

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Nepal is the country of multilingual, multi religious and multiethnic society. As no anthropological/linguistic survey has been carried out in Nepal to date to note the various ethnic/caste groups, their distribution and population size, the exact number of ethnic/caste groups and their population size is somewhat imprecise in Nepal even today. In this kind of uncertain situation, the CBS has remained the single most important reliable source in providing the national level information on caste/ethnicity and their various socioeconomic characteristics (Dahal, 2005). However, the Central Bureau of Statistic (CBS), 2001 identified 103 including two unidentified castes and ethnic groups throughout the country.

The Legal Code (Muluki Ain) categorized them as *paninachalne choichitohalnu parne* caste (Hofer, 2004). While looking at the social monograph of Nepal, one is supposed to find various occupational caste people like Kumal, Kami, Damai, Sarki, Magante, Chamar, Sunar, Chureta and so on. Among the occupational groups, 'Gaine' or 'Gandharva' is one and singing, dancing and playing musical instrument are the main occupations as well as cultural identity of the caste (Darnal, 2043). For their occupation they are famous throughout the country.

Different process play important role to bring changes in socio-cultural phenomena in society. Economy, migration, technology, education, transportation, globalization, modernization, urbanization, industrialization, discovery, diffusion and so on are the major process of the change. The introduction of new technology, modernization and diffusion play a significant role to bring changes in a socio-cultural life of the people. Along with the arrival of new technology, people gradually give up their traditional

technologies and cultural practices to cope with the changing environment. Similarly, the government also imposed different policies in different periods. Such policies have succeeded to convert the cultural identities of many ethnic groups of Nepal. Some of the minority groups, as a result, have already lost their Caste identity and some of them are in the state of losing it. Among these groups, Gandharva is one who have been losing caste identity associated with their singing and dancing and playing musical instrument due to the influenced of modern tools and technology. In Nepal, Gandharvas are in minority group. Moreover, they are regarded as socially untouchable and lower caste group. Singing and playing *Sarangi* (musical instrument) is not only the means of livelihood and instruments of entertainment but also their identity. Therefore, this study focuses on the cultural identity as well as change in social relation of Gandharvas with other groups living in their surroundings.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Sociological anthropological study has become popular for the past few years in Nepal. During the last 5 and half decades, various sociologists and anthropologist, both from home and abroad, have carried out the detailil studied among the various ethnic groups of Nepal (Bista 1970, Caplan 1970, Haimendrof 1964, Holmberg 1989, Ortnor 1978, Nepali 1965). But still very little attention is paid towards the study of the Gandharva of Nepal. (Darnal 2045, Thapa 2030, Nepali 2060, Chhetri, 1989). Except Chhetri, no one of them are anthropologists and sociologists.

Because of the intensive use of radio, television, people have lost the interest in the songs of Gandharvas. At the same time people are so busy that they cannot afford much time for listening to those songs. Along with the arrival of modern mass media the traditional system of singing, playing instrument (*Sarangi*), dancing and begging and musical instrument are also gradually being replaced. Along with the replacement of their

traditional occupation their social relation and caste identity is also being changed. We have still not been able to throw ample light on their cultural transformation and social trends, traditional beliefs, morals, customs, religion, economy, education and their significant role in nation building activities. Though the role of Gandharvas in the establishment of glorious history of Nepal has left an indelible impression on us, we are still not paying much attention for the betterment of their life (Chhetri, 1989). But no one has focused on the caste identity and social relationship with other people living in their surroundings. Therefore, it is still an interesting subject matter for sociological study. Therefore, there is lack of sociological insight in their study.

Gandharvas have changed their traditional way of life and modified their life style. They have faced problems in new setting. This study makes an attempt to see the socio-cultural changes in Gandharvas life. This study helps to understand why the Gandharvas are discontinuing their traditional occupation (caste identity) as changes take place in social relation, socio-economic, cultural and political environment in the process of modernization. This study also helps to understand how they are adopting themselves in multi-caste and multi-ethnic society by changing their existing occupation.

On the basis of the above problem, this study raises and makes an attempt to answer the following research questions.

1. What is the way of living of Gandharvas in Manaharipur Village?
2. What is their traditional occupation?
3. Is singing and playing is their sources of livelihood or caste identity?
4. What is the impact of modern tools and technologies especially mass media in their way of life?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The study mainly focuses the change on the caste identity as well as the social relationship of Gandharva with other caste and ethnic groups living in their surroundings. However, the specific objectives of the study will be as follows

- J To identify and document the changes on the traditional caste identity associated with musical instrument and singing.
- J To examine social relation of Gandharva with non-dalit people of their surroundings.

1.4 Justification of the study

Basically, this study has aimed to focus on the act of exploring the inter-social relation, social and economic condition and change and transformation in traditional caste occupation of Gandharva people. The findings from this study may be a good source of information as a secondary source of data to the further coming researchers. It is a sociological research of Gandharva people because of which it has its own specific importance. Besides these, the rationales of the study are as follows.

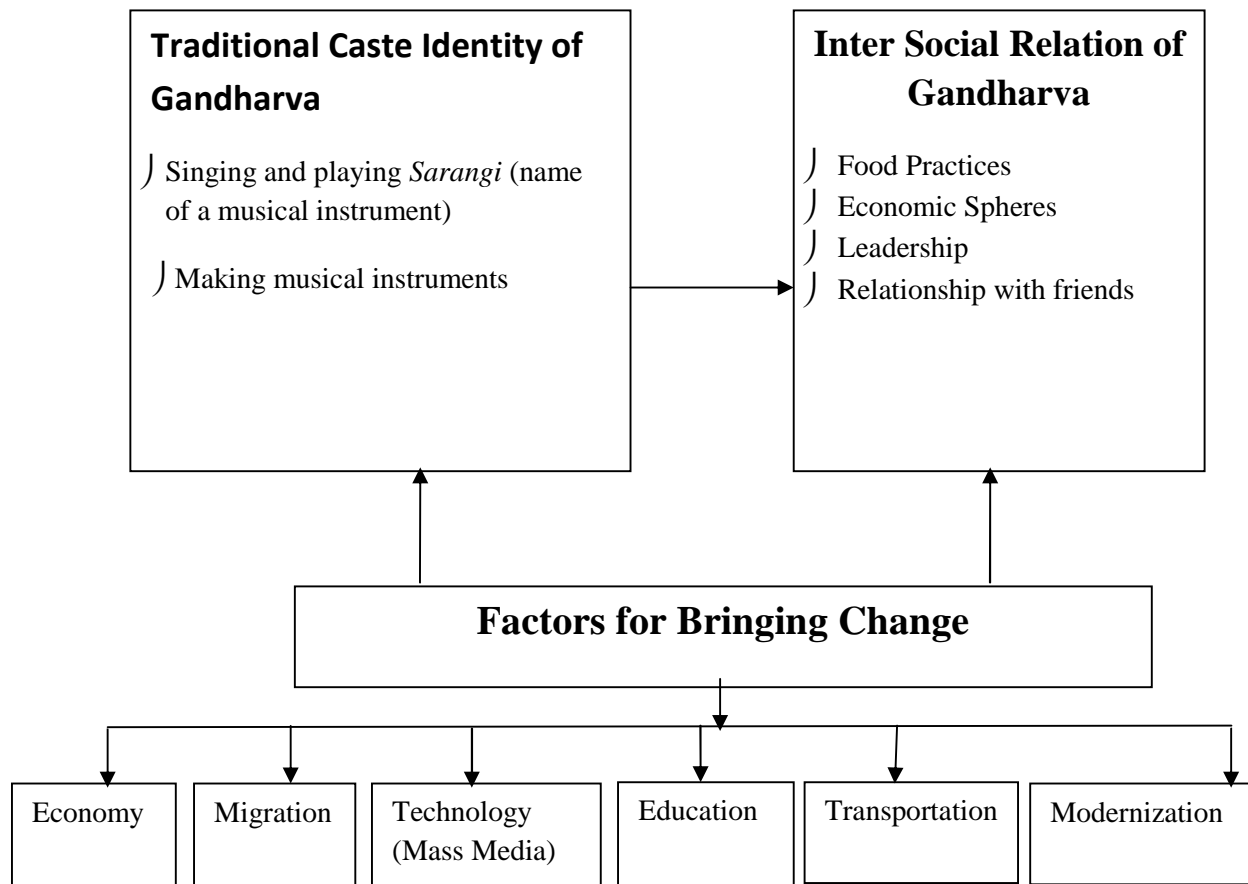
1. In addition to the above mentioned factors, this study will prove to be a benchmark for researchers, students and scholars for further study.
2. This study will facilitate further in-depth study of the Gandharva community.
3. Finally, this study will also be useful for, NGOs/ INGOs for lunching programs for community development and searching other such possible identical areas for promotion of caste identity.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

The original occupation of Gandharvas has been singing, playing musical instruments and begging. For long in the Nepalese history they are found to have been involved in it to sustain their livelihood. So that in the conceptual framework of this study, singing and playing *Sarangi* and making musical instruments have been taken as the indicators of their traditional caste identity.

But today, most of the Gandharvas are no longer found to have been involved in their traditional occupation. Various factors in the changed contemporary modern societies have made them shift from their traditional occupation to some other strategies to sustain their livelihood. Because of the unlimited human needs, singing, playing musical instruments and begging could not suffice for their livelihood. The Gandharvas today look down upon their traditional occupations, and view them as unsustainable and 'outdated'. Various factors like economy, migration, technology (Mass Media), education, social organization and modernization have been included in conceptual framework as the major contributing factors for the change in their occupation and life style.

This study is the sociological research. As the framework shows, this study tries to find the inter-social relation of the Gandharva people with other non-dalit people in their surroundings. Their inter social relation have been studied on the basis of the factors like food practices, economic spheres of their life, leadership in the various local community based organizations and other local committees (like School Management Committee, Community Forest and so on), and the Gandharva children's relationship with non-dalit friends in their daily life. From this, the researcher has tried to find out how much changes have occurred in these social relationship between the dalit and non-dalit people of growing and upcoming generations.



1.6 Organization of the Study

Broadly, the researcher has divided the text into six chapters. In the first and last chapter, researcher has provided arguments that reflect researcher's point of view whereas in the remaining chapters researcher is limited mostly to descriptions. The first chapter comprises an introduction of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, justification of the study, and conceptual framework.

The second chapter looks at the review of literature. This chapter is divided into three sections. First section describes the ethnographic studies in Nepal: A general overview,

second section describes studies related to Gandharvas and lastly the third section describes about the change in occupation of Gandharvas.

The third chapter presents the methods applied in the research. The chapter describes the research methods applied by the researcher to obtain the answers to the research questions. The chapter mainly consists of rationale for the selection of the study area, type of research design, process of sampling, nature and source of data and methods of data collection.

The fourth chapter gives the general geographical and physical features of the study area. This chapter also includes settlement pattern, socio-economic characteristics, their occupations, use of modern technology, role of NGOs, life cycle ceremonies and the deities and the festivals of Gandharvas.

The fifth chapter mainly deals with changes on the traditional caste identity and inter social relation of the Gandharva people. This chapter includes social position of Gandharvas in Nepali society and the factors bringing changes in their traditional caste identity. This chapter also comprises the Gandharvas participation in decision making, relationship with friends, their relationship with other non dalits in the economic sphere of life, system of untouchability and the practice and participation in feast and festivals. Similarly, the sixth chapter consists of summery and conclusion of the research.

CHAPTER-2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The chapter critically examines the pertinent literature associated with the research problem. This chapter normally divides into two parts one in related to theoretical review and other related to the ethnographic studies as well as Gandharva related studies.

The Ethnographic Studies in Nepal: A General Overview

Before 1950, Nepal was not open for the outsiders. After 1950, many foreigners as well as native sociologists and anthropologists have conducted several researches in Nepal. C.F. Haimendrof is considered to be the first foreign anthropologist to study Himalayan people of Nepal. His book 'The Sherpas of Nepal'(1964) established an ethnographic tradition of Nepal. Similarly, Hitchcock (1966) studied 'The Magars of Banayan Hill' and found that the population growth rate of this community was higher than the agricultural production to feed them because the land was limited and infertile. The younger males have joined the army to meet food demands of their families.

Caplan (1970) studied a village of eastern Nepal, which we call Indreni Cluster in Ilam district. He studied the changing relation between members of indigenous tribe, the Limbus and the high caste Hindu group, i.e. the Brahmin. Their relationship is understood in terms of their differential rights and interest in land which is scarce commodity of that region.

Ortner (1970) has studied the Sherpa community of Khumbu region in Solukhumbu district in 'Sherpa through Their Rituals'. She used functional and symbolic interpretation theories to interpret Sherpa culture. She tried to understand the Sherpa people through their rituals like Nyungne (A four days holiday), Hospitality, Exorcism, and so on, which are religious festival and celebrated once a year with fasting and performing religious

action which is done to gain merits towards a good rebirth. Ortner further discovered that “Sherpa do indeed have an elaborated conception of pollution and that their society fairly saturated with hierarchy”.

Fisher (1985), studied in Dolpo called Tarangpur (Pseudo name) to explore the changes of village, which was isolated geographically, economically, politically and so on. Tarangpur engages in two interrelated transactions with the outside world. They have adopted trade due to harsh environment. They bartered local buck wheat and millet for Tibetan salt and rebartered the salt to the southern hill dwellers, for rice is declining and is being replaced by cash based and much expanded commodity circuit.

Pokharel and Chhetri (2006), presented a paper analyzing the changes in the economic relationships between Dalit artisans and the high-caste peasants in a village of western Nepal. They have tried to explore the process of urbanization and its consequences for the distribution of natural resources to show how the lives of socially and economically underprivileged artisans have been affected by the recent changes collectively described as development.

Studies Related to Gandharvas

There are various mythical and oral history about the origin of the Gandharva. The glory and importance of Gandharva has been explicitly defined in Purans (Nepali, 2060). They are belongs to Dev Puran. Now, they claimed that they are the successors of Mythical Gandharvas. On the othe hand, Gautam and Thapa Magar (1994), has pointed out that Brahmajee, one god of trinity gods of Hidu religion) has created 4 *rishi*, 4 varnas or colours and 26 tribes. Among these 4 *rishi* there was one Gaine who was less cunning then his colleagues, and it is because of his this nature that the other 3 *rishis* wanted to remove him from their group. They gave him a leg of cow and told him to beg. From then, he continued his life as a beggar. Thus, it is believed that Gaine is the progenitor of the Gandharva and since he was defiled, the Gaine are born as a low caste today. The

Gandharva claim that they are the descendants of the Gandharvas, the musician of Indra, the Hindu God (ibid).

In the varna system of Hindu religion, there is a caste hierarchy. According to the caste hierarchy, Shudras are the lowest and Brahmins are the highest strata of the four varnas in Hindu society. The concept of varna system has a unique role that determines the social status of an individual of the particular social unit in Nepalese society. Several caste groups are linked with each other through a traditionally determined pattern according to the religious concept. The relationships between and among various groups of people are established through their caste specific services commonly referred as Jagamani system (Caplan, 1970). In spite of being various ethnic groups who fall out of varna model, caste system is the basic structural social organization in Nepalese society. Hindu caste is characterized by a specific code of behavior non-compliance with which jeopardizes and individual's status within the same caste (Haimendorf, 1977). Although caste hierarchy was formally established during the rules of King Jayasthiti Malla.

Nepali (2060) also entails some information about Gandharvas relating to them their *Sarangi*, Music, and preservation of it. He has also talked about their major areas of settlement. Some arguments have been made on why we should not call them dalit. If they are called dalits only because they sang and played *Sarangi*, all Hindu Gods should also be called dalits because each of them are with at least one musical instrument like *Saraswati* (Hindu goddess of education) plays Sitar, *Narad* (Messenger of god) plays Banjo and so on.

The Gandharvas are called dalits. The Legal code categorized the Nepali society into different hierarchical order based on the caste system. The Gandarve or Gaine was categorized under the untouchable caste or impure caste (Hofer, 2004). Among the impure caste, Gaine or Gandarva was categorized in the 4th ranking order in the caste

system. However, Nepali (2060) pointed out that Gandharvas has categorized under the dalit categories due to the playing of the musical instruments such as *Sarangi*. He further said that every Hindu God can be called Dalit, because every God played musical instruments.

Theoretically, caste system was abolished in 1963 after amendment of the Civil Code, but in practice still caste plays a significant role in socio-cultural and economic spheres of society. For example, they were prohibited to enter temples, houses of the other high caste people, shops, cow sheds, hotels, to touch sources of drinking water, water pitcher even at the school, to be mixed in feasts and festivals with the so called high caste people and to sell milk and cooked food (Chhetri and Gurung, 1999).

Darnal (2045) provides some basic information described on the Gandharvas of Nepal in the context of their cultural life and historical contribution. His attempt is to highlight the position of Gandharva, their inhabitant districts, their ancestors, their life style, socio-cultural and economic life in brief and their contribution for the promotion of Nepali folk songs. He highlighted the role of Mani Ram Gaine in the unification movement led by late Prithvi Narayan Shah. In his article he mentioned about the famous Gaine of Nepal, those who rose after the democracy in 1950 in the country.

There is homogeneity in the demographic information about the Gandarva. Different books and different records shows different figure about their total population. The total population of Gandharvas is 5887 (CBS 2001) but Nepali (2060) has expected to be from 9,500 to 10,000 (Nepali, 2060). Although, as Nepali (2060), the numbers of Gandharvas have been found to be more than that of CBS report, he has not mentioned any reason behind why the number differed. Like other caste people like Brahmin, Chhetri, Kami, Damai and Sarki, they were not scattered throughout the country. The traditional habitat of Gandharva was Gandaki zone (Gautam and Magar, 1994). In addition, they are also found to be living in some other areas like Baglung, Banepa in Kavre, Kirtipur in Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Chitwan, Jajarkot of Nepal in a small numbers (ibid.).

The scholars pointed out that, Gandharva played important role in the process of national building in 17th and 18th century (Nepali, 2060). Moreover, their role was important during the war of Nalapani, the historic war fought against the British rulers in India. They used to go to the villages and sing the songs to inspire the young generation to fight for the nation. It is also believed that King Prithvi Narayan used Gandharvas as messenger and to create awareness about the unity of the country. Being a community of distinct socio-cultural values and because of the contribution made by them to the unification movement, the Gandharva people of Nepal should be remembered (ibid.).

The Gandharva community of Nepal has got attention from native as well as foreign scholars for their research and have been published quite a few material on the Gandharvas (Chhetri 1989). The first research was done among the Gandharva by Thapa in 2030 and 2032 in which presented some valuable accounts on the activities of the Gandharvas in Nepal. In these books, he presented history and origin of Gandharva and their cultural life in brief. However, his writing was based on descriptive than analytical. In another word, his writing seems as a narrative rather than sociological and anthropological but give some insight to understand the Gandharva and their cultural life. Similarly, Department of Information of HMG has published a book called *Mechi Dekhi Mahakali Samma* in which some sketches of the Gandharva's social, cultural and economic life have been briefly described.

Change in Occupation of Gandharva

In the context of Nepal, change in occupation is not new phenomena. The traditional profession or occupation of many ethnic people like Kumal, Chepang and dalit people have been changing (Chhetri and Gurung 1999). Increased competition, social prejudice against their castes and occupation, changing taste of clients, lack of state support, disparity within the group, lack of link to the market, ineffective legal provisions, lack of

individual capital and lack of unity among the groups themselves are the major factors of change in their traditional occupation. In the case of Gandharva, their traditional occupation like singing of folk song and playing traditional musical instrument may be changing due to globalization of mass media. As a result, they adopt other occupation for coping with the changing environment. (ibid)

Chhetri (1989) in her research note has explored much about the contributions the Ghandharbas have made for preservation and promotion of Nepali culture. She also attempts to describe that in the changing context of society, their limited and unsecured income does not fulfill their economic needs. Ignoring the *Sarangi* culture by the society makes them disappointed to leave their traditional profession. Though people consider Ghandharbas untouchable, they are said to have made a great contribution for the unification of Nepal. She has said that '*Sarangi*' is much an organ of Nepali culture than a begging pot.

Similarly, there are also various unpublished dissertation and research papers submitted to the faculty of Humanities and Social Science, T.U. on the related topic. Chhetri's (2042) work entitled *Batulechaur, Pokhara Ka Gaine Jati Ko Samajik Ra Aarthik Addhyan* is very useful and important document to know the socio-economic sphere of Gaine of Batulechaur. Sharma (2039) studied the socio-economic life of Gainses from the sociological perspective and also tried to compare their involvement in traditional occupation and change from it. Strestha (2053) studied the socio-cultural behaviours of the Gaine and tried to explore and highlight the Gainses of Batulichaur, Pokhara with a view to preserving and promoting their socio-cultural and economic life. Similarly, Acharya (2002), in his dissertation, examined the effects of the Hindu caste system on the socio-economic life of the Gaine community and also the various livelihood options and strategies followed by them to exploit the different socio-economic niches available in the rural settings of Nepal.

CHAPTER-3

METHODOLOGY

The chapter describes the research methods applied by the researcher to obtain the answers to the research questions. The chapter mainly consists of rationale for the selection of the study area, type of research design, process of sampling, nature and source of data and methods of data collection.

3.1 Selection of the Study Area

Manaharipur village was selected for the study where inhabit some Gandharvas. The study area is located in Kopawa VDC ward no-8, of Kapilvastu district. Gandharva people live in the various places of Nepal. But the researcher selected this area as his study area because the Gandharvas of this area, as the study demands, are not spending their life aloof and also are not confined to their intra community exchanges of life. They are somehow related and exchanging their life spheres with the non dalit community in their surroundings. As per the study objectives, this area has been selected as the research area because the Gandharvas of this place are still continuing their traditional occupation like singing and playing musical instruments as their traditional caste identity and are also shifting to other occupations. This community has also been assumed to have been influenced by different factors of social changes of which modernization, mass media, and migration are some striking ones. Therefore the site was suitable for the researcher to find the social relationship and change on traditional caste identity of Gandharvas.

3.2 Research Design

This study was based on the descriptive exploratory research design. It was descriptive because an attempt was made to provide social relation and traditional caste identity and changes in different aspects of the life of the Gandharva people. It enabled the researcher

to present a clear view of the phenomena under investigation. Moreover, in this research, the researcher applied descriptive research design to describe demographical composition, educational, and socio-economic activities of the study area. It examines the facets of work and life of the Gandharva living for about 5 decades in the Manaharipur Village of Kapilvastu District Nepal.

3.3 Universe and Sampling

All the households of Gandharvas in Manaharipur village are taken as the universe of the study. There are 33 households of Gandharva in the study area. Due to the small size of household of Gandharva, census survey was taken to gather the information related to socio-cultural and economic characteristics. Interview was taken with one person from each household. The higher priority as respondents was given to the old aged people to find out about their traditional occupation, culture, history and to the new generation to find out about the present occupation, social relations and so on.

3.4 Nature and Sources of Data

Generally, there are two kinds of sources of data collection which are known as primary and secondary sources of data. These two types of data, i.e. primary data and secondary data were used to find out the facts and figure about the Gandharva community of Manaharipur Village. The primary data were collected through household survey, observation and interview. And secondary data were obtained from office of the Village Development Committee, District level offices, Local Development Organizations, Central Library, CNAS, published and unpublished articles, documents, books and CBS reports and so on.

3.5 Methods of Data Collection

Both, quantitative and qualitative data were collected using various tools and methods such as household survey, observation, interview, key informants interview and schedule. The techniques for the collection of data of the study were as follows.

3.5.1 Household Survey

Household Survey also is an important tool of data collection. Household survey schedule provided quantitative data of the research. So, in this study, the researcher prepared a household survey schedule before going to the field for collecting the information about the Gandharvas' socio-cultural, economic condition and their family size, marital status, occupation, age, sex, education and so on. The data was collected from respondents during the field work of the household level. The first attempt to collect data was a failure because the Gandharvas of that place thought that the researcher was a member of an NGO/ INGO and was gathering the information about them for his personal benefits. They thought that the researcher was going to utilize the information about them for getting money from foreign organizations which could benefit only the NGO people but not them. After that, the researcher returned from the field but later he found a friend from their own community who helped to gather the required data for the study only in the second attempt by convincing the people that the data collection was only for the academic purpose. The elderly people from the selected households were given priority as the respondents thinking that they have more information regarding their occupations, lifestyle, culture and so on. Among 33 respondents of household survey, 16 were female and 17 were male. The researcher had tried to obtain information from the household heads but because they were out at work, the females were taken as the respondents but the females who were interviewed were not the household heads.

Although the researcher tried to meet the household heads in the morning and in the evening, the time they stay at home, but not all the household heads were found.

3.5.2 Observation

In this study, observation method had been applied to gather intensive information about the settlement pattern, food practices, life style, living standard, and so on of the Gandharvas. Their relations with non dalit people, traditional and changing occupations, and skill of the *Sarangi* performances were also observed.

3.5.3 Interview

Semi-structured and unstructured interview was used to collect the data of qualitative nature. It was used for the collection of the information on the origin and history of Gandharva people and about their traditional caste identity, marriage, family, religion, feast and festivals, life cycle ceremonies, their inter social relationships with the non-dalit people, about their involvement in different organization and so on. Three old aged people named Premlal Gandharva, Bhim Bahadur Gandharva, and Ram Bahadur Gandharva were selected as informants. Key informants interview was also conducted with 5 young Gandharvas to find out their relation with non-dalit people, their interest towards the traditional occupation.

3.6 Methods of Data Analysis

Most of the information gathered through various sources mentioned were analyzed and interpreted both qualitatively and quantitatively. After the completion of the field work, data analysis and presentation is one of the essential mechanisms of the research. The quantitative data analysis has been presented in the simple statistical tools such as table and percentage and so on with the framework of society. In the same way qualitative data have been presented in descriptive way as well as statistically by collecting information about, age, sex, marriage, educational and economic status. They were

analyzed statistically and descriptively. Information on geographical setting, family, marriage, food practices, life cycle were analyzed descriptively. The statistical tools and techniques used in this study were simple techniques.

3.7 Limitation of the Study

Every study does have its own constraints. Likewise, my present study was also not exception. The limitations were as follows:

- a. The study area was very small and only a single caste group of Gandharvas in Manaharipur village of Kapilvastu were selected as the population of the research. So, it might not represent the other ethnic groups of the local area.
- b. This study was conducted for the completion of the partial fulfillment of Master Degree in Sociology. So, it was not feasible to make it a detailed research due to the constraints of time and resources.
- c. This study was based on primary information gathered from the field work, as well as secondary information.

CHAPTER-4

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY AREA

4.1 Physical Features

Kapilvastu district lies in the Western Development Region, Lumbini zone. It is a historic district since it was the homeland of Lord Buddha and as well as religious place in Nepal and in the world as well. The total area of the district is 1738 square km. It is nearly and entirely located in Terai plains with only a narrow belt along the Northern boundary belonging the lower hill reaches attitudes varying from 90m to 824m above sea level (District Profile, 1999). Kopawa VDC lies in the southern side of the Motipur VDC. Banganga River has devided it from Motipur VDC. Banganga River is the historical one mentioned by the Chinese traveler of Buddhist followers. The river follows next to the remaining of the historical palace of Suddhodhan, father of Gautam Buddha. To the western side of Kopawa lies Jaynagar VDC, Gajehada in the east and Niglihawa in the south. Kopawa is roughly located at the attitude of 27°35' and longitude 82° 50' (ibid).

The area is part of the Gangetic alluvial plain characterized by gently sloping cultivated land interspersed by large tracts of subtropical or dry jungle. About 733 square km (i.e. 42%) of the district is classified as forest land, 904 square km (i.e.52%) is cultivated land and remaining 101 square km (i.e.6%) is grassland, barren land and water bodies. Due to the population pressure, considerable part of the forest land has been taken for agricultural use since the last 20 years (ibid).

4.2 Caste and Ethnic Features

Ethnic diversity is an important feature of Kapilvastu district. It has a composite population stemming from various ethnic/caste groups. Kopawa VDC constitutes the population of heterogeneous origin. The major caste/ethnic groups residing in the district

are Muslim, Tharu, Yadav, Brahmin, Kurmi, Chamar, and so on. The major caste/ethnic groups in the district and their proportion are presented in the table no.1.

Table: 1
Population of Kapilvastu District

Caste/Ethnic Group	Male	Female	Total Population	Percentage
Muslim	48157	45445	93602	19.42
Tharu	30514	30060	63574	12.58
Yadav	24558	22029	46587	9.67
Brahmin (Hill)	20167	20271	40438	8.39
Kurmi	16072	14738	30810	6.39
Chamar	13489	12404	25893	5.37
Chhetri	9644	9492	19136	3.97
Dusadh	9035	8375	17410	3.61
Kahar	7973	7084	15057	3.12
Baniya	6050	5536	11586	2.40
Magar	5073	5177	10250	2.13
Other Castes/Ethnic groups	57143	53490	110633	22.95
Total Population	247875	234101	481976	100

Source: CBS, 2002

The above table clearly presents the unique population composition of Kapilvastu district. According to the table, Muslim people have the largest population which constitutes 19.42 per cent of the total population of the district whereas the population of Tharus stands in the next order constituting 12.58 per cent. Yadavs constitute 9.67 per cent of the total population, while Brahmin is fourth largest caste group. The population of Gandharva is not separated; it is included in other castes/ethnic groups showing 22.95 percent in which other small castes and ethnic groups who count below 10000 in total number are included.

4.3 Brief Introduction to Manaharipur Village

Manaharipur Gandharva village is situated about 12 km northwest from the district headquarters, Taulihawa and 38 km west from Butwal, zonal headquarter of Lumbini zone. The study area is 2 km far from Mahendra highway to reach which we have to walk for 30 minutes. To the East of the village is Jhanda village Laxmanghatin the West, to the north is Banganga River and in Kopawa Chandrakot Tol in the south. This village is in ward-8 of Kopawa Village Development Committee. In the study area, many facilities are available such as electricity, water, road and so on. Gandharvas have been living in Manaharipur since 2018 B.S. when just 4 families had migrated from Kuwapani Piuthan. Among the 33 families of Gandharva, 29 families had migrated from Piuthan, 3 from Arghakhanchi and one family from Baletaksar of Gulmi district.

4.4 Climate

The climate of this village is tropical. The village is surrounded by Banganga and Koili River which makes climate moderate. But in the hot days during the summer, the temperature reaches up to 44° c. whereas average temperature in winter is 27°c. The rainfall usually occurs during the rainy season. In the winter days, sometimes, very dense mist covers all the day round.

4.5 Natural Resources

There are various types of natural resources available in the study area. It is relatively wealthy in terms of natural resources. Natural resources are the primary and most important for the people living in the study area because they have also a close relation with the sustainability of their life. In the field of observation, different kinds of natural resources like, water, forest, land and so on were found and they are described below.

4.5.1 Forest

In the upper part of Northwest side of the village there is a wide area covered by dense natural forest. The forest comprise various plants, big trees and even some animals like deer, rabbit, bear, tiger and so on. There are two community forests (Laxmanghat community forest and Khairenichaur community forest) near the study area. The people fulfill their necessities like grass to feed cattle, wood to built houses and firewood from the forest. The Gandharva people of that area are quite dependent on the forest for multiple purposes. Seasonal wild fruits, wild roots are collected to supplement the diet of the village people. Fruits from the forest are also used to make wine. Thus, the forest is enough to supplement several socio-cultural and economic requirements to the people of Manaharipur village.

4.5.2 Water

Water is the crucial natural resources of the village. There are two major sources of water. One is the constant flow of Banganga River and next source of water is deep wells, tube wells, i.e. dragging water from underground. These both sources of water are of permanent kind and have proved to be the blessing for irrigation. Generally the villagers use these sources for getting water for drinking, bathing, washing clothes and sometimes go to the Banganga River to bath and wash their clothes.

4.5.3 Soil

The main natural resources supporting the lives of the people in the village, just like the people thought the country, is land. It is the back bone of the subsistence economy of the village people. People cultivate the land; make houses on the land by mud and stones. Land is categorized mainly in two types, i.e. *Khet* and *Bari*. In *khet* they growth paddy, wheat and maize and in *Bari* they grow green vegetables, potato and so on. The cultivation method is still traditional. They plough their *Khet, Bari* by tractor, oxen and male buffalo.

4.6 Settlement Pattern and Houses

In the study area, Gandharva are in majority. They are living in that village for five decades. This proved that they are old inhabitants of this place in the Manaharipur village. There are mainly four types of houses; these are tile roofed houses, tin roofed houses, thatched hut and cemented houses. Most houses are storied building with a thatched hut sloping on two sides and supported by several wooden piles, the walls are made of mud plaster. But one house of Gandharva has been built from RCC (iron, brick, cement, concrete). The table 2 shows the types of houses of Gandharva of the study area.

Table: 2

Types of Houses in the Study Area

Types of Houses	No. of Households	Percentage
Cemented (Pakki)	1	3.03
Tin Roofed	4	12.12
Tile Roofed	12	36.36

Thatched Hut	16	48.48
Total	33	100

Source: Field Survey, 2009

According to the above table, 12 (36.36%) houses are made by mud which are tile roofed and most of the houses 16 (48.48%) are thatched hut. There are 4 tin roofed houses and only one house which constitutes 3.03 per cent is cemented. The rich Gandharva made their house with cemented and tin roofed with brick wall while the poor household have tile roofed and thatched hut. Therefore, economic condition of the Gandharva people of the study area was also indicated by types of house structure i.e. concrete and tin roofed with brick walls was the symbol of rich and tile and thatched hut are the poor.

4.7 Socio-economic Characteristics of Gandharva

This sub-chapter deals with the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the population. The study composition is considered to be very important. It shows the economic, social, educational, occupational and other condition of the society. The term population composition is defined as the characteristics of the population including age and sex composition, education, family types and structure, marital status and so on social relationship as well their traditional occupation.

4.7.1 Age and Sex Composition

Age and sex are the important factors of population composition which determine several demographic and socio-economic conditions. Age is an important demographic variable. It provides the information of the people of different age groups at a particular period. Moreover, it also shows the number of economically active people and the number of dependents. It has been said that age structure records the demographic and to some extent, the socio-economic history of population over a period of century. During the

period of interview, there were 33 households of Gandharva at Manaharipur, Kapilvastu. The table 3 shows the age and sex wise population composition of Gandharva people of the study area.

Table: 3

Age and Sex wise Distribution of the Population of the Study area

Age Group	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0-4	7	6.93	11	10.78	18	8.87
5-9	12	11.88	12	11.76	24	11.82
10-14	16	15.84	13	12.75	29	14.29
15-19	16	15.84	23	22.55	39	19.21
20-24	18	17.82	4	3.93	22	10.84
25-29	2	1.98	9	8.82	11	5.42
30-34	7	6.93	2	1.96	9	4.43
35-39	4	3.96	9	8.82	13	6.40
40-44	8	7.92	6	5.88	14	6.90
45-49	-	-	5	4.90	5	2.46
50-54	5	4.95	4	3.93	9	4.43
55-59	1	0.99	1	0.98	2	0.99

60 above	5	4.95	3	2.94	8	3.94
Total	101	100	102	100	203	100

Source: Field Survey, 2009

According to the table 3, there were total 203 Gandharva people at Manaharipur Kapilvastu. Out of the total population, the number of males and females were 101 and 102 respectively during the period of field survey. The population of female is greater than the population of male. Regarding the total population, the highest percent (19.21%) is found to be of the age group 15-19 years. The age group 0-15 constitutes about 35 per cent of the total population. It also indicates the trend of future population increase in high speed than now. In every human society, there are two categories of population namely productive or active population and dependent or inactive population. Comparatively, the number of the elderly people seems to be less than younger people. That means, life expectancy rate is also low among Gandharva. The table shows the portion of dependent population is 38.92 per cent, where as total population of productive group or active population is 61.8 per cent.

4.7.2 Family

Of all human groups, the family is the most important and primary group. It is a small social group consisting ordinarily of a father, mother and one or more children (Bhusan and Sachadeva, 1997). The institution of family has a universal existence of all the human society. In Gandharva community, there are mainly two types of family i.e. joint and nuclear.

The family of Gandharva community of Manaharipur, Kapilvastu is also going to be a nuclear family because after the marriage, due to the lack of room in thatched hut, married couples leave the family immediately. There is a common practice of making a small thatched hut just near to the father's house after getting married. According to the

authority, the Gandharva family of Manaharipur Kapilvastu was found to be patriarchal. There are two types of family existing in the study area. It is observed that in nuclear types of families, husband, wife and their children are predominant. In the Gandharva village of Kapilvastu, very few families live in joint family. So, the family pattern of that area has gradually been changing from joint family to nuclear family. The following table presents the family pattern of Gandharva in the study area.

Table: 4

Types of Family

Types of Family	Number Household	Percentage
Nuclear	30	90.90
Joint	3	9.09
Total	33	100

Source: Field Survey, 2009

According to the above table, 30 families (90.90%) were nuclear families whereas only 3 families (9.09%) were joint families during the period of field survey. Due to the weak economic condition they have only a small thatched hut. So, after getting married the couple leave their father's house and settled near to the father's house. This is a direct cause for the changing in family pattern.

4.7.3 Household Size

Family size has important value in change of the life style of the Gandharva people. In this study, we can see different size of households which are as follow.

Table: 5

Distribution of the Family sizes of the Households

Family size	No. of Households	Percentage
1-3	5	15.15
4-6	19	57.58
7-9	9	27.27
Total	33	100

Source: Field Survey, 2009

From the table 5, it can be seen that out of 33 households the largest portion, i.e. 19 households (57.58%) have 5 to 6 members. There are 9 households (27.27%) which have 7 to 9 members and 5 households (15.15%) have 1 to 3 members. The above data shows that the village does not have much large family size which is the result of the adaptation of nuclear family.

4.7.4 Marriage

Marital Status

Marital position is a key factor to shape up the demographic characteristics of a place. In my study area, 203 people live in 33 households. Among them 101 were male and 102 female. The marital status of Gandharva people of the study area was as follows.

Table: 6

Marital Status

Marital Status	No. of people	Percentage
----------------	---------------	------------

	(breakdown by sex)	
Married	90	44.34
Unmarried	106	52.22
widow or widowers	07	3.44
Total	203	100

Source: Field Survey, 2009

The table 6 clearly indicates that the unmarried population was higher than that of the married among Gandharva people during the period of field survey. The number of married people was 90 which constitute 44.34% and the number of unmarried people was 106, which constitutes 52.22% of the total population. Among the total population, 1 was widower and 6 were widows. In the study area, out of 33 families, 2 families (i.e. 6.60%) practiced polygamy and 31 families (i.e. 93.94%) were monogamy. On the basis of this fact we can say that Gandharva people believe in monogamy marriage system and polygamy marriage system is least practiced in their community.

4.7.5 Education

Education is the prime factor to determine the social status of any community. Gandharva people regard Education as a basic need for the human beings in the present time. As they said, the country which has more educated people is much developed than other countries. The people of Gandharva community and other backward groups are deprived of so many opportunities and they are unable to flow in the mainstream simply because of the lack of the educational opportunities. The educational attainment of the people of the study area was as follows during the period of field survey.

Table: 7

Educational level of Gandharva

Educational level	No. of people	Percentage
Unable to read and write	60	32.97
Read only	8	4.40
Primary	71	39.01
Lower secondary	33	18.13
Secondary	7	3.85
Higher secondary and above	3	1.64
Total	182	100

Source: Field Survey, 2009

The total population of the study was 203 but only 182 were of or passed the school age and the rest, i.e. 21 children were too young to go to school. So that the analysis has been made including just 182 people. According to the above table no.8, only 71 people (39.01%) attained primary education, 33 people (18.13%) attained lower secondary education and 7 people (3.85%) attained secondary education. Only 3 people (1.64%) attained higher secondary education but there is nobody who attained university education. Eight people (4.40%) can read only and the number of illiterate people was 60 (32.97%). As the respondents said the number of the people going to school is increasing day by day in comparison to that of past. Because of the influence of education they are now shifting to other occupations from singing, dancing and begging which have been

regarded as their traditional caste identity. Education brings consciousness and plays vital role in developing knowledge and skills of people.

4.8 Economic Status

Traditionally, Gandharva people were singing, playing *sarangi*, and making madal, and *sarangi*. But now a day, they are also engaged in different income generating works like farming, wage labour, foreign employment and so on for their livelihood. Economy is a major factor of bringing various changes in Gandharva community. Economic statuses of the people have been discussed regarding various economic characteristics like land holding pattern, occupation, sources of income, livestock holding pattern and so on.

A. Major Source of Income

Traditional occupation of Gandharva is singing and playing instruments. But now a days, they have shifted to different occupation such as agriculture, foreign employment, wage labour and so on. During the period of all household involved in one or more than one occupations for their livelihood. Most of the households are still engaged in their traditional occupation. The table 8 shows the number of households according to their primary occupation.

Table: 8

Distribution of household by primary occupation of Gandharva

Primary occupation	No. of Households	Percentage
Singing and playing instruments (<i>Sarangi</i>)	12	36.36
Agriculture	8	24.24

Foreign employment	5	15.15
Making playing instruments	3	9.09
Wage labour	3	9.09
Service	1	3.03
Business	1	3.03
Total	33	100

Source: Field Survey, 2009

The table 8 states that 45.45 percent (18) households were fully depended on their traditional occupation i.e., singing and playing *Sarangi* and making playing instrument. Similarly, 24.24 percent (8) households were fully dependent on agricultural income. The major source of income of five households (15.15%) was foreign employment. Similarly, only one household was appointed on job in Agricultural Development Bank, 3 households (9.09%) depended on wage labour and one household was involved in business.

B. Landholding Pattern

Out of 33 households of Gandharva community of Manaharipur, only 15 households have agricultural land. Majority of households have less than 1 Kattha. Because of the lack of cultivated land, they were unable to practice agriculture. As a result, some of the household were compelled to involve in other occupation except agriculture like foreign employment, wage labour and so on. The table 9 shows the landholding size of the households of Gandharva people in the study area.

Table: 9

Distribution of Landholding size by studied Households

Size of Land	No. of Households	Percentage
Landless	3	9.09
Less than 1 Kattha	15	45.45
1-5 Kattha	10	30.30
6-10 Kattha	1	3.03
11-15 Kattha	1	3.03
16-20 Kattha	2	6.06
More than 1 Bigha	1	3.03
Total	33	100

Source: Field Survey, 2009

The table 9 shows the real picture of land ownership of the Gandharva of Manaharipur. Among the 33 households, 3 households (9.09%) are landless; they have not their own land. They live in *ailani* land (not owned by any specific person) that also belongs to others. Similarly, 15 households (45.45%) have less than one kattha. Among these people, several have only housing area. Likewise, 30.30% households own 1-5 kattha of land and one household has 6-10 kattha of land and another one house has 11-15 kattha. There were 2 houses who owned 16-20 Kattha land and only one house who owned more than one bigha of land. According to the above table 10, there is no satisfactory size of land possession; these facts prove the very weak economic status of majority of the people.

C. Adequacy of Food Grains

In Manaharipur village, among 33 households, 3 families were totally landless. The landless families have to search other alternative source of income to feed their family members for all year. Only 5 families grow adequate food grains sufficient for the whole year whereas 28 households do not have adequate food grain for all year round. The table 10 shows the condition of adequacy of food grain among the Gandharva of Manaharipur village.

Table: 10

Adequacy of Food Grain among the Gandharva of Manaharipur village

Category	No. of Household	Percentage
Grow adequate food grain for all year	5	15.15
Do not grow adequate food grain for all year	28	84.85
Total	33	100

Source: Field Survey, 2009

The table 10 shows that only five households (15.15%) produce enough foodstuffs from their own land for whole year. But the rests of the total, i.e.28 households (84.85%) have to depend on other sources. This indicates that the majority of families lack foodstuffs to feed themselves for whole year. They are compelled to live in the vicious circle of poverty.

D. Use of Modern Technology

In the present day every society is influenced by modern technology and similarly by the different causes Gandharva society also cannot remain untouched from it. The table 11 shows the use of modern technology in the Gandharva community of Manaharipur.

Table: 11

Use of Modern Technology

Types	No. of household	Percentage
Radio	14	42.42
Television	2	6.06
Mobile	19	57.57
Cycle	6	18.18
Motor bike	1	3.03

Source: Field survey, 2009

The table no. 11 shows the intensive use of modern technology, which is the factor of change on their life style. In the study area, among 33 households, 14 households (42.42%) had radio and 2 households (6.06%) had television. Similarly, 6 households (18.18%) had bicycle and only one household had Motor cycle. As found from the study, 19 households use mobile phone. From these data, we can say that Gandharva people are also highly influenced by modern tools and technologies which may have impact on their tradition occupation like playing musical instruments and singing folk songs.

4.9 Role of NGOs

Various programmes focusing on Gandharvas have been launched in the study area. They have played an important role in Gandharva's community to improve their illiteracy status, health condition, to access safe drinking water, change in occupation, incomes facilities and so on. One of the respondents informed that NGOs are working actively for the betterment of their living style. In the coordination of an NGO, i.e. Siddhartha Social Development Center (SSDC), the programmes like non- formal education, and income generating activities like goat rearing, green vegetable production and so on were launched under the programme called *Jiwika*. And other programmes under Livelihood for Forestry Programme are still being launched with the coordination of SSDC. While conducting the field survey, the researcher was interested to know their works impact in focus group. Therefore, the researcher questioned them about NGOs' role. Their responses are given below.

Table: 12

Satisfactions with NGOs' Role

Responses	No. of Respondent	Percent
Satisfied	5	15.15
Dissatisfied	4	12.12
Little satisfied	22	66.66
No response	2	6.06
Total	33	100

Source: Field survey, 2009

Among 33 respondents, only 5 respondents were satisfied with the NGOs' role. About 12.12 percent respondents were dissatisfied whereas 22 respondents (66.66%) were little. Similarly, 2 respondents have no response on NGOs role. Many respondents were little satisfied with NGOs' role. According to them, they themselves did not continue the programmes launched by the NGOs which resulted to make those programmes less fruitful. The people who took the expected benefit from such programs seemed to be satisfied with the NGOs' role but who could not gain much benefit responded that they were not satisfied with their roles. Those who were not satisfied opined that these NGOs bring money in their name but do not use that for the betterment of the livelihood of the Gandharva people. Similarly, the people who were slightly benefited by the works of the NGOs responded that they were little satisfied with whatever the NGOs were doing for them.

4.10 Life – Cycle Ceremonies of Gandharva

Like other communities, the Gandharvas of Manaharipur also observe different type of rites and rituals known as sanskar in Hindu society. They observe some of the rites and rituals related the birth, *Chhainte*, name giving ceremony (*Nawaran*), Feeding Ceremony (*Pasni*), head shaving ceremony (*Chhewar*), marriage and death.

4.10.1 Chhainte

After sixth day of the birth of a child, parents perform a ceremony called *Chhainte*. This ceremony is performed only for son. Daughters are not apt for the Chhainte. The Gandharva people enjoy this ceremony with singing, dancing and drinking in the house. They light a wick in small bowl during the night. They do not sleep during the night to save the lamp. If the wick goes off, it symbolizes bad fortune for the child. So they remain singing and dancing without sleeping whole night. This is called *jagaram basne*.

4.10.2 Nawaran

Nawaran is performed on the 9th -11th day after the birth of the child. The purification from birth pollution is also done on the same day. *Ganhuta* (Cow's urine), *Jau* (barley), *Til* (Black sesame) and *Soonpani* (water touched with gold) are the items used in this purification ritual. The child is named on this day by the *Purohit* (priest) from their own caste. This purification is considered complete only if a son in law or a nephew is present for this. On the occasion of this Nawran, they invite their kin and neighbours to a feast of liquor, fish, rice pulses and other foods.

4.10.3 Pasni

They perform pasni of a son when he reaches the age of six months and if daughter, at the age of 5 months. On this occasion, they also invite their kith and kins and neighbor and celebrate it in the similar way they celebrate the naming ceremony. After this feast is over, they all dance together. They dance and appeal to the Gods offering pray for the child's wellbeing and peace. They also praise their ancestors, saying that he\she should uphold the religion and prestige of ancestors and should take care of parents properly in the old age.

4.10.4 Chhewar

Gandharvas believed that Chhewar or Bratabandha should be performed on odd years. When the male child reaches the age of 7 or 9 or 11 years, the chhewar is done. In this count, the child must not cross the age of 19 or 21 year and this is a standing belief among the Gandharva community. On the occasion of Chhewar every single villager is invited without failure. A feast is also given as in Nawran and Pasni. The differences between the *Chhewar* feast and celebration of the *Nwaran* and *pasni* is that in Chhewar the expense is much higher. However, the Gandharva believe that it must be done. So, they do not hesitate to extract loans for the celebration of this ritual, i.e. Chhewar. After the

Chhewar, persons become a candidate for the marriage. So, this is an important ritual among the Gandharva Community.

4.10.5 Marriage

The Gandharva of Manaharipur, Kapilvastu regard the marriage as an important occasion of life. In Hindu society, marriage is considered to be among important ceremonies, which constitute the family life (Majpuria, 1978). The Gandharvas have their own customs regarding the marriage. Marriage relation between the same steps is strictly prohibited. Gandharva can marry among themselves except the members of their own patrilineage. They prefer to marry their matrilineal cross cousin, while it is considered taboo to marry with patrilineal cross cousin. Thus, it can be said that while the former marriage called *mama chheli phupu chhela* is permitted and much preferred, the later called *phupu chhela mama chheli* is taboo. Thus they are allowed to marry only with the daughter of their maternal uncle. This type of marriage is common in other group of people like Kumal, Gurung, Magar, Kami, Damai and so on (Gautam and Thapa Magar 1995).

There are two types of marriage system in the Gandharva community. The types of marriage have been described below:

Arrange Marriage

The Arrange marriage in Gandharva Community is initially commenced by the *lami* who is called *karobari* by the Gandharva folks. At first the parents of boy finds a suitable bride for their son and then *lami* called *karobari* visits the house of the girls. The *karobari* approaches the girl's side with a present of two bottles of Raksi (liquor) and other *kosheli* (gifts). At first the talks begin by the *karobari* with the word like *pichha parna aiyoun*. *Karobari* states his intentions by depositing the *Raksi* in front of girl's parents. After the consultation with all relations the mood of accept, the *Raksi* is poured out for everyone present and they drink together. This is the first stage of Gandharva

marriage. It is called the day of breaking *kura ko bottle*. Then, the horoscope of boy and girl's are compared.

But, if the parents of girl do not want to take this suggested match, then the *Raksi* is not accepted. Then the *karobari* with his colleagues returns with the *Raksi*. After consolation from both sides, wedding day is fixed. On the occasion of marriage ceremony, various happy and sweet songs are sung.

At the end of the marriage ceremony *Godadhune* (washing feet) is done by all the bride's brother and other kin who are required to perform this ritual according to their tradition. At the time of Kanyadan son-in-law and nephew must be present there. This indicates that there is a vital role of son-in-law and nephew at the marriage ceremony in Gandharva community. After taking the bride to the bride groom's house, a feast is given to the relatives. For the feast, a he-buffalo is cut down; the head of the buffalo is given to the *Karobari* while remaining is to be eaten in the feast. At the house of bride groom, a group of women performs singing and dancing which is called *ratauli*. In this way, marriage ceremony is concluded.

Love marriage

Gandharva Marriage is a famous marriage system in the Hindu caste system. Traditional Hindu society calls 'Love marriage' as Gandharva marriage. According to the code and conduct of Hindu culture, only the Gandharva people are allowed to perform love marriage.

There is no rule in love marriage, but the candidates must not be from the *Thar* clan. Otherwise, the community accepts the love marriage. *Tika* ceremony is also same as arranged marriage. They call marriage procession in *Tika* ceremony. Meat and *Raksi* is consumed equally as in the arranged marriage. All processes are same, however, this marriage is considered very prestigious in Gandharva community. The table 13 shows the types of marriage of respondents of Manaharipur community.

Table: 13

Types of Marriage in Gandharva Community

Types of marriage	No of respondents	percentage
Arrange marriage	19	57.57
Love marriage	14	42.42
Total	33	100

Source: field survey, 2009

The table clearly presents that out of 33 households, only 14(42.42%) respondents did love marriage and 19 respondents did arrange marriage.

Some examples of inter caste marriage are noted in Manaharipur, Kapilvastu. This type of marriage is also practiced as love marriage but it is not practiced as arrange marriage. In the study area, 5 Gandharva male were married with inter caste girls and 6 Gandharva female were married with the boys from different castes. The following table presents the inter caste marriage pattern in the study area.

Table: 14

Pattern of Inter Caste Marriage

Gandharva with other castes	Male	Female
Gandharva and Magar	2	-
Gandharva and Thakuri	1	-

Gandharva and Majhi	1	-
Gandharva and Sunar	1	-
Gandharva and Yadav	-	1
Gandharva and Muslim	-	1
Gandharva and Gurung	-	1
Gandharva and Pariyar	-	2
Gandharva and B.k	-	1
Total	5	6

Source: Field survey, 2009

4.10.6 Death Rites

Death Rites of Gandharva seems very much similar to that of other Hindu communities. There are two ways of disposing the corpse, namely burials and cremations. Burials are done either on the bank of the rivers at the selected place. Those family which dispose the corpse by cremation, they are regarded as the rich family. In Manaharipur, if Gandharva community disposes the corpse by cremation, it symbolizes their richness. The death pollution lasts for the period of 11 days. The family of the deceased must not perform any sort of religious rites for one year. A year after the death, they perform *sraddha* in the memory of the deceased. On this day, the family of the deceased invites their kins, kindred and neighbors for a feast in the honor and memory of the dead. From this day, all kinds of food taboo become open for the deceased family.

4.11 The Deities and the Festivals

In the study are, Gandharva claimed themselves as Hindus. So their religious life is found to be guided by Hindu philosophy. Most of religious activities and festivals are influenced by the higher caste Hindus. Gandharva of Manaharipur, Kapilvastu worship *Mahadev, Bishnu, Sarawati, Bhagawati* and so on. Also they worship *kuldevta* (family deity) whom they worship as their chief god in the month of *Jestha*. The main objective of this worship is to remember the dead ancestors. They believe that when the ancestors are pleased, they bring delight and happiness to them.

The Gandharvas of Manaharipur have a deep faith on *Naag*. They worship *Naag* at *Naag panchami*. Almost all the members of Gandharva family gather at the local *Naagsthan* to worship the *Naag* by offering various things. They regard *Naag* as the god and worship it for the security, prosperity and betterment of the family.

The Gandharvas of Manaharipur also worship *Vayu*. They think that the accidental death of a person possesses a power of *Vayu*. If the *Vayu* is not pleased, they can create different problems like the illness of the family members, frightening them in the dream and so on. So, the objective of this worship is to please *Vayu*. In order to observe this worship, Gandharvas of Manaharipur gather at the river side near to their community and worship every year.

Gandharvas of Manaharipur also celebrate the other Hindu festivals like *Dashain, Tihar, Maghesakranti, Saunesakranti* and so on. But they celebrate the festivals like *Kalratri* of *Dashain* very happily and enthusiastically.

CHAPTER - 5

CHANGES ON TRADITIONAL CASTE IDENTITY AND INTER SOCIAL RELATION

This chapter deals with change on traditional caste identity and how the changes are taking place on occupational system of Gandharva. Old Gandharvas sang and played *Sarangi* to collect grains, clothes and so on going to almost all the villages, but now a days, especially the upcoming generation are practicing the traditional occupation of their ancestors in modified ways. They sing and play *Sarangi* to collect cash in different bus stations, markets as well as villages. Some young Gandharva people are being developed as national level singers. Their songs and sweet and heart touching music of *Sarangi* have been recorded and produced in the form of cassettes. Some of them have been being sung in different *Dohori Sanjh* in Kathmandu. It means they are developing their traditional caste identity as professional occupation. As a period of time their inter relation with other non-dalit people is also being changed. This chapter also discusses the inter social relation of Gandharva people with non-dalit in their surroundings.

5.1 Social Position of Gandharva in Nepali Society

In our society, social stratification is based on caste system. In our country, various occupational caste groups are prevalent like *Kami* (blacksmiths), *Sunar* (goldsmith), *Sarki* (shoemaker), Gandharva and so on. Among them, the Gandharva is one of the typical occupational castes whose main occupation is singing, playing *Sarangi* and begging. The word “*Gaine*” indicates that they are the professional singer. Our society is regarded as a closed society, where man’s own status is determined by birth. It means if a person is born in so called high caste, his status becomes high whereas if a person is born in low caste, his status becomes low. Also, in the study area, the personal occupation of the Gandharvas is determined by birth. But now a days, we can see the social mobility in

occupation as a result of modernization. As Yadav Paudel, a local, said the society around these Gandharvas looks at them as the low caste people and is reluctant to share with them. But with the passage of time, slight decrease can be noted in the tradition of untouchability. When asked the same question, the Gandharvas said that although the system of untouchability has decreased as they are also allowed to enter into the local Durga temple; the improvements are not seen in the expected amount.

5.2 Singing and Playing *Sarangi*: The Traditional Caste Identity of Gandharva

A musical instrument of Gandharva is called *Sarangi* which is made from locally accessible wood like *Bakaina*, *Khirra* and so on. *Sarangi* today are produced in different shapes and sizes due to the demands at market, which consists four strings. Gandharvas sing the song playing the *Sarangi*. Therefore, it can be said that the Gandharva and *Sarangi* are inseparable. One of the respondent (Tulka Bahadur Gandharva, 52,) informed me that *Sarangi* is not famous in our country only but also in the other countries. *Sarangi* is very popular musical instrument among the Gandharva people. If a person from any other caste\ethnic group carries the *Sarangi*, he/she is also called by the word '*Gaine*'. Thus, the *Sarangi* has its own caste identity.

Gandharva believe *Sarangi* as female musical instrument, while *Arwajo* as a male musical instrument. *Sarangi* is made by the *Gaine* themselves. They also make *Madal* (a double faced drum unique to Nepali folk music). They earn some amount of money by selling *Sarangi* and *Madal*. Before using a newly made *Sarangi*, Gandharva worship it as Hindu goddess for possessing power of excellent musical talent. *Sarangi* is the caste symbol of *Gaine* which cannot be explained by putting it separate from Gandharva.

Mainly Gandharva sing the folk songs, which have never been written but passed verbally from person to person and generation to generation. Their songs also reflect the feeling, thought and sentiment of common people. Their songs also reflect the feeling of

sorrows which are mainly faced by rural people. The Gandharva people played the role of bards in the court of medieval kings. The role that the Gandharva played in the unification movement is very important. It is believed that the Gandharva sang the heroic songs to encourage the army to show their bravery in the battlefield (*Mechi Dekhi Mahakali samma Vol.III*). It can be concluded that they can create and sing the songs in different situations. They can create and compose the songs any time if they need. During the period of field survey, Prem Lal Gandharva informed that they were fully dependent on their traditional occupation, which was singing, begging as well as making musical instruments like *Sarangi*, *Madal* and so on. They wandered place to place for singing and dancing by which they collected grains, clothes, money, which was sufficient to sustain their life. The main property of Gandharva family was the village areas where they went for singing and begging. He also added that their occupation was respected and people used to respect their songs and *Sarangi*.

5.3 Changes in the Traditional Practice of singing and playing *Sarangi*

The traditional occupation of Gandharva is singing, dancing, begging as well as manufacturing musical instruments like *Sarangi*, *Madal* and so on. In course of singing they used to play a musical instrument called “*Sarangi*”. But now a day, they are diverted towards different occupations. During the period of field survey, there were 33 households of Gandharva family at Manaharipur. These 33 households were found to be engaged in different occupations. Among these households, 15 households were fully dependent on their traditional occupation. Within these 15 cases, 10 respondents stated that they are still singing the way their formers used to. The researcher found the changes on their traditional occupation. Now, they visit different market areas, bus stations, highway buses rather than the rural villages and they mainly concentrate to collect cash

than the grains and others. Furthermore, 2 respondents are involved in more professional occupation from the same society. They are conscious about the urban demand of entertainment and they entered the competitive musical field i.e. Dinesh Gandharva is a national level singer and Chintamani Gandharva works as a *dohori* singer in Kathmandu.

In order to enhance their traditional occupation, above stated two Gandharva singers are working in present days with the help of modern touches and modification to the traditional songs and clichés. Moreover, among 15 respondents, 3 opined that since the experts in building Gandharvas' traditional musical instruments are rare, they are staying in the village and are involved in manufacturing *Sarangis*, *Madals* and so on. According to Ambe Bahadur Gandharva, Tek Bahadur Gandharva and Prem Lal Gandharva, it is helping for the betterment of family economy and is also keeping the traditional practice of their ancestors. Besides, the rest, i.e. 18 households are involved in quite diverted professions. Among them, 8 households' livelihood relies upon farming, 5 families are dependent upon the foreign employment of their family members and, as 3 respondents stated, they work as wage labour for survival.

Above mentioned data indicate that the majority of households are engaged in other occupation rather than their traditional occupation. This is due to less income from their traditional occupation and difficulty to manage their daily life from it. Those households which were engaged in their traditional occupation were also not satisfied because this occupation is not easy and they have to visit different places in course of singing and begging, which is not an easy task. They think that the so called modern people also hate their occupation. Because of the dramatic and rapid advancement in the field of mass media and technology, people are less attracted towards the songs of the Gandharvas. The respondents said, "The songs played through FM radios are much loved than our songs and also people have to pay nothing to listen to those songs". They are not much satisfied with the changes in their occupation as they think that discontinuing their traditional occupation will one day result in the complete loss of their original identity but because

of the factors mentioned above, they are compelled to slowly give up their original occupation.

5.4 Factors for Bringing Change on Traditional Caste Identity of Gandharvas

Gandharvas who have been practicing their traditional occupation for a long period of time are now noticeably being inclined to other different occupations and professions. There are various reasons behind the occupational divergence and the changes are initiated by countable outer factors which are dealt as follows:

5.4.1 Modernization

Now a days, modernization process in various sectors is adopted in government level as well as public level. Mainly at present, modernizing process at Tele communication sector is going rapidly. As a result various TV channels are spread all over the country. As Chintamani Gandharva said, urban as well as rural people are interested towards western music and songs. Especially radio and TV replaced the folk songs and sweet music of *Sarangi*. So called modern people are also not interested on Gandharvas' folk songs. Therefore, the traditional occupation of Gandharva is in crisis. All the respondents were worried about their traditional occupation. So it can be concluded that, on one hand, modernization process is going rapidly and on the other hand, traditional occupation of Gandharva is in crisis.

5.4.2 Education

Education is one of the major contributing factors for the change in occupation of the Gandharva people. Gandharva community was formally remote from the accessible education facility which compelled them to be confined within and practice the traditional cultures as it was before or to be blind conventionally. But, the situation has changed now. Thus, the Gandharva community is in the step of getting well education

which has opened a door for them to be aware of the outer world and also their conscience level has been raised. In the study area, the educated people began to be involved other occupation rather than traditional one. Saroj Gandharva, for instance, who got the opportunity to get the high school education and is working as a junior assistant in Agriculture Development Bank in Jitpur, Kapilvastu, opines that the traditional singing practice could not satisfy the needs of modern generation so they are compelled to be involved in the more income oriented occupations.

5.4.3 Mass media / Technology

Now, people are not more interested to hear the traditional songs of the Gandharva than that of previous time because of the easy access of people to the electronic means of communication and media. The newly modernized society is more inclined towards the west influenced entertaining options. In the period of field survey, researcher tried to gather the information on why the change is being seen in the traditional practices of Gandharvas. According to the informants Chintamani Gandharva and Ram Bahadur Gandharva, the Gandharvas, who sing directly in front of the audiences, could not successfully provide the desired entertainment to the people.

Because of the advancement of radios and televisions that are providing entertainment free of cost, now a days, people rarely give interest in the songs and playing of the Gaines. These are the facts why the Gandharvas are slightly been uninterested in giving the priority to continue their practices.

5.4.4 Migration

When the migration process of Gandharva started in the 2018 BS from their ancient place Python, Arghakahchi and Gulmi to the southern planes in the search of better livelihood and facilities for more quality life, then the process of change started according to most of the informants. There were four Gandharva families to migrate at first. Thereafter, those

who experienced the facilities and easiness in daily livelihood intended to initiate the migration of relatives and families from rural ancient habitation.

The migrated families started farming in their own land and they started to live a more prosperous life in comparison to that of in their previous places. In the present condition, there are five families who produce foods and grains sufficient for their survival in their own land. At the same time, migration only did not facilitate the survival but also facilitated the better access to communication and social mobility of Gandharvas.

5.4.5 Transportation

The traditional way of Gandharvas' singing songs, wandering from one place to another has been, to some extent, replaced by the transportation facilities. It resulted in that those who were to walk a long way to sing, now a days, can make people listen to their songs in a single venue i.e. public buses. This is being noticed as a change in the Gandharvas' practices. Not only singing but also the Gandharva musical instruments like *Madal*, *Sarangi* and so on are being merchandized to Butwal, Taulihawa and other towns, even to Kathmandu, which has been possible by the easily available public transportation. The transportation helps to change the traditional value of *Sarangi* i.e., from cultural identity to commercial instrument.

5.4.6 Economy

The above figure shows that even in the present time the economic condition of Gandharva is not that good. There are different causes that the Gandharvas are not being prosperous. Those who follow the traditional practices do not earn that much money to uplift the overall economic condition since the limited earning is sufficient only to manage the household expenditures. Thakuri Gandharva, aged 30, realized that what they did for the late decades was only for sustainability and that did nothing for the further betterment of family.

5.5 Relationship with Friends

The researcher conducted the research in the case of social relationship which started from the issue of how friendly is the relationship of Gandharvas with the people beyond their community. There the researcher found that the aged members of the community hitherto did not share the dishes with the non-dalit although they keep close relation in other different social activities. But in the case of young members of the same society, they have a different opinion. They opined that when the social relation goes further to the daily interaction and unavoidable activities, they cannot ignore the friends from another social group. While being in the educational institutes and common working places, the young Gandharva share the dishes and almost every common property with the people beyond their community.

5.6 Participation in decision making

Gradually, the Gandharva community is participating in the different social decision making activities and the authority committees. Saroj Gandharva, 40, who was recently elected as the secretary of Laxmanghat Community Forest User Group, opined that even though they were left behind in the past in the case of decision making procedures, now a days, the situation has changed and countable Gandharva people play vital role in different local level programs.

Nandaram Gandharva, 51, leads an Irrigation Consumers' Committee in Manaharipur representing both Gandharva and non-dalit in the committee. These sorts of relationship in the committees with other different castes have helped to enhance the inter-social relation within.

5.7 Relationship with non-dalit in Economic Spheres

In the case of farming or agricultural tradition, the reciprocity in the working days has been practices for a long period of time in Nepali society. The same culture is prevailing

in the Gandharva community too. Dealing with the *parma* (exchanging working hands), there is not any segregation and non-dalits as well as Gandharvas work together in this respect.

Five households out of the entire community stated that there is the wage labor exchange within the Gandharvas and non-dalit community. But, rest of all community members opined that non-dalit do not accept the wage offer of Gandharvas till date.

5.8 Untouchability

The attitude of Gandharva people towards the untouchability is not similar. Researcher got mixed responses in this relation when the researcher queried different aged people. Some youngsters like to be together with other youngsters of the village. They do not like to be separated. But, the old people think it as sinful to touch their superior castes. Another superstition practiced in the community is that any member from the Gandharva community is not allowed to enter the houses of non-dalit people whereas the non-dalit do not have to bother to enter in the houses of Gandharva people.

Ram bahadur Gandharva, 40, stated that in the earlier time, the non-dalits used to ignore the public places like tea-shops, public water-taps where Gandharvas were engaged and in case the Gandharvas touches the dishes of non-dalits, they are compelled to wash the dishes themselves. These types of practices are eliminated in the present situation in the public areas but, even now Gandharva should wash his dishes after having meal in the house of non-dalit people.

In the field research, the researcher found some uneasy incidents that occurred in the past in the case of untouchability. Bhim Bahadur Gandharva, 74, said that in 2042 BS, an incident happened where Yam Bahadur Khatri's ox entered in the farm of Mukti Ram Gandharva and Mukti Ram chased the ox out of his farm. Eventually, Yam Bahadur summoned Mukti Ram in spite and plucked out the hair out of his head.

The similar case happened with Shyam Bahadur Gandharva, who had to suffer torture from one non-dalit, Ramesh Neupane for no reason. Yam Bahadur Khatri beat the watchman who was from the Gandharva community accusing him of not reporting the right information in time. At Dashain of 2060 BS, Shyam Neupane battered Jivan Gandharva because his *jamara* was touched by Jivan.

These sorts of practices are not prevailing anymore in present days. The young generation of non-dalit community does not hesitate to enter the houses of Gandharva and even to share food with them. They are building a path to improve the conventional thinking of elder members. The students of non-dalit enter the houses of Gandharva friends though the Gandharvas hesitate to do so. It shows the positive change in inter-social relationship between Gandharva and non-dalit people.

Recently, the Gandharva community is practicing inter-caste marriage which has been described in the previous chapter. Inter-caste marriage is playing a catalytic role in improving the social relation between Gandharvas and other residing castes and ethnic groups around.

5.9 Practice of Participation in Feast and Festivals

The researcher, at the time of research and field survey, tried to find out the inter-relationship among Gandharva and non-dalit. In the meantime, the researcher intended to overview the participation of Gandharvas and non-dalit in the auspicious feasts and festivals and other cultural practices.

Ram Bahadur Gandharva, 40, Nanda Ram Gandharva, 51, spoke out in a common voice that recently the trend of participating in each other's cultural ceremonies has been increased, which was not in practice even a decade ago. But, there we can find out the separate kind of treatment for the Gandharvas even while invited to participate in different ceremonies. The non-dalits entertain to organize a separate venue for dining for the Gandharva people and when the similar occasion happens in the house of the

Gandharva people, again the same thing happens that the non-dalits do not feel glorious dining along with the Gandharvas even though they enjoy every other occasion in that community. A sacred Brahmin is appointed to take the responsibility to feed the so called upper class participants in the cultural programs of Gandharva community. They accepted that it is the evidence of the improvement in the relationship between Gandharva and non-dalits. As the informants said, although the Gandharva people want equity among other castes and ethnic groups advocating that all human being are to be treated equal, we cannot find the equal treatment to the Gandharvas in such ceremonies.

CHAPTER-6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 SUMMARY

This is mainly a sociological study of the Gandharva people living in Manaharipur of Kapilvastu District. The main objectives of the research were to identify and document the change on the traditional caste identity associated with musical instrument and singing and to examine social relation of Gandharva with non-dalit people of their surroundings. This study mainly highlights the practice of the traditional occupation of Gandharva people and also the researcher has tried to trace out the relationship between the communities. This study is different from other studies done in the central department of Sociology and Anthropology firstly because it is a Sociological research and secondary and more important it shows the change on caste identity of the Gandharva people.

This study is descriptive as well as explanatory research. Household survey, interview and observation were the main tools of data collection. This study was conducted in the homogeneous community of the Gandharva people as census survey was 33 household and the total population was 203.

It was found that the rich Gandharva made their house with cemented (3.03%) and tin roofed houses with brick wall while the poor household have tile roofed and thatched hut. Therefore, economic condition of the Gandharva people of the study area was poor.

Regarding the population of the Gandharvas, the age group 0-15 constitutes about 35 per cent of the total population. It also indicates the trend of future population increase in high speed than now. Comparatively, the number of the elderly people seems to be less than younger people. That means, life expectancy rate is also low among Gandharva. The

portion of dependent population is 38.92 per cent, where as total population of productive group or active population is 61.8 per cent.

Thirty families (90.90%) were nuclear families whereas only 3 families (9.09%) were joint families. Due to the weak economic condition they have only a small thatched hut. So, after getting married the couple leave their father's house and settle near to the father's house. This is a direct cause for the change in family pattern.

In the study area, out of 33 families, 2 families (i.e. 6.60%) practiced polygamy and 31 families (i.e. 93.94%) practised monogamy system of marriage. On the basis of this fact we can say that Gandharva people believe in monogamy marriage system and polygamy marriage system is least practiced in their community. There are two types of marriage system in the Gandharva community. Similarly, out of 33 households, only 14(42.42%) respondents did love marriage and 19 respondents did arrange marriage.

Some examples of inter caste marriage are noted in Manaharipur, Kapilvastu. This type of marriage is also practiced as love marriage but it is not practiced as arrange marriage. In the study area, 5 Gandharva male were married with inter caste girls and 6 Gandharva female were married with the boys from different castes.

As found from the research, 71 people (39.01%) attained Primary Education, 33 people (18.13%) attained Lower Secondary Education and 7 people (3.85%) attained Secondary Education. Only 3 people (1.64%) attained Higher Secondary Education but there is nobody who attained University Education. The number of illiterate people was 60 (32.97%). As the respondents said the number of the people going to school is increasing day by day in comparison to that of past.

Traditionally, Gandharva people were singing, playing *Sarangi*, and making *Madal*, and *Sarangi*. But now a day, they are also engaged in different income generating works like farming, wage labour, foreign employment and so on for their livelihood. Economy is a major factor of bringing various changes in Gandharva community. As the data obtained

during the research shows, 45.45 percent (18) households were fully depended on their traditional occupation. Similarly, 24.24 percent (8) households were fully dependent on agricultural income. The major source of income of five households (15.15%) was foreign employment. Similarly, only one household was appointed on job in Agricultural Development Bank, 3 households (9.09%) depended on wage labour and one household was involved in business.

Among the 33 households, 3 households (9.09%) are landless; they have not their own land. Similarly, 15 households (45.45%) have less than one *kattha*. Among these people, several have only housing area. Likewise, 30.30% households own 1-5 *kattha* of land and one household has 6-10 *kattha* of land and another one house has 11-15 *kattha*. There were 2 houses who owned 16-20 *kattha* land and only one house who owned more than one *bigha* of land. Similarly, only five households (15.15%) produce enough foodstuffs from their own land for whole year. This indicates that the majority of families lack foodstuffs to feed themselves for whole year. They are compelled to live in the vicious circle of poverty.

In the study area, among 33 households, 14 households (42.42%) had radio and 2 households (6.06%) had television. Similarly, 6 households (18.18%) had bicycle and only one household had Motor cycle. As found from the study, 19 households use mobile phone. From these data, we can say that Gandharva people are also highly influenced by modern tools and technologies which may have impact on their traditional occupation like playing musical instruments and singing folk songs.

Various NGOs were working in the study area. They have worked a lot for the betterment of the Gandharva people. But, as the research shows, most of the Gandharvas are not satisfied with the role of NGOs.

Like other communities, the Gandharvas of Manaharipur also observe different type of rites and rituals known as *sanskar* in Hindu society. They observe some rites and rituals

related to the birth, *Chhainte*, name giving ceremony (*Nawaran*), Feeding Ceremony (*Pasni*), head shaving ceremony (*Chhewar*), marriage and death.

Although the Gandharvas are considered to be of the lower caste, improvements and reforms can be seen so that the system of untouchability is not much rigid in its form as it was earlier. The young generation seems to be more liberal than the old generation regarding untouchability. These days, both the Gandharvas and the non-dalit people of that surroundings invite each other in feast and festivals which also shows a slight decrease of the system of untouchability but some people, though share invitations, practice separate kitchen system.

Similarly, we can see a remarkable change in the caste identity of the Gandharva people. Most of them have stopped practicing their tradition occupation, i.e. singing, playing *Sarangi* and making musical instruments like *Sarangi* and *Madal*. Those who are still continuing their traditional occupation have also brought significant changes in the style of practicing it. Today, they sing from more a commercial point of view than from the cultural view point. We have already discussed that most of the Gandharvas are shifting to other occupations from their traditional caste identity and the major factors contributing factors for the changes are modernization, technology (especially mass media), economy, education, transportation and so on.

6.2 CONCLUSION

A community is a place where the people from any caste, creed and religion may reside. These people sustain their livelihood in the mutual collaboration of one another. But from the ancient civilization of Nepali people, various social evils exist. Untouchability is one and most serious of them. During earlier time, people use to follow the occupations on the basis of their caste and the Gandharvas in Nepal started singing, playing musical instrument and begging as their occupation. In this work, the researcher collected information regarding the shift of Gandharva people from their traditional

occupation to other occupation because of influenced of various factors similarly, the researcher also tried to trace out the relationship between the Gandharva people and the people from other non-dalit castes.

The Gandharva of Manaharipur community of Kapilvastu district is changing their occupation, i.e. traditional caste identity. Most of the Gandharva are involved in farming, wage labour, foreign employment and so on. However some of them are still practicing their traditional occupation, but the way of practice has been changed. Those who are practicing it are doing it from commercial perspective rather than from the view point of the preservation of their traditional caste identity. The major factors contributing for these changes are modernization, technology, education, migration and transportation.

The Gandharva are now adopting the policy of nuclear family, which has been caused by their poor economic condition. Their houses pattern, i.e. they are still living thatched roofed house also proves their financial weakness. Although these people have shifted to agriculture, most of them do not have enough cultivable land which can produce sufficient amount of crops to sustain their livelihood. The educational status of the Gandharva people is also undergoing changes and improvement. They are giving priority to the school education to their children. There are various NGOs working for the Gandharva peoples. Different programmes launched and run by these NGOs have also helped them to adopt new strategies of livelihood.

Gandharva people are considered to be dalits by other so called high caste people. With the passes of time various changes and reforms can be seen also in the social relationship between the Gandharva people and non-dalit people of their surroundings. The new generation was found to be liberal than the old generation regarding untouchability. The tradition of *Choi Chhito Halne* does not exist at present time. Both of the Gandharva and non-dalit castes invite on another in feast and festivals but sometimes the kitchen made separate. In marriage practice also, a great reform can be seen. During the research, the marriage between the boys and girls of the Gandharva and non-dalit castes was found.

No matter whatever changes have taken, the songs and musical instruments i.e. *Sarangi* of Gandharva people should be preserved. They should be encouraged to continue their traditional occupation and at the same time the concern authorities should work to ease their livelihood so that they are not forced to give up their caste identity which is not only the occupation of Gandharvas but also the treasure of our country. The tradition of untouchability and suppression, though it is decreasing, should be checked before long. So that the Gandharvas can also feel that they are as equal as other caste people in the eyes of the country.

REFERENCES

- Acharya, R.K. 2002: *Survival Options of Occupational Caste Group in Nepal*. An unpublished research paper submitted to Faculty of Humanities and Social Science, University Campus, Kirtipur
- Bhusan, B. and Sachadeva, D. R. 1997: *An Introduce to Sociology*, Kitab Mahal Allahabad
- Bista, D. B. 2030 B.S. *Sabai Jatko Phulbari*. Sajha Prakashan Kathmandu. (Text in Nepali)
- Bista, D. B. 1972. *People of Nepal*: Ratna Pustak Bhandar Kathmandu.
- Caplan, L. 1970: *Land and Social Change in East Nepal*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited.
- Caplan, A.P. 1972: *Priest and Cobblers*. United States, Chandler Publishing Company.
- C.B.S. 2002: *Statistical Pocket Book of Nepal*. Central Bureau of Statistics, Nepal.
- Chhetri, G.1989: "*Gaineko Sarangi Yauta Magne Bhando ki Nepali Sanskritiko Anga? Ek Samajshastriya Dristikon*", in Contributions of Nepalese Studies. Vol-16 No.1, CNAS, Kirtipur.
- Chhetri, R. B and Gurung O.P. (Edited) 1999: *Occupational Caste Groups in the Hills of Nepal: A Sociological Analysis. In Anthropology and Sociology of Nepal: Cultures, Societies, Ecology and Development*, SASON Kathmandu
- Dahal, D. R. 2003: "*Social Composition of the population: Caste/Ethnicity and Religion in Nepal*" In Population Monograph of Nepal. (Vol-I) Kathmandu: CBS, Nepal.
- Darnal, R. 2045 B.S: *Nepali Sangeet-Sanskriti*. Pragya Pratisthan.

- Gautam, R. and T Magar Asoke, K.1994: *Tribal Ethnography of Nepal*.Vol-2nd Book Faith, India.
- Gurung, G.M. 1989: *The Chepang: A Study in Continuity and Change*. Lalitpur: S.B. Shahi.
- Gurung, H. 1997: *State and Society in Nepal. In Gellner (et al) Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom: The Politics of Culture in Contemporary Nepal*. Netherlands, Harwood Academic Publishers.
- Haimendorf, C.F. 1964: *The Sherpas of Nepal*. London: John Murray
- Hitchcock, J.T. 1966: *The Magars of Banyan Hill*. New York: Holt Peinehart and Winson.
- HMG, Department of Information, 2031: *Mechi Dekhi Mahakali Samma*, Vol- II Kathmandu
- Hofer, A. 2004: *The Caste Hierarchy and the State in Nepal*. Himal Books Lalitpur
- James, F. Fisher. 1972: *Trans- Himalayan Traders, Economy, Society and Culture in Northwest Nepal*.
- Majpuria, I. 1978: *Marriage Customs in Nepal*, Jallander Indra Majupuria.
- Nepali, P. 2060 B.S: *Gandharva Sangeet ra Sanskriti*. UNESCO Office, Kathmandu.
- Ortner, S. 1978: *Sherpas Through their Retual*. Cambridge University Press.
- Pokharel, S. K and Chhetri, R. B. 2006: “*Changing Livelihood Strategies of the Dalits: A Case study in the Pokhara Valley*” ", in Contributions of Nepalese Studies.Changing Environments and Livelihoods in Nepal, vol-33, CNAS, Kirtipur.

- Sharma, C. Raj. 2039 B.S: *Tansen Nagar Chhetraka Ganineharuko Samajik ra Arthik Jivan*. An unpublished research paper submitted to Faculty of Humanities and Social Science, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu.
- Sharma, J. Lal. 1982. *Hamro Samaj Ek Addhyan* (text in Nepali), Pulchowk: Sajha Prakashan.
- Sharma, M.2000: *Socio-Economic Condition of Gaine: A Case Study of Batulechaur Pokhara*. An unpublished research paper submitted to Faculty of Humanities and Social Science, Trichandra Multiple Campus, Ghantaghar.
- Sharma, P. 1977: *Caste Mobility and Sanskritization: A Study of Nepal's Old Legal Code*, Kailash.
- Shrestha, H.P. 2053B.S: *A Critical Study on the Socio-cultural Behaviours of the 'Gaine' of Batulechaur Pokhara* An unpublished research paper submitted to Research Division Tribhuvan University.
- Thapa, D. 2030B.S: *Gandakiko Susheli*. Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu.
- Thapa, D. 2032B.S: *Mero Nepal Varman*: Sajha Prakashan, Kathmandu

APPENDIX-I

HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

District: VDC: Ward No: Village:

Name of the respondent:

Household No:

S. N.	Name	Relation with H.H Head	Age In Yrs	Sex	Marital Status	Education	Occupation	
							Primary	Secondary

APPENDIX-II
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What is the place of your origin or where did you migrate from?

.....

2. What is your original occupation?

Are you still practicing it?

(i) Yes

(ii) No

If yes how do you practice it?

.....

If no, what contributed for the change in your traditional occupation?

.....

3. Was it sufficient to sustain your livelihood?

(i) Yes

(ii) No

If no what other things did you do?.....

4. What is/ are major sources of your income?

(i) Singing and dancing

(ii) Agriculture

(iii) Wage labour

(iv) Business

(v) Service

(vi) Others

5. How much Land do you have?

(i).....Bighas (ii)Kattha (iii)..... Dhur (iv)Landless

6. Do you cultivate others land also?

(i)Yes

(ii) No

7. Do you have Parma system?

(i)Yes

(ii) No

If yes, how do you practice it with the people of other castes?

(i) You go to work for other caste people

(ii) Other caste people come to work for you.

(iii) Both

8. Do you grow sufficient crops for your family?

(i) Yes

(ii) No

If 'no', for how many months it is sufficient?

9. Is your marriage system confined within your own caste only or you can marry from other caste as well?

(i) Intra caste

(ii) Inter caste

10. How do you perform marriage ceremony?

.....
.....

11. Which form of marriage do you practice?

- (i) Polygamy (ii) Polyandry (iii) Monogamy

12. What type of family do you have?

- (i) Nuclear (ii) Joint

13. Is there the system of untouchability within your caste and with other castes?

Within own caste

- (i) Yes (ii) No

Inter-caste untouchability

- (i) Yes (ii) No

If yes, when and in which sector do you practice it?

.....

14. Do you practice gathering in your life cycle ceremonies and festivals?

- (i) Yes (ii) No

15. How is the system of gathering?

(i) Other caste people come eat and celebrate with you

(ii) You go to other caste people and eat and celebrate with them

(i)Yes

(ii) No

24. Do you eat together?

(i)Yes

(ii) No

25. Do the people from other caste group come your home?

(i)Yes

(ii) No

.....

If yes, do they eat at your home?

(i)Yes

(ii) No

26. What types of the modern technology do you use?

- a. Radio b. Television c. Mobile
- d. Bicycle e. Motor bike f. Others

27. Does any NGOs work in your community?

Yes

No

28. What types of works do these NGOs do for you?

.....

Are you satisfied with their roles? Why?

.....

.....

Thanks for your cooperation