded in culture in general would. Yet notion of what culture is and what it does not a firm one even in the discipline of its elaboration, ready for adoption and use in another (Hammel, 1990).

Nowadays, anthropological theory has moved away from the institutional, structural-functional approach and emphasized on local context, culture-specific rationalities, building actors perception in center, interpreting and constructing agents. The change of direction is ignored by economists who continue to insist on a universalistic individual rationality and sociologist emphasis on the construction of culture by actors.

Hammel, 1990 outlined major outcome of explorations about the Sociology of Migration as follows:

- Explanations of individual-level demographic social behavior must be situated at micro level that not only reflects immediately relevant economic and ecological consideration and overarching social institutions but also includes especially the identity of significant co-actors in social networks.
- Culture is an evaluative conversation constructed by actors out of the raw materials afforded by tradition and ongoing experience. It is continually modified by them in processes of social integration, and their behavior is guided by anticipation of such cultural evaluation.
- The elicitation of cultural content should rely on native frames of reference, should be conducted in the native language, and would profit from employment of ethnographic procedures more formal and rigorous than those prevailing in large segments of cultural anthropology today. There are particularly important lessons to be learned from the theoretical and methodological experience of linguistic and cognitive anthropology.

The Sociology of Migration refers to the migration and cross-cultural relations at the community and societal level. The study of society and culture from anthropological perspective is critical in the multicultural society. Migration and indigenous culture is the critical agenda for cultural anthropology. The prime motives of migrants are to get economic opportunities; however, its impact seems to on host society and culture.

Growing migration into Terai have been impacting indigenous Tharus' society and culture. The infrastructure development is backbone of Nepalese economy. Migration into Terai has repeatedly drawn attention to social impact to the evolution of a modern economy and traditional migration. Institutions such as the extended family, caste, and religion have been said to resist change and retard the development of more adaptive and innovative attitudes and values. Although there are good reasons for considering such views to be exaggerations, it is interesting in this connection to examine contexts in which such institutions and structure have changed. Society among Indigenous communities of Terai provides a field for studying situations where key institutions and structures of indigenous society and culture were radically adapted or gradually discarded in the face of new social, economic, political, and cultural conditions presented by migrants. The aim of this study is to study impact of migration associated with the continuity, adaptation, and termination of traditional

institutions and structures of Tharus. Lack of space prevents an exhaustive discussion of the variety of backgrounds from which hill and Madheshi people migrated and the diverse circumstances they dominated to Tharus society and culture. Migration has impact on social structure, institutions, behavior, language, religion, education, occupation, rites and rituals etc.

Interaction between non-migrants have take place after migration. There are hegemonic, counter hegemonic and negotiating relations between the groups. These types of relation have changed the society and culture of host community. The structural and institutional relations are established due to interaction. The structure and institution has changed by the changing relations of man to man. Bourdus' capital concept is key analytical framework of institutional and structures of material and non-material capital which is elaborated in the theoretical review.

As analysis of migration and its impact on Tharu society and culture is based on M N Srinivas' Sanskritization which is upward social mobility of caste and ethnic group. In his book "Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India" provided the first ever concept of Sanskritization as:

The caste system is far from a rigid system in which the position of each component caste is fixed. Movement has always been possible, especially so in the middle region of the hierarchy. A low scat is able, in a generation of two, to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarian and teetotalism, and by sanskritizing its rituals and pantheon. In short, it look over, as far as possible, the customs, rites and beliefs of Brahminism, and the adoption of Brahmanic way of life by a low caste seems to have frequent, though theoretical forbidden. This process has been called sanskritization in that book, in preference to Braminization as certain Vedic rites are confined to the Brahmins and two other 'twice-born' castes. The tendency of lower castes to imitate the higher has been a powerful factor in the spread of Sanskrit ritual and customs, and in the achievement of a certain amount of cultural uniformity not only throughout the caste scale, but over the entire length and breadth of India (Srinivas, 1942).

From the above statements, sanskritization is a process of upward social mobility of the low caste and ethnic group by limiting high caste people. It has given more emphasis on the practice of adoption of vegetarianism and teetotalism and imitation of

high caste rituals and copying life styles. Sanskritization means not only the adoption of new customs and habits, but also exposure to new ideas and values which have found frequent expression in the vast body of Sanskrit literature, sacred as well as secular(, 1971).

It was not sure whether sanskritization is a concept or a bundle of concepts but it a 'meta-concept' because it describes a process and is concept of change. This concept is widely used in the South and East-Asian context because human behavior is shaped by the interaction between different caste/ethnic groups and adopting the new and civilized culture. Indigenous people have been coping life styles of outsiders. This is also the process of sanskritization and social change process.

CHAPTER- THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In giving empirical substance to aforementioned theoretical arguments on migration and socio-culture change, extensive desk study was carried out of different school of thoughts. This research focuses on three categories of population groups in inner-Terai viz. non-migrant Tharus and migrants *Madheshi* and *Hill originated people*. The literatures are reviewed through different books, reports, documents, articles to carry out entire phase of study from designing theoretical, field work, designing data collection instrument, and up to final documentation.

3.1 Field Research Methods

As per the nature of study, more qualitative data are collected. Qualitative as well as quantitative research data collection methods were applied due to the limited time and constraints of resources. For the purpose of the data collection, one clusters and socio-cultural unit of Swathi VDC was selected from Nawalparasi district which is multicultural society. The research also carried out ethnographic techniques for the data collection. Ethnographic notes are added for the Tharus ethnographic description and inter socio-cultural relations. For the quantitative data, cluster sampling techniques were applied. The study covered selected cluster of selected VDC. However the clusters have equal chance to be selected based on probability sampling methods in entire VDC. The VDC is purposively selected as per the nature of the study.

3.2 Research Area

Swathi VDC of Nawalparasi lies in the southern part of the district near to the Indian boarder. In this part of the district, there is multicultural society. Various caste and ethnic groups are residing in this VDC. This site has been emerged as the prime destination of migrants within Nepal. The research was conducted in aforementioned purposively selected VDCs of Nawalparasi district from western development region. Especially, cluster sampling method was used in this research which is more representative sampling techniques of study population (heterogeneous). The caste and ethnic composition of VDC is found multicultural and having 9,702 total

population. Among the total population of VDC, 2,228 are Hill Brahmin/Chhetri followed by 2,222 Madheshi group, 1806 are Tharus, 1,039 are Dalits, and remaining are other caste groups (Oxfam and NLA, 2004).

3.3 Study Design

The study is based on descriptive and explorative social science research design. Critical social science perspective was the base for evaluation of changing social and cultural practices in the society. Theoretical perspectives were developed concerned with the issue through review of different theories and school of thoughts in relation to the Sociology of Migration. The empirical review successfully guided in the entire phase of study for methodological framing, designing data collection instrument, and up to final documentation.

3.4 Sample Size Determination

The sampling frame was developed on the basis of cluster sampling techniques with 95% confidence interval of ($\pm 5\%$) sampling error; it is 157 sample sizes. Determination of sample size was applied from following method.

$$\text{Sample size } (n) = D * (Z/R)^2 * (1-P) / P$$

Where, D = Design Effect due to cluster sampling, Z = Z value for accuracy desired in the estimate or confidence interval (CI) level estimation (to be assumed), R = Precision or maximum allowable relative error, P = Assumed Proportion in the population (related to its variability).

In this research, D = 2.0, Z = 1.96 (assuming the confidence interval level of 95%), and

P = 0.5 (or 50%), The total sample size (n) = 157 Respondents from the cluster.

3.5 Nature of Data

As per the nature of the study, qualitative data were collected extensively. Beside this, qualitative and quantitative data were generated for this study. For micro level analysis of inter-group relations, In-depth-interview (IDI) with potential respondents,

participants observations, and focus group discussion (FGD) as qualitative inquiry and household survey and individual interview as a quantitative inquiry. Approximately two and half month fieldwork did in 2011.

3.6 Selection of the Cluster

This is the second phase of sample selection. Study cluster was selected on the basis of segregation of clusters from Swathi VDC into three clusters. One cluster was selected by Lottery method. A group of wards were selected as a cluster.

3.7 Selection of the Households

For the collection of the household level information, households were selected from sampled cluster. For the selection procedure, the systematic random sampling techniques were applied. First, list out of all households from entire cluster and, as per the requirement, sample households were determined by systematic random sampling techniques. The sampling interval was 3 because 253 households were listed in the selected cluster. As per the requirement of sample households, only randomly selected 75 households were selected. The cluster study design was applied because of its more representative nature.

3.8 Selection of the Respondents and Interview

After selecting the households, eligible males and females were selected from each household as respondents from the age 16 years and above which is the eligible age for providing information. The 75 sampled households were selected for the households and personal information. The male and female respondents were selected in nearly equal size of sample.

Personal information on migrants and non-migrants social and cultural relation were collected through personal interview with male and female in selected households of the cluster. Two set of structured and semi structured questionnaire were developed and utilized to collect the personal information for quantitative analysis. A total of 157 male and female were selected based on systematic random sampling method for personal interview within the selected households.

Process of Interview:

-) Each set of questionnaires were developed for interview i.e. one for household information roster and another one for personal information for male and female age 16 years and above. Final questionnaires were finalized for personal interview after pre-testing the questionnaire.
-) Personal interview were carried out at household level

3.9 Data Analysis

Qualitative Data: As per the requirement of the research extensive qualitative data analyzed. FGD and IDI data were transcribed and summarize. Participants' observation data were developed narrative summary. Beside these, field notes and narratives of interview were summarized.

Quantitative Data Management and Analysis: The data entry of the quantitative data computer entered immediately after the information collection task completed. The post coding of the open-ended questions and manual data editing did before the data entry work is commenced. The researcher carried out the electronic data editing after the data inputted in the computer. The variables, the variable labels and the value labels were added in the electronic version of the data, which is applicable for analysis. For this task Excel and SPSS computer software was used which was become easy for editing and cleaning.

CHAPTER- FOUR

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY POPULATION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the background information (characteristics) of the household population and respondents. Basically, it provides the caste ethnicity composition, educational status, occupational status, income status, marital and status and the status of land ownership. In this study a household is defined as a person or group of persons who live and eat together. This study has covered 587 household populations from 75 households.

4.1 Age and Sex Structure of Household Population

Age is the crucial demographic phenomenon for the sociology of migration study. It provides the change and relational structure of different behavior and cultural factors. In the changing scenario, socio-cultural change is found in generation to generation. The age structure of the study unit or cluster is divided into 10-15 years of age distribution.

Table 4.1: Percent Distribution of Household Population by Age and Sex, 2010

Age-Group	Number	Percent
< 15 years	175	29.81
15-24	115	19.59
25-34	121	20.61
35-44	76	12.95
45-54	46	7.84
55 and above	54	9.20
Sex of respondents		
Male	335	57.07
Female	252	42.93
Total	587	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

The table above shows that the proportion of 55 and above age population is only 9.20 percent. The highest percentage (20.61%) of population represents in the age group 25-34 among the 10 years age groups.

In this study, only 43 percent of females are found in sample households in the study cluster, which is differentiated from the National Population Census 2001, female population (50.05%) is slightly higher than male population (49.95%).

4.2 Caste and Ethnic Composition

In the study site all of the Terai caste/ethnic group and migrated caste/ethnic groups are found. The migration process contributed to build multicultural society in the study site. Caste and ethnic group population is the key factor for analysis of this study. In this cluster, some of the hill ethnic groups are not covered due to clustering of Swathi VDC in 3 clusters. Out of total population of the sampled cluster, the sampled households' caste and ethnic group are distributed (in table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Percent Distribution of Household Population by Caste/Ethnicity, 2010

Caste and ethnic group	Number	Percent
Hill Caste group	136	23.17
Tharu Indigenous	170	28.96
Madheshi Group(Excluding		
Madheshi Dait)	179	30.49
Madheshi Dalit	57	9.71
Muslims	45	7.67
Total	587	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010.

Table 4.2 shows that almost 31 percent of all Madheshi group are found highest population of population in the sampled households in the study cluster. According to census, 2001, Madheshi group (excluding Madheshi Dalits) is found second highest population in the Swathi VDC. Hill migrated caste and ethnic group of population is highest in the VDC. Tharus were third highest group in the VDC, However, in the

sample households Tharus are found second highest group in the study cluster. The Muslims are also significant in number in the study area.

4.3 Educational Status

Educational Status is most important variable of socio-cultural analysis of social science research and many other studies. Education is the key variable which play significant role in socio-cultural change. The impact of education is found positive and negative relations among different social and cultural variables. In this study education is a social variable and its relationship with other variables is also observed.

Table 4.3: Percent Distribution of Household Population of Ages Six years and above by Educational Status, 2010

Educational Status	Number	Percent
Illiterate	127	23.56
Literate(but not Schooling)	41	7.61
Primary	156	28.94
Lower Secondary	101	18.74
Secondary	60	11.13
SLC and above	54	10.02
Total	539	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

Note: In this study, one who could read, write and understand any language with basic knowledge of mathematics (simple arithmetic calculations) was considered as literate.

From the observation of the data, almost 24 percent of the household population is illiterate where as only 10 percent are SLC above. The Swathi VDC is one of literate VDCs in the Nawalparasi district. The data also assumed that formal schooling is increased because of the low level of non-formal literacy rate.

4.4 Occupational Status

Occupation is a primary indicator of economic status of people. In the study area mainly seven occupational categories are found. Majority of household population have been involving in agricultural sector. The occupational status has been changing in society. In the multicultural society, people have involved in different kinds of occupation. In this study, social worker and students are in non-working category.

Table 4.4: Percent Distribution of Household Population Ages Fifteen years and above by Occupation, 2010

Occupational Status	Number	Percent
Agriculture(Own)	140	30.84
Labor(agriculture and Non-Agriculture)	40	8.81
Service	60	13.22
Foreign Employment (Khadi)	44	9.69
Small Business	29	6.39
Caste Based Occupation	7	1.54
Non-worker(student/social worker)	113	24.89
Housewife	21	4.63
Total	454	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

Of the total sample households population, about percent of population involved in own agricultural activities. About one-fourth of the household population is non-worker. A very few (1.54%) of the population have been involved in caste based occupation such as black smith, gold smith, cobbler, sewing etc. which is only applicable for Dalit caste groups.

4.5 Marital Status

Marriage is the critical issues for socio-cultural relation and social change. Migration process also changes the marriage pattern. In this study, inter-caste/ethnic marriage is not found. The marital status is shown in the following table.

Table 4.5: Percent Distribution of Household Population Age 10 Years and Above by Marital Status, 2010

Marital Status	Number	Percent
Married	307	66.74
Never Married	139	30.22
Widow/Widower	14	3.04
Total	460	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

Table 4.5 shows that two third of 10 years and above household population have got married. No anyone found divorce and separated status. A significant number is also found widow/widower in the study site. The sample household population reported that they all were married within their own/same caste and ethnic group. Nearly about one third household was found having never married status. It is because they are children and changes in early age at marriage practices.

4.6 Duration of Migration

Migration and its impact on Tharu society and culture is the key issue of this study. The migration into inner-Terai has long history. According to the household informants, they are not migrants from anywhere and are the original inhabitants of the Terai. Only two households are migrated into study site from adjoining VDC of the Swathi. We included these two households in non-migrants category.

Table 4.6: Percent Distribution of Household Population by Migration, 2010

Migration Status	Number	Percent
Non-migrants	170	28.96
100 years and ago	225	38.33
50-100 years	48	8.18
Less than 50 years	144	24.53
Total	587	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

More than one third (38%) of the sampled household population have migrated before 100 years and above ago whereas only 8% between 50-100 years ago. About 29% of

non-migrants are the Tharu indigenous people. In the study site, most of Indian originated Madheshi people are migrants who were migrated there 100 years and above ago.

4.7 Religion

Religion is the key issues for the sociological study. In demographic study, religion is also used extensively. In sociological demographic study, religion is the cultural aspects of the analysis of socio-cultural relations and change. Nepal is the mosaic of the different religious group of people. In the study site or cluster only two religious groups are found. Indigenous Tharus reported them as Hindu. However Tharu activists claim that Tharus are Buddhist.

Table 4.7: Percent Distribution of Respondents by Religion, 2010

Religion	Number	Percent
Hindu	149	94.90
Muslim	8	5.10
Total	157	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

Almost 95 percent of the respondents reported that they are Hindu. They reported that Hindu religion is own and *sanatan dharma*. Both migrated and non-migrated Madheshi and Hill group of people are the Hindus and remaining all the respondents having Muslim religion.

4.8 Language Composition/Mother Tongue

Mother tongue is the language which an individual inherits from his/her parents. Generally, a child speaks mother's language. Despite being a heterogeneous group, the diverse place of residence, different religion and language group of people changed their mother tongue. In general speaking, migration is the cause of language change of non-migrants group.

Table 4.8: Percent Distribution of Respondents by Mother Tongue and Speaking at Household Level, 2010

Mother Tongue	Number	Percent
Nepali	36	22.93
Bhojpuri	77	49.04
Tharu	44	28.03
Total	157	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

Table 4.8 shows distribution of household population by mother tongue. Almost half (49.04) of the respondents speak Maithili as a mother tongue. A significant number of non-migrant Tharus also speak or have Bhojpuri as a mother tongue.

4.9 Landownership

Landownership is a social status and dignity of Terai people. Most of Tharus have marginal land holders in comparison to other social groups such as migrants Madheshi and hill people (CBS, 2003). Land is also means of power acquiring in the Terai region. In this study, respondents were asked “Do you or your family members have land on own name?” The status of land ownership among respondents of the study site is given in 4.9.

Table 4.9: Percent Distribution of Respondents Having Land on Their or Their Family Member’s Name, 2010

Land Ownership	Number	Percent
Yes	131	83.4
No	26	16.6
Total	157	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

Table 4.9 reveals that more than 15 percent of respondents are landless. In this category most of the caste/ethnic groups are associated. The ownership of land is

associated with economic opportunities in the region. Land is the key variable for socio-cultural change in the non-migrants population.

4.10 Annual Income and Food Arrangement

Living Standard Survey 2003/04 identified that 31% of the people are living under poverty line. The main indicator of the poverty is also annual income and food sufficient. In this study also respondents were asked about the annual income and sufficiency of management for livelihood. Table 4.10 gives information about managing food problem the by annual income and further management if not sufficient.

Table 4.10: Percent Distribution of Respondents Having Managing Food Problem from Annual Income and Further Management, 2010

Sufficient Food Management from Annual Income	Number	Percent
Yes	125	79.62
No	32	20.38
Total	157	100.00
Means of insufficient food management		
Loan borrowed	23	71.88
Survive with limited food	9	28.12
Total	32	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

Table 4.10 show that about one-fifth of respondents reported that their families have not sufficient food from their annual income. The insufficient foods for annual livelihood are managed through borrowing loan and surviving with limited food in their households.

CHAPTER- FIVE

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THARUS

This chapter describes ethnography of Indigenous Tharu population of study site. The ethnographic description covers origin, physical structure, social structure, caste/clan, fooding behavior, social customs, dress up, ornaments, songs/entrainment/musical instruments, educational system, health and sanitation, caste based discrimination, occupation, employment, institutional arrangement of political organization, language and literature, religion, culture, festival, birth rituals, death rituals, marriage system, ethnic identity. On the issues of ethnography of Tharus, a lot works have been done in past. There are no similar findings of Tharus social and cultural aspect in the Terai region. This study has found some critical issues of Tharu indigenous group in the study site of the inner-Terai. The ethnographic descriptions of Tharus are discussed below.

5.1 Origin of Tharus

Tharu Origin means beginning and early starting point of Tharu inhabited in the Terai. Various scholars argued that Tharus are the first human settlers of the plain land of Southern part of the Himalaya. There are some contested knowledge on Tharu that the Tharus are the oldest indigenous people of Terai, whose ancient proves and historical documents had already destroyed by subsequent rulers (Mughals and Hindus). Therefore, different writers have tried to define the origin of Tharu based on available limited sources of information. Various kinds of evidences, legends, events, arguments, opinions, etc are collected about the origin of Tharu, but very few are near to realistic. The historical documents had assessed the Tharu origin and its linguistic connotation.

Gurubaba Ke Jalamauti is one the very famous myth, which is concerned to Dangaura and western Tharu and Tharu cosmology. According to linguistic connotation and myth of Tharus *Gurubaba Ke Jalmauti*, described that "before the creation of this world the earth was burning hot (Chaudhary, 2039 B.S.) and there was not any human existence. There was only fire and smoke everywhere but not a single "strand" of life. After sometimes, water took the place of fire and there was water everywhere. The historical

evidences and myths to find out the origin of Tharus related to archaeological or cultural anthropology. The fossils of Ramapithecus in Butwal and Palaeolithic, Micro-lithic and Neolithic industries and cultural artefacts have been found in several places such as in Dang, Deokhuri, and Kathmandu valley and as well as in Siraha and Mahottari districts. These archaeological evidences placed Nepal among those countries where humanity started to live at around eleven million years ago (Mishra, 1996). Kaushic (1994) cited in Bikkhu A. (1999) argued as "it seems that the Shivalik hill is the original place of Homosapiens who diffused to Tibet and Oxus. At least, the Australoid stock might have been originated in India. Therefore, to relate the Kirat or other indigenous people of India and Nepal to the Shivalik origin rather than Pekingmen will be more logical and realistic". Other indigenous people of India and Nepal mean those people who live in the basin of Shivalik hill, name, Tharu, Danuwar, Rajbamshi, Dhanuk, etc. Based on Crooke (1975), it is argued that "Tharu" is a tribal group, which has its head quarters in the Himalayan Terai and colonies in the Gorakhpur Division and Northern Oudh.

According to IDI (In-depth Interview) with individual Tharu agency (rural people) and Tharu activists, they claim that they are the original inhabitants of Terai. There are no any evidences that the Terai is Madhesh. The people of India said that Tharus were Terain. We are Madheshi. However, political influence of Northern India has trying to construct Madhesh instead of Terai (Discussion with Bhawani Shankar Faughdar).

The analysis of origin of Tharu based on different facts, like, legends, dug out fossils and cultural artefacts, analysis of migration pattern and caste origination, immune power against Malaria, use of *Bajjya* (local language of Tharus to Madheshis) word. History of Kathmandu valley and Tharu states all over Terai and Inner Terai, etc. are the finding of real origin of Tharu is Terai and Inner Terai of present Nepal. Tharu is the oldest indigenous people of Terai belt having largest numbers of population.

5.1.1 Caste/Ethnic Composition of Terai

The caste ethnic composition of the Terai population is categorized on the basis of caste based hierarchy and Indigenous group of population. More caste and ethnic group of population is found in Madhesh rather than mountain and Hill due to the steady internal and external migration.

The Terai and inner-Terai constitute almost 50% of the total population of Nepal. Among the Terai population, there are many caste/ethnic groups living in the Terai. Middle caste groups including Yadav (10%) comprises of 31%, the absolute majority of the population of the Terai. The percentages of other caste groups consists of 15.8% of Indigenous and ethnic nationalities, 8.7% of Muslims, 7.9% of Madheshi Dalit, 2% of Upper Castes (Maithali Brahmin, Kaystha, Rajput), 0.5 of Marwari, Sikh, Bengali etc. and 33% of Hill originated.

Hindu is the dominant religion in Terai. Hinduism, however, it is difficult to state that Hinduism is the basic foundation nation building process adopted by rulers of Nepal. Moreover, it is reality that *Varnashrama* is the outcome of it. Another way, there are many events regarding violence by non-Hindus. Social structures, culture, tradition, politics as well as other factors have affected the Tharus relations. Some of these elements are as the important determinants in the development process as well. Various types of social values, religious faith, traditional system etc dominate the rural as well urban society of Terai. The caste and ethnic hierarchy explains social interaction and relation between Tharus and migrant groups.

5.2 Social Structure of Tharus

The social structure of the Terai is based on caste, ethnic, language, religion; traditional practices and which is embedded in society. Tharus are the indigenous ethnic group. The migration of Northern India especially Hindu orthodox ideology has influenced the Terai Society. The Tharus social structure is based on the Animist, Buddhist and Hindu tradition. Patriarchal family structure is found. They live in joint family. Eldest son is

chiefdom of household. Ancestor property is divided among sons of Tharus. There are no property rights of daughters.

5.2.1 Clan

According to discussion with Bhawani Shankar Faugdar, Gopal Dahit and Bhola Chaudhary, at the beginning the *Gotra* was same but it became different. "They have different subgroups or family name in the Tharu ethnic groups such as Faugdar, Chaudhary, Dagaura, Rana, Sonaha etc. They don't have any gotra at all". But some of Tharus claim that they are from the "*parbar*" *gotra*. But Tharus practices '*Gotiar*' which indicates blood relation within their kin group. The clan⁷ is a family network among Tharus. There are different clans among and between Tharus sub-groups.

5.2.2 Food and Costume

The staple food of Tharus is rice, and they drink homemade *jand* and *raksi* (beer and wine). They are much of animal protein and fish. In rainy season fishing is daily affair of women and children. Tharu makes their principal intoxicating drinks from rice. They drink it more or less every day, and every member the oldest to youngest. "They say by only drinking they can survive in these forests, especially in the rains. The water in the village wells is certainly not fit to drink without some disinfecting process. Of course, they drink to excess on special occasions.

Tharus make two types of intoxicating drinks, rice liquor and wine. Rice liquor is gravy type of intoxicating drink, which is made of rice. Sweet liquor is very popular intoxicating drinks, which is drink during the great festival "Magh". They also drink it during celebrations. They drink general type of rice liquor every day whereas wine during festivals and special celebrations. They also offer homemade wine to their deities. Some special types of wines, which are made of wild fruit (*Mahuwa*), wild animal jackal, etc. have medical use.

⁷ *The clan is defined as "a group of related family group" (Oxford dictionary). This means every family has own family groups with their blood relations with in their brotherhood. Clan, a group of selected kins, members trace descent from a common ancestor and consider themselves to be one bone(Levine, 1981, cited in Kunwar, 1989 revised edition 1999)*

It is said that when the indigenous group was in hunting and gathering stage of their evolution, they used to eat jungle fruits and meat of wild animals like wild cock/hen, wild pig, rabbit etc. The process of change, they first used to eat rice and pulse and agriculture products.

While speaking about the costumes of Tharus, it is said that when the indigenous group was in hunting stage of their evolution, they used to wear nothing but a stripe of cloths to cover only their genitals. The dynamics nature of society, they used wear *Bhegua* (*Lagauticostume that cover male private organ*) then after they used to wear *Dhoti* and *Kurta* which is the wearing culture of Madheshi.

5.2.3 Ornaments

There were no special ornaments of male Tharus. However women used to wear different types of ornaments made of silver. Women used to wear *Hasuli* in arm, *Kada*, *kalli* in hand, *Pauju* and *Thesa* in leg *top* in ear and *nuthiya* in nose. They wear necklace which is made up of silver coins and *muga*. They used to wear such types of ornaments in day to day life. There are no special ornaments for special occasions.

5.2.4 Educational System

In the beginning of the Tharu, there wasn't any type of educational system. They were mostly illiterate. The education started only in modern times after the 1950. Before 1950, Tharus got education from the Indian education institutions. Due to traditional education system they don't have adequate literature in Tharu language.

5.2.5 Social Life and Status

The honesty and hard working in (nature of the Tharu) is proverbial. Amongst themselves the Tharus are, for the most part, a peaceful and food natured race, following without question, as if by a law of nature, the customs and maxim of their ancestors. They always dislike staying or living in and around quarrelsome areas; and do not want to keep relation with forgery people. They are very laborious and dedicated farmers who produce

sufficient food grains and supply for others. Based on their occupation and joint family system, we could get two types of organizations working well, i.e., family organization and agriculture farming organization. The roles and responsibilities of each hierarchy are well defined from generation to generation, so it does not need to reorient and redefined (In-depth Interview with Bhola Chaudhary from Swathi).

Tharus love to live in joint family system. So, it is found numerous generations within one family member. Let suppose, Grand pa's grand pa, grandfather, father, son, cousin, son of cousin, etc. with all of female relations also. The parents seem as fond of the girls as of the boys, and make no degrading distinction as the natives of the plains do. The Tharu's word of endearment for his wife is *Janni*. He/she calls daughter a *Chhai* and his/her son a *Chhawa* but in lovely manner say *Babu* and *Bhaiya* - "My love", "my lord". They love their juniors and respect to their elders. The social status increases according to their elderness and vice-versa. It means that Grand Pa's social status is high than that of cousin. Furthermore, social status also differs according to hierarchical relatives, let suppose, Grand in law, father in law, brother in law, etc. with its female relations as well.

Now a day, the joint family system has gradually been ruined out. We could get finger-counting households having more than 30 members in Nawalparasi district whereas we could get many small families in the district. This is the effect of Hindu family system and modernization.

5.3 Economic Life of the Tharus

The economic life of Tharus has been found to be agriculture based. Agricultural economic system is inherited to Tharus and continues to date. Due to impact of modernization and migration of people, they little bit move to other types of occupation. Agriculture is the main occupation of the Tharus who are living in Nawalparasi district and inner-Terai. This profession has been transforming in oral forms from generation to generation. Furthermore, they also do other occupations, which are directly inter-related with main profession, like, keeping cows and buffaloes (supplies milk, plough purpose and field cultivating animal power), raising pigs, goat and sheep (supplies flesh), catching

fish (supplies meat), making rice liquor and wines (provides relief from physical tiredness and immune against insect bites, etc.), etc. In the primitive time, they used to collect jungle fruits, yams, hunting wild animals, etc.

Most of all Tharus live in rural Terai. If somewhere the Tharu village develops into urban area, the Tharus gradually displaced. This is because first, they do not like quarrelsome area; second, the land property of Tharus usually captured through different means by migrated people from hill and India; third, high degree of losing rice crops due to human encroachment and animals nearby city area; and forth, having peace loving nature. During last 10 years (2052 to 2062 B.S.) armed conflict, most of all Tharus were victimised from both government forces and Maoist insurgents. Among them, some Tharus were compelled to displace in city area and even in India from their birth village. Therefore, Tharus displaced and settled in city area in Kathmandu valley and western Nepal, like, *Gorakhpur, Sunauli, and Bhaisalotan* as well. During this period, they displaced to city area and started to do different jobs (based on availability resources, academic qualification, past experience and suggestions), bought lands, constructed houses and able to survive there.

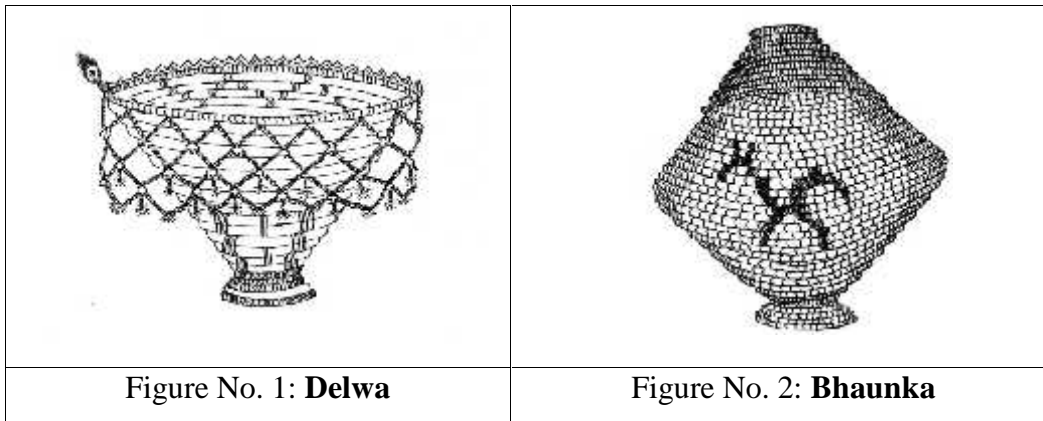
Now a day, the literacy rate of Tharu is gradually increasing. They are looking government jobs. According to the CBS data, 2003, more than 12,000 Tharus have passed graduate educational course however among them, less than 0.1 percent have got governmental jobs. It is argued that the attraction of Tharus towards governmental jobs is in increasing trend. They have also started to do small shops, home industries and conduction of educational school. All these are the new scenarios of profession of Tharus.

5.3.1 Material Culture of the Tharus

According to Dahit, 2062 B.S., Tharu designs and prepares all needed tools and handicrafts themselves by using woods, special type of grasses, bamboos, cells, etc. He has listed 114 kinds of tools and handicrafts, which is used by Tharu to their daily life, celebrations and occupations.⁸ They use plough set, leveller set (*Hyanga*), multi-plough set (*Killwohi*), spade, bamboo umbrella, seating stand, sickle, wooden long bar (*Bhattha*), tying rope and stick during the rainy season at the time of cultivation. Their plough is designed to which the oxen are attached in the same piece of wood with the curved part to which the stick share is fastened. Now days, big farmers have started to use modern machineries and equipments, like, tractors, power tillers, threshing machines, etc. They purchase such machines from Indian market.

They work in bamboo, reeds, and fibres, and make baskets, snares, nets, and similar appliances for hunting and fishing. They use many kinds of nets and snares to catch fishes. Fish is very popular dish item, they usually eat it. *Delwa* is ritually significant and most attractive handicrafts one. They prepare it themselves by using special kind of grass, peacock feather, thread, cells, fringe made of small pieces of clothes, colours and their creative skill. They use it during the marriage ceremony and for decoration purpose. Picture of *Delwa* in figure No. 5.1. *Dhakiya* (a kind of basket), *Panchhopni* (a kind of plate to cover water pot), *Suppa* (a winnowing tray), etc. are daily using tools. *Bhaunka* is very popular equipment, which is used to keep wearing clothes, jewelleryes and other important documents by hanging on ceiling (see picture of *Bhaunka* in figure No. 5.1 homemade Delwa of Handicraft)

⁸ Gopal Dahit described about the Tharus' material culture in his book "An Introduction of Tharu Culture" Nepal, pp - 169-199.



Source: Dahit, 2008

They have also very ancient practice of making and using clay tools, like, different sizes of *Denhari* and varieties of pots. Big types of *Denhari* are used to store rice; husk and small types of *Denhari* are used to keep food grains. In addition, pots are used to keep oil seeds, water, liquor, wines, etc. They use big bull carts to carry goods and small bull carts to travel. Now days, the use of small bull cart is not in practice. It is displaced by bicycle, motorbike, bus, etc.

5.4 Life Cycle Rituals of Tharus

5.4.1 Birth Rites

Tharus living in Nawalparasi district of Nepal have same procedures of birth rites. In the beginning, there were no any rites and rituals of birth. Some Tharu activists said that Tharu performs birth rites by taking help of *Sohrinya* of own caste and society. They have system of firing wood in the room nearby where women after delivering used to live with her newly born child. Until separation of navel, delivered mother and child live in the special room. During this period, no people allow to touch both mother and child; and by mistake or for some work, if any people including *Sohrinya* (TBA) touches one or both of them, then they must be purified by sacred water (pure water decontaminated with gold). In the absence of *Sohrinya*, one of the close relatives (husband's mother, sister, own mother, etc.) always presents in that special room to help if needed. After separation of navel, they perform *Ghatwa Jaina* rites in the leadership of *Sohrinya*. Same

day, they also give the name to newly born child. The Tharus study site keep 24 hours fire hearth (*Borasi*) in front of main door, where delivered woman and child live. They also hang a kind of rope grass, fishing net and chilly in the main door. They believe that fire hearth stops the passing way of *Yamaraj* and kills harmful insects, rope and net tie up and block to enter evil eyes and chilly hits to outsiders and do not allow living there.

Nesfield argued that the birth rites of Tharus in Champaran, Gonda, Baharaich and Kheri of India, the mother is not allowed to taste food or water for two days after the baby birth. On the third day, she is allowed to drink as much wine as she desires, and a little wine is rubbed over her body. Tharu women assist each other at the time of children birth. They are said to be very skilful in midwifery, and *Chamar* women are not employed for such purposes as among Hindus. They have a form of lustre ceremony or baptism for the benefit of newborn babies. On the day of its birth the child is immersed in water, while the oldest man in the family pronounces over it certain auspicious words. After the immersion ceremony is over, the child is fumigated with fire and smoke; a tuft of dry *Kans* or *Kusa* grass is dug out by the roots. After placing the head of a snake and the sting of a scorpion inside the tuft, they set it on fire, holding the flame as near as possible to the place where the child is lying. The ingredients taken from the snake and scorpion are intended to render the child proof for the remainder of his life against the attack of secret enemies of all kinds. An iron tool is kept in the room where the child sleeps to avert the Evil Eye. When the child is four or five months old, a name is selected for it, and this is bestowed before an assembly of friends by the oldest man in the household".

5.4.2 Naming of Children

The naming system of newly born child is very different from migrant peoples system in the study site. The name of child is usually used to keep by his/her father, mother and/or both, if not uncle and Sohrinya, etc. also keep the name of child. They have no system of taking the help of Brahman to keep the name of newly born child.

An activist said that Tharus have basically four practices to keep the name, which are given bellow. 1). Based on getting birthday: like, if on Sunday (*Atawar*) - name, Atawari,

Atri, etc.; on Monday (*Sommar*) - Somwa, Somli, etc.; on Tuesday (*Mangal*) - Mangal, Mangali, etc.; 2. Based on father's destination at the time of getting birth, if father is out of home (*Pardesh*) - Pardeshi, Pardeshni, etc., at forest (*Banwa*) - Banawari, Banwa, etc.; 3. Based on getting birth at the time of particular Festival or celebration - if during the greatest festival of Tharu "Magh" - Maghi, Maghuram, etc., if during Marriage ceremony - Bhojwa, Bhojally, Bhojinya, etc. and 4. Based on elimination of bad evils, like, touching with hearth (*Chulha*) - Chulhwa, Chulhinya, etc, and touching with a kind of peas (*Matra*) - Mataram, Matri, Matarani, etc. All above four practices are very popular in the study site.

Influence of the migrants, finger counting Hinduized Tharus takes the help of Brahman to keep the name of their children also. They also celebrate 6th month's first food eating feast and birthday each year. However, more Tharus never invite Brahman to keep the name and never celebrate both feasts. Tharus now days have started to keep the modern name, instead of their traditional names. Therefore, it could be concluded that Tharus have separate system of naming.

5.4.3 Marriage Practices

In the past, there was child or early marriage system in Tharu community of whole Terai and Inner Terai of Nepal. In the beginning of the Tharu society, there was *gandharba* marriage system. In mostly cases, younger boys were married with teenage girls. It means that the age of bridegroom was more than that of bride girls. This system was in large practice because of agriculture farming adopted by Tharus from very beginning to till this date. Furthermore, it was also system of looking bride or bridegroom by his and/or her father by taking help of *Agwa* (Marriage leader). However, right now, all above marriage systems are almost changed. Now days, both arranged marriage and love marriage are in practice in Tharu community. For love marriage, it does not need to adopt all the steps of formal marriage, whereas it needs for arrange marriage. For arranged marriage here are two popular practices, first one is that guardians, at first, look boys and/or girls, then boys and girls talk face to face. If both of them agree to marry then further process of marriage is carried out ahead. Likewise, another one is that first, boy and girl meet, talk, like and

loves each another, after wards guardians get informed to precede marriage. After completing above steps, they do another two main marriage events, first, arrange *Pakkapohri* to finalize the marriage agreement and fixed the date of marriage. In addition, they finally arrange full-fledged marriage ceremony.

There are no any boundaries of high and low caste or clan to do marriage within Tharu community, but cannot marriage within same clan, let suppose, Dahit boys cannot marry with another Dahit girls. He further writes that Tharus have no need to look best time to perform marriage ceremony in the month of Falgun (15 February to 15 March) and Baisakh (15 April to 15 may). They carry out all the marriage activities themselves; do not need of Brahmans. However, right now, some of finger counting Tharus who are eventually hinduized, invite Brahman to perform marriage ceremony.

In Indian Tharus, the usual age of marriage on the women's part is about 17 -18 years, and a man usually makes his first marriage at about the age. The Bengal Tharu practices both infant and adult marriage and one sub-division of them are said to tolerate sexual intercourse before marriage (Risley cited in Crooke 1975). There is no betrothal in infancy, except among some clans, which have come more completely under the influence of Hinduism. According to Nesfield, "the marriage contract is arranged, not by the parties themselves, but by the fathers on either side; or the pair for whom the negotiation is made has no power either side; and the pair of whom the negotiation is made has no power either to choose or refuse. The father of the young goes over the village or clan in where the father of the young woman resides, and after making, his proposals for the price to be paid for her offers him a drink of wine. If the present is accepted, the bargain is closed. Both parties faithfully keep the contract made once. The price paid for the woman may be in cash or kind, and its value depends on the means of the purchaser or the attractiveness of the women". In Bihar, the bride's price is supposed to be nine rupees, but is liable to vary according to the means of the family. "The choice of the bride is limited by the rule of exogamy; in other words she must not have blood relation to the husband chosen for her, nor of the same village, but of some outside village or clan. Wife capture is secretly practised to some extent among the Tharus.

5.4.4 Death Rites

All caste and religion people based on their tradition and availability of resources compulsorily perform death ritual. Death ritual is the last custom of human life cycle. Within death rituals, community people state "Tharus perform basic three activities, *Satgat* (burial and cremation), *Marni-Karni* (death celebration) and *Sahrad* or *Pitrahawa*. Tharu people of study site, which have social and economic status is comparatively high and follows the cremation of death body. The majority Tharus bury the death body, whether children or unmarried in the modern practice, Tharus cremate the death body because they are influenced of migrated people's practices of death ritual". The "*Satgat*" is the first death custom, *Marni-Karni* is the last custom and *Sahrad* is the regular custom, which is used to perform in each year during Dashain festival. Foughdar Tharu performs *Sahrad* in the *Panchami* and other Tharus in the *Nawami*. All the death customs are completed by Tharu *Bavna* (Brahmin), not by Brahmins. Those Tharus, who are Hindus, accomplish death custom by taking help of Brahmin, which becomes economic and social double burdens because they have to complete both Tharu and Brahminal procedures.

Before cremation and/or burial, it is completed Hiran Darna (offering rice and mustard oil in the mouth of death body) work. Afterwards, among of the funeral processions, the Gotiyar (family members or members of same clan) carry the death body without breaking on the way or continue carry from house to graveyard keeping opposite side the bead stead. For burial, they dig up minimum 3 feet ditch as the size of death body whereas they prepare fireplace-piling wood for the case of cremation. Afterwards, they keep death body heading north in to the ditch for burial and on the pile of wood for cremation.

As, a younger son (in the death of mother) or elder son (in the death of father) who had taken fastening fires two hearth and places to vassals; and also puts rice, pulse, turmeric, salt, chilly, etc, like-wise, other funeral processions also put all these things in the two vassals.

After completing all above procedures, they bury or burn death body. Son, relatives and other funeral processionalists respectively put the first fire on the funeral or first pile of soil into the funeral ditch. While returning way, the entire funeral processionalists bath compulsorily and purify by sprinkling water touched with gold. Then they all return to their home. Women those are in home again purified the processional by sprinkling sacred water (Gold touched water) before entering into home. This is the general procedure of *Satgat* (death custom) but it can be vary some activities according to different clans of Tharu.

From the date of *Satgat*, one of the sons (younger son in the death of mother or elder son in the death of father) starts the *Kriya Baithna* work. This is a kind of fastening work and devotion on the name and respect of expired person. This kind of system could be copied from Hindu caste system. The *Kriya Baithna* work goes up to 12 days depending up on clan and circumstances. The last day, it is celebrated *Marni-Karni* rite. On this day, it is invited all their clans, relatives and other best wishers. The village leader called "*Pagari Pradhan*"⁹ provides volunteers (one male and one female from each house) to complete *Marni-Karni* rite. At that day, vegetarian foods were prepared for the invitees.

On this day, one group of male go to nearby river for doing hair shaving and bathing; and another group of women also go to nearby river for bathing and washing clothes and cooking vassals. During this rite, son, brother, cousin and blood related relatives shave their hear hair, moustache and cut nails on the name of death people. After completing these rites by both groups, they worship home deities offering homemade wine, different kinds of meat and vegetable, pig meat is compulsion jointly with all their clan members, which is called *Pittar Ghisyaina*. Afterwards, all the invitees do offering work in three different steps and eat all kinds of meat and vegetable varieties. In addition, at the night time, somewhere they do folk dances and sing songs. All above death rites is still followed in Dang, Banke, Surkhet, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts of Nepal but some typical activities can vary according to the clans and effect of migration and modernization.

⁹ *Pagari Pradhan* is the administrative head of the unit where various Tharu villages are jointly formed.

Death custom is mostly similar both in Nepal and in India. Crooke, 1896, mentioned about the death custom of Indian Tharu. According to him, after cremation the ashes are scattered in the nearest river. Before, however, the corpse has been disposed of by either rite, it is usual to paint it with vermilion and expose it for one night on a mound outside the house. From this mound, as from a stronghold, the spirit of the dead is supposed to scare away wild animals from the crops (With this compare Spencer, Principles of Society, I, 257, Tylor, Primitive culture, II, 150). Whether the body is buried or burnt, the ceremony is always performed on the southern side of the village, a notion probably borrowed from the Hindus, who consider that the north is the region commonly frequented by divine spirits, and the south by human souls (Manu, Institutes, III 206; for the situation of Yamapura or Yamasodana, see Monier - Williams, Brahmanism and Hinduism, 200). The man who puts the first fire to the funeral pyre is considered to be unclean from having brought himself within dangerous reach of the contagion of death. He is, therefore, kept at a distance for ten days after cremation, and compelled to live entirely alone. On the expiry of the tenth (or 13th as some Tharu relate) the friends of the deceased meet at the house where he died, and after undergoing the ceremony of shaving, they hold a feast of the dead. The banquet prepared for this purpose consists of cooked flesh and wine, the scent and smoke of which are intended to refresh the departed soul; the solid parts that is, the flesh and wine, they are consumed by the living".

In certain rare cases, the burial rite is performed in a manner distinct from either of those already described. A man noted above his fellows for wisdom in counsel, bravery in the chase, or knowledge of the magical or medicinal arts, is buried under the floor of the house in which he was living before his spirit departed. The house thenceforth become a temple, and ceases to be used as a dwelling-place for man. The soul of the dead becomes its occupant, and it lives there to bless those whom it has left behind. At periods of three or six months after the death, the friends and neighbours of the deceased assemble round his grave or temple and make an effigy in clay, parts of which are painted in various colours, intended to reproduce the appearance of resuscitated life. His worshipers fall down weeping and wailing before the image, and place offerings of cooked flesh and wine at its feet. Presently, at a given signal, as soon as the soul of the dead is believed to

have been propitiated by the scent of roast meat and the fumes of wine, they commence to dance and sing with every expression of joy; and the proceedings of the day are closed with consuming the solid parts of the offering".

5.4.5 Religion

Before Buddha Era, the Terai and inner-Terai was slightly influenced from Hindus who are migrated from Northern India. The process of Hinduization from animist to Hindu of Tharus... It means that Tharus were nature worshiper. They worshiped and still worshiping forest, river, paddy-farm, etc. At the time of entering into forest for cutting woods, collecting leaves, hunting wild animals, etc. they worship god of forest (*Bansapti*). They believe that *Bansapti* provides sufficient wood, leaves and wild animals; and it also saves from evil eyes and harmful insect bites. Before starting paddy plantation, Tharus do worship of paddy farm and ploughing tools, which is called "*Harot Pooja*". They offer 9 pairs of fishes, one bottle of wine and other worshipping materials. Likewise, they also do worship of river (water) requesting regular supply of water, control of over flood and durability of dams, which they construct during the month of rainy season.

After enlightening of Lord Buddha, north belt of India (Uttar Pradesh and Bihar), Terai and Inner Terai of Nepal gradually covered up by Buddhism. Therefore, it is to say that all of the Tharus were Buddhist¹⁰. They stated "2500 years ago, Tharus had established own federal state; and gave birth to great incarnated people such as Gautam Buddha, who did great welfare to the world through Buddha religion".¹¹ Fuhrer (1972) has also similar views regarding on it. According to him, "although the Sakyas claim to be the descendants of the mythical Aryan King Ikshwaku or Okkaka, it is not quite improbable that they were in fact primarily an aboriginal, casteless and un-Aryan tribe of Northern India ... The modern offspring of these Sakyas are probably the Tharus". The top up effectiveness of Buddha religion was until the sixth century in Indian Territory and its effectiveness gradually started to decrease when Muslim and Hindu religion came into existence and powerful.

¹⁰ Discussion with Gopal Dahit and Bhawani Shankar Faugdar during the field work.

¹¹ Dwivedi has stated that Buddhism is related to Tharus both in Nepal and India.

The Muslim invasion in the India subcontinent at the end of the 12th century to 16th century (sacked by Alauddin in 1303 A.D., Bahadur Shah in 1533 A.D. and Akbar in 1567 A.D.); Buddhism was almost effaced from India and Nepal Terai, the land of the Tharus. Most of the Buddhists either fled to Nepal (Kathmandu valley and other hill area), Bhutan, Sikkim, Burma, Tibet and other South Asian countries. It was in 1193 that Turkic Muslim invaders under Bakhtiyar Khilji destroyed the University of Nalanda in Bihar. The famous Nalanda University was established in the 5th century BC and was extremely popular as a Buddhist centre of learning. It could produce up to 10,000 students, and some famous teachers, like, Nagarjuna, Padma Sambhawa and (Tissa Kasyap?) taught there. The *Muslims* also destroyed another centre of learning, the Vikramshila University. A large number of monks were killed and almost all the Buddhist scriptures were burnt to ashes. This was indeed a big blow to the Buddhist world. Likewise, Guru Sankaracharya and his sub-ordinates attacked over Buddhist followers of India and Nepal. They destroyed many Buddha training centres, stupas and killed Monks. Hindu invasion over Tharu and other indigenous ethnic people of Nepal is still continuous, but the form and way of invasion has been changed. Due to all these causes, many Tharus have been adopting rites and rituals Hindu religion but not Hindu manners because they are still in the process of Hinduization.

Another fact is that now lots of Tharu have started to adopt Christian religion, Bahai and Muslim religion as well. Those Tharus who came into connection with Christian followers have changed their religion to Christian. Likewise, Those Tharus whose economic status is very low or ultra poor and more exploited from both government and so-called higher caste people have changed their religion to Christian. The trend of Bahaization and Muslimization is similar as of Christianization.

If we go through daily life of Tharu from primitive age, the Tharus belief in ghosts and consist of little else, the Tharus of the plains are becoming rapidly hinduized. The soul is believed to survive the body, wandering forth into space and frequenting the troubles of the living sometimes with evil, sometimes with friendly, intentions.

In the Tharu language the titles *Guru*, *Guro*, *Guruwa*, *Bharra*, *Bhagat*, *Nyotyia*, *Ojhait*, all of which are borrowed from the Hindi and Tharu Language, are now in common use, though even of these the last two are probably of aboriginal or non-Sanskrit origin. The power of the medicinal man (*Guruwa* and *Baidawa*) is tremendous. He has a host of liege spirits at his command. Not only can he expel a friend from the body of a sufferer, but he can produce suffering or death by driving a malignant spirit into the body of his foe. In order to exorcise, an evil spirit, he holds in his left hand some ashes of buffalo or cow-dung, or grains of mustard seed, or wild nuts, and after breathing some mystical virtue into them by the utterance of a spell, he causes the patient to eat them, or has them, or has them attached to his arm. Once of the spells uttered at such times is as follows. It is addressed to Kalika, the Tharu goddess of death and patron of the magical arts. Tharu *Guruwa* who can save people from poisonous snake bites. They use mythical virtues and medicinal plants to get relief from poisonous snake and scorpion bites. The Tharu *Guruwas* are graded into 4 different level, name, *Deshbandhya* *Guruwa* (topmost *Guruwa* who takes responsibility of whole village to protect from natural calamities, epidemics and evil eyes), *Keshauka* *Guruwa* (Second category of *Guruwa* who assists of *Deshbandhya* *Guruwa*), *Dhahrariya* *Guruwa* (third category of *Guruwa* who takes care of genetic continuation and conducts *Dhurra Lausarna Pooja*) and *Ghar* *Guruwa* (4th category of *Guruwa* who takes care of households and perform family worships).

In Chitwan district, it is found 6 types of *Guruwas*, name, *Raj Guro*, *Tikadhari Guro*, *Chhatradhari Guro*, *Pawandhari Guro*, *Suchadhari Guro* and *Rashu Guro*. Among of them, *Raj Guro* is the topmost *Guro* who conduct biggest worships, like, *Jagir Pooja* and *Barna Pooja*; and also takes care of village. Other *Guro* like, *Tikadhari* and *Chhatradhari Guro* performs *Barna Pooja* and protects from evil eyes. The role of different level *Guruwas* is decreased in Rupandehi, Bara and Parsa and Nawalparasi districts of central Nepal and Siraha, Saptari and Sunsari district of eastern Nepal.

From the evidences of participant observation, It is not found that Tharus are practices Boudhism. Their behaviours and practices support that they are animist because they worship wood made goods such as *Bhutuwa Than* rather than stone made. Before the

migration of inner-Terai there no any temples near the Tharu village, Temples were made by the migrant Hindus from India and hill.

5.4.6 Festivals and Celebrations

Indigenous Tharus celebrate many festivals, feasts and celebrations in each year, name, *Maghi, Atawari, Samachakewa, Jitiya Pawen, Dashya, Dewari, Dhurhori, Astimki, Auti lena and Uterna, Joor Sital, Barkhaihya Mijhni, Hardahawa, Guriya, Barka Kalawa, Neman, Chauchan, agajamo Purnima, Chauthi Chan, Fagui*, etc. Among of them, "Maghi" is the greatest festival, which is celebrated all over region and even in India by all Tharus. They celebrate it as a New Year, freedom day, tolerance and mutual understanding festival also. The preparation work to celebrate "Magh" festival starts from before 1 month. They prepare special liquor made of rice of Anadi/Chichar, collect leaf and wood from nearby Jungle, prepare rice flour, buying new clothes, managing fish and meats, etc. First day of Magh festival is called "*Jita Marna Din*", on which day; they manage meats for each household in each village by cutting pigs, sheep, hen and catching fish.

Next day, on the first of Magh, they (all males), early in the morning go to the river; and they bath in the river offering money into the river. Afterwards, they take white coloured "*Teeka*" from the hands of elders and solute according to their hierarchies. They, again, returned to their houses and complete the rites of "*Nisarau Kaharna work*". On this day, those who bathing solute to all their respective or honourables starting from their home to all villagers and accept blessings and best wishes. Side by side, young boy and girls jointly begin to do "*Maghauta*" Dance starting from the house of villager leader (Barghariya) to each household. Next, day, all the brothers and/or elder brothers go to their sisters and/or elder sister's house to provide "*Nisarau*" with great love and respect; and sister's warm welcome to their brothers. Same day, each village chief gathers in the house of Barghariya and performs different works, like, selection of new or giving continuation of previous Barghariya, Guruwa, Chaukidar, Chirakya, etc. Furthermore, they also prepare different plans for one year and collect *Tihai* (Yearly wages) to provide Guruwa and Chaukidar. During Magh festival, they eat meat, *Dhikri* kind of vaporised

bread made of rice flour), breads, *Khichari* (mixed food of rice, pulse, ghee, etc.), *Khariya*, fish items and other tasty vegetables. They also drink rice liquor and wine. On this way, they celebrate Magh festival for around 15 days (*Discussion with Bhola Chaudhary during fieldwork 2010*).

An 84 years Bhawan Shankar Faugdar Stated about festivals, which they celebrate in the different times of a year:

Nagpanchami, Amosha, Dashain. We use to put Tika and take mutton. Tika of rice with red color and we use newly grown leaves of barley. There is another one festival which name is Atiwari. It is festival for sun. Chataria Tharu celebrate it in the belief that who worship sun at that time, don't need to suffer by any skin disease. There is another one which is called Barana. During the festival people stop doing everything for 3, 4 days and enjoy. Like that we celebrate Mage Sankranti when we eat Khichadi (mixed of rice, dal, salt and ghee), meat, and wine.

William Crooke (1955) describes that in the spring Tharus, living in India, observe the annual festival of fire, an observance "resembling, in many respects, the Holi of the Hindus, and known to Tharus themselves by this and no other name. A mound of earth is prepared, in the centre of which a pole is fixed in a vertical position, the phallic emblem of reproductive energy. Offering of turmeric, hemp, *dhatūra*, and other pungent or odorous herbs are placed upon the pole and mound by the assembled people. Straw, stubble, and sticks are then piled around the pole; and the oldest or most respected man in the assembly puts fire to it. After the bonfire has burnt 'itself out', they amuse themselves with dancing, playing the drums and cymbals, pelting each other with coloured powder, singing amorous songs, and cracking lascivious jokes.

5.4.7 Folk Dances

Evidences from the study site, have found some typical types of folk dances. They have still been able to preserve their folk dances having their originality in message, lyrics, vocals, drums, uniforms, ornaments(*Field Observation in the Magh Mela at Tribeni Ghat Nawalparasi, 2011*), etc. A 84 years old Faugdar Tharu Bhawani Shankar and Bhola

Chaudhary have listed 19 types of folk dances, name, *Maghauta*, *Jhumra*, *Sakhiya*, *Kathghori*, *Lathahawa*, *Mungrahawa*, *Hurdungwa*, *Jharra*, *Barka*, *Chhokra*, *Birahain*, *Chanchar*, *Chorkheliya*, *Ras Lila*, *Tarwar*, *Maharwa Devi*, *Holi*, *Saru* and *Bihagra* dance (Dahit, 2062 B.S). Among them, *Maghauta*, *Sakhiya* and *Chhokra* dances are jointly performed by both boys and girls. Now a days, *Jhumra*, *Lathahawa* and *Hurdungwa* dances also dance by both boys and girls. Remaining all types of dances is done only by male wearing male and female dresses separately and playing role of male and female dancers. Most of all dances are performed during the great festival "*Magh*", "*Dashya*", "*Dewari*", "*Auli Utarna*", "*Astimki*", etc.

Rana Tharus and other Tharus who are living in India - have a national dance performed by boys or man, never by girls or women. "A boy of fifteen or sixteen is dressed as a woman, and his partner beats a small drum suspended from the neck. The pair advance and retreat with a gliding motion, and represent with coarse fidelity the advances of the lover and the coyness of the house cleaner. As they proceed, they warm to the work, which shone in the face and spoke in every limb of the drummer after two hours of the exercise and the infusion of a large amount of raw spirits.

5.4.8 Folk Songs and Folklores

Tharu folk songs and folklores have their own identity, distinct message and varied cultural assets. According to Dahit, and Panjiyar TN. (2039 B.S.), "Tharus have their own folk song, vocal, musical instruments and folk dances. The vocal and lyric of folk song and folklore differs from morning to day, day to evening, evening to night and night to mid night and mid night to early morning, etc. Furthermore, they have also separate folk song as per seasons. The folk song, which is used to sing during Baishakh, they never sing in other season and so on ". Regarding the timing to sing Tharu folk songs and folklores, during the month of Baisakh (15 April to 15 May), they sing *Sajana*, *Ram Jalam*, *Kathmadaiya*, *Barka Balahajhulna* folklore; month of Jesth (15 May to 15 June) - *Sajana* and *Sajani* folklore; month of Asar and Sawan (15 June - 15 August) - *Singro*, *Rajcharbil*, *Ghoghar*, *Baithawan* folklores; month of Bhadaun (15 August to 15 September) - *Astimki*, *Barkimar*, *Kakahara*, *Udasin*; month of Kuwanr and Kartik (15

September to 15 November) - *Fulwar, Barkimar, Jarmauti, Karmauti* and *Hurdungwa* song; month of Kartik (15 November to 15 December) - *Lala, Birahin, Daff* and *Dhamar* song; month of Agahan (15 December to 15 January) - *Sanchi* and *Jarmauti* song; month of Push and Magh (15 January to 15 February) - *Maghauta, Maina, Laguni, Bangit*; month of Falgun (15 February to March) - *Mangar, Fag*; and month of Chait (15 March to 15 April) - *Sajana* and *Sajani* folklores. Some songs are related with agriculture profession, daily life cycle, dignified and glorious history.

CHAPTER- SIX

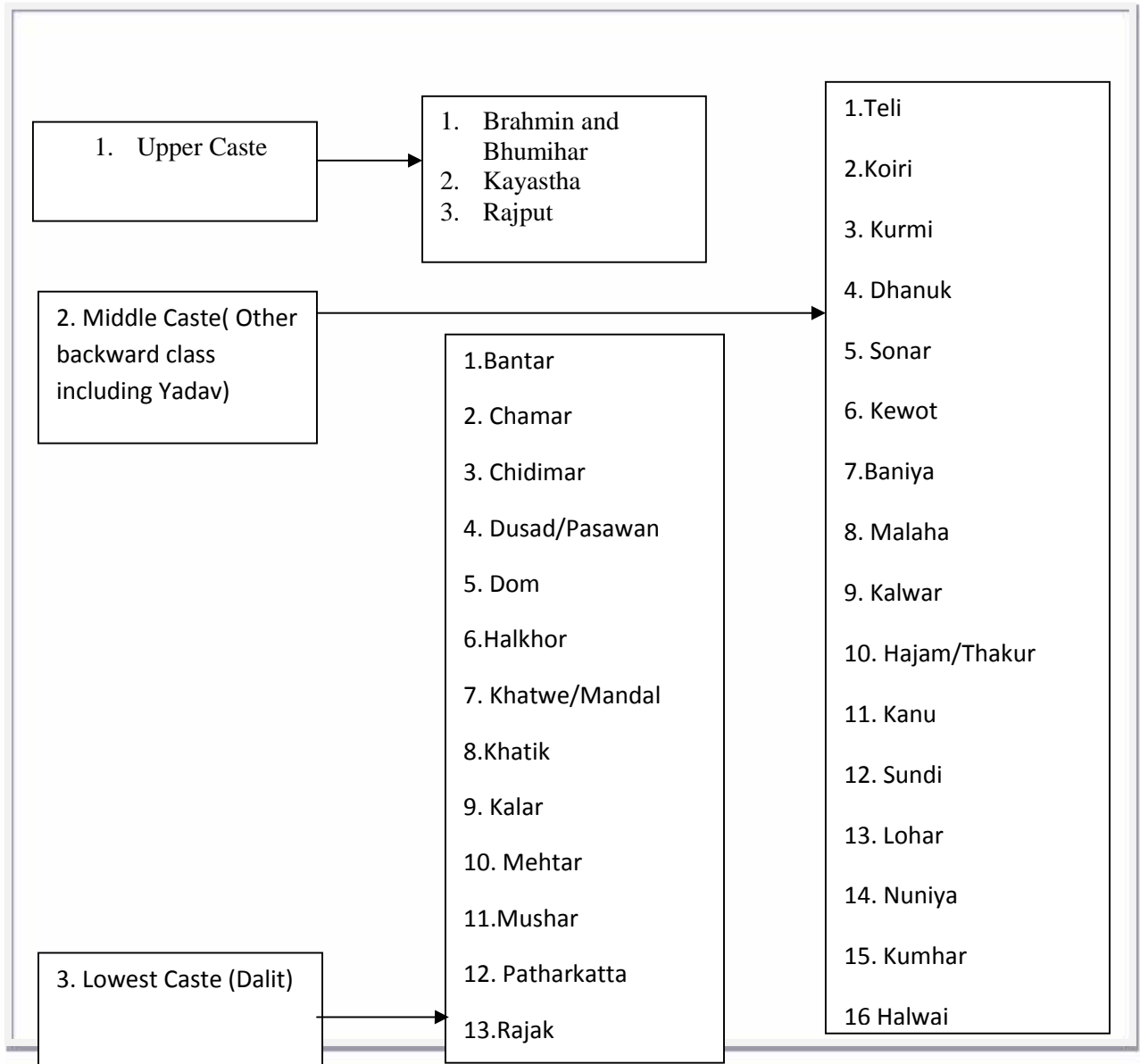
INTER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THARUS AND MIGRANTS

This chapter describes about the intergroup relationship between Tharus and migrants in the inner-Terai. The inter group relationship is primarily based on socio-cultural structures and institutions. The socio-cultural relations are explained on the basis of caste/ethnic hierarchy, economic and occupational structure, political institutions and structure, and religious practices.

6.1 Structure and Socio-Cultural Relations

Patterns of institutions and relations result from the actions of individuals who are endowed with the capabilities or competencies that enable them involve in organized ways in the societies. These capabilities and behavioral dispositions and social structures are found in the habits and skills inscribed in human bodies and minds and that allow them to produce, reproduce and transform institutional structures and relational structures. In sociology/anthropology, social structure is any enduring pattern or interrelationship of social entities which is more or less enduring pattern of social arrangements with in a particular society, groups or social organization. It is an arrangement of persons in institutionally controlled and defined relationship (Brown, 1952, cited in Mishra, 2005). Douglas North, (1990) cited in Pradhan, (2006), defines “Institutions are the humanly devised constraints that structure human interaction. They are made up of formal constraints (rules, laws, and constitutions), informal constraints (norms of behavior, conventions, and self imposed codes of conduct) and their enforcement characteristics. Together they define the incentive structure of societies and specifically economics”.

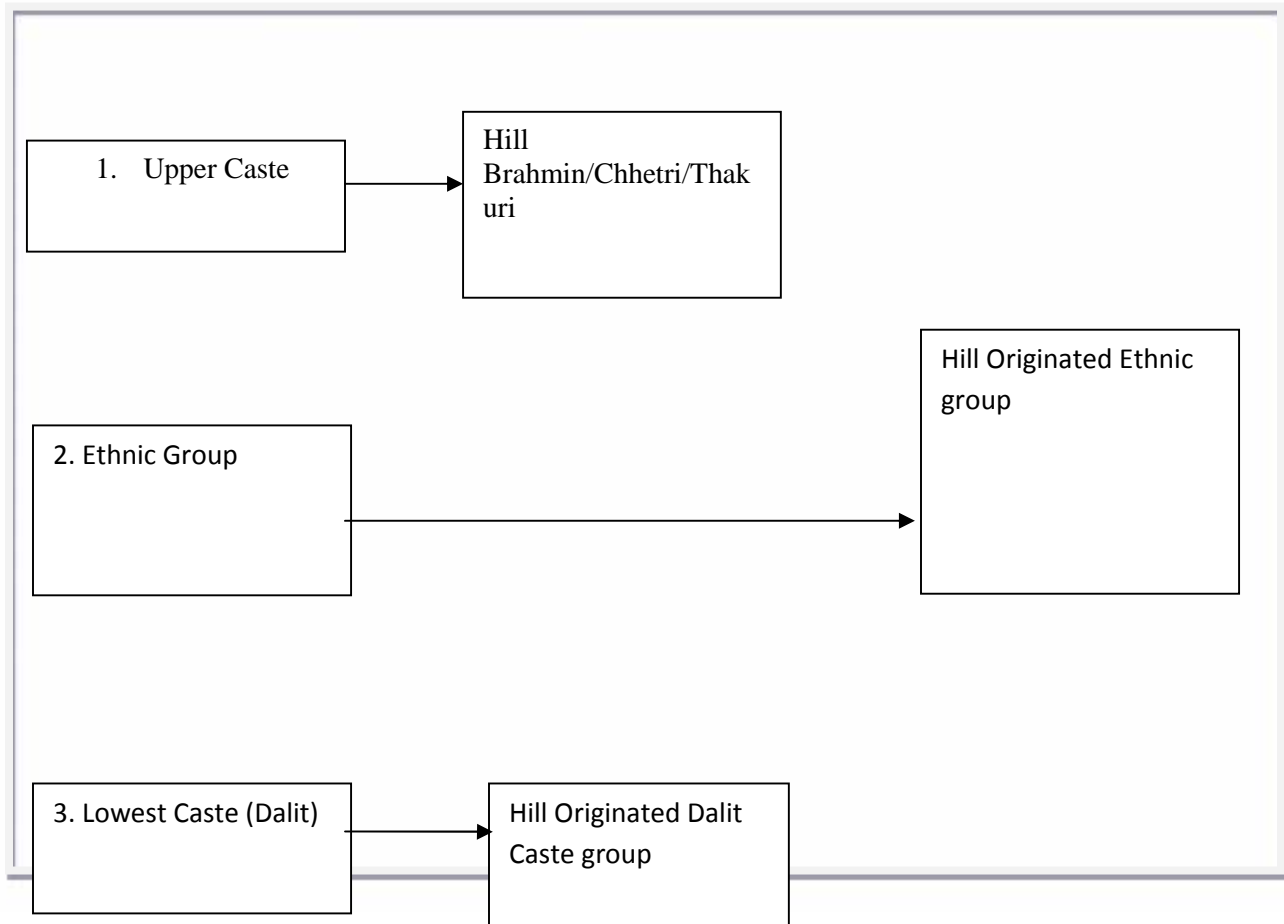
Figure 6.1: Hierarchy of Caste among Hindu Madhesi (Historical and continued Migrants group): A General Model



Source: Mishra, 2005

In Terai, Indian originated three distinct caste groups as mentioned in above general model state that Madheshi Dalits are lowest in caste rank. The model indicates that there are many castes in each group. The relations between Tharu and this ancient and modern migration continue since 900 BC to date.

**Figure 6.2: Hill Originated Migrant Caste/Ethnic Group (Modern Migrants group):
A Multicultural Model**



This migrant caste/ethnic group of population is residing since modern Nepal in Terai and inner-Terai. This migrant group constitutes 33% of the total Terai population. The structural relations between Indigenous Tharus and these migrants group are existed in the Terai region.

The Third type of population group is the Indigenous/ethnic groups such as Tharu, Rajbamsi, Dhimal, Danuwar, and other ethnic groups those are originated in the Terai.

6.2 Cultural Context and Caste/Ethnic System

The concept of caste system as noted already that the notion of purity and pollution, food taboos and commensality regulations, restrictions on occupational choice and requirement of endogamous form of marital practices are the ideological features of caste system in Terai society. The features play fundamental role to govern the relationship among people within and between the caste groups. However, it has been also explored that the cultural context of a zone or a region affects the extent of rigidity in the application of these rules (Hutton, 1963).

The ethnic and religious make up of a population and span of time lapsed in the process of interconnection between them set the cultural context of society. These features are unique combination of Terai society, since region also forms a distinct type of cultural zone in the Nepal. Such uniqueness found in the culture of Terai is the result of location between two different cultural tradition of Pahad and northern India. In the northern part Buddhism and Hinduism and South in the Hinduism and others made Terai as mixed of multicultural. Tharus are differing in those both traditions however Hindus influence found very closely. This result is not only the state policy and national building as a Hindu framework but also close contact with cross border Hindu group of population.

The man to man relationship is established as new form as *Muluki Ain* implementing its guiding principles. A more vigorous attempt to enhance the legal support for the entrenchment of caste based organization of society was made by the Nepali state during mid 19th century. Through the formulation of *Muluki Ain* has tried to accomplish this task in two different ways. At one level, the provision of the code attempt to expand the process of Hinduisation by carving the way to incorporate all ethnic categories into the caste system. For this purpose, the code transformed the conventional categories of the Varna system into five broader caste categories. This method is allowed to integrate all ethnic groups of the country into new framework of the caste system.

Caste Classification of Muluki Ain (1854)

A. Pure Caste (Chokho Jat or water acceptable caste-pani chalne)

Caste categories	Caste groups incorporated in the category
1. Wearers of the scared thread(Tagadhari)	Hill/Terai Brahmin, Thakuri Chhettri, Sanyasi (aseticsect) and some Newars
2. Non-enslavable alcohol-drinkers (Namasinys Matwali Jat)	Magar, Gurung, Sunuwar, Some Newar caste
3. Enslavable Alcohol drinkers(masinya Matwali Jat)	Bhote, Chepang, Kumal, Hayu, Tharu , Gharti
B. Impure or water unacceptable caste (pani na chalne Jat)	
4. Impure but touchable	Kasai, Kusle, Dhobi, Kulu, Mushalman, Mlechha
5. Impure and untouchable (Pani Nachalne)	Kami, Sarki, Damai, Badi, pode Chame etc.

The above classification lumped together the wearers of scared thread such as the Brahmins, Chhetris and others into a single caste category. It did not challenge the rank order defined for these groups by the conventional norms of *Varna* system. The Tharus put into the enslavable alcohol drinkers. Before the *Muluki Ain* where they are is the questionable. According to the state policies and traditional practices, the relationship between Tharus and others are changing over the time. In this study, researcher tried to outline group relationship between Tharus and migrant people in the study site.

In this section, the socio-cultural relations between Indigenous Tharu and Model 1 migrant group and Model 2 migrant groups are assessed.

6.3 Relationship between Tharus and Migrants

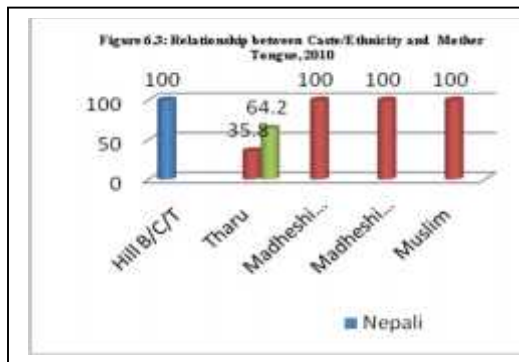
The inter-group relationship is analyzed through group networks. The Tharus have their own caste or clan networks. They bond with common ancestor and their socio-cultural traditions found similarity in day to day to life in all sub groups of Tharu ethnic group.

The social relations are observed by networks exchange in different ceremonial occasions, hierarchical relation on the basis of caste, occupations, and language and power relations. The Tharus are found mixed group in their language and religion. It is stated that the two perspectives: one is day to day life and other is activists are existed in the study site. In this section, analysis was made on the basis of two perspectives for interrelationship between the Tharus and Migrant non-Tharus.

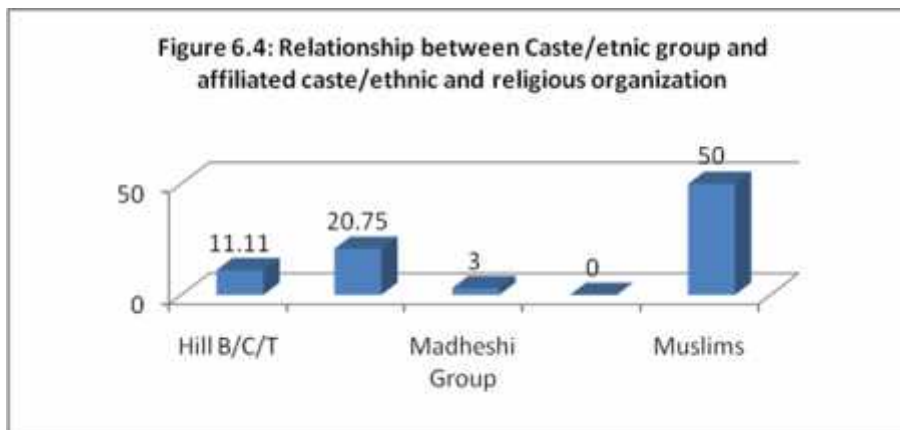
Inter Group Relationship between Tharus and Migrant Non-Tharus: Social Context

Caste and ethnicity are the important social institutions deeply rooted in the Terai society. Behaviors of caste and ethnic is embedded in people’s values, reflecting hierarchy, individual action and practices and other forms unequal relations of day to day interaction of Tharu, migrant Madheshis and hill originated people. Similarly, adverse and competitive relationship is established among broader Terai community. Terai non-Tharus (upper and upper caste hill originated) practicing social activates within their same caste group such as marriage, birth rituals, death rituals and other important social functioning. This migrant group of population had close tie up their common social practices in the community. These groups of population invite social ceremony to Tharus only for labor work. It is supported to say that all caste groups in the study site got married within their caste group. This type of practice suggests that the kinship relations have been established within the same caste/ethnic group. Language is also an important issue for analyzing social relations. The local Tharu people and activists stated that their language is invasion by the migrants. Figure 6.3 reveals that 36% of Tharus having Bhojpuri as a mother tongue. This result is the cause of Indian migrants into Terai. Tharu

people have adopted that language is influenced by the migrant Mahesh people. This process has been practicing during the migration of Madheshi people into Terai and Inner-Terai region.



The Tharus are affiliated in caste based organization than other migrant caste/ethnic group except religious minority Muslims. Tharu has formed Tharu Welfare Society (*Tharu Kanlyankarani Sabha*) in 1945 informally. However it is registered in 1960 officially. The main purpose of this organization is to enhance Tharu identity and to fight against prevailing discrimination and backwardness of Tharus.



Tharus made collective action to join the caste/ethnic based organization focused the adverse relations between migrant people from India and Hill and mountain of Nepal. Bhawani Shankar Foughdar a Tharu person from Swathi Nawalpari expressed his views about the Tharus discrimination by migrants from Madheshi and hill people.

It was all the parts of Nepal right beneath the hills. To the Bihar side it was extended up to “Betiya” of Bihar, people from “Pahad”(Hill) used to come and buy land but run back to hill as they finish harvesting because they used to get afraid of Malaria. Gradually epidemic diseases disappeared since deforestation began. They (Pahadia and Madheshi gave a pressure to Tharus by Migrating here. We used to call Madeshi as a Bajiya. We were called as a Terain. Madeshi used to bring the heard of around 600-700 cattle to graze here in our field. We are surrounded by ‘Bajiya’ and ‘Pahadia’ since our 2 friends like malaria and cholera left this place. Madheshi became rich by selling milk later and became more powerful after when they got citizenship of Nepal.

The aforementioned statement supports that the interrelations between Tharus and migrants Madheshi and Pahadi (hill originated) have adverse effects on social issues. The conflicting relations between Tharus and migrants continued to violent activities in the

region. The historical assessment of the region, it is said to support with the Durkheim's two types of society: segmental or traditional societies that are unified by "mechanical solidarity" and organized or modern societies that features "organic solidarity". However in the inner relations with the two different groups found conflicting relation due to deprivation of social capital of Tharus. The social capital of Tharus is weakened by the migrant people.

The Tharus claim that they were "*Satjugi*". It means they are the oldest inhabitants of the Terai. "They said that they have been doing badly by Pahadies and Madheshis in their homeland". This type of feelings of Tharus not only point to an apparently conflict-porn multi-ethnic constellation in Swathi village. They also have strong identification of ethnic identity. The strong ethnic identities of Tharus were being eroded. They were included in the Hindu caste hierarchy (*Jat*)¹² and being Hinduized. Tharus have also accepted Hindu ideal as pure Hindu caste, caste hierarchical behaviors by migrants, keeping pigs which impure, Hindu puja such as *Satyanarayan*, and adopted marriage systems. Tharus describe how migrant Madhshis and *Pahariya* having stereotypes think about them. Migrants (Madheshi and Pahadi) use the insult language for Tharus such as people of forest (uncivilized), snail eaters, and *rat* eaters. These types of language hurt Tharus and have internal social conflict between them and migrants.

Inter Group Relationship between Tharus and Non-Tharus in Terai: Economic Context

Terai is known as agricultural economy and production of crops which is backbone of national income. Unequal land distribution is the main source of the social unequal economic relationship among the caste and ethnic groups. According to field observation, it can be said that most of the high caste groups like hill Brahmin/Chhetri Maithali Brahmin, Kayastha, Bhumihar, Rajput as well as some middle caste groups such as Yadav, Shah, Kalwar, Kanwar, Kunwar are the landowners and most of the Tharu are marginal land owners and landless (22.6 %). Even though involvement in agricultural is

¹² *In Muluki Ain (1854) they were classified as "enslavable alcohol drinkers" who just nearly qualified for classification in the pure or "water-acceptable caste".*

the common to all caste groups both migrants and non-migrant Tharus. Certain types of occupation are considered only for the upper caste Hindu groups. Despite this, the economic disparity and caste specific occupations have resulted in economic interdependence between and among caste groups in Terai. Besides these, some qualitative information are relevant for the study. Majority of the landless people are ex-bonded labor. They are bonded against debts that they acquired either for marriage or day-to-day expenses. Some of the bonded labors work for the same land-lords several years or even for life. They lived wretched life while bonded labor has been theoretically abolished (*Muktha Agriculture labour Shram Nished Ain, 2057 BS*). However, act only focuses on freedom of Agriculture labour but not for management of their livelihood. Every labor shall stand freed and discharged from the obligation to render labor in lieu of loans, in the case of Tharus Kamays, in practice system still prevails. The voice of the bonded labor of Tharus in study site was never raised, so that they are still in bonded labor in practices. It was found that there is systematic segmentation of Tharu Labors into certain categories of low paid economic activities, and this is possibly the result of the discrimination in terms of market, land, employment and capital formation.

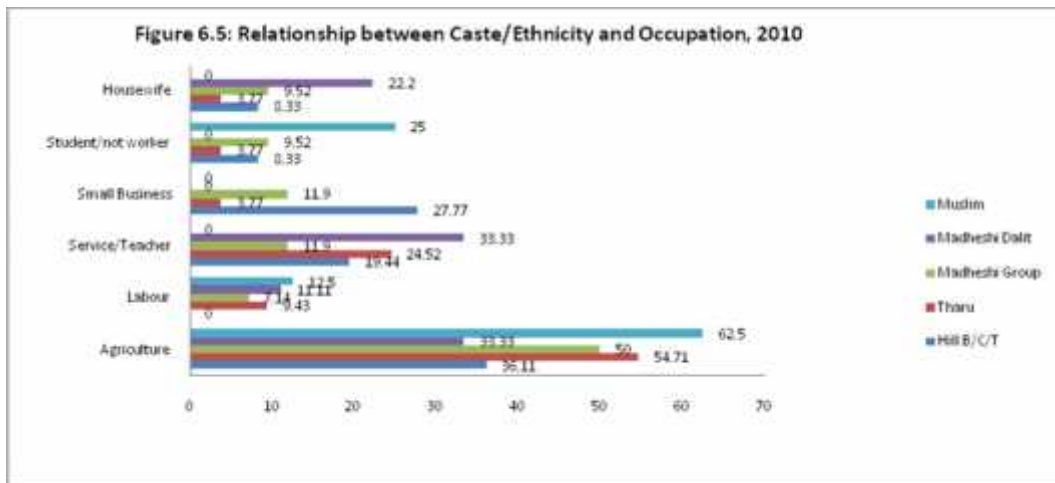


Figure 6.5 shows that agriculture is the main occupation in Terai and inner-Terai. Among the caste/ethnic groups, about 55% of Tharu respondents are involved in agricultural occupation. At the beginning, Tharus had only agricultural occupation. This occupation shift is the cause of migration from both sides. Tharus reported that migrant people owe land by various means. Firstly, the Madheshi people capture the Tharu land through

herding cattle and second the government policy of land revenue is also the cause of deprivation land rights. Government migrant policy and Madheshi resettlement Programme for business purpose was responsible for gradual land loosing by the Tharus. This fact resulted conflict relations between Tharus and migrant population. Tharu people from the rural village of Nawalparasi feel that the Madheshi and hill originated people have exploited Tharu people in the agricultural occupation. Tharus and non-Tharus come into contact with the specific services and agricultural labor. Their services are considered as obligatory in the broader Terai community. All of this, Tharus come into contact with other groups in non-ritual context, mostly economic, for instances, agriculture labor. Tharus are the hard working ethnic group to upper and middle caste group of the both migrants group because they have taken loans for their livelihoods and fulfillment of basic needs. Almost 10 percent of the Tharus involve in the agricultural labor on land owners. They work in farm of the migrant groups in return of their services, and they are provided grains or in kind on the daily wages basis.

The other form of economic relationship and economic interdependence is the source of credit to cope up with the food shortage meeting the household's incidental and contingent expenses. A large number of poor Tharus take loans. The source of institutional credit in the Terai and inner-Terai is the local landlords such as Brahmins, Kunwar, Kavar (Madheshi) and Kurmis. Loan is taken in two forms: cash and kind and interest rate is very high. Normally, the loan taken in kind must be repaid in grains or kind only with high interest. As many agricultural labors like Tharus, they repay loans by working in the fields of landlords either in planning or harvesting seasons. Most of the loans are borrowed against gold, silver and land as surety. Most of the Tharus are agricultural worker and having marginal land. As per the desire of the landlords they have been provided some land for production. The land lords do not take any rent or not demand crops from the land. However, landlords' demand for free of work in their land instead of providing land for them to production. This system is said to be Kamad in Terai which is highly prevalent to dates.

As speaking about the exploitation of Tharus labor, this has been prevalent from beginning. There is no any business work in the Tharu community. The Tharu products

such as rice, paddy and other types of corn were sold to Indians. They buy our products very low cost and got heavily earning margins in our products. Indian businessmen especially *Mahajans* from middle caste have been residing from that time. They continuously exploited their labors to date. Rural Tharu people express his views about the exploitation of their wage at the 70 year ago.

People from India would come and take. Indian businessmen use to come here whom we used to call as "Mahajhan". We used to order the things we needed with them and used to give paddy in return. They used to take ten times more paddy than what they provided us. One year our labor was sold in very little cost due to our necessities. This tradition is slightly changed. At the time of Janga Bahadur Rana only people came to know that Tharus have been living here for a long time. They came here and gave us place to have settlements and cultivate from Gidde khola to Ginte Khola. The people from hill also came here and monopoly of Indian business is decreased. However, our exploitation is continuously from both sides (Madheshi and hill migrants).

Economic structure of Terai is determined through the relationship between Tharus and other migrant groups. Programmes of economic development are prepared and conducted according to the necessity of the people of the society. However, the institution backed by landowner is biased to Tharus. Therefore, Institutional structure is an important aspect of economic relation between groups. Family structure, social values etc. affect people's feeling and mutual understanding. They help one another on the same basis. They are organized based on ideas and community. If such organizations are flexible, social and economic developmental activities become dynamic otherwise development activities are unacceptable for the society, every change or improvement has to face problems. In such situation, the pace of economic development becomes slow and problematic.

Intergroup Relationship between Tharus and Non-Tharus: Political Context

The Terai as a whole was considered sensitive politically by ruling elites of Pahadi (Hill Originated) throughout modern history. This situation is made because the Madheshi people have found affinity with Northern India and Indian people. The Madheshi particularly plain regions originated were mistrusted and wherever possible they were excluded in the national politics. However, the latest Madhesh movement (January-

February, 2007) has changed the scenario of politics in Terai. The upper, forward and Middle caste people such as Yadavs dominated Terai politics. At the local level, political institutions are dominated by middle caste especially Yadav since post 1990 revolution. Non-Tharus (Madheshis and hill originated) are meaningfully participated in local level formal and informal political organization where as Tharus have nominal participation. The political participation and representation is related to power relation. In case of Tharus, they have been in less power relations from the immemorial time to the present. It is therefore a growing concern that transformative participation of power then changes power relations in favor of powerless (e.g. poor, backward, and marginalized people). However, in order to assess the Tharus power relations, it is essential to scientific understanding of power which is caused to political relationship between the defined social groups at several levels of power (Gaventa 1980, VeneKlasen and Miller, 2002, cited in Gaventa, 2006).

- a) Visible power- involves examining who participate in public spaces or formal political process, and who appears to win or loss on particular issues.
- b) Hidden power- not all power is visible. Some take place backstage. Therefore, a second question to examine about power is about what barriers and biases preclude certain actors, issues or voices entering the participatory space in the first place.
- c) Invisible power- in both the visible and hidden arenas of power, there may be more internalized norms or stereotypes which prevent certain perspectives from being raised, or certain participants from engaging. These may be manifested in terms of a sense of powerlessness, lack of self-esteem, lack of critical awareness or simply lack of information which is enables people to know their rights to participate or make demands.

In situations of highly unequal power relations, simply creating public spaces for more participation to occur, without addressing the other forms of power, may do little to affect pro-poor or more democratic change. New public spaces will simply be filled by the already powerful.

In case of Tharus, the affiliation to political parties at local level seems to be low while compare with *Paharis* and high and middle caste Madheshis. They have not strong networks to political parties due to low level of socio-economic status and political hegemonic behaviors of Madheshi and Pahadi migrants as well as socio-economic status of Tharus. In the study cluster, only 10 percent of the Tharus affiliated to political parties. It varies by different socio-economic status. The bar diagram reveals that 25 percent of the hill migrants and 26 percent of Madheshi migrants affiliated in political parties. This indicates that Tharus are deprived of the political participation at party level. In Terai, there are mainly two types of party leaders. One is national parties which are led by the hill originated people and another is regional party led by the Madheshi people. The Tharus are not properly uplifted in the both party leadership. In the political aspects, Tharus have been in *Pahidization* process before Madheshi movement then after Madhesization. This process of politicization creates internal conflict in the Terai region which is resulted in the *Tharuhat* movement after the declaration of Republic Nepal. The Tharus have been involving Tharu Welfare society since 1950 but this social organization cannot be established in the political issues of Tharus in broader Nepalese space while compared to migrant Madheshis. There is ongoing conflict based relation in political term.

As we observed the political institutional relations between Tharus and two migrants groups, there is found conflict between traditional political institution and modern formal political institutions. Tharus have been practicing *Pagari Pradhan*¹³ system and *Badghariya*¹⁴ system. When local government system is established then power conflict between VDC chairman and *Pagari pradhan* as well as ward chairman and *Badghariya*. This type of conflict exists to date. The Tharus experience that their political organization is being too destroyed by the both migrant people of region.

¹³ A political leader of group of village in the specific location similar to VDC level rule, and elected from the representatives of village with democratic way, he administered all political, socio-economic and cultural aspects of village life.

¹⁴ A leader of village similar to ward chairman, and elected by the every household members of the entire village and perform day to day administration of village level activates and tie up people together.

Specifically in inner-Terai, there is no exception in regard to political power becoming the privilege of the economically better off people. The local politics of Terai is controlled by Middle caste people of Madheshi specially Yadavs and Kurmies since Panchayat period. One of the important qualities of the middle caste is that they always form cohesive groups vis-a-vis other groups. They possess wealth and demonstrate physical power to take control of politics and their single largest population among Indian origin is also to contribute to majority and minority in number. There are many reasons that the middle caste who could hold the active leadership in Terai. For instances, Terai is composed of diverse caste groups and the number of highest and many of the lowest castes are landless, holding marginal land who need financial and other kinds of supports. These support and services are provided by the people mostly by middle caste. Similarly, the formal political organizations are controlled by Pahadis where Madheshi are minority and however Tharus are in majority.

Most of the formal government institutions at local level are held by Madheshi and Pahadis such as District Development Committee, Village Development Committee, and health service centers etc. without entering to Madheshi's and Pahadis's network. Tharus could not get services from the formal government institutions.

A key informant from Tharus community states as:

Nepal has been practicing traditional norms and values which is based on kinship, clan, caste sentiment and feelings, paternalism and favoritism by the high caste people. This cannot be exception to the case of Terai and inner-Terai. As the social and political structures that have been prevailing in the whole country which are also compatible to the case of the Terai. This indicates that what sorts of problems faced by Tharus today will be continued further; so that Tharus will never get justice from broader terai community, once it becomes federal or more compensational. To uplift the Tharus is therefore to make gradual representation even one-two person representation from Tharus will not be sufficient to uplift the Tharus as whole in the long run.

Tharus are seen to be passive recipients compared to others migrant people in the Terai and inner-Terai. At the local level election, the relationship between Tharus and Non-Tharus are voters and leaders. Few cases were found that Tharus leadership accepted by non-Tharus in the VDC. The political parties are not providing party ticket to Tharus for election due to weak networks and capability deprivation of Tharus. All the political parties whether they are regional or national are captured by Non-Tharus. During the election period, though there is caste sentiment, people caste vote considering the party after the democratic revolution of 1990. Inter-groups relationship is gradually increasing in the larger political context. However, Tharus in Terai are still in enslaving the political relationship.

Inter Group Relationship between Tharus and Non-Tharus in Terai: Religious and Ritual Context

There is an overlap of social and religious activities. There are distinct caste/ethnic specific services which are essential for all caste groups in certain religious and ritual occasions. Specially, Tharus have their specialized services to be provided to other community such as labor work in various ceremonies.

Migrant Brahmins are respected in the ritual context even if he may be poor. In every ritual such as birth, marriage, Bratbhanda (ceremony of wearing sacred thread), *Bastu Puja* (construction of new house), worship of god, new vehicle, death, all of the castes invite Brahmin to perform rituals. Tharus are the distinct from this type of socio-cultural activities. There are certain festivals and rituals which are celebrated by most of the caste/ethnic groups of Terai and inner-Terai. Some of the common Terai Hindu festivals are as Chaurachand, Durga Puja, Dipawali, Chhat, Maghi etc in the practice, there is hierarchy in celebrating feast and festivals. Tharus are always different from the both migrant groups. The major barrier to communicate easily is ethnic and day to day life practices and cultural differences. The few distinctions are prevalent culturally.

In brief, inner-Terai is not necessarily a homogenous community today. It shows considerable diversity in terms of language, religion and culture. Though there is

tremendous diversity among Terai caste/ethnic groups, they however, co-exist together because of the following economic factor:

- A) In the broader sense, a single culture area of the Terai (Indian originated) in the Terai constitutes region in the sense of a common language. The people speaking the same language have certain degree of commonalities which bind them together. Similarly, Pahadi migrated people have different language and culture. But Tharus are different from both migrants group. In Terai, there is trying to apply hierarchical model of the Hindu caste structure divided in same language speaker and certain same cultural forms of common Madheshi and non- Madheshi Tharus are placed them into two extreme points.
- B) It is also difficult to isolate a particular culture trait such as Pahadi and Madheshi as social, economic or religious as one trait complements the other in an organic, functional character of the society. Nevertheless, the other most important binding factor is the economy of the people itself. Historically, the economy of the Terai is governed by two groups of people- such as landlords and landless farmers. Such type of economic model is operating till the present time. Specific caste/ethnic groups are permitted to do only certain type of occupations, the economic disparity and caste specific occupations forced people to live together for survival.
- C) Historically, Hindu caste hierarchical structure has remained as a model to co-exist. The interaction between Migrants and Tharus exist on the basis of caste hierarchical model.
- D) The ethnic group inclusion process and social structure are little dynamic as a whole coming to practice since last few centuries resulted from animist to Hindu religious group.
- E) There is conflict between language sphere between Tharus and others. Almost one third of the Tharus respondents adopted Bhojpuri language as a mother tongue. It is because language is means of economic and long time influence of Bhojpuri language in inner-Terai.

Tharus in general depend on the migrants' dominant caste of their locality that has control land, language, culture, economy and political power. Findings of the research show that whenever Tharus closely associates with the dominant group, status among the rest of the non-Tharus caste, the social and political level and consciousness were considerably high. This association of the Tharus with the dominant migrants is concerned not only in the fact of providing labor power, but also a factor of social mobility and participation. The sanskritization process grades within the Hindu group are related to their specific services rendered to the dominant group.

The analysis suggests that Tharus attempt to follow the power structure and power relations of the dominant group in village and territory. The power of the upper and middle caste of Madheshi does not directly operate, for the partial caste structure is strong evidence for the cultural consensus. The conceptualization of power is a brute force. It may not be direct cause for hierarchy that we find among Tharus. But it cannot deny discursive functioning of power that demands resistance and compliance to the ascribed status and low roles. Further, this power does not put forth ideological hegemony over the Tharus to reproduce the dominant migrant group.

CHAPTER- SEVEN

MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACT ON THE THARU COMMUNITY

This chapter deals with migration and socio-cultural change in Tharu society and culture. The socio-cultural change is identified on the basis of ethnography of Tharu community. The ethnography of Tharus assesses the traditional socio-cultural practices. The concern is how the highlands migration to low land and cross boarder migration has contributed to socio-cultural change in inn-Terai. When discussion about cultural change, the theory of Sanskritization (Srinivas, 1942 and 1971) one of the most widely accepted theories of social change in the South Asian context, seems to be well to observe some of the aspects of such development. In this study socio-cultural change assesses caste, kin, marriage system, family size, occupation, rites and rituals, language, religion, social and political institutions, caste based affinity etc.

Cultural diffusion processes have many dimensions. Among the various dimensions, migration is one of the most common factor which transforms society and culture within decade, century and more times. The migration of people had started since origin of Aryans. The agro-pastoral migration is the first migration process at the begging of Aryan. The cultural diffusion process is only possible at time. There was no any modern technology to diffuse cultural change from one place to another. It is argued that migration is major cause of the socio-cultural change of Tharu society and culture. The Tharus have adopted migrants' culture as a process of sanskritization. The adaptation has changed their social and cultural institutions of the Tharus. In the context of Nepal, many anthropological demographers give emphasis on institutional aspects to study adoptive process of the particular community. Donald (1977) argued that many traditional communities have now been exposed to outside world and monetized economy due to the national and international intervention and development. Adoptability is capacity to expand position or to find new roles. Adaptation and maladaptive behavior in humans is based on the capacity for self-objectification and normative orientations. Hardesty defines that "cultural behavior is patterned, shared and traditional most distinctive features of the human beings. He categorized cultural behavior in three groups as follows:

Facets	Cultural Characteristics
Technology:	All equipments made by human beings from digging stick to nuclear power plant
Organization:	Kinship, social rank, stratification, voluntary associations and politics among other things
Ideology:	Value, norms, knowledge, themes, religious beliefs, sentiments, etc.

Adoptive process is an achievement oriented for human beings. Adoptive behavior refers to any form of behaviors that adjusts means to ends, accomplishes objectives, achieve stratification, exercise choice, avoids or refuses action or involvement in order to adopt or adjust.

In this study, Tharus have adopted migrant culture for the adjustment of means to ends at the community due to the dominant cultural of migrants. However, Tharus are preserving some aspects of their indigenous culture with some adoptional changes. Tharus tend to show enclosed and isolated character in terms of culture and day to life. But they tend to be open showing a desire to adopt socio-economic life of migrants. However, socio-economic and cultural change is found gradually from the beginning.

7.1 Social Change of Tharus

The migration of Hindus in Terai in 900 BC to date and hill people since recognized of sovereign state after Sugauli treaty occur in the Terai and inner-Terai. From that period to now the migration has been affecting the traditional socio-cultural system in Tharus society. According to migration scholars in Nepal, cultural fertility is consequence of several waves of migration over two thousand years with some consolidation as a result of political unification. Nepal is a cultural mosaic inhabited by an amazingly diverse array of ethnic caste, linguistic and religious communities. As legal anthropologist Rajendra Pradhan (2002) stated as:

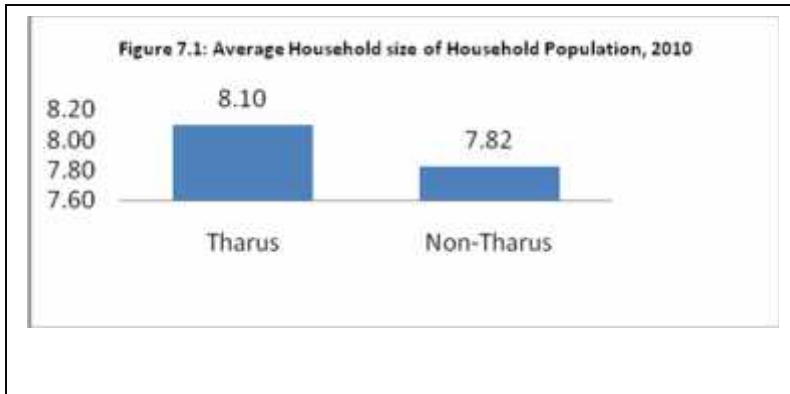
In the Terai plains, some 'Indigenous' communities such as formerly forest dwelling Tharus, Sattar and Santhals have probably been around for over two millennia as well as whereas others such as farming Maithali-speakers of the eastern Terai

arrived later. Over the centuries different communities, each with its own language, religion and culture, settled in different parts of Terai region. Parbate and plain originated linguistic and cultural group migration into Terai continued even after political unification of the country. Cultural diversity of Nepal is predominately a Hindu kingdom with a Hindu polity, though not necessarily a Hindu society. Over the centuries, nature worshipping, animist or Buddhist communities have been gradually 'Hinduised' mainly due to conquest of non-Hindu communities by Hindu kings and migration of Parbattiyas.

This migration trends have certain type of implication on the Indigenous people's social and cultural dimensions. It is found that there are changes in social dimension. The individual behaviors of indigenous Tharus have adopted the migrants' culture in the Terai and inner-Terai region. Findings from the fieldwork, it can be concluded that migrants' social and cultural factor have influenced the Tharus society and culture. In addition, Tharus have continuity of their culture and adaptation of migrants' culture.

Changes in Social Variables

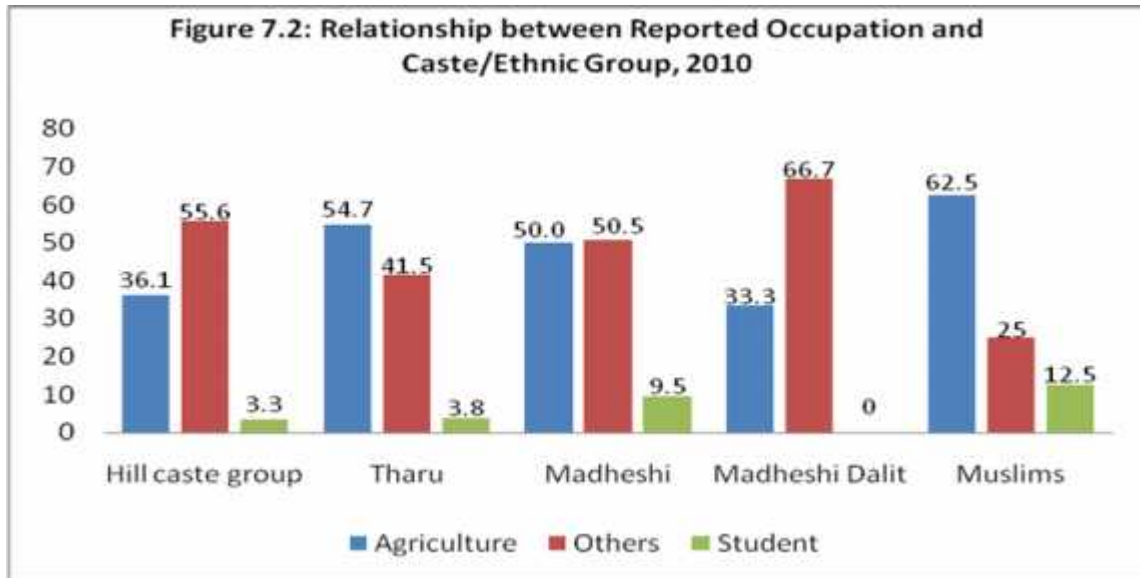
None of the different types of migration consisted to build a new society and a new society in the host place or society. Hill and Madheshi migrants were more or less directly caused by means of the social basis of the village communities in the study site and consequent social displacement. One may assume, whether the question crossed their minds or not, that the migrants had no intention of changing their ways of life, that they expected to continue to live in the new land in accordance with the institutions to which they were familiar. It is therefore likely that they consciously or unconsciously attempted to maintain in the new setting. The socio-cultural patterns they had learned at home and presumably valued and applied in the place of destination. On the other hand, a complete and comprehensive building of the society and culture of the homeland was clearly impossible unless whole villages were transported. The problem that needs to describe, then, is the extent to which the migrants succeeded in approximating to the norms and institutions of their home villages. This type of discussion depends on the generation to generation of migrants. In the Swathi village of Nawalparasi some similar kind of changes of Tharus are found by the migrants influence.



In the Swathi village, there were only 4 Tharus' houses that were in 1950. They were named as 'Char Ghariya' means Tharus were only four houses where their social tie up is only among four

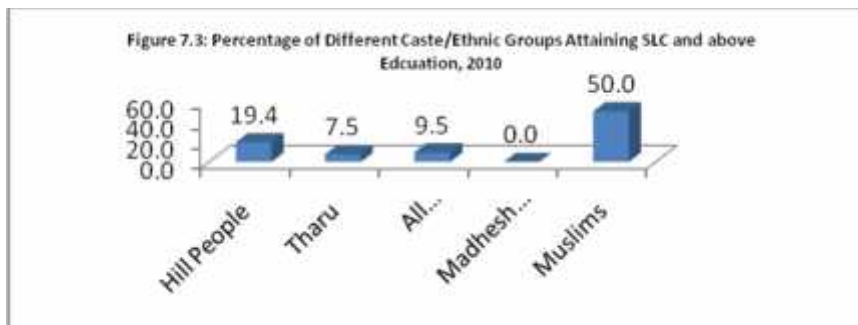
houses. In an average 50 members were in a household. After that when the migration process has taken place in village the family size of migrants have only 5-10 members. The nuclear family norms of migrants have influenced the Tharus families. This has been changing to date (Figure 7.1). From the survey data it is concluded that size of family of Tharus has changed and nuclear family size is adopted by Tharus. The older Tharus want to continue to their extended family size, however younger Tharus want to adopt small family size. This is also linked with changing occupation of Tharus. The extended family size is related with the agricultural occupation when the occupation is changed the family size is also changed.

The traditional occupation of indigenous Tharus is agriculture. During the non-migration period of the inner-Terai, almost all Tharus were involved in agricultural occupation. When the migration is taken place in the Tharu villages of Terai then agricultural shift is found. From the survey results of the study site, only 47 percent of respondents are involved in agriculture activities.



Among the total caste and ethnic group in study site, only 55% of Tharus were involved in agricultural occupation. According to ethnographic inquiry, a century ago all of the Tharus were involved in agricultural based occupation. It is also supported to say that traditional occupation of Tharus were agricultural. Answering the question of changing occupational status of Tharus is not easy. However, the migration of both sides caused for this situation. According to IDI, migrants captured Tharu land by various means such as force, revenue and taxation process. Tharus are unable to pay tax of land, so the migrant people pay tax and have got ownership of land. Tharus were deprived from the land rights and have been performed as *Agriculture labours* (bonded labor) and involved agricultural and non-agricultural labor. Beside these, the Tharus also want to do other occupation according to mimic desire of the prestigious jobs which are done by migrant people. This also supports to Tharus to change their occupational pattern. Changing occupational pattern has also linked with the educational status of Tharus. In the beginning of the Tharus civilization, there is no any type of educational system. Migrants were educationally orientation in the Indian institutions. High caste Hindus from hill originated acquired from Banaras in Indian and Madheshi high and middle caste from different northern Indian. But Tharus had no any access to education. When migration process started from 50s, then schooling system was established only then Tharus also started to acquire education. But very few Tharus were aware about education before 50s

and had got education from the Uttar Pradesh of India. The acquired education has been supporting to change the occupational status of Tharus.



The key issues of educational change on Tharus are found before and after 1950s. Before 1950s, very few and century ago no any Tharu was educated. But this study identified 7.5 percent of respondents have got SLC and above education. The educational institutional development has changed Tharus education.

As speaking about migration and social change, marriage rite and rituals have been changing over the time. At the beginning, Tharus were practicing *Gandharb Bibaha* (no special procedure of marriage), Gauna and marriage. The *gauna* and marriage is that process where the marriage contract is done after birth of son and daughter. When son and daughter become 5-10 years old and *gauna* that means one night marriage takes place. After the marriage, next day morning husband and wife come together husband's home. After staying one night, the wife returns back to birth home. She is not allowed to come husband's home for one year. One year later, husband go to father in-laws' home and return back together. Marriage rituals would complete within a year. But this system is changed after migration of hill people in their village. The marriage rites and rituals are more or less similar to the high Hindu caste both migrants groups (Discussion with Bhola Chaudhari of Swathi VDC). This marriage institution has been changed since the migration into Terai. Tharus adopted migrant's marriage culture, however marriage within same ethnic group is yet to be changed. The survey indicates that all of respondents married within same caste/ethnic and clan.

In summary, the social change of Tharus is found in family size, marriage system, occupation and education. The migration has both positive and negative impact on indigenous Tharus. Migration creates some education and occupation opportunities whereas deprivation of land rights and traditional practices (which is identity of Tharus) is also problematic during the changing scenario.

7.2 Cultural Change

Srinivas' theory of Sanskritization among Tharus is a process that was set in motion over century ago. The pre- 1950s and post 50s Sanskritization process is found changing and still to be changing. Historically, Tharus changing process began with the post agro-pastoral migration of Hindu *Ahirs (Yadav)* in Terai. If it is examined the historical documents of Terai and its inhabitants, it is stated as Tharus are animist before Hindus migration in Terai. The chorological evidences also suggest that the Hinduization process began to 900 BC. The culture of the Tharus is largely based on what may be called animism and worship of non Sanskrit gods and goddesses. The social interaction with Hindu migrants, Tharus have been changing their religious status. The gradually expanding consciousness and freedom from the bondage, the spread of new ideas through audio, video, news papers and cinema have also contribute to change of Tharus' cultural aspect. The increasing rate of literacy among the new generations and dissemination of the ideas and values of urban culture by the migrants contributed to change of Tharu culture.

Theoretically, Gramsci's most interesting ideas cluster around the concept of cultural hegemony, which he used to address the relation between culture and power under capitalism. No precise definition of cultural hegemony. What comes closest is his often-quoted characterization of hegemony as "the 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production. Gramsci defines the concept in this way is merely to begin unraveling its significance. The process sounds mechanical: ruling groups *impose* a

direction on social life; subordinates are manipulatively persuaded to board the "dominant fundamental" express.

In this study, researcher can address the cultural issues of change. Moreover, the *Pahadi* state power and Madheshi cultural hegemony have been affecting Tharu culture.

Tharu and Religious Change

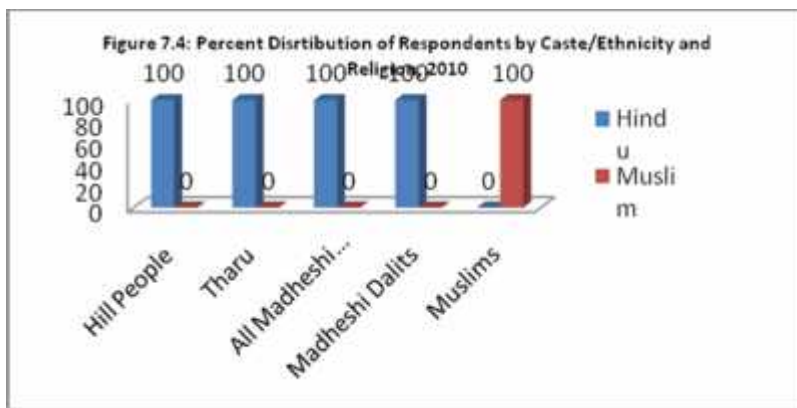
Development of Hinduism has been similar in all migrant communities. In general, trends have led from village and caste beliefs and practices to wider, more universalistic, definitions of Hinduism that cut across local and caste differences. Known in most countries as the Sanatan Dharm, this form is similar in many respects to "All-India Hinduism." It focuses attention on the major Hindu gods, particularly Vishnu in his avatars as Krishna and Ram. It draws its theology and ethical prescriptions from the Ramayan, the Puranas, and the Bhagvad Gita. The religion is administered by Brahman priests (*pandits*) who constitute the only group distinguished by caste rank and ritual cleanliness. Development of the Sanatan Dharm and the decline of all smaller sects may be associated with the growth among the non-migrants of a consciousness of being all Terai in a multiethnic society, where only this dimension of their social personality was significant and all finer distinctions of caste, ritual, and belief were unappreciated and ignored. The rise of such a religion may also be attributed to the concern to develop a form of Hinduism comparable to other religion.

Religion is one of the prominent components of culture. The religion is also an inherent symbolic capital of human. The human actions and behaviors are guided by the religion. The religious orthodoxy has its impact on the life of Tharus. The Tharus how they came from animist to Hindu is not easy answer. However, the historical documents have indicated the influence of migrant population from northern India and hill from the Nepal. At the beginning of the migration into Terai, Tharus started to adopt Hindu religion. This has changed when Buddhism came into existence. The Tharus had become to Buddhist since 600 BC to before Mugal Empire in India¹⁵. During Mugal Empire,

¹⁵ *Discussion with Bhawani Shankar Foughdar in Swathi, 2011.*

Tharus were tortured and harassed of their Buddhism. Mughals had forced to adopt Muslim religion. We can find *chaudhary* is also Muslim. Before Mugal Empire the *chaudhary people* were Tharus. High level of brutality by Mugals, the Tharus changed their religion. Then the Most of the Tharus became Hindus at that time. This situation is continuous to date. In this study, it is found that all the Tharus are Hindus. This is also a huge change of Tharus.

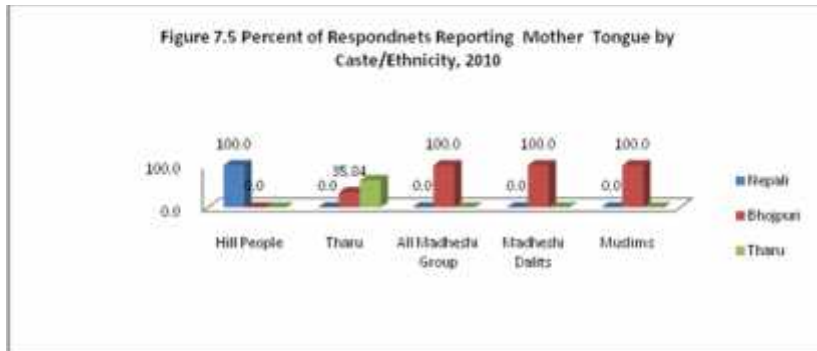
There is another arguments stated by Tharu activist. The modern migration from northern India of Madheshis has been influencing Tharus' day to day life. There are no any gods and goddesses in the Tharus community. This has changed from British colonial in India. Hindus were migrated from India to Nepal and actively promoted Hindus orthodoxy. This situation is highly influenced when hill migration is promoted after 1950s. The changes in religion only in Tharus why? This is a cultural structure of Terai and Inner Terai that seems to be Madheshi dominant in society and state power. The Tharus never came into powers as migrant population in the country.



The table shows that all of the Tharus are Hindus and all the other migrant groups are Hindus except Muslims. The animist groups have adopted Hindus religion by the influence of the migrant population.

Tharus and Language Change

Tharus are one of the pioneer indigenous people in the inner-Terai. They have own mother tongue. The structure of society and migration has contributed to change their mother tongue from different period of the history.



The migrant population has changed their mother tongue. However, more than one third of the Tharus have changed their mother tongue. This is because the Tharus have dominated by the local Madheshi language. It also supports to say that migrant groups have preserved their own language and Tharus language is being invasion. The Tharus are not taking it as positive change; it is the dominance of the migration population. Marginalization process of language invasion is seen clearly in the study site.

Tharus and Dress-up Change

Dress-up is also an indicator for cultural change. The indigenous Tharus did not wear any cloths at the beginning. As per the historical civilization of the society, they can wear cloths only in private organs. They wear *Dhoti-Kurta*¹⁶ by the influence of the Madheshi migrant. This type of dress is not found in the young generation people. The young generation Tharus wears modern dress which is used by hill migrants in these days. The change in dress is found drastic from beginning to date among Tharus people. The Sanskritization of dress is also found in the Tharus.

¹⁶ A white color clothes that are worn by men.

The traditional social and political organizations were found to be changed due to introduction of modern political system. The conflict between traditional and modern political system existed in the Tharus society such as VDC and ward representatives and *Badgarihiya and Pagari Pradhan*.

Inclusion, absorption versus separation-that is crucial, for it not only inherits and perpetuates the legacies of the others, but also, unlike the others, has a continuous influence on the contemporary scene. Migrant as individuals or as groups is a historical event the effects of which can be reversed by subsequent developments. Ties with place of origin communities may be maintained, but with diminishing frequency. Some descendants of migrants may move out of the laborer stratum to become peasant farmers and professional people. But it is the structure, values, interethnic group relations, and policies of the host society, though changing in host people is found, that have the most constant and pervasive consequences for the social organization of migrant communities and for the persistence and change of indigenous Tharus in the multicultural environments. An examination of these key issues of cultural change, itself consisting of several distinct factors that have been lumped together in this study for simplicity of exposition, cannot be adequately made in this brief and tentative work. It is the subject of a separate study.

CHAPTER- EIGHT

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

This research study is oriented to an anthropological demographic perspective. Migration is one of the key components of demographic study. Migration is a global issue for social and cultural change. Socio-cultural change occurs by internal and international migration. The globalization, modernization and utilization of mass media are crucial. This study analyzed migration and its impact on indigenous society and change. The Tharus are considered as indigenous people and probably the first inhabitants in the Terai and inner-Terai. Two-way migration from northern India and mountain and hill regions of Nepal occurred historically, which has positive and negative impacts on the Tharu society and culture.

The study is conceptualized on the basis of growing migration into Terai and inner-Terai from different sources (highlanders and plain Indian origin). Terai and inner-Terai and its original inhabitants have been facing social and cultural change. This migration has positive and negative impacts on Tharu society and culture.

The study emphasizes on migration and socio-anthropological issues. The methodological framing was done by various qualitative research methods. Triangulation of research is one of the bases of theory, qualitative and quantitative. The nature of the study requires more qualitative data and was collected through various methods: ethnography, in-depth interview, focus group discussion (FGD) and sample survey. The tools of the study are checklist and survey questionnaire. Survey techniques were conducted by scientific method. The qualitative and quantitative data were analyzed by using social science software.

8.1 Summary of Major Findings

The study has found migration impact on Tharus' society and culture. The ethnographic study identified traditional social and cultural practices in the inner-Terai Tharu society. The traditional practices of Tharus were found very much different than now. The

assessment of documents and ethnographic inquiry of Tharus, confirm that Tharus are first inhabitants of Terai and inner-Terai. Myths and archeological evidences also supported that the Tharus are indigenous group of population in Terai and inner-Terai.

Findings from the Socio-Cultural Descriptions of Tharus:

The social system of Terai and inner-Terai is complex. The migration at different times in Terai made it a multicultural society. The indigenous Tharus have their own socio-cultural practices and have been also practicing, but it is also changing. The caste system is not prevalent among Tharus, however sub-groups among Tharus are found such as Daghura, Rana, Sonaha, Gachadar, Faughdar, Chaudahry, etc. The clan groups are also found in practices. They name it *Gotiyar* (Bhai Bandu or brothers in big family). At the beginning, Tharu had different marriage system such as *gandharba bibaha*, early age at marriage, *Gauna* and marriage after a year. Similarly, owing to social exposure, the men and women nowadays hesitate to wear their traditional dress, *Bheguwa and Choliya*. Generally every family has a handloom to meet its body wear requirements and private organs of male. The staple food of Tharus is rice, homemade *Jands* and *Raksi* (beer and wine). They are very fond of pork and fish.

There were no special ornaments of male Tharus. However women wear different types of ornaments made of silver. Women wear *Hasuli* in arm, *Kada, kalli* in hand, *Pauju and Thesa* in leg *top* in ear and *nuthiya* in nose. They wear necklace which is made up of silver coins and *muga*. In the beginning there were no any educational systems in Tharu community. The educational mobility of Tharus is not found so that there any very few literatures found in their Tharu language.

The extended family system is the norms of Tharus. The social institutions are made of representative of family representatives such as "*Pagari Pradhan*" and *Badgarahiya* and so on. The social institutions have greater role in social cohesion and political decision in the village and group of village. The economy of Tharus is agriculture based. Their traditional handicraft and tools also supported to agricultural occupation. Most of handicrafts were made by forest products.

Indigenous Tharus celebrate many festivals, feasts and celebrations in each year, name, *Maghi, Atawari, Samachakewa, Jitiya Pawen, Dashya, Dewari, Dhurhori, Astimki, Auti lena and Utarna, Joor Sital, Barkhaihya Mijhni, Hardahawa, Guriya, Barka Kalawa, Neman, Chauchan, agajamo Purnima, Chauthi Chan, Fagui*, etc. Among them, "*Maghi*" is the greatest festival, which is celebrated all over region and even in India by all Tharus. The folk dances performed by Tharus are *Maghauta, Jhumra, Sakhiya, Kathghori, Lathahawa, Mungrahawa, Hurdungwa, Jharra, Barka, Chhokra, Birahain Chanchar, Chorkheliya, Ras Lila, Tarwar, Maharwa Devi, Holi, Saru* and *Bihagra* dance. Among them, *Maghauta*, both boys and girls jointly perform *Sakhiya* and *Chhokra* dances.

Findings of Social and Cultural Relationship between Tharus and Migrants:

Tharus claim that they are "*Satjugi*". It means they are the oldest inhabitants of the Terai. They said that they are treated badly by *Pahadies* and *Madheshis*. This type of feelings of Tharus not only point to an apparently conflict-prone multi-ethnic constellation in Swathi village but also indicates their strong identification of ethnic identity. The strong ethnic identity of Tharu is being eroded. They were included in the Hindu caste hierarchy (*Jat*) and being hinduized. Tharus have also accepted Hindu ideal as pure Hindu caste, caste hierarchical behaviors by migrants, keeping pigs which impure, Hindu puja such as *Satyanarayan*, and adopted marriage systems. Tharus describe how migrant Madhshis and Pahariya are having stereotypes about them. Migrants (Madheshi and Pahadi) use the insult language for Tharus such as people of forest (uncivilized), snail eaters, and *rat* eaters. This type of language hurts Tharus and brings about internal social conflict between them and migrants.

As speaking about the exploitation of Tharus labor, this has been prevalent from beginning. There is no any business work in the Tharu community. The Tharu products such as rice, paddy and other types of corn were sold to Indians. They buy their products at very low cost and got heavily earning margins in their products. Indian businesses men especially *Mahajans* from middle caste have been residing from that time. They continuously exploited their labors to date.

As observed, the political institutional relations between Tharus and two migrants groups brought about conflict between traditional political institution and modern formal political institutions. Tharus have been practicing *Pagari Pradhan* system and Badghariya system. When local government system is established, then there is power conflict between VDC chairman and *Pagari pradhan* as well as ward chairman and Badghariya. This type of conflict exists to date. The Tharus experience that their political organization is being destroyed by migrants. Most of the formal government institutions at local level are hold by Madheshi and Pahadis such as District Development Committee, Village Development Committee, and health service centers etc. The Tharus can't get services without entering to Madheshis' and Pahadis' network. Tharus could not get services from the formal government institutions because of the networks.

Tharus in general depend on the migrants' dominant caste of their locality which controls land, language, culture, economy and political power. Findings of the research attempt to show that whenever Tharus closely associates with the dominant group status among the rest of the non -Tharus caste, the social and political level and consciousness were considerably high.

Findings of Migration and Its Impact on Tharu Community:

There are different socio-cultural variables found to be changed on the basis of ethnographic description of Tharus. The analysis of the socio-cultural status of Tharus (from the household and individual survey and qualitative study) reveals that the socio-cultural dimensions of Tharus have been changing. The main cause of change is highlanders and cross broader migration in the inner-Terai. It is observed from the data that there are changes in marriage system, social-political organizations, culture, religion, birth and death rituals etc. The major findings of socio-cultural change are given below.

In the Swathi village, there were only four Tharus houses in 1950. They were named as '*Char Ghariya*' which means Tharus were only four houses where their social tie up used to be only among four houses. In an average 50 members were in a household. When the migration process took place in the village the family size of migrants had only 5-10

members. Tharus adopted the nuclear family norms of migrants which is influenced by migrants. This has been changing to date. The traditional occupation of indigenous Tharus is agriculture. During the non-migration period of the inner-Terai, almost all Tharus were involved in agricultural occupation. When the migration took place in the Tharus villages of Terai then agricultural shift is found. From the survey results of the study site, only 47 percent of respondents have involved in agriculture activities. In addition, the key issues of educational change on Tharus are found before and after 1950s. Before 1950s, very few and century ago no any Tharus were educated. But this study identified 7.5 percent of respondents have got SLC and above education. The educational institutional development has changed Tharus education system. In the beginning, Tharus were practicing *Gandharb Bibaha (no special procedure of marriage)*, Gauna and marriage. The gauna and marriage is that process where the marriage contract is done after birth of son and daughter. When son and daughter became 5-10 years old, *gauna* that means fixed of marriage contract. After a year, marriage is taken place. After staying one night, the wife returns back to birth home. She is not allowed to return back to husbands' home for one year. One year later, husband go to father in-laws' home and return back together. Marriage rituals complete within a year.

Findings of Migration, Tharus and Cultural Change:

The human actions and behaviors are guided by the religion. The religious orthodoxy has impact on the life of Tharus. The Tharus how they came from animist to Hindu is not easy answer. The historical documents have indicated the influence of migrant population from northern India and hill from the Nepal is main cause of religious change. At the beginning or before the migration into Terai, Tharus have started to adopt Hindu religion. This has changed when Buddhism came into existence. The Tharus had become Buddhist since 600 BC to before Mugal Empire in India. It is argued that high level of brutality of Mughals to Tharus, then the Tharus has changed their religion. Some of became Muslims and most of them became Hindus. In this study, it is found that all Tharus are Hindus. This is also biggest change of Tharus. Tharus are one of the pioneer indigenous people in the inner-Terai. They have own mother tongue. The structure of society and migration has contributed to change their mother tongue from different period of the history. The

result from the survey has shown that more than one third of respondents reported that their mother tongue is Bhojpuri. The indigenous Tharus did not wear any type's cloths at the beginning. As per the historical civilization of the society, they can wear cloths only in private organs. They wear *Dhoti-Kurta* by the influence of the Madheshi migrants. Now a day this type of dress is not found among youth Tharu boys. The young generations Tharus wear modern dress which is used by hill migrants in these days. The change in dress is found from beginning to date among Tharus people. Beside these, social and political organizations have also changed. However, Tharu activist tried to reestablish such as *Barghariya, Pagari Pradhan and Kulapani Chaudhary*. These types of social and cultural changes took place after the historical migration from 900 BC and highlander's migration during Shah-Rana period to date.

8.2 Conclusions

From the findings of the study, it is concluded that the migration has crucial role in social and cultural change of Tharus in inner-Terai. The society of Tharus became multicultural from Tharus culture by the migratory movement. It is also argued that the social and cultural change is possible when migration took place in traditional society. The process of cultural diffusion existed in traditional society by migration rather than other means. In the modern society, the cultural diffusion is supported by media, internet, modernization, demonstration of outsiders and globalization. Language, religion and culture are being changed due to the socio-cultural interaction between indigenous group and migrant groups. Thus, the Tharus social and cultural change and unequal social relationships are established by migratory movements of Pahadis and Madheshis in the inner-Terai.

Cultural diffusion processes have many dimensions. Among the various dimensions, migration is one of the most common factor which transforms society and culture within decade, century and more times. The migration of people had started since origin of Aryans. The agro-pastoral migration is the first migration process at the begging of Aryan. The cultural diffusion process is only possible at time. There was no any modern technology to diffuse cultural change from one place to another. So, that migration is major cause of the socio-cultural change of Tharu society and culture.

8.3 Areas for Further Research

This study describes about migration and its impact on Tharus society and culture. This study is only about changing social and cultural pattern of Tharus by migratory movement from hill to Terai and Madheshis into Terai. There is still area to study about economic change by migratory movement. Beside this, there are also areas for further research related to migration and its impact of environmental change, structural change, internal displacement, deforestation, socio-political conflict, and identity politics etc.

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Appendix-Ib: Quantitative Research Tools

Migration and Socio-Cultural Change of Tharus

Central Department Sociology/Anthropology (CDSA), T.U., Kirtipur, Kathmandu

M.A. Thesis

(Field Study: Swathi VDC of Nawalparasi District)

Individual Questionnaire

District: _____ VDC/Municipality: _____ Ward No.: _____
 Village/Tole: _____ Caste: _____ Cluster No.: _____ Interview _____
 Date:- Day : _____ Month: _____ Year:— _____
 Household Number : _____ Name,
 Surname and Signature of Interviewer: _____
 Name of Respondents: _____

Respondent agreed to be interviewed....1 Respondent did not agree to be interviewed....2

Name and Surname of Respondent: _____

Interview beginning Time : _____

Section: 1:- Perceptions Towards Social Issues

S.N.	Questions	Coding Categories	Skip
101.	Have you felt internally disturbed?	Yes.....1 No.....2 ----->	103
102.	Why do you feel so?	Due to scarcity-----1 Lack of desired work.....2 Feel dominated-----3	

		Injustice and subordinated-----4 Lack of basic needs-----5 Caste based discrimination----6 Others (specify)-----8	
103.	Are you living with dignity?	Yes.....1 -----→ No.....2	105
104.	If not why?	Due to poor.....1 Due to low caste people.....2 Due to illiterate3 Due to no job.....4 Due to youth-----5 Due to social discrimination---6 Others (specify).....8	
105.	Do community people have positive attitudes towards you?	Having positive attitude.....1 Having negative attitude-----2 Don't Know-----98	
106.	Are you affiliated in political party?	Yes.....1 No.....2-----→	110
107.	If you are affiliated in which position?	Chairman.....1 Vital Position except Chairman.....2 Executive member.....3 General member.....4 Moral supporter.....5 Others (specify).....6	
108.	What type of relation do you have with other political party's members?	Good.....1 Bad.....2	

		Not good not bad-----3 DK-----98	
109.	If having bad relation, what type of relation exists?	Quarreling.....1 Using abusive language.....2 Biting.....3 No communication---.....4 Having court cases-----5 Others (specify).....8	
110.	Are you affiliated with any organizations such as caste/ethnic/religious/regional etc,?	Yes.....1 No....2----->	113
111.	If you are affiliated, what type of organization is that?	Caste/ethnic based organization.....1 Regional identity based organization....2 Religious organization.....3	
112.	Why that type of organization is formed?	For establishing caste/ethnic identity.....1 For establishing regional identity..... 2 For collective action.....3 For access of resources.....4 For promoting religion.....5 Others (specify).....8	
113.	What type of relation is there between you and other community people? internally and externally	Internally: Yes-----1 No-----2 Externally: Yes-----1 No-----2	
114.	What to do for national integration of different caste/ethnic, religion and regional group?	Religious intolerance-----1	

		Dignity of low caste-----2 Social justice-----3 No discrimination-----4 To be helpful behavior-----5 Others (specify)-----8	
Section 2:- Structural Inequality			
201.	Is your livelihood fulfilled from your or your household annual income?	Yes-----1 -----> No-----2	203
202.	If not how do you manage?	Nothing to do.....1 Take loan.....2 Begging-----3 Others (specify).....8	
203.	In your village, any one died from lack of food and medicine?	Yes.....1 No.....2 If yes, how many -----	
204.	Who is responsible for your poor condition?	Government.....1 Village elites.....2 So called higher caste.....3 Others (specify)-----8	
205.	What types of discrimination do you feel?	Caste/ethnic.....1 Regional.....2 Cultural.....3 Economic.....4 Political.....5	

		Social.....6 Legal.....7 Religious.....8 Occupational.....9 Others (specify).....97	
206.	Did you cast vote in last election?	Yes.....1 No.....2-----→	209
207.	If you cast vote, freely or pressure?	Freely.....1 In pressure.....2	
208.	If you cast vote with pressure, who pressurised for vote?	Family members.....1 Neighbors.....2 Political party.....3 Village Elites-----4 Others (specify).....8	
209.	What is responsible for your obstacle of progress?	Lack of Job.....1 Caste/based organization.....2 Cultural deprivation.....3 Religion.....4 Political.....5 Economic.....6 Regional.....7 Linguistic.....8 Gender-----9 Others (specify).....97	
210.	Are you involved in CBOs/NGOs and civil society activities?	Yes.....1 No.....2-----→	Section 3

211.	How often do you attend in meetings?	Regularly.....1 Rarely.....2 Never.....3	
212.	How often do you attend caste/based organization/Dalits/ethnic/regional/women organization meetings?	Regularly.....1 Rarely.....2 Never.....3	
213.	How often do you participate in political parties' activities ?	Regularly.....1 Rarely.....2 Never.....3	
Section 3:- Resource Accessibility			
301.	Do you get civil rights as a citizen?	Yes.....1-----> No.....2	303
302.	If not who is responsible?	Government.....1 Political party.....2 Different armed force.....3 Citizen himself/herself.....4 Others (specify)-----8	
303.	Do you feel freedom, equality and fraternity ?	High level.....1 Little bit.....2 No feeling.....3	
304.	Do you have human rights violence events?	Yes.....1 No.....2---->	308
305.	If yes, who is responsible?	Government.....1 Political party.....2 Armed forces.....3	

		Village elites.....4 Caste and ethnic organization.....5 NGOs.....6 Others (specify).....8	
306.	What types of human rights violence?	Physical violence/bitting.....1 Mental torture.....2 No rights for difference.....3 Obstacle for social participation.....4 Obstacle of development participation.....5 Cultural violence.....6 Voting violence.....7 Untouchability.....8 No dignity.....9 Threatned.....10 Others (specify).....97	
307.	What type of actions did you do?	Revolt.....1 Appeal in court.....2 Appeal in village.....3 Made a police case.....4 Go to Village and ward.....5 Go to NGOs.....6 Others (specify)-----8	
308.	Do you feel peace in this condition?	Yes.....1 No2	
309.	Do you participated in development related or other types of committee?	Yes.....1	

		No.....2	
310.	If yes, in which committee?	Forest Consumer Comiittee.....1 Road/irrigation Committee.....2 Saving Credit Committee.....3 School Management Committee.....4 Local Club.....5 Women Group.....6 Caste Upliftment Commitee.....7 Village Committee.....8 Others (specify).....97	
311.	How often do you attend meetings in that committe?	Regularly.....1 Rarely.....2 Never.....3	
312.	Is your voice accomodated?	A little bit.....1 Full accomodation.....2 DK.....98	
313.	Do you have access to local resources such as land, forest, production etc.?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
314.	Do you participate in local development programmes?	Yes.....1 No.....2 ----->	317
315.	If you have participated, in which level?	High level.....1 Low level.....2 DK.....98	
316.	In which sector development process took place after 2047?	Road.....1 Irrigation.....2 Electrivcity.....3	

		<p>Infrastructures.....4</p> <p>Telephone.....5</p> <p>Awareness.....6</p> <p>Schools.....7</p> <p>Health.....8</p> <p>Industry and factory.....9</p> <p>Others (specify).....97</p>	
317.	In your opinion, can people participate in development activities?	<p>High level participation.....1</p> <p>Medium level.....2</p> <p>Low level.....3</p> <p>No participation.....4</p>	
318.	Have you ever visited government offices for any task?	<p>Yes.....1</p> <p>No.....2--></p>	Section-4
319.	If yes, which work?	<p>Citizenship.....1</p> <p>Passport.....2</p> <p>For recommendation.....3</p> <p>Land registration.....4</p> <p>For business purpose.....5</p> <p>Others (specify).....8</p>	
320.	What type of behavior that service provider performed?	<p>Demand money.....1</p> <p>Lately work performed.....2</p> <p>Ignorance.....3</p> <p>Used abusive language.....4</p> <p>No work.....5</p> <p>Others (specify)-----8</p>	
321.	What types of action did you do as reaction?	Nothing to do.....1	

		Appeal.....2 Appeal in organizations.....3 Others (specify).....8	
Section 4:- Personal Opinion			
401.	What is your desired occupation?	Public service commission.....1 Teacher/ Professor.....2 Armed Force.....3 Agriculture.....4 Business.....5 Politics.....6 Labour work.....7 Service.....8 Others (specify).....97	
402.	Which identity (individual, caste/ethnic, religious, cultural etc.) do you prefer?	Individual 1 Caste/ethnic 2 Religious 3 Cultural 4 Regional 5 Linguistic 6 Class based 7 Others (specify) 8	
403.	In your opinion, what types of freedom do you want? Individual freedom or collective freedom	Individual. 1 Caste based 2 Ethnic based 3 Cultural 4	

		Others (specify) 8	
404.	Do you want to be responsible for all community or own caste/ethnic/religious and others?	All community 1 Caste based 2 Ethnic based 3 Cultural/regional 4 Linguistic 5 Others (specify) 8	
405.	What do you do when your life expectations are not fulfilled?	Do handwork.....1 Acquiring education.....2 Do hard work and acquired education, if not fulfilled then tolerate.....3 Do hard work and acquired education, if not fulfilled then do armed struggle.....4 Others (specify).....8	
406.	What type of relation is there between you and other community people?	Good.....1 Bad.....2 Not good not bad.....3 Don't Know.....98	
407.	Have any other community people discriminated you as a low caste/class people?	Yes.....1 No.....2 Don't Know.....98	
408.	Have you ever been treated badly by other community people?	Yes.....1 No.....2 Don't Know.....98	
409.	What types of act do you perform for your progress?	Do anything.....1 Hard work and acquired education.....2 Armed struggle.....3	

		Affiliated political party.....4 Affiliated to caste/ethnic organization....5 Nothing to do.....6	
Section 5: Migration, Society and Culture			
501.	How long have you or your family residing in this palce?	No. of Years-----	
502.	Is migration positive matter?	Yes.....1 No.....2 Others (specify).....8	
503.	What are benefits of migration?	1. 2. 3.	
504.	What are the disadvantages of migration?	1. 2. 3. 4.	
505.	What do you feel when other community people migrate in your community?	Good.....1 Bad.....2 No any effect.....98	
506.	What type of relation is there between migrated community and you?	Good.....1 Bad.....2	
	Economic	Good.....1 Bad.....2	

	Social	Good.....1 Bad.....2	
	Political	Good.....1 Bad.....2	
	Religious	Good.....1 Bad.....2	
	Self-Esteem	Good.....1 Bad.....2	
507	Has any migrant community invaded your culture?	Yes.....1 No.....2---→ Don't Know.....98	509
508	If yes, what are the issues?	Language.....1 Social practices.....2 Fooding behavior.....3 Dress-up.....4 Cultural facets.....5	
509	Do you have internal disputes with other community people?	Yes.....1 No.....2 Don't Know.....98	
510	Can you maintain equal behavior (as same to own community) to other community people?	Yes.....1 No.....2 Don't Know.....98	
511	Is social harmony in this village ?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
512	Who are responsible for social disharmony in the community?	Political leaders.....1 Caste/ethnic organizations.....2	

		Religious leaders.....3	
		Regional leaders.....4	
		General people.....5	

Thank You

The End

Appendix-II: Qualitative Research Tools

Migration and Socio-Cultural Change of Tharus

Central Department Sociology/Anthropology (CDSA), T.U., Kirtipur, Kathmandu

M.A. Thesis

(Field Study: Swathi VDC of Nawalparasi District)

Checklist of IDI and FGD

Name of Participant:

Date:-----

Village:

1. Please tell me about your society and culture?

- a) Origin of yours
- b) Caste/ethnicity
- c) Clan
- d) Indigenous food and costume
- e) Indigenous educational system
- f) Changes on educational system

- g) Day to day life
- h) Economic life: agricultural tools
- i) Indigenous occupation
- j) Handicraft and tools
- k) Indigenous social, economic and political organizations

2. Culture and Religion

- a) Indigenous birth rites
- b) Indigenous naming of children
- c) Indigenous marriage practices
- d) Death rites
- e) Indigenous religion
- f) Festivals
- g) Folk dances
- h) Tharu literatures
- i) Folk song and folklores

3. Caste system and ethnic identity

4. Do you feel your social and cultural life is changing over time?

5. What are the areas of changes?

6. How do you perceive *Pahadi* migrants and Madheshi migrants?

7. Is your society and culture invaded by migrants?

8. Is there good relation between Tharus and other migrant population?

Appendix-III: List of Research Participants

1. Amrita Kalwar
2. Bhawani Shankar Faughdar
3. Bhola Chaudhary
4. Bimala BK
5. Gopal Dahit
6. Gopal Ghimire
7. Govind Faughdar
8. Mangal Chaudhary
9. Mira Chudhary
10. Mohamad Raffiqu Ansai
11. Nazamudin Ansari
12. Pramod Regmi
13. Rabindra Das
14. Ramila Kawanwar
15. Ranjit Kumar
16. Rasmi Yadav
17. Roshan Paswan
18. Rubina Rokaya
19. Sahadev Karn
20. Sita Chaudahary

21. Som Kumar Chaudhary

22. Sujit Ram

23. Sukdev Kunwar

24. Sunita Devi Ram

APPENDIXES

Appendix-Ia: Quantitative Research Tools

Migration and Socio-Cultural Change of Tharus

Central Department Sociology/Anthropology (CDSA), T.U., Kirtipur, Kathmandu

M.A. Thesis

(Field Study: Swathi VDC of Nawalparasi District)

Household Questionnaire

District: ----- VDC: ----- Ward No. ----- Village/Tole: Caste/ethnic Group: ----- Date of Interview: ----- Time started interview: ----- Interviewed HH No.: ----- Name of Respondent:-----

Interviewers Name: -----

Now we would like to have some information about all family members on the basis of following Details (Record detail information of all family members, use next sheet if needed)

S. N.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	Name of the Household Members (Starting from Head of the Household)	Relationship to Head of the Household	Age	Sex Male.....1 Female.....2	Highest grade of school (Name) has completed?	(If age between 5 to17) Is (Name) currently attending School?	(If age over 11) Does (Name) have got married? Yes....1 No.....2	Was he/her Married in Same Caste/Ethnic Group?	(If age over 14) What does (Name) do now?	Migration 1.>100 Yrs. 2. 50-100 Yrs. 3. < 50	Remarks

						Yes....1 No.....2				Yrs.	
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											

Code for Relationship (Q.2): 1.Head 2.Husband/Wife 3.Son/Daughter 4.Daughter-in-law/Son in-law 5.Grand Child 6. Father/Mother 7.StepFather/Stepmother 8.Brother/Sister 9.Sister-in-law/ Brother –in-law 10. Nephew/Niece 11.Servant 12.Others (specify)

Code for Educational Attainment (Q.5): (If age 5 and above), 0.Less than grade 1, 1.Illiterate 2.Literate (Never attended school)3. Primary Level 4.Lower-Secondary Level 5. Secondary Level 6. SLC or Intermediate 7.Bachelor and above

Code for Occupation/Work (Q.6): (If age 5 and above), 1. Agriculture (own) 2. Agriculture labour 3. Non Agriculture labour 4.Service 5. Teacher 6.Foreign employee 7. Work in India 8. Petty Business 9. Gold Smith 10. Black Smith 11. Tailor 12. Student 13. Cobbler 14. Idle 15. Others (specify)

Code for Marital Status (Q.9): (If Age above 10), 1.Unmarried 2. Currently Married 3.Widow/Wodower 4.Separated/Divorced 5. Not having Gauna (Married but never living with her husband) 6. Others (specify)

S.N.	Questions	Coding Categories	Skip
12.	What is your mother tongue?	Nepali.....1 Bhojpuri.....2 Maithili.....3 Awadhi.....4 Hindi.....5 Tharu.....6 Others (specify).....96	
13.	What are the languages spoken in your family? (Multiple Response)	Nepali.....A Bhojpuri.....B Maithili.....C Awadhi.....D Hindi..... E Tharu..... F Others (specify).....y	
14.	Can you speak/understand Nepali Language?	Only can speak.....1 Only can understand.....2 Both.....3 Can't Speak/understand.....4	
15.	What is your religion?	Hindu.....1 Buddhist.....2 Christian.....3 Muslim.....4 Others (specify).....6	
16.	Does your family have own land? (Probe this question)	yes.....1 No.....2 →	17

27.	Is the total income from farming and animals enough for your family's livelihood for a whole year?	Enough.....1 → Not Enough.....2	26
28.	If not enough, how long will it be enough to carry on?	Less than 3 months.....1 3 to 6 months.....2 6 to 9 months.....3	
29.	How do you manage the shortage? (Multiple response)	Agriculture (Own).....A Agricultural labour.....B Non agricultural Labour.....C Others (specify)_____ D	