

CHAPTER: I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Magar is the Mongoloid race with well-proportional facial contours living in Gandaki region and its neighboring districts of western Nepal. Geographically, it is located on the section of Dhaulagiri Himal and High hill of Mahabharat range. Most of the Magar villages are at an altitude of between 1200-2500 meters in the high hill area though in the recent years some have migrated to the plain area. According to the CBS report (2001) the total numbers of the Magar population of Nepal are 16, 22,421. It has covered 7.14% of the total population of Nepal. The physical structure of the Magar is not vast different from that of other local ethnic groups. In this regard Dor Bahadur Bista stated, "Magar is one of the ethnic groups living in western hill region of Nepal. They have flat and short nose, round face and dark eyes" (45). There are many myths about the origin of the Magar which are based on legend and conjectures. In this regard, Harsa Budha says, "Magars are the descendent of the 'Mayar' who is the elder of "Hun", the person who are the chief of the nomad of central Asia"(24). Thousand years ago Magars had established their kingdom nearby the Kali Gandaki River and ruled the certain territory which is still known as 'Magarat' region.

Marriage is a universal phenomenon which existed in every society from tribal to civilized society. It is apparently essential for survival of man as a species: marriage makes a stability and continuity of the social order and for a regulation of kinship relations. It serves as nucleus of the family. Marriage makes the paired relation of the couple a socially acknowledged, legal, relatively permanent bond, which provides not only for reciprocal obligations between the married couple but also for the rights of the offspring. It provides a formal and legal link to the extended family, or kinship relatives, and thereby establishes property rights and stable lines of inheritance from generation to generation (Baber, 1939:23).

The male used to have sexual relationship with female of another group (tribe) and was very hard for the mother to identify the father of their children before the marriage system. The female used to have difficulties. Children were not looked therefore the marriage system came to exist. Sacred, social and personal are the three meanings commonly found in marriage. Until the present century, it is viewed chiefly

as an institution of divine significance; at the close of the nineteenth century, its meaning began to shift to that of a civil institution: and contemporary marriage is viewed chiefly in our society as a vehicle for personal satisfaction. The increasing emphasis on the personalization of marriage has occurred hand-in-hand with the depersonalization of many of man's other institutions as our culture has adopted the characteristics of a mass society of globalization (ibid).

Nepalese society consents as husband and wife to the male and female only after marriage. The relationship between male and female before marriage is not accepted. Therefore, the relation between male, female with the right as wife and husband is considered as marriage. There are four possible forms of marriage: monogamy, polygamy, group marriage and a recent one, the same sex marriage. Polygyny is the most often permitted in the world's societies, but monogamy is the prevalent form in practice. Group marriage is the rarest form. Polyandry is also seen practicing in the world's societies. The same sex marriage is the new trend accepted by many countries of the world and there is one society in Nepal by the name of Blue diamond which is formed by gay and lesbian. The tasks which must be performed in marriage are of 1) income provision 2) housekeeping, 3) sexual fulfillment, 4) psychological need fulfillment. If one of these essential tasks is not characteristically performed, the relation will be broken. Intimacy is the most rewarding of all behaviors but also a rarest. Intimacy in marriage is the ideal, in marital or conjugal life intimacy remains or must be remained intact in different ways/styles. Otherwise the conjugal life may not remain. The marriage relation will succeed, even though most interaction is not intimate, as long as the essential tasks of marriage are performed at least as operation and occasionally as intimacy (ibid).

Marriage and the family are so commonly associated that we often think of them as inseparable yet in reality they are distinct, neither depending upon the other. The family, in its minimum form, is that unit of human association which consists of parents and offspring; in its maximum family may be extended to include various other relatives and even adopted ones.

Magar are mostly found to marry their elder sister's or younger sister's son to their daughter, boys marry the maternal uncle's daughter. It is called "mama cheli, phupu chela" marriage. Northern Magars of Dolpa marry the phupu's daughters as well. But the Magar of Palpa, Tanahun, and Syangja do not encourage the marriage of son of maternal uncle to the phupu's daughter. If Sister's daughter gets physically

involvement to the paternal's son then the people are punished by the society. They (mama-bhanji: kin terms) have to leave their homeland as a punishment and they probably go abroad. The daughter of maternal uncle is called 'bato ko Sali'. The son of sister's had the right to marry 'bato ko Sali' and if the son of sister would marry other than daughter of maternal uncle the person is called 'bato birae ko' and has to pay fine to the maternal uncle. Even these days Magars of Palpa are found to use this custom (Baral-Magar, 1994).

Marriage, on the other hand, is essentially a form of relationship between the sexes, socially approved and regulated. Biologically the family can function efficiently without recourse to marriage; likewise, marriage may produce a lasting companionship without resulting in children. In this case, marriage system always had continuity and long-term welfare, of any kin group depends on obtaining spouses for the unmarried members of the group from other group. A kin group also has a stake in retaining some measure of control over at least a portion of its members after they marry (Lee.1977).

There are different forms of marriage practiced in the world. Among them cousin marriage is one of them. Cousin marriage is taboo in some society, nevertheless it is in practice. Cousin marriage is practiced by Muslim all over the world. Cross-cousin marriage is also practiced traditionally by some small cultural groups of Nepal like: Magar, Tamang, Gurung, Thakali, and Chantyal of ethnic groups and Thakuri of Chettri caste group from past till now. Marriage in Nepal is also one of the sacred performances of life cycle though different ethnic groups observe in their own way.

Marriage practice among Magar is found different within clan and sub clans but commonly, they follow Hindu practices. Mostly Magars have endogamy marriages between cousin and "tin ghare" (three clans). The trend of marriage system is changing now but their kinship term remains the same even today though Magars have seized to marry among cousin in modern and urban areas (Gurung, 1993).

Polyandry (a woman having multiple husbands) occurs very rarely in a few isolated tribal societies with limited resources. These societies include some bands of the Canadian Insult, although the practice has declined sharply in the 20th century due to their conversion from tribal religion to Christianity by Moravian missionaries. Additionally, the Spartans were notable for practicing polyandry. Spartan polyandry

often took the form of Adelphi polyandry (where the husbands are all biological brothers) (World Encyclopedia, 2007).

Societies which permit group marriage are extremely rare, but have existed in Utopian societies such as the Oneida Community. Today, many married people practice various forms of consensual non-monogamy, including polyandry and swinging. These people have agreements with their spouses that permit other intimate relationships or sexual partners. Therefore, the concept of marriage need not necessarily hinge on sexual or emotional monogamy (ibid).

A marriage is a relationship between or among individuals, usually recognized by civil authority and/ or bound by the religious beliefs of the participants. The fact that marriage often has the dual nature of a binding legal contract plus a moral promise can make it difficult to characterize. In one form or another, marriage is found virtual in every society. The very oldest records that refer to I speak of it as an established custom. Despite attempts by anthropologists to trace its origin (such as the hypothesis of primitive promiscuity), evidence is lacking (ibid).

Some marriages seen in the modern age include arranged marriage which is also chosen by others. Marriage has fulfilled a role of diplomacy between monarchies and other dynastic contexts, such as business families. A marriage may be arranged for the union of families or other interests, love is not universal prerequisite for marriage. Boston marriage is relationship between two women, not necessarily sexual. Celestial marriage within an LDS temple, where it is taught it can last forever. Chinese marriage is arrangement between families. Confarreatio and coemptio are: two Roman forms of marriage. Covenant marriage is practiced in some U.S. states, where divorce is made more difficult. Digital marriage is defined as two people who have no connection outside their gaming lives come together within a virtual community. Fleet Marriage is clandestine marriage in 18th century England in the vicinity of Fleet Prison. Temporary marriage in Islam banned by Sunnis but still practiced by Shias. Morganatic marriage is a proxy marriage ceremony in which the bride, the groom, or both are not physically present and use stand-ins.

Despite these, Magar have their separate ritual practice which identified separate identity of the group. Especially, Magars' family structure has joint family. That's why; the size of their family is large numbers. They celebrate many customs. Wedding is one of the important rituals which continue the lineage of the group. In

this study, it has been analyzed the marriage practices among Magars in Ruchang V.D.C. of Nawalparasi have been analyzed.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Among the indigenous tribe of our country, Magar' community is rich in its culture and custom. They have their own tradition, social manner, etiquette and festivals. But, nowadays, they are gradually discarding/leaving their traditions as the time passes. Everything has an interrelation, inter-dependence, and is changeable. There is no static culture in the dynamic world. Both negative and positive impacts have fallen in the society. Magar community is highly influenced by the Hindu custom and culture. In the name of cultural diversity and modernization, indigenous people are losing their own linguistic and cultural identity.

All the ethnic groups have their own culture and tradition which affect on the life cycle of the groups. Though, traditionally, Magars are animist but they are most influenced by Hindu culture. As majority of Magars live in close contact with Brahmans and Chhettris, they have adopted the marriage pattern as practiced by the Brahmans and Chhettris. They were influenced by their culture. Later on, after the influence of Hinduism, getting exposure to the other country as an army men, labor, emigrants, they sanskritized themselves towards modernization leaving their old tradition, culture, beliefs and rituals in new environment. During Panchayat period, the preaching and changing into other religion or adopting other religions beside Hinduism was banned which was clearly written in the Muluki Ain (Legal code) of Nepal that those who would involve in converting a person into other religion was liable to punishment imprisonment and fine. After the Second People's Movement (2006), Nepal has been declared as a secular state, and people are allowed to follow any religion they like without any restriction. Most of the cultural and religious practices are influenced by the state agencies after the promulgation of Act, Rules and Regulation. Marriage is one among various rituals which carry out the existence of human being. Because of the contact of other community and influences of western culture, Magar youths are also attracted on love marriage they are compelled to follow traditional marriage practices for the sake of identity. The young generations of Magar are educated and modern, aware of their environment, so they want to marry according to their choice. Marriage is one of the rituals which is going to change from

its original form. Magar community has its own rites and rituals although these identity markers are going to decline from the practices.

This study on marriage system among Magars of Ruchang in Nawalparasi is found very important for knowledge about the existing marriage practices and it is important to investigate whether they still practice cross-cousin marriage, the percentage of divorce rate and the reasons of changing marriage practices among Magars.

However, the present study has been guided by the following questions.

- 1) Do they have their own rituals? If yes, what types of life cycle rituals do they observe?
- 2) Do they perform rituals in accordance with their own traditions?
- 3) Do they give preference to cross-cousin marriage?
- 4) Is there still practice of cross-cousin marriage?
- 5) Are the Magar marriages undergoing change?
- 6) What are the reasons of changing marriage practice among Magars?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to find out the change and continuity in marriage of Magars of Ruchang V.D.C. of Nawalparasi. The specific objectives of this study are as follows:-

1. To highlight on brief ethnographic description of Magar of Nawalparasi district (Nepal)
2. To investigate traditional marriage practices among Magar community in Nawalparasi of Ruchang V.D.C.
3. To examine their attitudes towards change and continuity in marriage.

1.4 Rationale of the Study

Marriage is an important social institution which might turn the society in a ditch if the norms and values are violated. This study is necessary to look through the eyes of one community like Magar and the women to represent the situation of women of Nepal. Though the practice is not outlawed, it is regarded as abhorrent by other culture. The traditional culture must be allowed to practice or banned if it is irrational. There is no evidence that the marriage poses birth defect to their offspring.

The academicians and researchers interested in the study of the Nepalese society will get new inputs to compare and to go deep in the problems. The society which lacks academic pursuit of social problems remains underdeveloped. Therefore, it is essential to cover all problems of the society. There has not been any research of change and continuity in marriage pattern of Magars of Ruchang V.D.C. This study is concentrated in these topics and will help to identify the condition of marriage practiced by Magar community in Ruchang V.D.C. of Nawalparasi. This study focuses on the marriage, customs, traditions, occupation, language, religion, and several other aspects of Magars of Ruchang V.D.C. of Nawalparasi district.

This study will be very much important asset for social organizations, and government organizations and especially the researchers who are interested to know about Magar marriage.

1.5 Limitation of the Study

This study has been limited as the following;

- i. Only 64 households have been taken as the sample for this study
- ii. This study is only based on the socio-economic condition of Ruchang V.D.C. of Nawalparasi district.
- iii. This study elaborates history of the origin of Magar, describes social-cultural practices of Magar which includes the structure of family, life cycle ritual as well as festivals and traditional customs, economic organization of Magar.
- iv. This study only focuses on the real scenario of Magar marriage system.
- v. This study traces the condition of cross-cousin marriage practiced by Ruchang Magars of Nawalparasi district.
- vi. Only change and continuity in marriage practice of Magar has been focused in the study.

1.6 Organization of the Study

There are altogether seven chapters. The first introductory chapter deals with the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, rationale of the study and limitation of the study. The second chapter is about theoretical review of general overview and the relevant literature. The third chapter deals with the methodology, which was adopted during the fieldwork. It describes the various techniques of data collection and the analysis. The fourth chapter describes

the geographic, socio-economic and cultural setting of the study and includes some selected demographic components of the respondents. Chapter five elaborates history of the origin of Magar, describes social cultural practices of Magar which includes the structure of family, life cycle ritual as well as festivals and traditional customs, economic activities etc. Chapter six describes change and continuity in marriage practice as well as changing trend of cross-cousin marriage among Magar of the study area. Chapters seven summons the summary and conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER: II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is divided in two sections. The first section discusses social and cultural changes and general overview of marriage in Nepal, and second section presents various research works done by native and foreign scholars on the marriage practice on Magar in Nepal.

2.1 Theoretical Overview of Relevant Literature

The relevant literature regarding Magar women does not consist of the manner of their attitude but an attempt is made to include the studies on this topic. The influence of Hinduism in urban area is at the most optimum compared to the rural and remote areas where the state rule is not followed strictly. The changing trend of marriage practice has influenced the cross cousin marriage as well and traditional. Even though the study is on Magar women from indigenous community, the life cycle of urban setting and the traditional Magar women are blending of two in one. The Hindu system, following the media in the tremendous way and modern trend has influenced the marriage practice altogether as change in the law of nature. This is true for material objectives, animal creatures, human beings and their society. Change is so much the natural order of human existence and social life that it comes to be taken for granted, to excite no curiosity or surprise. Society is dynamic and hence is always changing from one type to another (McIver and Page: 1982). Magars are found in areas to the south and west of Gurungs, in Palpa district and adjoining areas to the west to Kathmandu valley. They were among the first Nepalese to come into contact with immigrants from India. Magarkura is the language of many of Magars. They are skilled craftsmen, bridge-builders and blacksmiths. They manufacture bamboo panniers, baskets, and mats (Bista, 2000).

'Status' will be used to denote 'the rights, duties, privileges, and social worth (value) accorded to a particular role' (Keesing, 1976:568).

The prehistory and the early history of Nepal are largely unknown. "The ancient history of the Nepal, like that of all other nations which affect to trace their origin beyond the date of authentic records, is clouded by mythological fables". The state of Magars cannot be different (Thapa Magar, M. S. 2003: 1).

Michael Witzel (1993) mentions "Magars were apparently known already to the Mahabharata as Magar, to the Purans under the name of Mangara, and in a Nepalese copper plate inscription of 1100/1 A.D. as Mangvara." Even in the heartland of the speakers of Western Nepali indicate a Magar settlement that must have extended towards the west before the immigration of the Nepali speaking Khas in the Middle Ages. These details go together with the presumption that original populations, probably of Tibeto-Burman ethnicity, lived in Nepal some 2500 years ago. From the linguistic point of view, there are three types of Magars living in Nepal: Kaike Magars are living in Dolpa district who speak Kaike; Kham Magars who live in Atharha Magarat region and speak Kham; and the Magars who live in Bahra Magarat and speak Dhut Magar dialects. Many foreign anthropologists and sociologists have accomplished their studies or written books on all these three types of Magar. Therefore, it is imperative that we also look at them accordingly (Thapa Magar, M. S. 2003: 2-3).

M.S. Thapa (2003) mentions that Magars came from East Pamir of China. Likewise, many writers advocate that Magars "have no legends of origin from another place." Most Magars think that they have occupied and used their land for centuries; have changed the very shape of the mountain upon which they live with their terraces; have worn footpaths connecting farmsteads deep into the soil and those stone resting platforms for wayfarers under the great roots of the banyan trees planted long ago to provide shade. They feel they belong to where they are, "and indeed they do", for the people fit the land and the land fit them. An not only do the people live on their land as they feel, they always have, but their many 'godlings' that control life and the resources upon which life is based are at home there also and must be treated with regular sacrifices of food.

The origin of Kaike Magars ends up with the mystical tales told and retold by local people. According to one of these stories, Kaike Magars were the sons of a woman who had fled from an unspecified village of Kalyan kingdom. She subsequently gave birth to her child, a son. The boy, when he grew up, captured an angel while she was bathing with her friends. A time went by, the son and his angel bride had three sons. These sons were the ancestors of Budha, Rokaya, and Gharti clan. The origin of the fourth major clan is different. One of the three sons was a shepherd who kept driving the same female goat every day, so one day he followed her when she wandered away from the rest of the herd. He discovered that she was

giving her milk to a baby boy living in the hollow part of a bamboo tree. He brought the baby home. This boy grew up and became the ancestor of the Jhankri clan (Thapa Magar, M. S. 2003: 3)

There is yet another myth about the Magars. According to this, the first Magar was the youngest of four brothers. The eldest worshipped Kalika and became the ancestor of the Thakuris and the youngest sacrificed a pig to Bairiki and hence became a Magar (Thapa Magar, M.S. 2003: 4)

Vansittart is of the view that "the aboriginal stock of Nepal is most undoubtedly Mongolian. This fact is inscribed in very plain characters, in their faces, forms, and languages." He is also of the opinion that "the principal seat of the Magars was most of the centre and lower parts of the mountains between the Jhingrak (Rapti of Gorakhpur) and Marsyangdi Rivers. That they resided in Palpa from time immemorial is well known."

For Gary, the Magars were a Mongolian people who had migrated into Nepal in the predawn of history. Many of the other ethnic groups had legends that told how they had come to Nepal from Tibet or some other places, but not the Magars, for them; at least, history simply began and ended in Nepal. Nevertheless, who were the real Magars, the original ones? Gary found that most likely it was the Magar community which was to be found in Central Nepal in Palpa, Syangja and Tanahun district (Thapa Magar, M. S. 2003: 2-3).

Hitchcock (1966) is of the view that "the tribe seems to have been part of a very ancient influx of Mongoloid, Tibeto-Burman speaking people into Nepal, probably from the north and east. It also seems probable, in view of differences between its northern and southern halves, that the tribe represents two different streams of migration." He finds differences "especially on each side of a line that divides their homeland roughly into northern and southern halves. The Magar tribe is split into a number of sub tribes. In the southern half of the region, the sub tribes that predominate almost to the exclusion of any others are the Ale, Rana, Thapa, and Burathoki. Magars in the northern half of the area belong to different groups of sub tribes, Bura, Gharti, Pun and Rokha" (Thapa Magar, M. S. 2003: 5).

Sub-clans of the Pun Magars are found within Parvat and Myagdi districts, sub-clans written in Kirat Dynasty and Magars: An Historical Survey (1992) (Kirant Bamsha ra Magar-haru: Eka Ethihansik Sarwakshan) by Dr. Harsa Bahadur Budha Magar are: Armaja, Orpajangi, Ulune, Kathi, Kaude, Khorja, Gore, Garbuja,

Chochangi, Chitaure, Chhochangi, Jagale, Jankati, Jugjali, Tajali, Tage, Tirkhe, Tilija, Tengi, Bhakale, Thani, Dagal, Daga, Darlami, Budh, Natha Namjali, Pangi, Pajansi, Pahar, Paija, Pare, Pun, Purja, Perali, Paingi, Phakami, Phiriyal, Phungalo, Bapal, Barangi, Balami, Bata, Baks koti, Birkali, Bududja, Baijani, Ratuwa, Rantija, Ramkam, Ramja, Ramjali, Righu, ruha, Lamichhane, Sabangi, Sai, Saime, Same, Sijali, Sijapati, Surebansi, Sumitra, Serpurja, Soshree, Hunali, Hulungi, Hojali and Holangi.

There is a general trend of migration from west to east because the land in the west is old and overcrowded. In addition, many Magar men are skilled craftsmen in masonry, carpentry, building, stonecutting, quarrying, etc, and they tend to migrate in search of employment. An evidence of this is that there is several sizeable Magar villages in the eastern hill areas near copper mines and slate quarries (Bista, 1967: 58).

Magars are considered to be the true portrait of the Gorkha warriors, never turning back and always ready to protect the nation by taking the enemy head on (Gautam and Thapa-Magar, M. S. 1994: 39).

They spent their major sources of earning on the feast and unproductive activities. There is no trade or industry to improve their economic condition. (Rijal, 2003: 72). Most of Magar people have lack of higher education and they are not trained with any vocational guidance (Rijal, 2003: 72).

2.2 Concept of Marriage and its Importance

Hindu society has great importance of marriage divided among the life cycle of human birth-marriage-death. Due to the development of religious consciousness marriage became a social necessity along with the duty of individual to perform as social being. The scenario is changing in the practice of marriage from the Vedic period till now.

The Hindu society has regarded marriage as the sacrament and one without it is condemned for not having this quality according to Hindu religion. They are more concerned with the life after their death than the living world. They must think about the world later and make it as secure to live as they can, according to the belief that they must be disciplined to get better life than the present life. Kama as the instinctive life is recognized as one of the aim to marriage to achieve dharma or religion and procreation. Sex finds its meaning in procreation. Therefore, it is the least valued aim

of the marriage. Marriage is more a social obligation as its main aim is dharma or religion and perpetuation of family for continuation of group through progeny. It is basic duty of Hindu sanskar or culture.

In Nepal people marry to fulfill the necessity of sanskars for the development of society as an individual and religious necessity for the salvation of the soul. In the same study, forty two percent of total respondents replied that the primary objective of the marriage is to beget son for the continuity of family lineage. The attitude is more in old generation than those of young generation. Among the lower class of Kathmandu valley the primary objective of marriage is addition to the labor force of the family. Therefore from those studies it seems that even today Hindu of Nepal defines the objective of marriage as a sort of sacrifice and religious necessity (Rasaily, 1993).

Hindu Marriage Types

The two types of Hindu marriage are described in Smriti is approved and disapproved. The eight forms of marriage are defined in approved and disapproved; they are Brahmya, Daiva, Asura, Prajapatya, Ashra, Gandharva, Rakshas and Paisacha. Among all these forms of marriage: Brahmya marriage which means to ask the groom to offer the daughter as "Kanyadan" is widely practiced. Groom promising his wife to be always along with their in dharma, artha and kam. Daiva marriage means to marry in the pyre of the burning fire and get married in the name of god. To take cow and ox in the name of marriage and give daughter to the groom is the Ashra marriage. To marry off the bride and groom and promise to look after the bride is Prajapatya marriage. In Asura marriage unlimited dowry given by father to marry the daughter to the groom. Gandharva marriage is a kind of love marriage as the bride and groom get married/ as the bride and groom get married as they choose. Rakshas marriage is getting the bride by force or kidnapped, capture or sometime raped and get wife. Paisacha marriage gets wife by raping while she is unconscious (Majpuria, T. C. 1976).

The age of marriage was most concerned in Hindu religion. The bride especially mentioned for the right age. Vedas state the age of boy and girl should be in which they feel the importance of marriage. Rig-Veda time's bride should be of womanhood to get married. Grihasutra marriage ritual also accepts that the girl should

be married only after she had attained puberty. During the time to Ramayana and Mahabharata girls were grown up at the time of marriage and chose their husband.

Smriti divided marriageable age in five stages: Nagnika or naked age when clothes is not necessary or she may not feel ashamed of her nakedness, Gauri age of eight, rohini nine years old, Kanya ten years old, Rajsavala, after ten years old. Nagnika was regarded as best age of marriage.

Manu also emphasized marriage before puberty and man of thirty should marry girl of twelve, likewise a man of twenty four a girl of eight. For fear of commencement of puberty let father give his daughter in marriage while she is still in cradle. If her father does not marry she remains at her home, the sin falls upon father. As the time passed the fear got stronger. The controversy as to when this change took place but the conquest of India by Mohammedans made the life of Hindu more insecure and consequently falls upon women to suffer more. This contributed to lower the marriage-able age of bride or girl smaller.

The study of Veda begins usually at the age of eight and twelve years to complete the course which made the bridegroom at the age of twenty. According to Kama sutra wife should be younger than husband by three years or more. Mahabharata shows that virginity as a virtue was not demanded of a girl. The Brahmin stressed the virginity of women and emblem of a good lady. This extolling virginity is a conductive factor in contemporary trend towards pre-puberty marriage. Parents or guardians, brother of the girl who is unmarried up to her rajshovala stage were dome to go to hell after the death.

The marriageable age of Hindu girl came down as the invasion of India by less civilized but strong Greeks and Puritan and consequently Nepali religion was influenced by Indian culture. Vedic study was stopped for women and early marriage started as the lifestyle change in span of time. The luxurious life included early marriage and small age bride. The women were simply an instrument of enjoyment and being the life of Hindu endangered by inventor they started to marry girl in their childhood.

The marriageable age by law increases but it is not fully practiced. It is better to go to jail than be answerable to the god of justice for not marrying their daughter before puberty. Education has made the age of girl increasing and the girl herself demanding to study rather than marry.

Mate Selection

Hindus have both endogamous and exogamous restriction in the selection of mates. They are caste system with its subdivisions, preferential codes restricting marriage with certain relatives and Gotra or Spinda system. Until recently breach caste endogamy was punished by excommunication from the caste. Though legislation in India to allow it has been enacted in 1872 it is only after the 20th century the practice has got some social sanction which was followed up from the state of Nepal.

Now marriage is at a much later age and enjoys great personal freedom in the selection of mates, due to women joining college, universities and business. It is not only chastity of women but the relation surrounding her is very strong that many women risk losing their reputation unless she follow old pattern.

The ethnic communities like Magar, Gurung, Tamang, Chhantel, Thakali and Thakuri from Chhetri caste, where cross-cousin marriage is accepted widely as wideness the practice of choice.

Polygamy Practice

Polyandry was practiced in Mahabharata by Draupadi, having five brothers as her husbands. It is supposed to have once been trait of Brahmin culture but some suggest Draupadi's case was an incident not intended. Intimacy between women and her younger brother in law was recognized to the Vedic Aryan. Widow marriage seems to have been recognized and accepted practice from the Rig-Veda period. There are numerous examples of widow marriage in the Hindu literature but the children from them have lower status in Dharma sutra, Budhayana, Gautama and Manusamhita.

The polyandry once was practice of Khasas: Nair, Iravans and Todos of Indian sub-continent. The people of Himalayan tract of Northern India, Sherpa, Tibetan of Nepal and some tribes of pre-Dravidian and Dravidian groups in South India were found to practice this form of marriage. The offspring are always called by the name of the mother or the eldest brother. (World Encyclopedia, 2007) Polyandry, the practice of one woman having multiple husbands, is traditionally considered immoral, prohibited by law, and uncommon practice. However, there are instances in which a man in poverty rents or pawns his wife temporarily.

Polygamy is the form of marriage in which a man has more than one wife opposite to polyandry by sex. This practice persisted in India as well as in Nepal right from the Vedic period to present. It was usual for royalties to have more than one wife. Four wives are recognized and their status is stated as Mahisi, Parskli, Vavta and Palagali. But the person whose wife can produce valid child or children was prohibited from marrying a new woman (ibid).

Hypergamy was also found in Nepal. In the Vedic period while there are a few Kshatriya girl marrying to Brahmin. Manu outlined a new pattern of behavior towards the wives of different Vernas or caste. A twice born man wed to women of their own, and other caste the status of these wives should be settled according to Verna. The wife of other Verna was no better than mistress. The son of a Sudra father and Brahmin mother was regarded as Chandala according to Prof. Hotton. Hindu likes to marry their daughter in the family of higher status. This desire encouraged the practice of dowry. (ibid)

In some cultures, women are expected to marry a spouse who is more economically, socially, or politically powerful, known as hypergyny, this practice is common in Nepal as Hindu father wants his daughter to be married in higher wealthy family than himself. It is an expected social norm in America which is slowly being replaced by isogamy, marriage between equals, and the marrying 'down' of woman. Many anthropologists ascribe this to increased gender equality between women and men. Hindu fathers always wish their daughters to wed in well off family which is the hypergyny marriage to make the status of daughter better than family she was born which has caused the dowry system (ibid).

Levirate marriage is a type of marriage in which a woman marries one of her husband's brother after her husband's death, if there were no children, in order to continue the line of the dead husband. The term is a derivative of the Latin word lever, meaning "husband's brother" (Wikipedia, 2008). Niyoga is concept to bear child to be looked after in her old age and continue the family line in Vedic ritual by the widow or childless wife of one brother by other brother.

Levirate marriage has been practiced by societies with a strong clan structure in which exogamous marriage i.e. that outside the clan, was forbidden. It is or was known in societies including the Punjabis, Jats, Israelites, Huns (Chines "Xiongnu", Hsiongnu", etc), Mongols, and Tibetans. It is known to practice in ethnic groups like Magar in Nepal.

Sororate marriage takes sister of wife as a wife after death of wife. Some takes younger sister of wife if the wife remains childless. It is seen in practice by Magar and also by Brahmin caste in Nepal. Niece of wife is also taken as wife if the wife has no child (ibid).

Same-sex marriage is marriage of gay and lesbian. They want to have legally recognized by the law of the world to take life partner, family of their own (ibid).

Open marriage typically refers to a marriage in which the partners agree that each may engage in extramarital sexual relationships, without this being regarded as infidelity. There are many different styles of open marriage, with the partners having varying levels of input on their spouse's activities (Wikipedia, 2008). A sexless marriage is a marriage in which little or no sex occurs between the two partners. The US National Health and Social Life Survey in 1994 found that 2 percent of the married respondents reported no sexual intimacy in the past year. The definition of a nonsexual marriage is often broadened to include those where sexual intimacy occurs less than ten times per year, in which case 20 percent of the couples in the NHSLS would be in the category. Sexless marriages generally develop over time and are gradual. Love and intimacy generally existed in a relationship but sex starts to become increasingly infrequent (ibid).

Group marriage is a form of polyamory in which more than one man and more than one woman form a family unit, with all the members of the group marriage being considered to be marriage to all the other members of the group marriage, and all members of the marriage share parental responsibility for any children arising from the marriage. Line marriage is a form of group marriage found in fiction in which the family unit continues to add new spouses of both sexes over time so that the marriage does not end. Group marriage is occasionally called polyandry, from a combination of the words polygyny and polyandry (ibid).

Remarriage

In Nepal remarriage of a man is allowed under certain conditions, if the wife is dead, have no children or children are small and is divorced or wife had left. Polyandry practice in Hindu system is not encouraged though inhabited of Himalayan region had found to practice, as the husband leaves for trade the brother staying behind at home become the man of the household. Polyandry and polygamy both are prohibited in present law of Nepal. Widow marriage is not easily accepted and the

remarriage of woman is not encouraged in the society of Nepal but the new modern trend is liberal comparatively only in urban and educated society.

Love and Inter-caste Marriage

Gandarva form of marriage was known from the Vedic period. The attitude of Brahmin writers towards Gandarva form of marriage was not so favorable. Even Kalidas had shown approval to Sakuntala's marriage in a satirical tone. Inter-caste marriage was tolerated in later days but not encouraged. Marriage with low caste girl was tolerated to some extent but scriptures like Manu were against the marriage of a low caste man with the girl of higher caste. In the later days once the inter-caste marriage was completely forbidden.

Mixed Employment in Factories

Industrialization may cause to cease or lessen the severity of caste system. Girls contact with other girls from other castes and religions weaken the force of many former caste taboos. Regarding inter-castes, inter-religion, and inter-socio marriage, attitude of young men and women is more liberal than that to their actual practice.

In Nepal majority of young men favored the inter-caste marriage and love marriage but those about 45 percent are still against this practice. Newars are more liberal toward the inter-caste marriage than the Brahmins. Divorce or separation in the love marriage is blamed entirely based on physical attraction. Also the proportion of Brahmins agreed to inter-caste marriage (Rasaily, 1993).

Premarital Relations in Rig-Veda society has no instances of premarital relation. But in Mahabharata references are found as to women being free in early primitive times to have sexual relations with anybody they desire even after the marriage. This custom was abolished by Svetadaty, son of Uddalaka. Many anthropologists, like Westermarck, with the knowledge of primitive cultures have concluded that intercourse between men and women in ancient times was not promiscuous. In traditional Hindu society, boys and young men are more likely to meet new situations than more secluded girls or young women. The purity of girls is maintained in order to elevate the status of their men-folks rather than that of themselves.

Qualification of Bride and Bridegroom

Different opinion about the definition of the standard qualification of women and men are found through history. But, without a doubt, every opinion has a clause for beauty. Beautiful, young women, sweet and emotional were found in several ancient literatures. Hardwar Grihasutra states four qualities of women: wealth, beauty, intelligent and family. According to Manu, let one wed a woman who is free from bodily defects, who has an agreeable name, the graceful gait of a swan or an elephant, a moderate quantity of hair on the body and on the head, small teeth and soft limbs. Manu again disapproves with certain girls stating let him not marry a maiden with reddish hair nor one who has a redundant member, nor one who is garrulous or has red eyes. Also the women with beard and muscles and awkward names were not regarded good brides. Virginity was required to secure a chaste and un-windowed women and this rule was more strictly followed in later days. Again the bride was required younger than the bridegroom and able to produce children. The child marriage discouraged the formal taste of the bride.

According to Manu, a bridegroom must be a student who has studied in due order, three Vedas or even one, without breaking the rule of studentship, shall enter order of a householder. He must be twice born and in brahmacharya. Lingaprana emphasized that he should not be above the marriageable age. It is believed that women is the field and man the seed, therefore she should be given to one who possesses the seed. Though the observance of brahmacharya was required in a man the virginity was not as important for him as that of a bride.

In Veda the disqualification conditions of bridegroom are several as it is said, one who is retired from the life, one who is hated by his people or left by his friends and relatives: one who belongs to another caste, one who suffers from consumption, one who is a lingastha or Udari, lunatic or fallen, who is leper, impotent, or a man of the same Gotra, one who has lost sight and ears or suffers from epilepsy should be avoided from marrying (Chaudhary, 1996).

Family

The Hindu family has taken several shapes from the very beginning of Vedic period to present. Both patriarchal and matriarchal forms of family organization were found in India. Family constitutions in different castes and tribes of India were either patriarchal or matriarchal and in many communities they have now become joint

family. There is no clear evidence in Vedas a patriarchal family being only form of family. The old patriarchal family has transformed itself into a joint family whose head manage property in the interest of its members.

Whole history of the Hindu family unfolds in the significant fact, namely, that even when the trend towards individualism are recognized and attempts are being made to harmonize them with the interest of the joint family, family constitution is declared to be and maintained as joint family and agnostic. Hindu sentiments are hence even today are in favor of the joint family. The destruction of joint family by legislation is therefore rightly considered non-Hindu.

Joint Family

A joint family is a group of people who generally live under one roof who eat food cooked at one hearth, who hold property in common and who participate in common family worship and are related to each other as some particular type of kindred. In the traditional large joint family, the power allotted to each member was clearly institutionalized and the means of transforming authority was so well defined that it was now upset by the birth of a new child or death of an old member. In this hierarchy older generations were in authority over the younger with the eldest male the most dominant figure. The joint family tends to discourage social mobility (ibid).

Female in a Hindu Family

In a large family duty is allotted according to age and sex. In a traditional family, boys work pertain more to the outside jobs than those within house. Except in farm families women do not work outside the house. The amount of work done by a woman depends upon the wealth of the family and number of servant employed. In urban setting, however, women often tend to help earn family income and men have to help in house work. In extended family male authority depended upon the position of her husband in the household. The mother is the main trainer of children assisted by other women of household and grandparents. But in nuclear families outside agencies are also used.

A woman can play an excessively dominant role as mother in law and yet does not display this aggressiveness in her role of wife or mother. Mother, son and brother sister tie is very dominant in middle class Hindu family, which a newly married girl feels threat to her conjugal relations.

In general, women have few changes to meet man of opposite sex. Female autonomy is high among low and untouchable castes and extremely limited among Brahmins.

The highest castes have the shortest preferred period of seclusion both at puberty and subsequent menstruation, they never have the longest. Women must sleep apart and eat apart and here is a ban on intercourse, women may not cook, they may not enter temple and perform any religious duties. During menstruation Punjabi women become happy only with strong menstrual flow whereas Nepalese women fear heavy menstrual flow for it may cause them weakness. In orthodox Brahmin pattern, a man who has failed to marry his daughter prior to first menstruation is said to have committed sin of embryo murder, and her presence in household endangers purity of all males living there.

In Nepal two kinds of women live in a family- natal, non-sexual, fertile and divine chelibetij and conjugal, sexual, fertile and non-divine, non-chelibeti women. Among chetris of Nepal, girls in the home of their father entertain and worshipped and respected. Therefore, for a woman the change from her natal to conjugal life is drastic. When wife gives birth to a son her position in house becomes more secured.

The shape of Hindu family and the attitude of women towards it has been changed. Hindu orthodox practice is less than a decade ago. Family is also becoming smaller in its size and nuclear in its shape. According to Desai, if residentially nuclear groups are taken as nuclear family, in India, nearly 53% families are nuclear families and nearly 63% of families consist of husband, wife and children groups. But the evidence that city life does not necessarily cause the joint family system to disintegrate comes from several studies. Agrawal claims that Marwadi is an outstanding example of audient continuance of the joint family and caste system in spite of industrialization, technocracy and western education. Other writers have shown that men who go into cities for work in the large factories tend to maintain their connections with their joint families in their native-village; they return for wives of family festivals or retire to the villages after making some money in the city (Elder, 2007).

Exogamy women come from outside the family and they tend to bring revelry among other women, therefore they are the main cause of family break-down. Moreover women cannot have more authority in joint family than in their husbands own home. Therefore they tend to motivate their husbands to break the joint family (ibid).

As far as it can be traced, whether in the brilliant civilization of the ancients or the most primitive of preliterate people, we find man hedged about with restriction in the choice of the wife. Reasoning from the tenets of evolution it would appear logical that primitive man, being nearer his animal ancestors, would have the most elaborate restrictions than civilized man; yet in general the exact opposite is true. Some of the lowest tribes on the face of the earth have the most elaborate restriction on marriage, whereas most civilized people have reduced them to a minimum. Between the two extreme we find an amazing variety of rules and practices. Most of the prohibitions can be placed in two general classes pertaining to exogamous and endogamous marriage" (Baber, 1939:23).

The theoretical review on marriage and its integration into organization involves around women and men of different stages of marriage in development differently. The form of social organization which prohibits marriage outside the group is called 'endogamy'. In one sense it appears the reverse of exogamy; yet the two are by no means mutually exclusive, for among the same people they may apply to different groups. In fact, it is almost a universal custom for man to live under both rules, for nearly every person recognizes as 'outer circle' as Sir Henry Maine calls it outside of which marriage is considered improper or prohibited, and an inner circle, inside of which marriage is forbidden. The endogamous group within which a man must find his wife may be the tribe, the clan, the caste or class, and religious faith. A number of our states have laws against whites marrying Negroes, which constitutes a sort of negative endogamy. The unthinkable-ness of marriage between the castes still persists in India, and in most countries it is disgraced (only a few years ago it was still a crime) for persons of widely different rank or social position to marry (ibid).

The merits and demerits of inbreeding have been carefully studied in recent years. Inbreeding has been of inestimable value to stockmen in producing the finest breeds. Biologists have shown that among human being, as among animals, inbreeding is biologically helpful or harmful according to what characteristics are combined. The long practice of close inbreeding did not make for royal weaklings among the Ptolemies; in fact in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties the incest of brother marrying sister was extremely common, and yet Egypt's most brilliant line of rules was the result (ibid).

Clan endogamy often exists within the same tribe, having been the common rule in Madagascar and many other places. In some cases it leads to the extreme of

family endogamy. Among some people not only are cousins permitted to marry, but it is considered so much the natural and proper marriage that a man has the first right to his cousin's hand. Among the Arabian Bedouins a man is not obliged to marry his cousin, but she cannot marry anyone else without her consent (Westermarck, 1921). There are supposedly good reasons for cousin marriage, the chief ones being that it keeps the property within the family and the family blood pure. But such marriage also has the advantage of the modern cafeteria- one sees what one get, as the natives express it, marrying a cousin is like drinking from an open dish. Furthermore, as Westermarck points out, such a wife cannot curse her husband by cursing his ancestors (a common practice among savages) without implicating herself (ibid).

Rishing, Ghiring Magar does not marry in same clan, and Magars of other places also do not marry within same clan for seven generations. If they do so they become 'bhai phora' (splitting of brother) and they become sasurali kutumba. Some Magars remarry their sister-in-laws after the death of the elder brother if the brother had natural death. After the death of elder brother, the younger brother gives bangles to the sister-in-law and their marriage is accepted. The wife, children of brother and his assets are all belong to the younger brother. This kind of marriage, as husband and wife, is accepted in the Magar society but if the elder brother is alive and the younger brother has physical relationship with his sister in law then, they get severe punishment from the society. This kind of relation is called "haDa- phoDa". They are boycotted from the kitchen and clan. They would go away from their village or place and won't get anything to live on. They would leave for muglan or go abroad (ibid).

But even today the haDa-phoDa brother gets no legacy in the ancestor asset and would be thrown out of the village boundary. This kind of brother won't get to come back till the elder brother lives. After the death of the elder brother the younger comes but even then he won't get the asset of ancestor or he is still outlaw in his own home. They won't get in any function of family. This kind of social boycott is found in the Magar community. Magar of Rishing, Ghiring, Bhirkot and Palpa have this kind of marriage but nowadays it is not in practice (ibid).

From the time medieval, jurists of the Deccan to modern sociologist and social historians, scholars have for centuries attempted to show that cross-cousin marriage (i.e. marriage with one's mother's brother's daughter, one's father's sister's daughter or their terminological equivalents) was practiced in North India in ancient times. The term of kinship system of Dravidian consists, at the cognitive level, of a set of kinship

terms whose structure differs most strikingly from the Indo-Aryan system in making a radical distinction between parallel and cross-cousin kinsmen and merging consanguineous and affinal kin. i) cross cousin marriage in Pali literature, ii) cross cousin marriage among the Epic Heroes, iii) cross-cousin marriage in the Jain literature of Western India, iv) cross-cousin marriage in Sanskrit Secular Literature, v) cross cousin marriage in Sruti, vi) Benveniste on Indo-European Kinship Terminology (Trautmann, 1974).

Cousin Marriage

One of the marriage practices is cousin marriage though it is limited and taboo in some countries. Muslim countries marry their cousin. It is permitted. Cousin marriage averages not much more than one percent in most European countries, and less than 10% in rest of the world outside that Morocco to Southern India corridor.

Similarly high level of consanguinity are found among Hindu in Southern India, although there, uncle-niece marriages are socially preferred, even though their degree of genetic similarity is twice that of cousin marriages, with worse consequences for offspring (Sailer, 2003).

Jacob dozen sons were the famous progenitors of the Twelve Tribes of Israel. Due to inbreeding, Jacob's eight legitimate sons had only six unique great-grandparents instead of the usual eight. That's because the inbred are related to their relatives through multiple paths (ibid).

The reason for inbreeding could be according to Hussain that the patriarchal societies where parents exert considerable influence and gender segregation is followed more strictly, marriage choice is limited to whom you know. While there is some pride in staying within the inner bounds of family for social or economic reasons, the more important issue is: where will parents find a good match? Often, it boils down to whom you know and trust" –one that is particularly important in many herding cultures, such as the ancient ones from which the Jews and Muslims emerged- is to prevent inheritable wealth from being split among too many descendents. "Inbreeding (or endogamy) is also common among Christian in the Middle East, although less than among Muslim" (ibid).

The Muslim practice is similar to older Middle Eastern norms, such as those outlined in Leviticus in the Old Testament. The lineage of the Hebrew Patriarchs who founded the Jewish people was highly inbred. Abraham said his wife Sarah was also

his half-sister. His son Isaac married Rebekah, a cousin once removed. And Isaac's son Jacob wed his two first cousins, Leah and Rachel.

In contrast, Americans probably disapprove of what scientists call "consanguineous" mating more than any other nationality. Three huge studies in the U.S. between 1941 and 1981 found that no more than 0.2% of all American marriages were between first cousin or second cousins. Americans have long dismissed cousin marriage as something practiced only among hillbillies. That old stereotype of inbred mountaineers waging decade's long blood feuds had some truth to it. One study of 107 marriages in Beech Creek, Kentucky in 1942 found 19% were consanguineous, although the Kentuckians were more inclined toward second cousin marriages, while first cousin couples are more common than second cousins pairings in the Islamic lands (Cousin Couples.com:1998-2001).

European nations have recently become increasingly hostile toward the common practice among their Muslim immigrants of arranging marriages between their children and citizens of their home country, frequently their relatives. One study of Turkish guest-workers in the Danish city of Island shows that 98%- 1st, 2nd and 3rd generation –married a spouse from Turkey who then came and lived in Denmark. (Turks, however, are quite a bit less enthusiastic about cousin marriage than are Arabs or Pakistanis, which correlates with the much stronger degree of patriotism found in Turkey.) European "family reunification" laws present an immigrant with the opportunity to bring in his nephew by marrying his daughter to him. Not surprisingly, "family reunification" almost always works just in one direction- with the new husband moving from the poor Muslim country to the rich European country (ibid)

If a European-born daughter refused to marry her cousin from the old country just because she doesn't love him; that would deprive her extended family of the boon of an immigration visa. So, intense family pressure can fall on the daughter to do as she is told (ibid).

The Fact about Cousin Marriage

Some people are fixated on the fallacy that cousin couples pose an intolerable risk to their offsprings. However it is likely that we are all descendants of cousin marriage. Before civil laws banning cousin marriages, it was preferable to marry a cousin in some communities as it is to this day in many countries. The notion to marry a stranger is just as prevalent in many countries as the cousin marriage taboo in

America today. There is a wide range of opinions on the subject of cousin marriage (Hassan, 2008).

This is fuelled by erroneous information, bigotry, and presumptions. Further we have civil laws and religious creeds based on obsolete information. The facts about cousin marriage are much clearer. There are no contemporary studies that indicate cousins have children with significantly higher than normal birth defects. Fears of cousins who marry having children with birth defects are indeed exaggerated. Simply marrying within your own race increase the odds of birth defects. Marrying within your own town further increase your chances. Cousin couples have only a slightly higher incidence of birth defects than non related couples (ibid).

The National Society of Genetic Counselors estimated the increased risk for first cousins is between 1.7 to 2.8 percent or about the same as any woman over 40 years of age. Children of non-related couples have 2-3% risk of birth defects, as opposed to first cousins having 4-6% risk. Genetic counseling is available for those couples that may be at a special risk for birth defects (e.g. you have a defect that runs in your family). In plain terms first cousins have at a 94 percent chance of having healthy children. Current studies indicate that cousin couples have a lower ratio of miscarriages- perhaps because body chemistry of cousins is more similar. Leviticus (18) lists all forbidden sexual relationships. Cousin relationships are not included. In some cultures, the term cousin and mate are synonymous (ibid). A BBC report (2) found that Pakistanis in Britain, 55% of whom marry a first cousin, are 13 times more likely than the general population to produce children with genetic disorders, and that one in ten children of cousin marriages either die in infancy or develop a serious disability. Thus Pakistani-Britons, who account for some 3% of all births in the UK, produce "just under a third" of all British children with genetic illnesses.

The socialization pattern of Chacobo: Chacobo Parents are patient and tolerant, giving their small children great freedom. At the age of 7, whereas boys are allowed to move freely, girls are required to stay home helping their mothers with the daily housework. This pattern of women staying inside the house and men outside it repeats itself throughout the Chacobo life cycle (World Culture Encyclopedia, 2007).

Cousin Marriage in South-east Asia

The village and the supra village kin categories are exogamous. Although marriage between second cousin is permitted, most Gayo consider a third-cousin

relation to be the proper minimal distance. Polygynous marriages, though permitted, are rare. In rural areas most marriages are between couple who already were acquainted. The two major marriage forms followed in the 1980s were: (1) virilocal marriages with bride-wealth and a counter payment of bride goods that established a lasting exchange relation between two kin categories, and (2) uxorilocal marriages with little or no payment that obliged the couple to support the wife's family. Although the choice of the couple's village of domicile was fixed by the marriage form, nearly all virilocally married couples and many uxorilocally married couples left the parents' household after an initial period of residence. As the clearing of new lands for cash cropping grew more attractive in the 1970s more marriages were contracted without specifying domicile. Divorce once meant that the party who had married into a village left with no property, but since the legal reforms and economic changes that began in the 1960s, most divorcing couples divide common property equally (ibid).

Dr. Khalid Khan, consultant doctor in UK has written about the diseases from cousin marriage: 75% of the genes between first cousins are unique to them and not shared between them. One very serious genetic mutation is carried by every individuals related or unrelated. The vast majority of serious abnormalities in pregnancies do not progress very far beyond the first 6-8 weeks of pregnancy; birth of a normal baby is a scientifically and spiritually amazing process. Most of the genetic or congenital abnormalities that arise are from new mutations in eggs/sperm/embryo or development problem in utero e.g. Down's syndrome, heart defects: they have no correlation with consanguinity. Many classically inherited disorders e.g. cystic fibrosis the most common invariably happen with unrelated parents as the underlying disorder is carried frequently (1:20) in everyone. Certain disorders such as hemophilia or thalassaemia that do run in families and where two individuals are known to carry this disorder (related or unrelated) then an increased risk of this disorder in the child exists- her counseling is important. Even here having further children is not prohibited in the modern medical world. In the Mediterranean where this is common quite commonly 2 unrelated individuals well carry the gene- it does not stop marrying. Historically in the Royal Families of Europe over the last few centuries, marriage was invariable between first cousins to build bridges and maintain/ propagate dynasties. Other than hemophilia in the Russian Royal family, there are little or no record of disorders arising in the many princes and princesses born. I have summarized a few

salient points that I hope you find helpful in your understanding and decision making. Most of the people who raise and causes of congenital (majority not inherited), heredity and developmental disorder which leads to a lot of confusion and misunderstanding as well as certain undue anxiety "(Marriage between first cousins, 2008).

Up until recently, in certain Asian cultures, it was forbidden to marry those with the same surname regardless of relations. These clan marriages were considered incestuous. However, first cousins with different surnames were allowed to marry. For example, one can marry their mother's sibling's child, but could not marry a non-blood related stranger because having the same surname was considered as having the same ancestor. However, these rules were not clearly defined. In Korean culture for example, surnames were designated by region as well as the name itself. So, a "Kim" family originating from a northern region was not considered the same as one that originated from a southern region, making marriage between the two allowable. In Hindu belief, the scripture Manusmriti states one cannot marry one who is less than seven generations away from his/her father's side and five from his/her mother's side (Wikipedia, 2006).

Marriage is the most vital part of institution which if violated might turn the society in a ditch which means the right is not used in its norms and value. The value and norm the society can't function properly. This study is necessary to look through the eyes of one community like Magar women to represent the situation of women of Nepal.

Magar marriage, mostly endogamy is between cross-cousin though the trend is changing. There is new trend developing within the Magars marriage and outside the community. Both arranged and love marriages are accepted. Even though, the new generation is influenced by Hindu marriage system, the kinship term is not change. They still use their forefather term like mama-maiju (maternal uncle-aunt) for their father-in-law and mother –in-law respectively, phupu-pusai for mother-in-law and father-in-law by the women as they are supposed to be married to their cousins from father's line. They have their three relations among the Magars community beside other relation consanguine brothers (daju-bhai), wife giver (maiti) and receiver (kutumba). The marriage between maiti and kutumba is given priority. That is why the marriage between Roka, Gharti and Bura is most seen rather than Rana to Bura. The triangle between clan must be closely observed. This way they do not have to

hunt for wife. They are allowed to reach within their mother's male lineage for wife and father's female lineage for husband.

It is very new concept for some of the respondents that Magars still practice cross cousin marriage and if asked whether they call their cousin 'bhena' by female or 'jethu' (brother-in-law) by male respectively to the son of one's father's sister's son, they confirm they do. It shows that there remains the kin terminology to address. They do not call Solti as others do. They call bhena for easier relation compared to the Brahmins.

The view that likens cousin marriage to lifestyle issues, as reported in the article, underestimates the complex emotional and social rationale as to how people make choices about life partners. The complexity is more akin to that involved in women making choices about it, and when, to give birth. The risk of Down's Syndrome increases considerably with advancing maternal age, and a woman's decision to have children in her early 20s based on health risk alone, requires a full analysis of how that decision would impact on her emotionally, economically and socially. In recognition of a woman's right to informed choice, NHS offers service tailored to the needs of modern women (Darr, 2005).

Cousin marriage is a social choice: it needn't be a problem that British Pakistanis shouldn't be stigmatized –they just need a responsive health services, says Aamra Darr the formerly high incidence of congenital defects, specifically hemophilia, among Europeans royal families isn't the classic demonstration of the perils of inbreeding that everybody thinks it is. The short explanation is that hemophilia is an X-chromosome related characteristic, transmitted only through the female line. The children of royal female carriers would have been at risk no matter whom their mothers had married (ibid).

Offspring of first-cousin unions a 2 to 3 percent greater risk of birth defects than the general population, and a little over 4 percent greater risk of early death. While those margins aren't trivial, genetic testing and counseling can minimize the danger. An argument can be made that marriages of first cousin descended from strong stock can produce exceptional children. Charles Darwin, for example, married his first cousin Emma, which wasn't at all unusual in their prominent and successful family their common grandparents were cousins too. Three of Charles and Emma's ten kids died in childhood, it's true, but that was standard for Victorian England; the others went on to productive and in some cases distinguished careers (ibid).

British Pakistanis are not alone in their preference for cousin marriage: globally, over 20% of the populations live in communities with a preference for consanguineous marriage, and 8.5% of all births are to consanguineous parents. Improvements in public health and the consequent lower rates of infant mortality mean that children with serious genetic conditions are now surviving. The development of appropriate services, responsive to diverse marriage preferences, is a global as well as a national challenge.

First-cousin marriage isn't a sure fire recipe for congenital defects. True, marriage among close kin clans increase the chance of pathological recessive genes meeting up in some unlucky individual, with dire consequences. The problem isn't cousin marriage per se, however, but rather how many such genes are floating around in the family pool. If the pool's pretty cleans the likelihood of genetic defects resulting from cousin marriage is low. A recent review (Bennet et al, journal of Genetic Counseling, 2002): Recent advances in diagnosis mean that at-risk couples can be offered genetic testing for over 40% of recessive conditions; this number is likely to increase rapidly in the near future. Epidemiological finding shows that the manifestation of recessive conditions as clusters in communities with a preference for consanguineous marriage, rather than sporadically throughout the population, greatly simplifies the process of identifying carriers of recessive variant genes. A concerted focus on supporting at-risk families to make informed choices, and supporting professional responsible for their care, would be an ethnical and inclusive approach for a multiethnic society (ibid).

The societies who do not practice cousin marriage are against the entire process of defective gene and the cost of investigation to reduce. The Asian or Muslims are not the only one who practices cousin marriage. Prince Charles is also offspring of cousin marriage as all royal of Europe or worldwide and those who are traditional family. It is rather wise for everyone to prevent defective birth of cousin marriage or other marriage as known to health worker.

Research Gap

There is gap between this research and previous researches. In this research, the researcher studies life cycle ritual among Ruchang Magar on the perspective of change and continuity. Marriage is one among various rituals which carry out the existence of human being. So marriage practice, when it is observed by the researcher

finds that the new generation likes to change in traditional marriage practice. Due to the contact of other community and influences of western culture, Magar youths also attracted on love marriage although for the sake of identity they are compelled to follow traditional marriage practice.

This study would not encourage or discourage Magar youth to change their ritual. It has only observed marriage practice according to the collected data and reached conclusion which is original in itself.

CHAPTER: III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

This chapter discusses on the research methodologies based on the available secondary information revolving around the review of existing literature and the core feature of the study is based on the primary data generated by the interviews and group discussion. Random sampling strategy is adopted as the very issue under the study to collect qualitative and quantitative data.

3.1 Selection of the Study Area

The study area is located in remote V.D.C. (Ruchang) of Nawalparasi district. There is no studies that have been done on life cycle rituals of Magar especially on rural setting and their attitude about marriage. Before 1976 A.D., this V.D.C. was under Palpa district, after 1976 A.D. it was annexed with Nawalparasi district. Palpa district is main core of Magar Culture that is why the culture of this V.D.C. resembles with Magars of Palpa. Magars of Ruchang V.D.C. still practice traditional cultural rituals. The density of Magar is high in this V.D.C. This place has been selected as the study area due to the good concentration in abundance.

3.2 Research Design

This study has adopted descriptive as well as exploratory research design. This study attempts to explore study area and the perception of marriage of Magar community of Ruchang Nawalparasi as well.

3.3 Nature and Sources of Data

Primary and secondary data have been used in this study. Primary data have been collected from fieldwork using various methods, tools and techniques as stated below. The secondary data have taken form various studies such as books, published and unpublished documents, from related literature and government documents from different libraries and institutes. Both qualitative and quantitative data have been used in this study.

3.4 Techniques of Data Collection

The following data collection techniques and tools have been used for the study:

3.4.1 Observation

The researcher was successful interacting with the selected informants in the selected topics as he was able to observe relevant gender friendly environment as an outsider of the family friends. Participant observation is the most important method of getting information and understanding the social natural process of the people of a specific setting. The behavior patterns, attitudes, way of life, ceremonies, food habits and occupations which were observed through directly participation along with them.

3.4.2 Interview Schedule

Interview with head of family was conducted to find out overall direction of the family. A set of questionnaires had been used for it. Quantitative information was taken from structured interviews and qualitative information was taken from unstructured interview. Structured interview was used to collect the date about the history, the rites and rituals, socio-cultural organization relationship of the other community people and their culture, tradition, etc. The unstructured interview was adopted with people at any time span wherever/whenever they felt free to discuss.

3.5 Universe and Sampling Procedure

The random sampling method has been used to collect data from the field. The total population of Ruchang is 3433 whereas Magar population is 2942. The total Magar households are 426 (CBS report, 2001). Among them, 64 (15%) Magar households have been selected, who are living in Ruchang V.D.C. of Nawalparasi district.

The household survey has been done with the structured questionnaires to collect the data of historical background, personal identification, culture, age, sex, income, economic and other activities to fulfill the task.

3.6 Reliability and Validity of Data

The key data collection tool-questionnaire was pre-tested and later distributed among the sampled respondents in selected area by the researcher. Since the

researcher was acquainted with some of the family, personnel approach had also been adopted in generating genuine data through proper follow-up.

For the questionnaires filled off-handed was followed up personally where possible to gather complete information. Before the questionnaire survey, key informant data was acquired through key informant interviews. The coherence in the data gathered was maintained through crosschecking the response from the sample family.

3.7 Data Processing, Analysis and Interpretation

The data gathered from the field were tabulated manually using simple mathematical and statistical tools such as table, graph etc.

The level of awareness among Magar as validated by the data was also compared across has been developed and presented.

CHAPTER: IV

STUDY AREA AND THE PEOPLE

4.1 General Introduction of the People and Study Area

The origins of Magar residing in Nawalparasi district are of Gandaki region (Barha Magarant). It is proved from their language, culture, clan and sub-clans. Mostly, Magar are the settlers of hill of western Nepal, mainly Palpa and its surroundings. Magars are scattered in 76 VDCs. and a municipality (namely Ramgram) of this district. According to census 2001, the total population of Magars was 96881 in this district. The Magar people are distributed in Ruchang, Rakuwa, Naram, Dedhgaun, Dandajheri, Mithakoram, Bhartipur, Kotthar, Shvamandir, Rajahar, Deurali, etc. This study has been concentrated on the field of Ruchang V.D.C. It is situated at the north of this district. This V.D.C. is locked by Bakamalang V.D.C. of Palpa in the west, Naram V.D.C. of Nawalparasi at east and Rakuwa V.D.C. of Nawalparasi at north and Deurali V.D.C. of Nawalparasi in the south. The major communities of the V.D.C. are Magar, Kami, Brahmin, Teli, Newar, Sarki and Tharu.

Socio cultural aspect of this area has its own value. In this study area, there are so many ethnic as well as caste groups, among these caste groups, Magars are in majority. According to census 2001 A.D. 3,433 people are inhabited in Ruchang V.D.C. of Nawalparasi. Magars are 2942 in number. It means 85.70% population belongs to Magar.

4.1.1 Location

Ruchang V.D.C. of Nawalparasi district lies in the Gandaki region (Baraha Magarant). Geographically, it is a hilly, rural area and located in the northern part of the district. It is 150 km far from district headquarter (Parasi) of Nawalparasi district.

4.1.2 Climate

The weather of Ruchang V.D.C. is very suitable for all season. The weather of Ruchang V.D.C. is neither too cold nor too hot because it lies in hilly area

4.1.3 Ethnic Compositions:

According to CBS 2001, the total population of Ruchang V.D.C. is 3433 but more than 85 percent of total number covers Magar people. Ruchang V.D.C. lies in Barha Magarant region which is Magar populated region. In Nawalparasi district the population number of Magar people is higher than other castes like Brahmin, Tharu and Chhetri. Magar found to be settling in the area along with Kami, Brahmin, Damai, Sonar, Newar, Sarki, Tharu and others.

Table 4.1

Distribution of Ethnic Composition in Ruchang V.D.C. in Nawalparasi

Caste	Total population	% of caste
Magar	2942	85.69
Kami	177	5.15
Brahmin	133	3.87
Damai/dholi	76	2.21
Teli	31	0.90
Sonar	21	0.61
Unidentified dalit	11	0.32
Unidentified caste	10	0.29
Newar	9	0.26
Sarki	8	0.26
Tharu	5	0.14
Other	10	0.29
Total	3433	100.00

Source: CBS Report, 2001.

Above table clearly states that the people living in Ruchang V.D.C. are Magar (85.69%), Kami (5.15%), Brahmin (3.87%), Damai/Dholi (2.21%), Teli (0.90%), Sonar (0.61%), Unidentified Dalit (0.32%), Unidentified Caste (0.29%), Newar (0.26%), Sarki (0.14%), Tharu (0.14%) and other (0.29%). Majority of people living in study area are Magar.

4.1.4. Education

Education determines quality of life. Educationally, Magar community is still backward. According to National Population Census of 2001, only 55.9% Magars were literate, however, it was only 40% in 1991. Literacy rate among Magars, who live in Ruchang V.D.C., is not so high as compared to other communities of the same locality.

Education is regarded as one of the greatest qualities and virtues of man. It is most important factor for the development of human personality and nation's development. It determines of mine. It has been measured in various standard categories as S.L.C pass, literate and illiterate. Illiterate has been defined as those who can not read and write. Literate has been defined as those who can simply read and write. The table 4.2 indicates the education status of the study area.

Table 4.2

Distribution of the Respondents by Education Attainment

Education	No of Respondent	% of Total
S.L.C. Pass	4	6.25
Literate	36	56.25
Illiterate	24	37.50
Total	64	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010.

Above table shows education status of the respondents. In total 4(6.25%) Magars are S.L.C. passed, 36 (56.25) are literate, and 24(37.50%) are illiterate. The literacy rate of Magars is not as high as compared to other communities of the same locality. Almost all teenagers get school level education but often they have not completed S.L.C. till now. Among Magars living in Ruchang, only one is doing post graduate but no woman is a graduate. Very limited youths pass S.L.C. annually. Those who join the school has high drop out rate due to the social factors, domestic responsibilities, early marriage and economic problem. Thus, the literacy rate is very low in the study area.

4.2 Socio-economic and Cultural Setting

This study tries to explore on some of the socio-economic backgrounds of the respondents in terms of age, religion, family type, clan and sub-clan, and marital status, age at marriage, and income and expenditure. Any study of sociological signification has to take into consideration these parameters as it provides a context for the study. The background information also helps in analyzing the findings under specific thematic issues.

Gaha is the largest sub-clan group in number while Saru sub-clan population is the least in the total number of sampled households of 64. Among them only 64

respondents sample are chosen in the study area. The houses of all Magars are made up of mud and stone. They are roofed using tin and dry-grasses (Khar). Before a decade very limited houses of Magars were roofed using of tin in this area. Now, they have used tin to roof due to increase in their income especially cash income.

Agriculture is the main occupation of almost all Magar families. But they permanently or temporarily engaged in non-agricultural sectors like business, foreign employment, service in private sector and some families work as agro-based wage-labor in the same area. They are seasonal wage labors.

4.2.1 Land Ownership

All families of Magars have own land. There is not landless family but average size of their land-holding is small. They have lands that holding land size of holders ranges between 5 to 50 Ropanis. Many households have below 15 Ropanis of land. In one hand, they have small size of land and on the other hand, the land is not fertile. So, they produce cereals (maize, millet) in small quantity. The situation of food sufficiency on the basis of cereal production from their holding lands is accounted here.

4.2.2 Cash Income

The cash income of Magar families is increasing now due to the employment in foreign countries and cash-crop farming like ginger. They keep pig, goat also, etc.

Table 4.3
Sources of Income at Household

Type of Source	No of Respondent	% of Total
Cash Crops Farming	34	53.12
Foreign Employment	13	20.32
Animal Husbandry	7	10.94
Business	4	6.26
Labor	3	4.68
Teaching	2	3.12
Ex-army	1	1.56
Total	64	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010.

The above table shows that people living in Ruchang V.D.C. are involved in different activities for cash income. People involved in cash crop farming are 34(53.12%), Foreign Employment 13 (20.32%), animal husbandry 7 (10.94%), business 4 (6.26%), labor 3 (4.68%), teaching 2 (3.12%) and ex-army 1 (1.56%). People grow ginger in large number which is main source of cash income.

4.2.3 Development Activities

Some development infrastructures have been under construction like road, schools. Ruchang V.D.C. is located 56 km far from Mahendra Highway. Only, jeeps are available for passengers to reach there. People have not access for electricity facility. People have started to use CDMA phone. There is also V.D.C. office, health-post and schools. Drinking water project has already been completed there. At present, some local user group and community based organizations are functioning in different focus area such as maternal child health, environment and saving credit, ginger farming. Increase in awareness, women empowerment, public participation, local resource mobilization, institutionalization etc are impact of development in Ruchang Magar gaun.

4.2.4 Decision Making Role

Magars could not entertain the key role for decision making in the national, district and community level. Its main cause is educational backwardness. Exceptionally, few Magars take part in decisive role in the district level for certain purpose. Magars are involved in the community level groups as well as organizations but very few Magar males and females are key members in the groups and organizations.

There is not gender biasness in decision making at household level. Mutual consensus of both male and female is a proactive characteristic of decision making among Magars. In some families, females play vital role in decision-making in a family. Mostly males play key role while making decision out of household level whereas females play key role in the household level especially in financial cases.

4.2.5 Inter-Relationship with Other Community/ Caste

Love to social harmony and friendly behavior is an innate merit of Magars for adjustment everywhere. They are maintaining good relationship to the other caste/people for co-operation.

Each society has its own food habits. Even though the Magar caste has no any distinct food habit, they generally take two principle meals. The initial is taken at about ten in the morning and second after the sunset. There are two additional subsidiary meals which are known as Arni and Khaja. According to respondents, they usually eat millet food but now they prefer to eat rice and maize food. Most of the Magars at present use millet for production of wine. Wheat and maize are their subsidiary food. Magars mostly take rice, pulse, and vegetables (dal, bhat and tarkari) twice a day.

Most of the Magars are non-vegetarians. They keep cock, pigs etc for meat and use a lot of meat and fish with wine. Traditionally, Magar served buff meat but now least no of persons serve it. When their relatives or guests visit their home rice and chicken are cooked. Homemade wine is widely used for Arni. Drinking rakshi and Jand in the evening rituals and festivals are also quite common among them. If some relatives visit their family, the family feels a necessity to treat them nicely by offering chicken and raksi. They consume large amount of grain for making these jand and raksi.

4.2.6 Family Kinship

The household kin relation is very smallest unit and primary in kin relation. Kinship is a system that also helps to identify the social position or relation, which is called Nata Pata. The rights and duties are sanctioned by the kin identity in relations. The kinship as a structure enhances the relation with a particular socio-economic status holder family or in a household; it can change the position of the person in particular dynamic life. The relation is also geographically limited in Magar because of cross-cousin marriage system, Katmandu Valley Magar are also following 'tin ghare' clan endogamy marriage. In the study area three types of kin relation exist they are: consanguine, affinial and fictive relation.

The term kinship was first coined by LH Morgan and categories of kinship term, the classificatory system several people, lineal as well as collateral and often even affinial, are all refer to the same term of designation describes the speaker's exact relation towards him her whom s/he is referring to or addressing. Their 'uncle' is a classificatory term but 'father' is a descriptive term (Pandey, 2005).

The Magars of the study area have used classificatory as well as descriptive term to refer to their relations. Such as Bau (father), Ama (mother) are descriptive and

Jethaba, Mahilaba, and Sailaba for the (father's brother, Baje (father's or mother's father), Phupu (father's sister), Pusai (father's sister's husband) etc are classificatory kinship terms. The sibling relation is elder to younger Dai (elder brother) and bhai (younger brother). The youngers greet their elder (father, mother, elder brother and sister) by placing their forehead on his /her feet. When family does not have any child, they adopt the son of others (which may be from same caste or other).

In the Magar community, during the partition a portion of property called Jiuni is the separated or kept for himself and his wife to sustain in old age. The jiuni may be as land, cash, or both. The jiuni can be used by the son who looks after till the death of parents. Sometimes it is decided to share it equally among the sons but in some cases, the parents can determine who is the inherent of this property after their death. The expenditure on their death rituals is recovered by the jiuni. If it does not recover the remaining debt, the is divided equally among the brothers.

In the Magar society, family property is commonly shared and managed. When a family breaks up, the property is equally divided among the brothers. There is not any rigid rule of family separation. They want live with the income, which they earn. It is assumed that the lack of sufficient income, source of physical labor and skill of the person are the main means for livelihood. So after marriage a person wants to live separately from his parent. The northern Magar practice Lamaist Buddhist with priest called a Bhusal. The social process of Sanskritization has drawn southern Magar population to develop a syncretic form of Hinduism that combine animist and Buddhist ritual. Hindu Magar villages recognize three classes of priest; Lama, Jaisi, and Dhami.

4.3 Some Selected Demographic Components of the Respondents

4.3.1 Age Structure

The age of the respondents living in Ruchang V.D.C., Nawalparasi district is between 15 to 86 as required by the topic of enquiry. The age structures of the respondents suggest their maturity. It's normally understood that the mature persons have more experience though they may lack academic qualification.

Table 4.4
Respondents Age Group

Age Group	Total no.	% of Total
Up to – 19 years	3	4.69
20 – 29 years	15	23.44
30 – 39 years	16	25.00
40 – 49 years	21	32.81
50 and above	9	14.06
Total	64	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010.

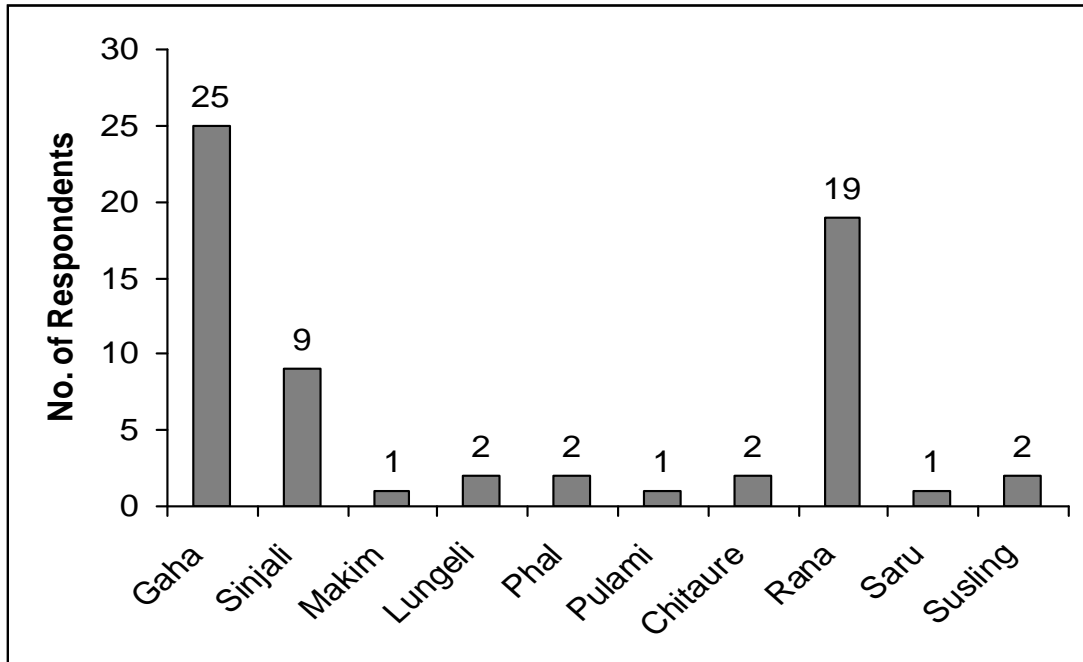
The above table shows greater numbers of the respondents (32.81%) are in the age group of between 40 to 49 years of age. And the youngest respondent is 15 years of age and the oldest one 86 years of age. These Magars are very valuable as they vary in age and experience. The informants say that the age of marriage is increased due to schooling of girls and the social context makes them aware. The choice of appropriate mate is also one of the causes of late marriage. They are not about to speak out their minds against the parents' will in old days. The new generation can speak their minds because they are educated as well. The older generations also accept this cause of late marriage while in the interview. The early marriage is not good in the name of religions, they say while in interviewing them. All of them say that they would marry little older if given the choice. It is arranged marriage. It is sometimes economic as well. Some say that they go to help the groom's household to cook food for the marriage and find out later that the bride is not other than herself and laugh at the consequence. The parents who have young girls to marry, might marry their daughters young compared to others as they are anxious to marry other daughters as well in time rather than keep them at home unmarried.

4.3.2 Clan and Sub-clan

It is generally known that in the structure of tribes there are Clans/septs (Thar) followed by the sub-clans, then the gotra discerned and so on. The Magar tribe is divided into basically six clans or septs, which are Thapa, Rana, Ale, Budathoki (Burathoki), Pun and Gharti. Each clan has more than 100 sub clans and titles; therefore there are more than a thousand subtitles and sub clans of Magars (Baral

Magar 1996 A.D. Baral 2002 A.D. Baral 2008). Notably, many of such titles are similar to Brahmin's titles and Chhetri's titles in Barha Magarant region and Athar Magarant region respectively (Baral Magar, 2004 A.D. Buddha Magar, 2002 A.D.). But Thapa, Ale and Rana claimed themselves pure Magar. The figure 4.1 describes the clan and sub-clan of the respondents.

Figure 4.1
Distribution of the Respondents by Clan and Sub-clan



The figure shows consisting 25(39.06%) Gaha; 19 out of 64 (29.69%) are Rana; 9(14.06%) Sinjali; 2(3.13%) Chitaure, Lungeli, Susling and Phal; 1(1.56%) Makim, Pulami and Saru. Thapa, Rana, Pun, Ale and Budhathoki are the clan names and these names are used to get access to recruitment in army and other jobs. Among the clans, Thapa, Rana, and Ale are found largely in Barha Magarant region whereas Pun, Rokka, Budha and Gharti are predominantly in the Athara Magarant of Kham region.

4.3.3 Religious Practices

Religion is a mechanism to control society that has been taken in any form in their daily lives. It is influenced by the environment, the geographical location and the cultural practice that lead adaptation, assimilation, acculturation, diffusion and sanskritization in a given society depending upon the situation. Most of the culture

and religious practices are influenced by the state agencies after the promulgation of Act, Rules and Regulations.

Though the Magars of the study areas are barriers for people to accept religion, what they prefer to celebrate in their religion, is animism and they worship nature. However they follow Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity. The table 4.5 indicates the religion of the respondents.

Table 4.5
Distribution of the Respondents by Religious Practice

Religion	Total Respondent	Percentage
Buddha	14	21.88
Hindu	37	57.81
Animism	13	20.31
Total	64	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

The total sampled respondents are 64. The Magars practicing Buddhism are 14(21.88%) and Hindu religion 37(57.81%) and Animism 13(20.31%). Regarding the issue of religion there is also a big as well as controversial issue. Those respondents who prefer to Hindu religion conduct marriage according to Hindu philosophy. But, the followers of Buddhism do not have any criteria for the marriage. It is natural and personal for their attitude. Those respondents who prefer to Animist they do not give preference to Hindu and Buddhist religion. They conduct rituals according to themselves. Religion also helps to change the pattern of marriage.

4.3.4 Occupation

One of the important factors affecting the socio-economic structure of Magar is occupation. Agriculture is the main occupation of all Magar families. Some of them are engaged in non-agriculture sectors: business and foreign employment. There are also seasonal wage-laborers. The table 4.6 describes the occupational status of the respondents.

Table 4.6
Distribution of the Respondents by Occupation

Occupation	Total Respondents	% of Total
Farmer	48	75.00
Social work	7	10.93
Business	4	3.13
Teacher	2	6.25
Other	3	4.69
Total	64	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010.

Out of 64 respondents 48(75.00%) are farmers, 34(53.12%) housewives, 7(10.94%) social workers helping in community as volunteer, 4(6.25%) Businessmen, 2(3.13%) teachers and 3(4.69%) others. They are involved in different occupations.

4.3.5 Language

Generally, Magars speak Magar-Kura, Kham and Kaike language. Those Magars who are living in this region speak Magar-Dhut (Magar-Kura). The Magars living in Ruchang speak their mother tongue (Magar-Kura). Magar Kura speaker respondents are 64(100%). Some old Magars do not understand Nepali language and they can't speak it too. They preserve their language but now-a-day some parents do not allow their children to speak Magar Kura. Loosing the mother tongue meant loosing their culture and traditional values. The table 4.7 shows mother tongue speaker respondents.

Table 4.7
Distribution of the Respondents by Mother Tongue Practice

Magar Language	Total Respondent	% of Total
Do practice	64	100
Do not practice	0	0
Total	64	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010.

Table 4.7 shows the mother tongue speakers. The Magars living in Ruchang speak their mother tongue (Magarkura).⁶⁴ (100%) practice their language, nevertheless new generation try to have forgotten their mother tongue. At the time of unification ethnic communities were forced to speak Nepali language as one language program of the country. Loosing the mother tongue meant losing culture and traditional value.

4.3.6 Divorce

Marriage is sacred function and divorce is not included in the context of Nepal. The divorce is not seen auspicious in marriage and prosperity. It is sad event and they were not much enthusiastic about it though some have said it is the women's misfortune to get divorce. Hindu system has made husband superior in every aspect of life and her fortune depends on him. Women have very low status which according to Manusmriti of Hindu is the right place for women. The polygamy practice makes wives to quarrel but not divorce.

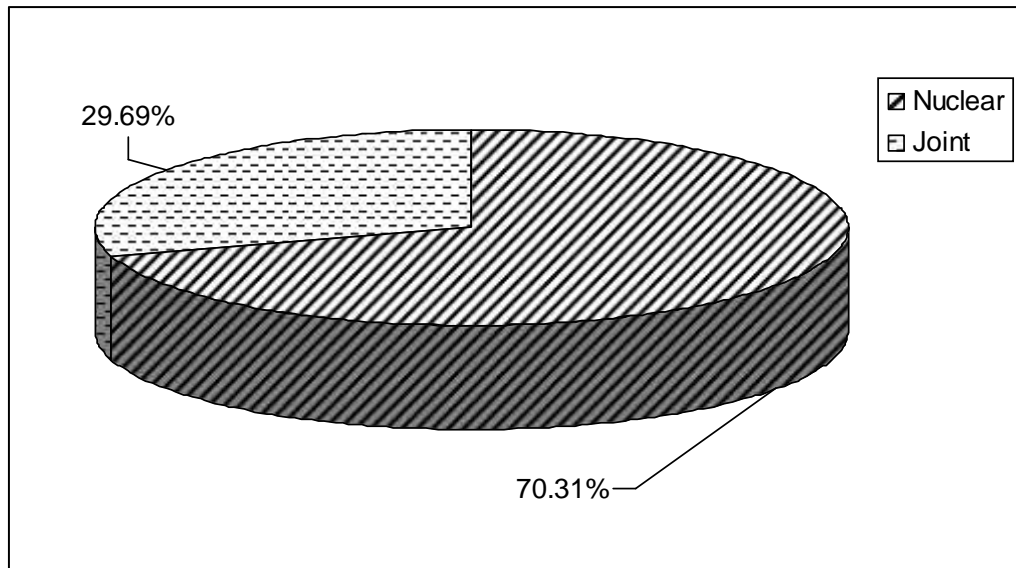
They keep quiet about the divorce as it is not a good thing to talk about. Even if new woman comes as co-wife some say they shall beat the new woman of the husband not the husband but not divorce them. The condition of divorce is high in lower status in context of Nepalese society and it is better to argue at home and be out of house and family. The women rather like to take the torture than be humiliated outside their home which sometimes make them victim of homicide, burning them alive, etc.

Divorce might be negative concept for many but when compromising is the process where only women have to adjust and be abused like an animal, the Nepalese women have started to raise voice against it

4.3.7 Type of family

Type of family means the number of family members living in home sharing a kitchen. The family type of Magar in the study area has been categorized into nuclear family and joint family. Nuclear family has been defined as the family in which only a couple and their children live. Joint family has been defined as the family in which grandparents, parents and their children live. It means due to demand of more freedom and other aspects most of Magars live in nuclear family in the study area. The figure 4.2 suggests the family size of the respondents.

Figure 4.2
Distribution of the Respondents by Family Type



The figure 4.2 indicates the family type of the respondents. The total sampled respondents are 64. Among them 40(70.31%) are living in nuclear family and 24(29.60%) are living in joint family. The percentage of the nuclear family is very high. If they demand more freedom to make individual decision while it is not possible in joint family.

The family structure of these people is quite similar to the other tribes scattered throughout the country, however, there are some differences which make them different and a tribe apart. The main family splits into nuclear ones as the children get married, but there are families where the system of staying together is in existence, where they live in the same house and eat at one kitchen. In some cases though they live under the same roof, internally they are separate and have their own living quarters and kitchen. Thus it is seen that sometimes in large families there are actually many small nuclear family units.

CHAPTER: V
BRIEF ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE MAGAR

5.1 Historical Background of the Magar

A. Introduction

The unique identity of our country is to have multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-social, multi-cultural and multi-religious customs. In the very social structure, one of the indigenous tribe is “Magar”. The names assumed by the Magar ethnic group vary in accordance with their respective areas of settlement. In the eastern part of the country, Magars are called ‘Mahar’ in ‘Sikkim ‘Chyang’, in western areas ‘Pare’, and in the Karnali region ‘Mahar’ (Baral Magar, 1996 A.D.). Buchanan Hamilton (1971) uses the term ‘Mungurs’ to refer to the Magars. According to Baral (1996, A.D.), the Magarant region was called ‘Maharlok’ in the ancient period; the people of this region used to call ‘Mahar’ which became ‘Magar’ as time passed on. They have own social status and identity in the country. They have the ancient ruling ethnic group (rulers) before the unification of Nepal by Prithivi Narayan Shah. It is found in the history ‘Athara Magaranth and Barha Magaranth’. Thus, they were the real indigenous people of this country. They have their own language, dialects, social and religious customs. In some places of the country, they have been practicing lingua-franca among themselves. From the very beginning its influence is found even in other castes that live in the same society.

Magar, the largest population among 59 indigenous/ethnic groups of Nepal (2001). They are found settling in all over Nepal from Eastern to Far-western Nepal in the different ecological regions, besides the Indian provinces, although they are commonly inhabited and known as hill tribal people who have symbiotic relation with nature and environment around their surrounding. The major populations of Magars are found in between Gandaki and Karnali regions. They have been dwelling especially in the district of Palpa, Gulmi, Argakhachi, Syangja, Baglung, Parbat, Maygdi, Tanahun, Gorka, Nawalparasi, Rolpa, Rukum, Surkhet, Taplegung, Dhankutta, Sunsari and Okhaldhunga.

Magars are Mongoloid in physique. They have their own language, which is categorized in Tibeto-Burman family (Gurung, 1998: 66). Magars are categorized into three groups according to language- Kham, Magar and Kaike. Magars are categorized

into Athar Magar and Barha Magar (Baral, 1996 p3). Generally Athara Magars speak Magar-Kham and Kaike language and Barha Magar speak Magar-Dhut. The population of Magars speaking the various Magar languages is 3.39% of the total population of Nepal (2001 Census). Other remaining Magars speak Khas and Nepali. Specially, Magars are simple minded, laborious, honest and pleasant in nature as well as backward caste. They are strict in their tradition and culture. They don't fail to celebrate and follow their culture and tradition although they should take debt from it, which is obstacle for uplifting social status of Magar (Mishra, 2001: 534). The origin of Magar is difficult to trace. Adequate information is still not available about when and how Magars arrived in Nepal. However, different scholars have put forth different probabilities trying to locate the origin. It is certain that, their native land is Nepal and they are aborigine. In history, Magars had their own nations and system. Citing Dharma Prasad Shress Magar and Kesherjang Baral write Magars have been staying here in Nepal since 2300 BC as nomads, (Laafa, 1993). "In earlier days, Magar's own nations were in between Karnali and Gandaki regions when there was existence of small hill/ small state." (Bista, 2030: 52). M.S. Thapa Magar is of the opinion that Magars came from East Pamir of China. In History they had great role to unite Nepal.

Population:

According to CBS 2001 the total population of Nepal was 2, 27, 36,934. Only 5, 62,870 people were living in Nawalparasi district. Magar is third largest group after Chhetri and Brahmin, and the largest among the indigenous group of people in terms of its population, which is 16, 22,421 and it covers 7.14% of the total national population. Palpa, Nawalparasi, Tanahun, Gorkha and Syangja are major Magar populated districts in the Barha Magarant region. Rukum, Rolpa and Salyan are major Magar populated districts in Athara Magarant region. Western hill once as the homeland of Magars is justified by the present human settlement in this area by caste/ethnicity. The Western region has the highest Magar population, which covers 16.43 percent of the total population of region. More than 50 percent of the total Magar population resides here. Western and Mid-western regions, especially Lumbini, Gandaki, Dhaulagiri, Rapti and Bheri zones, are known as the 'Magarant region', where 71 percent of the entire Magar population of Nepal lives. (See appendix 3, 4 and 5)

Above the table shows that the Magar people are living in less or more number in every district in Nepal. The highest numbers of Magar are living in Palpa district and the lowest numbers are living in Mugu district. Today, Magar communities can be found in the traditional location of western Nepal, from the high ranging Himalayan valleys to the plains of the Terai and eastward well into the district beyond Kathmandu. The original home of Magars, which include the entire hill districts of Lumbini, Rapti and Bheri zones. Present day Magar settlements range from Tanahun district of Gandaki zone westward to Palpa, Arghakhachi and Gulmi in Lumbeni zone. Syangja, Kaski and Parbat in Gandaki zone; Dolpa, Myagdi and Baglung in Dhaulagiri zone; Rukum and Salyan in Rapti zone and Dailekh and Jajarkot in Bheri zone; Barha Magarant and Athara Magarant region were known as the settlement of Magar people. Mainly, those districts which lie in Barha Magarant Region are original home of Magars. According to CBS, 2001 Magars are the largest population among 59 indigenous/ethnic groups of Nepal. In the context of Nawalparasi district Magar population has highest in number. Above table clearly shows it. Nawalparasi district lies in Barha Magarant Region they speak Magar Kura (Magar-Dhut). The Magars have spread all along the hills of eastern and to a few places in the eastern Terai. It clearly indicates that Magar people are found in every district of Nepal in more or less number.

Religion:

All indigenous/ethnic groups besides Tibetan Tamangs used to write Hindu during election survey which has helped to indicate the majority of Hindus in Nepal. This has been changed in 2001 survey with the incensement of the percentage of Buddhist religion from 7% to 10% in census before 2001 survey. Regarding the issue of religion, there is also a big as well as controversial issue about Buddhist religion. Magars were told to write Buddhist in the title of religion claiming that Magars are Buddhist by Nepal Magar Association in its eighth national congress (1998, A.D.) in Jhapa eastern Nepal. Because of this decision of Nepal Magar Association, all Magars started writing Buddhist as their religion. One Magar Boudha Sewa Samaj has started to train those Magar Buddhist priest named as “Wapa” who perform every cultural practice through their training which is called Buddhist Priest. Activities have been rapidly accepted by all Magars in Nawalparasi, Tanahun, Syangja and some other

districts. In this issue mostly Magars have been seen confused in the case of religion due to lack of concrete evidence in Nepal.

Table 5.8
Distribution of Religious Practice in Nepal.

Religion	Percentage
Hindu	80.62
Buddhist	10.74
Muslim	4.20
Kirant	3.60
Christian	0.45
Jain	0.02
Others	0.35
Unmentioned	0.10
Total	100.00

Source: International Forum, Year Book, 2002.

The researcher's thought, towards religion of Magars has been clearly seen that they are animist who worship nature in the form of stone, water, trees, young girls and unseen souls. Being a student of Anthropology, the researcher must say that religion is a mechanism to control society that has been taken in any form in their daily lives it is influenced by the environment; the geographical location and the cultural practices that lead adaptation, assimilation, acculturation, diffusion and sanskritization in a given society depending upon the situation

Dress and Ornaments:

Magars have their own traditional dress. The women wear typical hill dress with guniu, choli, teki, ghalek, kantha, shirmundri, dhungri, mundri, shirphool, phuli, bulaki, tilari, ring, jantar, naugedi and colorful bangles but the widows wear a bronze or silver bangles. The poor women wear the ornaments made up of brass, silver and plastics. The women wear dhoti, choli, sari, blouse, patuka, peticot, lungi made in foreign as well as in Nepal. Old aged Magars wear black-cap, shirt with black waist coat, lion-chola(kachhad), white turban(seto-pheta), bhoto, pakhee (rug), khadi, khurpeto(an instrument for putting sickle) and white patuka (white cloth used as belt

at waist). Today young generation and urban Magars are influenced from the modern dress and ornaments.

B. Historical Background:

King Prithivi Narayan Shah called himself “King of Magarant” and said to be proud to be a king of Magars. Magar had vital role to unite Nepal and make great Nepal. The most armed force and other diplomatic personnel were Magars to help King Prithivi Narayan Shah. After unification, Magars were employed as security personnel of newly conquered land and they settled down and spread all over the country.

In the war with East India Company, Magars showed their bravery on all battle fields including Nalapani killa. By their bravery, United Kingdom was also impressed. After treaty of Sugauli they took Magars for their national security. Due to their bravery and honesty they made Gurkha forces. As a result Magars were engaged in the Gurkha regiments of the India, British Army and Singapore Police for their national security till now. In the First and Second World War they showed bravery and honesty. They were involved all over the world. They respected bravery and honesty and then they were rewarded gave Victoria Cross. During the world war, the Magars didn't want to return or become out to contact from British Army. They started settling where they served. Magars of Malaysia, Burma, Thailand, European country, etc. where Magars found they were migrated there after the world wars.

In democratic movement of Nepal, Magars had great role. Lakhani Thapa Magar was the first martyr of Nepal. Magars were involved in democratic movement from Rana regime to till now. But, due to their honesty, loyalty and simple mindedness they are backward in leading and governing.

C. The Origin of Magar:

About the origin of Magar, there is no exact historical account of when and from where the Magars arrive in areas that fall under territory of the present Nepal. One speculation is that Magars, a Mongolian tribe, were migrated from Mongolia via Tibet before 3100 BD. Hamilton (1971) found different that some Magars migrated from northern India, many other scholars said other things that Magars, originated in Tibet-China, and migrated in Nepal during the early history of Nepal. However,

Magars as Mongoloid stock must have come to Nepal from Tibet, China, or from northeast India at time before the medieval period.

However, some scholars trace their opinions about origin of Magars that are as follows;

- 1) Magars were settled down either on both sides of Kali River and surrounding mountains, hills, districts of hills and plain land made by Kali River from immemorial time. They might have entered Gandaki Pradesh of Nepal through the plain made by Kali River and spread all over (Baral Magar, 1994).
- 2) Adhikari (1993) speculates that Magars must have come from their place of origin by the way of Tibet and since they show no traces of Buddhism in their religious activities, they most likely arrived in Nepal before Buddhism was introduced to Tibet in the seventh century.
- 3) There is yet another myth about the Magars, according to this; the first Magar was the youngest of four brothers. The eldest worshipped Kalika and became the ancestor of the Thakuris and the youngest sacrificed a pig to Bhairabi and hence became a Magar (Thapa Magar, M.S. 2003:4)
- 4) Michael Witzel (1993) mentions "Magars were apparently known already to the Mahabharat as Maga, to the Purans under the name of Mangara, and in a Nepalese copper plate inscription of 1100/1 A.D. as Mangvara." Even in the heartland of the speakers of Western Nepal (the-gad area) indicate a Magar settlement that must have extended much more towards the west before the immigration of the Nepali speaking Khasa/khas in the Middle Ages.

From the above scholars the Magars have been living here from immemorial time. Magars are mongoloid so it is possible their ancestor may be aborigine of central Asia or Mongolia and they spread all over in hunting period of human development.

5.2 Social Structure

A. Kinship System:

Kinship is genealogical relationship recognized for social purpose and made the basis of the customary relation of social relationship. Kinship is a system that also helps to identify the social position, relation, which is called Nata-Pata. In all societies people are bound together in groups by various kinds of bond. The most universal and

the most basic of these bonds is that which is based on reproduction and inherent human drive, and it is called kinship. In Magar community Daju-Bhai, Sasurali-Kutumba and Miteri-Natedari kinship system is found.

5.3. Socio-Cultural Life

A. Common Festivals:

Magars commonly celebrate Dashain, Tihar, Tij, Chaite Dashain, Fagu Purnima, etc like other Nepalese people. When the title of religion claiming that Magars are Buddhist then, there is controversial issue of Dashain. They start boycotting celebrating Dashain by not putting Tika on their forehead. In some places they start putting the white tika mixed with curd and raw rice. Finding it hard to avoid celebrating Dashain festival and giving the logic, they are celebrating Dashain in less modified versions.

Poush Pandhra is celebrated on the 15th of Poush according to Nepali calendar. It is a typical cultural festival of Gurungs and Magars of western part of Nepal.

Manghe Sankranti is a great festival of Tharus, but Magars as well as most of Nepalese also celebrate it. In this day Magars remember their ancestors and give them food and dishes by going to the river or stream. This is called 'Pinda yahake'.

Chandi Purnima is celebrated in the month of Baisakh. In this day Chandi puja is also done.

B. Worship of God and Goddess:

In reality the Magars are animists, but due to the influence of the Hinduism they worship the Hindu Trinity- Brahama, Vishnu and Shiva. They strongly believe in god and goddess and sacrifice pigs, goats, chickens, pigeons etc.

In Kulain Puja, Magars are worshipping their own kuldeveta (ancestral god) through their own customary beliefs, rituals and practices. Magars celebrate this by sacrificing pig or goat, sheep or bull or chicken according to clan custom.

Barah Puja, Chhatra and Bhairav Puja are performed by sacrificing of a goat kid; Mai is appeased with the young male buffalo then goats of uncastrated category, roosters and so on. Pigeons, hens and such are also used. These puja are done in a communitively. Goth puja or worship of the cowshed is also done by Magars. In the month of Srawan they have done Harali puja. Bai/ Bayu puja, Baji Bajyai puja is also done by Magars.

C. Songs and Dances:

The Magars have their own songs and dances in their community. Some common folk dances and songs are Kaurha (Chudka), Sorathi (maruni), Ghantu, Yaunach (Yaunat), Jibai mama, Jhora, Jhyaure, Hurra nacha and rodi.

Besides above songs and dances of Magars, Jhora dance is performed in festival tij and other happy occasions too. Hurra dance is famous in eastern Magars. In rising area of Tanahun district, Jyanai songs are listened at season of implanting millet in the farm. They also sing Oholi at the season of weeding paddy and millet. These songs have long tune rhythm.

In Magar community the dances and songs are celebrated for long time as long as 7 days and nights. By these people gather, implant love for marriage and it also gives dating for lovers.

D. Social Organizations:

Nobody can stay separating from community and organization. Such a social organization has own identity and character. Members of the society learn social norms, value, customs rites and behaviors from his/her family. Own organizations are developed in any society or tribe to conduct life easily and face social problems. In every society social control measure is managed, so that the members should do socially accepted activities. From socially accepted activities and norms anybody fulfill his/her necessity.

In Magar community the basic social organizations are family, kinships, groups, leadership, cultural rites, rights on property social place of female, etc. Besides them Nepal Magar Association, Nepal Magar Mahila(women) Association, Nepal Magar student Association are in the village level also.

5.4 Life Cycle Rites

A. Birth Rituals:

Birth of the child is an occasion of happiness in Magar community. In pregnancy, pregnant woman is generally regarded impure for all religious activities. The impurity is observed until baptism of the child is accomplished.

In sixth day of birth some Magars perform chhaiti ceremony which is the influence of Hindu culture. The Magars perform chhaiti ceremony only for the eldest son (Baral 1994/2004 A.D.).

Baptism (Nawaran) is done in odd number day of birth and generally 11th day. Generally kutumba (Son of father's sister or sister's husbands) give suitable name for a child. Kutumba goes to priest (pandit) and utter the Mantras for cow urine for forthcoming suitable name for child before visiting child home. Kutumba performs small worship and give name and ties thread string for child and his/her parents. He sprinkles cow urine uttering mantra where mantra is uttered all over home and surrounding. Those Magars, who discard priest, do the baptism according to the day and month when the child was born (Roka 1969 A.D. /2005 A.D., coded by Budhamagar).

If the first child is baby born son, the villagers and relatives are invited in baptism ceremony. The invited relatives go to ceremony taking abir and flowers. They give tika, abir and money for the baby's parents. This is called sarika yahake (giving flower). All relatives are involved in feast (Baral 1996/2005 A.D.).

Rice Feeding Ceremonies:

Rice or solid food is given at this time for the first time for female child when it is 5 months old and for the male child when it is 6 months old according to health as female growth is fast compared to male child.

Chhewar:

The hair-cut of the male child for the first time is observed as Chhewar when the child is in odd year of age. (i.e. one year or three years). It is done by the maternal uncle, and in his absence the mother of the child does the first cut and another shaves it. This is a kind of ceremony but it depends on the expense parents want to meet.

Guniu-choli:

The baby girl is given new clothes as she is recognized to reach the puberty and which is celebrated by gathering relatives and giving gifts. The expense of celebration decides the big or small celebration. Some parents give away women dress during other festivals as the day itself is auspicious according to the festivals. It is given in the odd year of the child (9, 11, 13 years of age.).

B. Marriage:

Among all the Magar people the marriage pattern is basically of the two practically of the two types: arranged and elopement. Besides these, latarnae marriages, widow marriage and jari marriage are also done.

Laganya (Arranged) Marriage:

It is the most common type of marriage. In it, the choice of a consort is completely free. The marriage is predetermined by the social rules of community. In some cases, an intermediary is employed who arranges the transactions. In many communities and among the people whose social system is based on the family, the consent of parents is required. In some cases, the place of parents is taken by some other relatives. This type of marriage is common in Nepal, especially in the Brahmins and Chhetris.

Love Marriage:

Most of the marriages in Magar community are love and elopement. It is easy because any boy can marry with maternal uncle's (mama's) daughter. In some community, if mama's daughter is not marrying, maternal uncle gives punishment to the sister's son (bhanja). Generally, boys and girls gather in rodi, kaura, jhyaure, maruni dance and feast and festivals. They like each other and fall into love and marry each other. This is done by elopement Dhogbhet is arranged to accept this kind of marriage by the parents of both the boy and the girl.

Widow Marriage:

Widow marriage is easily accepted in Magar community. By organizing small feast and Dhogbhet, widow marriage is recognized

Jari Marriage:

Generally, any married woman who elopes with other male leaving her husband is called jari marriage. In this case punishment rite or custom is done as per the decision of the society and accepted by organizing dhogbhet. The details on marriage have been traced out in the preceding chapters

C. Death Rites:

When a Magar dies, the corpse is wrapped in white cloth. The body is kept far from the touch of other animals and men. Malami carry a way (a long piece of white

clothes) ahead of corpse to move to the cemetery. On reaching cremation site the corpse is denuded and placed on the pyre when the son lights the Daag batti on the corpse's mouth, then the pyre is set on fire with some straw. The custom of burial on hill tops also exists in Magar people, but it is old tradition. The dhami and jhankri Magars get are carried face down (Dr. Budhamagar & Roka 2060 BS/p32).

Once the cremation is over the sons and brothers of the deceased have their head shaved. One malami stay chokho (not touching corpse) and he keeps thorn on the way after finishing the cremation. He also gives Dhup for malami. All malamis return their house stepping through the thorn by treading left foot and getting dhup.

The sons of deceased do not take any food in the death day. They only take burned/fried raw banana and fruits. Then they mourn for 13 days. Every day they go to stream (khola). It is called Reske or khola aanke. In this rite kutumba carries all cooking material and gives kriyaputri to cook and feed. Once a day they take food. Kriyaputri doesn't take salt and meat in this mourning period. On 10th day all the clan brothers gather in khola and do Dashgotra or Dhikuri phutalne. In some Magar community dashgotra is not done. On 13th day Magars do Dee dake and are purified. In this day all clans gather and touch salt which is called chha chhusakke. In some Magar community clan brothers gather and kutumba keeps out of the place and do ungya bhakke (to separate soul) and do other rites. In this day workshop is performed sacrificing cock or goat, pig, etc. For purification meat is needed on 13th day. Some Magar communities invite Hindu priest and do like Brahmin Chhetri. Magars also do the rite of barakhi barne. It is done for 45 days or six months or one year. Magars of Rolpa and Myagdi follow different rites. They do not invite Hindu priest. On the day of cremation or burial day, they give address for death soul and say to come that place on 15th day. One day before they sacrificed buffalo or goat making meat, selroti, alcohol, etc they went to the forest to offer the death soul by worshiping the and god are purified.

Nevertheless, they practice all rituals and social functions from birth to funeral ceremony. They invite to all neighbors without any discrimination and Magar neighbors support with resources as per nature of function accordingly. It is said Saghaune or Saghauni and obviously, they adopt it as a duty.

CHAPTER: VI
CHANGES IN ATTITUDES AND CONTINUITY OF
MARRIAGE SYSTEM

Marriage is an important life cycle ritual of human beings which help to continue the lineage of a person. The concept and practice of marriage has been changing according to the demand of changing time and assumption of the society. Marriage practice among Magar community has also faced the problem of change and continuity which we have seen in other rituals and life cycles of the various ethnic groups of the nation.

In Nepal people marry to fulfill the necessity of sanskars for the development of society as an individual and religious necessity for the salvation of the soul. The primary objective of the marriage is to beget son for the continuity of family lineage. The attitude is more in old generation than in young generation. Among the lower class of the people the primary objective of marriage is add the labor force in the family. Therefore, from these studies it seems that even today Hindu of Nepal defines the objective of marriage as sort of sacrifice and religious necessity.

Some selected demographic components indicated about change and continuity of marriage patterns are discussed below.

6.1 Marital Status

The total numbers of the respondents were 64. Most of the respondents were married as it was sample of married Magar and their attitudes towards change and continuity of marriage practice.

Table 6.9
Distribution of the Respondents by Marital Status

Marital Status	Total Respondent	% of Total
Unmarried	7	10.94
Married	57	89.06
Total	64	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

The table 6.9 shows that majority of the respondents (89.06%) are married and only (10.94%) respondents are unmarried. Both married and unmarried respondents'

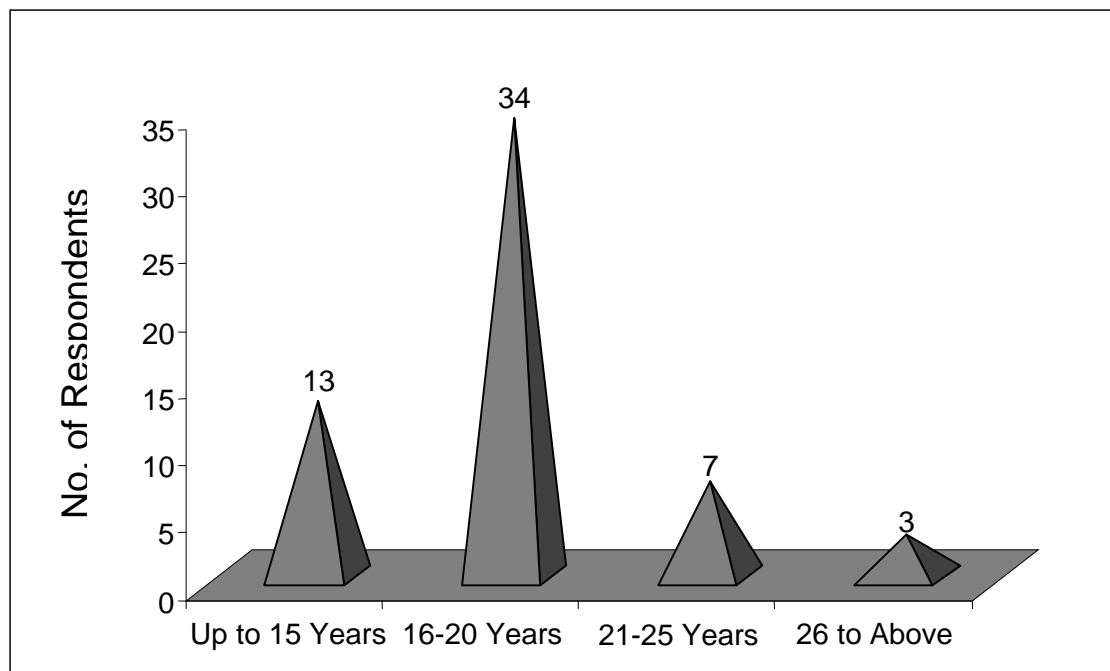
attitude to marriage is looked on as a sacrament. Hindu parents always consider the marriage as a duty. The married respondents think marriage makes the paired relation of the couple a social, legal and relatively a permanent bond. They will be husband and wife for 7 lives. The tie of lagan gatho can not be reopened but now the concept of marriage is changing according to time and demand.

6.2 Age at Marriage

Age at marriage is the most important factor for the change and continuity in marriage practice. In the past there were no schools so they became uneducated. They used to get married in early age. They looked marriage as a sacrament but now-a-days people become educated, get new idea, economic independency, so age at marriage is increasing. In the present condition people prefer that girls should cross 18 years and boys should be 25 years.

Figure 6.3

Distribution of the Respondents by Age of Marriage



The figure 6.3 indicates the distribution of the respondents by age at marriage. 13 out of 57(22.88%) people get married within 15 years of age; 34(59.64%) people get married from 16 to 20 years of age; 7(12.28%) people get married from 21 to 25 years of age; and 3(5.26%) people get married after 26 years of age.

But now-a-days the age at marriage is increasing in the study area. They think that marriage is choice of couple and they marry after they are self-dependent. This affects to change in marriage practice.

6.3 Objectives of Marriage

Marriage is the foundation of a family. Clan organization is related to marriage and this institution governs descent, inheritance of property, succession social differentiation. In Nepal people marry to fulfill the necessity of sanskars for the development of society as an individual and religious necessity for the salvation of the soul. The primary objective of the marriage is to beget son for the continuity of family lineage. The table 6.10 indicates the objectives of marriage.

Table 6.10
Distribution of the Respondents by Objectives (N=172)

Objectives of Marriage	No of Respondent	% of Total
Biological Need	10	15.62
Continuation of Heritage	45	70.62
Adjustment between Mates	15	23.43
Social Norms and Value & Sacrament	35	54.68
Partner for Old age	43	67.18
Economic Partner/support	12	18.75
Pay Ancestral Debt	3	4.68
Other	9	14.06

Source Field Survey, 2010

*Frequency is higher than total respondents because of multiple responses.

Above table shows the objectives of marriage. 64(100%) respondents agree that marriage is compulsory. Marriage is not a temporary contract to enjoy a good company for sometime and then to lapse in oblivion at the slightest mental jerk and inconvenience of lives. It is a union of lives, adamant in spirit to brave the vicissitudes of life. 45(70.62%) respondents are in the favor of continuation of heritage, 43(67.18%) are of old age partner, 35(54.68%) are of social norms and value and sacrament, 15(23.43%) are of adjustment between mates, and 12 (18.75%) are of economic partner/support, 10(15.62%) are of biological need, 3(4.68%) are of paying

ancestral debt and others are 9(14.06%). The frequency is higher than total respondents because of multiple responses.

6.4 Marriage Practice Preference

Marriage is a universal phenomenon which exists in every society from tribal to civilized society. Practically, the marriages patterns of Magars are basically of two common kinds: arranged and elopements. Besides latarne marriage, widow marriage and jari marriage are other kinds. The figure 6.11 indicates the distribution of the respondents by marriage practice preference.

Table 6.11
Preference Marriage Practice

Type of Marriage	No of Respondent	% of Total
Arrange Marriage	30	46.88
Love Marriage	14	21.88
Traditional Marriage	13	20.31
Temple Marriage	4	6.25
Court Marriage	3	4.68
Total	64	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

Total numbers of respondents are 64. The arranged marriage respondents are 30(46.88), love marriage respondents are 14(21.88) and traditional marriage are 13(20.31), temple marriage are 4(6.25) and court marriage are 3(4.68) but temple and court marriage has not been practiced till now in the study area.

The respondents followed arranged marriage arranged by their family considering the choice of their daughters. They prefer love marriage and or love marriage has come to Nawalparasi after couples settle for livelihood after elopement. 30(46.88%) respondents have arranged marriage and they like it because it is traditional, prestigious, maintain tradition and culture, take place once in lifetime and the chance of failure is zero. And they are silent for divorce which is out of question because once married to the one guy means 7 times harmony. They will be husband and wife for 7 lives. The tie of lagan gatho cannot be reopened. It is a taboo to talk about divorce as it might mean leaving following the god in Hindu philosophy. Some

respondents are more religious and follow the rule of sacred books than their partners who are seen to have polygamy practice of marriage. Love marriage is seen as elopement therefore, this marriage is not prestigious from the orthodox point of view.

6.5 Opinion of Marriage

Among the Hindu Sanskaras marriage is considered to be the most significant one and, therefore it is not at all unnatural that top priority has been attached to it. It constitutes the family life and the origin and the multiplying the number of the families can be easily traced to marriage. In general, one should marry and run a home. It means there should be regulation and governing the relations between sexes. It also provides the mechanism by means of which the relation of offspring to the community is determined. The table 6.12 describes the opinion of marriage.

Table 6.12
Opinion about Marriage by the Respondent

Type of opinion	No of Respondent	% of Total
Social contact	13	20.32
Sacrament	27	42.18
Do not know	20	31.25
Others	4	5.25
Total	64	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

Above table indicates the opinion about marriage. 27(42.18%) respondents are in favor of sacrament, 13(20.32%) are of social contact, 20(31.25%) respondents are do not know about marriage and 4(5.25%) are others. According to Hindu samskara marriage is considered to be the most significant and sacrament. Hindu marriage is really and symbolically significant.

6.6 Responsibility for Choosing the Life Partner

Marriage is a step to enter a new era of life. It promises the fulfillment of many anticipations and hopes. The necessity of marriage is realized for common interest and ideal of man and woman. So, choosing the life partner is very important factor in marriage. Some decades ago, partner were more responsible for choosing life partners

than boys and girls but time is changing and parents also consider the changes about mate selection.

Table 6.13

Distribution of the Respondent by Responsibility for Choosing Life Partner

Person	No of Respondent	% of Total
Parents	15	23.43
Boy-Girl-Parents	22	34.37
Boy-Girl	24	37.50
Parents and Caste/ethnicity	6	9.37
Total	64	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

Above table 6.13 describes about responsibility for choosing the life partner. 15(23.43%) respondents said that parents are responsible for choose life partner for them, 22(34.37%) respondents said about choosing life partners are responsible boy-girl-parents, 24(37.50%) respondents are emphasis on boy-girl about responsible for life partner; and 6(9.37%) respondents are support parents and caste/ethnicity.

Late marriage enjoys great personal freedom in the choosing life partner, do to education, modernization, westernization, globalization and contact with others. In Magar community, it is more open than in other communities. Mostly Magar people do love marriage. They like each other and then they elope so they are responsible for choosing the life partner.

6.7 Choice Factor of Groom and Bride

Different opinions about the definition of the standard qualification of a groom and bride are found in history. But, without a doubt every opinion has a clause for beauty, social, cultural, education and family background, work skill, occupation, behavior and physical beauty. These factors enhance the choice of groom and bride.

Table 6.14

Distribution of the Respondents by Choosing Factor of Groom and Bride(N=150)

Choose factors	No of Respondent	% of Total
Beauty & Handsomeness	15	23.43
Skin Color	10	15.62
Occupational Background	25	39.06
Behavior & Personality	30	46.87
Work Skill	15	23.43
Education	20	31.25
Rich, Prosperous and Employed	12	18.75
Family Background Kinship	13	20.31
Urbanized and Western	10	15.62
Dowry	5	7.81
Other	5	7.81

Source: Field Survey, 2010

* Frequency is higher than total respondents because of multiple responses.

The above table 6.14 clearly indicates that the determining factors of choosing groom and bride are beauty & handsomeness (23.43%), skin Color (15.62%), occupation background (39.06%), behavior and personality (46.87%), work skill (23.43%), education (31.25%), rich prosperous and employed (18.75%), family background kinship (20.31%), urban and western (15.62%), dowry (7.81%) and other are (7.81%). People emphasize on different factors for choosing of groom and bride.

Practically the marriage patterns of Magars are basically of the two common kinds- arranged and elopements (Lagnya and Audya). Besides the love marriage, jari marriage, widow and widower marriage are other kinds. Lagnya marriage is called arranged marriage and other marriages are called audya marriage.

6.8 Laganya (Arranged) Marriage Practice

Arranged marriage is chosen by others. Marriage has fulfilled a role of diplomacy between monarchies and the dynastic, such as business families. As marriage may be arranged for the union of families or for other interests.

Laganya marriage occurs when the boy reaches at mature age. Firstly, he looks girls in the mama or maternal uncle's family and if there is no suitable girl from him then he looks others. Once the girl is located the relatives of the prospective groom go to the house of girl's parents and present them with theki of curds and talks regarding the agreement of the match. If the theki is not accepted the theki will be returned.

In some Magar community if the proposal is accepted, the daughter is sent with the boy and parents of girls give tika. Some Magars don't do so and send daughter for attending in janti at day of Dhogbhet (marriage ceremony).

The boy's party, again go to the girl's house to confirm the date of dhogbhet and pahurpat. This day is called Sodhyani Anke. In sodhyani day all decisions are taken from both sides. In some Magar community, the groom party should give a lot of raksi, bara, sel, rice and pork or mutton to bride's parents which is called pahurpat yahake. But these days this is not done; only a few amounts of those things are given just to fulfill the rite as pahurpat.

Dhogbhet is the main ceremony of Magar community. In this day a procession (janti) goes to girl's house from the groom's side including groom and bride if she is already with husband. In this ceremony, worship is done sacrificing a cock and the bride's relatives give tika for bride and bridegroom. Bridegroom, bride and bride's relatives exchange greetings or saluting (Dhogbhet) each other. For this, a theki with curd is kept and bridegroom party should keep money or pahur to each member of the bride's relatives and greet them. After finishing dhogbhet some Magars do rite by sacrificing cock and give peeling out skin of cock for groom. If he is able to peel out the skin of cock skillfully he is confirmed original Magar. After this, food is served to groom and bride and the sent bride is to bridegroom's house.

In the groom's house, some Magars sacrifice the cock at the entrance door and the bride and the groom slowly walk stepping on the blood. This is done to chase away the evil spirits. Before doing this rite janti parsane and tika talo are done in the yard of the house. In the third day of Dhogbhet Durgan Jane is also done in some Magar community. But, laganya marriage practicing trend is changing. Some decade ago Magar people practice this type of marriage but now a days it is seen very rarely in the study area. Lagany marriage practice is replaced by love marriage. Now marriage is at a much later age and enjoys great personal freedom in the selection of mates. The premarital relation is personal thought so the majority of young generations favor inter-cast marriage. The modern trend due to school, college,

friendship between girls and boys employment in factories, workplaces girls get time to meet boys to know each other and other medias. The relatives also get the ideas of eligible partners and friends. Now-a-days there are lots of ways like chatting, newspaper, matrimonial advertisements and so on for choice. Moreover, modernization, sankritization, acculturation process has abolished the practice of lagany marriage.

The influence of changing process is not only found in Magar society and culture. Its influence will is found in every society and culture. This changing process is social process and social mobility. That's why, Laganya marriage is our traditional culture we must preserve its originality and it should be reformed according to the demand of time.

6.9 Love Marriage Practice

In the past time, marriage was regarded as a social and religious duty. It was looked on as a sacrament. But today, the concept of marriage is for self satisfaction rather than family function as it used to be. We know that Magar community is more open in the traditional community than the modern society. Most of the marriages in Magar community are love and elopement marriages. This is because they marry their elder sister's or younger sister's son to their daughters. The boy marries the maternal uncle's daughter. It is called 'mama cheli- phupu chela' marriage. The daughter of maternal uncle is called "bato ko Sali". The sister's son has right to marry 'bato ko Sali' and if the sister's son marries another girl then would marry other than he is called 'bato birae ko' and has to give fine to the maternal uncle. Even these days it is found in remote villages of Nawalparasi. Generally, boys and girls gather in rodi, kaura, jhyaure, maruni dance and feast and festivals. They like each other and fall into love and marry each other. This is done by elopement. For acceptance the parents of boy and the girl Dhogbhet is arranged.

The number of Magar people practicing love marriage is increasing day by day. In the study area more than 95% people follow love marriage due to open Magar community. Different feast and festivals, mixed settlement with other caste, working places, schools, and colleges and media help them to meet and know each other. Economic independency also helps to it. As change is the law of nature, society and culture is always changing from one type to another.

6.10 Jari Marriage Practice

In Magar community jari marriage is also found. Generally, any woman who elopes with other male leaving her husband is called jari marriage. In this case compensation rite or custom is done according to the society and accepted by organizing dhogbhet.

Some decade ago, if any women eloped with other male leaving her first husband, the second husband had to pay fine to the first husband. But now-a-days this has not seen practiced by the Magar people of Ruchang V.D.C. in Nawalparasi. Polyandry marriage is not practiced by Magar people but polygamy is practiced by them. However, polyandry and polygamy marriages are prohibited by the law of Nepal.

Magars do not marry in same clan and Magars of other places Magar also do not marry within the same clan for seven generations. If they do so they become 'bhai phora' (splitting of brother) and they become asurali kutumba. Some Magars remarry their sister-in-laws after the death of their elder brothers has natural death. After the death of the elder brother the younger brother gives bangles to the sister-in-law and their marriage is accepted. The wife, children of the elder brother and his assets all belong to the younger brother. This kind of marriage as husband and wife is accepted in the Magar society but if the elder brother is alive and the younger brother has physical relationship with his sister in law then, they get severe punishment from the society. This kind of relation is called "haDa-phoDa". They are boycotted from the kitchen and clan. They have to go away from their village or place and won't get anything to live on. They have to leave for muglan or go abroad.

But even today the 'haDa-phoDa' brother gets no legacy in the ancestor's asset and may be thrown out of the village boundary. This kind of brother won't get to come back till the elder brother is live. After the death of the elder brother the younger comes but even then he won't get the asset of ancestor or he is still outlawed in his own home. They won't get a place in any functions of family. This kind of social boycott is found in the Magar community.

Magar marriage is sacred reflecting the society of Nepal. Polygamy is in practice if there is no child after twelve years of marriage. Surrogate or sometimes niece is married to the husband for child, the first wife remarrying in the house. Divorce is out of question and general concept is that the women who do not bear child especially son, allow their husband to remarry.

The widow and widower marriage are accepted in Magar community. After the death of the husband the wife is found to remarry. The woman is not looked down by the community. The Magar community accepts the marriage of both widow and widower.

Marriage is an important life cycle ritual of human beings which help to continue the lineage of a person. The concept and practice of marriage have been changing according to the demand of changing time and assumption of the society. Marriage practice among Magar community has also faced the problem of change and continuity which we have seen in other ritual and life cycle of the various ethnic groups of the nation.

6.11 The Changing Trend of Cross-cousin Marriage among Magars of Ruchang V.D.C. in Nawalparasi

There are different forms of marriage practiced in the world. Among them cousin marriage is one of them. Cousin marriage is a taboo in some society. Nevertheless, it is in practice in Muslim. It is permitted. Cross-cousin marriage is also practiced by traditional culture in small number of countries including Nepal by some Magar, Gurung, Tamang, and Thakali ethnic groups. But, the Magars have seized to marry the paternal cousin.

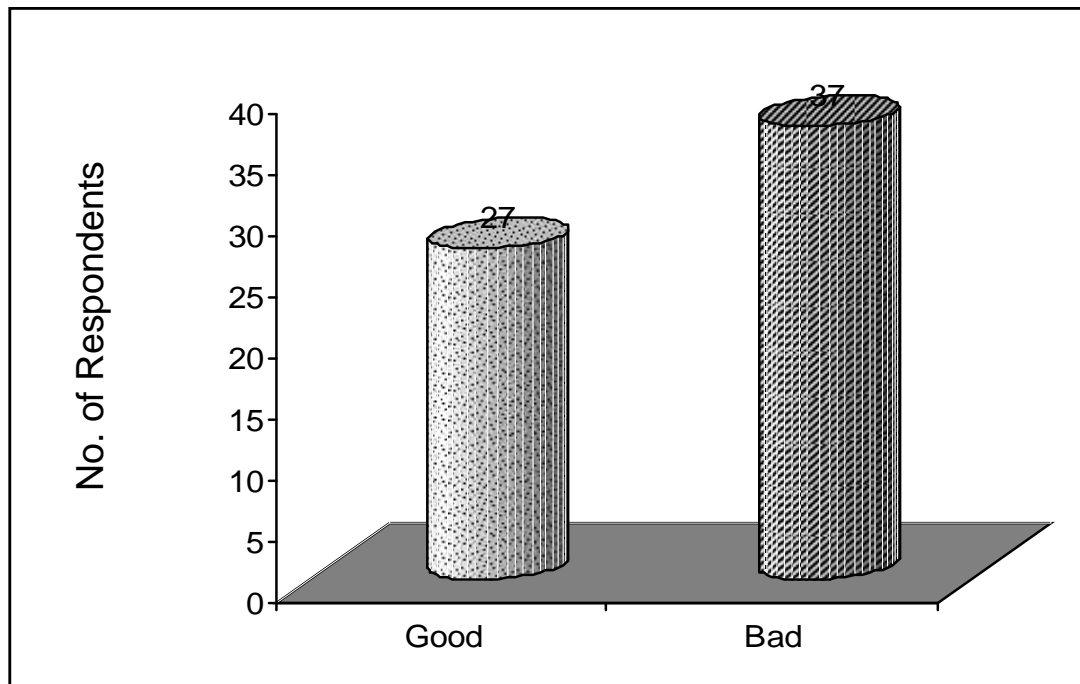
Cross-cousin Marriage

“Mama ko Chhori Roji Roji, Phupu ko Chhora Khoji Khoji” or “Mama Cheli-Phupu Chela-Kul ra Kutumba”

Magars are mostly found to marry their elder sister's or younger sister's son to their daughter. The Boy marry the maternal uncle's daughter. It is called “Mama Cheli Phupu Chela” marriage. In the context of the study area the paternal cousin marriage is not permitted in Magar society but cross-cousin marriage is permitted there. The old Magar people easily accept it but new generation feel uneasy and do not practice it. The figure 6.4 shows the attitude of the respondents about cross-cousin marriage.

Figure 6.4

Distribution of the Respondents by Attitude about Cross-cousin Marriage



The structured questions make it not possible to ask about their marriage as in other places the Magars are not so much follower of Hinduism though they call themselves Hindu. 37(57.81%) respondents were against the marriage of cross-cousin as they argue that cousins are like brothers and sisters and shouldn't marry but if cousin marriage is traditionally accepted phenomenon then there is no argument. It is social impact that they fear for rather than personal matter. 27(42.19%) say that they do not disagree but it should not be like Sali is already half wife or co-wife (teasing tone but can marry) or the daughter of mama is called "Sali" which means a permission to marry.

The paternal cousin marriage is not permitted in Magar society but cross-cousin marriage is permitted in Magar and other ethnic communities of Nepal. The Magar family of Ruchang consists of nuclear family of rural setting. Therefore, it is not irregular to find no one of them married cousin in the new generation as they do not have close cohesion in family's. The rural joint family mother tells the son that she wants her niece to be her daughter-in-law and the son has little to disagree unless they are brought up otherwise

Northern Magar (Dolpa) marries the phupu's daughter as well. But the Magars of Palpa, Tanahun, and Syangja do not encourage the marriage of son of maternal uncle to the phupu's daughter. If anyone gets physically involvement to the paternal

aunt's daughter then the persons are punished by the society. They (mama-bhanji: Kin terms) have to leave their homeland as a punishment and they probably go abroad. The daughter of maternal uncle is called 'bato ko Sali'. The sister's son has the right to marry 'bato ko Sali' and if the sister's son marry other than the daughter of maternal uncle, the person is called 'bato birae ko' and has to give fine to the maternal uncle. Even in these days, Magars of Palpa are found to use this custom.

Age at marriage is changing in the present time in Ruchang V.D.C. The wives too have different relation with their husbands, more companion than subordinates.

The 70% respondents of Ruchang are from nuclear family having new modern thought and cross-cousin marriage is of the tradition and primitive process in their opinion. Most of the respondents opine that the cousins are like siblings with whom one has played with in the young age as sister and brothers. The nuclear family children were not brought up to the concept of marrying the cousins. This marriage would not be a have taboo if they were brought up in joint family.

The interviewees answer though they are brought up in the nuclear family, their relatives are married to cousin and never have other idea than to marry her own cousin, as she has suitable age. Economy is other factor to marry where the parents arrange. As the interviewee is married her niece to her son, the niece has no objection but to participate in the family. The niece is supposed to get married as the parent's duty. There is no better man than her cousin in her knowledge or periphery. It was not forceful marriage but arranged by the family. The traditional large elaborate ritual marriage has been eliminated to short ceremonies. It no longer serves the function of reuniting the large kinship group. It is usually financial burden to the parents, but that has kept away the large kinship to disappearing.

The Magars of rural setting depend on their husbands as they are the breadwinners. Some women are working but it is not sufficient for living. The education level is not high to be independent; to rebel against the husband when they get another wife. Some traditional families make the mothers more powerful in the joint family as she takes care of the family. The daughter-in-law only gets her say when her own son grows up and earns the living. The son being modern, lacking traditional culture and custom of the community, does not follow some family norms and the modern mothers can't convince as she herself lack the experience and support if she is from the nuclear family.

The romantic love marriage is only dream which has not come true for young generation as it can not succeed if they can not afford it. The tradition hold is by women. The divorce is not sanctioned in Hindu society. Eventually the marriage trend is changing and cross cousin marriage may not exist in time frame as Europeans have preserved joint family culture.

Not all the cousins are able to find cousins to marry as one interviewee says that her phupu has only one son so her younger sister gets married to him. Not all the cousins marry all the cousins, for age difference, education and other prospective is seen before reaching out of hand of cousins. The Magars of Ruchang V.D.C. say that even though there is rumor about the diseases, or marrying cousin is like getting married to own brother, it is accepted if they like each other but should not be forceful.

The nuclear family which is modernized well has abolished the practice of cross cousin marriage. The Hindu attitude to marriage has come down from the ancient Vedic times when it was regarded as social and religious duty. Even today it is looked on as a sacrament; the Hindu parents always consider the marriage as a duty. It is difficult for them to accept the new marriage patterns which are more appropriate for an industrial than an agricultural society, such as the right to choose their own mates, the new emphasis on romantic love, and most difficult one, the breaking down of endogamy marriage.

The marriage between cross-cousin is medially healthy as there is no such malfunction of gene of offspring of cross cousin marriage. The cross cousin marriage might be taboo in America and Europe. It is incest as pictured from the western country. The cross cousin marriage is practiced not only in Asian countries but also in America as well. The modern concept is changing toward cross-cousin marriage and the gene defect has given anxieties new generation. The cross cousin is not the only reason for defying arranged marriage but rather to marry of own choice.

The changing pattern of lifestyle has made Magars of Ruchang more sophisticated than their contemporary villages. The lifestyle and acculturation have made them refrain to cross cousin marriage. According to Magar Association the Magars are not only living in urban area and all of them are not educated, therefore it is not entirely as a scenario of Ruchang V.D.C. to represent the Magar community. The originality and tradition are in need of preserving. They are among few Nepali people living in most sophisticated life. Eventually the point is that that the Magars

have forgotten some traditional culture which is abhorrent culture to them. It is social freedom to choose life partner either a cousin or other which depends on the choice of couples. Marriage is also a vital part of family and family makes society

The study area lies in Gandaki region (Barha Magarant). Ruchang V.D.C. is one of the remote village of Nawalparasi district. It is a gradient hilly, rural area and located in the northern part of Nawalparasi district. The weather of Ruchang V.D.C. is suitable in all seasons. The majority of population consists of Magar. Among Magars living in Ruchang only one is doing post graduate degree but no woman is a graduate. Agriculture is the main occupation of the all Magar families. Regarding the issues of religion and cultural practice; there is also a big as well as controversial issue of Dashain Tika and Buddhism. Most of the Magars say that their religion is Buddhism. When the researcher has done fieldwork, he himself meets Magar Pandit (Magar Buddhist Priest) named as "Wapa" (Gun Bdr. Rakim Magar and Juddha Bdr. Sinjali Magar). They took training in 2051 B.S. given by Magar Budha Sewa Samaj. Commonly wapa are given small book with instruction of birth and death rituals of Magar written in Magar language with one Buddha picture on the front page of the booklet. In the context of Ruchang V.D.C. some Magar families conduct birth and death rituals by wapa. This system has helped Magars to stop high expenditure of their money and grains in birth and death rituals. Still, some Magars are adopting Hindu culture and religion and some Magars have become Christians. The total respondents were 64 Magar people, who are between 15 to 86 years. The Magar who settled in the periphery of the Kali River in the south hills speaks Magar Dhut as their mother tongue. Those who are living in Ruchang speak Magar Dhut. The families of the Magar in the study area have been found joint and nuclear family.

According to Baral (1996), the Magarant region was called 'Maharlok' in the ancient period; the people of this region used to be called 'Mahar' which became 'Magar' as time passed on. There is no exact historical account of when and from where the Magars arrived in areas that fall under territory of the present Nepal. However, Magars as Mongoloid stock must have come to Nepal from Tibet, China or from northeast India at time before the medieval period. . Magar is the third largest group after Chhetri and Brahmin, and largest among the indigenous group of people in terms of its population, which is 16, 22,421 and it covers 7.13% of the total national population. Palpa, Nawalparasi, Tanahun, Gorkha and Syangja are major Magar Populated districts in the Barha Magarant region. Rukum, Rolpa, Salyan are

major Magar populated districts in Athara Magarant region. Magars have their own traditional dress. In Magar community most of the families live in as joint. Commonly Magars celebrate Dashain, Tihar, Tij, Chaite Dashain, Fagu Purnima, etc like other Nepalese. They practice all rituals and social functions from birth to funeral ceremony.

Marriage is an important life cycle ritual of human beings which fulfills the necessity of Sanskars for the development of society and individual for salvation of the soul. The primary objective of the marriage is to continue the lineage of a person. Marriage practice among Magar community faces the problem of change and continuity according to the demand of changing time and assumption of the society. The total numbers of the respondents are 64. Most of them are married. In Magar community they follow arranged marriage, love marriage, traditional marriage, temple marriage and court marriage practices. The respondents consider the marriage as social contract, sacrament and some of them do not know about opinion of marriage. The boy, the girl and the parents are responsible for choosing the life partner. The choosing factor of groom and bride are family background, kinship, education, work skill, beauty and handsomeness, occupational background, behavior and personality. Practically, the marriage patterns are basically of the two common kinds: arranged and elopement (Laganya and Audya) marriage. Now-a-days arrange marriage is rarely practiced by Magar community in the study area. Most of the Magar people practice love marriage in this area. Cross-cousin marriage is also practice by Magar community in the study area but the paternal cousin marriage is not permitted in Magar society. Mostly found to marry their elder sister's or younger sister's son to their daughter. The boy marrys the maternal uncle's daughter. It is called "Mama Cheli Phupu Chela" marriage. In summary, the trend of marriage practice by Magar people in the study area is changing.

CHAPTER: VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary

The purpose of this study is to find out the prevailing change and continuity in marriage practice of Ruchang V.D.C. of Nawalparasi district. Cross-cousin marriage is not incest in Magar community. The Magar of Ruchang V.D.C. Nawalparasi consists of homogeneous society and the adaptation of their culture, custom as well. The cause of defying cross-cousin marriage by the early Magar settler of the area is not very clear but in time course the traditional arranged marriage is not in practice among them. Some Magars are still found to practice cross-cousin marriage in their periphery but they are uncomfortable about it. It is conventional that arranged marriage is practiced by Magars according to convenience of the resources.

However, this is an academic and micro-level study which provides some essential information for the related fields especially about the change and continuity in marriage. The relevant literature about marriage has been reviewed in this study. Being exploratory as well as descriptive study, both types of research designs have been employed.

There are altogether 426 Magar households scattered in different wards in Ruchang V.D.C. in Nawalparasi. Only 15% of the total households from Ruchang in the sampling frame has been picked up as samples by using simple random sampling technique while 64 household heads sampled are the respondents of this study.

Primary data, observation, schedule and key informant's interview have been adopted as the data collecting techniques to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. Necessarily the secondary data have been included in the study. Likewise, both unstructured interview and key-informant's interview have been conducted as well. Observation and key-informant's interview have provided qualitative data while schedule provided both types of data. The key-informants of this study are former V.D.C president of Ruchang, teachers, Magar pandits (priests), local politicians, social workers, witchcraft and related informants.

The collected data have been analyzed qualitatively as well as quantitatively. The quantitative data have been analyzed by using simple statistical methods and qualitative data have been arranged manually and analyzed descriptively. Similarly,

analyzed data have been interrelated and shown through table, chart and diagram according to the need.

The traditional cross cousin arranged marriage practice among ethnic group is recognized by the law of Nepal but it is generally regarded as abhorrent by other cultures. The women respondents say that it may be the changing trend to marry other than cousin even though it is traditional culture and it must not be looked down at them who sue them.

The Magars are forced to observe Hindu religion after the unification of Nepal, despite their own belief and tradition. The Hindu caste system has classified them as Shudra, who have no right to education or learn the philosophy of Hinduism. The Magars are married to their cousins and continue the traditional custom. Therefore, despite being Hindu, the philosophy is not followed as they are ignorant about it. The traditional arranged cross marriage is practiced and is continued by the Magars who have conventional attachment with their relatives.

The urban modern unclear family has refrained to continue cross cousin marriage as they consider them as sibling. The new idea and education has inspired them to achieve new hemisphere which has little place for tradition that is forgotten or irrelevant to practice. The horizon widens for the urban settlers as well as the modernization. It is a changing social process. The joint family contact between relatives retains the cross cousin marriage as it is social cohesion in their context.

The social interaction among Magars with non-Magar such as Newar, Chhettris, Brahmin communities do not practice cross cousin marriage and in time span, they cease to practice. Some Magars are still marrying cousin in Nawalparasi. The educated new generations have given the birth defect as defying process to marry cousins. The concept is one of the reasons taken from their peer in school and college.

The new modern nuclear family has little time to spare for their family, senior members, the concept of marriage is for self satisfaction rather than family function it used to be. Their attitude towards cross-cousin marriage practice is conventional which must be changed as they are not married to cousins themselves.

The traditional conventional marriage match maker is not needed in Magar society as they have cousins to marry. Therefore, the mate selection to Magar society is a taboo. The marriage for seven generation and somewhere for fourteen generation is prohibited in same gotra and spinda. The cousins are not from same gotra and spinda.

Polygyny is in practice in Magar though it is among the rich people who can afford to have more than one wife and consider themselves rich despite being illegal to have more than one wife. Hypergamy marriage is also in practice as Magar fathers also can't resist to marry off their daughters to rich family. Dowry system is not culture of Magar society though some rich father has seen to give land to their married daughters. The cousin is his own nephew therefore it is not much necessity of marriage. The Magar women remarry as easily as the Magar men in some part of Magar society which is not possible in the Hindu culture. The law of Nepal does not forbid remarriage of widow or divorcee but social impact is not very open yet.

Love marriage and inter caste marriage are also accepted both in rural and urban area of Magar society. Magar women are also open about the decision to marry the one he/she likes even in case of cousin. They strongly recommend that the marriage of cousins must not be forceful. The premarital relation is personal though they are to marry to that person. The modern trend due to co-education, employment in factories, interacting boys and girls in work places working places to know each other and other media. The relatives get the ideas of eligible partners and friends. Now-a-days there are a lot of ways like chatting, newspaper, matrimonial advertisement and so on for choice. The qualifications of men are not very difference from other. The male must be educated and able to support their families. Hindu people have a lot of saying has lots of say about the marriage, Buddhist religion do not have any criteria for the marriage as it is natural and personal for their attitude. The Muslim religion reinforces women for right of the property but only after the divorce. The property law is mentioned in the Nepal law of Nepal but it has no implementation. The gift in the marriage is women's sole property and a woman has right to get half of the property according to the laws of Nepal.

The Magar women who are educated and employed are very few and they are different from an average Magar woman as they are economically independent to make up their mind. The average Magar women, however, are not all educated and are in poor economic condition beside a few urban Magar women.

Some people are fixated on the fallacy that cousin couples pose an intolerable disease. Albert Einstein married his first cousin. And so did Charles Darwin, who had exceptional child.

Education leads one to able to be make decision and take stand. The love marriage is the choice of new generation. It has abolished the early marriage. The

Magars get married as early as 12 years of age. There were few schools fifty years ago and girls did not use to go to school. Some of them went to school but as they got married, left school.

As most of then respondents are not educated to hold jobs they are housewives and work in their paddy field or they are entrepreneurs. They have no pocket money. They have to their husbands.

Cross cousin marriage and first cousin marriage is not different for them as some communities of the world make the difference. The crossed cousin has different family name whereas the cousin has mostly same like the “Kim Kim” or Koreans have different family but same name in which marriage is not appropriate but it is in practice. The inbreeding or endogamy marriage is common in Nepal. All the ethnic group and caste group of Nepal marry within their own race. Caste group are from Aryan family and ethnic group mostly are from Mongolian group. The Rai and Limbu ethnic group do not marry within their relatives but they also marry different sub-clan of the family. They consider maternal aunt’s son as brother and they don’t marry outside their caste, therefore it is a kind of endogamy according to Baber. The Magar along with other ethnic groups practice cross cousin marriage. Some of the relatives of the urban settlers have relatives who are married to cousins. The inter-caste marriage of Chhetri woman to Magar man has ceased to marry cousin and they are not invited to the family gathering. It is a kind of retaining the culture but the new generations are arguing not to follow the traditional culture of marriage. They plan to get good education to support themselves instead of marrying their cousins. It is easier in urban setting as they are away from the hold of joint family.

7.2 Conclusion

This dissertation is not intended to either encourage or discourage marriage between the cross cousins as it is the interest entirely depending on the prospective couples and their family. This dissertation is only to enlighten on the subject and dispel many myths scattered in the society by others with regard to subject of cross cousin marriage. The world health conscious populations are more interested about the birth which the doctors have proved to be wrong. It is not incest or barbarian practice either. The women have also agreed that it should be the free choice but not obliged to the family.

The prevailing traditional marriage practice among the Magar community can be inappropriate to other community but it is not incest. It must be the choice of the community to practice and it is not defined as incest by other community who do not practice. It can be little awkward but it has no defect therefore others should let those who prefer to practice with due respect. Some of them proudly say that they are more pure blooded as they are married to cousin from three generations. The family is proud as the women feel comfortable to marry with their male as defined by tin ghare. The time is changing and nuclear family is replacing the existing joint family. Both of them have some privilege to each other and most of the joint family feature is that they have preserved the custom, tradition, norm and value of family. The urban families are homogeneous in the function observation. The best part of nuclear family is that they are most educated and follow the modern life but they have lost the norms and values of the family, relatives and mostly the relation has become materialized. The family living in rural and urban area has made much difference in lifestyle and it is sure to slow down the cross cousin marriage practice. But there is no sign of abolishing as the family relation is as strong as the modern thought defying it.

The sanskritization process of Ruchang has developed a syncretic form of Hinduism that combines animist and Buddhist rituals and recognize three classes of priest: Rama, Jaisi and Dhama for their convenience they have very little chance of change which makes their identity known.

The Magars represent the silent culture. They don't come forward to speak out their mind. The time span of the interviewee is so limited that it is not possible to dig out their idea in full-fledged. The new educated Magar totally defied the idea of cross cousin marriage, as not appropriate in the missile age. The modern trend from joint family to nuclear family, increase in age of marriage, loss of mother tongue, mix settlement with other caste, economic independency, education and religion are some of the factors in the change of marriage structure.

There must be women in the decision making level to materialize the effective gender policies and moving forward more women. In spite of freedom, women are still not in a position to entertain equity at home as well as at workplaces two times more work than man both at home and outside. Whether at office, farm or any place they work twice more than men are rarely appreciated.

Magars are changing and the marriage practice must change according to them but not in the cost of tradition, culture and norms and value of the community. It is

not only that woman must be empowered but also they are equally important so the males could appreciate the contribution of female. Changing of society for development needs both man and woman. It might be hard to accept some cousins whom one doesn't intend to marry then it could be really a relief for both sides to compromise especially not to make the older generation guilty of their conscience.

Most of the societies dominant with patriarchal and Hindu values see the women related activities as those of imposing. The western ideologies are suitable in their own contexts and which are most often promoted by the international non-governmental organizations to fulfill their hidden agenda. The literature found about cousin marriage also indicates that cross cousin marriage though as printed in media, is not a big issue. There are always limitations in primitive practice as it is always as indicated by Baber that the rule is followed very closely which is not found in the cosmopolitan. The incest between man and his biological daughter is the example of double standard. It has been proved by the pathology that there is no harm in gene married among cousin marriage and cross-cousin marriage distant not to fear. Dr. Darr adds that cousin marriage is not sociological, political taboo.

Magar community is more open in the traditional community than the modern society which is strict on women, as it is not found in the origin place of Magar community. The Magar daughter always enjoys equal freedom and sometimes this is exploited and misguided by other community which has no such freedom. The development for women of all communities is needed and well preservation of culture is also necessary for sound citizen. Every culture has its own value and good and bad sides. Therefore, it must be recognized and researched to preserve the good aspects.

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APPENDIX-1
LIFE CYCLE RITUALS AMONG RUCHANG MAGAR IN NAWALPARASI

(A CASE STUDY OF CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN MARRIAGE)

Questionnaire Schedule

General Information

Date:

1. Name of the Respondent:

2. Address:

3. Age:

i. 15-19 years

ii. 20-29 years

iii. 30-39 years

iv. 50 above

4. Sex:

i. Male

ii. Female

5. Occupation:

i. farming

ii. Business

iii. Social work

iv. Service

v. Other

6. Marital status:

i. Married

ii. Unmarried

iii. Separated

iv. Remarried

v. Single

7. Age at marriage (If married):

- i. Up to 15 years
 - ii. 16-20 years
 - iii. 21-25 years
 - iv. 26 Above
8. Mother Tongue Practice:
- i. Do practice
 - ii. Do not Practice
9. Religion Practice:
- i. Hindu
 - ii. Buddhist
 - iii. Bon
 - iv. Christian
 - v. Other
10. Economic Status: Income resources:
- i. Cash crops farming
 - ii. Business
 - iii. Foreign employment
 - iv. Wages/salary
 - v. Animal husbandry
11. Education Status:
- i. Literate
 - ii. Illiterate
 - iii. S.L.C. pass
12. Family Type:
- i. Joint Family
 - ii. Nuclear Family
13. Marriage: Marriage compulsory:
- i. Agree
 - ii. Disagree
14. What do you think is/ are the objective of marriage?
- i. biological need.
 - ii. continuation of heritage
 - iii. adjustment between mates.
 - iv. norms and values and sacrament
 - v. partner for old age
 - vi. economic partnership/support
 - vii. pay ancestral debt
 - viii. other
14. Virtue of partner:

- i. Essential attributes (.....)
- ii. An ideal life partner (.....)

15. Being marriage what position do you give to your husband/ wife?

- i. Above ()
- ii. Below ()
- iii. Equal ()
- iv. Other ()

16. Preferred marriage type:

- i. Traditional
- ii. Arranged
- iii. Temple
- iv. Love
- v. Court

17. Why? Reason:

- i. Maintain tradition and culture
- ii. Take place once in lifetime
- iii. Cheap and best
- iv. Free from any kind of burden
- v. Expected from her

18. Are you satisfied with the age at marriage (18 years for both) ?

Yes /No

19. Why not?

20. Who is/are responsible for choosing the life partner?

- Parents ()
- Boy-girl parents ()
- Boy-girl ()
- Parents and caste ()

21. Choice factor of groom and bride (Give reason if any):

- i. Physical beauty
- ii. Color
- iii. Occupation
- iv. Behavior
- v. Work skill
- vi. Education
- vii. Amusing
- viii. Property
- ix. Family Background
- x. Urban

ix. Clash on property

x. Others

29. Do you like to stay with your married son?

30. Why?

31. What do you think of joint family?

i. Good ()

ii. Bad ()

iii. indifferent ()

32. Whom do you give preference on study?
- i. Son
 - ii. Daughter
 - iii. Both
33. Are daughters and daughter-in-laws same treated equally?
- i. Yes
 - ii. No
 - iii. Justify
34. Knowledge about recent marriage divorce : Prefer as first child
- i. Son
 - ii. Daughter
 - iii. Both
35. Menstruation: Natural/ Sin
- i. Seclusion period.....day
 - ii. First time
36. Is parenthood period impure ?
- i. Yes
 - ii. No
37. What is your opinion about cross cousin marriage?
- i. Good
 - ii. Bad
38. Why do you say so?
39. Is there one in your area who had cross cousin marriage?
40. Magars are supposed to marry their cousin, they are doing so in rural area and in Katmandu, too. What do you say to them?
41. Do you prefer your son to marry your niece if they like each other or fall in love?
42. How do you help to evade this concept of cross cousin marriage?

The End

APPENDIX-2

KEY INFORMANTS CHECK LIST

Questions and topic of discussion with the key informants

1. What do you know about Magar people?
2. What are the main objectives of marriage?
3. What are the types of marriage conducted by Magar people?
4. What are the main things to prefer on marriage?
5. Do they perform their marriage system in accordance with their own tradition?
6. Which types of marriage system are preferred by Magar people?
7. What are the differences between traditional marriage and modern marriage patterns?
8. What are the factors on changing traditional marriage system?
9. What are the choice factors of groom and bride?
10. What are the factors associated with increasing in love marriage system?
11. What is your opinion about cross-cousin marriage system?
12. Why do you give preference to cross-cousin marriage?
13. Are there any merits or demerits on cross-cousin marriage system?
14. Is the Magar marriage system undergoing change?
15. What are the factors associated with these changes?

APPENDIX-3

List of Key informants:

1. Resham Lal Thapa Magar (Former VDC President of Ruchang, Nawalparasi)
2. Pitamber Gaha Magar (Principal, Nepal Primary School)
3. Gun Bahadur Rakim and Juddha Bahadur Sinjali Magar (Priests/ Magar Pandits)
4. Gyaneshor Bhattarai (Principal, Nagardanda Ma. Vi. Ruchang)
5. Subba Sinjali Magar (Politician)
6. Om Bahadur Makim Magar (Social Worker)
7. Kamala Devi Thada Magar (Representative, Himalayan Community Development Forum)
8. Bhim Bahadur Sinjali Magar (Representative, Base Health Organization)
9. Bimala Rana Magar (Housewife)
10. Dhan Bahadur Sinjali Magar (Witchcraft)

APPENDIX-4

Table 1: District Wise Distribution of Magar Population of Nepal - 2001

DISTRICT	POPULATION OF MAGAR	PERCENT
PALPA	136750	8.43
NAWALPARASI	96881	5.97
ROLPA	91936	5.66
TANAHUN	84332	5.20
BAGLUNG	74550	4.59
SYANGJA	67245	4.14
RUPANDEHI	66248	4.08
PYUTHAN	65123	4.01
GULMI	59123	3.64
DANG	55711	3.4.
SURKHET	55668	3.43
MYAGDI	47820	2.94
RUKUM	43621	2.68
UDAYAPUR	39721	2.44
SINDHULI	39675	2.44
KATHMANDU	35061	2.16
ARGHAKHACHI	34078	2.10
GORKHA	32678	2.01
DHADING	28675	1.76
KAILALI	23913	1.47
KASKI	23522	1.45
RAMECHHAP	23205	1.43
MORANG	22270	1.37
DAILEKH	22230	1.37
BANKE	20911	1.28
CHITWAN	19643	1.21
MAKAWANPUR	17939	1.10

PARWAT	16924	1.04
OKHALDHUNGA	16252	1.00
DHANKUTTA	16165	0.009
SARLAHI	14941	0.009
ILLAM	14496	0.008
MAHOTTARI	14185	0.008
JHAPA	13577	0.008
KABHEREPALANCHOCK	13426	0.008
LALITPUR	11816	0.007
JAJARKOT	11721	0.007
BARDIYA	10767	0.006
SALYAN	10445	0.006
DAPILVASTU	10250	0.006
SUNSARI	10054	0.006
KHOTANG	9891	0.006
DHANUSA	7881	0.004
SIRAHA	7045	0.004
KANCHANPUR	7001	0.004
NUWAKOT	6475	0.003
PACHATHAR	6389	0.003
DOTI	5786	0.003
BARA	5456	0.003
SANKHUWASAVA	5017	0.003
SOLUKHUMBU	4951	0.003
SINDHUPALANCHOCK	4578	0.002
RAUTAHAT	4187	0.002
BHAKTTAPUR	3679	0.002
DADEL DHURA	3654	0.002
LAMJUNG	3554	0.002
DOLKHA	3392	0.001

DOLPA	2902	0.001
TEHRATHUM	2441	0.001
SAPTARI	2408	0.001
PARSA	2176	0.001
ACHHAM	1561	0.009
TAPLEJUNG	1151	0.007
MUSTANG	914	0.005
RASUWA	567	0.003
KALIKOT	357	0.002
BAJURA	230	0.001
BAITADI	183	0.001
JUMLA	105	0.001
HUMLA	97	0.005
DARCHULA	95	0.005
MANANG	91	0.005
BAJHANG	68	0.004
MUGU	56	0.003
TOTAL	1622421	100.00

APPENDIX-5

Table 2: Caste/Ethnic distribution of Nepal – 2001

Caste	Male	Female	Total	Percent
CHHETRI	1747709	1818787	3593496	15.80
BRAHMIN-HILL	1426915	1469562	2896477	12.73
MAGAR	784828	837593	1622421	7.13
THARU	774924	758955	1533879	6.74
TAMANG	641361	640943	1282304	5.63
NEWAR	620213	625019	1245232	5.47
MUSLIM	501793	469263	971056	4.27
KAMI	432937	463017	895954	3.94
YADAV	473421	422002	895423	3.94
RAI	312363	322788	635151	2.79
GURUNG	259376	284195	543571	2.39
DAMAI/DHOLI	188329	201976	390305	1.71
LIMBU	174760	184619	359379	1.58
THAKURI	164643	169477	334120	1.46
SARKI	153681	165308	318989	1.40
TELI	158647	145889	304536	1.33
CHAMAR/HARIJAN/RAM	138878	130783	269661	1.18
KOIRI	130424	120850	251274	1.10
KURMI	111638	101204	212842	0.93
SANYASI	98006	101121	199127	0.87
DHANUK	97507	90643	188150	0.82
MUSAHAR	88041	84393	172434	0.75
DUSADH/PASWAN/PASI	82173	76352	158525	0.69
SHERPA	77511	77111	154622	0.68
SONAR	72331	72757	145088	0.63
KEWAT	70815	66138	136953	0.60

BRAHMIN - TERAI	70623	63873	134496	0.59
BANIYA	67308	59663	126971	0.55
GHARTI/BHUJEL	58023	59545	117568	0.51
MALLAH	59649	56337	115986	0.51
KALWAR	61221	54385	115606	0.50
KUMAL	48883	50506	99389	0.43
HAJAM/THAKUR	51617	46552	98169	0.43
KANU	50706	45120	95826	0.42
RAJBANSHI	48234	47578	95812	0.42
SUNWAR	48065	47189	95254	0.41
SUDHI	47198	42648	89846	0.39
LOHAR	42270	40367	82637	0.36
TATMA	39606	36906	76512	0.33
KAHATWE	38643	36329	74972	0.32
DHODI	38350	35063	73413	0.32
MAJHI	36367	36247	72614	0.31
NUNIYA	35224	31649	66873	0.23
KUMHAR	28289	26124	54413	0.23
DANUWAR	26192	27037	53229	0.23
CHEPANG (PRAJA)	26685	25552	52237	0.22
HALUWAI	26387	24196	50583	0.22
RAJPUT`	25905	22549	48454	0.21
KAYASTHA	23343	22728	46071	0.20
BADHAE	24160	21815	45975	0.20
MARWADI	23205	20766	43971	0.19
SANTHAL/SATTAR	21515	21183	42698	0.18
JHAGAR/DHAGAR	20892	20872	41764	0.18
BANTAR	18139	17700	35839	0.15
BARAE	18479	16955	35434	0.15
KAHAR	18109	16422	34531	0.15

GANGAI	15808	15510	31318	0.13
LODHA	13018	11720	24738	0.10
RAJBHAR	12755	11508	24263	0.10
THAMI	11392	11607	22999	0.10
DHIMAL	9646	9891	19537	0.08
BHOTE	9959	9302	19261	0.08
BING/BINDA	9641	9079	18720	0.08
BHEDIYAR/GADERI	9342	8387	17729	0.07
NURANG	9198	8324	17522	0.07
YAKKHA	8132	8871	17003	0.07
DARAI	7195	7664	14859	0.06
TAJPURIYA	6532	6718	13250	0.05
THAKALI	6216	6757	12973	0.05
CHIDIMAR	6516	5780	12296	0.05
PAHARI	5803	5702	11505	0.05
MALI	5884	5506	11390	0.05
BANGALI	5680	4180	9860	0.04
CHHANTEL	4545	5269	9814	0.04
DOM	4631	4300	8931	0.03
KAMAR	4516	4245	8761	0.03
BOTE	3881	4088	7969	0.03
BRAHMU/BARAMI	3441	3942	7383	0.03
GAINI	2857	3030	5887	0.02
JIREL	2582	2734	5316	0.02
ADIBASI/ JANAJATI	2558	2701	5259	0.02
DURA	2377	2792	5169	0.02
CHURAUTE	2532	2361	4893	0.02
BADI	2152	2290	4442	0.01
MECHE	1830	1933	3763	0.01
LEPCHA	1935	1725	3660	0.01

HALKHOR	1848	1773	3621	0.01
PUNJABI/ SIKH	1567	1487	3054	0.01
KISAN	1382	1494	2876	0.01
RAJI	1111	1288	2399	0.01
BYANGSI	1094	1009	2103	0.009
HAYU	892	929	1821	0.008
KOCHE	693	736	1429	0.006
DHUNIA	614	617	1231	0.005
WALUNG	574	574	1148	0.005
JAINE	551	464	1015	0.004
MUNDA	357	303	660	0.002
RAUTE	346	312	658	0.002
HYEHLMO	281	298	579	0.002
KUSWADIYA/ PATHARKATTA	286	266	552	0.002
KUSUNDA	85	79	164	0.0007
UNIDENTIFIED DALIT	85063	88338	173401	7.62
UNIDENTIFIED CASTE	116569	115072	231641	10.18
TOTAL	11359378	11377556	22736934	100.00

APPENDIX - 6**Table 3: Caste/Ethnic Distribution of Nawalparasi District - 2001**

Caste	Male	Female	Total	Percent
MAGAR	47137	49744	96881	17.21
BRAHMIN-HILL	45490	49405	94895	16.85
THARU	46084	46695	92779	16.48
CHHETRI	15886	16928	32814	5.82
MUSHLIM	11369	10637	22006	3.90
CHAMAR/HARIJAN/RAM	10815	10065	20880	3.70
KAMI	9874	10790	20664	3.67
YADAV	9107	8354	17461	3.10
GURUNG	6623	7358	13981	2.48
KUMAL	6070	6306	12376	2.19
NEWAR	5533	5868	11401	2.02
TELI	5063	4906	9969	1.77
KEWAT	5106	4853	9959	1.76
DAMAI/DHOLI	4775	5093	9868	1.75
THAKURI	3275	3484	6759	1.20
RAJBHAR	3188	2953	6141	1.09
KAHAR	3147	3954	6101	1.08
TAMANG	2631	2589	5220	0.09
KURMI	2716	2442	5158	0.09
BANIYA	2590	2288	4878	0.08
KOIRI	2499	2363	4862	0.08
SARKI	2227	2371	4598	0.08
DUSADH/PASWAN/PASI	2193	2057	4250	0.07
SONAR	1794	1911	3705	0.06
MUSAHAR	1855	1803	3658	0.06
BRAHMIN - TERAI	1858	1770	3628	0.06

SANYASI	1684	1785	3469	0.06
HAJAM/THAKUR	1663	1537	3200	0.05
UNIDENTIFIED CASTE	1537	1477	3014	0.05
NUNIYA	1374	1238	2612	0.04
DHODI	1112	1079	2191	0.03
GHARTI/BHUJEL	1024	1066	2090	0.03
BOTE	966	926	1892	0.03
BADHAE	981	893	1874	0.03
KALWAR	975	885	1860	0.03
DARAI	877	885	1762	0.03
MALLAH	882	804	1686	0.02
BING/BINDA	819	790	1609	0.02
KUMHAR	709	707	1416	0.02
LOHAR	650	592	1242	0.02
BHEDIYAR/GADERI	551	490	1041	0.01
UNIDENTIFIED DALIT	483	493	976	0.01
RAI	421	430	851	0.01
MAJHI	363	375	738	0.01
BHOTE	312	309	621	0.01
KANU	219	191	410	0.007
MALI	177	169	346	0.006
KAYASTHA	155	164	319	0.005
DOM	108	93	201	0.003
SHERPA	100	95	195	0.003
HALUWAI	98	88	186	0.003
KAMAR	99	85	184	0.003
THAKALI	88	88	176	0.003
CHIDIMAR	95	78	173	0.003
RAJPUT	79	75	154	0.002
LIMBU	75	66	141	0.002
CHEPANG (PRAJA)	71	57	128	0.002
SUNWAR	59	57	116	0.001

BARAE	59	52	111	0.001
DHANUK	58	48	106	0.001
GAINÉ	45	54	99	0.001
DURA	40	56	96	0.001
DHUNIA	43	51	94	0.001
KUSWADIYA/ PATHARKATTA	46	47	93	0.001
MARWADI	33	34	67	0.0009
YAKKHA	33	23	56	0.0009
DANUWAR	27	28	55	0.0009
SUDHI	20	19	39	0.0009
GANGAI	15	21	36	0.0006
DHIMAL	15	18	33	0.0006
LODHA	14	18	32	0.0005
LEPCHA	17	13	30	0.0005
TATMA	17	7	24	0.0004
PUNJABI/ SIKH	10	10	20	0.0003
BANGALI	4	10	14	0.0002
CHHANTEL	8	6	14	0.0002
KHATWE	6	5	11	0.0001
JHAGAR/DHAGAR	5	6	11	0.0001
BADI	8	3	11	0.0001
SANTHAL/SATTAR	5	4	9	0.0001
RAJI	4	5	9	0.0001
NURANG	4	1	5	0.0008
JIREL	2	3	5	0.0008
RAUTE	3	2	5	0.0008
CHURAUTE	2	2	4	0.0007
MECHE	0	4	4	0.0007
THAMI	1	2	3	0.0005
HALKHOR	2	0	2	0.0003
HAYU	0	2	2	0.0003
RAJBANSHI	0	1	1	0.0001

BANTAR	0	1	1	0.0001
KISAN	0	1	1	0.0001
KOCHE	0	1	1	0.0001
MUNDA	0	1	1	0.0001
TOTAL	278257	284613	562870	100.00