

**Social Pressure Experienced by Inter-caste Couples: A Comparative Study of
Hypergamous and Hypogamous Marriages In Mabeni Khola, Myagdi**

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

This is to certify that Ms. Puja Malla has completed her dissertation entitled “**Social Pressure Experienced by Inter-caste Couples: A Comparative Study of Hypergamous and Hypogamous Marriages In Mabeni Khola, Myagdi**” under my guidance and supervision in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts in Sociology. I hereby, recommend this dissertation for final approval and acceptance.

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LETTER OF APPROVAL

This Dissertation entitled “**Social Pressure Experienced by Inter-caste Couples: A Comparative Study of Hypergamous and Hypogamous Marriages In Mabeni Khola, Myagdi**” submitted by Ms. Puja Malla has been evaluated and accepted by the following evaluation committee as a requirement for the partial fulfillment of the requirements Master Degree of Arts in Sociology.

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Puja Malla
February, 2020

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that dissertation entitled “**Social Pressure Experienced by Inter-caste Couples: A Comparative Study of Hypergamous and Hypogamous Marriages In Mabeni Khola, Myagdi** ” submitted by me to the Central Department of Sociology, Tribhuvan University, is an entirely original work prepared under the guidance and supervision of Dr. Youba Raj Lintel (Associate Professor). I have made due acknowledgements to all idea and information borrowed from different sources in the course of writing this thesis. The result presented in this study has not been submitted and presented anywhere else for the award of any degree or other reasons. I am solely responsible if any evidence is found against my declaration.

Puja Malla
February, 2020

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Caste, one of the most important part of the identity in Nepal, is the complex social system that combines elements of endogamy, occupation, culture. The are various caste group lived together. This paper aims to explore about caste system. Specifically, how it is functioning. Particularly in the relationship between Dalit and non-Dalit (inter-caste marriage).

According to Indian Sociologist G. S Ghure (1950), Hindu society is divided into groups known as caste. Caste is a group with a well-developed life of its own. the membership unlike that of voluntary associations and of classes was determined not by selection but by birth.

Caste system is still a dominant and rigid social system in Nepal. In which membership is determined by birth. In Hindu religion there is caste system, where Brahmin are in top of the hierarchy and Sudra/Dalit are in lower position. The word “caste” is to define the system of social organization found in traditional regional societies of India and among adjacent Hindu and related populations in the territories of Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri-lanka and surviving to a large extent to the present day (Subedi, 2011).

Caste based discrimination and inequality is one of the major problem in Nepal. ‘caste discrimination and untouchability has remained a fact of everyday life in the world’s only Hindu kingdom’ (Gurung, 2005). And marriage is not exceptional. Marriage is considered as social, religious, spiritual and legal union of individuals. It is an institution in which interpersonal relationship (usually intimate and sexual) are acknowledge by the state and religious authority of both society and state (Paudel, 2018).

Marriage is the system in which man is allowed to marry only in his own caste groups under Hinduism. There are many kinds of marriages. Monogamy marriage in which man/ women marries with only one and monogamy is practiced in Nepal. Polygamy marriage in which man marries more than one. Polyandry marriage in which women marries more than two. And group marriage in which group of women marry group of men. Endogamy marriage; man or women marries within a same caste group. Exogamy marriage; inter-caste marriage (Sanjel, 2073).

Other types of marriages are also exist in our society. Hypergamy marriage also call ‘Anuloma’ is a practice in which high caste men marry a low caste women than themselves. In the case of hypergamy normally social status (occupation, wealth and prestige also) is higher than that women. Another is hypogamy call as (Pratiloma) refers to the inverse of hypergamy, that low caste men marrying with high caste women (Acharya, 2068).

According to Kansakar and Ghimire (2008) inter-caste marriage is a characteristic of society where individuals take precedence over family and is thus about moving away from the accepted norm-the caste hierarchy (Kansakar and Ghimire, 2008).

According to Luintel (2018) in his report states that Jumla provides a unique case of socially sanctioned inter- caste marriage. The existence of a caste group called 'Bitalu' is a case of hypergamous inter caste marriage between a "high" caste man and a dalit women. He mentions that children born from Brahmin men and Thakuri women called as Hamal. Children born from high caste men and Dalit women called Bitalu and children born from Dalit men and high caste women as submersion of the women into the caste position of the man (luintel, 2018)

Inter-caste marriage means marriage outside one's own caste boundary- an act that would have implications on the caste status of the children. When two people in love get married, caste lines disappear. Such couples are determined to face all odds and stigma from society to get married. Since inter-caste marriage is by choice, it reflects freedom to choose one's life partner (luintel, 2018).

Marriage between two people from different caste groups is the inter-caste marriage. Our constitution has guaranteed equal rights to marry in own choice but marriage is the central process and strictly in the hand of family. They do not allow their children's choice on marriage. According to Luintel (2018), while inter-caste marriage is assumed to be uncommon in Nepal, they do occur. Since long time inter-caste marriages have been a part of social reality- although not widely and without social welcome. This research focuses on the to what extent inter-caste marriages are accepted by the families and variation on hypergamous and hypogamous marriage.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In caste system most of the group are further divided in to a number of sub- groups, where everyone of which group forbids its member to marry persons from outside of it. Each of these groups are known as sub- caste orendogamous. This principle of strict endogamy is a dominant aspect of caste- society that led to regard endogamy as the essence of the caste system (Ghure, 1950).

The physical features of Nepal in many ways have been decisive in shaping it's culture. For the majority of its people the culture is derived from Hinduism. Nepali caste rules normally prescribe isogamy for its member. Caste endogamy is thus held sacrosanct because heredity is basic to the concept of caste- purity (Sharma, 2004).

My research field Myagdi district, where I was born and raised in, is heterogeneous community. Many caste group lived together (mostly Magar, Brahmin, chhetri, Thakuri, Gurung, Dalit, Newar, Thakali). According to the census of 2068 total population of district is 1,13,641. My village lies at western part of Gandagi Pradesh province number 4. When I was in 4 class, one day I returned from school with my friends, I saw my cousin aunty with another women who greets her and talked to each-other. I was curious and asked to 'aunty' who is that women. She replied that she is a cousin sister of my father, who got married with Dalit boy. I never saw her in any festivals or any occasions like other aunties.

Then I came home and asked about her with my mother. Her story began, when she ran away with Dalit (Sarki) boy. Her family cut off all the relations and our clan families also couldn't talk about her. It's been many years but she was never invited to any rituals, ceremony or festivals. That's why we were unknown about her. Even I didn't know that she belongs from our clan. This incident touched me so much. Because of her marital status with Dalit boy How could her own family members cut all the relations ?. Is this same to everyone who gets married with Dalit boy or girl ? If they accepted, then in what extent ?. To fulfill that curiosity, I choose the title 'inter-caste marriage between Dalit-and non-Dalit' for my research in Master's degree.

Caste plays a very important role in the selection of mates in marriage but nowadays, there are increases in trend of inter-caste marriage. The urban residence, education, employment in modern occupation and middle class economic background tend to be set of attributes affecting the incidence of inter-caste marriage. Inter-caste married couples are looked upon as social deviants and usually punished for rejecting the prevalent norms of society (Paudel, 2018). But Gupta (2004) argues that inter-caste marriages lead to a blurring of the differences between different caste groups and disturb the recognized caste hierarchies.

Normally Inter-caste marriage is almost impossible as it carries social disgrace in Nepal. But trend of inter-caste marriage is increasing day by day. The most important thing is that inter-caste marriage shows the changing pattern of caste system. Inter-caste marriage indicates the long term structural changes of our society.

1.3 Research Question:

After reading a body of literature on caste system this research aims to understand inter-caste marriage by examining hypergamous and hypogamous marriages aimed at discerning patterns of commonality and differences in it.

General research question

What is the status of inter-caste marriage in Mabeni Kholo? Do hypergamous and hypogamous inter caste marriages entail any variations in terms of their implications to married couples? If it does, what variations exist ?

Specific research questions

- a) Does particular caste/ethnic belongingness of the couples involved in such inter-caste marriages have any implications on the extent of acceptance or rejection of such marriages ? If so, what is the social dynamics behind this ?
- b) What extent of social pressure the couples (and their families) involved in inter-caste marriages experience?
- c) If the social acceptance of such a marriage improves over time what factors contribute to the improving relationship (with their family)?

Chapter Two Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual discussion on caste system

2.1.1 Caste as a system of social stratification and hierarchy

There is an ongoing debate about caste system in terms of stratification (which includes transformation of life style, occupation, rituals status) and hierarchy (in which according to caste or surname Brahmin were in the top of the ranking and dalit were in lower position of ranking). Another is the notion of purity and pollution.

Sociologist Dipankar Gupta in his article 'hierarchy and difference', writes that caste system is seen as an example of social stratification. The caste system separates and hierarchizes Hindus. Rituals, dress, tonsorial style, marriage practice and host of other such phenomena help in socially separating one caste from others (Gupta, 2000:2).

Like Gupta (2000), Pillai (1982) also argues that Caste is a form of social stratification characterized by endogamy, hereditary transformation of a life style which often includes an occupation, rituals status in a hierarchy, customary social interaction and exclusion based on cultural notion of purity and pollution. Pillai's main claim is that caste system is a system of social stratification (Pillai,1982).

The Hindu caste system defined as a hierarchy of endogamous division in which membership is hereditary and permanent. Here hierarchy includes inequality both in status and in access to goods and services. There are rigid rules of avoidance between castes and certain types of contacts are defined as contaminating.

There is a hierarchy and Brahmin are on top of the ranking. The status of a person depend not on his wealth as in classes but on the traditional importance of the caste in which he /she had the luck of being born. (Ghure,1950) The crucial fact is that caste status is determined by birth. Membership in them is ascribed and unalterable (subedi,2008).

According to Ghurye (1950) there are some typical features of caste system:

- a. Segmental division of society,
- b. Hierarchy
- c. Restrictions of feeding and social intercourse
- d. Restriction choice of occupation
- e. Restriction on marriage
- f. civil and religious disabilities and privileges of the different sections

Ghure (1950) observes caste relationship as being grounded on hierarchal division of society in which civil and religious privileges as well as disabilities are inherently fixed to a member of particular caste group.

Celestin Bougle (1971) also argues that caste system consisting of hierarchically arranged hereditary groups separated from each other in certain respect, caste endogamy, restriction of eating together and physical contact but interdependent with each other. According to Bougle caste is a unique result of composing common underlying features in a particular way. For Madan (2000) caste, which undoubtedly stands for inequality, in theory as well as practice. The inequality of the caste system is a special type of inequality and the sociologist's principle task is to unpack its nature.

Following the idea of Bougle (1971) hierarchy is the key stone in the caste system for Dumont. He defines hierarchy as the superiority of the pure over impure. For him caste is a social system on which the elements of whole castes are hierarchically ranked in relation to the whole caste structure. As cited by T.N Madan (2000), in his article Dumont on the nature of the caste, Dumont concludes by asserting that hierarchy is a universal necessity and it is not formally recognized in society. It may assert itself in a pathological form. But there arises the problem in the context of Dumont's method is his use of ethnographical materials. (Madan, 2000)

But Gerald D. Barreman (2000), criticizes Dumont for using secondary data and for distortion of nature of caste as it is experienced by those who live it. Barreman said that there is tension, struggle between those who were in top in the ranking position and lower in the hierarchy. He criticized Dumont's also for putting traditional Brahminical view point on the pure hierarchy but it has not and perhaps cannot. Dumont failed to see that each caste valued itself. (Barreman, 2000)

2.1.2 Caste as a System of Social Purity and Pollution :

Bougle (1971) argue that repulsion, hierarchy and hereditary specialization are the three important characteristics of the caste system. As cited by Gupta (2000) according to Bougle spirit of the caste system is determined by mutual repulsion that exist between caste. Repulsion, Bougle argues that manifested itself in endogamy, commensal restriction and even contact. But Gupta (2000) criticized him for not seeing any problem in the coexistence of hierarchy with repulsion.

However as cited by T.N Madan, Dumont stresses the importance of recognizing these three feature mention by Bougle (1971) as mutually entailed resting on one fundamental conception. Dumont maintains the opposition of the pure over impure. He further says that "this opposition underlies hierarchy, which is the superiority of the pure to impure, separation because the pure and impure must kept separate and underlies the division of labour because pure and impure occupation must likewise be kept separated. The whole is founded on the necessary and hierarchical coexistence of the two opposites"(Madan, 2000)

According to Hofer (2004) the Brahmin's purity is only relational, it only exists in relation to the untouchable's impurity. Between two poles, Brahmins and untouchables, there is practically unlimited number of status position (caste) possible. The status gradation within the hierarchy

result from a series of oppositions, from a diversity of criteria all of which can be attributed to the fundamental dichotomy pure/ impure.

Sharma, (2004) argue that castes are ranked endogamous division of society in which membership is hereditary and permanent. Caste membership is not indispensable for those who are seeking to upgrade their mobility. Caste more importantly needs to fulfill such characteristic as traditional occupation, commensality rules and ritual purity.

2.1.3 Caste as a system of power and wealth:

Dipankar Gupta (2000), says that caste have throughout history gone up and down depending upon the exigencies of power and wealth, (p.p xiii). Within a caste of jats there is a strong sense of rivalry and competition between different clans, or khaps within a caste. Caste today has a different context in which they can express their identity driven politics through urbanization. Caste identities are expressed differently from the ways they did before (pp. xix). His major argument is that caste has not changed, but the potentialities that were always there within this stratificatory system are now out in the open and in full view. Caste identities are found a ways of expressing themselves now in politics, in economics, hierarchy, justice and even in equality so that caste system became weak.

But as cited by Madan (2000), Dumont suggests that caste should be deemed to be present only where the disjunction between status and power is present and where castes exhaust the entire society. An inventory of source of change in the caste system lists juridical and political changes, social-religious reform, westernization, growth of modern professions, urbanization, spatial mobility, and the growth of market economy. But despite all these factors making for change the most ubiquitous and general form that change has taken in contemporary times is one of the mixture or combination of traditional and modern features.

Criticizing Dumont, Berreman (2000) says that special circumstances can lead to apparent anomalies, relatively weak but respected Brahmin and relatively powerful Sudras. Berreman argues that usually status and power go together or power and status are two sides of the same coin. He gives the example of Gonds(tribe) are incorporated in to the caste system as untouchables except where as a group, they have retained power in the form of land; then they are Raj Gonds and adopt more or less suitable hierarchal symbols of behavior to justify that status.

Another sociologist F.G Bailey (1957) argues that power is concentrated in the hand of dominant caste. One caste has direct control over economic resources and it alone has corporate political existence; other castes derive their living by a dependent relationship upon the dominant caste and they have no corporate political existence. They are the individual client of a masters in the dominant caste.

Barreman (2000) and Nicholas. B. Dirks (2001), have similar conclusions. According to Dirks both cultural meanings and the political uses of caste have gradually been changed as a result of popular resistance by people and political initiatives from the state. Caste however is different things for different people and place in India. i.e caste in tamil Nadu and Maharastra is matter of

political and social mobilization and it is prominent fact of social life in Uttarpradesh and Bihar (Dirks, 2001)

2.2 Caste system in Nepal

One of the prominent sociologist of Nepal, Gopal Singh Nepali (1955) in his book the *Newars* argues that, though we hear of varna and jati from the early times. It is only in the 14 century that caste was organized on a uniform basis in Nepal. It was king Jayastithi Malla who with the Help of five brahamins from the Indian plains, organized the society of the valley into four varnas and 64 castes, on the basis of hereditary occupations and genealogies (Nepali,1965). Subedi (2011) has described birth, ascribed social status and occupation, marriage endogamy and food transaction rules as attributes of caste system in Nepal.

According to Dahal (2010), historically it is difficult to provide the reliable information on ethnic/caste groups of Nepal for two reasons; 1. History of unified Nepal begins only after 1798. And no anthropological linguistic survey has been carried out in Nepal to date to note the various ethnic/ caste groups and their mother tongues. In his article social composition of the population caste/ ethnicity and religion in Nepal, Dahal mentions five groups; caste origins hindu group (hill hindu, terai hindu,middle caste hindu group), the Newars, the Janajatis, Muslims and other small religious groups.

But one of the Marxist scholar Aahuti writes in his book entitled ‘Varna system and class struggle in Nepal’, that “it is believed that the varna system was founded in the Indian subcontinent about 3,500 years ago. Around 600 BC, untouchability seemed to have been imposed on the varna susem. In this process about two thousand years ago during the reign of king Manu, varna system with untouchability was rigidified to divide the bottom-most working class and to perpetuate the oppressive rule of the exploiter class, the so-called high caste” (Aahuti,2014:63). He argues that it has been historically proven that Varna system entered into the present day Nepal along with the Indian Hindu rulers and their subjects. He further says that oppression and exploitation is the feature of Varna system. Discussion on Nepali Dalit are mainly limited to untouchability and discrimination and this limitation does not allow to go into the roots of Dalit problems. Aahuti Argues that to understand the situation of Dalit it is necessary to identify the position of Dalit in the relations of production. Such attempt will show how Dalit are grounded at bottom of the system of feudal and semi-feudal relations of production. The central problem in the economic field of Dalit is exclusion from means of production, prohibition of choice of occupation, according to one’s wishes and needs due to untouchability and discrimination. The Hindu feudal rule organized the rulling high- caste chauvinist Brahmin-Kshatriya as feudal class and the Adivasi- Janajati, who were termed Matwali/ Vaisya as working class alongside poor peasants, land slave peasants, and tenant peasants. Dalit group to remain as landless peasants or rural proletariat class (Aahuti, 2014).

Here is some caste hierarchal grading system of population:

- Brahmin- teach vedas, performs rituals
- Kshetriya- fight to enemies

- Vaishya – produce wealth for Brahamin and Khetriya
- Sudra- maintainance service, (Ghurey, 1950)

Gellner (2007) argues that, ‘In Nepal as nearly everywhere in India, everyone knows what caste or ethnic group they belong to. Of course some people maybe attempting to pass as higher caste; successful, collective upward mobility has happened in the past. And there are a few nationalist nepalis who have adopted non-caste surnames (including Nepali). But these minor exceptions apart, it is largely taken for granted fact of life that everyone has a caste or ethnic identity’. None the less in the officially correct sphere, caste has not been a respectable source of identity for some time. A shared national identity was supposed to define all Nepalis until 1990 (Gellner, 2007).

One of the prominent scholars of Nepal Prayag Raj Sharma writes in his book, ‘State and Society in Nepal’ that like Hindu societies elsewhere, Nepal is also a stratified society consisting of its hierarchically arranged caste ranking (Sharma, 2004).

2.2.1 Caste Structure in Nepal

I have reviewed some argument about caste system above. Here are some point of views on who Dalit are actually? One of the Dalit writer Aahuti said that the famous Indian leader Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar, was the first person to use Dalit as common term to identify the many castes that were made untouchables by the varna system. Around 1927 under his leadership the term Dalits was extensively used. In Nepali and Hindi language Dalits generally means despised, oppressed and distressed. In Asian countries with Hindu population especially in Nepal and India the poorest and most oppressed people are dalits. Settlements of Dalits are in harshest lands. Dalits are not allowed inside most temples. They are not allowed to touch public wells, taps and water holes, they need to use separately. Where separate water sources are not available they need to stay away and ask with higher caste (Aahuti, 2014).

Another sociologist Krishna B. Bhattachan, writes in his article ‘caste- based discrimination in Nepal’ that ‘The word dalit is widely used both at national and international levels. However, Nepal Government, international aid agencies and academics used many terms to refer to Dalits. Dalits form groups which have received most inhuman treatment from the high caste through caste- based discriminations, including untouchability. Some terms such as *pani nachalne*, *acchoot*, *patiganit* and *tallo jat* (low caste), *utpidit* (oppressed). Dalits form the groups which have received most inhuman treatment from the high castes through caste-based discrimination, including untouchability. The term dalit represents struggle for equity and equality. Dalit must be used as long as caste based discrimination including untouchability continues to exit in Nepal’ (Bhattachan, Sunar and Kanti, 2009).

According to scholar Harka Gurung, the word Dalit is used in Nepal to identify a vulnerable and poor groups of people, who are discriminated against on the basis of their caste (Gurung, 2005). Hofer (2004) MA, defines lower caste/ dalit as *Bitulo* (as an adjective for the water which has come into contact with someone belonging to impure caste of category hence water is unacceptable).

However, Dalits are the member of untouchable who belong to lowest social group in Hindu caste system. Who are culturally, religiously in same framework but discriminate on the basis of occupation, marriage, and participation etc.

2.2.3 Legal provision on caste system in Nepal:

I had put many different view points of some scholars on caste system, and on the term of Dalits above. Now I am going to talk about legal provision of caste from M.A to recent development, in surface.

The constitution of Nepal 2072 guarantees equal rights to every citizen. The preamble of constitution 2072 mentions that protecting and promoting social and cultural solidarity, tolerance and harmony, and unity in diversity by recognizing the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-cultural and diverse regional characteristic, resolving to build an egalitarian society founded on the proportional inclusive and participatory principle in order to ensure economic equality, prosperity and social justice, by eliminating discrimination based on class, caste, region, language, religion and gender and all forms of caste based untouchability. In part 3 of chapter 18 right to equality 2. No discrimination shall be made in the application of general laws on grounds of origin, religion, race, caste, tribe, sex, physical condition, condition of health, marital status, pregnancy, economic condition, language or region, ideology or on similar grounds.

In chapter 24 of the constitution there is right against untouchability and discrimination; article 1 of the chapter 24 states that, no person shall be subjected to any form of untouchability or discrimination in any private and public places on grounds of his or her origin, caste, tribe, community, profession, occupation or physical condition. And article 2 of chapter 24 states that, in producing or distributing any goods, services of facilities, no person belonging to any particular caste or tribe shall be prevented from purchasing or acquiring such goods, service or facilities be sold distributed or provided only to the person belonging to any particular caste or tribe. Article 3 states that no act purporting to demonstrate any person or community as superior or inferior on grounds of origin. And article 4 states no discrimination in any form allowed at workplace with or without making untouchability on grounds of caste. if any act of untouchability and discrimination in any form is committed in contravention of this article shall be punishable by law as a severe social offence and the victim of such act shall have the right to obtained compensation in accordance with law. (www.lawofcommission.gov.np)

The 1990 constitution's term Bahujatiya, translated as "multiethnic" in the official translation, itself embedded in the complexities of Nepal's diverse mosaic of ethnic, caste and other communities. Article 11 presents the terms relating to such community 1. All citizens shall be equal before law. No person shall be denied equal protection of the law 2. No discrimination shall be made against any citizen in the application of general laws on grounds of religion(dharma), race(varn) sex, caste (jat), tribe(jati) or ideological conviction or any of them. 3. The state shall be not discriminate among citizens on grounds of religion, race, sex, caste, tribe, or ideological conviction or any of these. (Ellingson,1991)

But According to Bhattachan, Sunar and Kanti, the constitutional history of Nepal begins from 1948. Presently, Nepal is governed by constitution of Nepal 2072. The constitution promulgated before 1990 had no meaningful provisions for elimination of caste based discrimination. The constitution of 1990 was the product of people's movement that reinstated democracy in Nepal. the sub article 4, focused on Dalit as it ensured that no one shall be discriminated on the basis of caste and creed in public, and in the use of public properties; indeed violators shall be punishable by law. However, article 19 prohibited change of religion, implying an imposition that Dalits should continue to be Hindus. Article 33(D) of the interim constitution 2007 was Amended for proportional share to marginalized groups- Madhesis, Dalits, Indigenous people, labour, peasants, women, disables and backward classes and regions. (Bhattachan, sunar and kanti, 2009)

Now caste based discrimination and untouchability (offence and punishment) Act 2068 was implemented in Nepal to eliminate caste based discrimination. In chapter 4 of this act 1, if any one commits or cause to commit any act as refered to in this section on the ground of custom, tradition, religion, culture, rituals, caste race, descent, community or occupation shall be deemed to have committed caste- based discrimination and untouchability. In chapter 5 there is provision of complaint: A person who finds that someone has committed or is going to commit an offence as refered to in section 4, may lodge a complaint in nearby policy office as prescribed. In chapter 7. Whosoever commits an offence pursuant to sub section 2,3,4,5,6 or 7 of section 4 shall be liable to the punishment of imprisonment for a term from one thousand rupees to twenty five thousand or both (www.lawofcommision.gov.np).

Legal code/ Muluki Ain 1854 made by Jung Bahadur Rana is mechanism for social mobility had been provided within the Hindu caste framework. The purpose of code was to ensure that uniform punishment is awarded to all subjects and creatures, high or low, according to nature of their offences and their caste. These laws has been in practice only since the middle of the last century. A standardization in law was felt necessary by the codifier, and while Jung Bahadur's visit to England in 1850 had enlightening effect on improving legal procedures as well as on making punishment comparatively lenient on some offences, the code on the whole, appears to have reverted to an even greater Hindu orthodoxy (Sharma, 2004).

In legal code only from chapter no. 87 onwards does MA deal thoroughly with purity rules and inter-caste relations. It settles the questions referring to the acceptance of food and water, the drinking of alcohol and sharing of the hookah. Chapter 89 prescribes who is allowed to give absolution in cases of caste offences (degradation, imprisonment, fine). Chapter 90 deals with violation of commensality rules, chapter 91 with the right to wear the holy cord. The remaining 66 chapters deal with sexual relation, both intra-caste and inter-caste, such as marriage, inter-caste marriage (between person of different caste affiliation) divorce, incest, pre and extramarital intercourse, rape etc (Hofer, 2004).

Nepal government has implements muluki samhita 2074 from 1 Bhadra 2075. In criminal code of 2074 chapter 10 article 160 there is a point of discrimination and untouchability. It states that no person shall be subjected to any form of untouchability or discrimination on the ground of his or her origin, caste, tribe, community, profession and occupation. If any one commits an offence they should be liable to punishment of imprisonment for three years to thirty thousand rupees or both.

As cited by Hofer according to Muluki Ain, the caste groups were as follows;

1. The caste group of wearer of the holy cord (tagadhari); upadhyaya Brahmin, Rajput (thakuri) (warrior), jaisi Brahmin, chetri (kshatriya, warrior), dew bhaju (newar Brahmin), indian Brahmin, ascetic sects (sanyasi etc), lower jaisi who wear holy cord (janai)
2. The caste group of non - enslavable alcohol-drinkers (namasinya/Matwali); Magar, Gurung, Sunuwar, some other newar castes
3. The caste group of enslavable alcohol-drinkers (masinya/matwali); Bhote, Chepang, Kumai, Hayu, Tharu, Gharti

These three groups were categorised as pure caste (chokho/ Jat) or water acceptable caste (pani calnya/ jat)

4. Impure but touchable castes (pani nacalnya choi chito halnu naparnya); kasai, kusle , hindu dhobi, kulu, musulman
5. Impure and untouchable castes (pani nachalnya choi chito halnu parnya); kami, sarki, kadara, damai, kandara , gaine, badi, pore, chyame. these two group were categorised as impure caste or water-unacceptable castes (pani nacalnya jat)

M.A define pure as sapha, sudda or chokho pani chalne and impure means water unacceptable, jutho or bitulo jat (Hofer Andras, 2004).

There has been a long debate in the literature over whether the caste system is unique social phenomena or simply one manifestation of processes of social stratification which have a wider generality (Subedi, 2011). There are many arguments about caste system. Some said that it is changing (becoming weak) and some said hierarchy is universal and important.

2.3 Caste and Social Change

Social change is the change of culture and social institution over time. Social change happens all the time. Social changes may include changes in nature, social behaviors, social institution and social relations.

One of the prominent sociologist Norbert Elias (1994) argues that theorizing about the structure and controls of human affects are usually content to use as evidence observations from the more developed societies. The standard and pattern of affect controls in societies at different stages of development and even in different strata of the same societies can differ. We are concerned with the development of European countries which has lasted for centuries or so- called developing countries, which gives the question how and why the affectivity of human behavior and experience, the control of individual affects by external and internal constraints. At the forefront

of sociological interest at present are relatively short- term processes and usually only problem relating to a given state of society. Long term transformations of social structure and personality structure have by and large been lost to view. According to him main direction in the structural changes of societies may be distinguished; towards increased differentiation and integration and towards decreased differentiation and integration. And third type of social process in which structure of a society is changed but without increase or decrease in the level of differentiation or integration. And finally he said that there are countless changes in society which do not involve a change in its structure.

Elias (1994) focusing on social structure and personality structure, further argues that there is lack of theories based on empirical evidence to explain the types of long term social change. He says that the concept of social change that does not distinguish clearly between changes that relate the structural change of society and those that do not and further between structural changes without a specific direction and those which follow a particular direction over many generation e.g toward greater or lesser complexity- is a very inadequate tool of sociological inquiry (Elias, 1994).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the concept of evolution assumed a central place in explanation of human development in both social and biological science. According to the founding father of sociology Auguste Comte human race goes through three stages: Theological; in this first stage people evoke supernatural entities and powers as responsible for earthly events. **The second metaphysical:** when people replace gods with abstract causes and essences, fundamental principle of reality as conceived by reason. **The third Positive stage** is reached when people evoke laws based on empirical evidence, observation (Sztompka, 1993).

Another scholar (classical sociologist) Herbert Spencer said that the 'Evolution is definable as change from an incoherent homogeneity to a coherent heterogeneity'.

For famous scholar, Lewis Morgan, the history of mankind follows three distinct phases: **savagery, barbarism and civilization.** In savagery, simple subsistence, gathering fruits and nuts, discovery of fire and fishing methods, invention of bow and arrow for hunting occurs. **During barbarism,** domestication of animals, irrigation as new agriculture and the product of iron and iron tools takes place. And in civilization invention of phonetic alphabetical and art of writing (Sztompka, 1993) happens.

Another founding father of sociology Emile Durkheim, following Spencer's strategy proposes another dichotomous typology of societies. Mechanical solidarity is rooted in similarity of undifferentiated function and tasks, organic solidarity is rooted in the complementary, co-operation, mutual indispensability. His main arguments is history moves from 'mechanical solidarity' to 'organic solidarity' (Coser, 2002). But there is some weakness of classical evolutionist : such as the assumption of all human society as the entity undergoing evolutionary change was put in doubt by the growing evidence of plurality, heterogeneity of human population. And the over- integrated organic image of society was undermined by the common observation of conflicts, and tensions (Sztompka, 1993).

The conflict perspective can be best to understand social change. Founder of conflict theory Karl Marx, believed that the history of society could best be understood as a dialectical process, but material dialectic. Social changes take place based on the antagonistic class relation on ownership

of the means of production; between the haves and have not. And this class struggle leads to an evolutionary change. According to Marx, society, comprises a moving balance of antithetical forces that generate social changes by its tension and struggle (Noble, 2000).

According to Talcott Parsons, society is a system surrounded by three other systems – personality, the organism and culture. There is a social equilibrium when these three systems are maintained and social change is the result of breaking/ malfunction of these systems (Wallace and Wolf, 2006).

For Wallerstein ‘Change is eternal. Nothing ever changes. Both clichés are true. Structures are those coral reefs of human relations which have a stable existence over relatively long periods of time. But structures too are born, develop, and die’ (Wallerstein, 1974).

According to prominent sociologist Youba Raj Luintel (2018) several aspects of caste and its features have passed through processes of change. However, it is also true that these social changes in caste relations are slow in process. Nepal has become more flexible in the caste system customs (Luintel, 2018). He further states that caste relations are not an unchanged phenomena. This research is based on like other social relations are changes, caste relations are also changing.

Alan Macfarlane argues that in one sense at least on the surface there has been little change in the village since his first fieldwork. The basic agricultural and craft techniques described in resources and population are still used. The amount of labour input for various tasks is roughly the same and the village lands shown in the maps to the book have not changed greatly. The main village and the nearby hamlets are not greatly changed in their physical form, though a number of houses have tin roofs and there is now a diesel mill and two television sets in the village (Macfarlane, 2001).

No children have to climb up 45 minutes for school as there is a village with five classes in it. The pattern of temporary labour migration with many men leaving for army service in the British and Indian army. These soldiers invested their pay and pension in village but from the middle of the 1970s as army recruitment dried up to Pokhara and Kathmandu the pattern changed. Waves of young men started to go to wherever work was available. And they no longer came back to the village but settled in the town. If they are lucky enough to make any money they will invest their savings in buying land and building houses in towns and cities, not in village.

Here is some point about social change according to Macfarlane;

- The negative effect on the wealth and development prospective of the village is however equally great.
- The village is not facing imminent famine or disease but it may well be facing malnutrition. One of the major changes in the thirty years has been in diet. Although new foodstuffs are more easily available for those with cash.
- The shortage of meat and milk is one aspect of the most dramatic change in the village; the decline in domestic animals.

- The growing poverty is also the result of a third major change, the decline in land productivity. The total result of both local and national change can be seen in the rapidly falling value of land in village over thirty years. He concludes asserting that while ecological situation is stable, the economic position of the village has declined greatly and real poverty is emerging (Macfarlane, 2001).

Ian Carlos Fitzpatrick examines the relationship between cardamom production and the formation of economic and social stratification in a predominantly limbu village in north-east Nepal. Rural areas of Nepal have only recently begun to be integrated on to the national and international economy. Increased labor migration, and the remittance connecting with the improvement of rural infrastructure, connect rural to urban centres and the development of cash crop production system have all contributed to the social and economic transformation of rural Nepal (Fitzpatrick, 2011).

In the village of Mamangkhe the introduction of cardamom benefited not only the large and small producers but also non producers who could sell their labour as porters or *khetala*. It provided both limbu and chhetri villagers with cardamom productive land- usually uncultivated forest land- access to cash and market. It increased cash availability in Mamangkhe; leading to international labour migration. Beginning in the late 1990s, villagers from Mamangkhe began to travel for work to a number of gulf countries. Income savings from both cardamom and migration has resulted in increasing numbers of households purchasing land in Jhapa or elsewhere. And this results integration of the village and its inhabitants with national and global processes.

The increased availability of market goods, the experiences that international migrants have of other cultures and the increased familiarity that villagers have of an urban based life style have led to a shift in cultural and social values towards emphasizing income, wealth, consumption, education and accumulation. Despite the significance process of economic and social change taking place in contemporary village, there are still strong signs of limbu cultural resilience and even activism (Fitzpatrick, 2011).

Piers Blaikie, John Cameron, and David Seddon (2002) write the paper understanding 20 years of change in west-central Nepal; continuity and change in lives and idea which is the analysis of continuity and change in rural economy and society of western Nepal- a region of mountains, hills and plains (Terai) based on two studies 20 years apart. And their main argument is that a re- survey of rural household in the same region in 1997-98 conformed that indeed very little capitalist development had taken place and that the disposition of rural household within the social classes and forms of production identified 20 years before had remained remarkably stable.

- The most important empirical conclusion they find out is about social change in rural western Nepal over the past 20 years is the degree of continuity.

As Nepal in crisis predicts, there has been hardly any significant development of commercialized agriculture, little investment on modern inputs, aggressive forcing down the cost of hired labor. Nor has there been any rapid economic differentiation leading to more individualistic accumulation and a consequent deterioration of safety nets and familial responsibilities.

- They found data that suggest social, natural and produced capital have all remained more or less constant over 20 years. the stocks of these capitals have remained more

or less constant but it is human capital which have shown a profound upheaval and a high degree of mobility and adaptability.

- The social and physical environment of Nepal at present it is more paying, less risky and easier to prioritize food security and to release a member of household to migrate and earn income away from home and even outside of Nepal altogether than to enter market as a producer. Supporting activities of the state in promoting capitalist agriculture have very limited potential being likely attracted only to the tiny proportion of the more advantaged farmers.
- The nature of the rural household (village) has been transformed if not fragmented, by the rise in individual migration. Now household are less rural. Many rural household have become a sort of spatially disparate extended family. The results are; increasing feminization of rural life (with the great possibility of exploitation and oppression of women but also significant possibility to holding out improvement of their relative position because active men to seek employment elsewhere and women were left with the children and elderly) (Blaikie, Cameron, and seddon, 2002).

Youba Raj Luintel in his Article capitalism and underdevelopment in rural Nepal; market relations, inequality and social change in Mahesh Kholo focusing on long-term structural change argue that after cultivating a vegetable in massive scale, and construction of road accelerated the pace of social change and development. Also cultivation of agriculture connects people of Maheshkhola with metropolitan market of Kathmandu. He says that “An area that was characterized by chronic poverty, persistent food insecurity and feudal exploitation some four decades ago has now become an integral part of capitalist market, not only because it has placed greater emphasis on production on sale but also because it has now been flooded with imported readymade commodities from elsewhere, and profit making has now embraced every aspect of life” (Luintel, 2010).

In the economic history of Mahesh Kholo the decade of the 1970s major advance mono-cropping of sugarcane was replaced by three cropping system of food crops. And around 1987 after introduce of cultivation of vegetables introduced it breakthrough its economic history. And also expansion of road network has opened up commercial use of land, specially for residential purposes. People from this village frequently visit Kathmandu without any motive. They fancy eating MoMo, drinking liquor and emptying their pokets (Luintel, 2010).

These all scholar which I mention above claimed that there is not great change but change occurred in social level. But they do not admitt clearly where and in which level change has occurred. However, for me social change as any significance alteration over time in behavior patterns and cultural values and norms. Following the idea of these scholar I want to see the relationship of Dalit and non-Dalit people. And I also want to explore if their relation are changed over time or is as same as before.

2.4 Knowledge Gap

I have mentioned many scholar's point of views on caste system above. Among them Pillai (1982), Bailey (1957), Barreman (2000), Dirks (2000) did not talk about inter- caste marriage. whereas Madan (2000), Bougle (1971), Hofer (2004), Subedi (2008) and Sharma (2004) mentioned that endogamous marriage is one of the key features of caste system.

Ghure (1950) and Gupta (2004) talk about inter-caste marriage more detail in some level. according to Ghure (1950) there is a strict endogamy in caste system. However, a few exceptions to this general rule of marrying within own group which are due to the practice of hypergamy. He further says that in some parts of the Punjab, especially in the hills a man of higher caste can take wife from one of the lower castes. Some of the artisan castes of Malabar allows inter-caste marriage. Gupta (2004) also argues that hierarchy and difference are two most widely acknowledge characteristic features of the caste system. To maintain these characteristics, the principle of strict caste endogamy has to be maintained. He says that inter-caste marriages lead to a blurring of the difference between different caste groups and disturb the recognized caste hierarchies. Anyone venturing to transgress this law is out- casted or expelled from the membership of the caste group.

According to Kanskar and Ghimire (2008) inter-caste marriage between Dalit and non- Dalits have a potential to contribute towards eliminating caste based discrimination prevalent in nepali society. They further state that inter-caste marriage between Dalit and non- Dalits could definitely help in breaking a rigid and inhuman wall between the supposedly pure and impure castes since such marriages help in mixing the blood from two communities. Inter-caste marriage can prove to be vital means of abolishing caste system (Kansakar and Ghimire, 2008).

Kanskar and Ghimire (2008), Luintel (2018) and Paudel (2018) also discuss inter-caste marriage in details. Paudel argues that love and affection, age and good moral character of lower caste youths are taken as major inspiring factors for inter-caste marriage also modernization, migration, education, identity based movement, mass media are also the factors for inter-caste marriage. His conclusion is that inter-caste marriage can be seen as one of the major factors against caste discrimination.

Luitel (2018) state that “we found very exceptional in all of our five research districts that couple of inter-caste marriage are normally settled within their usual place. an absolute majority of such couples are forced to leave the village and they have very thin and infrequent bonding with their family”. However, following a Luintel, Kanskar and Ghimire Paudel, Gupta and Ghure, this research had focus on inter-caste marriage by examining hypergamous and hypogamous marriage.

All these scholars argues that inter-caste marriages help to reduce the caste based discriminations and also (rigid) caste systems are now become flexible and changing. To see the actual status of inter-caste marriage and variation between hypergamous and hypogamous marriage I have raised this research questions.

Chapter Three

Methodology

According to Kumar (1999), Research methodology is a supporting subject in several ways in many academic disciplines at various levels by people committed to a variety of research paradigm. The path to finding answers to your research questions constitutes research methodology (Kumar,1999). This Research tried to unpack the dimensions of inter-caste marriage in Mabeni khola. Based on in-depth interview, it describes, to what extent inter-caste couples were accepted by the families. In this chapter each sections broadly describes the methods of the research. Study side description tells study area, research design is qualitative, nature of data is primary, and sampling is purposive. I took almost one month to gather the data from the field. It had been completed in 3 round visit to field.

3.1 Research Design

Qualitative research is a field of inquiry in its own right. Qualitative research means different things in each of these moments, qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible, qualitative research involves the studies use and collection of variety of empirical materials; case study, personal experience, life story (Denzin Lincoln, 2005).

This research is descriptive. This Research describes the acceptance of couple who were involved in inter-caste marriage, to what extent they are accepted and their stories of reintegration and rejection in family in descriptive way. I have tried to explore the variation of acceptance, implications of acceptance on the basis of caste belongingness. Also this research describes the social pressure faced by these couples.

3.2 The Study Site and The Rationale of Site Selection

For the field research purpose, I chose part of Myagdi district referred in this thesis as Mabeni Khola which lies in Gandaki Pradesh. According to 2011 census, total population of Myagdi is 112,641. It has a heterogeneous nature of caste composition with Magar (39.46%), Chhetri (17.17%), Kami (15.31%), Brahmin (8.04%), Damai (5.76%), Sarki (3.33%), Thakuri (2.05%), Newar (1.38%), Thakali (0.88%). In Myagdi district 86.5% population are engaged in agriculture, 3.48% in industries, 3.91% in enterprise and 0.68% in government job. (DDC Myagdi,2072). Most importantly according to the official census of 2011, total population of Dalit was 13.6 but almost 24 percent Dalits were in Myagdi.

Mabeni Khola, is familiar place for me, as I belong to the area. Mabeni Khola is heterogeneous in nature. In Mabeni Khola total population of Chhetri/Brahmin, and Thakuri was (35.98%), Magar (33.17%), and Dalit was (23.95%), But some of them are recently migrants on Mabeni Khola, so the census data do not reflect them. This data is more than national data of Dalits which attracts me to conduct a research in this area. As well as on my observation inter-caste marriages are

increasing in my place. Easy accessible to the field through gate keepers and some of the respondents lead me to chose this area. According to Nahon (2009), Gate keeping refers broadly to the process of controlling information as it moves through a gate or filter and is associated with exercising different types of power (Nahon,2009). Gate keepers have a key role to ensure researchers gain access to potential participants and sites for research(j&j,2016). Keeping a concerned on time and budget, I have selected the study area which is comfortable and budget friendly.

1

3.3 Nature and Sources of Data

This research is mostly based on primary data. Primary information has been gathered from in-depth interview with inter-caste married couples. Some of the respondents daily life and activities were observed on the field. Secondary data was also used. Secondary data were taken from, report of Myagdi district development committee book. Data of total population through census 2011 and data of caste composition from, website of Mangala rural municipality.

3.4 Sampling

In this research I have used purposive sampling method. Purposive sampling is small size of representative, selected with the choice of researcher that can ensure the representative's diverse characteristic (Acharya, 2070). Such couples do not want to disclose their inter-caste nature of marriage, so because of the hidden and limited cases, I chose purposive sampling. With my convenience I could get access to 19 inter-caste couples out of many such cases in Mabeni Khola. Some respondents' husbands were abroad so I had interviewed with only wife. Five cases were known to me, where as other cases were identified through the selected gate keepers. My collage teacher and brother became a mediator between me and respondent.

¹ 'Mabeni Khola' term refers here as part of ward number 5 of Mangala Rural municipality and some part of Beni Municipality. as District consists one municipality and five rural municipality. I met with 5 respondents from rural municipality and 14 were from municipality as it offers a diversity in settlement. Above mentioned population data of Mabeni khola is combined population of municipality and rural municipality.

3.5 Tools of Data Collection

This research used in-depth interview and observation methods to take primary data from the field. Which is as follows.

3.5.1 In-depth Interview

According to the Fontana and Frey (2005), Interview is essentially a qualitative data gathering technique that relies on the systematic questioning in a formal or informal setting (Fontana and Frey, 2005). In-depth interview on the other hand encourages respondents to elaborate on their answers (Marvasti, 2004). So In-depth interview was used to gather a data from the field. On this research 19 inter-caste (Dalit and Non-Dalit) married couple were participated on interview, in which 9 were hypergamy and 10 were hypogamy.

Based on check-list interview were taken. Some of the points were changed on the time of interview, so it is flexible. After building rapport with respondents in first meeting I had gone to their home, second time to take interview. With their consent I had noted down and recorded their voice on mobile phone and also took photos of some respondent. For their privacy and confidentiality respondents' real name were hidden. In-depth interview begins with common sense perception, explanations and understanding of some lived cultural experience. It provides multi-perspective understanding of the topics. (Marvasti, 2004).

3.5.2 Observation

According to Lawrence (2006), observation process required that researchers spend many hours in direct personal contact with those being studied (Lawrence, 2006). During the field visits I observed the daily activities of inter-caste married couples. Observation is a strategic method of data collection that any kind of data you want, narratives or numbers (Bernard, 2006). Many respondents stayed separately from their in-laws so I could not find any discrimination from their in-laws as they said they had a good bond. One of the respondents admits, she had good bond with her parents but some of other people did not agreed as she rarely visits them. Relationship between couple were good. They coordinate each-other for the household activity. They had maintained a good relationship with neighbors but I did not see them to exchange food.

3.6 Field Experience of Researcher

Before going to the field, I thought that it will be very easy to talk to them as they got married, they had a child, but it was my false presumption. Field was different from my presumption. I had to convince them many time to talk, to share their experience, specially to women in comparison to men. Women were very shy to share, hesitated to talk more. I had visited some of them for 3

times too. Men were very vocal on their marriage, family and their experience after getting married. Some of the respondents in my village thought that I came from some NGO/INGO and I will give some money. They asked what will they get talking to me ? I replied them I am a student, I couldn't give them any money or any kind of incentives. "To fulfill my exams, I have to write a book on some topics and I had choose this topic (inter-caste marriage). If you talk to me it will be great help to complete my Masters Degree." I kindly requested them to share their story of married life with different caste.

In Municipality I knew some of the respondents a little bit. I had exchanged phone number and my purpose of talking to them in first meeting with the help of my plus two, teacher and mentor Suraj KC sir. But in second meeting many of the respondents were afraid of their privacy. As they asked me many times, will this come out on newspaper or not ? I had convinced them I was concerned about their privacy fully. I had called them many times as they were very busy on their work. Some of the respondents of first meetings escaped as they put off their phone. I had taken help of my brother Krishna Khatri.

I had found some hesitation with some 2 or 3 women to talk to me in municipality too, but not as in village. When I insisted them and made clear about my purpose, they agreed. I had interviewed them in comfortable manner. I tried not to disturb their work on the time of interview as much as possible. I found a mixed experience of interviewed with women, as some were very vocal and easily shared their story and some were shy, introverted. But in comparison to women men were very vocal, and easy to talk to. They offered tea, snacks to me everywhere after the interview. I felt so amazed.

I had plans to do a group discussion also, but it had not been happened because of budget and time. Another difficulty is that, inter-caste marriage couples are not found/ stayed at same place so they were not available at same time in same place. Main problem for group discussion is timing of couples. Unknown couples were simply expressive and vocal than known couples. Also men talked easily than women. It might be that women were little reserved than men. The most difficulties that I found on field is to convince them to make ready to talk. Many respondents do not want to re-open their old sorrow and pain, that they face on the time of marriage. But I found easy to talk in municipality than village as I knew them in village so they hesitated to share everything. I thought later that if I were a boy women did not agree to talk and had to pay much efforts to convince the men too. Because women hesitated to share their experience with another women then it would be difficult to male researcher. I had asked their story to their some of the neighbors in village. They said same as the couples.

Some of the respondents' husband were abroad so I had interviewed with only the wives. I had planned to talk with their family before field. but it had not been possible due to the time and difficulties to reach with family as the couple stayed separately with in-laws and their parents. So I gathered information of their parent's reaction, through the couples. When I asked to click their photo some agreed and some didnot. They said no, they were very shy and uncomfortable to click.

3.7 Profile of the Respondent

For this research 19 cases were selected for in-depth interview in which 9 couples were hypergamy and 10 couples were hypogamy. I had interviewed 13 couples and 6 wives as their male counterparts were abroad. Total respondents who participated in in-depth interview are 32. Most of the respondents are Kishan (Sarki), Pariyar (B.k), Magar, Thakuri, and Chhetri.

Field research was conducted during Kartik, to Mangsir, 2075. In the time of winter, I had gone for pilot observation on second week of Kartik. Four respondents were engaged on wage labor and other had their own enterprises (furniture, tailoring, contractor and meat shop on small level). This research has no limitation on duration of their marriage time. I had interviewed the couple with 4 to 26 years of marriage.

Table 3.1 Caste belonging of the respondent

Caste	No.Husband	No.Wife	Total
B.K/Pariyar/DarjiKishan	6	9	15
Magar/ Chhantyal	4	3	7
Chhetri/Brahmin/Thakuri	3	6	9
Newar		1	1
Total	13	19	32

This table shows that highest number, who involved in inter-caste marriage is Dalit. In comparison to Chhetri, Brahmin and Thakuri, Dalit girls were more involved in inter-caste marriage. 15 Dalit is higher than other caste groups. Second group who is involved in inter-caste marriage is Chhetri, Brahmin and Thakuri. Compared to male CBT (3), females CBT were higher (6). Third group was Magar and Chhantyal.

Table 3.2 Level of Education of the respondents

Education	No. Male	No. Female	Total
Illiterate	1	1	2
Literate		2	2
School Attendants	6	6	12
SEE	4	8	12
Plus Two	2	1	3
Bachelor's		1	1
Total	13	19	32

This table shows that Education of respondents was mostly SLC and School attendants (12+12=24) is the highest number. Higher education is Bachelor's and Plus two. In comparison to SLC and School attendant higher education holder and illiterate were very less. Number of illiterates and literates were equal. So mostly in between school or after SLC couples got into inter-caste marriage.

Table 3.3 Age at Marriage of the respondent

Age group	No. of Male	No. of Female	Total
15-18	1	10	11
19-22	3	8	11
23-26	6		6
27-30	2		2
30-Above	1	1	2
Total	13	19	32

According to this table most of the women's age of the marriage in Mabeni Khola is 15 to 18 and men are 23 to 26. In inter-caste marriages above 30 is very uncommon or happened less. This data clearly shows that women got into inter-caste marriage in teenage. All the women in between to 15 to 22 got into inter-caste marriage.

3.8 Limitations of study

Field research was conducted at Mabeni Khola. This research is based on primary data. Data of social pressure also taken through the primary respondent. To meet their family and relatives was not possible as couple stayed separately. There are many researches about inter-caste marriage, however this research is focused on marriage between Dalits and non-Dalits. So it does not speak about every inter-caste marriage. This research only covers the story of Mabeni khola not the whole country. This research does not tell the whole story because of small size of sample. Also this research does not see the intra-caste variation within Dalits.

Chapter Four

Nature of Acceptance of Hypergamous Inter-caste Marriage

This chapter deals with caste belongingness of parents and acceptance of couple, family acceptance on assets and land, social pressure experienced by the couple and improving relation to their parents (from total rejection to sort of normal relation) over time. In the case of hypergamous marriage, boy's natal family often do not accept the daughter-in-law (owing to her "lower" caste status). The same however, does not apply to the family of girl (the fact that the son in-law owing to "upper" caste status). There is no problem from the side of the girl's parental home (as they respect their son-in-law and support their daughter as much as they can).

This chapter tries to explore that in hypergamous marriage husband's family chose to give some shares rather than staying in same roof. Dividing a shares or property also depend on husband's demand or pressure. If he demands his shares they give but if he did not demand anything then the matter solve itself. Every parents reject Dalit daughter in-law, not only Brahmins or Chhetris, Magar, Chhantyal also strictly follows caste rules as they did not allow the couple to enter the house. But in the time of Maoist insurgency because of fears of Maoist movement they hesitate to ask one's surname. So some of the respondent did not feel any difference. Mostly couple face social pressure from husband's family and clan relatives. They put their all the powers or efforts to break their relation but if they did not separate then they rejected them. Couple had no relationship with other relative and clan members. They [relatives] do not invite them on ceremonies and occasions. In the case of hypergamous marriage Child born is the crucial things for re-integration with family. After the child born at least family member started to keep relation with them. Most of the respondent share their experience of re-integration started after the child born. But sometimes financial and labor contribution also play the role.

4.1 Variations in Caste Belongingness of Parents and the Acceptance of Hypergamous Marriage

This research shows that particular caste belonging of parents do not implicate on acceptance or rejection of the hypergamous inter-caste marriage. The crux being that, the non-Dalit families are not willing to accept Dalit daughter in-laws outright. In practice, instead of explicit acceptance or rejection, families and the parents develop a range of implicit strategies, which do not hurt the sons (and the new daughter in-laws), but in effect keep them aside. Owing to this, the couple also do not want to push the parents in trouble. Instead they choose to settle somewhere else, which can be nearby home or far from it- depending on the circumstance.

In this section among the 9 hypergamous cases we discuss the 5 hypergamous marriage, keeping aside the [2 Janabadi inter-caste marriage and 2 absentees] cases, this is the story of five hypergamous couple, who were rejected at first. According to Ghimire and Kanskar (2008), 'In the hypergamy marriage not only Chhetri but Magar family also strictly reject the couple. Every non-Dalit family did not allow or accept Dalit girl as daughter-in-law. Her acceptance would have meant that her caste would be upgraded and she would also be a member of Kulyan [clan]. Also

upon acceptance, the family have to live and eat with the Dalit daughter-in-law and let her participate in religious activities-all prohibited by Hindu religious norms (Ghimire and Kanskar 2008, Pp.77).’ This research corroborates with the key findings of Kanskar and Ghimire, (2008).

Families of the boys often try to break inter-caste relations. According to Kanskar and Ghimire (2008), ‘Couples from inter-caste marriage did not receive family support as readily as it might have happened in the case of arranged marriage. If the boy took a stand against family pressure and decided not to leave the girl, the couple likely to face ostracism and was even forced to leave the house and move from the place of residence.’

Rabin Thapa one of the Chhetri respondents who got married to Geeta Kishan (Dalit girl) rejected by his family at first. Geeta is his second wife. His parents arranged his first marriage forcefully to amidst an affair he was having with Geeta, a Dalit girl. In our conversation Rabin told that “They [his family members] took us to the police station and threatened us. We both agreed to sign on paper but after seeing her cried so much, I decided not to leave her, because she had suffered along for having affair with me, then I told my family that, "I would not leave Geeta but ready to go to the jail". Then, they [my family members] suggested my first wife to file a FIR (first information report) against polygamy. Then, according to the decision of the court, we went to the jail and stayed there almost for a year." When Rabin and Geeta were in jail, Rabin's mother and sister come to meet him rarely and suggested him to leave her. later, after the birth of his son, his family just give them a small piece of the land to make a house. Still, his elder brother did not speak to him properly and warned his mother if they give land to cultivate him, he will cut off all the relations to her too.

Parents of Tek Bahadur Gharti (Chhetri) another respondent, did not accept Kabita B.K (a Dalit girl) as their daughter in-Law. His parents did not allow them to enter the house. His mother raised a question on Kabita’s pregnancy. They provided shelter on cow sheds (Thara) to them, but cut off all the relation at first. Likewise, Man Bahadur Pun got married with Bhawana Kishan second time. Man Bahadur’s first wife left him after six month of marriage. When he came to Beni, to open a hotel, he met Bhawana. Belongs to Magar community he decided to runaway with Dalit girl. After knowing his marriage decision with Dalit girl his family member tried to convince him to leave Bhawana. But he did not agree and without invitation he took Bhawana to his home. His parents and relatives rejected them. They do not accept Bhawana (a Dalit girl) as a daughter in-law. In the similar manner, Kulendra Rantija a Magar boy got married with Pramila B.K (Dalit girl). They did not announce their marriage in first but they stayed together. When Kulendra’s parents got to know his hidden marriage with Dalit girl, they did not accept his marriage decision. They tried to break his marriage. His parents strictly warned him not to take his wife home.

In the time of Maoist insurgency who got inter-caste marriage (specially Janabadi Biwaha) did not face any difference. But the situation was not the same as all who got married on the time of Maoist insurgency. One of the respondent, Om Chhantyal, who got married with Khima a Dalit girl on the peace process starting time, faced rejection from the family. Om took his wife Khima to his home for the first time, one month after getting married. But his family did not accept Khima as daughter-in-law. They did not allow them to enter the house even for that particular night. Om's clan relatives were scolding him for getting married with Dalit girl and said that "we don't allow

you both to stay in the village, return back where you came from." According to Om, he got rejection from his family because he decided to get married with Khima [a Dalit girl] after peace process of Maoist insurgency and another reason is that Chhantyal community itself was strictly follow their cultural rituals. They [Chhantyal] had inward oriented community bonding or ethnic solidarity that did not allow any member to cross that line.

But there are four other than above hypergamous marriage cases among that two respondent's family did not notice girls surname and three cases were Janabadi marriage. One of the respondent Nar Bahadur Karki and Mangamati Kishan had not been home yet. Nar Bahadur got marriage thrice. His first wife died by some health issue. His second wife left him after sometimes of marriage. According to him before married to Mangamati he was living a frustrated life. His bonding with his children was not good. His other clan relatives also discriminated him. That's why with the help of his friend he got married with Mangamati. It has been 15 years of their marriage but still Mangamati did not know where her husband's house is. She knows about the place but she has never been there. Nar says that "I used to go to my home (Salyan) very little before marriage. I did not take her because I know my clan brother, and my children (from the first wife) never allowed me to stay at my home and they were insulted me for sure". Nar saw his clan brother and relatives in bazar many times but they did not speak to him. But he never encountered his sons and daughters. He says "they don't have my value". Mangamati wished to go to her husband's house much time before, but she did not insist. 'Maina' her daughter also asked her father to show his family and house but Nar said that if his family insult her, she might be broken out so he denied her request.

But interestingly one of the respondent, Prem Bahadur Karki's family did not know his wife's surname. He states that nobody asked about Sabina's caste so he did not tell anything, according to Prem his family member had thought that he married with same cast girl or maybe Sabina looks like a Brahmin so they thought Sabina is a Brahmin girl. Prem further state that, 'nobody asked surname during the Maoist insurgency. If his family knows about Sabina's caste they would never allow them to enter the house.'

According to data two respondent from Magar family who got [Janabadi Marriage] married on the time of Maoist insurgency their family did not react on their son's choice. Topendra Pun and Khagendra Budhathoki both are cadres of party. Khagendra was VDC in-charge at that time and Topendra worked as political cultural member of the party. Their family did not react on their marriage with Dalit girl as they both were actively involved in the party movement. They allowed their Dalit daughter in-law (Dil Maya Kishan and Rabina B.k) to enter the house and eat food cooked by them. Dil maya said that in first time she met her mother in-law but she neither asked her surname nor she told. She remembers that to ask one's identity was so dangerous at that time and they were on movement. So, she did not find any difficulties. According to Rabina, her in-laws did not react on their marriage decision. When she reached to home with Topendra nobody reacted on them. But she felt difficult to adjust later.

This research shows that in the case of hypergamous marriage, every family such as Brahmin and Chhetris or ethnic groups (Such as Magar and Chhantyal) were less likely to accept the marriage of their son with Dalit women. There are two types of rejection. Rejection on dining and rejection

on commensality. But the duration of rejection is shorter, often within a couple of years. After the child born their relation become flexible (see section 4.4).

In nutshell, this research shows that there is no implication of acceptance on the basis of parents' caste belongingness in hypergamous marriage. "It is not only the Brahmins and Chhetris who are strictly against between Dalits and non-Dalit. Ethnic communities living among majority caste families were also strict in their attitude against such marriage because of the strong influence of the latter's culture on them (Kanskar and Ghimire, 2008)." Findings of this research corroborates with the findings of Kansakar and Ghimire (2008). This research found that, there are some Janabadi hypergamous inter-caste marriage case in which not every couple were easily accepted. Community bonding or solidarity and time of their marriage [during Maoist insurgency or after peace process] play the crucial role. One couple (Chhantyal) who got Janabadi marriage after peace process rejected by his family. But two couples (Magar) who got Janabadi marriage during the insurgency, their parents did not react on their marriage decision with Dalit girl. They accepted Dalit daughter in-law easily. It may be because of fears of Maoist movement. How-ever this shows that ultimately caste belongingness matters the most.

Interestingly, like the case of 'Nar' whose family actually did not know his wife's surname or maybe they just pretend, because of fears of exclusion from larger clan groups. But they did not react and treated her as equal to other daughter in-law. But in other cases parent's caste belongingness doesn't matter as they invariably reject all Dalit daughter in-laws (owing to their "lower" caste status of her parental families).

4.2 Family Rejection of the Hypergamous Marriage by Way of Asset Allocation

Hypergamous couple are often not accepted by the husband's family at first. Instead of staying together with inter-caste couple, the family prefers to allocate some part of their property to the newly married couple. Receiving a shares or property from family is difficult sometimes, as family did not want to take any responsibility of their son, who got married with Dalit girl. But if a boy demands his rights of property or if they had to choose either they had to stay together or to give share, they agreed to give land or assets, but not agreed to share the same roof. According to Kanskar and Ghimire (2008) Pp.75, "Majority of the hypergamous marriages did not take place under normal circumstances, with the family approval: rarely had any marital rituals and the most of the couples were denied entry into the main household." Findings of this chapter validate with the findings of Kanskar and Ghimire (2008). This section deals the experience of 7 couples who did not get anything from family or they did not demand but shifted their place voluntarily on their own choice. Couples shared that their choices of voluntarily shifting was always on urban (Bazar) area. And also the experience of 3 couples who got some land or assets from the family. Giving a land or assets to their son also seems one kind of rejection as family give it on some pressure, some idea of keeping aside of son who got married with Dalit girl. Among 9 hypergamous couple 7 couples who did not [demand] or received anything from their family but stayed separately on their own choice. Interestingly, one of the respondents, Sabina Pariyar's in-laws still unknown about her surname. She remembered her first visit to in-law's home "the whole surrounding was

different than my parents' home, everyone was looked at us curiously, asking about our marriage, but nobody asked my surname, so I also didn't say anything." Her husband also told that nobody asked about Sabina's caste so he didn't tell anything." Most of the inter-caste marriages happened in Maoist insurgency were not rejected by families as they were afraid of Maoist movement.

Prem had a job and rented room at Bazar so without taking anything from family they stayed on their own comfortable. Another respondent Om Bahadur was not allowed to stay with his family after getting married with Khima Pariyar, he stated that "my father just said you have done wrong marrying with Dalit girl and his mother was just cried, not only my family, the whole society had rejected us." His family did not give him anything, Om also did not demand his shares of property. They even not allowed to stay for that particular night. They returned back to Khima's parental home and took a room on rent. But many years later his parents spoke with them and visited them rarely. He did not get any support from his family. Om made a house near by Khima's parental house with the help of Khima's parents and his remittance (saving).

Jit Bahadur Karki did not take anything from his house after married to Mangmati Kishan. He stayed in in-law's house. He thought that his children and clan group never allow him to enter the house. And he does not want to ask his shares of property. If they gave him shares they would definitely discriminate him. According to him after marrying with Mangamati, he lost his property right and there is no meaning to ask any shares.

Another respondent Kulendra Ranjita hid his marriage with family in first, but when they got to know their daughter-in-law as Dalit, then they warned him to not take his wife to home. Kulendra also did not demand any shares of property. Instead of asking shares he stayed separately on his own choice. After five years, his mother came to visit him at Beni and invited them to come home but Pramila did not want to go there. She thought that if she went to home, there would arise difficulties to her and her in-laws.

Topendra Pun and another respondent Bhupendra Budhathoki who got Janabadi marriage also did not face any rejection from the family. Their family accepted (without any reaction) their wives Rabina and Dil Maya. But other clan groups did not allow them to enter the house. They both lived very little with their family as they both were engaged on some small level business at district headquarter. They both did not take anything from home. They visit their family in occasion like Dashain and Tihar. According to Rabina, when she reached to her in-laws house she feels their hesitation. They were very afraid of their other relatives. They didn't say anything in front of her but they had a dilemma in their mind about Rabina's caste. 'In Inter-caste marriage majority of brides were facing adjustment problems (Kankaskar and Ghimire, 2008).'

Among nine hypergamous cases three couples received some land or assets from their family but story of receiving a land or assets is different among themselves. Parents of two couples gave them land or assets on their own choice to keep them aside. One couple demanded their shares or property rights after their rejection on his marriage choice with Dalit girl.

In the hypergamous marriage for the first time, husband's family couldn't accept their daughter-in-law but later they accept partially. One of the respondents Geeta Kishan who got married with Rabin Thapa a Chhetri boy, Shared her experience of cut off all the relations by her in-laws for

almost 3 years. Her in-laws and Rabin's family members were against of their inter-caste relation when they had a love affair. Because of Rabin's polygamy case, they had to stay at prison for almost a year. When they came out from the prison, with the help of Geeta's father they had nothing to eat and stay. So they went to Geeta's parental home. After one and half year, when she gave birth to son Sushant they took a rented room near by her parents' house. When Sushant was two and a half years, after seeing them in the rented room which was cold and difficult for the baby, her mother-in-law called them. Rabin and Geeta came to home but his elder brother did not allow to enter the house so they stayed outside of the house for a month. Staying always at outside of house was not possible so, Rabin's parents gave him a small piece of land to make a house. He had no money to build a house so, with the help of his friend he made a small two-room house.

When husbands took their [Dalit] wives to home without the consent of the families, their family members could not allow them to stay under the same roof/ house, rather they give some land and assets. But sometimes they rejected the couple, when a boy did not demand anything and they stayed separately on their own choice. Another respondent Kabita a Dalit girl who got married with Chhetri, they were neighbor. They both did not know how they fell in love with each other. When she got pregnant before the revelation of pregnancy they eloped. Kabita stated that her in-laws and family member couldn't accept her as daughter-in-law, because she belongs to Dalit community. They did not allow Kabita and Tek to enter the house but they gave her a cow sheds (Thara) as a shelter. According to Kabita they didn't have any place to go, so cow sheds was also enough at that time. After 5/6 years when she gave birth of second child (daughter), they [in-laws and family member] started to speak to her, asked her help for cultivation, cutting grass and wood but not allowed her to enter the house. They started to talk with her nicely, called her and grandchild on the occasions. Now they made their own house by their own money.

Man Bahadur Pun after getting married to Bhawana Kishan brought his wife home without family consent. His family did not allow them to enter the house. Other relatives also stood against of his marriage to Dalit girl. Family member did not permit them to stay in their house. So, Man Bahadur asked his property rights. Many relatives were gathered and agreed to give his share of property. After the discussion of his family and clan relatives, his family provided him one small house and some land. They stayed there for 4 or 5 months. Then moved to nearby Bhawana's parental home.

To sum up, this research shows that instead of staying together family give some of shares of property to couple. The predominant cases, the newly married couple prefer not to live in their original village (not exactly to live close to their parents or relatives). Most of couple do not demand anything. They just stayed separately on their own choice often far from their village and thus without the help of their family. Many respondents stated that, their choices of staying separately was always in urban area so, when they stayed differently then there is no value of shares. That's why they did not ask any shares of property from the family.

In hypergamous marriage if couple create pressure, they give some land and allow the couple to live nearby for example- in cow sheds (*Thara*) to the couple. Allocating property is a manifestation of rejection with the motivation of keeping them aside. According to Kasakar and Ghimire (2008), Many hypergamous couples received their share after much pressure from the couple and the community." Findings of the research match with similar findings of Kanskar and Ghimire (2008).

4.3 Social Pressure over Hypergamous Couples

The newly married hypergamous marriage couples face constant pressure from the side of the boy's family including other members, and other relatives. Boy's families reject them initially. Even if sometimes family accepts them, other relatives (secondary group) do not accept. The relatives discriminate couple in social events or rituals. For example, couple face pressure on ceremonial function like (funeral/ marriage and kulpuja), and sharing a dinning. According to Poudel (2018), 'Inter-caste marriage usually follows no consent from the family and parents. As soon as the boy and girl elope away to get married, the couple's family tried to find where they are and when found, tried them back. Sometimes, the parents easily get information and sometimes they do not. As soon as they know that their children have committed inter-caste marriage, the parents usually from non-Dalit, try to break the relationship with Dalit. Registering a case with the false charges, such as kidnapping, thieving, child marriage, rapes found the common practice used by a family to break the relations of the couple.' Among nine hypergamous couples, five of them faced social pressure from the husband's family and clan relatives. And Four couple (two of their family unknown of their wives' surname and two were Janabadi married couple) did not face difference from husband's family but they did not have relationship with other clan relatives.

Tek Bahadur Gharti and Kabita B.K fell in love with each other. Kabita got pregnant. Before it was disclosed, they ran away. But her in-laws and family member rejected them. Even her mother in-law raised a serious question over her pregnancy (*Kasko bhudi ho Kasko vaner*). Tek's uncle and relatives stayed in different village. So, Tek and Kabita did not have to face them. Other neighbors already knew Kabita still they talked to her nicely but they never invited her to their home.

Another respondent couple Rabin Thapa and Gita Kishan were threatened by his family members including his siblings, before their marriage. They cut off all the relation to them. After 3 years of her marriage Rabin's family gave them small pieces of land to make a home. When they moved to new home near by in-laws. Geeta feared to go public water pump, so used to go Kaligandaki river for washing her clothes and cleaning utensils. Neighbor did not miss chances to gossips about her at initial but now they speak her nicely. Before nine months when Rabin's father passed away, his elder brother and relatives did not allow him to perform his father's funerals. They expelled him from all the funeral ceremony. Even Priest also did not give him and his children pure water (*chokhyaune*) and tika.

Man Bahadur Pun, took his wife Bhawana to house without his parent's consent. His family did not ready to stay in same roof. So, Man Bahadur demanded his shares. Many relatives gathered and discussed for whole day. With the consensus of relatives and family members they give his shares. Everyone cut off all the relationship with them. Other relatives and neighbor just pretended to be a nice in front of them but gossiped about Bhawana's caste behind her. They never invited her in cultural and ritual functions. so she returned back to her parental home after 4/ 5 month.

Another couple Om Chhantyal and Khima Pariyar got Janabadi marriage but after peace process, faced rejection from his family and relatives. All the relatives and family did not allow them to enter the house. They did not allow them to stay even on that particular night so, they took shelter

at the hotel. Other clan members threaten Om's family that they expelled them from the community if they would accept Khima (a Dalit girl) as daughter in-law.

Other respondents Mangmati, and Sabina did not experience such a pressure. Magamati stayed with her mother at her brother's house and still did not go to her husband's home. So she did not feel any pressure from both sides. Sabina and her husband stayed at the Bazar area in the rented house and surprisingly still her in-laws were unknown about her caste (surname). So they treated them very well. Her mother-in-law also came to visit her and grandchild frequently. Her parents were worried about her future at first. Sabina's parents welcomed warmly them but her mother was not so happy that she got married very far (unknown place). Sabina's parents were planning to arrange her marriage with the same caste man, but Sabina knew it after her marriage. They were worried about her future life in an unknown place and in upper caste community.

Another respondent Pramila BK did not go to her husband's house till the date. Kulendra Rantija and Pramila both kept secret about their marriage with their family in first but after knowing her surname, her husband's family tried to break their relationship so many times. Kulendra's family and relatives made a different plan and tried to convince Kulendra to leave Pramila and get married to Magar Girl. They locked him inside the room once, with the fake promise he managed to return with Pramila. They warned him not to take his wife to home many times. Even his family and relatives wanted to keep him aside from his daughter's naming ceremony (nawaran).

Rabina and Dil Maya Kishan got Janabadi marriage during the Maoist insurgency. They both were easily allowed to enter the house. Khagendra and Topendra's family member did not react on their marriage decision with Dalit girls. But their relatives were gossiped behind them. And they were not invited by relatives on many occasions. Dil Maya's mother-in-law and other family members ate food cooked by her but other relatives did not come home, when she was in house. Rabina had the same case. Her in-laws did not show a different behavior to her but she had a bitter experience from Topendra's uncle. Once in the time of Dashain, Topendra's uncle came with shaking body and blame Rabina for polluted their Kul Debata. Now in Bazar also Rabina feel different sometimes. She feels that, people are gossiped about her caste status and stares her what she is doing.

To conclude, this research shows that the hypergamous couples got pressure from the husband's natal families and other clan relatives. They had nice bond with their families over time but they had no relation with other relatives (secondary groups). They [relatives] spoke with them but did not invite on occasion, funeral ceremony and marriage ceremony. They faced pressure on ceremonial function and shared dinning. Some of the respondents who did not go to her in-law's house did not feel so much pressure as they did not face clan relatives. Sometimes, because of the pressure of relatives and clan member their family did not allowed them to stay together.

On the other side wife's parents were worried about their daughter's future as they get married to different caste group (non-Dalit), but they did not put pressure on them. In many cases they became a support system for their daughter. But husband's family put full of pressure to break their relations at first. If they realized their pressure were meaningless and they had no choice, then they started to talk to them.

4.4 Improving Relationship Over the Time

Acceptance or rejection of hypergamouys inter-caste marriage is a social reality of pain and hatredness against Dalit. This, however geting change slowly over the time. neither the parents, nor the couples themselves can maintain the same degree of anger and rudeness. Some sort of reception, love and sense of responsibility germinate. Gradually they begin to see each other and perhaps support too. But it is contingent on many issues. In this section I have tried to highlight three such vital issues: Birth of Children, Financial contribution and sometimes labor contribution. One of the key findings of this research is that, once the newly married hypergamous inter-caste couple beget babies, it likely becomes a turning point in the problematic relationships between couples and their parents (and other family members). This is because of sense of love to the grand child and sense of durability of the hypergamous marriage.

In this chapter I had described the contributing facts to improve the relation to their parents over time. keeping aside the exceptional cases of seven hypergamous couples' relationship started to improve with their family after child birth, after giving financial contribution and sometimes labour contribution. According to Paudel (2018), "Inter-caste marriage is a challenge and the more challenge is to be settled in the family, neighbors, relatives, friends, and society with compulsory. He found, in his research entitled 'inter-caste marriage in eastern Nepal; context and its consequences that inter-caste married couple got support from friends, by family members and from neighbors and sometimes from relatives. Findings of this chapter matches with Paudel (2018).

Data of this research found that couple stayed without any supports of families at first. They [family member] did not accept the couple. Mostly hypergamous couple was re-integrated with family within three to five years. Most of the couple have faced so many difficulties in the first year of their marriage as they had a problem in adjusting to a new place and new house. One of the respondents Kabita remembers her first year of marriage in our conversation, "staying in cow sheds (Thara) was so difficult. There is no facility for electricity and water as now. I was a single mother and I have to do all household chores myself and also have to go to collect wood and cut grass for goat. My in-laws did not help me so that I decided to move to my Maiti (parents home)." when Tek came back from gulf on vacation he took her again on cow sheds(Thara). Kabita got pregnant second time. Tek started to send money to his mother too then Kabita's mother in-law started to talk to her nicely. She made food for Kabita on her daughter's delivery time. She also contributed on cultivation work. They [in-laws] invited her for labour help on outside of the house only.

This research shows that after giving birth of child their (couples) relationship with their families is started to improve. Om Bahadur Chhantyal and Khima Kishan were rejected by his families and did not get any supports. According to Khima, her in-laws rejected her first. But after the birth of her son, they started to talk her nicely, when they met her in bazaar with her son first time. After that somehow she was success to build up the partial relation as still they did not invite them to home but they came to meet their grandchild and talk on the phone rarely. Khima had some regret on not allowed to her children to go to their father's home yet. Khima said that "we had to do everything ourselves for sustain. If my in-laws accepted us, our half of burden was shared by them too.

Rabin and Geeta faced so much pressure even they stayed at the jail for a year. They were rejected by his family but when 'Sushant' their son is two and a half years, Rabin's mother called them to home. After seeing their rented room which was cold and difficult for the baby. Rabin and Geeta came to home, but Rabin's elder brother did not allow them to enter the house. So they stayed outside of the house for a month. Rabin's parents gave him a land to make a house. With the help of his friends he built a small two-room house.

Pramila B.K, one of the respondents did not know her in-laws before the birth of her son. With the help of her mother, Pramila grew up her daughter Angel all alone. In the time of birth of Angel, her in-laws tried to keep away her husband (Kulendra) from the birthing ceremony. She got pregnant for the second time after two years of her daughter, and gave birth to son Alson Rantija who is six years old now. Interesting things happened for Pramila on the delivery time of Alson, because her mother-in-law came to visit her and stayed for two weeks for her help. Pramila met her mother-in-law for the first time, five years after her marriage. Pramila stated that "may be they thought that their son will not leave me' that's why she (mother in-law) came to visit their grandson."

Sabina's in-laws did not know her surname but after giving birth of son her husband took her to home. Her husband's family members were happy to see Prem and his new family member. They did not react on their marriage. Her mother in-law was so happy to see grandson and gave blessing to him.

Another one of the main factors to improve the relationship is the economic status of the couple. According to Kanskar and Ghimire (2008), 'it was expected that a higher level of income of a hypergamous couple would improve the chances of the family's acceptance of the marriage because families would not want to lose their share of the income of a productive member and his lineage. But contrary to the expectation, non-Dalit families had not accepted a hypergamous couple, irrespective of the couple's economic condition.' These findings of K and G (2008, matches with the findings of this research.

According to Kabita, her in-laws were started to talk to her after her husband Tek came from Qatar on a vacation. Her husband gave his mother some money and jewelry. On the time of her daughter's birth, she came to cook food to Kabita. She also helped them on cultivation work. She frequently visited them for the help of outside work (for cultivation work)

Kulendra's family did not accept Pramila as a daughter-in-law and tried to break them so many times but when Kulendra came from the gulf on a vacation and Pramila gave birth of a son, her mother-in-law came to take care of her. Bhawana stayed only four or five months nearby her in-laws house which was provided by them (family). During that time, she helped them on cultivation work only outside of the house. Which made her easy to interact with in-laws.

In nutshell, in hypergamy marriage, most of the couples' relationship started to improve with their family after the childbirth. It took some years to improve their relationship with their family. This research shows that child birth is the bridge to connect with their family. But they did not allow their daughter-in-law to enter the house. Re-integration or acceptance seems here partial. They

care about their grandchild but instead of staying together they divide the share of the son. This shows that they partially accept daughter-in-law because they don't have any other options.

Sometimes, re-integration became conditional as Kabita's husband's sent remittance to his mother so that she started to talk to her nicely. In hypergamous marriage financial support, other physical support was taken by family but did not allow them to enter the house.

4.5 Final Note on Nature of Acceptance of Hypergamous Marriage

One of the key findings of this research is that keeping aside some exceptional case every hypergamous inter-caste marriage (that entails Dalit daughter in-law come into a house of non-Dalit family) are invariably rejected by the family of boy/ groom. On account of the lower caste belongingness of daughter in-law. But duration of rejection is short. After child birth their relation to family had started to improve.

The hypergamous inter-caste marriages that took place without the notice of the parents, resulted in to firm rejection on the part of the boy's parents. once they knew that it was inter-caste marriage. They did not want to take any responsibility further for their son who got inter-caste marriage on his own choice. So, instead of staying together or under the same roof, they gave some assets or land to their son. Hypergamous couple mostly face pressure from husband's family and his clan relatives.

However, as the time passes by, the anger and temper of the parent slows down and at some points certain extent of interaction and acceptance begin to take place. This is however contingent on several facts like child birth, financial contribution and labor contribution sometimes. But the case of Janbadi inter-caste marriage is little different as they did not face any difference from family members or in house but they do not have any relation to other clan relatives.

In hypergamous inter-caste marriage, there is no implications of acceptance on the basis of caste belongingness of parents. Every parents invariably rejects the 'Dalit' daughter in-law. but this research also shows that in some Janabadi hypergamous inter-caste marriage cases, in which not every couple were easily accepted. Community bonding or solidarity and time of their marriage [during maoist insurgency or after peace process] play the crucial role for the acceptance of couple.

The predominant cases, the newly married couple prefer not to live in their original village (not exactly to live close to their parents or relatives). They just stayed separately on their own choice often far from their village and thus without the help of their family. In hypergamous marriage if couple gives pressure, they give some land and allow the couple to live nearby for example- in cow sheds (*Thara*) to the couple.

Hypogamous couple mostly face pressure from boy's family and his other relatives. They face pressure in ceremonial function and shared dining. The couple were not invited by other clan relatives. So they did not have any relations with relatives (secondary group). However, when couple gave birth to child their relationship with their family started to improve. Child birth is the

bridge to connect couple and family. This research shows that sometimes economical and labor contribution also play the role to integrate the couple with their family.

- There are no implications of acceptance of Hypergamous couple on the basis of their parent's caste belongingness.
- This research shows that Hypergamous couple stay separately on their own choice (voluntarily) without the help of their family. Instead of staying together family also divide property (shares) to their son.
- Hypergamous couple face pressure mostly from boy's family and his other relatives. With the time, their relationship with their family became nice but they did not have relations to other relatives. They faced pressure on ceremonial function and shared dinning.
- Child born is the crucial thing for couple to reintegrate with their family. But sometimes economic and labor contribution also play the role to improve their relationship.

Chapter Five

Nature of Acceptance of Hypogamous Marriage

This chapter explores the state of acceptance of hypogamous couple and caste belonging of their parents, experiences of social pressure by couples, and improving relationship with their parents over time. This chapter shows that unlike hypergamous inter-caste marriage, parent's caste belonging has implications on acceptance of the hypogamous couples. In hypogamous inter-caste marriage, a Dalit man becomes son-in-law in a non-Dalit family. Hypogamous marriages are invariably accepted by the side of the boys, but not by the side of girl. Every girl's parents were generally strictly against of the choice of their daughter. Thakuri, however, were stricter in particular.

According to Ellis (1999p.2) "a livelihood is a system of the activities, the assets, and the access that jointly determine the living gained by an individual or household". In the process of livelihood generation, people pull the assets and resources available with them and use these resources in production processes. Depending upon the feature of these resources, they engage their members in various forms of activities to earn income for maintaining their families (Ellis,1999).

5.1 Caste Belonging of Parents and its Implications on Acceptance of Couple by Family

This section shows that in hypogamous marriage, caste belonging of parents has implication on the acceptance of couple. compared to Chhetri and Magar, Thakuri were found strict as they rejected their daughter for lifetime. In the hypogamous marriage, there is no problem in husband's house. Husband's family accepted non-Dalit girl easily as daughter-in-law. But wife's parents partially accepted their son-in-law or sometimes they rejected totally. In this section among the 10 hypogamous inter-caste marriage, one (Thakuri) girl is totally rejected by her family. The other nine cases were partially accepted by their families (who happened to be non-Dalit as per the practice of hypogamous inter-caste marriage) after some time.² In some cases family of girl invite their daughters at home. Husband, however, are not welcomed.

In Beni Municipality, one of the respondents, Alisha Malla (Thakuri), who came to Beni Bazar for further study after completing her SLC. When Alisha eloped with Ashim Bishwokarma (a Dalit boy), her family became so angry and started to search for them. Alisha and Ashim met each other through their common friend. Ashim was known as young politician at District. After meeting him and talking to him she was quite impressed by Ashim. After having affair for three years, they decided to elope. But when they were in Pokhara, her family members called on Ashim's mobile regularly, and made Alisha put off her phone. Because of pressure, Ashim had to put off his phone. After a week they came to home secretly. But Alisha's family knew (Alisha's father was passed away many years ago) about their returned back at home. Then, many peoples (Alisha's clan relatives) came to Ashim's house and shouted her "you don't have any knowledge to get married to Dalit, you lost our prestige, you shameless". And then, they slapped her face. The incident did not stop there, they took them to police station and filed a case on a kidnapping. After the birth of daughter (sprash), her mother started to talk, and invited her to rented room in Beni Bazar.

² Partially accepted means they speak to their daughter and love grand child but rarely talk to her husband (a Dalit boy).

Karuna Sharma who belongs to the Brahmin family, and married to Samir Bishowkarma (a Dalit boy). Karuna's family engaged on hotel business at Kushma Bazar. She was studied there at school. Their relation started from bluff call (random call by unknown person). After talking over phone for six months Samir came to meet her at Kushma Bazar. Samir used to work in a driving institute in Baglung at that time. When she eloped with Samir, her family was so angry at first. They put effort to convince her to leave Samir. Karuna came to Beni with her husband. Her mother called her frequently and requested her to come back home and leave Samir. Karuna stated that, "her mother said over phone to come home, and leave Samir. we will handle/ short-out everything (situation). But I didn't agree. So, my family did not talk to me for a year." But after giving birth of her son, someone eared her mother that Karuna became a mother and gave birth to a son. Then her mother called her on the phone and asked about (halchal). Then she convinced her father and requested to invite Karuna to home. Karuna only went to Kushma (where her parents run a hotel), not to her village.

Other three cases of hypogamous marriages, Maya, Roshni and Lila who belonged to Chhetri caste were also rejected by their families. It is only after giving birth to a child their mothers started to talk them normally. One day, Maya's father came to her home. He was drunk and had carried a *khukuri* (knife). He shouted at Maya's husband Dinesh " I will kill you Damai !". Then Maya stood in front of Dinesh and told her father that "kill me first Ba." But later her mother convinced him and called them on Dashain. After eloped with Pariyar (Dalit/Kami) boy, Roshni's family cut off all the relations with her. Her mother said, "you had destroyed our trust, investment, and prestige, we will never be allowed you to come home and you will regret life long and so on". Her father warned her family not to take her name at home and he said 'she died for us. But later her mother met her at the hotel and sometimes started to come to her home for some hours but her father has not talked to her yet. Lila's family threatened her in-laws if they didn't show her daughter. They warned them to take them to police. They cut off all the relations but later her mother called her home after giving birth to her son. But her father did not talk to her.

After eloping with Dalit boy, Laxmi Shrestha's (Newar) brothers came with weapons to attack her and her husband. They managed to escape somehow. After completing SLC exam, when Bhim was planning to go Dang to learn some skill on jewellery work, Laxmi wanted to send letter to her maternal uncle (Mamaghar). This incident made them friends and they started to exchange love letter through their common friends. When they decided to elope her family couldn't accept her marriage decision with Dalit boy. They kept on threatening for sometimes. They [Laxmi's family member] even published a photo on the newspaper as her missing. So, they had to change so many places to escape. But when Bhim went to Korea, she started to stay at Bazar. Then, her family slowly started talk to her.

In the case of Laxmi, Sapana Purja 's family reported the police and filed a missing case. But after finding out her eloped with the Dalit boy they withdrew the case. According to Sapana and Basanta her father shouted Sapana over phone and blamed her for breaking his trust, "we send you there to study, what you have done? You died for us, we will not accept you and so on". Again next morning her mother called Sapana and cried non-stop and shouted at her for marrying with Dalit boy. Her mother blamed her for finishing their family prestige. She said "we didn't send you Chitwan for marrying with Dalit boy, we will not accept you".

This research also shows that sometimes, acceptance depends on conditions (such as family circumstance). Goma Chhantyal got married to Bijay Kishan (a Dalit boy). This was against the wish of her parents and, as result they discontinued their normal relationships with her. When her mother became terminally sick due to paralysis. Although there was no one to take care of her. Her parents did not inform this to Goma, instead as informed and suggested by her cousin sister about the poor health condition of her mother, Goma went to her parent's home. Goma took care of her mother for two years After her marriage. When she died, in the funeral process, Goma was not allowed to touch her mother's corpus. In reaction to Goma being there, the relatives took food (Prasad) in the courtyard of the house.

In one of the exceptional hypogamous inter-caste marriage cases, the parents reject their daughter altogether throughout life. Uma Malla (a Thakuri girl), got married to Thar Bdr Kishan (a Dalit boy). Thar worked as cowherd in her cousin uncle's house. They frequently met each other. Their meetings became a gossip and raised so many questions. And later, they decided to elope. It has been 25 years of her marriage, but still, she didn't meet with her mother. They never invited her to their home. According to Uma, her parents scolded her badly by saying "you died for us." She admitted that, "if you eloped with Dalit (lower caste) man then they had right to scold me, it was my mistake." Other relatives also did not talk to her for many years. Her sisters and brothers also cut off all the relations. Uma has no hope of going back to her parent's home any longer.

Compared to other castes, Thakuri, were found to be strict in treating normal relations with their daughters when they are married hypogamously. Every non-Dalit family tried to get back their daughters and convinced them to leave their husband, but if the daughters did not agree to leave, their parents threaten, and cut off the relations. In the following section I turn to explain the pressure experienced by couple in details.

In nutshell, this section shows that in hypogamous marriage, there is implication on acceptance of couple on the basis of their parent's caste belonging. Among other caste Thakuri seems stricter on the acceptance of their daughter's marriage decision/choice with Dalit boy. Chhetri, Brahmin also strictly rejected Dalit son in-law but after some times one to three years they accept or invite their daughters. Magar and Chhantyal also reject at first but later they accept.

5.2 Kind of Social Pressure Experienced by the Hypogamous Couples

In hypogamy marriage, couple face pressure from girl's family and her relatives. After knowing her eloped with a Dalit boy, girl's family member tried hard to convinced their daughter to get back. But if girl did not agree, they put pressure through police by filing a missing case or sometimes they threaten to boy's family. Alternatively, if the daughters continued to disagree, the parents leave the daughter altogether. In this section all 10 hypogamous couples who had faced pressure from wife's family will be discussed. According to Kansakar and Ghimire, (2008), "Hypogamous marriages are easily accepted by the husband's families but there is a problem in the wife's parental home. They tried hard to break their marriage. if the women take a stand and not leave the man, then the non- Dalit family had a difficult time in breaking up the marriage, but she then became a victim of ostracization." Findings of this section matches with Kanskar and Ghimire, (2008).

This section shows that in hypogamous marriage couples face social pressure in a different level. During the time of Maoist insurgency, people were afraid to put their reaction. So the couple did not face restriction. In the case of hypogamous marriage most of the couples face pressure from the wife's natal family as they were always against of their daughter's marriage decision with Dalit boy. The case of Goma Chhantyal one which we have discussed in section 5.1. Goma stated that "my relatives were talking behind me like Goma had a love affair with Bijay (Dalit boy), Goma stayed with Bijay on the same room and so on." Goma is grateful for Bijay's help for her taekwondo but she had not thought about marriage with him. But after that gossips, she agreed to elope with Bijay. After her marriage with Bijay gossips did not stop and her family and relatives cut off the relation but her mother was suffering from paralysis. And there was no one to care her. Goma had to go to her parental home to take care of her mother. During her stay there, other relatives never invited her. In her mother's funeral ceremony, Goma was not allowed to touch her mother's corpus. All the relatives ate food (*Prasad*) outside the house.

Another respondent Uma Kumari Malla, shared her experience on our conversation, "someone eared my closeness with Thar to my family one day, then my mother asked me about the relationship with Thar, I refused at first but slowly everyone started talking about our love affair. So one day, we decided to elope from home." After they eloped her family cut off all the relation with her.

Roshni Khadka's father warned to take her name at home. He thought that because of Roshni his family prestige was destroyed. And they had to live with shame in-front of relatives. Sarita Rana's family cut off all the relations. They were very angry as she eloped with Dalit boy to leave her first husband and children behind. She had very little hope of re-integration with her natal family. But mostly in hypogamus marriage son and daughter-in-law were stayed together very little with in-laws, as most of the couple stated that they stayed a maximum of two months. Sarita, one of the respondent stayed one and a half months with her mother-in-law and shifted to another house near her mother-in-law's house.

Alisha Malla and Laxmi Shrestha's parents and relatives threatened them. Alisha's natal family found her and her husband and took them to the police stations. They slapped her and shouted at

her “you don't have a brain to elope with Dalit.” They tried to register the kidnapping case. Alisha and Ashim managed to escape with the help of party leaders and friends. In another case of Laxmi which is similar to Alisha, after eloped with Bhim, Laxmi's brothers came with weapons to kill them but they escaped and traveled so many places to hide. Her family member also published the missing case of Laxmi in the newspaper. According to her husband Bhim, "it was just a week. One day I saw a missing report and photo of Laxmi in newspaper. Then we moved to Kafaldada a remote village for a one and half month."

In another case, parents of Sapana Purja another respondent, registered a missing case on police station but after knowing her eloped with Dalit boy they withdrew a case and shouted at her on a phone. Her father said “you broke my trust, we send you there for study, what you have done? You are died for us, we will not accept you and so on, I was just cried.”

Lila K.C's parents came to her in-law's house and threatened them, "if they did not show their daughter they will report it to the police". But her father-in-law replied that their daughter chooses herself to his son. So they returned to the home. Her father has not talked to her yet. Lila's grandparents have cut off all the relation to her.

Most of the couple accepted by family later, but their other relatives did not invite them. According to the couples, their family spoke to them and invited them but they did not have relationship with relatives. Relatives did not allow them to enter the house. This section shows that, every non- Dalit family were against of their daughter's marriage choice with Dalit boy. When their daughter eloped with Dalit boy, families first priority was to bring back their daughter home. Family tried to convinced them to leave the boys. During that convincing time they also said that they would short-out everything or they would handle the situation. But if the girl did not agree to return to home, they used to another strategy which was threatened to couple and boy's family.

There were different types of threatening, like filing a case in police (FIR) on missing and kidnapping, took them to police custody and chasing to couple. These forms of threaten were used by family to give sorrow and pain to couple, specially to boy. But when they realized all these efforts were meaningless then they withdraw the case and cut off all the relation. It seems that giving a pressure to couple was stage by stage.

To conclude, this section shows that in hypogamous marriage there is no problem in husband's family. Their in-law's do not react on their son's choice of marriage with non-Dalit girl. On the other side girl's parents did not accept Dalit son in-law. It took time one to three years to accept their daughter (slowly), but most of them didnot talk or invite their son in-law.

Data also shows that non- Dalit family tried to separate the couple at first (as the case of Lila and Roshni) but if girl took stand on her marriage decision, they started to threaten their daughters. The family put full efforts to give sorrow and pain to Dalit boy through the police case, like kidnapping, missing and chasing the couple. When they realized all of the efforts they put was meaningless, then they cut off all the relations to their daughter.

5.3 Improvements in Relationship of Daughters with their Parents

This section shows that the main factor to improve the hypogamous couple's relationships to their parents are the child born. In the hypogamous marriage, a child (grandchild) played the key role to connect the daughter and parents. Data of this research shows that after giving birth of child their relationship with their families is started to improving. In this chapter among 10 hypogamous couple eight girls were re-integrated with her family after the child born. They all were rejected by their families but after the child born anger of their families also slowed down. Among two cases one (Uma Kumari Malla) was the case of total rejection and another was (Sarita Rana Magar) partial rejection as she was not invited by her family but her younger sister talked to her on phone rarely.

“Inter-caste marriage is not only the concern of a family. It is also a matter for society too. The acceptance and rejection of marriage by the particular family are determined by the social perception and behavior to the family and couple as well (Paudel, 2018).” One of the respondents Maya K.C who got married to Dinesh Darji, says that “the first year of marriage was very difficult for me to face with people, there were no problem in in-laws house and I did not feel any differences because I knew them from my childhood. After giving birth to Kumar (her son) my family was come to my home to see me and my child.” Her brother and sister were also started to come to visit her. Later her family gave her small land to make a house, nowadays she is stayed near by her parental home.

According to Sarita Rana Magar (who got married with Dalit boy, second time to leave her first husband and children) "there was no problem in her in-law's house. Nobody said anything. But leaving a settled life behind and starting again from zero became difficult for her. She said that they were doing their own chores and maintained their lives." She was not invited by her natal family and did not talk to her yet. Sometimes, her younger sister called her but it was very rare. Sarita wanted to go her parental home and wanted to talk to her children but according to her she had no right to do so. She had a little hope to re-integrate with her family one day.

Roshni also shared that when she gave birth of her son Aditya Pariyar who was two years old, her mother came to visit her in the hospital with some clothes and ghee. Then she started to talk to Sumit too. It's been a five and half year of their marriage but still, Roshni's father did not talk to her. Sapana Purja also encountered her father with her son, after seeing his grandson, her father started to talk on a phone and sometimes they met at hotel. Karuna Sharma also had the same experience after the birth of her son, someone eared her mother that Karuna became a mother and gave birth to a son. Then her mother called and asked about (*halchal*). Karuna said that "Then she [her mother] convinced my father and requested me to come home. She came to Beni to take me home when my son was five months old. Staying a month with them my mother came with me to leave me only at Beni".

Lila's family also cut off all the relation to her but after giving a birth of her son she was invited by her family through her best friend. But her father still did not talk to her nicely. Her mother and youngest sister talk to Mahesh on phone rarely. Lila went to her parental home on occasions but she did not go to her grandparent's home.

Sometimes relatives, sister and mother in-law also play a role to re-integrate with natal family mostly in hypogamous marriage. Laxmi Shrestha's cousin brother and Bhim's friend helped them to convince laxmi's parents to invite them to the home. Alisha's elder sister who worked as a teacher became a bridge in between Alisha and her mother. Her sister called her mother in Bazar and arranged a meeting. Roshni's mother-in-law made so many calls to her mother to convince her to meet Roshni. Finally, she arranged a meeting at the hotel. Sometimes a couple themselves had gone to their homes.

“The acceptance of hypogamous couples by non-Dalit natal families and the economic condition of the couple seem to be co-related. So couples with good socio-economic status are more likely to be accepted by non-Dalit natal families whereas those with average economic conditions have only little chance of being accepted (Kanskar and Ghimire, 2008).” Findings of this chapter matches with K and G. Going to Korea is the main turning point for Bhim Prakash to re-integrate with Laxmi's parents as he invested his money to jewelry shops and land. Roshni Khadka's mother started to talk with her son-in-law Sumit Pariyar after he went to Australia. Kusum's mother and sisters also talk on a phone with her husband as he is in abroad. Alisha Malla and Goma Chantyal's parents speak to their husbands as they were involved in politics.

To sum up, this chapter shows that child birth is the main thing to re-integrate with their family in hypogamous marriage. When a non-Dalit girl get married to Dalit boy, her family did not accept her in first. It takes one to three or five years to re-integrate with her family. Most of the respondent share that their natal family started to talk to her after a child birth. They invited her to home but they hesitated to call their son in-law.

It also shows that sometimes economic condition of boys/grooms also play the role for re-integration with wife's family. Bhim Prakash Barailey, Sumit Pariyar's economic condition and Ashim's political involvement play the role to re-integrate with their wife's parents.

5.4 Role of Assets and Livelihood Implications of Hypogamous Couple

The hypogamous couples stay mostly at their parent's land. After getting married with non-dalit girl, the boys bring her to his home at first, as there is no problem at his family side. Assets or land of his parents play a role to settle them. According to Kanskar and Ghimire, (2008), ‘immediate acceptance of hypogamous couple by dalit family made easy to locate such couple’ (pp.79)³. In this section, all 10 hypogamous couples were stayed on their parent's land. Among 10 cases three of them stayed with in-laws inside the same roof, other six cases were stayed near by their in-laws house on their own choice. But there is one exceptional hypogamous couple who stayed near by her in-laws and parental house (Maya and Dinesh were a neighbor and her parents give her small piece of land to make a house).

Bijay Kishan (Dalit boy) one of the respondents, who was former sector in-charge of Maoist party met Goma (a Chhantyal girl), in the village Pakhapani. After the peace process of Maoist insurgency (2006), he supported Goma in Tekwando training. During the training they started to

³ Contrast to hypergamous marriage in hypogamy marriage most of the couple stayed at their family's asset or land near in-law's house.

feel for each other. Bijay's family did not react to his marriage decision to non-Dalit girl. Bijay said that "there was no problem to get married with upper caste girl, but to go to lower caste was the problem." Bijay thought that that's why his family accepted Goma as daughter-in-law happily. His family supported Goma to complete her SLC examination too. They stayed near by Bijay's parents' house. Bijay made a two room house in his father's land. But now they stay at Bazar for their son's education where Goma has run beauty-parlor.

Another respondent Shyam B.K who got married to Sarita Rana Magar stayed near by his parent's house. This was the second marriage of both of them. They met in Kathmandu where Sarita used to run a restaurant with her first husband. Shyam was planning to go gulf at that time. He visited her restaurant for snacks. They teased/made fun of each other. Her husband started to blaming her for keeping illegal relation to Shyam. Then they eloped. Now she had no relation with her family and children but her youngest sister called her rarely.

Uma Kumari Malla and Thar Bahadur Kishan also made a house on his parent's land. Thar's parents passed away many years ago and his other brothers lived in Pokhara. Bhim Prakash Baraily and Laxmi Shrestha also made a house near by his father's house. Now they run a jewellery shop in Beni. Mahesh Kishan and Lila K.C met at school. Mahesh was one batch senior than Lila. They introduced each other on school program. Then they started to feel for each other. One day Lila visited to Mahesh in his house. Coincidentally Mahesh's family members were not at home. Lila stayed that night at Mahesh house and had sexual relationship. Afterward she felt afraid to return back to her house. Without her family consensus she got married with Mahesh. After living with her in-laws sometimes, now Lila also made a house with two room near by her in-law's house.

Another respondent Karuna shared that Samir's family was happy that they got a daughter-in-law and did not react anything. They accepted Karuna as their daughter-in-law easily. After staying for a month with in-laws now she moved to Babiyachour Bazar for her son's education. All these girls did not get any supports from theirfamily.

This research also shows that there is no problem for a girl in her husband's house. Boy's Parents accepted them easily and they did not react on their marriage decision but some of the parents were afraid of their son's future as they had fear on daughter in-law's adjustment on their family (*chodchan ki vanne*). This finding corroborates with the key findings of Kansakar and Ghimire (2008, p.80), when they assert that "in hypogamous marriage, a majority of Dalit families showed a good attitude and behavior towards non-Dalit daughters-in-law. this could be due to the high caste status of the daughter's in-law or because of the understanding that they had sacrificed a lot by marrying into a Dalit family. The higher caste status itself gave the non-Dalit women high self-esteem in a Dalit household."

One of the respondents Lila shared that "first time her mother-in-law seems worried about her son's future because she was unsure about Lila's adjustment on Dalit family as she belongs to the Chhetri family. She made her son aware that Lila may leave him later. And Mahesh will be hurt. After a week Lila's in-laws arranged a small marriage function at home with their clan group and neighbors. They warmly welcomed her as their daughter-in-law."

Other three hypogamous couples stayed with in-laws. One of the respondents Alisha Malla did not feel so different in her in-law's house. Everyone welcomed her warmly and organized marriage ceremony too but her family tried to convince her to leave him but she didn't agree. Alisha and Ashim stayed with joint family. Basanta Century and Sapana Purja got married against of her family. Now they are also stayed with join family. Roshni Khadka also stayed with her in-laws at Beni Bazar. All these three girl respondents who married with Dalit boy did not feel any difference at in-law's house. They said that staying with join family was good in sharing and caring. All member equally takes responsibility of family.

Another hypogamous couple, Maya and Dinesh stayed nearby in-laws and her parent's house. They made a house in a land given by Maya's parent. They were neighbor and met frequently in cultivation work. They didn't know how they started to feel for each other. After eloping, they came to Kathmandu and stayed for four months. In our conversation they shared that, they did not go to Dinesh's home directly. They stayed at his aunt's house (Thuloaama). Next day, Dinesh's father came to receive them. They reached home in the evening so that no one saw them. They were afraid of Maya's family and also her other relatives. They did not follow any rituals. But Maya remembered that 'mother-in-law says her, carry this pot (which was full of water) and come inside.'

Particularly in the case of hypogamy, non-Dalit women who were living with their husband's families had an adjustment problem because of the different cultures and their socialization process(Paudel,2018). But this research shows that most of the women shared that they did not feel so much difference in the family but they do feel the difference in eating behavior mostly. One of the respondents (Lila) feels hesitated to eat food cooked by her mother-in-law in first. Otherwise, during their elope from the home with Dalit boy, they started to adjust themselves. Uma said that belong to the Thakuri family, she feels difficult to stay with Dalit boy in first but she had no option. So she started to learned eating and other cultural activity from her husband.

In hypogamous marriage, most of the couple stayed on their (husband) parent's land. Their parent's land and assets play a role for their initial settlement. They did not get any support from girl's parents. But data shows that non-Dalit families accept their daughter slowly. They do not have any relation to other relatives of non-Dalit family.

In nutshell, in hypogamous marriage there is problem at husband's family. Mostly problem is experienced by the side of the girl's families. Dalit family accept easily and without any reaction to their son's decision, as they are having a non-Dalit girl as their family member. They support their son's choice as much as they can do. But it is not same to wife's family. They reject their daughters and her choice of marriage with Dalit boy in first. But after some time most of the respondent's family accept them. Wife's parents accept their son in-law partially, but most of them do not have relation.

This research shows that wife's natal family did not supports girls, after her inter-caste marriage. on the other side husband's family had some dilemma or confusion on their son's future life. Mostly mother in-law worried about their daughter in-law's behavior and future relation. It may be they have a fear of abandon of their son with them as he got married with upper caste girl.

5.5 Final Note on Nature of Acceptance of Hypogamous Marriage

This chapter discusses on to what extent hypogamy marriages are accepted by the family. implications on the basis of caste belongingness of parents, social pressure faced by couple, and process of improving relationship with the family over time. Hypogamous marriage where Dalit boy became a son in-law in non-Dalit family. This research shows that in hypogamy marriage there is an implication on acceptance of couple on the basis of their parent's caste belonging. Among other caste Thakuri seems stricter. Chhetri, Brahmin also strictly reject Dalit son in-law but after some times one to three years they accepted or invited their daughters. Magar and Chhantyal also rejected in first but later they accepted.

In Hypogamous marriage there is no problem in the husband's house. The husband's family easily and happily accepted (non-Dalit) daughter in law. But the girl's parents did not accept her choice of marriage with a Dalit boy. To accept (Dalit) son-in-law is the biggest deal for girl's family, as they continuously tried hard to break their marriage. This research shows that girls family tried to convinced their daughter to leave the boy. But if girl did not agree to leave the boy their families registered the cases (FIR) on different topic (missing, kidnapping) as a punishment to boy, and then they cut off the relations to her.

According to the data after a grandchild was born girls relationship to their families were started to improve. Child born was the key to improve their relationship with family in Hypogamous marriage. when child was born then their family started to invite the girls or sometimes they meet at public place secretly. Interestingly, most of the mother's initiated in home to invite their daughter. But when daughters were welcomed at home after child born, son in-law (Dalit boy) were not welcomed. Most of non-Dalit family did not keep relation to son in-law but talked on phone rarely. This research also shows that re-integration with family is every girl's wish and hope. They are happy when family invite them, but also they had a wish to accept their husband like as other. Sometimes the husband's economic status also plays a key role on the acceptance of couple.

In hypogamous inter-caste marriage most of the couple stayed at their family's land. With the support of boy's family for their new life, assets or land play the vital role to the couple. This research shows that most of the Hypogamous couple stay little time with in-laws but made their own roof nearby in-laws house. land and house made easy to sustain new life to couple.

- In Hypogamous marriage there is an implication on the acceptance of couple on the basis of parent's caste belongingness.
- Hypogamous couple face pressure from girl's natal family after married with Dalit boy. Girl's family tried to convince to leave boy, if girl disagreed to leave the boy they put full efforts to break their relations. They registered case like missing and kidnapping, then when they realize all their efforts are meaningless then they cut off the relations to their daughter.

- Child born plays the crucial role to reconnect their relations to their family. sometimes boy's economic status also plays the role.
- In Hypogamous marriage couple stays with in-laws or most of them stay on their family's assets or land. This land helps newly married couple to sustain their livelihood.

Chapter Six

Summary and Conclusion

Caste is the most important part of the identity in Nepal. This research aims to explore about caste system. Particularly, this research attempts to unpack the social dimensions of inter-caste marriage.

Marriage between two people from different caste group is called inter-caste marriage. Basically this research explains about to what extent hypergamous and hypogamous marriages are accepted by the families and their experience of re-integration with families. This study describes how inter-caste marriages contributes to bring a change on caste system or not. (Hypergamy marriage also called Anuloma is a practice that high caste (non-Dalit) man marrying a low caste (Dalit) women and Hypogamous marriage also called Pratiloma that Dalit girl married with non-Dalit boy).

This research describes inter-caste marriage did not happen as normal, after having a love affair they elope. In hypergamous marriage, boy's family did not accept the couple. Instead of staying together they give shares. Couple face pressure from boy's family and his relatives. And child birth is the key to connect them with their family. on the other hand in hypogamous marriage Girl's family did not accept the couple. Family put full of efforts to break their relation and when they realize, their efforts was meaningless then they cut off the relation to their daughter.

Based on, in-depth interview method, this research is qualitative in nature. I had tried to explore the dimensions of inter-caste marriage in Mabeni Khola. In my observation, inter-caste marriages are increasing there. Easy accessible to the field through get keepers and social networks led me to choose this area for the field study. This study is descriptive. It describes the acceptance of couple who were involved in inter-caste marriage and their stories of re-integration and rejection by families in descriptive way. This research is mostly based on primary data. According to my convenience, I have used purposive sampling method. I could get access to nine hypergamous and 10 hypogamous couple out of many cases in Mabeni khola.

According to one of the prominent sociologist G.S Ghure (1950), most of the groups are divided into a number of sub-groups, every one of which forbids its members to marry persons from outside of it. This principle of strict endogamy is such a dominant aspect of caste-society. However, a few exceptions to this general rule of marrying within one's own group are due to the practice of hypergamy. He further added that in some parts of the Punjab, especially in the hills, a man of a higher caste can take a wife /girl from one of the lower castes, while, in Malabar, inter-caste marriage is allowed on some of the artisan castes.

Another scholar Dipankar Ghupta (2004) argues that inter-caste marriage leads to blurring of the differences between different caste groups and disturb the recognized caste hierarchy. Dumont (1970) explains endogamy is essential to the caste system and caste identity but he did not talk about inter-caste marriage, as his concerns were on caste hierarchy and purity and pollution. Yuval-Davis and Stoetzler (2002) argues that inter-caste marriage breaks the imagined boundaries.

According to the one of the prominent Nepali sociologist Yuba Raj Luintel (2014), while inter-caste marriage is assumed to be uncommon in Nepal, they do occur. Since a long time inter-caste

marriage have been a part of social reality- although not widely and without social welcome. Inter-caste marriage means marriage outside one's own caste boundaries.

Kansakar and Ghimire (2009) state that inter-caste marriages between Dalits and non-Dalits have potential to contribute towards eliminating caste-based discrimination. They argue that if non-dalit family and society accept inter-caste marriage it could contribute to the mitigation or elimination of caste based discrimination. According to them, inter-caste marriage between Dalit and non-Dalit is seemingly individual decisions. The couples are looked upon as social deviants and are usually punished for rejecting the prevalent norms.

One of the prominent scholar of Nepal Prayag Raj Sharma (2004) in his book 'The state and society in Nepal' wrote that, Nepali caste rule normally prescribe isogamy (isogamy is marriage between similar caste groups). According to him although hypergamy is permissible for Brahmans. The issue of Brahmans from hypergamous marriage have a lower caste ranking. Hofer (2004) mentioned that hypergamy is permitted and is considered a legal form of marriage as long as there is no transgression of the demarcation lines between pure and impure.

All the scholar I have mentioned above are arguing that endogamy marriage is strictly followed in caste system but inter-caste marriages also increasing nowadays. Their argument seems similar as they state that inter-caste marriage helps to break old norms and customs.

6.1 Nature of Acceptance of Hypergamous Marriage

One of the key findings of this research is that keeping aside some exceptional case, every hypergamous inter-caste marriage⁴ is invariably rejected by the family of boy/ groom, on account of the lower caste belongingness of the would-be-daughter in-law. But the period of rejection of such marriage is often short. Mostly after child birth their relation to the family often starts to be normalize.

The hypergamous inter-caste marriages that take place without the notice of the parents, result in to firm rejection on the part of the boy's parents initially. Parents do not want to take any responsibility further for their son and daughter in-law. First, such a responsibility traditionally entails supporting them financially till the time they get any job and second, this would also imply that the parents are not willing to be stigmatized. Instead the parents allocate some assets or land to the newly married couple.

However, as the time passes by, the anger and temper of the parent lesson down an extent of interaction and acceptance begin to take place. This is however contingent on several facts like child birth, followed by financial and labor contributions on the part of the couple. But the case of Janbadi inter-caste marriage was little different as most of the couple did not face any familial discrimination even in this circumstances, but they do not have any relation to other clan relatives. In hypergamous inter-caste marriage, there is no implications of acceptance on the basis of caste belongingness of parents. Every parents invariably reject the daughter in-law owing to her "lower

⁴ hypergamous marriage that entails Dalit daughter in-law arriving into a house of non-Dalit family

caste belonging. This research also shows that in some Janabadi inter-caste marriages, in which not every couple were easily accepted. Community bonding or solidarity and time of their marriage [during maoist insurgency or after peace process] play the crucial role for the acceptance of couple.

In predominant cases, the newly married couple prefer not to live in their original village (not exactly close to their parents as well as relatives). They just stay separately on their own choice which is often far from their village. In hypergamous marriage if couple gives pressure, the parents are forced to allocate some land and allow the couple to live nearer by (for example, in cow sheds called *thara*). Hypergamous couple mostly face pressure from not only boy's family but also from his relatives. They face pressure in ceremonial function and shared dining. The couple are not invited by other clan members. So they do not have any relations to relatives (secondary group).

The conclusions are as follows:

- There are no implications of acceptance of hypergamous couple on the basis of their parents caste belongingness.
- This research shows that hypergamous couple stay separately on their own choice (voluntarily) without the help of their family. Instead of staying together family also divide property (shares) to their son.
- Hypergamous couple face pressure mostly from boy's family and his other relatives. With the time, their relationship with their family became nice but they do not have relations to other relatives. They face pressure on ceremonial function and shared dining.
- Child birth is the crucial thing for couple to reintegrate with their family. But sometimes economic and labor contribution also play the role to improve their relationship.

6.2 Nature of Acceptance of Hypogamous Marriage

This section discusses on what extent Hypogamous marriages are accepted by the family, implications on the basis of caste belongingness of parents, social pressure faced by couple, and process of improving relationship with the family over time. Hypogamous marriage where Dalit boy become a son in-law in non-Dalit family. This research shows that unlike the case of hypergamous marriage, in hypogamous marriage there is an implication that parent's caste belonging has impacts whether or not such marriages are accepted by the family of girl. Compare to other caste of high status Thakuri seem stricter. Chhetri, Brahmin are also strictly rejected Dalit son in-law but after sometimes they begin to accept. The larger Janjati group (Magar and Chhantyal) in Mabeni Kholra also rejected at first but later they accepted.

In hypogamous marriage there is no problem in the husband's house. The husband's family easily and happily accept (non-Dalit) daughter in law. But the girl's parents do not accept her choice of marriage with a Dalit boy. To accept (Dalit) son-in-law is the biggest deal for girl's family, as they continuously try hard to break their marriage. This research shows that girls family tried to

convince their daughter to leave the boy. But if girl did not agree to leave the boy, their families registered the cases (FIR) on different allegation (missing, kidnapping) as a punishment to boy, and then they cut off the relations to her.

According to the field data, after a grandchild was born girls relationship to their families started to improve. In such circumstances, child birth was the key to improve their relationship with family. once child is born the family started to invite the girls or sometimes they meet at public place secretly. It is mostly the mother who takes such initiation to invite their daughter. It is important to note, however, that even if daughters were welcome at home, son in-law who is Dalit are not welcomed. Most of non-Dalit family do not keep relation to son in-law, others only talk on phone. This research also shows that re-integration with family is every girl's wish and hope. They are happy when family invite them, but also they had a wish to accept their husband like as other. Sometimes the husband's economic status also plays a key role on the acceptance of couple.

In hypogamous inter-caste marriage most of the couple stayed at their family's land. With the support of boy's family for their new life, assets or land play the vital role to the couple. This research shows that most of the Hypogamous couple stay little time with in-laws but make their own house closer to in-law's house. land and house given by family not only provide financial security it also made easy to sustain new life to couple. After getting married to non-Dalit girl, when couple got shelter from family they feel secure from threatening.

The conclusions are as follows:

- In hypogamous marriage there is an implication on the acceptance of couple on the basis of parents caste belongingness
- Hypogamous couple face pressure from girl's natal family after marrying with Dalit boy, girls family tried to convince to leave boy. If girl disagree to leave the boy they put full efforts to break their relations. They registered case like missing and kidnapping. Then when they realized all their efforts were meaningless then they cut off the relations to their daughter.
- Child birth play the crucial role to reconnect their relations to their family. sometimes boy's economic status also plays the role.
- In Hypogamous marriage couple stays with in-laws or most of them stay on their family's assets or land. This land helps newly married couple to sustain their livelihood.

6.3 Synthetic Analysis of Hypergamous and Hypogamous Marriage

This research attempts to understand the caste system in terms of inter-caste marriage and particularly how it is functioning. Inter-caste marriage where Dalit and non-Dalit got married with each other. In this section I have tried to explore the similarities and differences between Hypergamous (Dalit girl Become Daughter in-law in non Dalit family) marriage and Hypogamous (Dalit boy become a son in-law in non- Dalit family) marriage.

In both Hypergamy and Hypogamy marriage non-Dalit family strictly against of their son and Daughter's marriage choice with Dalit boy. But Dalit family did not react on their son or daughter's marriage choice. However, in hypergamy every family (Chhetri, Magar and Chhantyal) strictly against of their son' marriage choice with Dalit girl. But in hypogamy among Chhetri Brahmin Magar and Chantyal Thakuri seems stricter, as there was a case of total (lifetime) rejection from the family.

Nowadays, acceptance and rejection of couple depends on family level but also there is strong participation of relatives. If family accept the couple, kin and relatives do not accept. They do not invite them on many ceremonies like (birth, funeral, Bratbanda, Kul puja). Their family were invited because hypergamous couple were relocated themselves. In both hypergamy and hypogamy inter-caste marriage non-Dalit family try to convince their son and daughter to leave their partner but if they disagree to leave, they cut off the relations. However, this research shows that in hypergamy marriage most of the non-Dalit boy shift themselves away from family but in hypogamy non- Dalit family put full pressure to couple by registered the FIR like on missing and kidnapping cases.

In hypergamy inter-caste marriage boy's family do not allow their Dalit daughter in-law to enter the house. Non-Dalit family instead of staying together on same roof they divide shares/property to their son. Dividing a shares also depends on boy's demand. If boys demand his property rights they divide otherwise most of the hypergamous couple move far from the family voluntarily. But in hypogamous marriage every couple stay near by their family's assets. Dalit (boy's) family supports the couple and welcomed them happily. This research shows that most of the hypogamous couple stay with their family very little time, but build a house near by their family. To receive roof or land from the family make easy to couple to sustain their new livelihood.

Finally, in both marriage, child born was the key elements to re-integrate with family for the couple. Initiation of talking or meeting with couple were taken by mother at first. After giving a birth of child their relationship with their family is started to improve. But it is conditional sometimes. In hypergamy inter-caste marriage sometime economical and labor contribution also play the role. Likewise, in hypogamous marriage economic status of boy and sometimes common friend, sisters and mother in-law also play the role of bridge to connect them with their family.

In nutshell, this research shows that inter-caste marriages are taken as deviant activity but it is happening in our society. Actually in compare to hypergamous marriage hypogamous marriages are recognize more easily by family but couple do not have any relations to relatives. According to this research most of hypergamous couple prefer to stay away from their family or they relocate

themselves but hypogamous couple stayed near by their family so acceptance and recognition of couple is fasten in hypogamous than hypergamous marriage.

- Every inter-caste marriage between Dalit and non-Dalit were love marriage
- Most of the inter-caste marriage were under age marriage
- There is no displacement on settlement but on the choice of couple they stayed separately from in-laws.
- Couple stayed very limited with in-laws
- Couple had no relation with kin and relatives
- There is crossing relation in hypergamy and hypogamy as hypogamy is easily accepted by husband's family but not by wife's parents and in hypergamy husband's family not accepted daughter in-law but accepted by wife's family.
- Interestingly, field data shows that inter-caste marriage between Dalit and non-dalit were bonding between individual (couple) not family or relatives.
- Income and acceptance has a relationship

6.4 Theoretical Implications

According to one of the prominent sociologist G.S Ghure (1950), most of the groups are divided into a number of sub-groups, every one of which forbids its members to marry persons from outside of it. This principle of strict endogamy is such a dominant aspect of caste-society. However, a few exceptions to this general rule of marrying within one's own group are due to the practice of hypergamy. He further added that in some parts of the Punjab, especially in the hills, a man of a higher caste can take a wife /girl from one of the lower castes, while, in Malabar, inter-caste marriage is allowed on some of the artisan castes.

Another scholar Dipankar Ghupta (2004) argues that inter-caste marriage leads to blurring of the differences between different caste groups and disturb the recognized caste hierarchy. Dumont (1970) explains endogamy is essential to the caste system and caste identity but he did not talk about inter-caste marriage, as his concerns were on caste hierarchy and purity and pollution. Yuval-Davis and Stoetzler (2002) argues that inter-caste marriage breaks the imagined boundaries.

According to the one of the prominent Nepali sociologist Yubraj Luintel (2014), while inter-caste marriage is assumed to be uncommon in Nepal, they do occur. Since a long time inter-caste marriage have been a part of social reality- although not widely and without social welcome. Inter-caste marriage means marriage outside one's own caste boundaries.

Kansakar and Ghimire (2009) state that inter-caste marriages between Dalits and non-Dalits have potential to contribute towards eliminating caste-based discrimination. They argue that if non-dalit family and society accept inter-caste marriage it could contribute to the mitigation or elimination of caste based discrimination. According to them, inter-caste marriage between Dalit and non-Dalit is seemingly individual decisions. The couples are looked upon as social deviants and are usually punished for rejecting the prevalent norms.

One of the prominent scholar Prayag Raj Sharma (2004) in his book 'The state and society in Nepal' wrote that, Nepali caste rule normally prescribe isogamy (isogamy is marriage between similar caste groups). According to him although hypergamy is permissible for Brahmans. The issue of Brahmans from hypergamous marriage have a lower caste ranking. Hofer (2004) mentioned that hypergamy is permitted and is considered a legal form of marriage as long as there is no transgression of the demarcation lines between pure and impure.

All the scholar I have mentioned above are arguing that endogamy marriage is strictly followed in caste system but inter-caste marriages also increasing nowadays. Their argument seems similar as they state that inter-caste marriage helps to break old norms and customs.

Luintel (2014) in his report found that Jumla provides a unique case of socially sanctioned inter-caste marriage. The existence of a caste group called 'Bitalu' is a case of hypergamous inter caste marriage between a "high" caste man and a dalit women. Bitalu is taken there prestigious caste than dalit (luintel, 2014). But in Mabeni Khola I did not find any cases of invention of new sub-caste category of children. Children of hypergamous couple put surname same as his/ her father.

As mention by Kanskar and Ghimire hypergamoues couples were partially accepted by families. I would also conclude that hypergamous couple were not accepted by heart, they were partially accepted. Instead of displacement there is re-location of couple. They maintain good bond now than before. But my data shows that inter-caste marriage between Dalit and non-Dalit did not contribute to social integration. It is the individual relationship between two people as there is no relationship in family level.

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Annexes

Annex 2. Literature Review

1. The caste origin hindu group; The caste origin hindu groups have some distinct cultural features; 1. Hierarchical structure (one group is placed at top and other is placed at the bottom) 2. hereditary basis of the membership 3. Endogamy (marrying within one's own cultural group) 4. Purity and pollution, which govern the day to day life of people. There are three distinct caste origin hindu groups in Nepal; 1. Caste origin hill hindus 2. Caste origin tarai hindus and 3. Caste origin hindu newar.

. caste- origin hill hindu groups;

- . high caste hindu groups; Brahmin, Thakuri and chhetri
- . middle caste hindu group; sanyasi
- . low caste hindu group or dalits ; kami, sarki , damai, badi and gaine

. caste- origin tarai hindu groups;

the social structure of caste –origin tarai hindu groups is complex, reflecting four varna groups with distinct hierarchical structure within them ; Brahmin (maithali Brahmin, bhumihar), chhetri (Rajput), vaisya (Yadav, kayastha, halwari, hajam, sonar, lohar, rajbhar and others), and sudra or untouchable (tatma, bantar, mushahar, chamar, dom and others)

2. The newars ; the case of newar is exceptional. This group not only presents the complicated social structure among all groups in Nepal, truly reflecting the model of four hindu varna categories and is clearly divided into two distinct religious groups; the hindu and the Buddhist. Newars are divided internally into more than 40 distinct cultural groups with different occupational categories though they share a common language.
3. The janjati or nationalist; nationality or janajati is that community which has its own mother tongue and traditional culture. They had following characteristics;
 - . A distinct collective identity
 - . own language, religion, tradition, culture
 - . traditional homeland or geography
 - . having 'we feeling' who declare themselves as janajati
4. Muslim or musalman; the CBS recorded two cultural groups within musalman; 1. Musalnam and 2. Churoute; the small hill musalman group lives in western hill districts.
5. others ; small numbers of religious and social groups such as sikh/ Punjabi, bagali, Marwari live mostly in urban areas of Nepal. (Dahal,D.R.2010)

13. Type of marriage: did you follow any rituals on your marriage ?
 14. Did your family accept your marriage decision ? how and why did they react that way ?
 15. Did your spouse's family accept your marriage decision ? how and why did they react that way ?
 16. Immediate reaction compare to before marriage ?
 17. How your parents treat to your husband/ wife and children ?
-

18. Variation in acceptance of hypogamy and hypergamy :

18a) what is your caste ?

18b) what is your spouse's caste ?

19. Caste/ethnicity of non- dalit family:

19a) Your experience of becoming a daughter in-law in upper caste (Chhetri) household ?

19b) Your experience of becoming a son in-law of an upper caste (Chhetri, Magar)household ?

20. Experience of social pressure :

20a) Where did you stay (took shelter) after marriage ?

20b) How did the in-laws and parents behave to your spouse?

20c) who play the role for your integration to your family ? how long did it take for reunion with family after marriage ?

21. Factors in shifting relationship over time:

21a) How many years ago did you get marriage ?

21b) Migrated or not (raithane) ?

21c) How the process of acceptance began ?

21d) What difficulties are faced at the time of marriage and during re-conciliation?

21e) How was your relationship to your family in the first year of your marriage ?

21f) How was the (relationship between 1 to 3 year of your marriage ? (child birth?)

21g) Is any changes has occur after five year of marriage ?

21h) How is your relationship with them now ?

Wrap up question:

22. How did you cope ? how did you respond ? what is your experience ?

Annex 3.1 Photos of Respondents



(Researcher, Prem Bahadur Karki and his wife Sabina Pariyar)



(Reseacher and Pramila B.K, outside of her room, her husband was abroad so I had click her picture with me)



(Rabin Thapa, outside of his house)



(Gita Kishan (wife of Rabin Thapa), outside of her house)